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**University of Southampton**

Faculty of Humanities

School of Music

**Italian Opera and the Domestic in Georgian Britain**

by

**Catherine Ann Fabian**

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

March 2021





# University of Southampton

## Abstract

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This thesis examines the domestic consumption of Italian opera in Georgian Britain. It focuses on the years c.1780-1837, when the success of Italian opera at the King's Theatre in London corresponded with the explosion of the printing market, meaning opera enthusiasts could develop operatic collections to enjoy from their own homes. Much scholarly attention has been paid to Italian operatic culture in professional British spheres, including focuses on its spectators and the controversies surrounding British engagement with Italian culture at a time of significant national development. But we know little about how these consumers engaged with Italian opera in the domestic sphere. This thesis asks: how was Italian opera travelling into the home during this period, who was consuming it there, and how was it being consumed? These questions are considered alongside modern scholarly theories of cultural transfer, asking what the domestic consumption of Italian opera in Britain can tell us about the about the circulation of European culture c.1800.

Three surviving domestic music collections serve as principal case studies, including: aspects of the Montagu Music Collection belonging to the 3<sup>rd</sup> generation of the aristocratic Buccleuch dynasty; the music books to Elizabeth Egerton, née Sykes (1777-1853), held today at Tatton Park in Cheshire; and the collection belonging to Sir Thomas Gladstone, 2nd Baronet (1804-1889). These collections, along with broader familial archival materials, are used to examine the different ways in which people engaged with Italian operatic culture in the home, as collectors, patrons, spectators, and amateur performers. Annotations found in the principal collections are placed alongside pedagogical literature of the era to understand how domestic performers were engaging with the Italian language and the Italian style of singing. Finally, comparisons are drawn between these case studies to examine how engagement with Italian opera differed within the upper-class social sphere, in relation to notions of elite, gendered, and national identities.

This study forms part of a growing scholarly interest in historic domestic music-making, and advocates for the consideration of Italian opera as a domestic as well as a public genre within this field. By considering domestic music collections alongside their owners' broader engagement with Italian culture, we can see how consumption of the genre in private influenced interaction with the genre in public, and vice versa. Moreover, we can see how the domestic sphere played an important role in the circulation of Italian culture in Britain c.1800, and how the domestic consumption of Italian opera contributed to broader British perceptions of 'Italy'.



# Table of Contents

<b>Table of Contents .....</b>	<b>i</b>
<b>Table of Tables .....</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>Table of Figures.....</b>	<b>v</b>
<b>Research Thesis: Declaration of Authorship.....</b>	<b>xiii</b>
<b>Acknowledgements.....</b>	<b>xv</b>
<b>Definitions and Abbreviations .....</b>	<b>xvii</b>
<b>Introduction .....</b>	<b>1</b>
Italian Opera and the British.....	4
Italian Opera and Cultural Transfer .....	24
Italian Opera and Music in the Home.....	27
Methods and Sources .....	31
The Montagu Music Collection .....	34
The Tatton Park Music Collection.....	36
The Gladstone Music Collection .....	36
Overview of Chapters .....	37
<b>Chapter 1 Italian Opera and the Home .....</b>	<b>39</b>
1.1 Consumption Abroad: Bringing the Grand Tour Home.....	39
1.2 Consumption at Home.....	43
1.3 The Domestic Sphere: An Alternative Stage?.....	54
1.4 Italian Singing Masters.....	57
1.5 Conclusions .....	68
<b>Chapter 2 Repertoire .....</b>	<b>69</b>
2.1 Pedagogical Repertoire .....	70
2.2 Domestic Collections .....	82
2.2.1 Overview .....	83
2.2.2 Case Study: The Montagu Music Collection .....	90
2.3 Adaptations and Translations .....	96
2.3.1 Italian Opera to ‘English Song’: The Market for Translated Texts .....	96
2.3.2 Case Studies: Translated Italian Operatic Texts .....	98
2.3.3 Presentation of Vocal Scores.....	101

## Table of Contents

2.3.4	Genre, Style, and Ornamentation.....	103
2.3.5	Instrumental Adaptations and Arrangements.....	108
2.3.6	Case Study: ‘Hope Told a Flattering Tale’ .....	112
2.4	Conclusions.....	118
<b>Chapter 3 Performing Italian Opera: Inside Domestic Singing Lessons.....</b>		<b>121</b>
3.1	Performing in the Italian Style.....	123
3.1.1	Vocal Pedagogy and the Italian Style in Print .....	125
3.1.2	Evidence in Domestic Collections .....	141
3.1.2.1	The Montagu Music Collection .....	141
3.1.2.2	The Tatton Park Collection .....	149
3.1.2.3	The Gladstone Collection.....	156
3.1.3	Conclusions.....	162
3.2	Performing in the Italian Language .....	163
3.2.1	General Language Training .....	164
3.2.2	The Italian Language and Vocal Performance.....	168
3.2.3	Evidence in Domestic Collections .....	171
3.2.4	Conclusions.....	180
<b>Conclusion .....</b>		<b>182</b>
<b>Appendix A Opera Scores in the Montagu Music Collection.....</b>		<b>193</b>
Guide to Appendix A .....		193
<b>Appendix B Miscellaneous Operatic Music in the Montagu Music Collection</b>		<b>197</b>
Guide to Appendices B, C, and D .....		197
<b>Appendix C Miscellaneous Operatic Music in the Tatton Park Collection .....</b>		<b>235</b>
<b>Appendix D Miscellaneous Operatic Music in the Gladstone Collection.....</b>		<b>250</b>
<b>Bibliography .....</b>		<b>265</b>

## Table of Tables

<b>Table 1. The Proportions of Italian-Texted Music in Pedagogical Vocal Repertoire Published in Britain between c.1750-1850.....</b>	<b>71</b>
<b>Table 2. Composers Featured in Pedagogical Vocal Repertoire Published in Britain c.1750-1850. ....</b>	<b>74</b>
<b>Table 3. The Most-Frequently Performed Composers at the King's Theatre 1750-1800. ..</b>	<b>79</b>



# Table of Figures

<b>Figure 0.1. Augustus Pugin (1769-1832) and Thomas Rowlandson (1756-1827), ‘Opera House (1800)’, in Rudolph Ackermann, <i>Microcosm of London</i> (London: Ackermann, [1808-1810]).</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>Figure 0.2. Rowlandson, ‘An Italian Family’ (1785). © <i>The Trustees of the British Museum</i></b>	<b>8</b>
<b>Figure 0.3. Rowlandson, ‘Italian Picture Dealers Humbuging my Lord Anglaise’ (1812). ..</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>Figure 0.4. George Cruikshank (1792-1878), ‘May I die if there isn't Sir George!!’ (W.S. Fores, 1817). Harry Beard Collection, given by Isobel Beard. ....</b>	<b>17</b>
<b>Figure 0.5. ‘A Side Box at the Opera’ (S. W. Fores, 1784).</b>	<b>18</b>
<b>Figure 0.6. Isaac Cruikshank (1764-1811), ‘A peep at the Parisot! with Q in the corner!’ (S. W. Fores, 1796). © <i>The Trustees of the British Museum</i> .....</b>	<b>19</b>
<b>Figure 0.7. Henri-Pierre Danloux (1753-1809), Henry and Elizabeth, 3rd Duke and Duchess of Buccleuch, with their family in the grounds at Dalkeith, 1798. © <i>The Buccleuch Collections</i> .....</b>	<b>35</b>
<b>Figure 1.1. Bindings of Opera Scores in the MMC. © <i>The Buccleuch Collections</i> .....</b>	<b>48</b>
<b>Figure 1.2. Binding to MMC Vol. 333. © <i>The Buccleuch Collections</i> .....</b>	<b>48</b>
<b>Figure 1.3. Binding to MMC Vol. 300, featuring extracts from Italian comic operas by Pietro Alessandro Guglielmi (1728-1804) and Antonio Sacchini (1730-1786).</b>	<b>49</b>
<b>Figure 1.4. Domenico Corri (1746-1825), <i>The Singers Preceptor, or Corris Treatise on Vocal Music</i> (London: Silvester; and Longman, Hurst, Rees &amp; Orme, 1810), title page. MMC Vol. 455. © <i>The Buccleuch Collections</i> .....</b>	<b>60</b>
<b>Figure 1.5. Thomas Rowlandson (1756-1827), <i>The Comforts of Bath: The Music Master</i> (1798). © <i>Creative Commons</i> .....</b>	<b>66</b>
<b>Figure 1.6. Rowlandson, <i>Reflections, or the Music Lesson</i>. © <i>Creative Commons</i> .....</b>	<b>67</b>
<b>Figure 2.1. Extract from ‘Digli ch’io son fedele’ in Domenico Corri, <i>A Select Collection</i>, Vol. 1 (Edinburgh: John Corri, c.1782), 103. In the facsimile edition edited by Richard Maunder (New York: Garland, 1993). © <i>Reproduced with permission from the University of Southampton Hartley Library</i> .....</b>	<b>80</b>

<b>Figure 2.2.</b> Extract from ‘Oh! Ponder well, be not sever’ in Corri, <i>A Select Collection</i> , Vol. 2 (Edinburgh: John Corri, c.1782), 62. In the facsimile edition edited by Richard Maunder (New York: Garland, 1993). © <i>Reproduced with permission from the University of Southampton Hartley Library</i> .....	80
<b>Figure 2.3.</b> Extract from ‘Fair Aurora, Prithee Stay’ in Corri, <i>A Select Collection</i> , Vol. 2 (Edinburgh, John Corri, c.1782), 50. In the facsimile edition edited by Richard Maunder (New York: Garland, 1993). © <i>Reproduced with permission from the University of Southampton Hartley Library</i> .....	81
<b>Figure 2.4.</b> Extract from ‘Frener vorrei le lagrime’ in Corri, <i>A Select Collection</i> , Vol. 4 (London: Corri & Sutherland, c.1794), 74. In the facsimile edition edited by Richard Maunder (New York: Garland, 1993). © <i>Reproduced with permission from the University of Southampton Hartley Library</i> .....	81
<b>Figure 2.5.</b> Contents page to MMC Vol. 321, ‘Songs and Rondos’. © <i>The Buccleuch Collections</i> .....	86
<b>Figure 2.6.</b> Extract from ‘Cupid, God of soft persuasion’ in Corri, <i>A Select Collection</i> , Vol. 2 (Edinburgh: John Corri, c.1794-95), 7. In the facsimile edition edited by Richard Maunder (New York: Garland, 1993). © <i>Reproduced with permission from the University of Southampton Hartley Library</i> .....	102
<b>Figure 2.7.</b> Extract from ‘Mi sento in mezzo al core’ in Corri, <i>A Select Collection</i> , Vol. 1 (Edinburgh: John Corri, c.1782), 34. In the facsimile edition edited by Richard Maunder (New York: Garland, 1993). © <i>Reproduced with permission from the University of Southampton Hartley Library</i> .....	103
<b>Figure 2.8.</b> <i>Ah perdona al primo affetto. Duetto nella Clemenza di Tito. Composto dal Sig. W. A. Mozart</i> (London: T. Monzani, c.1800), 1. © <i>British Library Board, G.537.e.(1.)</i> .....	105
<b>Figure 2.9.</b> Extract from John Callcott, ‘Go Idle Boy’ in <i>The British Minstrel, and Musical and Literary Miscellany Vol. 3</i> (Glasgow: William Hamilton, 1845), 295. © <i>Creative Commons</i> .....	106
<b>Figure 2.10.</b> Extract from ‘Ah perdona, al primo affetto’ in Corri, <i>A Select Collection</i> , Vol. 2 (Edinburgh: John Corri, c.1782). In the facsimile edition edited by Richard Maunder (New York: Garland, 1993). © <i>Reproduced with permission from the University of Southampton Hartley Library</i> .....	106
<b>Figure 2.11.</b> Extract from ‘Ah perdona, al primo affetto’ in Corri, <i>A Select Collection</i> , Vol. 2 (Edinburgh: John Corri, c.1782), 7. In the facsimile edition edited by	



Richard Maunder (New York: Garland, 1993). © <i>Reproduced with permission from the University of Southampton Hartley Library</i> .....	108
Figure 2.12. Annotations in the MMC Vol. 172. In <i>Little Peggy's Love, The Favorite Scotch Ballet, Performed at the King's Theatre, Composed by Mr Didelot, The Music by Sigr Cesare Bossi</i> (London: Longman & Broderip, [1796]), 7.	111
Figure 2.13. Extract from Giovanni Paisiello, <i>Nel cor piu non mi sento. Cavatina [...]</i> as introduced and sung in [...] <i>Il Fanatico per la Musica, by Madame Catalani, with her own Variations</i> (London: R. Birchall, 1824), 2. © <i>British Library Board, G.811.a.(32.)</i> .....	115
Figure 2.14. Statement and Variation 1 from J. W. Wilms, <i>The Favorite Air of Hope Told a Flattering Tale, arranged as a Duett, with Variations for Piano Forte &amp; Flute</i> (London: C. Wheatstone, 1815), 2. © <i>British Library Board, g.270.y.(12.)</i> .....	116
Figure 2.15. Title page from J. W. Wilms, <i>The Favorite Air of Hope Told a Flattering Tale, arranged as a Duett, with Variations for Piano Forte &amp; Flute</i> (London: C. Wheatstone, [1815]), 2. © <i>British Library Board, g.270.y.(12.)</i> .....	117
Figure 3.1. Elisabeth-Louise Vigée-Lebrun (1755-1842), <i>Portrait of Angelica Catalani</i> (c.1806). © <i>Creative Commons</i> .....	121
Figure 3.2. Illustrations on the title page of Domenico Corri, <i>The Singers Preceptor, or Corris Treatise on Vocal Music</i> (London: Silvester; and Longman, Hurst, Rees & Orme, 1810). MMC Vol. 455. © <i>The Buccleuch Collections</i> .....	127
Figure 3.3. Gesualdo Lanza, <i>Elements of Singing [...]</i> , Vol. 1 (London: 1813), 46. ....	127
Figure 3.4. A diagram of the diatonic scale and the <i>sol-fa</i> syllables in Corri, <i>The Singers Preceptor</i> , Vol. 1 (London: Silvester; and Longman, Hurst, Rees & Orme, 1810), 21. MMC Vol. 455. © <i>The Buccleuch Collections</i> .....	130
Figure 3.5. <i>Solfeggio</i> exercises in Giuseppe Aprile, <i>The Modern Italian Method of Singing</i> (London: Birchall, 1795), 20. © <i>Creative Commons</i> .....	131
Figure 3.6. Divisional exercises in Jean Jousse, <i>Introduction in the Art of Sol-fa-ing and Singing [...]</i> (London: Goulding/D'Almaine & Co.1823), 36. © <i>Creative Commons</i> .....	132

<b>Figure 3.7. Variations on ‘Nel cor più non mi sento’ in Gesualdo Lanza, <i>Elements of Singing</i>, Vol. 4 (London, 1813), CLVII. © <i>British Library Board</i>, E.351</b>	133
<b>Figure 3.8. Extract from Giovanni Paisiello, <i>Nel cor più non mi sento. Cavatina</i> [...] as introduced and sung in [...] <i>Il Fanatico per la Musica</i>, by Madame Catalani, with her own Variations (London: R. Birchall, 1824), 2. © <i>British Library Board</i>, G.811.a.(32.)</b>	134
<b>Figure 3.9. ‘The Soul of Music’ in Corri, <i>The Singers Preceptor</i>, Vol. 1 (London: Silvester; and Longman, Hurst, Rees &amp; Orme, 1810), 14. MMC Vol. 455. © <i>The Buccleuch Collections</i></b>	135
<b>Figure 3.10. Variations of the ‘Grace’ in Corri, <i>The Singers Preceptor</i>, Vol. 1 (London: Silvester; and Longman, Hurst, Rees &amp; Orme, 1810), 32. MMC Vol. 455. © <i>The Buccleuch Collections</i></b>	138
<b>Figure 3.11. Instructions for the ‘Shake’ in Corri’s <i>The Singers Preceptor</i>, Vol. 1 (London: Silvester; and Longman, Hurst, Rees &amp; Orme, 1810), 30. MMC Vol. 455. © <i>The Buccleuch Collections</i></b>	140
<b>Figure 3.12. Variations of the ‘Turn’ in Corri, <i>The Singers Preceptor</i>, Vol. 1 (London: Silvester; and Longman, Hurst, Rees &amp; Orme, 1810), 33. MMC Vol. 455. © <i>The Buccleuch Collections</i></b>	140
<b>Figure 3.13. Annotated ornamentation in the MMC, Vol. 321, 100. In <i>Per pietà padron mio</i>, Sung by Sigr Storace in the Opera of <i>Gli schiavi per amore</i>, Composed by Sigr Bianchi (London: Longman and Broderip, 1787), 2. © <i>The Buccleuch Collections</i></b>	143
<b>Figure 3.14. Extract from <i>Gli schiavi per amore</i> [...] with Graces and Ornaments by Sigr Domenico Corri (London: Longman and Broderip, 1788), 10. © <i>British Library Board</i>, H.445</b>	144
<b>Figure 3.15. Breath mark directions in Corri, <i>A Select Collection</i> (Edinburgh: John Corri, c.1782), 8. In the facsimile edition edited by Richard Maunder (New York: Garland, 1993). © <i>Reproduced with permission from the University of Southampton Hartley Library</i></b>	145
<b>Figure 3.16. Corri’s breath marks in MMC, Vol. 321, 112. In <i>Chi mi mostra</i>, Sung by Sigr Storace in the Opera of <i>Gli schiavi per amore</i>, Composed by Paisiello (London: Longman and Broderip, 1787), 3. © <i>The Buccleuch Collections</i></b>	146

<b>Figure 3.17. Annotated corrections in the MMC, Vol. 321, 25. In <i>Non lagrimar ben mio, Sung by Madam Mara &amp; Sigr Rubinelli in the Opera of Virginia, Composed by Sgr Tarchi</i> (London: Longman and Broderip, 1786), 8. © <i>The Buccleuch Collections</i> .....</b>	<b>147</b>
<b>Figure 3.18. Annotated correction in the MMC, Vol. 321, 27.....</b>	<b>147</b>
<b>Figure 3.19. Annotated keyboard realisation in the MMC, Vol. 321, 102. In <i>Per pietà padron mio, Sung by Sigr Storace in the Opera of Gli schiavi per amore, Composed by Sigr Bianchi</i> (London: Longman and Broderip, 1787), 3. © <i>The Buccleuch Collections</i> .....</b>	<b>148</b>
<b>Figure 3.20. Annotated accompaniment alterations in the MMC, Vol. 321, 5. In <i>Piche cornacchie e nottole, Sung by Sigr Storace and Sigr Morelli, in the Opera of Gli schiavi per amore, Composed by Sigr Paisiello</i> (London: Longman and Broderip, 1787). © <i>The Buccleuch Collections</i> .....</b>	<b>148</b>
<b>Figure 3.21. ‘Dove Sei’ in the Tatton Park collection, Elizabeth Sykes London April 1st 1799, April Fool (MS Book) MR 2-4.32, 11. © <i>Tatton Park, Cheshire East Council, The National Trust</i> .....</b>	<b>151</b>
<b>Figure 3.22. ‘Dove Sei’ in the Tatton Park collection, ‘ENGLISH &amp; ITALIAN SONGS/MISS E SYKES’. <i>Dove sei, as Sung by Madame Mara, in Rodelina</i> (London: Birchall), 10. ....</b>	<b>152</b>
<b>Figure 3.23. Annotated passage in the Tatton Park collection, ‘SONGS/MISS SYKES’ MR 2-5.25. In <i>Ombre, larve. As Sung at the King’s Theatre, Haymarket, by Signora Banti, in the Opera of Alceste, Composed by Gluck</i> (London: Corri, Dussek &amp; Co., c.1795), 6. ....</b>	<b>153</b>
<b>Figure 3.24. Annotated ornamentation in the Tatton Park collection, ‘SONGS/MISS SYKES’ MR 2-5.25. In <i>Non vi piacque, as Sung by Mr Nield, in Siroe</i> (London: Birchall), 1. ....</b>	<b>154</b>
<b>Figure 3.25. Annotated passage in the Tatton Park collection, ‘SONGS/MISS SYKES’ MR 2-5.25. In <i>Son regina e sono amante, Sung by Madam Mara in Didone abbandonata, Composed by Sigr Sacchini</i> (London: Longman and Broderip, 1786), 9. ....</b>	<b>155</b>
<b>Figure 3.26. Annotated passage in the Tatton Park collection, ‘ENGLISH &amp; ITALIAN SONGS/MISS E SYKES’ MR 2-5.10. In <i>O momento fortunato, The Favorite Duett, Sung by Sigr Banti &amp; Sigr Viganoni, in the Opera of Nina,</i></b>	

<i>Composed by Sigr Paisiello ( London: Birchall, c.1800), 14. © Tatton Park, Cheshire East Council, The National Trust</i> .....	156
<b>Figure 3.27.</b> Annotated passage in the Gladstone collection, Vol. 6, 100. In <i>Il mio piano è preparato, Cavatina, In the Opera of La gazza ladra, Composed by Signor G. Rossini (London: Birchall, 1830), 4. Rare Books quarto M 341 GLA. © Hartley Library, University of Southampton</i> .....	157
<b>Figure 3.28.</b> Annotations in the Gladstone collection, Vol 6, 84. In <i>Sorgete in si bel giorno, Aria, in the Opera of Maometto secondo, Composed by Signor G. Rossini (London: Birchall), 2.</i> .....	159
<b>Figure 3.29.</b> Score interventions in the Gladstone collection, Vol 6, 44. In <i>Mentre ti lascio, o figlia. Aria. Composed by Mozart (London: Birchall, c.1820), 10. Rare Books quarto M 341 GLA. © Hartley Library, University of Southampton</i> .....	161
<b>Figure 3.30.</b> Score interventions in the Gladstone collection, Box 1. In <i>Ah! nel cuor mi suona un grido. Cavatina, In the Opera of Gemma di Vergy, Composed by Signor Donizetti (London: R. Mills, 1845), 9. Rare Books quarto M 341 GLA.</i> .....	162
<b>Figure 3.31.</b> Language corrections in the MMC, Vol. 333, 185. In <i>A Periodical Italian Song. No. 19 [‘Tu sai che amante io sono’] (London: Holborn), 3. © The Buccleuch Collections</i> .....	172
<b>Figure 3.32.</b> Language corrections in the MMC, Vol. 333, 185. In <i>A Periodical Italian Song. No. 19 [‘Tu sai che amante io sono’] (London: Holborn), 3. © The Buccleuch Collections</i> .....	172
<b>Figure 3.33.</b> Annotated corrections in the MMC, Vol. 321, 25. In <i>Non lagrimar ben mio, Sung by Madam Mara &amp; Sigr Rubinelli in the Opera of Virginia, Composed by Sgr Tarchi (London: Longman &amp; Broderip, 1786), 8. © The Buccleuch Collections</i> .....	173
<b>Figure 3.34.</b> Annotated language corrections in the MMC, Vol 321, 135. In <i>Dove ridotta sono, Sung by Sgra Storace in the Opera of Gli schiavi per amore, Composed by Sigr Paisiello (London: Longman &amp; Broderip), 4.</i> .....	173
<b>Figure 3.35.</b> Language correction in the MMC, Vol. 321, 60. In <i>Madam Mara’s Favourite Song in Didone abbandonata, Composed by Sigr Piccini (London: Longman &amp; Broderip), 3.</i> .....	174

- Figure 3.36.** Annotated language corrections in the Gladstone collection, Vol. 4, 88. In *Un segreto d'importanza, Duetto, in the Opera of La Cenerentola, Composed by Signor G. Rossini* (London: Birchall & Co.), 10. © Hartley Library, University of Southampton ..... 175
- Figure 3.37.** Language correction in the MMC, Vol. 321, 87. Title page to *Pupille venose [sic] del Caro mio bene, A Favorite Song in the Opera of Virginia, Sung by Sigr Rubinelli, Composed by Sigr Tarchi* (London: Longman & Broderip, 1786). © The Buccleuch Collections ..... 176
- Figure 3.38.** Language correction in the MMC, Vol. 321, 90. In *Pupille venose [sic] del Caro mio bene, A Favorite Song in the Opera of Virginia, Sung by Sigr Rubinelli, Composed by Sigr Tarchi* (London: Longman & Broderip, 1786), 4. © The Buccleuch Collections ..... 176
- Figure 3.39.** Text alterations in the Gladstone collection, Vol. 6, 37. In *Mentre ti lascio, o figlia. Aria. Composed by Mozart* (London: Birchall, c.1820), 3. Rare Books quarto M 341 GLA. © Hartley Library, University of Southampton ..... 177
- Figure 3.40.** Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756-1791), 'Mentre ti lascio'. Extract from the critical edition, NMA II / 7 / 4, KV 513, 23. © Creative Commons, accessed via the Digital Interactive Mozart Edition ..... 177
- Figure 3.41.** Annotations in the MMC, Vol. 321, 4. In *Piche cornacchie e nottole, Sung by Sigr Storace and Sigr Morelli, in the Opera of Gli schiavi per amore, Composed by Sigr Paisiello* (London: Longman and Broderip, 1787), 4. © The Buccleuch Collections ..... 178
- Figure 3.42.** Annotations in the MMC, Vol. 321, 7. In *Piche cornacchie e nottole, Sung by Sigr Storace and Sigr Morelli, in the Opera of Gli schiavi per amore, Composed by Sigr Paisiello* (London: Longman and Broderip, 1787), 7. © The Buccleuch Collections ..... 179
- Figure 3.43.** Annotations in the MMC, Vol. 321, 8. In *Piche cornacchie e nottole, Sung by Sigr Storace and Sigr Morelli, in the Opera of Gli schiavi per amore, Composed by Sigr Paisiello* (London: Longman and Broderip, 1787), 8. © The Buccleuch Collections ..... 179
- Figure 3.44.** Annotations in the MMC, Vol. 321, 10. In *Piche cornacchie e nottole, Sung by Sigr Storace and Sigr Morelli, in the Opera of Gli schiavi per amore, Composed by Sigr Paisiello* (London: Longman and Broderip, 1787), 10. © The Buccleuch Collections ..... 180



## Research Thesis: Declaration of Authorship

Print name: Catherine Ann Fabian

Title of thesis: Italian Opera and the Domestic in Georgian Britain

I declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
7. None of this work has been published before submission

Signature:

Date:





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## Acknowledgements

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## **Definitions and Abbreviations**

**MMC**            **Montagu Music Collection**

**NRS**            **National Records of Scotland**

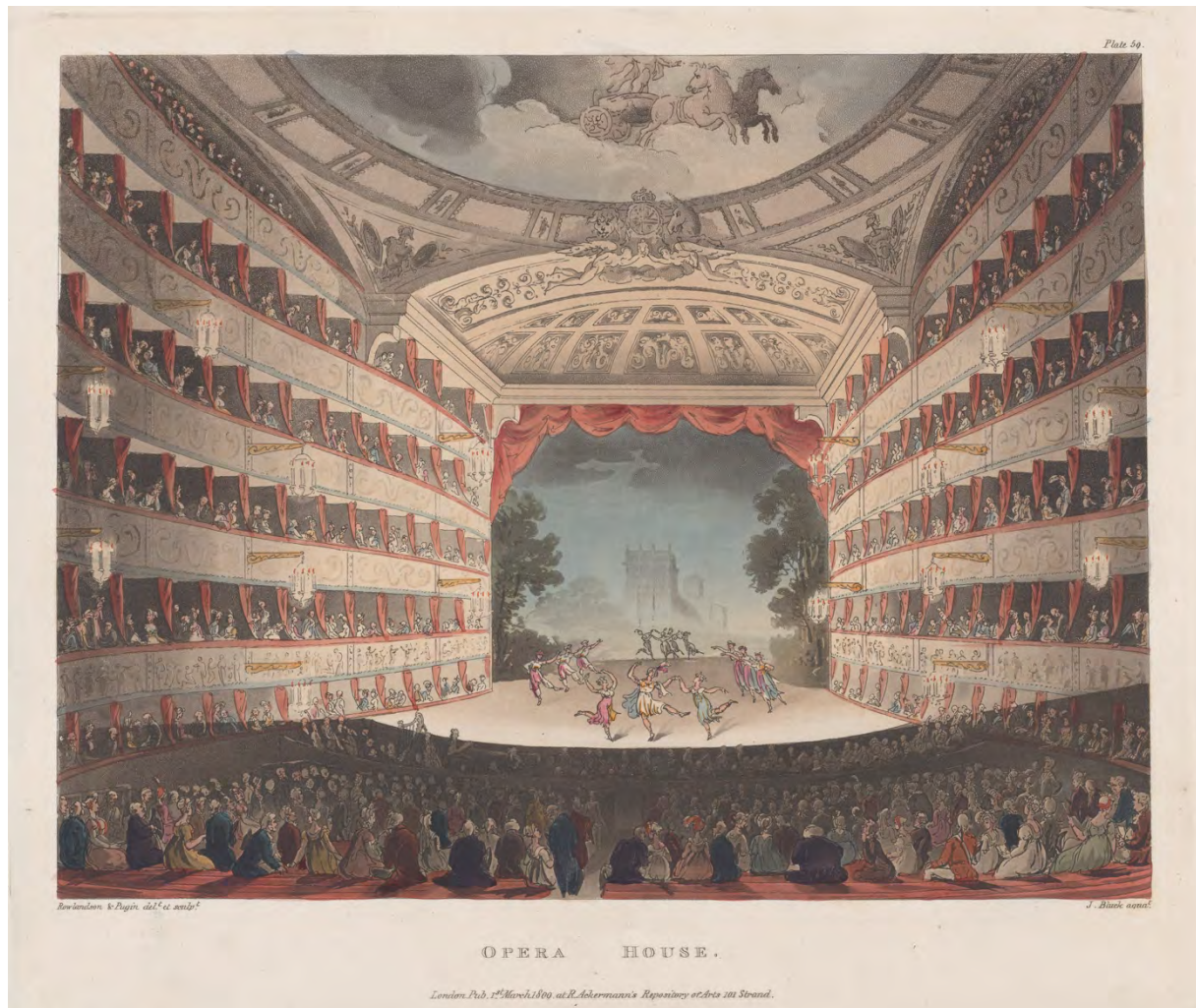


# Introduction

How did the British understand and experience Italian culture in the years surrounding 1800? British consumption of Italian opera has long been seen as one answer to this question. After its first major introduction to the London stage in the early eighteenth century, Italian opera became a significant form of entertainment in Britain. The genre was a flashpoint for ideas of national identity, expressed through discussions of style, singing technique, staging, and spectatorship. Opera was also a powerful mode of encountering Italian culture in Britain, enabling its consumers to engage with both Italian language and music.

The presence of Italian opera in public, professional spheres in Britain c.1800 has been explored in great depth. In particular, performance and spectatorship of the genre at the King's Theatre in the eighteenth century has been a central focus of scholarly opera studies. We know which operas were staged, who performed in each production, and how these operas were received by the press and the opera-going public. Spectators at the King's Theatre – shown below in Pugin and Rowlandson's depiction of the opera house – have been heavily scrutinised, with their motivations for attending and their engagement during performances questioned and often criticised. The importance of their roles as public consumers and patrons have not been understated; opera spectators of the eighteenth century were as much part of the drama as the stars on the stage.

But how did these spectators engage with the genre away from the opera house? Further studies have showcased the role of Italian opera in British concert culture, both in London and across the country, exploring the spread of the genre outside the capital. However, the consumption of the genre in British domestic spheres during this era is yet to be examined in depth. What happened behind closed doors, away from the glare of the public stage? Recent scholarship has showcased the historical significance of music in the home, highlighting both amateur performance and music collection as important domestic activities. Depictions of domestic music-making and music lessons during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are common, with the role of the 'music master' often at centre stage. But how does Italian opera fit into these scenes? Were British people performing Italian opera in the home? If so, who was teaching them, and how? And how did amateur performance of Italian opera correspond with broader British consumption of Italian music, language, and culture, and with representations of 'Italy' in British domestic spheres?



**Figure 0.1. Augustus Pugin (1769-1832) and Thomas Rowlandson (1756-1827), ‘Opera House (1800)’, in Rudolph Ackermann, *Microcosm of London* (London: Ackermann, [1808-1810]).**

**© Creative Commons. Accessed via The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1959**

This thesis examines how Britons from differing social contexts engaged with Italian opera in the home, through notions of collection, patronage, spectatorship, and – in particular – as amateur performers of the genre themselves. It asks: how was Italian opera travelling into the home; who was consuming it there; and how was it being consumed? The period of focus is c.1780-1837, when the success of Italian opera at the King’s Theatre corresponded with the explosion of the printing market. During this time, Britons were able to develop vast music collections with broad social connotations, many of which featured Italian operatic music. By examining a range of these collections, contextualised by the day-to-day activities of the individuals and families who owned them, this thesis enables deeper understanding of how closely people were interacting with Italian opera in domestic spheres, and how far this engagement was rooted in intellectualism and broader cultural engagement. This thesis also uses domestic engagement with Italian opera as a tool for

examining multiple notions of identity, including British national identity, elite identity, and gendered identities.

On its establishment in London at the beginning of the eighteenth century, Italian opera was strongly connected with royal and noble circles, and public performances of the genre continued to be funded by and principally associated with these social spheres across the rest of the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth. Social connotations surrounding the public consumption of the genre, and of Italian culture in general, inevitably had implications for domestic consumption. In particular, choice of Italian opera as a genre for amateur performance was considered to reflect a family's wealth, social standing, and elite cultured taste. Whilst wealthy families adorned their homes with Italianate (and French) objects, furnishings, and collections, their daughters were provided with an Italian vocal education, sometimes aided by an Italian singing master. Italian operatic vocal music was often extremely technically demanding – especially in comparison with simpler English vocal music – thus performance of the genre demonstrated highly accomplished musical skill, which in turn was also an indication of social class. This thesis seeks to interrogate the relationship between Italian opera and elite identity, examining the connection between the genre and upper-class social spheres, and the tensions surrounding this relationship. It asks whether the genre was consumed in similar ways across differing social spheres, including within the elite sphere itself, and beyond. How far did the exclusivity of the King's Theatre audiences reflect consumption of Italian opera in the home? In essence, how far did the 'public' reflect the 'private'?

Engagement with Italian opera in the home, and with Continental European culture more broadly, reflects many of the intricacies of Georgian domestic culture and the challenges and restrictions of familial life. The years surrounding 1800 were extremely formative for Britain, both as a country and within the domestic sphere, with Britons facing a constant struggle between the development of national pride and the urge for cosmopolitanism and transnational movement. Italian opera was placed at the heart of these tensions, fuelling debates surrounding patriotism, xenophobia, femininity, masculinity, and, above all, bringing into question the behaviour and decisions of the ruling elite, who used the arts as a tool to reaffirm their power and status. By exploring domestic engagement with Italian opera at this time – both in aristocratic households as well as broader social spheres – this thesis provides new insights for scholarly understanding of cultural transfer and exchange, the reception of Italian culture in Britain, and historic relations between Britain and the rest of Western Europe.

This thesis also interrogates, challenges, and contributes to narratives surrounding British consumption, spectatorship, pedagogy, and accomplishment in the Georgian era. Criticism of spectators at the King's Theatre largely centered around their intellectual engagement with the genre; in particular, their understanding of the Italian language, and also of the music itself. But these criticisms are based on assumptions that do not take into account domestic engagement with the genre. This research sheds new light on how Italian opera was consumed in both public and

## Introduction

private spheres, assessing the knowledge and skill of amateur performers and their consequent familiarity with the genre as spectators. Consumers of material culture, too, have previously been criticised for their supposed superfluity, vanity, and lack of intellectual integrity. Moreover, women's domestic accomplishments have often been marginalised and discounted from discussions of meaningful domestic activity. The past decade has seen scholars begin to challenge these assumptions, highlighting the broader socio-cultural significances of domestic activities and engagement with material goods. However, music – in particular, Italian opera – has rarely featured in these discussions. The case studies explored in this thesis demonstrate the importance of considering Italian opera within broader studies of collection and consumption, whilst also shedding new light on spectator culture in professional operatic spheres. Exploring historic music collections and understanding the extent of their owners' intellectual engagement with foreign music is vital for understanding many of the extensive collections that survive in British country houses today, providing broader contexts for the significance of historic collection and the diversity of 'the home' in the Georgian era.

## Italian Opera and the British

The years surrounding 1800 were some of the most formative years in British history. They were a time of great cultural, political, and economic change and development, with industrialisation and urbanisation vastly accelerating alongside demands for reform. These years were shaped by near-continuous conflicts between Britain and France; in particular, between 1778-1783, 1793-1802, and 1803-1815, culminating with the Battle of Waterloo and the defeat of Napoleonic France.<sup>1</sup> Linda Colley has explored how, largely in response to these wars and also those earlier the eighteenth century, Britain developed a national identity and patriotism that continues to influence our society today.<sup>2</sup> Colley argues that the invention of 'Britishness' had both 'strengths and resilience' but also 'considerable and increasingly evident weaknesses', and this was played out across broad social spheres.<sup>3</sup> It was a particularly complicated and challenging time for the ruling elite, whose status was constantly challenged by the growing influence of the middle classes and developing class consciousness, the threat of invasion, and the blow of a rare defeat in war in 1776 and American's declaration of independence. Nonetheless, the aristocracy were instrumental in defining 'Britishness.' They actively placed themselves at the heart of developing notions of patriotism, in part by using their stately homes – and the material collections inside them – as part of the nation's

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<sup>1</sup> For further discussion of these conflicts and their impact on British society, see: Anthony Page, *Britain and the Seventy Years War, 1744-1815: Enlightenment, Revolution and Empire* (London & New York: Macmillan International Higher Education, 2014); and Jenny Uglow, *In These Times: Living in Britain through Napoleon's Wars, 1793–1815* (London: Faber & Faber, 2014).

<sup>2</sup> Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1992).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.



heritage.<sup>4</sup> Gender, too, played an important role in the development of national identity; masculinity was used as a tool for defining the British nation, placed in opposition to British perceptions of the ‘effeminate’ French.<sup>5</sup> Women, meanwhile, had to ‘come to terms with’ the demands of ‘Britishness’, as Colley argues; anxieties over the need for women to remain domesticated in order to preserve proclaimed national ideals – such as sexual morality, gentility, and maternity – were only fuelled by the increasing presence of women outside the home. Both men and women, from all social spheres, were placed under increasing pressures of conformity, whilst also witnessing and sometimes actively participating in progressive social developments.

The presence of European culture in Britain at this time was, naturally, a sensitive and controversial matter. The arts were placed at the heart of developing notions of British nationalism, with Italian opera in particular fuelling chauvinistic and xenophobic criticism and debate. Throughout the eighteenth century, Italian culture enjoyed a growing presence in Britain, largely due to increased travel, trade, and production of material goods, which resulted in the widespread consumption of European culture and the circulation of musical materials.<sup>6</sup> Engagement with the foreign arts in general was seen as a mark of wealth, luxury, and cultural refinement, and Italian opera in particular represented an exoticism only accessible to those who could afford it. William Weber argues that elite families ‘defined their high status by flaunting the internationalism of their culture’.<sup>7</sup> But this was met with forceful backlash from broader social spheres, particularly from those working in the British arts industry. Support of foreign culture – whether in the form of music, artwork, or other – fundamentally conflicted with growing notions of a national identity, and those in elite spheres were placed under increasing pressure to embrace native culture, particularly British artwork and music. For many, the Georgian era was a time of constant struggle

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<sup>4</sup> The national significance of the country house during this era is explored in: Christopher Christie, *The British Country House in the Eighteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999).

<sup>5</sup> Michèle Cohen, ‘Manliness, Effeminacy and the French: Gender and the Construction of National Character in Eighteenth Century England’, in *English Masculinities, 1660-1800*, ed. Tim Hitchcock and Michèle Cohen (London: Longman, 1999), 44-61.

<sup>6</sup> Charles Brand’s early study of the cultural relationship between England and ‘Italy’ during the early years of the romanticism movement shows how the Italian allure was reflected in British writing, arts, politics, and music. See: *Italy and the English Romantics: The Italianate Fashion in Early Nineteenth-Century England* (1957). These areas have since been expanded in: Rosamaria Loretti and Frank O’Gorman (eds.), *Britain and Italy in the Long Eighteenth Century: Literary and Art Theories* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010); and O’Gorman and Lia Guerra (eds.), *The Centre and the Margins in Eighteenth-Century British and Italian Cultures* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholar Publishing, 2014).

<sup>7</sup> William Weber, ‘Cosmopolitan, National, and Regional Identities in Eighteenth-Century European Musical Life’, in *The Oxford Handbook of the New Cultural History of Music*, ed. Jane F. Fulcher (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 213.

between enlightened cosmopolitanism and nationalism, and engagement with Italian opera epitomized this conflict.<sup>8</sup>

Criticisms of Italian opera were manifold. Fears of immorality were particularly prominent in the early eighteenth century, fuelled by the perceived sensuality of the genre and the dominance of *castrati* singers.<sup>9</sup> Some critics expressed concerns that association with the genre – and those performing it – would simultaneously emasculate men and destroy the innocence of women, having a detrimental effect on British virtue.<sup>10</sup> These criticisms gradually faded, but the genre's perceived irrationality was one that prevailed throughout the eighteenth century.<sup>11</sup> It was applied to the stylistic and linguistic elements of the genre as well as the expensive manner in which it was produced. Italian opera was considered, in all its aspects, to be effeminate; thus, much like many other continental art forms, it opposed British national values.<sup>12</sup> The elaborate vocal style of the genre was mocked by advocates of British vocal music; it was placed in stark contrast to simpler British vocal styles, and ridiculed in rival English-spoken theatre productions. Critics claimed that both the musical style and the foreign language of Italian opera were inaccessible to British audiences, and scorned visitors of the King's Theatre for attending productions that they supposedly could not understand. The extraordinary costs of staging Italian opera – in particular, the high fees paid to Italian singers, which were significantly higher than those paid to British performers – were also met with widespread condemnation. The vast numbers of migrated Continental musicians, singers, composers, and librettists in Britain during the eighteenth century were enthusiastically welcomed and admired by the opera-going elite, but their presence was also resented by British rivals. Support of foreign musicians – and foreign art – was considered by some to be profoundly unpatriotic. Similarly, whilst the exoticism of Italian singers was appealing and fashionable to those who had access to it, others found it alienating and unrelatable.

Criticisms of Italian opera and culture were broadcast in multiple ways, not least through the press and newspaper reviews of operas.<sup>13</sup> Naturally, those involved in the production of English-

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<sup>8</sup> For further details on developing notions of cosmopolitanism in Britain at this time, see: Roy Porter, *Enlightenment: Britain and the Creation of the Modern World* (London: Allen Lane, 2000); and Karen O'Brien, *Women and Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

<sup>9</sup> Associations with Catholicism further contributed to fears surrounding *castrati* singers. See: Martha Feldman, *The Castrato: Reflections on Natures and Kinds* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2016).

<sup>10</sup> For example, see: John Dennis, *An Essay on the Opera's After the Italian Manner: Which are about to be Establish'd on the English Stage: with Some Reflections on the Damage which They May Bring to the Publick* (J. Nutt, 1706).

<sup>11</sup> For further discussion, see: Caroline Foulks, 'Criticism of Italian Opera in Eighteenth-Century England' (Masters diss., Rice Institute, 1937).

<sup>12</sup> Thomas McGeary, 'Gendering opera: Italian opera as the feminine other in Britain, 1700–42', *Journal of Musicological Research* 14, no. 1 (1994), 17–34.

<sup>13</sup> Press reviews of opera from the era have been explored in detail. See: Theodore Fenner, *Opera in London: Views of the Press 1785–1830* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1994).

spoken theatre were particularly outspoken about their disdain for Italian opera, and regularly mocked the genre in their own productions. David Garrick neatly summarised British criticism and mockery of Italian opera – in particular, favouritism of foreign music and musicians instead of British – in this extract from his prologue to *The Faries* in 1755:

Excuse us first, for foolishly supposing,  
Your *countryman* could please you in composing;  
An op'ra too!—play'd by an *English* band,  
Wrote in a language which you understand—  
I dare not say, WHO wrote it—I could tell ye,  
To soften matters—*Signor Shakespearelli*.<sup>14</sup>

Earlier parts of this prologue also mocked those who travelled from the Continent to Britain to build their careers, and likewise Britons who spent considerable time abroad, calling them ‘foreign Englishmen’ and ‘English foreigners’ respectively. Mockery such as this also found its way into the music and libretti of English theatre productions; the most well-known example is Charles Dibdin’s ‘Mock Italian Song’, featured in his production of *The Oddities* (1789), of which both the text and music parody the composition and performance of an Italian operatic aria, by the comedic and exaggerated use of melismatic passages and operatic vocal conventions. This song was frequently re-printed, and many similar mock songs were published for domestic consumption, such as Upton’s ‘Pie House Orgies; A Mock Italian Song’, which merged texts from two Handelian arias, ‘Pious orgies’ and ‘Oh had I Jubal’s Lyre’.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, attitudes towards Italian opera and Italian culture more broadly were depicted in countless satirical prints of the era; Figure 0.2 shows ‘An Italian Family’ at home, reflecting British clichéd perceptions of the domestic and interior lives of foreign artists, whilst Figure 0.3 depicts two gullible Englishmen being deceived by an Italian art dealer.

Those who supported Italian opera were seemingly well aware of the criticism surrounding its presence in Britain, and indeed the mockery of themselves as its consumers. Scholars have previously noted the inclusion of ‘mock’ Italian songs alongside Italian operatic repertoire in surviving domestic music collections, such as in the collection at Tatton Park. Leena Rana argues that these pieces ‘clearly functioned as a joke amongst lovers of Italian opera’; in order to understand the satire, you first needed to understand the operatic culture that was being parodied,

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<sup>14</sup> This extract is taken from the prologue written and spoken by Garrick on Monday February 3rd 1755 at Drury Lane Theatre. It was later printed in *The Gentleman’s Magazine* in February 1755. See: Acton Frederick Griffith (ed.), *A Collection and Selection of English prologues [...] Volume III* (London: Fielding and Walker, 1779), 233-235.

<sup>15</sup> This is published in: *The Universal Songster, Or Museum of Mirth: Forming the Most Complete, Extensive, and Valuable Collection of Ancient and Modern Songs in the English Language [...] Vol. III* (London: Jones, 1828), 339.

and thus only those familiar with the genre would have been able to appreciate the humour.<sup>16</sup> Similarly, some families who actively engaged with Italian opera also collected satirical prints of Italian operatic culture. For example, the 3<sup>rd</sup> generation of the Buccleuch family, who serve as a principal case study for this thesis, developed an extensive collection of caricatures, including ‘An Italian Family’ from Figure 0.2 below, alongside depictions of opera spectators.<sup>17</sup> This indicates that they were not only aware of the criticism, but they were also comfortable with the narrative and enjoyed participating in it. Clearly, criticism of Italian opera and its consumers did not dampen its support in elite circles; if anything, it contributed to the increasingly widespread dissemination of Italian operatic culture across British spheres.



**Figure 0.2.** Rowlandson, ‘An Italian Family’ (1785). © *The Trustees of the British Museum*

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<sup>16</sup> Leena Rana, ‘Music and Elite Identity in the English Country House, c.1790-1840’ (PhD diss., University of Southampton, 2012), 114-124.

<sup>17</sup> This collection of caricatures and satirical prints survives today at Bowhill House, as part of the broader Buccleuch collection.



**Figure 0.3. Rowlandson, ‘Italian Picture Dealers Humbugging my Lord Anglaise’ (1812).**

© *The Trustees of the British Museum*

For those that could afford it, one of the most important ways of accessing Italian opera was on the Grand Tour. The Grand Tour dominated eighteenth-century British tourism, bringing men and women to the major European cities to enrich their education and pursue enlightenment. The Italian states in particular – including the popular destinations of Rome, Naples, Venice, and Florence – appealed to tourists through their classical architecture, artwork, sculpture, and ruins. But Modern ‘Italy’ was also one of the biggest attractions of the peninsula, and opera was at the heart of this allure. The Grand Tour has been covered extensively in scholarly literature; however, opera has

## Introduction

featured minimally and is often neglected entirely in these discussions, which has resulted in the vital role of music being overlooked in considerations of historical British travel and cultural transfer.<sup>18</sup> Attending the opera was one of the primary aims of travelling on the Continent; many tourists enjoyed performances in every town they visited, shaping their routes to see specific productions, especially those starring famous singers. Bologna, Milan, and Naples were amongst those states visited specifically for their operas, with British tourists often dominating the audiences at opera houses.<sup>19</sup> The importance of opera is evident in much of the travel writing from the era, especially by women. Recent research has paid particular attention to the presence and roles of women travellers, disregarding the previous stereotype of the Grand Tour as a masculine preserve. Travelling provided women not only with an opportunity to engage with the arts, but also to develop a deeper understanding of contemporary social and political issues, which would otherwise have been excluded from their formal education. Mirella Agorni has investigated how women writers understood, translated, and appropriated images of 'Italy' during the eighteenth century, demonstrating how travel writers such as Hester Piozzi (*née* Thrale, 1741-1821), positioned 'Italy' as a powerful symbolic foundation for the development of British ideas surrounding female education.<sup>20</sup>

Many travel journals and letters provide an insight into experiences of opera abroad. The travel diaries of Elizabeth Montagu, 3rd Duchess of Buccleuch are particularly revealing, reflecting the tendency of British tourists to be observant critics of the opera during their travels. The Duchess gave her opinions readily and in detail, on both the social culture of the opera house and the performances themselves, indicating her comprehensive experience as an opera-goer. For example, on January 12<sup>th</sup> 1787, she attended the opera at the Teatro di San Carlo in Naples, and commented:

The house was magnificently Illuminated for the King's Birthday & look'd better than it did at the Masquerade being quite full & every body dress'd en Gala. Upon the occasion the Queen sat opposite to us & not in her own box which is in the centre of the house & where she never goes. Three of the Princ<sup>esses</sup> with her. The opera upon the whole pleased me very much. The Tenor (David) has a charming voice acts well & sings with a great deal of taste. Roveaglio has not voice enough to be heard in so large a theatre. Danzi

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<sup>18</sup> For broad explorations of British travel and the allure of 'Italy', see: Jeremy Black, *Italy and the Grand Tour* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), and *The British Abroad: The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* (Stroud: Sutton, 2002). For analysis of how the Grand Tour contributed to the construction of personal, gendered, and national identities, see: Rosemary Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour: The British in Italy, c.1690–1820* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012). For a particular focus on women, see: Brian Dolan, *Ladies of the Grand Tour* (London: Harper Collins, 2001). And for discussion of British collection and consumption abroad, see: Emma Gleadhill, 'Travelling Trifles: The Souvenirs of Late Eighteenth-Century Female British Tourists' (PhD diss., Monash University, 2016).

<sup>19</sup> The Earl of Essex, upon his visit to the opera in Bologna in 1733, commented that a vast number of the audience were English. Noted in Black, *The British Abroad* [...] 279.

<sup>20</sup> Mirella Agorni, *Translating Italy for the Eighteenth Century: British Women, Translation and Travel Writing* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2002).



plays many wonderfull tricks but does not please me now any more than when she sang in London.<sup>21</sup>

These comments are reflective of those made by other travellers. Particular attention was paid to the furnishings; for example, Lady Anna Miller (*née* Riggs; 1741-1781), the English poet and travel writer, commented on the large size of the boxes at the Teatro di San Carlo, noting that they were exquisitely furnished to the taste of their owners, whilst Hester Piozzi noted during her travels that she preferred the elegant box curtains in Milan to the ‘heavy gilt ornaments’ in Naples.<sup>22</sup> Some accounts show clear preferences for specific composers and singers, which were undoubtedly influenced by their experiences of opera in London. Duchess Elizabeth seemed to favour music by Giovanni Paisiello during her travels, who enjoyed enormous success at the King’s Theatre in the final quarter of the eighteenth century. On November 4<sup>th</sup> 1786 she noted that the music by Paisiello was ‘very good’ and on February 1<sup>st</sup> 1787 she noted that the Burletta *Le gare generose* featured ‘pretty musick of Paisiellos’. Jeremy Black notes that it was common for British tourists to be critical in their observations of opera on the Continent, arguing that their high standards stemmed from ‘the high-level of musical culture in London and the well-developed awareness of operatic technique’. He states: ‘In opera, as in much else, British tourists were part of an international society in which cultural forms were common even if cultural suppositions, particularly in the case of religion, were very different’.<sup>23</sup>

Despite Black’s claim of an ‘international society’ and the obvious similarities between opera performances at home and abroad, British tourists still clearly noticed cultural and musical differences between the opera at home and on the Continent. For example, Charles Burney (1726-1814) observed that native opera enthusiasts only attended the opera when a new production was being staged, unlike in London, when the same audiences would attend repeat productions throughout the season.<sup>24</sup> Some states also only produced comic opera, saving *opera seria* for the carnival season. Furthermore, in addition to harsh comparisons of singers, some tourists also noted orchestral differences; for example, Charles Burney claimed that the orchestras in Milan played significantly louder than in London, and he found it difficult to hear the singers.<sup>25</sup> Bearing these observations in mind, Black’s argument that Italian opera on the Continent was not a new experience for British tourists is flawed. He claims: ‘Whereas French cooking and Italian opera

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<sup>21</sup> Elizabeth Montagu, 3rd Duchess of Buccleuch, Travel Journals (1786-1787), 4 vols. (private collection). Transcribed by Gerald Fitzpatrick and Jeanice Brooks. Entry from 12<sup>th</sup> January 1787.

<sup>22</sup> Lady Anna Rigg Miller, *Letters from Italy, Describing the Manners, Customs, Antiquities, Paintings, &c., of the Country, in 1770–1, to a Friend residing in France*, Vol. 2 (Edward and Charles Dilly, 1777), 312; Hester Lynch Piozzi, *Observations and Reflections Made in the Course of a Journey through France, Italy, and Germany* (London: A. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1789), 72.

<sup>23</sup> Black, *The British Abroad* [...], 284.

<sup>24</sup> Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in France and Italy: Or, The Journal of a Tour Through Those Countries, Undertaken to Collect Materials for a General History of Music* (London: T. Becket, 1773), 242.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 108.

could be sampled in London, it was necessary to visit Italy in order to appreciate, to any degree, Italian art and architecture'.<sup>26</sup> Opera may not have been as novel to British tourists as some of the original artworks and ruins that they encountered, but it certainly wasn't the same experience as provided by the King's Theatre. Much like Italian paintings and architecture, which increasingly dominated elite domestic spheres back at home, travelling to the Continent enabled British opera enthusiasts to consume opera productions in their original forms, or as Continental adaptations, rather than as adaptations for the King's Theatre in London, and they were also able to enjoy performances from stars of the opera that had not yet travelled to England.

Meanwhile, back at home, Italian opera had taken London's theatrical scene by storm. The genre became popular in London after the premiere of Handel's *Rinaldo* in 1711, and it was performed almost exclusively at the King's Theatre across the eighteenth century.<sup>27</sup> Upon the genre's establishment in London, it was immediately associated with aristocratic spheres, particularly after the creation of The Royal Academy of Music in 1722, which was designed by a group of aristocrats to secure the longevity of Italian opera on the London stage.<sup>28</sup> The directors and subscribers of the Academy were drawn from the nobility and landed gentry, enabling them to exercise the artistic patronage that was expected in their social circles. Ticket prices implied a clear target audience, and operas were undoubtedly produced for the enjoyment of the elite; this is exemplified through the Academy's opera librettos, which historians have seen as an attempt to glorify the monarch and the ruling social order.<sup>29</sup> Throughout the rest of the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth century, the King's Theatre continued to rely almost solely on aristocratic financial support. After the fall of the Royal Academy in 1728, Italian opera experienced a lull in popularity in Britain, resulting in Handel's neglect of the genre in favour of English oratorio.<sup>30</sup> However, the mid-century establishment of comic Italian opera on the London stage – helped by the extraordinary popularity of Niccolò Piccinni's *La buona figliuola* in 1766 – appeased

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<sup>26</sup> Black, *The British Abroad* [...], 287.

<sup>27</sup> The theatre was known as the 'Queen's Theatre' prior to the accession of George I in 1714.

<sup>28</sup> The Academy was founded as a joint stock company and it was financed by subscription. It held many similarities to court opera, but the British constitutional monarchy did not allow court opera based on the Continental model, thus it instead became a commercial organisation. See: Robert D. Hume and Judith Milhous, 'Handel's London – The Theatres', in *The Cambridge Companion to Handel*, ed. D. Burrows (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 55-63. See also: Jane Glover, *Handel in London: The Making of a Genius* (London: Pan MacMillan, 2018); and Thomas McGeary, *The Politics of Opera in Handel's Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

<sup>29</sup> Winton Dean, *Handel and the Opera Seria* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), 30.

<sup>30</sup> Charles Burney blamed the lack of impressive singers for this mid-century decline; others argued that London productions of operas did not compare well to those on the Continent, which British opera-enthusiasts were increasingly able to enjoy on the Grand Tour. See: Burney, *A General History of Music: From the Earliest Ages to the Present Period (1789)*, ed. Frank Mercer, Vol. 1 (London: Foulis & Co., 1935), 831. See also: Oliver Goldsmith, 'Of the Opera in England', in *The Bee: Being Essays on the Most Interesting Subjects*, ed. Oliver Goldsmith (London: J. Wilkie, 1759), 142; and Kaylyn Kinder, 'Eighteenth-century reception of Italian opera in London' (Masters diss., University of Louisville, 2013).



audiences, and gave new life to opera culture in Britain.<sup>31</sup> Across the second half of the eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century, the King's Theatre became one of the most active Italian opera establishments in Europe.<sup>32</sup> This is not to say it didn't experience difficulties; waves of financial problems meant there were frequent changes in opera management, and even some brief venue changes after the theatre was destroyed in a fire in 1789.<sup>33</sup> But the establishment thrived when it received strong financial support from upper-class spheres, particularly in the 1780s and 1790s when subscriptions from the nobility and gentry increased dramatically.<sup>34</sup>

Many opera scholars share Black's view that performances at the King's Theatre were a close representation of opera on the Continent. Curtis Price, Judith Milhous, and Robert D. Hume argue:

To attend the King's Theatre in the late eighteenth century was to encounter a small part of Italy transported on to the south-west side of the Haymarket. Management aimed to give well-travelled members of the nobility and gentry essentially the same operatic experience to be had at La Scala or La Fenice.<sup>35</sup>

However, the word 'aimed' here is crucial; to contend that opera goers in London enjoyed the same experience as opera goers on the Continent is to overlook the complexities of cultural transfer in eighteenth-century Europe. Even when staging the same operas as Continental establishments, with the same singers employed to perform them, productions at the King's Theatre still underwent processes of adaptation and anglicisation, and these processes were often extremely severe. In fact, one of the most prominent forms of entertainment in eighteenth-century London theatre was pastiche (or *pasticcio*) operas, which freely borrowed music from multiple works by different composers to create new productions.<sup>36</sup> The trend for pastiche operas declined in the early-mid nineteenth century, concurring with the growing recognition for originality and the protection of

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<sup>31</sup> Catherine Garry, 'Piccinni's *La buona figliuola* in London' (Masters diss., University of Southampton, 2016); and Saskia Willaert, 'Italian Comic Opera in London, 1760-1770' (PhD diss., King's College, University of London, 1999).

<sup>32</sup> Frederick C. Petty, *Italian opera in London 1760-1800* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Press, 1980), ix.

<sup>33</sup> After the fire in 1789, there was an interim season at the 'Little' theatre in the Haymarket (and also later at Covent Garden, in June-July 1790), before the launch of the Pantheon as an opera house. However, in 1792, after just one season, the Pantheon was also burnt to the ground, and Italian opera moved back to the re-built King's Theatre. See: Curtis Price, Judith Milhous, and Robert D. Hume, *Italian Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century London, Volume I: The King's Theatre, Haymarket 1778-1791* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995); and Milhous, Gabriella Dideriksen, and Hume, *Italian Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century London, Volume II: The Pantheon Opera and its Aftermath 1789-1795* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000).

<sup>34</sup> Subscription numbers are unclear prior to the 1780s when they began to be published. However, Price, Milhous, and Hume note that from the establishment of the Royal Academy until 1778, the opera was 'lucky to get 200 subscribers', although numbers rose in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century (see *Italian Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century London, Vol. I* [...], 6-8). Subscription lists indicate that all subscribers were from the nobility or landed gentry class.

<sup>35</sup> Price, Milhous, and Hume, *Italian Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century London, Vol. I* [...], 1.

<sup>36</sup> Alison DeSimone, *The Power of Pastiche: Musical Miscellany and Cultural Identity in Early Eighteenth-Century England* (Clemson, South Carolina: Clemson University Press, 2021).

music as intellectual property, and instead ‘adaptations’ became the norm.<sup>37</sup> But even when Continental works were presented at the King’s Theatre in their entirety, they were nearly always subject to changes. Opera stars frequently inserted substitution arias into performances, often bravura showpieces that showcased the singer’s virtuosic vocal talent; this meant performances could vary each night.<sup>38</sup> London theatre was also heavily scrutinized by the censors; every production was subject to review, and the censors could reject or alter the script as they saw fit. This meant that Italian opera could not circulate freely in London; anything considered to be profane, blasphemous, or challenging the status quo or society’s hierarchies (including gender hierarchies) would be rejected, meaning lots of Continental texts were never performed publicly in the British capital.<sup>39</sup>

The opera house was considered to be the public home of high society. Attending the opera was an important social activity in elite spheres and, for many aristocrats, financial support of the King’s Theatre was a means by which they could publicly exert their artistic patronage. In particular, it was an important means of patronage for women, who were commonly named as the owners of boxes. The Duchess of Buccleuch is an example of a woman who provided extensive financial support of the theatre, suggesting that she had a genuine desire to see Italian opera on the stage in London, and wanted the King’s Theatre to remain open after each of the institution’s many financial crises.<sup>40</sup> Much attention has been paid to audience behaviour at the King’s Theatre, particularly in the boxes, which were a central aspect of the culture of the opera house. Firstly, they indicated social hierarchy; the position of a box demonstrated superiority within aristocratic circles. It was particularly important for aristocratic women to ‘be seen’ at the opera; with the lights kept up in the auditorium, ladies in boxes were on display as much as the stars on the stage, adorned in lavish gowns and feathered headdresses. Jennifer Hall-Witt argues that ‘the spectacle in the pit and the boxes was one of the evening’s central attractions’, allowing the auditorium to serve as an extension of the stage, and vice versa.<sup>41</sup> In some aspects, opera boxes might also be considered an

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<sup>37</sup> Christina Fuhrmann, *Foreign Opera at the London Playhouses: From Mozart to Bellini* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

<sup>38</sup> Hilary Poriss, *Changing the Score: Arias, Prima Donnas, and the Authority of Performance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

<sup>39</sup> From 1775-1814 the theatre censor was John Larpent, but he didn’t speak Italian, so all operatic censoring happened informally through his wife Anna. See: David Worrall, *Theatrical Revolution: Drama, Censorship and Romantic Period Subcultures 1773–1832* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

<sup>40</sup> Wiebke Thormählen, ‘See and Be Seen: Ladies Attending the Opera’, in *A Passion for Opera: The Duchess and the Georgian Stage*, ed. Jeanice Brooks, Katrina Faulds, and Wiebke Thormählen (Buccleuch Living Heritage Trust, 2019), exhibition catalogue, 46-59. Thormählen notes that Duchess Elizabeth subscribed to a box nearly every year during her married life, attending the latest opera and ballet productions often every week during the main season. In the 1791 season, she held two boxes, showing her support for the new venture at the Pantheon. Payments for the box – which were considerable, with accounts showing payments for £157 10s in the late eighteenth century and rising to £252 in the nineteenth century – came out of the Duchess’s personal accounts.

<sup>41</sup> Jennifer Hall-Witt, *Fashionable Acts: Opera and Elite Culture in London, 1780-1880* (Durham, NH: University of New Hampshire Press; Hanover: University Press of New England, 2007), 4.

extension of the home; they were used to entertain associates and attract potential husbands. Hall-Witt describes the activities of opera-goers:

Aristocrats came to the opera to collect the latest gossip, assess the fashionable world, and put themselves on display. Because they knew so many other subscribers, who sat in their accustomed boxes, they could attribute significance to the movement in and out of boxes, which offered subtle clues about changing social networks. During the performance, one could find opera-goers engaging in the rituals of courtship, spying on potential mates, hotly debating politics, and discussing the merits of the new singer.<sup>42</sup>

This assessment of aristocratic motivations for attending the opera in the late eighteenth century, whilst true, does not necessarily paint the full picture. The opera house was, indeed, a platform for social exhibition, but other potential reasons for attending the opera, such as genuine interest in and intellectual understanding of the genre, must be considered. However, this description accurately reflects commentary of the era, which was nearly always negative in its portrayal of King's Theatre audiences. Figure 0.4 is stereotypical of audience satires of the era; it depicts a woman in an opera box – most likely a dancer – focused on other audience members rather than the opera itself, using her opera glasses to spy on high-profile men. Many other depictions of women in boxes focused heavily on their fashion, such as in Figure 0.5, which was, undoubtedly, a central aspect of London opera culture. But very few focus on their reaction to the performance. Protocols during performances and the activities of audience members did not help to ease negative perceptions; women were expected to remain in their boxes, whilst the men moved around, and there are countless depictions of men leering at female attendees and performers, such as in Figure 0.6. Thormählen has questioned how far elite women would have enjoyed the London opera experience, given the restrictions placed on their movements during long evening performances, the weight of their headdresses, and the small spaces of the opera boxes themselves.<sup>43</sup> But the generous support provided by patrons such as the Duchess of Buccleuch suggests that, for some spectators, genuine passion for attending the opera equalled, if not surpassed, social expectations for them to be there.<sup>44</sup> Moving into the nineteenth century, Hall-Witt argues that 'chatty, performative spectatorship' in the Georgian era was gradually replaced with 'quiet, polite listening'. Hall-Witt also begins to challenge many previous criticisms of spectator culture c.1800, offering views similar to those expressed by Weber with regard to how far people 'listened' to performances, arguing that people understood and paid more attention to performances than previously assumed.<sup>45</sup> But neither of these studies consider the musical and linguistic understanding of the audience, which would provide new perspectives for their arguments.

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Thormählen, 54-55.

<sup>44</sup> Hall-Witt argues that opera attendance was not a social duty, although she justifies this argument by claiming that this was because the '*habitués*' repertoire presented throughout the season meant there was no need for opera goers to attend every performance, nor pay attention to the whole performance. See Hall-Witt, 4-5.

<sup>45</sup> Weber, 'Did People Listen in the 18th Century?', *Early Music* 25, no. 4 (1997): 678-91.

The exclusivity of the King's Theatre has also been examined closely in previous scholarly literature. Audience composition must be analysed in two parts: firstly, those that owned and filled the boxes, and secondly, those that sat in the pit or the gallery. Boxes, naturally, were owned by the wealthiest and most influential of opera-goers, including royalty, aristocracy, society hostesses, courtiers, military officers, and political patrons. Women played an authoritative role in the composition of box personnel, acting as gate-keepers and inviting selected members of fashionable society they deemed to be suitable and of interest. Sometimes, these invitations had political motivations, whilst other guests were important figures of British art culture, such as Horace Walpole and Fanny Burney.<sup>46</sup> The pit – a much harder audience composite to define, due to lack of records – generally consisted of nobility, gentry, and a 'miscellaneous mix' of middle-classes, journalists, artists, and often high-class courtesans. Tickets for the pit averaged at half a guinea in the 1780s, and those that could not afford it moved upstairs to the gallery. However, whilst middle-class audience members did exist, they were in the minority, and businessmen were generally not amongst box subscribers. The King's Theatre has often been compared to a private club, with tightly controlled and exclusive membership. It was the public home for the *beau monde* – defined by Weber as 'a milieu significantly larger, more diversified and less intimate than that of a court, but at the same time one much smaller and more distinct than the upper classes of the metropolis such as developed... in the second half of the nineteenth century.'<sup>47</sup> It was also a club in which the vast majority of people knew each other, forming a tightly-woven social, cultural, and political network.<sup>48</sup> It was not until the mid-nineteenth century that the managers of the King's Theatre began to appeal to the broader public, as part of the growing commercialisation of the opera house. Changes in audience behaviour across the era – as outlined by Hall-Witt – did not coincide with the rise of audience members from outside the elite sphere; in fact, the cost of seating in the pit and gallery actually increased in the first half of the nineteenth century, meaning those with lower incomes could not afford to attend, whilst aristocratic attendance remained stable, if not increased due to the growing capacity of the opera house.<sup>49</sup> However, changes in King's Theatre attendance and subscription did reflect broader changes in the composite of the ruling elite, specifically the broadening of this social and political sphere and the increasing inclusion of untitled families.

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<sup>46</sup> For example, the Duchess of Gordon invited the Prime Minister to her box to support her endeavour to become the leading conservative party hostess. See: Hall-Witt, 71; 4.

<sup>47</sup> Weber, 'Musical Culture and the Capital City: The Epoch of the Beau Monde in London, 1700-1870', in *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 77. For further discussion of the composite and activities of the *beau monde*, see: Hannah Greig, *The Beau Monde: Fashionable Society in Georgian London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

<sup>48</sup> Weber notes that more than three quarters of the 350 subscribers to the King's Theatre in 1783 feature individually in the diaries of Lady Mary Coke (1727-1811). See 'Musical Culture and the Capital City [...]', 78.

<sup>49</sup> Many families held the same boxes for several years, and sometimes over an entire generation, which contributed to the rigidity of the composition of King's Theatre audiences. See: Hall-Witt, 114-116.



Figure 0.4. George Cruikshank (1792-1878), 'May I die if there isn't Sir George!!' (W.S. Fores, 1817). Harry Beard Collection, given by Isobel Beard.

© Victoria & Albert Museum, London





**Figure 0.5. 'A Side Box at the Opera' (S. W. Fores, 1784).**

© The Trustees of the British Museum





**Figure 0.6. Isaac Cruikshank (1764-1811), ‘A peep at the Parisot! with Q in the corner!’ (S. W. Fores, 1796). © The Trustees of the British Museum**

The King’s Theatre was not the only public performance venue where Italian opera made its mark. Operatic music could also be heard at concerts, both in London and across the regions. There were many different types of concerts. The most prestigious and expensive concerts in London included the subscription concerts in the West End, which were held weekly and avoided clashing with opera performances at the King’s Theatre, and the Concerts of Ancient Music, which focused on music at least 20 years old. The organisers of the latter concerts promoted what they believed to be the national musical taste; whilst Italian music was not completely excluded, programmes featured high proportions of English music and Handelian oratorio.<sup>50</sup> Other types of concerts included but were not limited to Handelian festivals, oratorio series, bourgeois concerts in the City, and benefit concerts.<sup>51</sup> Benefit concerts were particularly important for the spread of operatic culture; foreign

<sup>50</sup> Simon McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), Chapter 2. For further details on the Concerts of Ancient Music and their broader social-cultural influence, see: Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual and Ideology* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992).

<sup>51</sup> McVeigh, *Concert Life* [...], Chapters 2-3.

## Introduction

opera stars often used them to further establish themselves in musical and social networks.<sup>52</sup>

Benefit concerts were sometimes given in the form of opera performances, often with newly-added scenes, complimenting the concurrent King's Theatre season's repertoire. In general, Italian operatic music played an important role in concerts across the metropolis, dominating the repertoire of many vocal concerts, particularly after the death of Handel. Significantly, though, operatic concert repertoire was not tied to the repertoire of the corresponding season at the King's Theatre; instead, arias were often selected miscellaneously from operas staged over the previous decades, in London and abroad.<sup>53</sup>

Simon McVeigh argues that concerts, much like music publishing and instrument selling, have traditionally been regarded as a 'luxury product spreading into new middle-class markets', but in fact they developed in a very different manner. McVeigh notes they were undoubtedly commercialised, but the prices and ticketing systems of the principal subscription and benefit concerts, as well as the programming choices (which largely featured foreign music and prestigious virtuoso soloists), were designed – much like those of the King's Theatre – to maintain social exclusivity.<sup>54</sup> The extent of bourgeois participation in concert life – in particular, their influence over choice of repertoire – has been subject to debate in previous years. This topic has been explored in detail by Rachel Cowgill, who uses the reception of Mozart's music in London to demonstrate the significance of 'the City', in opposition to the West End, in the spread of operatic music. Cowgill argues that the delay in introducing Mozart's operas at the King's Theatre triggered a 'sparring of authority in matters of musical taste between opera patrons from opposite sides of the metropolis', with Mozart's operatic music instead being staged in concerts in the City.<sup>55</sup> This not only proves that demand for Italian opera was coming from broader social spheres, but also that the bourgeois were appropriating operatic music 'not by hanging on to the coat-tails of the aristocracy, but deliberately, self-consciously, and on their own terms', invading a 'traditional bastion of aristocratic musical taste'.<sup>56</sup>

The cities of Bath and Edinburgh also played extremely significant roles in the development of concert life and the spread of Italian opera, reflecting their broader prominence in the shaping of British music culture during the eighteenth century. In both of these cities, individual personnel –

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<sup>52</sup> Alison DeSimone, 'Strategies of Performance: Benefits, Professional Singers, and Italian Opera in the Early Eighteenth Century', in *Music and the Benefit Performance in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Matthew Gardner and Alison DeSimone (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 162-184.

<sup>53</sup> For an illustrative example, see McVeigh, *Concert Life* [...], 108.

<sup>54</sup> McVeigh, *Concert Life* [...], xiii.

<sup>55</sup> 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: Essays in Honour of Cyril Ehrlich*, ed. Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 42.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid, 64. See also: Cowgill, 'Mozart's Music in London, 1764-1829: Aspects of Reception and Canonicity' (PhD diss., King's College London, 2000).



specifically, migrated Italian musicians and impresarios – played a crucial role in the formation of localised Italian operatic culture. In Bath, concerts were managed and financed by the *castrato* Venanzio Rauzzini (1746-1810) from the early 1780s until his death in 1810.<sup>57</sup> Naturally, under his leadership, foreign musicians dominated the Bath stage and Italian operatic music had a strong presence in concert programming. Rauzzini was responsible for introducing some of the greatest stars of the King’s Theatre to the city, including Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci (c.1735-1790), Nancy Storace (1765-1817), and Angelica Catalani (1780-1849). Another migrated Italian musician, Natale Corri (1765-1822), held a similar monopoly over concert life in Edinburgh. The Scottish capital – in particular, the Edinburgh Musical Society – was instrumental in bringing Italian musicians to Britain in second half of the eighteenth century, not least including Tenducci and the entire Corri family.<sup>58</sup> The Society also staged concerts at St Cecilia’s Hall, with programmes heavily featuring Italian operatic music. After the collapse of the Society at the turn of the nineteenth century, Corri took over concert-management in the city and, like Rauzzini, used his position to further promote Italian opera. Katrina Faulds has explored the significance of patronage in Edinburgh concert life, showing how the 3<sup>rd</sup> generation of the Buccleuch family – in particular, Duchess Elizabeth – were extremely supportive of Corri’s initiative, and heavily patronised many of his concerts, in particular the benefits given by Catalani.<sup>59</sup> For example, as noted by Faulds, members of the Buccleuch family attended nearly every Edinburgh concert by Catalani in 1807 and 1808, which featured a selection of Italian arias as well as some larger operatic extracts.<sup>60</sup> Faulds argues that the Duchess played a particularly active and significant role in the stability of Edinburgh’s operatic life, contributing to the city’s ‘distinctly cosmopolitan feel’.<sup>61</sup> In addition to Edinburgh and Bath, regional concert programmes and festivals also gained prominence over the course of the eighteenth century.<sup>62</sup> Italian operatic music was significantly less prominent in these programmes, but it still made its mark. Although instrumental music and Handel oratorio dominated programming, miscellaneous Italian arias – often listed as ‘some favourite Italian songs’ – were frequently inserted as interludes in-between the main repertoire.<sup>63</sup> This shows that Italian opera had spread far beyond the realms of the London stage; it was being performed publicly

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<sup>57</sup> Paul Rice, *Venanzio Rauzzini in Britain: Castrato, Composer, and Cultural Leader* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 2015). In particular see Chapter 7, ‘The Bath Concerts’.

<sup>58</sup> Jennifer Macleod, ‘The Edinburgh Musical Society: Its Membership and Repertoire 1728-1797’ (PhD diss., University of Edinburgh, 2001); Sonia Tingali Baxter, ‘Italian Music and Musicians in Edinburgh c.1720-1800: A Historical and Critical Study’ (PhD diss., University of Glasgow, 1999).

<sup>59</sup> Katrina Faulds, ‘Opera in Edinburgh’, in *A Passion for Opera* [...], 105-117.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 114.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 115. For further discussion on Edinburgh’s vibrant musical life, see: Thomas Hayward Edwards, ‘“So Much Neglected?” An Investigation and Re-Evaluation of Vocal Music in Edinburgh 1750-1800’ (PhD diss., University of Edinburgh, 2015).

<sup>62</sup> Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh (eds.), *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

<sup>63</sup> For example, repertoire of this kind often featured in local Hampshire concerts, as catalogued in Appendix 1 of Samantha Carrasco’s doctoral thesis ‘The Austen Family Music Books and Hampshire Music Culture, 1770-1820’ (PhD diss., University of Southampton, 2013).

throughout the country and consumed by broad-ranging audiences, not just by the *beau monde* of the King's Theatre.

The infiltration of Italian operatic vocal music on the professional British stage, both at the King's Theatre and in concerts, meant that British audiences were increasingly exposed to the Italian style of singing. The Italian style – often referred to today as *bel canto* – was recognised for its focus on expressive delivery, utilising ornamentation and other decorative vocal techniques alongside virtuosic passages to convey drama and emotion. The popularity of the Italian style developed alongside the popularity of Italian opera in England, peaking in the second half of the eighteenth century until its eminence began to fade in the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>64</sup> Despite its dominance throughout the eighteenth century, it was often criticised and placed in fierce competition with simpler, English styles. Many critics of Italian vocal music disparaged the use of excessive vocal embellishment, which they claimed disfigured both the melodic line and the words themselves. Unfavourable comparisons were drawn with English vocal styles, which focused more heavily on literary values and demanded clear pronunciation of the words. Some British vocal pedagogues were amongst those contributing to criticisms of the Italian style; for example, Joseph Corfe argued that the large quantities of vocal embellishments and florid passages heard in Italian operatic performances distracted from rhetorical expression.<sup>65</sup> In many ways, criticism of the Italian vocal style was representative of broader criticism of Italian culture in Britain; it was considered by some to be excessive, flamboyant, and meretricious.

However, regardless of this criticism, the Italian style of singing dominated vocal pedagogy during the era in question, and many professional English singers adopted the style with great success. Increased attention has been paid in recent years to the role of the 'Italian masters' who taught professional and amateur students to sing in the Italian style. Brianna Robertson-Kirkland has examined the teachings of Venanzio Rauzzini, comparing these teachings with broader pedagogical trends of the era and analysing the different approaches used by English and Italian singing masters c.1800 for the cultivation of the Italian style.<sup>66</sup> Robertson-Kirkland has also examined how Rauzzini's professional British pupils – such as Elizabeth Billington (1765-1818),

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<sup>64</sup> Mollie Sands, 'The Teaching of Singing in Eighteenth Century England', in *Proceedings of the Musical Association* 70th Sess. (1943-1944), 11-33.

<sup>65</sup> See: Joseph Corfe, *A Treatise on Singing explaining in the Most Simple Manner, all the Rules for Learning to Sing by Note* (London: To be had at the principal music shops in London & Bath, & at Mr. Corfe's, Salisbury, 1799). Several other eminent British pedagogues, such as Charles Arnold and Robert Smith, agreed with him, and their views also reflect much of the critical commentary on Italian opera in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. See: Charles Arnold, *An Introduction to the Art of Singing* (London: Bedford Musical Repository, 1830); and Robert A. Smith, *An Introduction to Singing* (Edinburgh: R. Purdie, c.1828). See also: Goldsmith, 249-50.

<sup>66</sup> Brianna Robertson-Kirkland, 'Are we all Castrati? Venanzio Rauzzini: "The Father of a New Style in English Singing"' (PhD diss., University of Glasgow, 2016). Mollie Sands has also explored the career of Rauzzini, and of eighteenth-century singing masters more broadly, but since her publication on the latter topic in 1942, Italian singing masters in Britain c.1800 have not been studied collectively.

Nancy Storace (1765-1817), and Michael Kelly (1762-1826) – were not only responsible for popularising the ornamented Italian style, but also for naturalising it so that it became the standard singing style in Britain.<sup>67</sup> Robertson-Kirkland explores how these singers ‘incorporated an Italianate approach enabling better accuracy, consistency, and flexibility, while also maintaining textual clarity and feeling typical of the English style’.<sup>68</sup> However, she argues that this blending of the two styles did not indicate the invention of a new vocal pedagogy; instead, it reflected the ‘changing fashions’ and the broader movement towards Italianate singing in English vocal spheres. By the end of the eighteenth century, many female sopranos who were specifically associated with the English style of singing found it necessary to Italianise their sound and style of performance in order to progress their careers on the English stage.

In addition to their influence on vocal pedagogy, Italian masters also played important roles across broader aspects of the British music industry, as performers, composers, businessmen, and impresarios. Many enjoyed great fame and celebrity status, particularly *castrati* singers who starred on the London stage alongside their careers as pedagogues. For example, Rauzzini’s colleague and fellow *castrato* Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci, another eminent vocal pedagogue of the era working in Britain, has been described as a ‘rock star’ of his day, and he enjoyed a significant female following.<sup>69</sup> Tenducci’s professional career and personal life have been explored in great depth, although his teaching methods have not been studied alongside biographical investigations. A recent English translation of the memoirs of Giacomo Gotifredo Ferrari (1763-1842) provides valuable insight into another key figure in vocal pedagogy, shedding light on how Italian masters forged their networks in Britain and the role they played in aristocratic households.<sup>70</sup> But there is much to be uncovered about foreign pedagogues and how they built their careers in Britain. This thesis aims to contribute to filling these gaps, providing new information on Domenico Corri (1746-1825) in particular, whose career has been less explored than his aforementioned contemporaries. Whilst existing studies of vocal pedagogues focus predominantly on their role in professional spheres, this thesis uses Italian masters as a tool for understanding how Italian operatic culture travelled into British homes, and how it was consumed there.

Despite its controversies, Italian opera remained at the forefront of British music and theatre culture throughout the eighteenth century, enjoying peak success c.1800 before gradually infiltrating the English-speaking theatres in the first half of the nineteenth century. The ways in

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<sup>67</sup> Some of these students starred in both English and Italian opera productions, becoming the first British-born singers to work competitively alongside Italian stars at the King’s Theatre.

<sup>68</sup> Robertson-Kirkland, *Venanzio Rauzzini and the Birth of a New Style in English Singing: Scandalous Lessons* (Abingdon: Routledge, Forthcoming 2021).

<sup>69</sup> Helen Berry, *The Castrato and His Wife* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

<sup>70</sup> Deborah Heckert (ed.), *Pleasing and Interesting Anecdotes: An Autobiography of Giacomo Gotifredo Ferrari (1763-1842)*, trans. Stephen Thomson Moore (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2017).

## Introduction

which British people engaged with Italian opera outside the home during the Georgian era demonstrate the increasing spread of European culture in Britain across the eighteenth century, providing important insights into the tensions surrounding engagement with the foreign arts during a time of important national development. Each of the topics explored in this introduction – the development of a British national identity; the Grand Tour; the King's Theatre; concert life; and the Italian style of singing – have already been investigated in detail by other scholars, with the role of the ruling elite often at the forefront of discussions. But it is essential to place these topics alongside each other to fully understand how engagement with Italian opera in public spheres both contributed to and contradicted developing notions of a British identity. Moreover – and with particular significance for this thesis – it is fundamental to understand each of these topics in order to understand how Italian opera travelled into British homes and consequently impacted the domestic sphere, which in turn was an important aspect of 'Britishness' c.1800. Understanding how people engaged with opera outside the home is vital for understanding how they engaged with it inside the home; in essence, how the 'private' reflected the 'public' and vice versa. This thesis will show how engagement with Italian opera in professional spheres both reflected but also differed with engagement with the genre in the home, and it will explore what this can tell us about notions of domesticity in Britain c.1800.

## Italian Opera and Cultural Transfer

One of the central themes of this thesis is cultural transfer. The term was coined in the 1980s and has since developed into an independent field of research. It originated in opposition to comparative studies, wherein cultures were considered in isolation, and instead focuses on cross-cultural communication, fluidity, and transmission. The field has been advanced by postcolonial theorists such as Homi Bhabha and Edward Said, who have brought concepts of hybridity and *métissage* to the forefront of cultural understanding. In recent theory, the idea of cultural transfer has sometimes been replaced by concepts of cultural exchange or cultural translation, both of which move away from notions of national demarcation and linear cultural movement; the former emphasises the multifaceted and circular movement of culture, whilst the latter considers cultural transfer as a process of translation, with increased focus on adaptation, reinterpretation, and negotiation. The concepts of cultural transfer and exchange have begun to be incorporated into musicological research, with Annegret Fauser and Mark Everist bringing theories of cultural transfer to historical musicology and opera studies, and Jin-Ah Kim highlighting further ways that cultural transfer concepts could inform future musicological research.<sup>71</sup> Opera studies more broadly

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<sup>71</sup> Annegret Fauser and Mark Everist (eds.), *Music, Theater, and Cultural Transfer: Paris, 1830-1914* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009); Jin-Ah Kim, 'Cultural Transfer as a Branch of Research for Music Sociology and Music Anthropology', *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 46, no. 1 (2015): 43-53.

have focused closely on ideas of migration, adaptation, and cultural interpretation, but rarely are these notions placed within the context of modern cultural transfer theories.<sup>72</sup> There is a need for current trends and recent developments within cultural transfer studies to be embraced and incorporated across broader musicological spheres.<sup>73</sup>

Since its inception, agency has been a primary focus of cultural transfer ideology and research. The importance of agents within cultural transfer, exchange, and translation is highlighted in this thesis. Kim defines agents as those who ‘brought about the transfer of values, ideas, norms, or material resources – both intended and unintended, one directional and reciprocated.’<sup>74</sup> However, she notes that musicological studies have focused solely on the activities, motivations, and interests of cultural agents as mediators of cultural transfer, rather than on the forms and scope of their actions. Moreover, she advocates for further research into agents that represented and influenced broader social classes, moving beyond the focus on the intelligentsia and upper-class spheres. Indeed, education is a topic commonly connected to studies of agency and cultural transfer, with many publications exploring the vitality of agency within the circulation of knowledge in eighteenth and nineteenth-century Europe.<sup>75</sup> However, the focus has always been on elite circles, meaning the broader socio-cultural impact of agents has the potential to be overlooked. Thomas Adam argues that agents ‘selected, redefined, modified, transferred, and integrated ideas and objects into the receiving society’ and, in the process, ideas and objects were ‘transformed’ in line with the ‘agent’s desire to fit an idea or object into the receiving society’.<sup>76</sup> Moreover, he notes that ‘limited foreign language skills and lack of cultural knowledge regularly lead to misinterpretations and misappropriations.’<sup>77</sup> These arguments in particular will be considered closely alongside findings in this thesis.

Within scholarly discussion of agency, two prominent themes have emerged that are particularly relevant to this thesis. The first involves the examination of agents as individuals, groups, networks, and / or institutions.<sup>78</sup> Fauser and Everist have noted the importance of focusing on individual agents rather than on texts or scores when studying cultural transfer in operatic contexts. Cristina Marinetti, too, has highlighted the role of individual agents within theatrical

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<sup>72</sup> Roberta Montemorra Marvin and Downing A. Thomas (eds.), *Operatic Migration: Transforming Works and Crossing Boundaries* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).

<sup>73</sup> For example, they align closely with some of the findings of Clair Rowden’s research into global performances of Bizet’s *Carmen*; see: <https://carmenabroad.org/>

<sup>74</sup> Kim, 45.

<sup>75</sup> For example, see: Christine Mayer, ‘Female Education and the Cultural Transfer of Pedagogical Knowledge in the Eighteenth Century’, *Paedagogica Historica* 48, no. 4 (2011): 1-16;

<sup>76</sup> Thomas Adam, *Approaches to the Study of Intercultural Transfer* (Anthem Press, 2019), 5.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> See: Sergey Tyuleney, *Translation and Society: An Introduction* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), Chapter 3; Theo Hermans, *Translation in Systems: Descriptive and Systemic Approaches Explained* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019), Chapters 9 and 10; and Rakefet Sela-Sheffy, ‘Professional Identity and Status’, in *Researching Translation and Interpreting*, ed. Claudia V. Angelelli and Brian James Baer (Milton Park & New York: Routledge), 131-145.

production and adaptation, exploring how multiple individuals contributed to the translation, adaptation, and interpretation of works in London and thus contributed more broadly to the consumption of foreign theatre and culture.<sup>79</sup> But this work has focused solely on the impact of agency within professional theatrical and operatic contexts; the impact of these same agents on the domestic sphere is yet to be considered. Scholars have also focused attention on the role of institutions as agents, with Fauser and Everist arguing that institutions must be regarded as cultures themselves within this context. Michaela Wolf in particular has highlighted the importance of institutions within cultural transfer, acknowledging the influence of institutions on individual agents and vice versa.<sup>80</sup> The second prominent theme within discussion of agency focuses on the idea of invisible vs overt agency, drawing our attention to those agents whose anonymity and / or inconspicuousness have obscured their significance to the modern historian. Marinetti has recently focused on this during her exploration of the role of censors and performers alongside literary translators in shaping the adaptation and transmission of theatrical repertoire.<sup>81</sup>

Alongside its exploration of agents, this thesis also pays particular attention to the development of multifaceted webs of cultural transfer and exchange, aligning with theorists who have challenged concepts of linear movement. Kim neatly summarises this ideology, stating:

The scientific approaches of sociology, social psychology, and social anthropology [...] set forth a concept of culture transfer as a connection of multiple, loosely related, and potentially ever-expandable webs in which more or less competing or cooperating agents (individuals, groups, institution) take part. The multiple, connected interactions between single agents in the web could be graphically visualized by a record of multi-directional connecting lines. Thus, it can be seen that the well-known triangular model of 'original culture, agent, resulting culture,' in which it is implied that two substantial, clearly definable cultures (original and resulting) change their contents due to the activities of agents, cannot hold its footing. Cultural transfers rarely follow a linear relationship of 'a' to 'b,' but rather spread over expansive, multilateral, constellations.<sup>82</sup>

This ideology is intricately linked with the postcolonial theories surrounding hybridisation, including cultural *métissage* (or cross-breeding), the importance of which has already been acknowledged by Fauser and Everist in relation to European operatic culture, as well as variations of the 'third space' theory proposed by Homi Bhabha.<sup>83</sup> Many have used different terminology for this concept – such as 'thirdness', 'third culture', or 'third place' – but they share similar meanings.<sup>84</sup> Claire Kramsch argues that Bhabha does not consider the third space to be the mixture

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<sup>79</sup> Cristina Marinetti, 'Invisible Agents in Translation History: Censors and Actors in Performed Drama of 18th Century England', *Translation Studies* (2020), DOI: 10.1080/14781700.2020.1853600.

<sup>80</sup> Michaela Wolf, 'Translation Activity between Culture, Society and the Individual: Towards a Sociology of Translation', in *Constructing a Sociology of Translation*, ed. Michaela Wolf and Alexandra Fukari, (John Benjamins Publishing, 2009), 33-43.

<sup>81</sup> Marinetti, 'Invisible agents in translation history [...]'.  
<sup>82</sup> Kim, 45.

<sup>83</sup> Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London & New York: Routledge, 1994).

<sup>84</sup> Variants of the 'third space' theory are discussed in: Katharina Loetscher, 'English as a Lingua Franca – Communication and the Cultural Third Place' (PhD diss., University of Vienna, 2021).

of two or more cultures, but ‘an eminently heterogeneous, indeed contradictory and ambivalent space in which third perspectives can grow in the margins of dominant ways of seeing.’<sup>85</sup> It facilitates interpretation, adaptation, negotiation of meaning, and representation. Some, however, have challenged ideas of ‘in-between-ness’; for example, Maria Tymoczko suggests that considering a space ‘between’ with regard to translation is problematic, because it suggests a space that is un-positioned, despite translators always inhabiting their own individual positionings.<sup>86</sup> This thesis will consider the how far people thought of themselves as ‘positioned’ with regard to cultural transfer and national identity, asking whether notions of hybridity were consciously considered by agents and their recipients.

Finally, this thesis will position notions of cultural transfer within developing processes of cultural formation, a method advocated across cultural transfer studies. Kim argues that by doing so, one can obtain a ‘radical reversal of perspective on the relationship between the outgoing and receiving culture.’ She suggests that instead of focusing on this relationship in terms of cause and effect, this approach enables us to better understand the ‘reception needs and appropriation practices of the receiving culture.’<sup>87</sup> Translation scholars such as Edwin Gentzler have shown us that cultural transfer must be considered not just as something that happens between cultures, but something that is constitutive to how cultures are developed; this will provide an ideological foundation for considerations of nationality, patriotism, xenophobia, as well cultural hybridity and *métissage* in the following chapters.<sup>88</sup>

## Italian Opera and Music in the Home

The role of music in the home during the Georgian era has received increasing attention in recent years. The field was pioneered by Richard Leppert, who has examined the practice of music-making in the home in relation to notions of domesticity, femininity, masculinity, sexuality, and social class.<sup>89</sup> Through his study of music iconography, alongside eighteenth-century writing such as instruction manuals, conduct books, diaries, letters, and journalism, he argues that domestic music-making was shaped by but also contributed to socio-cultural formation. Regula Hohl Trillini, too, made important early contributions to scholarly understanding of the visuality of domestic

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<sup>85</sup> Claire Kramsch, *The Multilingual Subject: What Foreign Language Learners Say about their Experience and Why it Matters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 237.

<sup>86</sup> Maria Tymoczko, ‘Ideology and the Position of the Translator: In What Sense is a Translator “In Between”?’ in *Apropos of Ideology: Translation Studies on Ideology – Ideologies in Translation Studies*, ed. Maria Calzada-Pérez (London & New York: Routledge, 2014), 181-202.

<sup>87</sup> Kim, 48.

<sup>88</sup> Edwin Gentzler, *Translation and Identity in the Americas: New Directions in Translation Theory* (London & New York: Routledge, 2007).

<sup>89</sup> Richard Leppert, *Music and Image: Domesticity, Ideology and Socio-Cultural Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); *The Sight of Sound: Music, Representation, and the History of the Body* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

performance, analysing representations of music-making found in fiction, drama, and poetry from the sixteenth to twentieth centuries.<sup>90</sup> Like Leppert, she argues that gender was intricately linked with music-making; both scholars explore the gendered expectations and protocols surrounding music-making, noting that it was a contentious activity for both sexes, albeit in different ways. For men, musical accomplishment threatened to overshadow the social and political engagements that were deemed to be more important for the male sex, whilst for women, music-making was required to contribute to but never overshadow their femininity and decorum.<sup>91</sup> However, previous scholarly assumptions that female musical accomplishment was largely, if not solely pursued in order to demonstrate suitability for marriage have been challenged, with Leslie Ritchie demonstrating that many women enjoyed agency within their music-making, and as such made significant contributions to the formation of British cultural identity.

In the past decade increased attention has been paid to domestic musical materials and what they can tell us about the historic consumption and performance of music in the home. Scholars are investigating domestic music collections that survive today in historic houses and archives, asking how and why people developed these collections, what they were performing, and how they were performing it. Caroline Wood's study of the music collection at Burton Constable Hall provided an early insight into the broad and important role of music collections and music-making in elite domestic spheres, showing that the owners of this particular collection performed from their scores on a regular basis.<sup>92</sup> Jeanice Brooks has examined the development of music collections in relation to domestic interiors, using the library and music room at Tatton Park to demonstrate how music collecting could influence aspects of country house design, and to show how musical materials became part of the fabric of the country house.<sup>93</sup> Multiple doctoral theses have begun to explore other surviving collections and their broader social significances; Samantha Carrasco and Jane Troughton have explored the development of collections in relation to regional culture in Hampshire and Yorkshire respectively, noting the influence of regional concert programming, and Penelope Cave has used the collections at Tatton Park and Killerton House to investigate domestic keyboard pedagogy.<sup>94</sup> Of particular relevance to this thesis is research undertaken by Katrina

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<sup>90</sup> Regula Hohl Trillini, *The Gaze of the Listener: English Representations of Domestic Music-Making* (Rodopi, 2008).

<sup>91</sup> Leslie Ritchie, *Women Writing Music in Late Eighteenth-Century England: Social Harmony in Literature and Performance* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008). For discussion of music-making as means of attracting a spouse, see: Ann Bermingham, 'Elegant Females and Gentlemen Connoisseurs: The Commerce in Culture and Self Image in Eighteenth-Century England', in *The Consumption of Culture 1600-1800*, ed. Ann Bermingham and Roy Brewer (London & New York: Routledge, 1995), 489-514.

<sup>92</sup> Caroline Wood, 'Music-Making in a Yorkshire Country House', in *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies*, ed. Bennett Zon, Vol. 1 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 209-226.

<sup>93</sup> Jeanice Brooks, 'Musical Monuments for the Country House: Music, Collection and Display at Tatton Park', *Music & Letters* 91 (2010): 513-35.

<sup>94</sup> Carrasco, 'The Austen Family Music Books [...]'; Jane Troughton, 'The Role of Music in the Yorkshire Country House, 1770-1850' (PhD diss., University of York, 2014); Penelope Cave, 'Piano Lessons in the English Country House, 1785-1845' (PhD diss., University of Southampton, 2013).



Faulds on the role of dance music in English country houses, in which she establishes connections between her subjects' participation in the public culture of dance and the practice of dance and dance music in the home.<sup>95</sup> In addition, Leena Rana has explored the acquisition of Italian music in the context of the consumption of other Italian luxury goods at Tatton Park, arguing that the collection and performance of Italian vocal music contributed to the family's broader engagement with Italian culture.<sup>96</sup> But with the exception of Rana's thesis, the study of Italian vocal music hasn't featured prominently in this work, nor the analysis of Italian opera as a genre in relation to amateur performance culture, since it is generally considered to be a stage rather than domestic genre. However, this thesis seeks to challenge this assumption, arguing for its significance in domestic musical life.

The home has also been examined as a venue for performance in Georgian Britain, not only for members of the household during lessons and private practice, but also for domestic concerts, with selective guests. Familial evening entertainments were common, but larger-scale productions also occurred, although usually of an informal nature. McVeigh has examined private concerts held in London households, noting that 'foreign travellers were struck by the amount of music to be heard in the English home'. He notes that performances were largely given by amateur ladies and / or celebrity guests, with professional musicians either 'supplementing amateur participation' or delivering performances themselves. McVeigh also argues that an increase in the number of private concerts held by the nobility in the late eighteenth century represented a reaction against the decline in the exclusivity of public concert venues, reflecting broader defensive responses to the expansion of the elite sphere in the Georgian era. But it was not just the nobility who hosted private concerts. Elizabeth Egerton, née Sykes (1777-1853) – one of the principal case studies for this thesis – and her husband Wilbraham Egerton (1781-1856) are known to have hosted concerts at their town house in London, inviting large numbers of important and prestigious guests, with audiences numbers sometimes reaching over 100. Some families also hosted large-scale private theatricals, such as the Constable family at Burton Constable Hall, and the Duke of Richmond at Richmond House.<sup>97</sup> This thesis will consider how concerts such as these reflected a family's broader engagement with Italian opera, and how they contributed to the presence of Italian operatic culture in elite spheres.

Many of the considerations in this thesis have been shaped by collaboration with the AHRC research project 'Music, Home, and Heritage: Sounding the Domestic in Georgian Britain', led by

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<sup>95</sup> Katrina Faulds, "'Invitation pour la danse": Social dance, dance music and feminine identity in the English country house c.1770-1860' (PhD diss., University of Southampton, 2015).

<sup>96</sup> Rana, 'Music and Elite Identity in the English Country House [...]'.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid, Appendix 1; Caroline Wood, 'Music-Making in a Yorkshire Country House'; Gillian Russell, 'Private Theatricals', in *The Cambridge Companion to British Theatre, 1730-1830*, ed. Jane Moody and Daniel O'Quinn (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 192-199.

Brooks, Faulds, and Wiebke Thormählen. This project has aimed to enhance understanding of how listening to, collecting, and performing music contributed to understandings of the home, family, and domestic space in Georgian Britain. It utilises several case studies, most notably at Boughton House in Northamptonshire and Erddig in North Wales. One of the most significant outputs of this project was an exhibition at Boughton House in 2019, to which the early findings of this thesis also contributed.<sup>98</sup> This exhibition focused on the musical activities of the 3<sup>rd</sup> generation of the Buccleuch family, including Duchess Elizabeth's patronage of both English and Italian opera and her heavy involvement in the Edinburgh music scene. One of the central themes of this exhibition, and of the 'Music, Home, and Heritage' project more broadly, is the juxtaposition and relationship between notions of 'public' and 'private'. These terms have been explored in depth in previous scholarly literature, particularly within the examination of gender roles and studies of the 'separate spheres' ideology that positioned women in the private / domestic sphere, and men in the public.<sup>99</sup> The 'Music, Home, and Heritage' project considers the role of music within these ideologies, not least through continuing to uncover the 'private' concert culture that existed in aristocratic houses.

Broader domestic culture in Georgian Britain has received extensive scholarly attention, but recent focuses in this field of scholarship provide important contexts for many of the questions explored in this thesis. Approaches to material culture, collection, and domestic pursuits – particularly in relation to gendered identities – have been re-evaluated over the past decade, with the social and intellectual values of domestic collections increasingly showcased. For example, Elizabeth Rogers' recent thesis 'Women's Curiosity and Collecting in England 1680-1820: The Country House as a Space of Female Enlightenment' shows how the collection of material goods by women was directly linked to the formation of knowledge.<sup>100</sup> Rogers focuses in particular on the role of conversation, female friendships, and social networking, which is particularly applicable to the development of music collections and the practice of music-making. Madeleine Pelling has also explored the broader social and domestic connotations of women's collections, showcasing the curatorial activities of the Duchess of Portland during the development of her private museum.<sup>101</sup> Brooks has instigated the inclusion of music in discussions of collection and consumption, with her study of the collection at Tatton Park demonstrating how the development of music collections c.1800 reflected broader habits of book collecting and display.<sup>102</sup> But music is still yet to be

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<sup>98</sup> Brooks, Faulds, and Thormählen (eds.), *A Passion for Opera* [...].

<sup>99</sup> For example, see: Linda Kerber, 'Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History', *Journal of American History* 75 (1988): 9-39; Amanda Vickery, 'Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History', *The Historical Journal* 36 (1993): 383-414; and Joan B. Landes, 'The Public and Private Sphere: A Feminist Reconsideration', in *Feminists Read Habermas*, ed. Johanna Meehan (London, Routledge, 2012), 91-116.

<sup>100</sup> Elizabeth Jayne Rogers, 'Women's Curiosity and Collecting in England 1680-1820: The Country House as a Space of Female Enlightenment' (PhD diss., University of Hull, 2020).

<sup>101</sup> Madeleine Pelling, 'Collecting the World: Female Friendship and Domestic Craft at Bulstrode Park', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 41, no. 1 (January 2018): 101-120.

<sup>102</sup> Brooks, 'Musical Monuments [...]'.

considered beyond musicological spheres as a focus of collection scholarship, with books, artwork, furnishings, and antiquities still dominating studies of gendered consumption. This thesis will build on Brooks's advocacy for music to be included in discussions of consumption, demonstrating the intellectual and cultural significances of operatic collections.

## Methods and Sources

This research is rooted in the study of multiple surviving domestic music collections from the Georgian era that feature Italian operatic repertoire. These collections are used to understand the broader role of opera in British homes, and how the practices they represent relate to the consumption of opera onstage and Italian culture more broadly. Three collections are investigated in depth as principal case studies. These collections include: the Montagu Music Collection (MMC), today held at Boughton House in Northamptonshire; the collection at Tatton Park in Cheshire, belonging to members of the Sykes / Egerton families; and the Gladstone Music Collection, currently on deposit at the University of Southampton's Hartley Library Special Collections, with volumes collected by the politician Thomas Gladstone and his wife, Louisa. Further detailed information regarding the extent and provenance of these three collections is provided below. The Tatton Park collection has previously been catalogued in depth, with records of the music books existing in a library catalogue published by Shirley Pargeter as well as in inventories included in research outputs by Rana, Faulds, and Cave.<sup>103</sup> Records have also more recently been digitised and uploaded to Library Hub Discover by the National Trust. But the MMC and the Gladstone collection had received minimal attention prior to the commencement of this project, with only handlists available, although the latter has since been digitised by the University of Southampton.<sup>104</sup> This project therefore initially required the inventory of relevant volumes from these collections (i.e. those containing Italian operatic music), which are included as appendices in this thesis. Indexes of relevant volumes from the Tatton Park collection have also been compiled from previous research and included as appendices. These indexes indicate which specific Italian operatic music can be found in these collections, answering one of the project's key research questions: what Italian operatic music was being consumed in the home?

Once the individual repertoire and also ownership (where possible) of each volume had been established, the majority of this project's primary research entailed analysing evidence of interaction with the scores. The condition of each volume and additional material found inside – including annotations (or lack thereof) in printed sheet music, and annotations and copying

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<sup>103</sup> Shirley Pargeter, *A Catalogue of the Library at Tatton Park, Knutsford, Cheshire* (Cheshire: Cheshire Libraries and Museums, 1977).

<sup>104</sup> To view the digitised Gladstone volumes, see: <https://archive.org/details/hartley00590992>. The MMC is in the process of being catalogued as part of the 'Music, Home, and Heritage' project. An inventory was created in 2013 by Rachel Cadell and the late Patrick Cadell.

approaches in manuscript items – can tell us much about how its owners were using the music, and how they might have been performing it. This evidence is divided into two main categories, musical and linguistic, asking firstly how performers interacted with the music itself, and also how they were interacting with the text. These findings are contextualised by information found in vocal treatises of the era, helping us to understand how students were learning to perform in the *bel canto* style, and whether or not they were applying specific vocal techniques with proficiency. Detailed accounts of singing lessons c.1800 – in diaries, letters, and contemporary literature – are sparse, and thus music collections and vocal treatises are the two principal sources used to imagine what might have happened during a singing lesson in the Georgian era.

Evidence found in the MMC and Tatton Park collection is placed within contexts of information found in archival documents relevant to the owners, as well as previous secondary literature on the families. A vast range of archival material is available detailing the broader familial life and musical activities of the Buccleuch family, held in part at Boughton House and also at the National Records of Scotland. This material has largely been unpacked and documented by the ‘Music, Home, and Heritage’ team over the past four years, coinciding with the development of this thesis. Archival material relevant to the Sykes / Egerton families’ music-making has previously been documented and contextualised by Brooks, Rana, Cave, and Faulds. This thesis draws on those findings and aims to shed further light on their meaning. Less archival information is available concerning Thomas Gladstone and his wife; therefore, this collection is used principally as a comparative tool for discussions of repertoire and performance practice, asking how the collection compares to those owned by women and what this can tell us about the relationship between music, domesticity, and gendered identities.

Comparisons have also been drawn to other collections and personnel of interest, providing further context for this thesis’s principal findings. Two collections previously explored in depth by Troughton – including the collection at Harewood House, developed by multiple owners across the second half of the eighteenth century and first half of the nineteenth century (including the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Earls of Harewood), and the collection at Castle Howard, developed by Lady Georgiana, 6<sup>th</sup> Countess of Carlisle (1783-1858) in the approximate years 1790-1850 – are used as comparative sources when examining the repertoire of the three principal collections.<sup>105</sup> The Austen Family Music Books are also used as a comparative tool, serving as an example of a collection that does not feature high proportions of Italian operatic music. This collection has been also been digitised by the University of Southampton in collaboration with Jane Austen’s House Museum, and catalogues have been developed by Ian Gammie, Derek McCulloch, and Samantha Carrasco.<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> For detailed analyses of these collections, see: Troughton, 245-297. Troughton provides inventories for the collections in Appendices 1 and 2 (395-530).

<sup>106</sup> To view the digitised Austen Family Music Books, see: <https://archive.org/details/austenfamilymusicbooks>

Multiple other personnel of interest are discussed throughout this thesis, most prominently Hester Piozzi, Georgiana Cavendish, Duchess of Devonshire (1757-1806), as well as Sir Roger Newdigate (1719-1806), his 2nd wife Hester Mundy, and Sally Shilton, who was adopted by the couple at a young age due to her distinguished vocal talent. In particular, these case studies are used to establish and understand connections between Italian singing masters and their British clients. Troughton's exploration of the Cavendish papers provides crucial biographical information for the Duchess of Devonshire, alongside the recently translated and published memoirs of her singing teacher, Ferrari. The 'Music, Home, and Heritage' team's investigation of the Newdigate archives at the Warwickshire Record Office – including surviving familial correspondences and diaries – offers an insight into the lives and operatic activities of the Newdigate family.

Within the limitations of a doctoral research project, this thesis aims to provide an insight into the consumption of Italian opera in British homes c.1800, rather than a comprehensive overview. It focuses heavily on elite social spheres, with the three principal case studies chosen to reflect the consumption and performance of Italian opera across varying upper-class households. Comparisons are drawn between the aristocratic Buccleuch family, the Sykes / Egertons of the upper-landed gentry class, and the businessman and politician Thomas Gladstone. But whilst these collections can be used to trace how people from differing social classes engaged with music, they do not necessarily reflect the music-making practises of the broader social spheres from which they originate. Part of this project, much like Troughton's 2013 thesis, has involved the assessment of the extent of familial and individual influences, versus broader socio-cultural expectations and practices. Further comparisons are drawn with the Austen Family Music Books and with other collections and personnel of interest outside of the elite sphere in order to contextualise the principal case studies and to establish some of the influences and significances of wealth and social status within the consumption of Italian operatic culture. Similar limitations are placed on the study of gender roles and music-making in this thesis; the inclusion of the Gladstone collection enables a comparison of collections owned by men and women, but this collection cannot be considered representative of all collections developed by men during this era.

This thesis utilises and also interrogates specific key terms. Firstly, the term 'elite', which is used in modern-day scholarship with varying definition; here, Hall-Witt's approach is adopted, categorising 'elite' circles as 'aristocracy and untitled persons who were accepted into its social circles'. The term 'Italy' will be used to refer collectively to the Italian states existing during the period c.1780-1837. Although Italy did not officially become a unified state until 1861, the term was used by Britons throughout the period this thesis covers. Given that this thesis focuses on British perceptions and consumption of Italian culture, acknowledging the use of this term helps us to understand how far British ideas of 'Italy' were romanticised and anglicised. Similarly, the term 'British' is also used throughout, although this thesis largely focuses on the personnel, events, and practices of England rather than Britain more broadly, with the exception of Edinburgh and its rural

outskirts. In addition, the terms ‘public’, ‘private’, ‘professional’, and ‘amateur’ will be used but also challenged. ‘Public’ will be applied to professional spheres, denoting any event that occurs outside the home, whilst ‘private’ refers to happenings in domestic environments. However, this thesis will expand on the work of the ‘Music, Home, and Heritage’ team in assessing the paradoxical use of these terms when discussing opera culture in Britain c.1800. Likewise, the term ‘professional’ will refer to any persons earning a living from a specific craft and ‘amateur’ will refer to those engaging in the same activity without payment, but the closeness between those who considered themselves ‘professionals’ and ‘amateurs’ will be investigated.

### The Montagu Music Collection

The principal case study for this research is the Montagu Music Collection (MMC), which was predominantly developed by the 3<sup>rd</sup> generation of the Buccleuch family, headed by Elizabeth Montagu, 3<sup>rd</sup> Duchess of Buccleuch (1743-1827), and Henry Scott, 3<sup>rd</sup> Duke of Buccleuch (1746-1812).<sup>107</sup> A closer look at this collection provides an insight into the domestic life of one of Britain’s wealthiest aristocratic families. Elizabeth was the eldest daughter of George Montagu, 1<sup>st</sup> Duke of Montagu (1712-1790) and his wife Mary, and upon her father’s death in 1790 she inherited the Montagu estates. Little is known about her upbringing, but she had a musical ancestry; her great-grandfather was a patron for the original Queen’s (later King’s) Theatre in 1705, and her grandfather commissioned Handel’s *Music for the Royal Fireworks*.<sup>108</sup> She married Henry in 1767, and together they were amongst the wealthiest aristocrats in the country, conjoining their family estates to become the most significant landowners in Scotland. The Duchess became one of the most noteworthy patrons of the arts during the Georgian era; she actively supported musicians, composers, and pedagogues, and in particular exerted her financial support and creative impetus to the music scene in Edinburgh, local to the family’s country seat at Dalkeith Palace. The family enjoyed a vibrant musical life at home at Dalkeith and also at Montagu House in London and their villa in Richmond. The Duke and Duchess had seven children together, of which two in particular – Lady Elizabeth Montagu, later Elizabeth Home, Countess of Home (1770-1837), and Lady Caroline Montagu, later Caroline Douglas, Marchioness of Queensberry (1774-1854) – inherited their mother’s musical interests, becoming accomplished vocalists and contributing to the family’s vast music collection. The MMC survives today at Boughton House in Northamptonshire, and consists of over 300 volumes; it is one of the biggest and most significant surviving music collections in private ownership. The majority of the music dates from the eighteenth and early-nineteenth century, with most of the printed music in circulation between approximately 1740-

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<sup>107</sup> For further information on the Buccleuch dynasty, see: Richard Buccleuch, *Boughton: The House, its People and its Collections* (London: Caique, 2016).

<sup>108</sup> For a discussion of Elizabeth’s upbringing and early musical influences, see: Paul Boucher and Crispin Powell, ‘Elizabeth Montagu, 3<sup>rd</sup> Duchess of Buccleuch’, in *A Passion for Opera* [...], 12-29.

1810. The volumes known to have been acquired by Ladies Elizabeth and Caroline are of particular interest to this study, and they are explored in depth in the following chapters.<sup>109</sup> These volumes are believed to have been acquired in the 1780s and 1790s, when the sisters were receiving singing lessons from Domenico and Natale Corri. Along with the other Buccleuch volumes in the MMC, they are detailed in Appendices 1 and 2.<sup>110</sup> A family portrait from 1798 is a testament to the prominent role music played in the Buccleuchs' familial life, as shown in Figure 0.7.



**Figure 0.7. Henri-Pierre Danloux (1753-1809), Henry and Elizabeth, 3rd Duke and Duchess of Buccleuch, with their family in the grounds at Dalkeith, 1798. © *The Buccleuch Collections***

<sup>109</sup> These volumes are identified through their ownership markings.

<sup>110</sup> A further 158 volumes in the MMC formerly belonged to Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, who died in 1851; he left these volumes to Patrick Grieve, from whom the Buccleuch family acquired them (as noted by Rachel and Patrick Cadell).

### The Tatton Park Music Collection

The music collection surviving at Tatton Park in Cheshire is an amalgamation of volumes collected by several generations of women from the Sykes / Egerton families in the late eighteenth and early-mid nineteenth century. The volumes of focus for this case study are those that belonged to Elizabeth Egerton (née Sykes, 1777-1853), in particular those featuring Italian operatic music, of which many date from the 1790s. Elizabeth had a keen interest in music, no doubt cultivated by her musical upbringing. Much of her musical education and her personal music collection is believed to have been influenced by her time at Ellin Devis's boarding school, which she attended between at least 1793 and 1796.<sup>111</sup> In 1806, Elizabeth married her first cousin, Wilbraham Egerton (1781-1856), and moved from Sledmere House in Yorkshire to Tatton Park in Cheshire.<sup>112</sup> But Elizabeth did not stop her musical pursuits after marriage; she took her volumes with her to her marital home, and continued adding to her collection, with five volumes of keyboard and vocal music bearing her married name in the surviving Tatton collection. Wilbraham, too, was musical, having played the cello in his youth, and together the couple frequently supported and attended concerts and opera performances, and hosted private concerts themselves. The music collection at Tatton Park is positioned within the family's broader Italianate collection, with music playing just one part in Elizabeth and Wilbraham's relationship with and representation of Italian culture in the home. The Tatton Park case study serves as a point of comparison for the MMC and the musical and domestic activities of the Buccleuch family. Whilst the two families clearly had similar interests, and Elizabeth Sykes and Ladies Elizabeth and Caroline Montagu seemingly developed their collections at similar times, they came from differing social circles. The Sykes's and Egerton's status within the upper-landed gentry and their earnings from eighteenth-century trade were a far cry from the Duke and Duchess of Buccleuch's position at the height of aristocracy. This thesis aims to assess how far each family's social status influenced their engagement with Italian operatic culture.

### The Gladstone Music Collection

The Gladstone collection consists of music belonging to Sir Thomas Gladstone, 2nd Baronet (1804-1889) and his wife Louisa (1816-1901), but this thesis focuses on the volumes compiled by Thomas, which heavily feature Italian operatic music. Thomas was the eldest son of the wealthy merchant John Gladstone. His youngest brother, William, served as Prime Minister from 1868-1874.<sup>113</sup> As a bass singer, Thomas was very musically active in the 1820s and 1830s, compiling much of his Italianate collection in these years which was later bound with his wife's music

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<sup>111</sup> Her time at this school and its influence on her musical education and personal music collection has been explored in the doctoral theses of Cave, Faulds, and Rana, as well as in Brooks, 'Musical Monuments [...]'.  
<sup>112</sup> For further details about the latter property, see: *Tatton Park* (Knutsford: Cheshire County Council, 2010).

<sup>113</sup> Roy Jenkins, *Gladstone* (Pan, 1995). See also: Phyllis Weliver, *Mary Gladstone and the Victorian Salon: Music, Literature, Liberalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).



collection after their marriage in 1836. The development of his Italianate collection coincided with extensive travelling on the Continent, including a period living in Paris in the 1820s and prolonged visits to Florence, Naples, Rome, and Milan. Some of the music in his collection was acquired abroad, making it an important case study for examining routes of cultural transfer in the early nineteenth century, and the role of music in cultural exchange. From the 1830s onwards Thomas became actively involved in politics, serving as a Member of Parliament, but his interest in music continued throughout his life; the British Library currently holds a conductor's baton that Thomas Gladstone presented to the Philharmonic Society in 1869. Thomas's position in differing social circles to that of the Sykes, Egerton, and Buccleuch families means his collection can provide further insight into the connections between Italian operatic consumption, wealth, and social class. His gender also enables us to examine masculine and feminine identities from new perspectives. The domestic music collections previously studied by scholars, as noted earlier in this introduction, were almost exclusively owned by women. Indeed, the majority of music collections in this era were developed by female members of the household. But Thomas's collection and his music-making practices show that men, too, participated heavily in this aspect of domestic life, and his collection and performance of Italian operatic music in particular sheds new light on the relationship between opera and Georgian gendered identities.

## Overview of Chapters

The opening chapter of this thesis asks: how did Italian opera travel into British homes in the Georgian era? It examines two main routes of travel: via the consumption of material objects, and via interaction with living people. The creation and presence of Italian operatic collections is placed alongside the crucial role played by Italian musicians and pedagogues in bringing Italian operatic culture to domestic spheres. These findings are also placed in the context of broader collection and consumption culture and current trends within collection and heritage scholarship.

The middle chapter of this thesis investigates the Italian operatic repertoire consumed and performed in domestic settings. It asks: which repertoire in particular was being collected and performed, and what were the influences for this choice of repertoire? The first section analyses the Italian operatic repertoire recommended by singing masters in their vocal treatises c.1800 which may have been used as pedagogical repertoire, whilst also assessing the accuracy and reliability of these treatises as a research tool. The middle section studies the principal case study collections in depth alongside the collections at Harewood House and Castle Howard, assessing the composers and operas featured and the proportion of Italian operatic repertoire in each collection as a whole. It considers the Grand Tour, the King's Theatre, concert culture, Italian singing masters, personal relationships, and individual and familial taste as factors for the development of Italianate collections, and for the shaping of British operatic taste. Moreover, it assesses the different ways the repertoire might have been used, considering whether each individual volume was used for

## Introduction

performance purposes, as a collectors' item, or both. The third section of this chapter considers the consumption of adaptations and translations of Italian operatic music, focusing on the Austen Family Music Collection and other smaller case studies to explore the varying forms in which Italian opera was performed and consumed.

The final chapter of this thesis explores the question: how did people learn and perform Italian opera in the home? It envisions what might have happened during music lessons with Italian singing masters and also during personal practice, using evidence from domestic music collections and vocal treatises. This chapter is divided into two sections, the first investigating how amateur performers engaged with the Italian vocal tradition, and the second asking how they interacted with and understood the Italian language. It largely focuses on the annotations found in the MMC, the Tatton Park collection, and the Gladstone collection, contextualised by broader teaching methods of the era, asking what these annotations can tell us about how each owner of the collection approached the Italian language and the Italian style of singing. The terms 'amateur' and 'professional' are scrutinized here, asking how far the skills of domestic performers had the potential to match those in professional spheres.

These chapters will show that domestic music activities played a vital role in the dissemination of Italian operatic repertoire and the formation of British understandings of the genre, and that they were intricately linked to notions of national, elite, and gendered identities. In doing so, this thesis contributes to scholarly understanding of historic British encounters with 'Italy', providing important new insights for understanding of European cultural transfer c.1800.

## Chapter 1 Italian Opera and the Home

The means by which Italian opera travelled into British domestic spheres during the Georgian era were vast and extremely diverse. Routes of cultural transfer and exchange were multifaceted, with many institutions and individual personnel – both British and foreign – acting as agents in bringing Italian culture to people's homes. Publishing houses, the King's Theatre, singers, and pedagogues were amongst those who influenced the domestic consumption of operatic culture, contributing to its widespread presence and manifestation in elite households.

The presence of Italian opera in the home – and indeed, Italian culture more broadly – is most apparent to us today in the form of physical objects that survive from the era. A large body of scholarship has explored how paintings, furnishings, ornaments, sculpture, and architecture contributed to the conscious display of Italian culture in elite Georgian households. But opera has not featured in these considerations, despite it being a central aspect of Britain's consumption of 'Italy'. The domestic representation of Italian culture in the form of musical objects – especially printed materials such as scores and opera libretti – is an element of Georgian consumption that has been significantly overlooked in previous scholarly literature on the topic. In fact, the collection of musical objects often equalled the collection of artwork, books, and furniture, and should stand alongside these categories in discussions of collection practices, particularly in relation to notions of gender and class. Today, surviving collections of Italianate musical objects provide historians with an insight into the collecting habits, tastes, cultural engagement, and musical skills of their owners.

However, Italian culture was also present in eighteenth-century domestic spaces in ways that are invisible to us today. Foreign visitors to houses – including performers, composers, businessmen, and teachers – brought opera directly into the daily lives of those that lived there, not least through the physical embodiment of operatic culture, but also through private concerts, lessons, and knowledge exchange. Italian culture and opera formed an important part of the education, everyday activities, and intellectual development of its domestic consumers, and as a result it became a significant aspect of elite domesticity in the Georgian era.

### 1.1 Consumption Abroad: Bringing the Grand Tour Home

Travel in the Georgian era was closely associated with the practice of collection. Throughout the eighteenth century, it became increasingly common to purchase souvenirs from the Continent. Material objects purchased abroad were used to promote cultured, touristic, and artistic narratives in the home, forming part of the conscious development of an artistic heritage by aristocratic collectors. The practice of collecting on the Grand Tour has been documented in extensive detail. However, much previous literature has focused heavily on the collection of paintings or sculpture;

for example, the extensive collection of Roman sculpture collected by the Duke of Devonshire and now held at Chatsworth House.<sup>1</sup> Ongoing developments in the field encourage a focus on the collection of smaller objects, as seen in the work of Freya Gowrley:

[...] scholars have tended not to devote sustained critical attention to small-scale souvenir objects and other, more quotidian forms of material culture encountered on the Tour, such as books, paper, jewellery, and textiles. [...] such souvenirs were integrated with familial objects to create highly personal decorative pieces and spaces, a transformation that was at once geographical and semantic.<sup>2</sup>

Recent work has also highlighted the importance of women in these practices. Emma Gleadhill argues that women used souvenirs to shape their memories and experiences of travel, using the feminine context of the salon to establish themselves in what was considered to be a masculine pursuit.<sup>3</sup>

The collection of musical souvenirs from the Continent during this era has scarcely been discussed in scholarly literature on the Grand Tour. However, surviving collections show that tourists were collecting musical remnants of their travels, usually scores and manuscripts featuring music they listened to or performed whilst on the road. The collection of musical materials of this kind forms part of an increasing effort amongst British aristocracy to create idealised musical representations of 'Italy' in their homes. Maeve Devitt Tremblay argues that the Grand Tour could make British travellers 'leading taste-makers' in their home country, and aristocratic collections could be used to make the 'distant accessible';<sup>4</sup> this was certainly the case for the Buccleuch family and the heavy Continental influences in their music collection. Pompeo Batoni's 1758 Grand Tour portrait of John Brudenell, later Marquis of Monthermer (1735-1770), shows him holding a copy of a sonata by Arcangelo Corelli, whilst an ornate Neapolitan string instrument rests under his arm. John Brudenell is known to have played the mandolin, and therefore it is extremely likely that the Corelli score was used to represent the music he collected and performed as a result of his travels.<sup>5</sup> A score of similar origins survives today in the Montagu Music Collection: a professionally-copied Italian manuscript of duets composed by the opera star Giuseppe Aprile, which was almost certainly collected during the Buccleuch family's tour in the 1780s.<sup>6</sup> Aprile was a famous *castrato*

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<sup>1</sup> Alison Yarrington, "'Under Italian skies," the 6th Duke of Devonshire, Canova and the Formation of the Sculpture Gallery at Chatsworth House', *Journal of Anglo-Italian Studies* 10 (2009), 41-62.

<sup>2</sup> Freya Gowrley, 'Craft(ing) Narratives: Specimens, Souvenirs, and "Morsels" in A la Ronde's Specimen Table', *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 31, no. 2 (Fall 2018): 77-97.

<sup>3</sup> Emma Gleadhill, 'Travelling Trifles: The Souvenirs of Late Eighteenth-Century Female British Tourists' (PhD diss., Monash University, 2016).

<sup>4</sup> Maeve Devitt Tremblay, 'The Princess and the Dwarf: Polish Perspectives on Collecting and the Grand Tour', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 41, no. 1 (2018) 34-35.

<sup>5</sup> John, Lord Monthermer, was the brother of Elizabeth, 3<sup>rd</sup> Duchess of Buccleuch. His Batoni portrait lives today at Boughton House in Northamptonshire, forming part of the Buccleuch Collection. See: Jeanice Brooks, 'Staging the Home: Music in Aristocratic Family Life', in *A Passion for Opera: The Duchess and the Georgian Stage*, ed. Jeanice Brooks, Katrina Faulds, and Wiebke Thormählen (Buccleuch Living Heritage Trust, 2019), exhibition catalogue, 35.

<sup>6</sup> MMC Vol. 159, Boughton House.

singer of the era, described by Michael Kelly as ‘the greatest singer and musician of the day’ and supposedly ‘Il padre di tutti i cantati [sic]’ (‘the father of all singers’) by the Italian public.<sup>7</sup> Aprile was teaching Lady Elizabeth Montagu, the eldest daughter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Duke and Duchess of Buccleuch, during the family’s travels; on 31<sup>st</sup> December 1787, Duchess Elizabeth noted in her travel journals: ‘Aprili [sic] came this morn<sup>g</sup> to give Eliz: her first lesson she had unluckily got a cold which prevented her from singing much’.<sup>8</sup> The duets in this manuscript are all for two sopranos, and the front cartouche is marked ‘Ly E. & C. Montagu’ suggesting that Lady Elizabeth performed them back at home with her sister, Caroline, who did not travel with her elder relatives. This supports Elizabeth Rogers’ argument that the sharing of objects collected abroad contributed significantly to the cultural understanding and development of those that used them, even if they could not travel themselves:

Objects that were sent back from the continent, or procured via agents for those at home, not only reinforced memories for those who travelled, but also added a materiality and physicality to travel by the imagination. Besides contributing to collections displayed within the English country house, they could also reinforce friendships and support the development of ideas, learning and understanding, and thus wider cultural experience and understanding. An object could reflect, for its owner or receiver, several different imaginary and physical worlds and when removed from its original context, truly take these on as it becomes surrounded by a new material world and imbued with new meanings.<sup>9</sup>

Through Elizabeth’s collecting, Caroline too was able to benefit from and share in her family’s travelling experiences, engaging directly with Italian operatic music composed and performed on the Continent.

Other surviving music collections also contain evidence of music collection abroad. The Gladstone collection features several Italian manuscripts that were likely acquired in Florence during Thomas’s travels on the Continent. The music collection at Burghley House, too, features music collected abroad. The collection was largely acquired by Brownlow Cecil, 9<sup>th</sup> Earl of Exeter (1725-1793), who owned Burghley in the latter decades of the eighteenth century and brought a vibrant musical life to the house. Brownlow visited multiple Italian states during the years 1763-4 and 1768-70, and brought many artefacts back with him each time, including musical scores.<sup>10</sup> Gerald Gifford’s analysis of the collection shows that the majority of his purchases consisted of manuscript music:

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<sup>7</sup> Michael Kelly, *Reminiscences of Michael Kelly, of the King's Theatre, and Theatre Royal Drury Lane: Including a Period of Nearly Half a Century* (H. Colburn, 1826), 73.

<sup>8</sup> Elizabeth Montagu, 3<sup>rd</sup> Duchess of Buccleuch, *Travel Journals* (1786-1787), 4 vols. (private collection). Transcribed by Gerald Fitzpatrick and Jeanice Brooks. Entry from 31<sup>st</sup> December 1786.

<sup>9</sup> Elizabeth Jayne Rogers, ‘Women’s Curiosity and Collecting in England 1680-1820: The Country House as a Space of Female Enlightenment’ (PhD diss., University of Hull, 2020), 189-190.

<sup>10</sup> John Ingamells, *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy 1701-1800, Compiled from the Brinsley Ford Archive* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997).

A number of manuscripts in the collection of Italian operas and church music, for example, show clear signs of having been of Italian origin, and are also likely to have been purchased there. It is highly probable that some of the manuscripts of Italian instrumental music were similarly originated and acquired, and of these, the rare copies of works by Domenico Gallo have particular importance. But set against this reasoning is the fact that a substantial amount of published Italian music in the Ninth Earl's collections bears an English or Dutch imprint. It is therefore appropriate to suggest that he mostly limited his purchases of music in Italy to the acquisition of manuscript music.

This focus on manuscript materials seems typical of score acquisition by British visitors to the Italian states. Unlike in London, which was one of the biggest publishing centres in Europe and the main producer of printed material, music in the Italian states largely circulated via manuscript.<sup>11</sup> This may have been a contributing factor to the limited proportions of music collection by British tourists in comparison with collection of artwork and sculpture, although it may also have enhanced the novelty of the experience.

But even without the physical presence of material objects transported from abroad, musical interactions still had the potential to influence the activities of British travellers. Experiences abroad could impact future music collecting habits, choice of repertoire for both spectatorship and amateur performance purposes, and also knowledge and understanding of this repertoire. For example, even without the Buccleuch family's collection of the Aprile manuscript, Lady Elizabeth's experiences as Aprile's pupil would have had a lasting impact on her performance style. Moreover, interactions abroad stimulated the migration of foreign musicians to Britain, which consequently had an extremely significant impact on the development of Italian operatic culture in Britain, in both professional and domestic spheres. Georgiana Cavendish, Duchess of Devonshire met her daughter's future singing master Giacomo Gotifredo Ferrari whilst travelling on the Continent, as remembered by Ferrari in his memoirs:

[...] a few days before my departure, I was invited to a small academy in the house of the Viscountess of Vaudreuil, where I had the honour and advantage of meeting the Countess of Kermanguy, the Prince of Ligne, the Prince Victor of Rohan, along with the charming Count, now Prince, Diedrichstein, Lady E. Foster, and the Duchess of Devonshire. This last lady asked me to let her hear some compositions of mine, and I sang for her a French romance and an Italian arietta [...]. After my music had been performed, I saw with pleasure that the whole company was impressed by me, and the Duchess of Devonshire did me the honor of offering her daughters to me as students as soon as I might return to London, and everyone may think that I did not delay a moment in accepting such a courteous offer.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Charles Burney noted this during his travels. See: *The Present State of Music in France and Italy: Or, The Journal of a Tour Through Those Countries, Undertaken to Collect Materials for a General History of Music* (London: T. Becket, 1773), 95.

<sup>12</sup> Deborah Heckert (ed.), *Pleasing and Interesting Anecdotes: An Autobiography of Giacomo Gotifredo Ferrari (1763-1842)*, trans. Stephen Thomson Moore (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2017), 135-138.

Ferrari might therefore be considered a ‘souvenir’ of the Duchess’s travels, and one that had a profound impact on her domestic life; the pair subsequently enjoyed a close working relationship, and Ferrari’s association with her led to an extremely successful career in Britain as a pedagogue and composer. Many other Italian professionals built their careers in London and Edinburgh after similar encounters with British travellers on the Continent; Domenico Corri, for example, was invited to conduct for the Edinburgh Musical Society after meeting Charles Burney and other British expatriates in Rome in 1771, resulting in a permanent move to Britain and a prolific career as a composer, music publisher, instrument seller, and as one of the most eminent vocal pedagogues of the day. Both Corri and Ferrari – and countless others who followed similar journeys to Britain – subsequently had an enormous impact on the domestic lives of many British families, bringing Italian culture directly into domestic spheres. We therefore need to consider the relationships that were established and developed during travels abroad equally as important as the physical objects collected by British tourists. When wealthy British patrons met Italian musicians on the Continent they stimulated the circulation and spread of European culture across geographical borders, bringing operatic stars, objects, and ideas into the daily lives of British citizens.

## 1.2 Consumption at Home

In similar ways to musical souvenirs collected abroad, music collections developed at home generally reflected the taste, preferences, experiences, and in some cases the musical skills of their owners. The music people listened to, in both public and private spheres, as well as the music they performed themselves, had a direct influence on the music they collected, the musical instruments they performed on, and the broader representation of music within their homes. However, music collections – much like collections of artwork, sculpture, artefacts, books, and the clothes worn by aristocratic women – were also often carefully curated to reflect the idealised and cultured material taste that was expected in higher social spheres. Whilst exploring eighteenth-century debates surrounding consumption, scholars have begun to emphasize the intellectual and aesthetic values of aspects of domestic collections, especially those developed by women. Understanding how and why domestic music collections were formed provides crucial insight for this strand of scholarly thinking, and contributes to broader awareness of how people engaged with the arts and how women in particular expressed themselves as intellectuals, performers, and patrons.

The most prolific form of music collecting in Britain was the purchase and distribution of printed sheet music. The second half of the eighteenth century saw an explosion of printed musical materials, contributing to but also responding to the rapidly developing wider printing and publishing industry. Italian opera played an important role in the development of the music publishing businesses from the earliest stages. One of the first British music publishers, John Walsh

(Snr., 1665/66-1736), recognised the demand for Handel's operas and took advantage of this, laying the foundation for the frequent publication of popular operatic extracts across the eighteenth century. Charles Humphries and William C. Smith, who to date have produced the most comprehensive overview of music publishing in Britain prior to 1850, argue that Walsh's publication of Handel's *Rinaldo* 'laid the foundation of much of the firm's success'.<sup>13</sup> Another ground-breaking publication was John Cleur's *A Pocket Companion for Gentlemen and Ladies* (1724), a small book of opera songs which enjoyed great success on the market, and consequently stimulated other similar publications, such as John Browne's *The Opera Miscellany* (1725).<sup>14</sup> Throughout the eighteenth century the demand for printed operatic materials continued to grow, particularly in the final quarter of the century. Many publishers also established circulating libraries, meaning domestic performers could access operatic music for a much smaller fee.<sup>15</sup> The domestic music market was flooded with songs by British composers – such as William Shield (1748-1829), Charles Dibdin, and James Hook (1746-1927) – but Italian opera held its own in the publishing houses, appealing to consumers who wished to engage with Italian music at home.

Some British publishers were more inclined to publish Italian music than others; Longman & Broderip, Walsh, and Corri & Sutherland were amongst those who frequently published Italian operatic music. Some publishers, such as Corri & Sutherland, Monzani & Cimador, and Clementi & Co., had one or more Italian directors that were based in England, and many of these also had formal partnerships with Italian publishing firms. British publishers of Italian opera engaged closely with the contemporary repertoire of the King's Theatre, which – as will be shown in Chapter 2 – had a strong impact on the development of domestic collections. What was performed on the London stage was almost immediately printed for the domestic market, making a very public musical genre accessible to opera enthusiasts whilst they were at home. However, in addition to the strong influence of the King's Theatre on the publishing market, Emily Green has noted the powerful agency of music publishers themselves in the late eighteenth century, arguing that they acted as 'prosumers' – defined as a consumer who becomes involved with designing or customizing products to add value – through their active involvement in the creation of musical scores:

Publishers might be considered prosumers because of the ways they affected the content of musical products. It is evident from surviving correspondence that they influenced generic designations and dedications as well as the ordering of sets; they determined a

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<sup>13</sup> Charles Humphries and William C. Smith, *Music Publishing in the British Isles: From the Beginning until the Middle of the Nineteenth Century; A Dictionary of Engravers, Printers, Publishers, and Music Sellers, with a Historical Introduction* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1970), 18.

<sup>14</sup> *A Pocket Companion for Gentlemen and Ladies* was one of the first music publications to be sold by subscription. See: *Music Publishing in the British Isles*, 22.

<sup>15</sup> David Allan, *A Nation of Readers: The Lending Library in Georgian England* (London: The British Library, 2008).



great deal of both the notes themselves and the significant packaging that colored a user's experience of the music.<sup>16</sup>

Scores used at the King's Theatre needed to be adapted to suit domestic performance contexts before they could be sold at publishing houses. Operatic overtures, arias, and duets were re-arranged to suit domestic and amateur performers, adjusting the number of performers and accompanying instruments as necessary. Orchestral accompaniments were usually reduced to a single keyboard part, enabling domestic vocalists to accompany themselves or be accompanied by a relative. Jeanice Brooks argues that keyboard instruments enabled large-scale musical works, including opera, to be adapted for home performances, which further contributed to the blurred distinction between notions of 'public' and 'private' in musical and domestic spheres. Some printed sheet music did include arrangements of operatic arias and duets with ensemble accompaniments; for example, several items in the MMC include accompaniment for 'Corni, Flauti, Vio 1, Vio 2, Viola 1, Viola 2 and Basso'.<sup>17</sup> But there is little evidence to suggest that these parts were actually used, and they became much less common after c.1800, when fully realised keyboard accompaniments appeared more frequently.

Keyboard instruments – the harpsichord, in earlier years, before it was superseded by the pianoforte – were the standard domestic instrument of the era, and a symbol of domestic femininity. There were a huge range of keyboard instruments available; those that could afford it purchased the most expensive and recent designs, whilst those of more modest means opted for more common designs, which were much cheaper and more readily available.<sup>18</sup> Keyboards were used in a broad range of social settings, by families of varying wealth and status; therefore, arranging Italian operatic music into scores for voice and keyboard meant the genre was accessible to a broader domestic market. Amateur vocalists did not need an ensemble of instrumentalists to accompany them, nor did they need to own the most fashionable keyboard instrument to enjoy performing the genre. Moreover, the functions of different keyboard instruments reflect the different ways that Italian opera was performed in the home. Grand pianos were likely to be placed in the centre of an exquisitely decorated aristocratic music room, on display to guests and used for performances – including of Italian operatic music – during evening entertainments. In contrast, the

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<sup>16</sup> Emily H. Green, 'Music's First Consumers: Publishers in the Late Eighteenth Century', in *Consuming Music: Individuals, Institutions, Communities, 1730–1830*, ed. Emily H. Green (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2017), 23.

<sup>17</sup> Such as Bianchi's 'Per pietà padron mio' from Vol. 321 of the MMC, published by Longman and Broderip in 1787.

<sup>18</sup> For example, in 1792 the Buccleuch family purchased a new 'Patent Piano forte' from John Broadwood, London's leading piano maker at the time. See Brooks, 'Staging the Home', in *A Passion for Opera* [...], 40–41. Some less wealthy families, including the Austen family, rented rather than purchased pianos. See Samantha Carrasco, 'The Austen Family Music Books and Hampshire Music Culture, 1770–1820' (PhD diss., University of Southampton, 2013), 14.

more contained square piano design was more likely to be tucked away in smaller rooms, for use during private practice.<sup>19</sup>

In many ways, the collection of music for the home reflected broader practices and functions of consumption throughout the Georgian era. Firstly, it was often equally as prolific as other forms of collecting, particularly book collecting, as many surviving collections demonstrate. For example, the MMC features over three hundred volumes of music purchased by Duchess Elizabeth and her family over several generations. The majority of these volumes contain dozens of individually collected items of music, either purchased sheet music or copied manuscript, amounting to thousands of musical scores in total across the collection.<sup>20</sup> Many other families were similarly active in their music collecting. The collection at Harewood House, developed primarily by the 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Harewood (1740-1820) as well as other inhabitants of the house over the course of approximately 100 years, contains over 114 volumes of music, whilst the collection at Castle Howard, owned by Georgiana, 6<sup>th</sup> Countess of Carlisle (1783-1858), contains approximately 60 volumes. The Sykes and Egerton families, too, were avid collectors of music, as is evident though the surviving collection at Tatton Park today; the full extent of this collection is still undetermined, but Elizabeth Sykes alone owned at least 50 volumes, held in a designated music library. Each of these families were also enthusiastic book collectors, and alongside their music libraries were extensive book collections. The 3rd Duke and Duchess of Buccleuch were particularly passionate about reading; they commissioned a new library for Dalkeith, and records show that it was frequently used by family members and guests.<sup>21</sup> Rogers has explored the book collecting habits of Duchess Elizabeth's mother, Mary, whose surviving book catalogue gives an insight into the extent of her engagement with literature and intellectual culture.<sup>22</sup> Mary's book collecting habits bear close resemblance to Duchess Elizabeth's collection of music; likewise, Elizabeth Sykes shared her love of collecting with her brother, Sir Mark Masterman Sykes (1771-1823), who was one of the most noted bibliophiles of the era. Harewood House and Castle Howard, too, have large book collections alongside their music libraries. The concurrent development of music and book collections suggests that they should be considered alongside each other by scholars today, and examined under similar measures.

Methods of displaying musical scores in the home also bore similarities to the display of books, as well as artwork, furnishings, sculpture, and more. Many wealthy families compiled their sheet music and scores into bound volumes, often with luxurious leather bindings. For example, the

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<sup>19</sup> For a more in-depth discussion of this, and of the use of different keyboard instruments in the home, see Penelope Cave, 'Piano Lessons in the English Country House, 1785-1845' (PhD diss., University of Southampton, 2013), 26-35.

<sup>20</sup> The sheet music in the MMC was mostly acquired from Corri & Sutherland, but also from London publishing firms such as Longman & Broderip and Robert Birchall.

<sup>21</sup> Dalkeith Palace Library Book 1795-1832, NRS, GD224/1063/1.

<sup>22</sup> Rogers, 143-166.

Duchess of Buccleuch bound up music from before her marriage into elaborate full calf folio volumes, each devoted to different genres (such as ‘Serious Italian Operas’) and engraved with the Buccleuch family crest (see Figures 1.1, 1.2 and 1.3). Many of the bound volumes in the Gladstone collection were equally as luxurious, in particular the full-length scores of Mozart’s operas. Bound volumes were proudly exhibited in elite households, sometimes in specially designed music rooms and music libraries, on display to guests amongst the family’s broader home collections.<sup>23</sup> The collection of music therefore tapped into developing notions of bibliomania, which had reached unprecedented heights c.1800.<sup>24</sup> Increasing tendencies across the eighteenth century to promote intellectual and cultural identity through material possessions meant that it was not just the norm, but also expected of those in elite social spheres to fill their houses with extensive book collections, and houses were specially designed to accommodate and exhibit them.<sup>25</sup> Jeanice Brooks has advocated for the inclusion of music in discussions of bibliomania, using the library at Tatton Park to show how music books, like those of literature and poetry, formed carefully curated collections that had a broader social utility.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Dedicated music rooms were rare in country houses before 1750, but by the late eighteenth century they began to appear more frequently, speaking to the significance of music in elite domestic spheres. Tatton Park, for example, has an exquisitely decorated music room, completed in c.1825 as part of a refurbishment of the house. See: *Tatton Park* (National Trust; Reprint edition, 1962); and Brooks, ‘Musical Monuments for the Country House: Music, Collection and Display at Tatton Park’, *Music & Letters* 91 (2010): 513–35. Equally as lavish is the music room at Harewood House; see: Mary Mauchline, *Harewood House* (David & Charles, 1974), 73–76. The Dalkeith Palace Library book does not include records of the family’s music books, which suggests that they, too, were kept in a specially designated room.

<sup>24</sup> Philip Connell, ‘Bibliomania: Book Collecting, Cultural Politics, and the Rise of Literary Heritage in Romantic Britain’, *Representations* 71 (2000): 24–47.

<sup>25</sup> See: Jon Stobart and Mark Rothery, *Consumption and the Country House* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016). These notions were not exclusive to country houses; the importance of collection and display in town houses has recently been brought to the forefront of research in this field. See: Susanna Avery-Quash and Kate Retford (eds.), *The Georgian London Town House: Building, Collecting and Display* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2019).

<sup>26</sup> Brooks, ‘Musical Monuments [...]’.



Figure 1.1. Bindings of Opera Scores in the MMC. © *The Buccleuch Collections*



Figure 1.2. Binding to MMC Vol. 333. © *The Buccleuch Collections*





**Figure 1.3. Binding to MMC Vol. 300, featuring extracts from Italian comic operas by Pietro Alessandro Guglielmi (1728-1804) and Antonio Sacchini (1730-1786).**

*© The Buccleuch Collections*

Some forms of music collecting, much like the development of broader home collections, were susceptible to negative criticisms, forming part of broader disparagements about conspicuous

consumption and aristocratic excess.<sup>27</sup> There is evidence across music collections of the era – particularly those developed in elite households – to indicate that some scores were consciously consumed as collectors’ items rather than for performance purposes. For example, one of the most distinguished features of the MMC is a series of opera scores (mostly full-length), including many of the most eminent operatic works of the eighteenth century.<sup>28</sup> The majority of these volumes feature no annotations or signs of frequent use; the same can be said for several full-length opera scores owned by Thomas Gladstone, and a set of four manuscript volumes containing Purcell’s odes and anthems at Tatton Park, which were valuable collectors’ items that reflected the family’s broader engagement with antiquity. This suggests that these scores were largely collected for display or perusal rather than to perform from, as part of an increasing effort amongst the aristocracy to promote elite taste and idealised domestic life through consumption.

Nonetheless, these volumes also hold significant intellectual, cultural, and domestic value, and they provide important insights for scholarly understanding of eighteenth-century musical consumption. Firstly, the prominent role of women in collecting these scores supports recently developed arguments that views of book collecting as a principally masculine pursuit need to be re-examined.<sup>29</sup> Women played an important role in the development of rare collections, and were often more responsible than their male relatives for the selection and purchase of musical scores. Arguments that the *nouveaux riches* were more prone to conspicuous consumption are also challenged. Many criticised what they perceived to be consumption for the sake of consumption, void of any anchor in genuine taste, competencies, or practises. But the principal case studies of this thesis show that the collection of music did not necessarily conform with this stereotype. The Egertons’ music collection is deeply personal, with the contents showcasing the specific tastes of Elizabeth and her family. The quantity of music books in the Tatton Park collection is a judicious reflection of the prominence of music-making as a domestic activity in their household, likewise that of the MMC and the Buccleuch family. Moreover, the contents of the collections themselves hold deep socio-cultural values. The MMC, Gladstone, and Sykes/Egerton collections all reflect their owners’ personal experiences, tastes, and their broader engagement with Italian culture.

Brooks comments on this in relation to the Montagu collection:

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<sup>27</sup> Some of the negative perceptions of bibliomaniac activities are explored in Revd Thomas Frognall Dibdin, *The Bibliomania: or, Book-Madness; Containing Some Account of the History, Symptoms, and Cure of This Fatal Disease* (London, 1809). See also: Peter Burke, ‘*Res et verba*: Conspicuous Consumption in the Early Modern World’, in *Consumption and the World of Goods*, ed. John Brewer and John Porter (London: Routledge, 1993), 148-161.

<sup>28</sup> These volumes are explored in detail in Chapter 2.2, and an index is provided in Appendix 1.

<sup>29</sup> Dibdin claimed that bibliomania was limited to higher-class men: see *The Bibliomania: or, Book-Madness*, 11. For a detailed exploration of gendered consumption, see: Jennie Batchelor and Cora Kaplan (eds.), *Women and Material Culture, 1660-1830* (Basingstoke, Palgrave MacMillan, 2007); and the chapters ‘Gentlemen’s Things’ and ‘Gentlewomen’s Things’ in Stobart and Rothary (eds.), *Consumption and the Country House*.

Scanning the shelves at Dalkeith Palace, and handling the scores they proudly displayed, Duchess Elizabeth could imagine the sounds that created her musical life in all its many manifestations at home and in the theatre, from her childhood until the very end of her life. Today, the Montagu Music Collection at Boughton House is an eloquent material witness to the rich and varied musical world she inhabited both within and outside her home.

The Gladstone collection, too, reflects important developments in opera culture in the first half of the nineteenth century, not least including the prominence of Mozart and Rossini on the London stage, whilst the collectors' items in the Tatton Park collection reflect the revival of classical antiquity in the musical world. Music books were not simply material, or even musical objects; they were a reflection of the homes they occupied, and served as mementos of the socio-cultural engagements of their owners. They demonstrate that consumption could be both for display and for serving intellectual and artistic ends; the two purposes were not mutually exclusive. This argument has been explored by scholars in relation to non-musical goods, but it is also applicable to musical objects, especially those with operatic origins, given the tensions surrounding Italian opera and British elite identity.<sup>30</sup>

Once operatic scores had been purchased, they continued to spread across domestic spheres. Music was often shared between friends and relatives, with many domestic performers bringing music with them when they travelled between houses. Young women such as Elizabeth Sykes also often brought music collections from their youth with them to their marital homes, conjoining their collections with that of their new family's.<sup>31</sup> Shared music, as well as music borrowed from circulating libraries, was often copied by hand into manuscript books, contributing to the dissemination of musical and operatic materials between different households. Several manuscripts of this kind belonged to Elizabeth Sykes and her sister-in-law and cousin Mary, and they survive today at Tatton Park, with Italian operatic music found interspersed with other genres. The contribution of multiple hands to these copybooks also reflects the circulation of Italian music and culture, suggesting that manuscript books facilitated musical and cultural exchange, as well as the sharing of domestic experiences.

Miscellaneous sheet music was often bound together, sometimes with manuscript items, to form unique and personal composite volumes of music. Brooks argues that the creation of these miscellaneous music books bears resemblance to other domestic pastimes often categorised as crafting.<sup>32</sup> Ariane Fennetaux defines craft as 'a meaningful process whereby women not only expressed themselves as individuals but above all organised, appropriated, and made sense of the

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<sup>30</sup> Maxine Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005).

<sup>31</sup> Leena Rana, 'Music and Elite Identity in the English Country House, c.1790-1840' (PhD diss., University of Southampton, 2012), 103-136.

<sup>32</sup> Brooks, 'Music and the Culture of Domestic Craft' (Unpublished typescript, 2018); and 'Making Music' in *Jane Austen: Writer in the World*, ed. Kathryn Sutherland (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2017), 36-55.

world around them.’<sup>33</sup> This certainly reflects the process of compiling music books. The significance of crafting practices has emerged in recent scholarly literature. Freya Gowrley, Molly Peacock, and Madeleine Pelling have explored the collaging activities of elite women, in particular the Bluestockings Mary Delany (née Granville, 1700-1788) and Margaret Cavendish Bentinck, Duchess of Portland (1715-1785), at Bulstrode Park.<sup>34</sup> Pelling argues that collaging activities, alongside sketching, painting, spinning, embroidery, wood-turning, flower-drying and shellwork, represented a ‘unique combination of elite female learning and, often, singularly tactile and sensory responses to the worldly objects collected, traded and displayed there’.<sup>35</sup> Similarly, Serena Dyer has explored the scrapbooking of dress fabrics, arguing that the album of Barbara Johnson, which contains over a hundred samples of fabrics acquired throughout Johnson’s life, acted as a material regulator and account book, providing ‘important evidence of how consumers maintained and developed their material literacy’.<sup>36</sup> Many of these arguments also apply to the formation of miscellaneous music volumes. Like scrapbooks and collages, miscellaneous music books are the product of multiple processes of collection and construction, including the careful selection and copying of music and the categorisation and ordering of this music. They show how the collection of music was used to map a rapidly expanding and multifarious material world, incorporating physical acts of crafting with metaphysical cultural engagement. They were also used to illustrate the carefully cultivated identities of their owners, reflecting their domesticity, femininity, and familial ideals.

Moreover, the inclusion of Italian operatic extracts in these books shows how women were incorporating ideas of ‘Italy’ and its imagined sounds into their conceptual worlds. Each Italianate score reflected both the owner’s engagement with that specific operatic work, and their broader understanding and perception of Italian culture. Individual arias and duets compiled together each had their own unique origins; they had different composers, texts, and may have been designed for a specific professional singer, institution, and/or geographical location. But they were placed alongside each other, serving as a material representation of the owner’s experiences of opera and their understanding of ‘Italy’ more broadly. Bound volumes of Italian music, then, can be seen as both a reflection of the elaborate web of Italian operatic culture at home and abroad, as well as Britain’s consumption of Italian opera as a singular entity. When Italian music was bound together with music of other genres, the volumes also served as a material indication of the role of Italian

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<sup>33</sup> Ariane Fennetaux, ‘Female Crafts: Women and Bricolage in Late Georgian Britain, 1750 -1820’, in *Women and Things, 1750-1950*, ed. Maureen Daly Goggin and Beth Fowkes Tobin (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), 92.

<sup>34</sup> See: Freya Gowrley, ‘Collage before Modernism’, in *Cut and Paste: 400 Years of Collage*, ed. P. Elliott (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland Publishing, 2019); and Madeleine Pelling, ‘Collecting the World: Female Friendship and Domestic Craft at Bulstrode Park’, *Journal for Eighteenth- Century Studies* 41, no. 1 (January 2018), 101-120.

<sup>35</sup> Pelling, ‘Collecting the world [...]’, 104.

<sup>36</sup> Serena Dyer, ‘Barbara Johnson’s Album: Material Literacy and Consumer Practice, 1746-1823’, *Journal of British Studies* 42, no. 3 (2019), 263-82.



opera within the owner's broader musical activities and engagement, and the role of Italian opera in British music culture more broadly.

Printed and copied music was not the only form of music collection that contributed to the spread of Italian culture in domestic spheres. Of course, familial musical activity was also depicted in paintings and instruments, but Italian opera in particular appeared in other printed forms. Musical instruction books were placed alongside musical scores and other educational and conduct literature, and some such books specifically focused on instructions for performing Italian opera; these are explored in further detail in Chapters 2.1 and 3. Moreover, many surviving domestic collections also feature opera libretti. These were generally purchased for opera attendance, to make it easier to follow the performance, but they were also saved as mementos, forming part of broader Italianate collections in domestic spheres. Libretti by major figures such as Carlo Goldoni (1707-1793) and Pietro Metastasio (1698-1782) were considered important works of literature, and they were consumed and displayed as such in the home. The library at Dalkeith features several opera libretti, including works by Goldoni, Metastasio, and Ranieri de' Calzabigi (1714-1795).<sup>37</sup> The collection at Calke Abbey in Derbyshire, too, holds several libretti, focusing on some of the most significant Italian operas produced in Britain in the 1830s, such as: Lorenzo Da Ponte's *Don Giovanni* (as performed in London in 1837) and *Le nozze di Figaro* (as performed in Edinburgh in 1838), both set to music by Mozart; Cesare Sterbini's *Il barbiere di Siviglia* (set to music by Rossini); and Salvatore Cammarano's *Lucia di Lammermoor* (set by Donizetti), to name just a few.<sup>38</sup> The collection at Hardwick Hall also features some of the London publications of librettos set by Rossini, including *Semiramide* and *Il barbiere di Siviglia*. It is likely that these libretti were purchased for similar purposes to the full-length opera scores that feature in the MMC and Gladstone collection; they were collectors' items, to be occasionally consulted, but not used on a day-to-day basis.

In addition to printed musical materials, Italian culture was also represented in domestic spheres in a broad range of other physical forms, and this has received significant previous scholarly attention. Many Italianate items survive in the Buccleuch collection; for example, the Duchess purchased a set of miniature replicas of classical sculpture from the Rome-based porcelain manufacturer, Giovanni Volpato, and the family also own a large collection of Italian paintings that hang today at Bowhill House. The origins of many of these items are unknown, but they reflect the family's broader interest in the Italian masters and antiquity.<sup>39</sup> Tatton Park in particular holds an

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<sup>37</sup> Dalkeith Palace Library Book 1795-1832, NRS, GD224/1063/1. This book indicates which items were borrowed from the library. The references found for libretti usually have titles such as 'Opera di Goldoni', meaning the specific work consulted by the borrower is unknown.

<sup>38</sup> These can be found at: <http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/>.

<sup>39</sup> Paul Boucher with Crispin Powell, 'Elizabeth Montagu, 3rd Duchess of Buccleuch', in *A Passion for Opera* [...], 24.

extensive Italianate collection, as explored in depth by Leena Rana.<sup>40</sup> Elizabeth Sykes never travelled on the continent, but her taste for Italian culture can be seen through the many Italian objects she and her husband Wilbraham brought to Tatton during their marriage, in particular furniture and ornaments. When placed alongside broader representations of Italian opera and culture, opera scores hold even greater value in domestic collections. It shows they not only represented the circulation of music, but also the consumption of European culture in British domestic spheres on a wider scale. In return, the presence of carefully-selected scores provides an intellectual backdrop for the collection of Italianate objects. Analysis of domestic ‘taste’ is often reserved for the consumption physical objects and household decorations. But the consumption of opera scores encompassed both material and intellectual values, reflecting their owners’ understanding and interpretation of the outside world.

### 1.3 The Domestic Sphere: An Alternative Stage?

The *prima donna* and *castrato* singers that dominated opera culture in the eighteenth century were not only influential in professional opera spheres, but also in private households, shaping the reception and consumption of Italian opera inside and outside the home. Their presence filled seats at the King’s Theatre; their names were used to sell music at the publishing houses, influencing choice of repertoire for amateur performers; and their vocal style shaped domestic performance practices and vocal pedagogy.<sup>41</sup> Often, singers appeared on the title pages of printed operatic sheet music, meaning they appeared virtually in people’s homes. Many publications of Italian arias featured the ornamentation performed by a specific singer; many amateur singers, then, would have deliberately emulated their vocal style during lessons, practice, and performances in the home. But in some cases, the singers themselves were physically part of domestic environments, on an occasional or consistent basis.

Italian opera stars played an important role in many of the private concerts held in elite households. The Egertons’ concerts in their town house in St James’s Square frequently featured popular singers employed at the King’s Theatre, and they performed well-known operatic arias and duets. Leena Rana has explored these concerts in depth, noting that personal connections made between Wilbraham Egerton and opera singers backstage at the King’s Theatre ‘might explain how these stars ended up in their town house’.<sup>42</sup> Rana notes that the repertoire performed at the Egertons’ concerts – such as extracts from Rossini’s *Tancredi* (Venice, 1813; London, 1820) – does not reflect the operatic repertoire found in the couple’s music library, and Elizabeth herself is not known to have performed at the concerts. This suggests that Elizabeth’s personal engagement

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<sup>40</sup> Rana, ‘127-137.

<sup>41</sup> See: John Rosselli, *Singers of Italian Opera: The History of a Profession* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992)

<sup>42</sup> Rana, 226. See Appendix 1 for an in-depth exploration of the Egertons’ London concerts.

with Italian operatic repertoire as a performer was not linked with her role in staging these concerts. However, both activities form part of her broader engagement with Italian opera as a genre, and her interaction with Italian culture more broadly; in particular, the latter meant that she was directly interacting with Italian speakers and performers.

In addition to performing in private concerts, some opera stars were invited into people's homes as guests, dining with their patrons, and sometimes enjoying extended visits. Country houses were an important aspect of opera culture in the eighteenth century; when the main season ended, stars of the opera left London and moved round the country, performing in provincial festivals and staying in aristocratic households. Thus, opera singers were a means by which operatic culture travelled directly into domestic spheres, providing a direct source of engagement for both patrons and amateur performers. These singers can be considered separately to the Italian masters who taught in domestic spheres, which are explored in further detail below, but there is much overlap between the two; many of the most prominent teachers were also famous singers, who gave both public and private concerts, and they visited their patrons' houses in both capacities.<sup>43</sup>

The soprano Angelica Catalani epitomizes the glamorous role played by opera singers in the Georgian era, and how they could impact the domestic lives of their British supporters. She was considered to be the greatest soprano to grace the London stage in the early nineteenth century, making her debut at the King's Theatre in 1806 in Marco Portogallo's *La morte di Semiramide*. In many ways Catalani was divisive and controversial, with her extremely high salaries and supposedly autocratic behaviour making her an easy target for xenophobic criticism of opera culture. But she was adored by the opera-going elite, including members of the Buccleuch household. Her Edinburgh benefit concerts were frequently attended by the family, and hailed in particular by Major Walter Scott, an illegitimate son of the 2nd Duke of Buccleuch who lived at Dalkeith Palace. Scott domesticised Catalani's performances by pasting the playbills onto the front and back covers of a Dalkeith Palace dinner book (covering the years 1806-1825), making them clearly visible to guests and using them to frame the family's social and domestic activities of that time period.<sup>44</sup> But this dinner book also shows that Catalani also dined with the family at Dalkeith Palace on February 3rd 1810, performed for them in the evening, and stayed overnight. Scott described this as 'a fine day', noting that 'Mdm. Catalani charm'd the company in the evening by singing some beautiful airs & performing attitudes with a shawl....'. Catalani most likely performed the same repertoire from her Edinburgh concerts, but in domestic arrangements with a piano accompaniment, resembling the repertoire performed by members of the Buccleuch family in

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<sup>43</sup> The research included in the following discussion is a collaborative effort by members of the AHRC-funded Music, Home, and Heritage research project. The ideas are explored in detail in Brooks, 'Stars of the Opera', *A Passion for Opera* [...].

<sup>44</sup> NRS, GD224/1085/5.

the same home. Her performance of ‘attitudes with a shawl’ – a series of poses representing figures from classical antiquity, made famous by Emma Hamilton (1765-1815) – is particularly significant; Catalani’s interpretation of the Attitudes on the professional stage was met with controversy and mixed success, and thus post-1808 she seemingly chose to confine these performances to private, domestic settings, with selective aristocratic audiences.<sup>45</sup> Exclusive evening entertainments such as these, alongside broader private concerts featuring operatic singers, represent several important aspects of elite British engagement with Italian opera and culture, not least including the significance of the patronage system that shaped the British arts industry in the eighteenth century, and the close connection between Italian opera and elite spheres. The seemingly exclusive King’s Theatre audiences were in fact far broader than those who were able to enjoy private performances from their favourite stars in intimate settings.

Some opera stars went one step further, living with aristocratic families for extended periods or on a permanent basis. Giuseppe Giustinelli, the soprano *castrato* who performed at the King’s theatre in the 1760s, became part of the household of the 9<sup>th</sup> Earl of Home from the 1770s onwards. Giustinelli therefore lived and socialised with a number of aristocratic families, including the Duke and Duchess of Buccleuch, whose daughter Lady Elizabeth Montagu married the 10<sup>th</sup> Earl of Home in 1798. Giustinelli spent time with the Buccleuch family when they visited The Hirsell (the Home family seat), but also at Dalkeith Palace when the Home family went to stay there. It is likely that Duchess Elizabeth saw him perform in her youth, in operas such as Johann Christian Bach’s *Orione* (London, 1763) and Gioacchino Cocchi’s comic pastiche *Il tutore e la pupilla* (London, 1762). Much like Catalani, then, Giustinelli was drawn directly from the professional stage into the Duchess’s domestic life, bridging the gap between the home and the stage. Giustinelli originally lived with the Home family as a teacher, but the Dalkeith Palace dinner books show that he was a long-lasting member of the household, dining with them every night for extended periods and participating in evening entertainments.<sup>46</sup> However, Giustinelli’s position and status in the household is somewhat unclear. In one of Dalkeith’s evening entertainments, ‘The Mistakes of the Night’ – a musical drama performed on November 26<sup>th</sup> 1805 by members of the household – Giustinelli’s character is mocked for his foreign status and operatic roots. As explained by Brooks: ‘Giustinelli was clearly a much-loved member of the Buccleuch connection, but his position was equivocal... [the Buccleuchs] evidently did not feel that sharing family life with a *castrato* singer was a problem, but his roasting in ‘The Mistakes of the Night’ nevertheless underlined both his dependent status and the exotic foreignness of his operatic identity’.<sup>47</sup> Certainly, it was unusual for

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<sup>45</sup> Rachel Cowgill, ‘“Attitudes with a Shawl”: Femininity, Performance, and Spectatorship at the Italian Opera in early nineteenth-century London’, in *The Arts of the Prima Donna in the Long Nineteenth Century*, ed. Cowgill and Hilary Poriss (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 217-251.

<sup>46</sup> A Dalkeith Palace dinner book identifies Giustinelli as ‘The Friend of Lord Home who has lived in his family many years’. NRS, GD224/1085/5.

<sup>47</sup> Brooks, ‘Stars of the Opera’, 65.

opera stars to live with families on a permanent basis, even if solely to provide security in old age, particularly because closeness to a professional musician had the potential to taint a family's reputation if it went too far beyond a working relationship. But, as we will see, many Italian singing masters did live with their aristocratic clients for many months at a time, forming part of their household and blurring the business and social aspects of their relationship. Giustinelli's relationship with the Buccleuch family thus reflects the broader tendency of British patrons of Italian opera to interact with stars in personal as well as a professional capacities.

The physical presence of opera stars in aristocratic households also blurred the boundaries between private, domestic spheres, and public, professional environments. Opera singers not only brought operatic culture directly from the stage to the home, but they also began to embody domestic ideals themselves, becoming part of the life of the house. The public world of professional opera clearly infiltrated the domestic, which raises questions about connections between the 'public' opera house and the 'private' home. Given that many aristocratic women utilised their opera boxes as extensions of their homes, using them to entertain guests and project idealised images of taste and cultural engagement, one might query how different the two spaces really were. Some country houses even shared the same architects as opera houses; for example, Castle Howard was designed by Sir John Vanbrugh (1664-1726), who was also responsible for the King's Theatre in the Haymarket, and as we know, aristocratic houses were sometimes even used for large-scale theatrical performances.<sup>48</sup> Obvious distinctions remain; Catalani's choice of evening entertainment demonstrates that certain performance styles were only suitable for domestic settings, and vice versa. Nevertheless, the close connection between the home and the opera house meant that contemporary singers from the King's Theatre were able to bring operatic culture directly into the heart of domestic life, enabling their supporters to engage with the genre and with Italian culture in intimate contexts.

## 1.4 Italian Singing Masters

Singers were not the only opera stars to cross the threshold into domestic spheres. The increasing popularity of Italian opera as genre for amateur performance resulted in the demand for vocal tuition by native speakers. Many of the performers and composers who migrated to Britain following the establishment of Italian opera in London also worked as pedagogues, becoming teachers both to dilettanti and aspiring professionals. Teaching was not considered a lesser outlet than composing or performing; in fact, many of the most famous *castrati* taught alongside their performing careers, proudly declaring themselves as pedagogues, and publishing their teachings in

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<sup>48</sup> Castle Howard was commissioned by the Earl of Carlisle in 1699. The King's Theatre referred to here is the one built in 1704-1705 (originally known as the Queen's Theatre), which was later destroyed in a fire and rebuilt.

treatises. Some of the most well-known *castrati* of the day – including Venanzio Rauzzini and Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci – were also some of the most reputable singing teachers in Britain, having migrated from the Continent to build their careers after training at Italian conservatoires. Once in Britain, they continued to move in the same circles, working and socialising together – mainly in the musical capitals of London, Bath, and Edinburgh – as part of the ‘inner circle’ of the elite British music scene.

Italian singing masters were recognised for their ability to provide specialised training for those wishing to perform Italian music. They were important agents of cultural transfer, teaching amateur vocalists how to sing in the ‘Italian style’, and contributing significantly to the implementation of Italian culture in domestic settings. They occupied a similar cultural space to opera stars, even if they had never been or were no longer famous performers themselves. Upper-class families sought to associate themselves with a famous singing master to show off their own awareness of fashion and culture. However, the relationship between a singing master and his client was mutually beneficial. Aristocratic patronage was particularly important for foreign musicians as they needed to develop powerful networks in new countries to retain financial stability.

One renowned Italian singing master developed a close relationship with the Buccleuch family: Domenico Corri, who was one of the most eminent pedagogues of the era. Born in Rome, he began musical instruction at the age of six, and moved to Naples to study with Niccolò Porpora (1686-1768), who also taught Joseph Haydn. Corri studied alongside Rauzzini and Muzio Clementi (1752-1832), developing strong friendships with these that lasted throughout their careers. After meeting Charles Burney, the music historian and composer, he was invited to conduct for the Edinburgh Musical Society, where his wife, Alice Bacchelli, was also invited to sing. The family moved to Edinburgh in 1771, where they remained for 18 years, reuniting with other Italian musicians, including Rauzzini and Clementi, who had also migrated to Britain. During this time, Corri established himself in both London and Edinburgh. The entire Corri family were very much at the heart of the British music scene, working as music publishers, instrument sellers, performers, composers, impresarios, and teachers. They frequently hosted private musical soirées in their homes where they socialised with aristocrats and fellow elite musicians and composers. Giacomo Gotifredo Ferrari, another eminent vocal pedagogue of the era, mentions visiting the Corri house in his memoirs, noting that it enabled him to become friends with ‘the most eminent professors of the metropolis’. Not all Italian expatriates were as flattering: Lorenzo Da Ponte (1749-1838) regretted his association with Corri and castigated him for his lack of financial sense, describing him as ‘a man of good talent in music, but frivolous, visionary, and sometimes a liar’.

The Duchess’s relationship with the Corri family likely started as early as 1771, when Domenico arrived in Edinburgh. Corri mentions the Buccleuch family at this point in his memoirs, thanking them first on the list of noble families who provided him with patronage and support:

We [...] arrived at Edinburgh, August 1771; and here I beg leave to make my most sincere and grateful acknowledgements for the liberal favour and support we received from the noble families of Buccleugh, Gordon, Hamilton, Lauderdale, Argyle, Athol, Elphinstone, Kelly, Elgin, Errol, Haddo, Hopton, Melville, Haddington, Selkirk, Breadalbane and Lothian; also, the gentlemen directors of the music society, and the Scotch nation in general.<sup>49</sup>

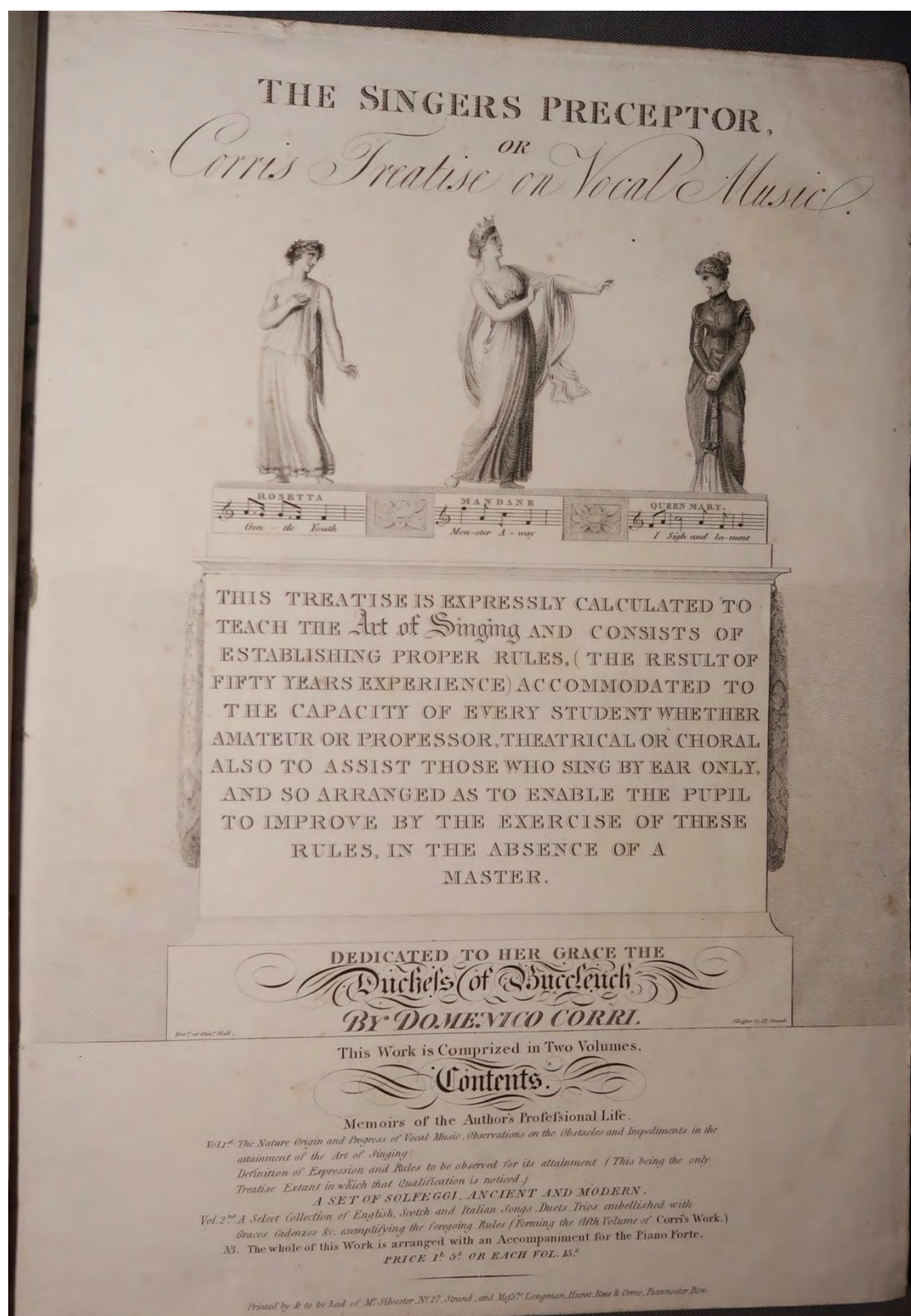
The two families interacted frequently, with the Corris offering a multitude of business services, such as the supply of sheet music, and the Duchess supporting them in return. But perhaps the most significant aspect of their relationship was the provision of singing lessons for the Duchess's daughters, Ladies Elizabeth and Caroline, beginning no later than 1782. There are multiple bills for these lessons in the Buccleuch family archives.<sup>50</sup> The girls received lessons from both Natale and Domenico, usually at Dalkeith Palace, occurring at least weekly and sometimes more often, during the months the family were at home. Natale and Domenico enjoyed extremely generous fees for this tuition, sometimes receiving £2 2s for each lesson. This was much higher than the standard rate, which was approximately 5s per lesson in the 1780s for lesser-known teachers, stretching up to a guinea for those well respected in the industry.<sup>51</sup> The frequency and high cost of these lessons shows that vocal tuition was a significant aspect of the family's musical life, and of Ladies Elizabeth and Caroline's upbringing and education. Duchess Elizabeth invested heavily in specialist tuition even when the family was travelling around the country; Domenico continued to teach them in London and Richmond after he moved to the capital in 1790. The significance of the Duchess's patronage of Domenico is evident through the dedication of his vocal treatise *The Singers Preceptor* to her in 1810, with her name proudly displayed on the title page (see Figure 1.4).

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<sup>49</sup> 'Life of Domenico Corri' in Domenico Corri, *The Singers Preceptor, or Corris Treatise on Vocal Music*, Vol. 1 (London: Silvester; and Longman, Hurst, Rees & Orme, 1810), 2.

<sup>50</sup> Payments for lessons to Domenico and Natale Corri are documented in the following accounts and vouchers at the NRS: GD224/351/60 (1797-1798); GD224/351/62 (1796-1797); GD224/351/68 (1798); GD224/462/2 (1792-1795); GD224/365/20 (1782-1783); GD224/365/31 (1783-1784); GD224/365/44 (1784); GD224/365/50 (1785); and GD224/365/59 (1785-1786). With thanks to Katrina Faulds for transcribing and synthesising these vouchers.

<sup>51</sup> Deborah Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians, 1750-1850: A Profession of Artisans* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 136.



**Figure 1.4. Domenico Corri (1746-1825), *The Singers Preceptor, or Corri's Treatise on Vocal Music* (London: Silvester; and Longman, Hurst, Rees & Orme, 1810), title page. MMC Vol.**

**455. © The Buccleuch Collections**



Another singing master who benefited from aristocratic patronage was Ferrari. Born in Roveredo, a town in the southern part of the Italian Tyrol, he studied singing and the harpsichord in Verona before travelling around Europe and pursuing a musical career from 1784. Upon his second visit to Britain in 1792, he was employed by the notorious Georgiana Cavendish, Duchess of Devonshire, after their aforementioned meeting in Brussels, to teach the Duchess's daughters Ladies Georgiana and Harriet.<sup>52</sup> The Duchess became the most significant British patron of his career, and Ferrari's association with her led to further employment in the highest of social circles. For example, the Duchess's 'intimate friend' Lady Elizabeth Foster also arranged for Ferrari to teach two of her nieces, Lady Carolina Chrichton and Miss Harvey, who Ferrari described as bringing him 'great honour and advantage.'<sup>53</sup> Moreover, in 1800 Ferrari was appointed as singing teacher to the Princess of Wales, giving her lessons twice a week at Montague House in Blackheath. In addition, Ferrari taught at some of the most prestigious schools in the country, including the College of Bromley in Kent.<sup>54</sup>

Foreign musicians, including Italian singing masters, were reliant on wealthy patrons to survive in Britain. This had been the norm since the earliest arrival of vocal pedagogues in Britain, and indeed since the arrival of foreign musicians in general, with Handel providing no better example. Pier Francesco Tosi (c.1653-1732) – who was possibly one of the first known Italian musicians to travel from the Continent to make a career in England teaching music, and certainly the first to publish a vocal treatise in Britain describing himself as an 'Italian master' – relied on the support of the Earl of Peterborough to build a career in England, as noted in the dedication of his famous treatise *Observations on the Florid Song*.<sup>55</sup> This custom continued long into the nineteenth century. Domenico Crivelli (1793/6-1856) was supported by John Fane, 11<sup>th</sup> Earl of Westmorland;<sup>56</sup> Gesualdo Lanza (1779-1859) by Lady Harriet Hamilton;<sup>57</sup> and Montague Corri (1784-1849) by the Duke of Marlborough, to name just a few examples.<sup>58</sup> This relationship between Italian musicians and British aristocracy only further contributed to the perceived exclusivity of the association between Italian opera and elite social circles.

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<sup>52</sup> The instruction began after Georgiana returned from exile in France after delivering an illegitimate child. Many have argued that this marked a more settled period of her life, until her death in 1806. See: Amanda Foreman, *Georgiana: Duchess of Devonshire* (New York: Random House, 1999). For a discussion of Ferrari's relationship with Lady Georgiana, see: Jane Troughton, 'The Role of Music in the Yorkshire Country House, 1770-1850' (PhD diss., University of York, 2014), 162-163. Troughton notes that he 'mainly taught her in London, coming to the house as often as twice a week'.

<sup>53</sup> Heckert (ed.), *Pleasing and Interesting Anecdotes* [...], 135-138.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 145-146.

<sup>55</sup> Tosi first published this treatise in Bologna in 1723, titled *Opinioni de' cantori antichi e moderni*. It was translated and published by John Galliard in England in 1742. Galliard claimed he wanted to make known an 'Italian Master' in England, and to address the mistakes frequently made by singers in England, such as the 'neglection of pronunciation and expression of words'. See: Pier Francesco Tosi, *Observations on the Florid Song* [...] (London, J. Wilcox, 1743), vi-xi.

<sup>56</sup> Noted in the dedication to his *The Art of Singing* (London, 1843). This treatise is for the 'cultivation of the bass voice' which suggests it is possible Crivelli was teaching the Earl of Westmorland himself.

<sup>57</sup> Noted in the dedication to his *Twelve Italian Ariettes for a Single Voice* (London: R. Birchall, 1794).

<sup>58</sup> Noted in the dedication to his *A Treatise on the Art of Singing* (London: Metzler & Son, 1830).

However, it was not just aristocrats who employed Italian singing masters. The most famous masters of the day certainly attracted the richest clientele, but other pedagogues taught across much broader social spectrums. For example, Ferrari taught ‘Miss Ellis and Miss Canning’ and the relationship was significant enough for him to dedicate his *L'addio, ode del duca di Lusciano* to them in 1814. Likewise, Lanza dedicated his *Six Italian Duets for Two Voices* to ‘Miss Copley’ in 1796. However, Lanza was one of many Italian masters with extremely successful professional clientele; his pupils included Catherine Stephens and Anna Maria Tree, both of whom were stars of the English stage in the early nineteenth century. Rauzzini, too, taught some of the most famous professional singers of the day.<sup>59</sup> In general, some Italian masters (Rauzzini, Lanza) were better known for teaching professional singers, whilst others (Ferrari) aligned themselves more closely with the domestic sphere. Nonetheless, the majority, including Domenico Corri, taught both professional and amateur students. This meant performers in domestic spheres were able to enjoy the same tuition as the stars they admired on the stage, directly accessing Italian operatic culture from the Continent in the comfort of their own homes. They were also able to enjoy this tuition in a space they (or their family) controlled. They could regulate the home and the environment of their singing lessons in ways that they couldn’t whilst attending the King’s Theatre or concerts, shaping their domestic consumption of the genre and setting this apart from their engagement with Italian opera in public spheres. This highlights the difference between Italian singing masters’ relationships with their professional and amateur clients; amateur vocalists – or those employing singing masters to teach their amateur children – retained the control and upper-hand in relationship, as the employer and patron.

Singing masters often grew extremely close to the families they worked for, sometimes even living with the family to provide intensive musical training. Mollie Sands touches on this whilst exploring aspects of master-apprentice relationships:

The singing-master of the eighteenth century played a far more important part in the life of his would-be professional pupils than does his counterpart today. He was indeed a master, responsible for almost every detail of their lives during their training and the first years of their public career, and not only a teacher of voice production.<sup>60</sup>

Brianna Robertson-Kirkland, too, observes the master-apprentice relationships between Rauzzini and some of his students.<sup>61</sup> Although these relations did not usually apply to amateur students, singing masters still played an important role in their everyday life, and many spent extended periods of time together, despite prevailing class barriers. Domenico and Natale Corri frequently

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<sup>59</sup> Brianna Robertson-Kirkland, ‘Are we all castrati? Venanzio Rauzzini: “The Father of a New Style in English Singing”’ (PhD diss., University of Glasgow, 2016), 226-234.

<sup>60</sup> Mollie Sands, ‘The Singing-Master in Eighteenth-Century England’, *Music & Letters* 23, no. 1 (January 1942): 69.

<sup>61</sup> Robertson-Kirkland, ‘Are we all castrati? [...]’, 226-234.

dined with the Buccleuch family at Dalkeith, along with the rest of the Corri family.<sup>62</sup> Tenducci lived for a period of time at Hopetoun House with James Hope, the 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Hopetoun (1741-1816) and his wife, Lady Elizabeth Carnegie – who were among his clientele – along with other musicians. One observer commented that this living arrangement was ‘odd’, suggesting that some found the situation to be irregular, potentially reflecting their distrust of Italian opera stars and / or musicians more broadly.<sup>63</sup> The alleged abnormality of Tenducci’s situation suggests that some may have held similar views on Giustinelli’s residency with the Home and Buccleuch families. But it was certainly common for singing masters to visit their clients for extended periods, as a guest, sometimes for months at a time. At the invitation of the Duchess of Devonshire, Ferrari stayed at Chatsworth House for a period of 6 weeks in the autumn of 1801. Ferrari speaks of deep affection for the Duke and Duchess in his memoirs, and, if his recollections are to be trusted, the couple undoubtedly enjoyed his company in return. Deborah Heckert argues that ‘long stays at Chatsworth House were one of the high points of Ferrari’s life in Britain’ and notes that ‘the setting would have been augmented by the people Ferrari would have encountered in the house, surrounding the Duke and especially the Duchess in their roles as society leaders and patrons of the arts’.<sup>64</sup> Ferrari stayed at other aristocratic houses for extended periods, too; directly after this stay at Chatsworth, he stayed at Goodwood House until January 1802 at the invitation of the Duke of Richmond, and was requested to ‘give lessons to various young ladies and his friends, and to make a little music in the evening, etc’.<sup>65</sup> Ferrari was very much treated as a guest during these visits, rather than an employee; he was offered use of the Duke of Richmond’s carriages and horses, and dined with the family during the evening.

Another singing master who grew particularly close to his clientele was Domenico Motta (d.1791), who worked for Sir Roger Newdigate, 5<sup>th</sup> Baronet (1719-1806), and his 2<sup>nd</sup> wife Hester Mundy (d.1800). Having previously taught Hester in the early 1780s, the couple hired Motta to teach Sally Shilton, a young girl brought up and educated by Lady Newdigate, with the objective of training her to become a professional singer.<sup>66</sup> Motta taught Sally from 1787 until his death in 1791; this time is documented extensively in the diaries and correspondences of Sir Roger, giving us a detailed insight into the family’s relationship with the singing master. The family split their time between their house in Spring Gardens in London and their country seat, Arbury Hall. Whilst the family were in London, usually for several months during the spring, Motta frequently dined

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<sup>62</sup> Dalkeith Palace Dinner Books, NRS, GD224/1085/3 and 5.

<sup>63</sup> Lady Louisa Stuart to Lady Caroline Dawson, 27 July 1781, in *Gleanings from an Old Portfolio Containing Some Correspondence between Lady Louisa Stuart and Her Sister*, ed. Alice Clark, Vol. 1 (Edinburgh: Privately published, 1895), 301. Lady Caroline writes that Lord and Lady Hope’s daughters ‘are brought up in an odd way too, for there’s Tenducci living with them, and there is always some fiddler or singer’. This is noted by Brooks in ‘Stars of the Opera’.

<sup>64</sup> Heckert, 146.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid, 148.

<sup>66</sup> This is explored in further detail in: Anne Emily Garnier Newdigate-Newdegate (ed.), *The Cheverels of Cheverel Manor* (London & New York: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1898).

with them, accompanying them on visits to the opera and giving Sally lessons. In some instances, Motta visited the very first evening they arrived in the capital, and usually several times a week thereafter, on occasion even staying at Spring Gardens for short periods. However, at Arbury, where the family spent the remainder of the year, Motta enjoyed extended visits, living with them for several months at a time, usually during the autumn. For example, in 1790, Motta arrived at Arbury in mid-August and left in mid-November. During this time, it is presumed he taught Sally on a frequent basis, although the lessons are rarely documented. Minimal insight is provided into what happened during lessons between Motta and Sally, either in London or at Arbury; instead, Sir Roger's diaries focus heavily on the family's social life with Motta. Notable payments are made to Motta at the end of each of these visits, and also at the end of the family's stays in London, which can be assumed were for a series of lessons between Motta and Sally; for example, when Motta left Arbury in November 1790, he was paid £26 5s. It is clear that he was an important part of the household at Arbury; he is noted to have accompanied them on visits to other houses, to church, and his activities and movements are generally noted amongst other day to day activities. Sir Roger seems to have genuinely enjoyed his company; the pair frequently went walking together, rode in carriages together, and Roger notes his arrivals and departures at Arbury as significant occasions.<sup>67</sup> Motta died at Arbury in October 1791, which greatly impacted the family, as noted by their descendant:

His premature loss was a subject of much regret, both to the Newdigate and Mundy families, who evidently valued him as a friend as well as a musician. Motta's death at Arbury caused no little trouble to Sir Roger, who was a long time searching for the deceased man's rightful heirs, to whom he could consign such property as he had left behind him. His body was laid in the grave at the parish church of Chilvers Coton, and a tablet to his memory was placed in the church by Sir Roger.<sup>68</sup>

In addition to teaching Sally and socialising with the family, Motta also very frequently performed for the family in the evening, sometimes with Sally or with other guests. Moreover, he was noted to have purchased sheet music for the family, and acquired concert tickets for them.<sup>69</sup> In many ways, then, Motta's relationship with the Newdigates bears similarities to Domenico and Natale Corri's relationships with the Buccleuch family, in that there were multiple business arrangements between them.

Despite the close relationship between many Italian singing masters and their clientele, clear class distinctions remained. Although they were often treated as guests, singing masters were still professionals and thus held much a much lower social status than their aristocratic patrons. This

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<sup>67</sup> This is indicated through graphical elements of the dairy entries; Motta's arrivals/departures are generally much bolder and larger than the rest of the text, and sometimes underlined.

<sup>68</sup> Newdigate-Newdegate (ed.), *The Cheverels of Cheverel Manor*, 104-105.

<sup>69</sup> Payments for these activities are noted separately, which further indicates that the lump sums paid after extended visits were solely for Sally's singing lessons.

social barrier was no more apparent than when it was broken by Hester Piozzi, who married the Italian singing master she hired for her daughters, Gabriele Mario Piozzi (1740-1809), in 1784. Hester was disgraced by her actions; many of her friends cut off relations with her as a result, including the novelist Frances Burney (1752-1840), who wrote of the scandal:

I drive her quite from my mind. She has disgraced herself, disgraced her friends and connections, disgraced her sex, and disgraced all the expectations of mankind! If I meet with one of her letters I burn it instantly. I have burnt all I can find. I never speak of her, and I desire never to hear more of her.<sup>70</sup>

Many believed Hester was re-marrying too soon after the death of her first husband, Henry Thrale, in 1781. However, that Piozzi was an Italian also contributed to the condemning of their relationship, reflecting currents of anti-Italian sentiment and xenophobia that co-existed with admiration for aspects of Italian culture in British society. The transgression not only crossed class barriers, but also played out against wider conflicts surrounding national identity. A similar scandal arose from Tenducci's marriage to one of his pupils, Dorothea Maunsell, in 1766. Maunsell describes how she first fell in love with Tenducci in an extensive letter detailing the marriage, published in 1768:

[...] he and I were left alone to study music. The harpsichord, singing, and now and then, by way of relief, questions relative to the manners and customs of the foreign nations he had lived amongst, made many hours glide impenetrably away. Here I must own that I began to feel a secret pleasure in his conversation and company, which I at that time attributed to nothing else but his fine singing, his pleasing manner, and, above all, the obligations I was under to him, for the pains he had taken to instruct me in my favourite study.<sup>71</sup>

Their marriage caused public outrage, and many of their relatives, led by Dorothea's father, made many desperate and violent attempts to separate them, including imprisoning Tenducci and threatening to send Dorothea to a madhouse.<sup>72</sup>

Gender dynamics within master-client relationships were complex, as most singing masters were men and the majority of their clients were young women. In general, there are very few women known to have been working as music masters in Britain during this era. However, Robertson-Kirkland has noted that they did exist, and in fact some families found them to be a safer option, arguing that 'music education with a female instructress had the potential to save young

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<sup>70</sup> Frances Burney, *Journals and Letters*, selected and introduced by Peter Sabor and Lars E. Troide (London: Penguin, 2001), 203.

<sup>71</sup> Dora Tenducci, *A True and Genuine Narrative of Mr. and Mrs. Tenducci in a Letter to a Friend at Bath* (London: J. Pridden, 1768), 4-5.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid. See also: Helen Berry, *The Castrato and His Wife* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); and Sonia Tinagli Baxter, 'Italian Music and Musicians in Edinburgh c. 1720-1800: A Historical and Critical Study' (PhD diss., University of Edinburgh, 1999), 120-139.

women from the lecherous clutches of a male music master'.<sup>73</sup> Robertson-Kirkland has also explored the sordid images painted of music masters in many literary works of the era.<sup>74</sup> For example, in *Les Liaisons dangereuses* (1782), the female protagonist Cécile falls in love with her music tutor, whilst the 1835 novel *Maid in the Village* depicts a music master who lusts after his young female pupil. Whilst there is little evidence that these stories reflected real life situations, Robertson-Kirkland rightly argues that 'fictional gossip had to be based on something...'.<sup>75</sup> Some of the concerns surrounding singing masters – no doubt fuelled by the scandalous marriages of Tenducci and Piozzi – were also manifested in opera libretti, using the common plot device of young men masquerading as singing teachers to allow them close access to women. Famously, such a lesson scene appears in *Le barbier de Seville* by Pierre Beaumarchais (1732-1799), the source text for operas by both Giovanni Paisiello and Gioacchino Rossini. In Figures 1.5 and 1.6, Thomas Rowlandson depicts the fears that existed regarding the behavior and motivations of singing masters, reflecting the negative stereotypes of the era.



**Figure 1.5. Thomas Rowlandson (1756-1827), *The Comforts of Bath: The Music Master* (1798). © Creative Commons**

<sup>73</sup> Robertson-Kirkland, 'The Music Master and the Lady Instructress', *Research Adventures* (blog), 20 April 2017 <https://researchadventuresblog.wordpress.com/2017/04/20/the-music-master-and-the-lady-instructress/>.

<sup>74</sup> Brianna Robertson-Kirkland, 'Some Reflections and the Motives of a Music Master', *Research Adventures* (blog), 14 April 2017 <https://researchadventuresblog.wordpress.com/2017/04/14/some-reflections-and-the-motives-of-a-music-master/>. See also: Robertson-Kirkland, *Venanzio Rauzzini and the Birth of a New Style in English Singing: Scandalous Lessons* (Abingdon: Routledge, Forthcoming 2021).

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*



**Figure 1.6.** Rowlandson, *Reflections, or the Music Lesson*. © Creative Commons

Italian singing masters played a central role in the consumption of Italian opera, and Italian culture more broadly, in Georgian Britain. This role has scarcely been acknowledged in the past, but exploring its significance is essential for understanding several fundamental aspects of British engagement with Italian opera. Firstly, the presence of Italian singing masters in domestic spheres indicates how closely some amateur performers were engaging with the genre. Many domestic vocalists were enjoying the same tuition as those performing Italian opera on the professional stage, learning Italian vocal techniques as they were taught on the Continent. Arguably, this afforded a much deeper representation of European culture in British domestic spheres than the collection of physical objects. The employment of Italian singing masters in elite households also epitomizes the connection between Italian opera and aristocracy during the Georgian era. With tuition prices so high, it supports the idea that only those in the highest social spheres could afford to engage with the genre. Hiring an Italian singing master was the ultimate display of wealth and cultural engagement; but whilst it was fashionable in elite spheres, it had the potential to contribute to accusations of excess and figure in debates surrounding luxury and exoticism. Finally, and perhaps most significantly, attitudes towards Italian singing masters – both positive and negative – speak to the ongoing struggles between nationalism, xenophobia, and cosmopolitanism during this era, and shows that these struggles were reflected in domestic environments.

## 1.5 Conclusions

Consumption of Italian opera in British homes – in the manifold ways discussed throughout this chapter – is representative of the complex web of cultural transfer in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It shows that the routes of transfer and the means by which Italian opera could travel into domestic spheres were diverse and myriad. In some instances, Italian opera was consumed abroad and brought directly into the home, bypassing British institutions and influences, but for the most part, the consumption of opera in the home was intricately linked to broader British consumption and British interpretations of Italian culture. The King's Theatre undoubtedly played a prominent role, bringing many singers from abroad to London who then travelled around elite households outside of the opera season. The King's Theatre also significantly impacted opera publications on the printing market, which in turn was another important influence on the domestic consumption of foreign music. But equally if not more significant were individual personnel, who entered domestic spheres as a physical embodiments of Italian operatic culture. Some of these personnel were linked to the King's Theatre, whilst others weren't; British institutions, therefore, can be seen as stepping stones for cultural transfer, but they were not always the dominant force. Individual British patrons, too, acted as agents of cultural transfer, being responsible for the employment of foreign musicians, and by creating British visions of 'Italy' in their homes, for both public and private enjoyment. Italian opera was not just present in houses in physical forms – as objects or as people – but also in the identity of those that inhabited them, developed through both consumption and education. Understanding how elite British families engaged with Italian opera in their homes contributes to broader scholarly understanding of consumption, particularly in relation to gendered identities, and sheds light on broader debates surrounding conspicuous display and intellectual pursuits. Moreover, combined with knowledge of operatic engagement and activities outside the household, it helps us to understand Britain's broader relationship with and perception of 'Italy', immersed within the development of Britain's own national identity.



## Chapter 2    Repertoire

The specific repertoire performed by amateur vocalists was one of the most significant aspects shaping the transmission and reception of Italian opera in Georgian domestic spheres. What operatic music was being performed? Which operas and composers feature most across domestic collections? How varied was choice of repertoire between different domestic performers? And finally, what were the biggest influences on the development of domestic collections? Engaging with these questions showcases the level of diversity within domestic performance culture in the Georgian era, and also demonstrates the extent to which social class influenced amateur performance practice.

Choice of domestic repertoire was shaped by a variety of practical and social factors. Firstly, vocalists could only collect music that was available to them, either through publishing houses, circulating libraries, or by borrowing music from friends or family to copy. Publishers of Italian music were more likely to print music that had recently been performed at the King's Theatre. In turn, domestic consumers were also likely to purchase music they were familiar with, or at least by composers whose music they enjoyed. They might have heard the music at the King's Theatre or in concerts, or they might have performed it during a singing lesson, or both. The diversity of these channels has previously been overlooked in scholarship. Academic literature has focused on the repertoire heard in theatres and concert venues when observing the most popular music of the day, but repertoire found in vocal treatises of the era shows that a pedagogical canon was forming independently from the professional stage. Italian singing masters played a significant role in shaping the collections of their students; they were responsible for introducing their students to music suitable for their level of skill, and they therefore had a direct influence on the music their students were likely to purchase. In the aftermath of these influences, choice of repertoire was, theoretically, down to the personal taste of the performer. Despite the constraints mentioned above, domestic collections prove to be varied and full of personal preferences, providing an insight into the unique cultural tastes and musical skills of domestic consumers and showing that amateur vocalists were making personal and informed choices when selecting repertoire.

This chapter aims to provide a glimpse into the Italian operatic repertoire performed in domestic spheres; firstly, by exploring the pedagogical repertoire in circulation at this time, focusing in particular on the repertoire published by Domenico Corri, and secondly, by investigating a range of surviving domestic music collections, including the MMC, the Gladstone collection, and the collections held at Tatton Park, Castle Howard, and Harewood House. Additional attention will be paid to the MMC, due to its immense size and its known connections with the teachings of Domenico Corri. The final section of this chapter will explore how Italian operatic music was adapted and translated for British consumption, asking how far this music was

considered to be ‘English’ or ‘Italian’, and how far these adaptations contributed to the spread of Italian opera into broader social spheres.

## 2.1 Pedagogical Repertoire

### 2.1.1 Overview

The late eighteenth and early nineteenth century saw a significant rise in the publication of singing treatises in Britain. The growth of domestic performance and the consequent demand for vocal tuition established a market for manuals and guidebooks to complement teaching conveyed in lessons. After the translation and publication of Pier Francesco Tosi’s treatise in 1743, further singing manuals appeared increasingly frequently in England during the second half of the eighteenth century, with notable publications by Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci, Philippe Trisobio, and Domenico Corri. By the early nineteenth century there was an outpouring of vocal treatises, with eminent composers and musicians such as Venanzio Rauzzini, Giacomo Ferrari and Gesualdo Lanza publishing their teachings in renowned singing manuals. Treatises published in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries provide a crucial insight into the teaching methods of singing masters during the Georgian era, aiding our understanding of the music lessons undertaken by both professional and amateur students.

Singing treatises in the Georgian era often included vocal repertoire recommended for their readers. This repertoire varied from short two-bar examples (to demonstrate a particular skill or ornament), vocal exercises (such as *solfeggi*, sung using open vowels), and full vocal items (with text and accompaniment). Much of the repertoire was designed to aid the accomplishment of the skills and vocal techniques detailed in the treatises. This repertoire indicates what domestic vocalists might have been performing during lessons and what they were expected to perform during personal practice. The collective vocal repertoire found in singing treatises published in this era is extremely diverse, but also features patterns and trends that provide insights into the traditions of Georgian domestic music culture. Most significantly for this study, it demonstrates the extent to which Italian music dominated domestic vocal tuition.

Table 1 below outlines the treatises published in Britain c.1750-1850 that feature recommended repertoire. The table also indicates how much of this pedagogical repertoire has Italian, English, or French texts; Italian texts total approximately 40%, slightly less than English at 45%, with the remaining repertoire consisting of a limited number of French, German, Gaelic, and

Latin texts.<sup>1</sup> As would be expected, the treatises with higher proportions of Italian-texted repertoire are generally those published by Italian authors, and vice versa for English authors, although many feature both. Others, such as Gesualdo Lanza's *Elements of Singing* [...] and both publications by Domenico Corri, provide some repertoire with English and Italian text alongside each other, suggesting that accomplished performers were expected to be able to sing and perform in both languages. However, nearly all of this music has Italian origins.<sup>2</sup> The lack of linguistic variety in pedagogical repertoire – in short, the near exclusivity of Italian and English texts – supports the hypothesis that British interaction with European vocal music was largely confined to Italian music.

**Table 1. The Proportions of Italian-Texted Music in Pedagogical Vocal Repertoire Published in Britain between c.1750-1850.**

<b>Treatise</b>	<b>Italian</b>	<b>English</b>	<b>French</b>	<b>Other</b>
Addison, John. <i>Singing, Practically Treated in a Series of Instructions</i> [...]. London: D'Almaine & Co., 1837.	33.3% (2/6)	66.6% (4/6)	/	/
Allen, Henry Robinson. <i>First Principles of the Art of Singing</i> [...]. London: Cramer/Beale & Co., 1852.	50% (2/4)	50% (2/4)	/	/
Arnold, Charles. <i>An Introduction to the Art of Singing</i> . London: Bedford Musical Repository, 1830.	28.6% (2/7)	72.4% (5/7)	/	/
Bennett, Thomas. <i>An Introduction to the Art of Singing</i> . London: Clementi, Banger, Hyde, Collard & Davis, 1807.	33% (1/3)	66.6% (4/6)	/	/
Bolton, Thomas and John Hunter. <i>A Treatise on Singing Containing Anatomical Observations by the Late John Hunter</i> [...]. London: Published by the Author, 1820.	/	100% (9/9)	/	/
Corfe, Joseph. <i>A Treatise on Singing</i> [...]. London: To be had at the principal music shops in London &	57.1% (4/7)	14.3% (1/7)	/	28.6% (2/7)

<sup>1</sup> These statistics have solely considered the text of each item, rather than attempting to conclude the nationality of the work itself, which for many items is subject to debate. For example, the items with Italian texts are not necessarily considered be 'Italian' music, although the majority are by Italian composers (with the exception of some of operatic items by Handel and Mozart). Likewise, many items with English text have varying national origins; for instance, there are several items from English operas that are in fact adaptations of Italian opera arias. This is explored further in Chapter 2.3.

<sup>2</sup> These items have been counted under both the Italian and English columns in Table 2.1. This is also explored further in the third section of this chapter.

Bath, & at Mr. Corfe's, Salisbury, 1799.				
Corri, Domenico. <i>A Select Collection of the Most Admired Songs, Duets, etc.</i> [...], Vols. 1-4. Edinburgh: John Corri; London: Corri & Sutherland, c.1782-c.1794.	42% (137/326)	49.8% (162/326)	8.3% (27/326)	0.3% (1/326)
Corri, Domenico. <i>The Singers Preceptor, or Corris Treatise on Vocal Music.</i> London: Silvester; and Longman, Hurst, Rees & Orme, 1810.	45% (18/40)	45% (18/40)	15% (6/40)	/
Crivelli, Domenico. <i>The Art of Singing</i> [...]. London: Published by the Author, 1843.	100% (17/17)	/	/	/
Ferrari, Giacomo. <i>A Concise Treatise on Italian Singing.</i> London: S. Chappell, 1818	100% (1/1)	/	/	/
Horncastle, Frederick William. <i>A Treatise on the Art of Singing, both in the Italian and English styles, with Examples and Observations.</i> London: R. Mills, 1840.	7.4% (2/27)	88.8% (24/27)	/	3.4% (1/27)
Lanza, Gesualdo. <i>Elements of Singing</i> [...], Parts 1-4. London: Chappell & Co., 1813.	84.1% (37/44)	13.6% (6/44)	/	2.3% (1/44)
Parry, John. <i>The Vocalist, or The Rudiments of Solfeggio</i> [...]. London: Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter & Co., 1822.	/	100% (2/2)	/	/
Paolo, Pergetti. <i>A Treatise on Singing,</i> [...]. London: R. W. Ollivier. 1845.	100% (25/25)	/	/	/
Plumstead, W. H. <i>The Beauties of Melody</i> [...]. London: Dean and Munday, c.1830.	/	100% (80/80)	/	/
Rauzzini, Venanzio. <i>A Periodical Collection of Vocal music</i> [...]. Bath: Printed for the author, by Geo: Steart, and sold by Messrs. Lintern's, 1800.	53.1% (26/49)	47.9% (23/49)	/	/
Rauzzini, Venanzio. <i>Exercises for the Voice</i> [...]. London; Dublin: Printed by Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter & Co., 1817.	/	100% (16/16)	/	/
Smith, Robert. <i>An Introduction to Singing.</i> Edinburgh: R. Purdie, c.1828.	/	100% (18/18)	/	/
Trisobio, Phillipe. <i>La scuola del canto, or A New method of Singing</i> [...].	100% (12/12)	/	/	/

London: Lewis/Houston & Hyde, 1795.				
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The pedagogical repertoire under consideration here features a diverse range of genres. The majority of Italian-texted music is operatic, particularly in the publications by Henry Allen, Domenico Crivelli, and John Addison. However, many treatises also feature high proportions of non-operatic Italian music, labelled ‘ariettes’, ‘duettinos’, or ‘canzones’. These were often composed by the treatise author specifically for that publication, and were designed to complement the treatises’ vocal instructions. There is a varying level of difficulty within non-operatic Italian repertoire found in vocal treatises, but much of it reflects the operatic repertoire performed in professional spheres. British vocal music also has its place; traditional native compositions feature prominently, including many Scot songs – such as the well-known ‘Auld Robin Gray’ and ‘Here awa there awa’ – alongside glees, catches and canons. However, items from Handel oratorio dominate the English repertoire found in treatises. Extracts from Handel’s Italian operas also feature amongst the collective repertoire. The supremacy of Handel’s vocal music is noted in several publications; Thomas Bennett, for example, instructs his readers to practise Handel’s music to improve their taste and expression:

These estimable gifts are oftentimes acquired by the study of good music united with good poetry, the pupil who is ambitious of attaining them, is requested to practise the works of Handel.<sup>3</sup>

The extent to which Handel’s works appear across the collective repertoire – in both English and Italian-based treatises – reflects the overwhelming impact of Handel’s music on the development of vocal pedagogy in the eighteenth century. Handel’s oratorios might be considered English-language equivalents to Italian opera, as they require many of the same singing techniques. Many consider Handel’s works to be largely responsible for popularising the Italian style of singing in Britain in the early-mid eighteenth century. Therefore, it is unsurprising that vocal pedagogues would place Handelian repertoire alongside contemporary Italian operatic repertoire for British consumers.

Despite the prominence of Handel’s music across pedagogical repertoire of the era, treatises generally featured an extremely wide range of composers, most of which were contemporary at the time of publication. Table 2 below details the composers that featured most across the pedagogical repertoire under consideration. The list of composers featured in this table will be of little surprise to music historians; it includes some of the biggest musical names that have come down to us from

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<sup>3</sup> Thomas Bennett, *An Introduction to the Art of Singing* (London: Printed for the Author, by Clementi, Banger, Hyde, Collard, & Davis, 1807), preface.

the Georgian era, including Handel, Haydn, and Mozart. Purcell also has a strong presence, despite being a pre-Georgian figure, owing to the prevailing popularity of his music in the eighteenth century, the rise of antiquarianism, and the influence of the Academy of Ancient Music. However, some of the names featured are lesser-known in modern times. Thomas Augustine Arne was the leading British theatre composer of the eighteenth century; his opera *Artaxerxes* (1762) was one of the most popular and successful English operas of the era, alongside works by Charles Dibdin and Thomas Linley, who also feature heavily across pedagogical repertoire.

**Table 2. Composers Featured in Pedagogical Vocal Repertoire Published in Britain c.1750-1850.<sup>4</sup>**

Composer	Total
Arne, Thomas (1710-1778)	8.9%
Handel, George Frederick (1685-1759)	7.3%
Millico, Giuseppe (1737-1802)	5.8%
Sacchini, Antonio Maria Gasparo (1730-1786)	5.%
Paisiello, Giovanni (1740-1816)	4.2%
Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus (1756-1791)	3.9%
Gluck, Christoph Willibald (1714-1787)	3.5%
Dibdin, Charles (1745-1814)	3.1%
Giordani, Tommaso (ca.1773-1806)	3.1%
Haydn, Franz Joseph (1732-1809)	2.7%
Rauzzini, Venanzio (1746-1810)	2.7%

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<sup>4</sup> These statistics do not include repertoire composed by the author of that particular treatise (for example, Rauzzini's self-composed repertoire in his *A Periodical Collection of Vocal Music*). Thus, there are 259 items in total discussed here, rather than the total 724 items across the collective repertoire under consideration.

Linley, Thomas (1733-1795)	2.3%
Purcell, Henry (1659-1695)	2.3%

Of the Italian music in the treatise repertoire, many of the operatic items are composed by Mozart and Paisiello, which is unsurprising considering their eminence in the genre during this era. Paisiello was the most frequently performed composer at the King's Theatre in the second half of the eighteenth century, enjoying 331 performances of his operas prior to 1800.<sup>5</sup> Mozart's operas were not performed at the King's Theatre until 1806, and the famous *Don Giovanni* did not appear on the London stage until 1817, thirty years after its original premiere in Prague.<sup>6</sup> However, this didn't stop Mozart's music making an impact on British music culture in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century; his operatic music was clearly used for vocal instruction.<sup>7</sup> Whilst many of the earlier treatises focus on Paisiello's music, later publications, such as those published by Henry Allen and Domenico Crivelli, have a particular focus on Mozart's operatic music, with Allen also heavily featuring works by Gioachino Rossini, which suggests that pedagogical repertoire reflects the changes in these composers' reputations over time.

Looking at other aspects of the repertoire, such as the specified voice types, tells us a lot about the patterns of domestic performance culture in Georgian Britain and the etiquettes for amateur performance. In general, the treatise repertoire is biased towards female performers. The overwhelming majority of vocal parts are in treble clef, and most of the theatrical items are taken from female roles. Out of 724 items under consideration, only 43 specify a male voice. The majority of duets are also for two female voices rather than a male and female, suggesting that women were expected to perform more frequently with their female relatives or friends, rather than with men. This evidence supports the premise that amateur performance culture was a female-dominated practice, and it was less common – and less accepted – for men to study vocal performance in such detail. Nonetheless, the treatises themselves also heightened this assumption. Women were more likely to perform than men and therefore treatises were naturally inclined

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<sup>5</sup> Frederick C. Petty, *Italian Opera in London 1760-1800* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1980)

<sup>6</sup> Rachel Cowgill explores the reasons behind this delay in her PhD thesis 'Mozart's Music in London, 1764-1829: Aspects of Reception and Canonicity' (University of London, King's College: 2000)

<sup>7</sup> For an exploration of Mozart's music in London concerts, see: Cowgill, "'Wise Men from the East": Mozart's Operas and their advocates in Early Nineteenth-Century London' in *Music and British Culture 1785-1914: Essays in Honour of Cyril Ehrlich*, ed. Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley, 39-64 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

towards female performers, but in turn the female-bias of treatises impelled the gender-bias of amateur performance practice.

There is also a vast range of difficulty to be found across pedagogical repertoire, demonstrating the extent to which skills varied across domestic spheres. Some of the repertoire is very simple, requiring only minimal vocal range with no ornamentation or elaborate passages. Generally, this simplicity is found in the English repertoire rather than the Italian, whilst the most difficult is undoubtedly the Italian operatic music. This music demands the most extensive vocal range and agility, with highly ornamented passages throughout. However, the non-operatic Italian music is generally less virtuosic, providing easier repertoire for amateur performers interested in Italian vocal music. This challenges the stereotypes connecting Italian music with virtuosity and English music with strophic simplicity; there was pedagogical Italian vocal music available to suit a broad range of performers. Whether or not the most difficult repertoire would have been attempted by amateur performers is debatable; it may have been intended for the author's professional students instead.

### 2.1.2 Case study: The vocal treatises of Domenico Corri

It is impossible to analyse pedagogical repertoire from this era without focusing in particular on the treatises of Domenico Corri. Corri's *A Select Collection of the most admired songs, duetts, &c.* [...], published in four volumes across the 1780s and 1790s, and his *The Singers Preceptor*, published in 1810, were the most reputable vocal treatises of the era, and they contain more repertoire than all other treatises noted in Table 1 combined. Corri's repertoire is extremely diverse, featuring a vast range of composers and genres, and thus offers a comprehensive insight into British music culture of the late eighteenth century. In total, Italian music in Corri's treatises totals 37%, with 53% of that being operatic.

Corri dedicates the entire first volume of his *A Select Collection*, published in c.1782, to Italian operatic music.<sup>8</sup> These include some of the most popular arias and duets of the eighteenth century, such as 'Caro amor, tu che lo sai' from Piccinni's *La buona figliuola* (Rome, 1760; London, 1766), and older classics, such as 'Dove sei' from Handel's *Rodelinda* (London, 1725).<sup>9</sup> However, the majority of the repertoire in this volume reflects the contemporaneous repertoire of the King's Theatre. Of the 42 Italian operatic items in the first volume of this collection, 36 are from works that premiered at the King's Theatre during the 1770s or early 1780s. For example, Corri features the aria 'Sento che in seno' from Piccinni's *Il barone di Torre Forte* (Rome, 1765),

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<sup>8</sup> Richard Maunder argues c.1782 is the earliest possible publication date for the first three volumes of this treatise, contradicting previous theories that it was published in 1779. See the preface to the facsimile edition of Corri's treatises (New York; London: Garland Publishing, 1993-1995).

<sup>9</sup> *Rodelinda* is regarded as one of Handel's greatest works. 'Dove sei' was its most acclaimed aria, and appears as a staple item in many domestic music collections of the era.



which received its London premiere in 1781, only months before Corri's treatise went to print. He also features items from Bertoni's *La governante* and Sacchini's *Enea e Lavinia*, which were both original productions for London in 1779.

In contrast, the second volume of *A Select Collection* (also published c.1782) is dedicated to English theatrical music and features high proportions of English ballad opera, a genre that dominated at Covent Garden during the eighteenth century, competing with Italian opera at the King's Theatre. Corri particularly features items from the popular pastiche operas *Love in a Village* (1762), *The Maid of the Mill* (1765), and *The Beggar's Opera* (1728). The other items are also mostly contemporary for the time of publication, although slightly less so than the Italian operatic music; the majority are from works of the 1760s and 1770s, and there are two items from William Jackson's *The Lord of the Manor* (1780). Noticeably, there is little English music by Handel: only 'The flocks shall leave the mountains' from *Acis and Galatea* (1718), 'Pious orgies, pious airs' from *Judas Macabeus* (1747) and 'Return, return, O God of Hosts' from *Samson* (1743). The lack of Handelian repertoire in this English collection makes Corri's treatise stand out from many others of the era, who favour Handel's music considerably. It is possible that Corri was keen to feature more contemporary composers, as is reflected across his publications.

The miscellaneous repertoire of the third volume of Domenico Corri's *A Select Collection* mostly focuses on non-dramatic music. This volume features items of Italian, French and English origins. For the Italian music, Corri includes several items from his own previous publication *Six Canzones* (1772), as well as items from Giuseppe Aprile's *Six Favourite Italian Duos* (London: S. Babb, 1780?) and Venanzio Rauzzini's *Twelve Italian Duettinos* (London: Welcker, 1778). The French music is largely from contemporary *Comédie-Italienne* productions that were never performed on the London stage; for example, 'Dieu d'amour' from *Les mariages samnites* (Paris, 1776). The English repertoire in this volume is mostly older and also very simple, including traditional English and Scottish airs such as 'Auld Robin Gray'. The diversity of this volume – with regards to linguistic origins, the dating of the repertoire and the level of difficulty – reflects the breadth of Corri's publication, and the varied market for vocal repertoire during the era.

The repertoire of the additional fourth volume of Corri's *A Select Collection*, published in 1794,<sup>10</sup> along with the repertoire in Corri's 1810 treatise *The Singers Preceptor*, is also miscellaneous, featuring Italian, French and English music. Once again, this repertoire is contemporary for the publication dates. In *The Singers Preceptor*, Corri pays particular attention to Joseph Haydn's English vocal music, including his sets of *Original Canzonettas*, which were

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<sup>10</sup> Richard Maunder estimated that late 1794 or early 1795 was the likely publication date for this volume. The publication date has now been confirmed as December 1794 by Katrina Faulds, after her discovery of the volume's advertisement in *The Sun* newspaper on 8<sup>th</sup> December of that year.

published across the 1790s.<sup>11</sup> However, unlike in Vol. 1 of *A Select Collection*, much of Corri's featured Italian operatic repertoire in these later volumes had not been performed at the King's Theatre prior to Corri's publication dates. Instead, Corri features contemporary Italian operatic music from the Continent. For example, Vol. 4 of *A Select Collection* features several items from Paisiello's *Nina, ossia La pazza per amore*, which premiered in Caserta in 1789, but did not received its London premiere until 1797, long after the publication of Corri's additional fourth volume.<sup>12</sup> The volume also features items from Mozart's *Don Giovanni* (Prague, 1787) and *Così fan tutte* (Vienna, 1790), whilst *The Singers Preceptor* features Mozart's 'Ah perdona al primo affetto' from *La Clemenza di Tito* (Prague, 1791); these operas did not receive their London premieres until 1817, 1811, and 1806 respectively. This suggests that Corri's *A Select Collection* – and the work of singing masters more generally – had a significant role in creating a pedagogical canon that increased the circulation of foreign music in Britain separately from the influence of theatres.

Despite Corri's neglect of the King's Theatre repertoire in these two later publications, across his treatises Corri still predominantly features composers working in London. Table 3 below lists the composers whose operas were most frequently performed at the King's Theatre in the second half of the eighteenth century. All of these composers, with the exception of Domenico Cimarosa, Francesco Bianchi, and Pietro Alessandro Guglielmi, feature in Corri's *A Select Collection*. Most of the highly featured composers in Corri's treatises – in particular, Rauzzini and Tommaso Giordani – were Italian musicians who had migrated to Britain to build their careers. Antonio Sacchini, Johann Christian Bach, Ferdinando Bertoni, Felice Giardini and Baldassare Galuppi all travelled to teach, compose, and perform, building their careers in London, Bath, and Edinburgh, as did Corri himself. They all moved in the same circles, and many, such as Corri and Rauzzini, were friends; thus, it is unsurprising they feature heavily in his recommended pedagogical repertoire.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> These items are published with both English and Italian text. This is explored in further detail in Chapter 2.3.

<sup>12</sup> A one-act version of *Nina* premiered at the Teatro del Reale Sito di Belvedere in Caserta, San Leucio, but the more familiar two-act version was first performed in Naples in 1790.

<sup>13</sup> For more information on Rauzzini and Corri's friendship, see: Brianna Robertson-Kirkland, 'Are we all Castrati? Venanzio Rauzzini: "The Father of a New Style in English Singing"' (PhD diss., University of Glasgow, 2016).

**Table 3. The Most-Frequently Performed Composers at the King's Theatre 1750-1800.**

Composer	No. of Operas	No. of Performances
Giovanni Paisiello (1740-1816)	18	331
Antonio Maria Sacchini (1730-1786)	17	214
Niccolò Piccinni (1728-1800)	9	197
Pasquale Anfossi (1727-1797)	16	145
Pietro Allessandro Guglielmi (1728-1804)	14	144
Giuseppe Francesco Bianchi (1752-1810)	10	130
Domenica Cimarosa (1749-1801)	10	103
Mattia Vento (1735-1776)	5	68
Baldassare Galuppi (1706-1785)	6	67
Venanzio Rauzzini (1746-1810)	6	53

The breadth of the repertoire in Corri's treatises meant they were useable by a range of performers with varying levels of vocal skill. Some of the Italian operatic items are extremely elaborate and feature high levels of ornamentation; for example, Figure 2.1 below shows an extract from Corri's aria 'Digli ch' io son fedele' from *Alessandro nell'Indie* (London, 1774) in the first volume of *A Select Collection*. In general, the English music is simpler than the Italian operatic music; for example, see Figure 2.2 for an extract from *The Beggar's Opera* (1728) that features minimal embellishments. However, some of the English repertoire is equally as challenging as some of the Italian; for example, see Figure 2.3 for an extract from Arne's *Artaxerxes* (1762).<sup>14</sup> Some of the

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<sup>14</sup> This was considered to be the first English *opera seria* and thus the style had much in common with Italian operatic music.

more difficult vocal lines – in particular, across the Italian operatic music – are optional. For example, see Figure 2.4 below, with a highly-embellished optional vocal line stretching to D6, in Portagnello's aria 'Frenar vorrei le lagrime' from *La morte di Semiramide* (London, 1806). The inclusion of optional vocal lines in some of Corri's more challenging repertoire indicates his desire to make his publications accessible to all singers, whether they be professionals with highly virtuosic skill, or amateur vocalists in the early stages of their vocal education.



**Figure 2.1.** Extract from 'Digli ch'io son fedele' in Domenico Corri, *A Select Collection*, Vol. 1 (Edinburgh: John Corri, c.1782), 103. In the facsimile edition edited by Richard Maunder (New York: Garland, 1993). © *Reproduced with permission from the University of Southampton Hartley Library*



**Figure 2.2.** Extract from 'Oh! Ponder well, be not sever' in Corri, *A Select Collection*, Vol. 2 (Edinburgh: John Corri, c.1782), 62. In the facsimile edition edited by Richard Maunder (New York: Garland, 1993). © *Reproduced with permission from the University of Southampton Hartley Library*



**Figure 2.3.** Extract from ‘Fair Aurora, Prithee Stay’ in Corri, *A Select Collection*, Vol. 2 (Edinburgh, John Corri, c.1782), 50. In the facsimile edition edited by Richard Maunder (New York: Garland, 1993). © Reproduced with permission from the University of Southampton Hartley Library



**Figure 2.4.** Extract from ‘Frener vorrei le lagrime’ in Corri, *A Select Collection*, Vol. 4 (London: Corri & Sutherland, c.1794), 74. In the facsimile edition edited by Richard Maunder (New York: Garland, 1993). © Reproduced with permission from the University of Southampton Hartley Library

The repertoire in Corri’s treatises reflects the varied market for vocal music during the Georgian era as well as trends and characteristic of the broader pedagogical repertoire, featuring a mix of traditional British music and items from contemporary theatrical productions. Most significantly, the repertoire shows that amateur vocalists were being encouraged to perform not only contemporary Italian operatic repertoire from the King’s Theatre, but also repertoire from the Continent that had not yet reached the King’s Theatre. Whilst some of this repertoire was already being performed in concerts, there was also clearly a pedagogical canon developing that may have influenced domestic performance culture. Although this canon was influenced by London’s

theatrical and concert spheres, it was predominantly developed by the Italian masters, who both responded to and contributed to trends in British and Italian music culture that ultimately shaped the reception of Italian vocal music in British domestic spheres.

It is important to remember that singing treatises only tell one side of the story; they cannot be relied on to indicate exactly what was being performed in domestic spheres. They were largely self-promotional publications, consolidating the reputation of the author and increasing the availability of their compositional works. Their accuracy and reliability is therefore subject to debate; each treatise is biased towards its author, with potentially selfish motivations for its contents. It might be argued that the more difficult pedagogical repertoire was never intended for amateur performers in domestic settings, but instead reflects professional practice; although, an investigation of domestic collections demonstrates that at least some amateur performers were capable of performing this music. Treatises are rarely found in surviving private collections; this suggests they were largely used by professional teachers and performers, rather than amateur vocalists. Prices of treatises varied; the majority cost between 6-21 shillings, with 15s being the most common price, which was similar to many publications of Italian music. But larger publications were considerably more expensive, with Lanza's *Elements of Singing* costing £1 11s 6d, and Corri's *The Singers Preceptor* costing £1 5s, suggesting they were targeted at wealthier families. Many had subscription lists, with the lists bearing resemblances to lists of box subscribers at the King's Theatre.<sup>15</sup> However, despite the lack of treatises found in surviving domestic libraries, pedagogical repertoire can still provide some insight into the music performed by amateur vocalists. Singing teachers would have used reputable masters' treatises to inform their practices, and thus students would have engaged with the repertoire of these treatises during lessons. The leading presence of Italian repertoire in treatises by both Italian and English authors reflects the significance of Italian music in pedagogical and domestic circles during this era. Nonetheless, only by analysing domestic music collections can historians and musicologists truly understand what domestic vocalists were performing.

## 2.2 Domestic Collections

Surviving domestic music collections provide the clearest insight into what amateur vocalists were performing during the Georgian era. This section explores the repertoire of the three principal case study collections – the MMC, Tatton Park, and Gladstone collections – and also draws comparisons to the repertoire found in the collections at Harewood House and Castle Howard, previously investigated by Jane Troughton. Following this is a further, more-detailed study of the repertoire

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<sup>15</sup> The Buccleuch family feature in the subscription lists for Corri's treatises, but the Egertons and the Gladstones do not.

found in the MMC, particularly in the volumes belonging to Ladies Elizabeth and Caroline Montagu.

### 2.2.1 Overview

Analysing the repertoire in these five collections sheds light on the role of Italian music in domestic performance culture in elite spheres during the Georgian era, and the dominance of Italian repertoire found in domestic collections. Three of the five collections feature high proportions of Italian music. Firstly, at Tatton Park, out of 26 volumes containing vocal music, half feature Italian vocal music. In total, there are 100 Italian vocal items in the collection; this is considerably less than the 300+ items of English vocal music, but a substantial number nonetheless, reflecting Elizabeth and her husband Wilbraham Egerton's broader collection of Italian luxury goods throughout their marriage. Approximately half of the Italian vocal music is operatic, as detailed in Appendix C, whilst the rest are sets of 'ariettes' and 'duettos' similar to those found in pedagogical repertoire. Italian music holds an even stronger weighting in the MMC, featuring in approximately half of the volumes, and likewise in the Gladstone collection, with majority of the Italian music in both collections being operatic. Each of the three collections feature operatic music from both opera *seria* and *buffa* productions, often placed alongside each other. However, some volumes of operatic music in the MMC are categorised as being either 'comic' or 'serious' and labelled as such, as discussed in Chapter 1 and shown in Figures 1.1 and 1.2. In addition, whilst Thomas Gladstone focused on collecting operatic music suited to his bass voice, Elizabeth Sykes and Ladies Elizabeth and Caroline collected – and likely performed – music not just for female operatic singers, but for *castrati* and tenors too. This reflects how extensive their embodied knowledge of an opera might have been; they knew and performed many different parts, enjoying the freedoms of domestic performance culture that would not be possible on the professional stage.

Italian vocal music is less prominent in the collections at Harewood House and Castle Howard; approximately a third of the volumes collected by Lady Georgiana feature Italian vocal music, whilst out of 114 volumes of music at Harewood House, only 13 contain Italian vocal music. Operatic music dominates the Italian vocal music in both these collections. Although exact numbers might be affected by the possible dispersal of parts of these collections over time, the overall pattern of differentiation seems clear and would be unlikely to be affected by varying survival rates. This indicates the significance of personal choice alongside broader social influences within the development of music collections, which in turn could be influenced by taste and / or specific musical skills. Ferrari, Lady Georgiana's singing teacher from 1792, noted in his memoirs that Georgiana and her sister Harriet 'did not have much in the way of voices, yet their taste for singing and the care they took in their studies meant that they came to be able to sing pleasingly

anything at sight'.<sup>16</sup> Georgiana's lack of natural vocal ability may have influenced the development of her domestic music collection, making her less inclined to purchase difficult Italian vocal music. But whether due to lack of vocal prowess or merely personal taste, Italian vocal music did not necessarily play a dominant role in elite domestic music collections, even if the owners engaged closely within Italian operatic culture in other ways, such as by employing famous Italian singing masters and frequently attending the opera.

A broad range of composers of Italian vocal music are featured across the five collections, but there are also patterns and trends that reflect the tendencies found in pedagogical repertoire and broader operatic culture. All of the collections principally feature Italian opera composers that were contemporary for the time of acquisition. In the Tatton Park collection, for example, Elizabeth favours works by Paisiello, Mozart, Bianchi, Sarti, Ferrari and Sacchini. Paisiello is by far the most frequently featured Italian operatic composer in the collection, providing 15 separate items. Similar trends can be found across the contemporaneous aspects of the MMC; Paisiello's music is significantly favoured here, too, particularly in the volumes belonging to Ladies Elizabeth and Caroline, alongside operatic vocal music by Bianchi, Sarti, Bertoni, Giardini, and Guglielmi. The Italian vocal music in the Castle Howard and Harewood House collections further reflects the dominance of Paisiello in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, with the Harewood House collection also predominantly favouring works by Cimarosa and Mozart. The Gladstone collection, meanwhile, features composers that dominated operatic culture in the early-mid nineteenth century, including high proportions of works by Mozart, Rossini, Donizetti, and Bellini. In addition to contemporary Italian opera composers, all five of these collections feature music by Handel, reflecting the composer's treasured status as a composer of vocal music, and mirroring the tendency towards Handelian music found across pedagogical repertoire of the era. However, only the Tatton Park collection prominently features extracts from his Italian operatic works, reflecting the collection's broader antiquarian influences. In comparison, the MMC heavily features vocal music from his oratorios, and the Handelian music found in the other three collections is also predominantly English. Although a few of Handel's particularly treasured Italian arias – such as 'Dove sei' from *Rodelinda* – continue to appear prominently across domestic collections, the popularity of Handel's oratorios seem to be largely responsible for his continuing influence on the domestic sphere into the nineteenth century.<sup>17</sup> In addition to the composers discussed thus far, there are aspects of these collections that indicate very specific personal choices and preferences of composers, moving beyond composers such as Paisiello, Mozart, and Handel, who we would expect to see dominating domestic vocal collections. For example, the Castle Howard collection

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<sup>16</sup> Deborah Heckert (ed.), *Pleasing and Interesting Anecdotes: An Autobiography of Giacomo Gotifredo Ferrari (1763-1842)*, trans. Stephen Thomson Moore (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2017), 138.

<sup>17</sup> 'Dove sei' was also known widely as 'Holy, holy' from Handel's oratorio *Redemption*, with words by Samuel Arnold; this likely contributed to its popularity.



heavily features music by Ferrari, who was teaching Lady Georgiana. This provides further evidence for the impact of Italian masters on the choice of repertoire; Ferrari most likely provided this music for Lady Georgiana as her teacher, and he therefore may also have provided other music he wished her to learn and perform.

The Italian operatic music in each of the five collections has strong connections with the contemporaneous repertoire of the King's Theatre. For example, in the Tatton Park collection there are multiple items from Paisiello's *Nina*, which had only recently been performed in London when Elizabeth Sykes was acquiring the music for this volume in the late 1790s. The collection also indicates some of Elizabeth's personal preferences with regard to specific operas and performers at the King's Theatre; for example, nine of the printed operatic items in the Tatton collection are noted in the title page as being sung by Giuseppe Viganoni (1753-1822) during King's Theatre performances, suggesting he was a favourite singer of hers, or perhaps had a connection with the boarding school she attended run by Ellin Devis.<sup>18</sup> Across the collection there are also several operas that appear more frequently than others, suggesting Elizabeth and/or her family particularly enjoyed these operas, such as: *Il ratto di Proserpina* (London, 1804), *Evelina* (Paris, 1788; London, 1797) and *I zingari in fiera* (Naples, 1789; London, 1793).

The Italian operatic repertoire in the MMC is also closely linked with repertoire performed at the King's Theatre. Paisiello's *Gli schiavi per amore* (Naples, 1786; London, 1787), appears to have been a particular favourite of Ladies Elizabeth and Caroline's, along with others such as Mattia Vento's London production of *Demofonte* (1765), and the revival of Niccolò Jommelli's *I rivali delusi* at the King's Theatre in 1784. The hand-written contents pages for many of the miscellaneous volumes in the MMC suggests that significant attention was paid to the broader works that operatic extracts originated from. For example, Figure 2.5 shows the contents page from Vol. 321, wherein the operatic work each item belongs to is noted alongside the item's title. Items from the same opera are also often placed alongside each other in miscellaneous volumes, even if they were collected from separate publications. Thus, instead of being considered as a singular items, these areas and duets were understood and performed as segments of larger operatic works.

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<sup>18</sup> Giuseppe Viganoni was a tenor engaged at the King's Theatre from 1781-1784 (as the *primo buffo*), and again from 1795-1796. See: Philip H. Highfill, Kalman A. Burnim, and Edward A. Langhans, *Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers & Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660-1800: Tibbett to M. West* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1993), 162-163.

	Page	Opera's	BM 321
Piche Cornacchie — Duetto —	1	Gli Schiavi per Amore	
Non lagrimar ben mio — Duetto —	17	Virginia	
Il mio cor fra le catene —	30	by M <sup>re</sup> Mazzanti	
Gli affetti miei —	34	Il Marchese Tulipano	
Le vin est une bonne chose — Terzetto —	39	La Belle Arsene	
Ich risplendi — Duettino —	45	Alceste	
Tamasi sarai tu quella — Duetto —	48	Giulio Sabino	
Seil ciel mi divide —	57	Didone Abandonata	
Ombra cara Ombra tradita —	67	Didone Abandonata	
Ah non lasciarmi no —	75	Didone Abandonata	
La mia Sposa —	81	Virginia	
Pupille ozzose —	87	Virginia	
Se propongono tanto —	95	Giulio Cesare	
Per pietà padron mio —	99	Gli Schiavi per Amore	
Chi mi mostra —	110	Gli Schiavi per Amore	
Donne donne chi vi crede —	116	Gli Schiavi per Amore	
Raffresca il mesto ciglio —	124	Silla	
Pleasures my former ways resigning —	129	in Time & Truth by M <sup>re</sup> Handel	
Dove ridotta sono —	132	Gli Schiavi per Amore	
Six Italian Rondo's —	140	Sig <sup>r</sup> Urbani	
Quatuors & Airs de Sarras —	162	M <sup>re</sup> Lachnith	
Airs de Caprigi —	188	Varie par M <sup>re</sup> Zupke	
Ma chere Amie —	200	by M <sup>re</sup> Hook	
Bright Phoebus —	206		
Did not tyrant Custom —	209	Sig <sup>r</sup> Giordani	
Haslequin Jubilee —	212	by M <sup>re</sup> Fisher	

Index

Figure 2.5. Contents page to MMC Vol. 321, 'Songs and Rondos'. © The Buccleuch Collections

The influence of the King's Theatre on domestic collections continued into the nineteenth century; the Gladstone collection reflects the repertoire presented at the King's Theatre in the 1820s and 1830s, when Thomas was collecting much of the music. For example, he features items from

Rossini's *La Cenerentola*, which premiered at the King's Theatre in 1821, and Ferdinando Paer's *Griselda*, which reached London in 1822. Similar trends are also found in the Castle Howard and Harewood House collections. It is clear that the collection of operatic music was often directly linked to the recent success of operas at the King's Theatre. British consumers of operatic music both fueled and responded to the tendency for popular works at the King's Theatre to dominate the music printing market in following years.

On the other hand, some elements of domestic operatic collections bypassed the influence of the King's Theatre. There are several volumes and manuscript scores in the MMC and the Gladstone collection that were acquired abroad, including those discussed in Chapter 1 that were collected as souvenirs from travels. There are also other several other volumes in the MMC that are either known or presumed to have been acquired abroad: for example, Vol. 349, another professionally-copied manuscript with unknown origins (possibly acquired by Natale or Domenico Corri for the family), but with Italian title pages and references to original performances on the Continent. In addition to music acquired from the Continent, some collections feature repertoire that had not been performed at the King's Theatre at the time of purchase, suggesting there were broader factors influencing choice of repertoire and the development of collections in the domestic sphere. For example, one of the volumes in the Tatton Park collection features items from Mozart's Italian-language operas that had not been performed at the King's Theatre at the time of acquisition.<sup>19</sup> There are several items from Mozart's *Così fan tutte* and *La clemenza di Tito*, which did not receive premieres at the King's Theatre until 1811 and 1806 respectively. But the dating of some of this sheet music suggests that the items were purchased years earlier than this; for example, there are copies of the trio 'La mia Dorabella' and the duet 'Prendero quel brunettino' from from *Così fan tutte*, both published by R. Birchall in 1805, six years prior to the opera's London premiere.<sup>20</sup> This parallels this chapter's earlier findings from studying pedagogical repertoire. The development of a pedagogical canon, with Mozart's operatic music playing an important role in this canon, may well have influenced the development of domestic collections, including the collection at Tatton Park.

However, a more significant influence was that of concert culture, which Mozart's music had begun to infiltrate.<sup>21</sup> The two items from *Così fan tutte* mentioned above are recognised as concert repertoire by the publisher: the printed copy of 'Prendero quel brunettino' is titled *A Favorite Duet*,

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<sup>19</sup> These all feature in MR 2-5.42, titled 'DUETS'. All of the music in this volume dates from the years surrounding 1800.

<sup>20</sup> The duet 'Deh prendi un dolce amplesso' from *La clemenza di Tito* (1791) also features in this volume, titled *A Favorite Duett, in the Opera of La Clemenza di Tito* (London: Birchall). The dating of this item has not been determined. The British library notes it must have been published between the years 1791 and 1820, due to the address of Birchall's publishing house listed on the title page. But it is likely to have been purchased around the same time as 'La mia dorabella' and 'Prendero quel brunettino' for the Tatton Park collection.

<sup>21</sup> Cowgill, 'Wise Men from the East [...]'.

*Sung by Sig. Cimador, and Sig. Viganoni, in Both Public and Private Concerts*, whilst ‘La mia dorabella’ is titled *The Favourite Trio in the Opera, Così fan tutte, as sung by Messrs Viganoni, Cimador & Rovedino*. Giuseppe Viganoni (1753-1822) and Giambattista Cimador frequently performed Mozart duets in concerts during 1799 and 1800; for example, on May 22<sup>nd</sup> 1799 they performed together in a concert at Willis's Rooms.<sup>22</sup> Likewise, at the same venue, Viganoni, Cimador, and the bass Carlo Rovedino performed Mozart trios together at a concert on April 23<sup>rd</sup> 1800.<sup>23</sup> There is other repertoire in the Tatton Park collection with similar origins, including Marcello Benedetto's ‘Qual anelante cervo che fugge’, titled *The Favorite Duet Sung by Mrs Billington and Mr Harrison at the Vocal Concerts* (London: Birchall, 1795), and Leonardo Vinci's ‘Vo sol cando’, titled *A Much Admired Song Sung by Madame Mara at the Grand Professional Concert Hanover Square* (London: Longman & Broderip).<sup>24</sup> The Egertons are known to have frequently attended concerts, and much of the English vocal music in the Tatton Park collection has links with the Concerts of Ancient Music to which they regularly subscribed. This demonstrates the broader significance of concert-going and concert repertoire in their musical activities and collection. Some of the Italian repertoire in the MMC also has links with concert programming, for example: *The Favourite Rondo Deh Signor s'è ver, As sung by Sigr Pacchiarotti at the Ladies Concert and by Sigr Tenducci at the Pantheon*; and *A Favourite Rondo, Luci amate a voi non chiedo, as sung by Sigr Agujari at the Pantheon, and Sigr Balconi at Hanover Square Concert*, both of which were published by J. Bland and feature in Vol. 309. This evidence shows that concert programming had a direct impact on the development of domestic collections, and reinforces arguments previously made by scholars such as Simon McVeigh and Rachel Cowgill regarding the importance of concerts in bringing Italian operatic culture to broader British social spheres. Some people were more likely to encounter individual extracts of Italian operatic music at concerts rather than full-length operas on stage at the King's Theatre, and this notion is also reflected through the purchasing of individual operatic extracts to perform as stand-alone pieces of vocal music in the home. The publication of individual operatic extracts made both operatic concert performances and the development of operatic domestic collections viable.

In addition to the King's Theatre, the pedagogical canon, and concert repertoire, professional opera singers also played an important role in the development of domestic music collections, as evidenced in personal Buccleuch family correspondences. In 1787, the Duke of Montagu wrote to his daughter Elizabeth, 3<sup>rd</sup> Duchess of Buccleuch, complimenting a performance by Nancy Storace in *Gli schiavi per amore* at the King's Theatre:

We went in the evening to the opera which I think was the prettiest comic one I ever saw; the two principal performers are excellent; Storacci, the first woman is so far an English

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<sup>22</sup> Noted in Simon McVeigh's 2014 dataset: *Calendar of London Concerts 1750-1800*.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> These feature in the volumes: ‘VOCAL MUSIC & C. / MISS SYKES’ MR 2-5.23 and ‘SONGS / MISS SYKES’ MR 2-5.25 respectively.

woman as having been born in this country [...] she has a fine voice and sings in admirable taste; her figure indifferent and her face ditto; but she is an incomparable actress [...] Storacci was as much admired by them last night when she sang at the Ancient Music; one of her songs was a very difficult one of Handel's, which she had never seen before, but she acquitted herself wonderfully well.<sup>25</sup>

The Duke then mentions a conversation he had with his granddaughter Caroline, who accompanied him to the performance, in which they discussed the encore duet 'Piche Cornacchie e nottole' and how it might influence her own music-making:

I was saying to her, as we were agreeing on commending the duo in the opera, that I would desire Car. to perfect herself in it and take the music to Dalkeith that she and Sir John Clerk might sing it; she said when she heard it, it put her in mind of him. The scene is a garden, the man has a little shovel in his hand, and the woman has a pair of sheers and both are introduced to a very pretty effect: I hope we shall give you a good sample of it in the dear Gallery.<sup>26</sup>

There is evidence in the MMC that this did indeed happen. Vol. 321 features multiple items from *Gli schiavi per amore*, including the duet *Piche cornacchie* [...] *Sung by Sigra. Storace & Sigr. Morelli* (Longman & Broderip, 1787), which is heavily annotated, placed at the front of the volume, and marked with a \* in the index. This shows that the popularity of professional singers – and some of their particularly well received performances – directly influenced the selection of repertoire for performance in domestic spheres. Singers were also used as an advertising tool by publishers, with their names frequently incorporated into titles of sheet music – such as *Piche cornacchie* [...] *Sung by Sigra. Storace & Sigr. Morelli*. The prestige and popularity of certain singers would almost certainly have contributed to the sale of sheet music attached to their name.

There are many other genres placed alongside Italian operatic music in all five collections, indicating the position of Italian opera within broader domestic music culture. Firstly, in the collections at Tatton Park, Castle Howard, and in the MMC, there are significant quantities of non-operatic Italian music. For example, the Tatton collection includes a set of *Six Ariettas, Six Duets, and Six Canons, for Three Voices, Composed and Dedicated to The Right Honble Lady Elizabeth Forster* by Ferrari (R. Birchall, c.1795), and various collections of arias and duets by Bonifazio Asioli (1769-1832). Many similar works by Ferrari feature in the Castle Howard collection. The presence of both operatic and non-operatic Italian vocal music in domestic collections reinforces the argument that, for many families, opera was just one aspect of their broader interaction with Italian culture and luxury goods. Operatic and non-operatic Italian vocal repertoire are frequently interspersed in the same volumes, suggesting that different Italian genres were considered alongside each other and interacted with in similar ways, as a tool for engaging with the Italian

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<sup>25</sup> George, Duke of Montagu, to Elizabeth, Duchess of Buccleuch, 10 May 1787 (private collection). With thanks to the Earl of Home for permitting access to this material.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

vocal tradition and Italian culture more broadly. But in each of the collections, Italian operatic repertoire also sits alongside English-language vocal music, and the developers of each collection have other specific musical tastes and individual preferences. The Tatton Park collection heavily features older music, both English and Italian, with some antiquarian influences. This reflects the family's interest in antiquarian music, and their broader interests in antiquity; for example, Elizabeth and Wilbraham Egerton regularly subscribed to the Concerts of Ancient Music, and their book collection also had strong antiquarian influences.<sup>27</sup> Alongside some older Italian operatic repertoire – namely items from Handel's operas of the 1720s and 1730s, such as 'Dove sei' from *Rodelinda* – the Tatton Park collection also features Samuel Arnold's complete edition of Handel's works, including his oratorios and operas, and a rare set of four manuscript volumes containing Purcell's odes and anthems.<sup>28</sup> There is also a strong presence of English vocal music in the MMC and in the Gladstone collection, with English opera featuring heavily in the MMC, and sacred and traditional English music featuring in the Gladstone collection. English vocal music is also featured alongside Italian operatic repertoire in the collections at Harewood House and Castle Howard, but they also prominently focus on instrumental repertoire; Jane Troughton argues that both collections have 'individual character' and that, much like the Tatton Park collection, Gladstone collection, and MMC, they are clearly reflective of the broader activities and tastes of their owners.<sup>29</sup> In addition to vocal music, Lady Georgiana focused on collecting keyboard music 'suitable for a young girl's musical development' in her earlier years, before focusing more closely on dance music in her adult life, whilst the collection at Harewood has strong connections with the instrumental concert programmes of the 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Harewood and his musical director John White.<sup>30</sup>

### 2.2.2 Case Study: The Montagu Music Collection

Exploring this collection in depth highlights the different ways in which Italian operatic music was consumed for use in the home. Operatic repertoire is found in a variety of forms and publications in the MMC, each of which can tell us something about how opera consumers engaged with the genre in the domestic sphere. Firstly, one of the most distinctive features of the MMC is a series of opera scores, of which approximately a third are Italian. The majority of these are full-length opera

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<sup>27</sup> Penelope Cave notes that both the Sykes and Egertons were subscribers to the Concerts of Ancient Music from at least 1805, and they continued to subscribe for many years. See: 'Piano Lessons in the English Country House, 1785-1845' (PhD diss., University of Southampton, 2013), 208.

<sup>28</sup> Elizabeth's brother, Mark Masterman Sykes gave these volumes to her as a wedding gift. See: Jeanice Brooks, 'Musical Monuments for the Country House: Music, Collection and Display at Tatton Park', *Music & Letters* 91 (2010): 515.

<sup>29</sup> Troughton, 297.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid*, 247-274.

scores, although some do not include recitative extracts.<sup>31</sup> These are mostly for voice and keyboard, or short scores with either instrument cues or a small number of instrumental parts. Alongside these complete scores are sets of the ‘favourite songs’ from an opera, to which an entire volume is dedicated. These scores mostly do not include recitative, but they sometimes still include duets and ensemble numbers. The majority of these opera scores – both the full length scores and the collections of ‘favourite songs’ – are printed sheet music. There are a small number in manuscript, but the origins of these scores are unknown.

In addition to this set of opera scores, this thesis also examines Italian operatic extracts – that is, individual arias and duets published as items of sheet music, or copied in manuscript – which are found bound together in miscellaneous volumes. There are some miscellaneous volumes dedicated to solely to Italian operatic extracts, often titled ‘Serious Italian operas’ or ‘Comic Italian operas’. But there are also some volumes in which Italian operatic arias and duets are bound together with other vocal sheet music of mixed origin, including Handelian oratorio and traditional songs. This thesis only considers the miscellaneous Italian operatic music found in MMC volumes belonging to members of the Buccleuch family; these are identified through their Buccleuch bindings, and some have ownership markings for Ladies Elizabeth and Caroline.<sup>32</sup> The consumption of Italian operatic repertoire in each of these forms – as full length scores, as collections of ‘favourite songs’, and as individual extracts, reflects the varied consumption of the genre on the professional stage. Whilst full length operas could be enjoyed at the King’s Theatre, pastiche opera productions and concert programmes frequently featured miscellaneous operatic repertoire, enabling opera enthusiasts to enjoy individual arias and duets separate from their original works. Moreover, those with differing experiences of opera on the professional stage might have consumed the same publications with varying perspectives. For example, those who had heard an opera several times might consider an individually printed aria or duet to be a highlight, understood within the context and narrative of the broader work. However, those who had only heard individual extracts on the professional stage, such as in concerts, would only know that extract as a stand-alone piece.

Appendix A details the Italian operatic scores found in the MMC’s set of opera scores, including the full-length opera scores and volumes of ‘favourite songs’. Approximately a third are Italian, and the majority of these Italian operas were performed in London between the years 1780-

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<sup>31</sup> Recitative extracts are found more frequently in opera scores dating from the nineteenth century than those from earlier in the eighteenth century, suggesting that it was increasingly common for recitative to be included.

<sup>32</sup> This thesis does not consider operatic music in the MMC volumes that originally belonged to Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, because these volumes did not become part of the MMC until after the era in question. This thesis also does not consider any further operatic material in the MMC that belonged to either the Edinburgh Musical Society or Gilbert Innes, because the origins of these volumes are unclear and they were not collected by members of the Buccleuch family relevant to this thesis.



1820, and thus were contemporary at the time of Ladies Elizabeth and Caroline's upbringing. They include works by some of the most popular Italian opera composers of the eighteenth century, including Piccinni, Paisiello and Sacchini, alongside some early nineteenth-century composers such as Donizetti and Rossini. They also include some of the most famous operas of the era, including Piccinni's *La buona figliuola* and Paisiello's *Nina*. Some of Rossini's most well-known works today, such as *Guglielmo Tell* and *Mosè in Egitto*, also stand out in the collection. These Italian opera scores sit alongside many well-known English operas, including works by Thomas Arne, Charles Dibdin and Stephen Storace. As noted in Chapter 1, the majority of these scores feature minimal annotations or signs of use, and thus it is likely that these volumes were collectors' items, possibly used for perusal, rather than to be performed from. Also, some of the repertoire in this set of opera scores is duplicated in the miscellaneous MMC volumes, suggesting they were collected for different purposes.

In contrast to the opera score collection, the operatic extracts included in miscellaneous binder's volumes, as detailed in Appendix B, do often feature annotations and show considerable signs of use. The dating of most of these volumes is unclear, but most of the operatic music generally dates from the final three decades of the eighteenth century, during Ladies Elizabeth and Caroline's upbringing. Vol. 321, titled 'Songs and Rondos', is an example of a miscellaneous volume that features large proportions of operatic music, and is also heavily annotated throughout. The majority of the operatic music in this volume is by Paisiello, with many additional items by other popular Italian opera composers of the day, such as Giuseppe Francesco Bianchi (1752-1810), Angelo Tarchi (1760-1814) and Michele Mortellari (1750-1807), who were all prominent Italian composers living in London. Bianchi spent most of his career working in the city; Tarchi was music director and composer at the King's Theatre between 1787-1789; and Mortellari moved to London in 1785 and remained there until his death. Their operatic works were consequently at the forefront of the London opera scene. The operatic music in this volume is clearly influenced by the repertoire of the King's Theatre. Many of the items are taken from original London productions, such as the pasticcio *Didone Abbandonata* (1775) and Tarchi's *Virginia* (1786), and also Paisiello's *Gli schiavi per amore* (Naples, 1786; London, 1787), which was not an original production for London, but featured multiple new insertions from Corri, Bianchi, Mazzinghi, and Hogarth Storace. There are several items from each of these three operas, suggesting they were favourites amongst the Buccleuch family.

Similar trends can be found across other miscellaneous Buccleuch volumes. Vol. 298, titled 'Serious Italian Operas. Vol II, No 11', predominantly includes the 'favourite songs' from three operas: *Artaserse*, *Zemira e Azore*, and *Demofonte*. Bertoni's *Artaserse* premiered in Farlì in 1776 before reaching the King's Theatre in 1779. The pasticcio *Demofonte* was an original work for London, premiering in 1778. Grétry's *Zemira e Azore* was originally performed by the Comédie-Italienne in 1771, but didn't reach London until 1779; this latter date is much closer to the



approximate dates in which the items for this volume were acquired. The other operas featured in this volume were all original London productions. This further supports the argument that the MMC has a close relationship with the concurrent repertoire of the King's Theatre. Bertoni is by far the most heavily featured composer in this volume, suggesting that like Paisiello he was one of the Buccleuch family's favoured composers. Another binder's volume, 309, titled 'Songs & Rondos, Vol I, no 24', contains contemporary Italian operatic music in both manuscript and printed form.<sup>33</sup> For example, it features Cimarosa's 'Con quelle tue manine' from *L'amor costante* (Rome, 1782) and *La locandiera* (London, 1788) in manuscript,<sup>34</sup> alongside Paisiello's 'No mi vedrai dolente' from *Alessandro nell'Indie* (London, 1794), in printed form.

However, other volumes intersperse modern operatic repertoire with music from much earlier, mid eighteenth-century Italian operas, and indeed also music from other genres. Italian operatic music is frequently placed alongside music from English operas. For example, Vol. 309 features William Shield's 'Ah! How vainly mortals treasure' from *The Maid of the Mill* (1765) and Giordani's 'Farewell ye friends' from the pastoral *Aminta* (1769). Moreover, non-operatic Italian music can also be found across the collection, although in smaller proportions than at Tatton Park. For example, Vol. 348 features a collection of Luigi Asioli's *Six Italian Duets, Composed and Dedicated to Miss Howard* (1806). The same set features in the Tatton Park collection, suggesting that it was a staple of Italian domestic repertoire during the era. There are also several volumes of non-operatic Italian vocal music dedicated to Duchess Elizabeth and Ladies Elizabeth and Caroline from composers who were supported by the Duchess. For example, Joseph Hurka de Monti dedicated his *Twenty-Four Italian Duos with Sacred Words* (MMC Vol. 284), as well as several Italian duets to Ladies Elizabeth and Caroline. The presence of this music in MMC reflects how the wealth and social status of the Buccleuch family gave them exclusive access to Italian music and culture.<sup>35</sup>

There are also antiquarian impulses across the MMC. As would be expected, Handel enjoys an extremely strong presence; he is the most frequently featured composer overall, providing the majority of older music. Handel's music appears in 37 Buccleuch volumes from across the MMC, with many of his oratorios featured in their entirety, such as *Jephtha* (1751) and *Judas Maccabaeus* (1746). Many of Handel's compositions also appear as miscellaneous items. For example, Vol. 321 features 'T'amo si, sarai tu quella' from *Giulio Cesare* (1724) and Vol. 298 features 'Dove sei' from *Rodelinda* (1721). Vol. 309 also features the Handel aria 'Cari oggetti del mio core'.

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<sup>33</sup> This volume was catalogued by Professor Jeanice Brooks.

<sup>34</sup> The source for this manuscript is unknown.

<sup>35</sup> The duets dedicated to the Duchess are bound in an exquisite volume with a tree calf binding made using late eighteenth-century marbling effects. It was likely bound for its presentation to Duchess Elizabeth. See Jeanice Brooks, Katrina Faulds, and Wiebke Thormählen (eds.), *A Passion for Opera: The Duchess and the Georgian Stage* (Buccleuch Living Heritage Trust, 2019), exhibition catalogue, 121-122. The duets dedicated to Ladies Elizabeth and Caroline were never published but appear as manuscripts in the MMC.

However, the printed copy of this aria is from the pasticcio *Demofonte* (1778) rather than its original Handel opera. The publication is part of a series: 'Six Italian Songs / Selected from the Operas / By Handel, Guglielmi, Giordani and Bertoni'. There were many series of this kind, placing Handel's music alongside late eighteenth-century Italian opera composers. This indicates that some of Handel's arias and duets survived far beyond the operas they originated from; they travelled on their own as separate entities long after their original operas had stopped being performed on the London stage. This recurring trend, found across both domestic collections and pedagogical repertoire, is evidence of canonical discourse surrounding seventeenth and earlier eighteenth century music, particularly Handelian music.<sup>36</sup>

The consumption of arias and duets from early eighteenth-century operas alongside contemporary operatic repertoire also further reflects the domestic consumption of Italian opera in fragments, rather than as complete works. This is mirrored in concert programming of the era, wherein the 'favourite songs' of an opera, or individual operatic arias or duets, would regularly be performed, separated from their broader works. Once Italian operatic repertoire spread beyond the realms of the King's Theatre, it was often disconnected from its original work, consumed and performed as stand-alone items. Of course, opera productions at the King's Theatre were often already an amalgamation of operatic extracts from multiple previous productions, with works undergoing significant processes of adaptation before being presented to British audiences. The performance and publication of individual extracts from King's Theatre productions thus represents multiple process of cultural transfer, interpretation, and adaptation. Considering the role of concert programming and London pastiche operas when analysing the consumption of complete operatic works versus operatic fragments reminds us that the former cannot solely be connected with the public sphere, nor the latter with the private. Both professional and domestic consumers were responsible for opera fragmentation, contributing to the demand for individual operatic extracts and the consequent spread of this repertoire across broader social spheres.

Many connections can be drawn between the MMC and the pedagogical repertoire published by Domenico Corri. Given the close working relationship between the Corri family and the Buccleuch family, including Domenico's provision of singing lessons for Ladies Elizabeth and Caroline, it is not unexpected that there are parallels between Corri's recommended pedagogical repertoire and the MMC. A copy of *The Singers Preceptor* exists in the MMC; it is possible that members of the family performed from the music in this volume, although it is unannotated. A copy of *A Select Collection* does not feature in the MMC, but it is possible that a copy did exist and has since been lost. Several specific items are found in both the MMC and in Corri's recommended repertoire, such as 'Mi sento in mezzo al core' from Giordani's *La Marchesa Giardiniera* (London,

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<sup>36</sup> For a more detailed discussion see: William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual and Ideology* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992).

1775).<sup>37</sup> Many items in the MMC were also purchased from the Corri family publishing business, Corri & Sutherland (for example, Peter Urbani's set of *Six Favourite New Italian Rondos* in Vol. 321). However, stronger influences from Corri can be seen through the wider trends found across both sets of repertoire. For example, the composers heavily featured across both are extremely similar (such as Rauzzini, Giordani, and Sacchini), and many of the same operatic works also appear. It could be argued that these were simply the most popular composers and operatic works of the day, and thus they would have featured regardless; nonetheless, it is extremely likely that Corri at least partially influenced the repertoire performed by the Buccleuch family.

The collection at Boughton epitomizes the elite taste of its aristocratic owners. There are significant proportions of Italian operatic music, much of which reflects the contemporary repertoire of the King's Theatre. This showcases the family's interaction with both Italian culture and the London theatre scene, reflecting their taste for elite social pastimes. The operatic music in the MMC stands alongside other Buccleuch archival material – such as records of payments for opera boxes at the King's Theatre, bills for travelling in sedan chairs to the opera, and of course records of the Duchess's involvement with operatic concerts in Edinburgh – as a reflection of the family's broader engagement with Italian operatic culture. The repertoire in the MMC also sheds further light on the connection between the Buccleuch family and the Corri family, showcasing the importance of the 'Italian master' for both musical development and social status. Moreover, the Italian music in the MMC provides evidence of both collection and accumulation; whilst the family's extensive series of opera scores enabled them to exhibit their elite cultured taste, the repertoire in the miscellaneous volumes provides evidence of performance activity and personal taste. In many ways, this collection epitomizes the tendencies of aristocratic music collections surviving from the era. However, it is important to remember that it is not representative of all collections of the era; it reflects the tastes and social activities of elite personnel at the very top of the class spectrum. Only by placing this collection alongside others from wider social spheres, and also alongside pedagogical repertoire of the era, can we begin to form an overview of the repertoire performed in domestic spheres, and the role of Italian operatic music in this repertoire.

So what can we learn from the analysis of Italian operatic repertoire in private domestic collections alongside pedagogical repertoire? The combination of sources discussed in this chapter thus far proves that Italian music was popular amongst both amateur performers and vocal pedagogues, used to explore elite cultured tastes as well as to train singers in the *bel canto* style. Although private collections and treatises rarely feature the same specific items, they share the same tendencies and influences; this suggests that pedagogical repertoire can be relied upon to reflect the teachings of vocal music in domestic spheres. Both sources of repertoire (pedagogical and domestic) informed and influenced the other; the presence of Italian music in pedagogical

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<sup>37</sup> This is found in Vol. 333 of the MMC, 2-4, and in Vol. 1 of Corri's *A Select Collection* [...], 33-34.

repertoire would have only increased its popularity in domestic spheres, and vice versa. In turn, this would have increased the circulation and demand for this music in publishing houses. The differences found between pedagogical and private repertoire indicate the unique tastes of specific pedagogues and music collectors, and the breadth of vocal performance culture in the Georgian era. Perhaps most significantly, evidence of personal preferences across collections shows that amateur performers were engaging with the music they acquired; music was collected to be performed, and the owners had a say in the repertoire they were performing.

## 2.3 Adaptations and Translations

When considering the consumption of Italian operatic repertoire, this thesis has thus far considered Italian opera in opposition to English song, using the Italian and English languages to define genre and nationality. While this is useful for analytical purposes, it obscures one important way in which English consumers engaged with Italian opera: through translation. The importation of Italian operatic music to Britain during the Georgian era led to the translation of Italian vocal repertoire for performance in English, as well as the adaptation of operatic items for different instruments in a variety of arrangements. This further stimulated the spread of Italian operatic culture into domestic spheres, albeit in different forms and often entirely disguised. Many consumed these translations and adaptations as ‘English’ music, when in fact they were a by-product of the importation of Italian luxury goods. Whilst we can question how far performers differentiated between operatic and non-operatic Italian vocal music, we can also ask how far collectors and performers were aware that this translated vocal repertoire had Italian origins. However, the circulation of Italian music in adapted and translated forms meant that Italian operatic music was consumed by those that might not otherwise have interacted with the genre at all, enabling the dissemination of Italian culture more broadly in Britain, across social and financial barriers.

### 2.3.1 Italian Opera to ‘English Song’: The Market for Translated Texts

The translation of operatic texts was part of a broader movement that saw a significant rise in the number of foreign texts translated for British consumption, particularly French and Italian literature, corresponding with development of the publishing industry. Translated texts appeared increasingly frequently across the century, and domestic performers consumed translated repertoire in a broad range of forms. Little is known about the process of translating musical texts during this era. Denise Gallo describes the translator as a ‘silent partner’ in the production of musical arrangements and adaptations of the era; this was not uncommon, as translators have often played an ‘invisible’ role throughout history.<sup>38</sup> Most translations of the era cannot be attributed to a

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<sup>38</sup> Denise Gallo, ‘Opera, Oratorio, and Song’, in *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English, Volume 4: 1790-1900*, ed. Peter France & Kenneth Haynes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 246.

particular individual; however, a few operatic translators are known to us today, including Samuel Humphreys (c.1697–1738), Richard Brinsley Sheridan (1751-1816), and John Cleland (1709-1789).<sup>39</sup>

The overwhelming majority of musical texts were translated for theatrical purposes. Despite the fierce rivalry between Italian and English opera in London, English spoken theatres frequently incorporated Italian repertoire into their productions, re-written with new English words. Arias initially travelled from the Continent to the King's Theatre, where they were performed either with the original Italian stanzas, or with new Italian text.<sup>40</sup> Many arias were then immediately adapted for English productions at Covent Garden or Drury Lane, and these translated arias were subsequently published for domestic consumption. The Italian origins of this repertoire were rarely credited in printed material, which was common for the era; translations and musical arrangements were considered to be original works and the arranger was recognised as the new author.<sup>41</sup> Disassociation with the original repertoire was also unsurprising considering the powerful criticism of Italian opera that came from English theatrical spheres. Ironically, the same people condemning Italian opera for its decadence and frivolity – such as David Garrick (1717-1779), the playwright and manager of Drury Lane from 1747-1776 – were also incorporating Italian operatic repertoire into their own productions.<sup>42</sup>

Translated repertoire also featured in concerts staged in London and in the provinces. This included repertoire as it was heard in the English-spoken theatres, but also operatic arias adapted into glees and other traditional song forms. The inclusion of translated repertoire in concerts enabled it to spread to broader audiences, including those who did not attend the theatre in London, and encouraged them to purchase sheet music of the repertoire they heard and perform it themselves at home. In particular, it enabled the spread of Italian music to wider social spheres; those omitted from the exclusive King's Theatre audiences were less likely to consume Italian operatic music, either as spectators, collectors, or performers, but the adaptation of Italian repertoire into alternative genres made it both accessible and appealing to more diverse audiences and consumers, further embedding Italian culture into the British music industry.

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See also: Lawrence Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017).

<sup>39</sup> See: Linda Kelly, *Richard Brinsley Sheridan: A Life* (Sinclair-Stevenson, 1997); and William. H. Epstein, *John Cleland: Images of a Life* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974).

<sup>40</sup> Many King's Theatre productions – such as *Orfeo* (1770), *Artaserse* (1772), and *Demofonte* (1765) – were pastiche operas and thus often required re-workings of operatic texts.

<sup>41</sup> Susan Bassnett and Peter France, 'Translations, Politics, and the Law', in *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English, Vol. 4: 1790-1900*, ed. Peter France and Kenneth Haynes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 48-58.

<sup>42</sup> Acton Frederick Griffith (ed.), *A Collection and Selection of English prologues [...] Volume III* (London: Fielding and Walker, 1779), 233-235.

Another significant context for translated repertoire was pedagogical literature. Some singing masters featured translated repertoire in their vocal treatises; it figures most notably in the treatises of Domenico Corri, Gesualdo Lanza, and Robert Smith. This is an indication not only of which translated repertoire was popular or successful in professional circles, but also of what translated music was being performed in domestic spheres; as explored earlier in this chapter, singing masters selected repertoire that reflected the musical tastes of the day, adhering to but also contributing to notions of a musical canon. Usually, these translated items were already well-known in both languages, although in some cases the translated text was better known. However, repertoire was also selected to help students learn specific vocal techniques and understand particular styles and genres. Much of the translated repertoire featured in vocal treatises includes both the original text and the translation, reflecting the expectation that students should be able to perform in both languages. In particular, this can be seen in Corri's *A Select Collection* and *The Singers Preceptor*, and Lanza's *Elements of Singing*.

### 2.3.2 Case Studies: Translated Italian Operatic Texts

The majority of translated operatic texts surviving today are effective singing translations, adapted solely for performance purposes. Texts were usually completely re-written, often sharing little or no meaning with the original Italian stanzas. Instead, the new stanzas prioritized singability and retention of the melodic and rhythmic elements of the aria. This repertoire therefore serves as a revealing case study for debates surrounding the meaning and application of the terms 'translation' and 'translator' as well for understanding the different ways Italian opera was consumed. Can a singing translation that shares no semantic content with the source text be considered a 'translation'? These questions have been explored in depth in recent scholarly literature; Ronnie Apter and Mark Herman's argument that singing translations of this kind should instead be considered 'adaptations' is applicable here.<sup>43</sup>

A prototype for operatic translations of the era is 'By him we love offended', adapted from 'Fuggiam dove sicura'. The Italian aria, composed by Venanzio Rauzzini, originally featured in the King's Theatre production of *Piramo e Tisbe* (1775), with text by Ranieri de' Calzabigi.<sup>44</sup> It was then adapted for use in the popular pastiche comic opera *The Duenna* (1775), which was predominantly composed by Thomas Linley and staged at Covent Garden, and the Italian stanzas were replaced with text by the playwright Richard Sheridan. The two texts are completely unconnected items of poetry; Sheridan's stanzas speak of forgiving a lover after a quarrel, whilst the Italian text depicts two lovers escaping to a coastal location. 'By him we love offended' was

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<sup>43</sup> See chapter on 'Adaptation and Re-translation' in: Ronnie Apter and Mark Herman, *Translation for Singing: The Theory, Art and Craft of Translating Lyrics* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016).

<sup>44</sup> The original libretto for *Piramo e Tisbe* was by Marco Coltellini, set by Johann Adolf Hasse for a production in Munich in 1765. Calzabigi adapted Coltellini's libretto for the London production.

extremely well received in both professional and domestic performance spheres. It was printed in multiple forms and arrangements for domestic consumption, across several decades. The English text alone also featured in collections such as *The Universal Songster*, and it was included in Corri's *A Select Collection*, alongside the original Italian text. The recurring publication of this translated aria and its presence in pedagogical literature suggests that it became a staple item of domestic vocal repertoire during the Georgian era. It was published far more frequently in Britain than its Italian counterpart, and, as indicated by any of the titles of its publications, it was consumed as a popular English Song rather than as an Italian aria.

The texts for 'Fuggiam dove sicura' and 'By him we love offended' are presented below. Any mistakes in the printed source for these texts have been included, and in all subsequent examples in this chapter, to reflect how they would have been consumed by British domestic performers.

***Piramo e Tisbe* (1775)<sup>45</sup>**

By **Ranieri de' Calzabigi**

Fuggiam dove sicura

In dolce libertà

Contenta povertà

Scelse il soggiorno

Là farà nostra cura

Or da un bel colle ameno

Or presso un onda pura

Veder come sereno

Il sol dalle onde appar

Come tranquillo il mar

Poi sa ritorno

***The Duenna* (1775)<sup>46</sup>**

By **Richard Sheridan**

By him we love offended

How soon our anger flies

One day apart 'tis ended

Behold him and it dies

Last night your roving brother

Enrag'd I bade apart

And sure his rude presumption

Deserved to lose my heart

Yet were he now before me

In spite of injured pride

I fear my eyes would pardon

Before my tongue could chide

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<sup>45</sup> Text sourced from: *A Selection from Pyramus and Thysbe: A Cantata / Composed by Sigr. Rauzzini; and performed at the Kings Theatre in the Hay Market* (London: R. Bremner, 1775). Only the first three stanzas are included here.

This English translation has been provided by Cristina Marinetti: 'Let's escape to a place where, stead-fast, In sweet freedom, Simple poverty, Chose to stay / There our comfort will be, From a pretty hill, Or by a crystal wave, To see how serene/calm / The sun from the waves appears, How the tranquil sea, Makes its comeback.'

<sup>46</sup> Text sourced from: *Songs, Duets, Trios, &c. in The duenna; or, The Double Elopement; As Performed at the Theatre-Royal in Covent-Garden [...]* (London: J. Wilkie and T. Evans, 1776). Only the first three stanzas are included here.

Many other Italian arias were translated in the same contexts and enjoyed similar success in theatrical and domestic spheres. For example, ‘La pastorella al prato’ from Baldassare Galuppi’s setting of Carlo Goldoni’s *Il filosofo di Campagna* (King’s Theatre, 1762), was adapted to ‘How bless’d the maid’ for *Love in a Village* (Covent Garden, 1762).<sup>47</sup> Likewise, ‘Mi sento in mezzo al core’ from *La marchesa giardiniera*<sup>48</sup> (King’s Theatre, 1775) became ‘What bard, O time, discover’, performed in *The Duenna*. Much like ‘By him we love offended’, these texts were completely re-worked for their new productions. In comparison, musical texts translated for non-theatrical purposes often retained closer connections to the original Italian; with no need to suit the storyline of a new theatrical production, adaptations were able to more closely match the semantic content of the Italian poetry, and focus on presenting these themes in a new language. For example, ‘Idle boy I quit thy bow’r’ (often presented as ‘Go, Idle boy’), was a popular glee adapted from Mozart’s ‘Ah perdona al primo affetto’ (*La Clemenza di Tito*); this is a much closer translation than the previously noted examples, with shared emotive values (see texts below).<sup>49</sup> ‘Idle boy I quit thy bow’r’ was published frequently both as sheet music and in collections of popular glees, such as *The Words of the Favourite Pieces, as Performed at the Glee Club* (J. Paul Hobler, 1794). Perhaps most significantly, ‘Idle boy I quit thy bow’r’ was published and performed in Britain long before *La Clemenza di Tito* was first performed at the King’s Theatre in 1806. The original Italian aria was also already being performed in London outside of the theatre, but the performance of this adaptation further contributed to the spread of Mozart’s music in Britain, albeit through a different genre.

***La Clemenza di Tito* (1791)<sup>50</sup>**

**By Caterino Mazzolà /**

**Pietro Metastasio**

*Ah perdona al primo affetto*

*Questo accento sconsigliato*

**Anon.<sup>51</sup>**

Idle Boy I quit thy bow'r

And thy couch of thorn and flow'r

<sup>47</sup> Isaac Bickerstaffe, the playwright for *Love in a Village*, most likely composed the new text. The music for this production was arranged and composed by Thomas Arne.

<sup>48</sup> This opera was composed by Giuseppe Giordani, based on a libretto by Giuseppe Petrosellini that was originally set by Pasquale Anfossi (Rome, 1773).

<sup>49</sup> John Callcott was responsible for this musical adaptation, but the translator is unknown. It was published in the mid-nineteenth century in *A Selection of Glees for Three Voices arranged expressly for Amateurs and Private Performance*, by William Hutchins Callcott (London: R. Addison & Co, 1845-50).

<sup>50</sup> Text sourced from *Ah perdona al primo affetto. Duetto nella Clemenza di Tito. Composto dal Sig. W. A. Mozart* (London: T. Monzani, c.1800).

English translation of this text provided by Cristina Marinetti: ‘Ah forgive at first affection, This ill-advised address, Guilt resides with my worn lips, That so addressed you every time / Ah you were the first object, I have been faithful to until now, And you will be the last, That will nest inside this heart / Cherished gestures of my love, Oh my sweet, darling hope, The more I listen to your senses, The more in me passion rises / When a soul to another is united, What pleasure the heart feels, Let’s cut out from life, All that is not love.’

<sup>51</sup> Text sourced from Corri, *The Singers Preceptor*, Vol. 2 (London: 1810), 22-25. An earlier version can be found in: Richard Clark, *The Words of the Favourite Pieces, as Performed at the Glee Club* (London: J. Paul Hobler, 1794), 96.



<i>Colpa fu' dell labbrousato</i>	Twanging bow and arrow keen
<i>A cosi chiamarti ognor</i>	All the charms that grace thy mein
<i>Ah tù fosti il primo oggetto</i>	Gentle smile and thrilling tear
<i>Che finor fedel a mai</i>	Love's kind glance love's timid fear
<i>E tu l'ultimo sarai</i>	Can they give no joy to thee
<i>Ch'abbia nido in questo cor</i>	Canst thou wish thy bosom free
<i>Cari accenti del mio bene</i>	No more solicitude to know
<i>Oh mia dolce eara speme</i>	For others bliss for others woe
<i>Piu che ascoltoi sensi tuoi</i>	Hasten back then heav'nly boy
<i>In me cresce piu l'ardor</i>	With thine anguish bring thy joy
<i>Quando un alma e altra unita</i>	O return soft charmer hear
<i>Qual piacer un cor risente</i>	Let me hope and do not fear
<i>A si tronchi dalla vita</i>	Rend my heart with every pain
<i>Tutto quel che non e' amor</i>	Let me let me love again
<i>Che non e' amor</i>	Oh love again

### 2.3.3 Presentation of Vocal Scores

The way translated repertoire was presented in printed sheet music, pedagogical treatises, and domestic collections, tells us a great deal about how individual items were considered and consumed by domestic performers, and whether they were considered to be 'Italian airs' or 'English songs'. Title pages for published sheet music, as well as hand-written titles in domestic manuscripts, are particularly revealing. Publishing houses marketed their products by including details that would be attractive to consumers, such as the names of famous composers, or titles of songs that were already popular. The titles used for translated repertoire indicate which version was most well-known, and which was more popular with domestic performers. Publishing houses, which both adhered to and influenced trends on the market, were responsible for stimulating this notion, contributing to the spread of the English version across domestic spheres. The categorisation of translated repertoire in miscellaneous collections also indicates how each item was perceived by consumers. Translated Italian repertoire sometimes featured in volumes titled 'English songs' or 'English stage music'. For example, Corri presents 'How bless'd the maid' in Vol. 2 of *A Select Collection*, which is independently titled *Volume 2<sup>nd</sup>: Consisting of English Songs and Duets*. Although Corri credits Galuppi as the composer, there is no mention of its operatic origins, and neither the original poet nor the translator are credited. The title of the aria is simply 'Love in a Village', noting its English theatrical origins, but not its Italian heritage.

Graphic elements in vocal scores can also be particularly revealing. The use of different font sizes and the placement of the text on the score can indicate which text was considered to be the primary version. For example, in Corri's presentation of 'How bless'd the maid', the English text is significantly larger, and placed in the standard position underneath the stave, in comparison with the much smaller Italian text placed above the stave.<sup>52</sup> This can be seen across *The Singers Preceptor* and *A Select Collection*; for example, the score for 'Voi amanti, che vedete' / 'Cupid, god of soft persuasion' for which the Italian text was the original (see Figure 2.6).<sup>53</sup> However, this method was also used vice versa; for example, his score for the Italian aria 'Mi sento in mezzo al core', in the Vol. 1 of *A Select Collection* (titled *Italian Songs, Rondeaux, Duets, &c.*), features the adapted text 'What bard, O time, discover' in smaller print above the stage, suggesting that Corri considered the Italian to be the primary version (see Figure 2.7).



Figure 2.6. Extract from 'Cupid, God of soft persuasion' in Corri, *A Select Collection*, Vol. 2 (Edinburgh: John Corri, c.1794-95), 7. In the facsimile edition edited by Richard Maunder (New York: Garland, 1993). © Reproduced with permission from the University of Southampton Hartley Library

<sup>52</sup> *A Select Collection*, Vol. 2, 6.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid*, 7.



**Figure 2.7.** Extract from ‘Mi sento in mezzo al core’ in Corri, *A Select Collection*, Vol. 1 (Edinburgh: John Corri, c.1782), 34. In the facsimile edition edited by Richard Maunder (New York: Garland, 1993). © Reproduced with permission from the University of Southampton Hartley Library

### 2.3.4 Genre, Style, and Ornamentation

The use of English and Italian as interchangeable languages for vocal music raises questions about the relationship between language, genre, and vocal style. In particular, the presentation of translated texts alongside the original text in the same vocal score generates complications for defining the genre of that repertoire. Fundamentally, Italian opera and ‘English song’ were two different vocal genres. Did the application of English text to an aria make it ‘English’? Or did Italian arias also receive extensive musical alterations to adhere to English vocal trends and appeal to consumers of English vocal music?

The vocal style of eighteenth century ‘English song’ is difficult to define, because – as H. Diack Johnstone has previously noted – the source materials are ‘overwhelmingly vast’.<sup>54</sup> Many ‘English songs’ had varying stylistic qualities, and they came from multiple sources. Moreover,

<sup>54</sup> H. Diack Johnstone, ‘English Solo Song, c. 1710-1760’, *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 95 (1968-1969), 67-80. Alice Little has explored the idea of ‘Englishness’ – or lack thereof – in Georgian song culture, noting that there were distinct national trends within publications of Scottish, Welsh, and Irish music, but less so in English music. Little argues that this is especially the case when examining the printed melodies rather than song lyrics; if a song had English text, it could be presented as an ‘English’ song, despite its national origins, as was the case for many of the translated arias discussed in this chapter. See: Alice Little, ‘On Englishness’, Romantic Song National Network (blog), June 13 2019 <https://rnsn.glasgow.ac.uk/on-englishness-by-alice-little/>. See also: Little, ‘The Tunebooks of JB Malchair, Oxford, c.1760-1812’ (PhD diss.: Oxford University, forthcoming).

each source type could also be extremely broad; for example, ballad songs from English operas contrasted stylistically to Italian-originated operatic arias, and yet they were often presented under the same guise.<sup>55</sup> Although traditional English repertoire and English vocal styles clearly differed from Italian, and they were placed in opposition to each other by some British vocal pedagogues, overlap between ‘English’ and ‘Italian’ vocal music became increasingly common, particularly as the *bel canto* tradition began to infiltrate broader British vocal performance. The fluidity between English and Italian vocal music can be seen in much of the translated repertoire performed in theatrical productions, such as in *The Duenna*. Whilst this production owes its heritage to John Gay’s *The Beggar’s Opera* (1728), which openly mocked and satirised the Italian operatic tradition, *The Duenna* also features more technically complex vocal music, and thus was able to include translated Italian arias without distracting from the work’s overall musical style. Many other English productions followed suit, incorporating vocal music from a vast range of genres. In addition, English oratorio, a genre made popular by Handel in the mid-eighteenth century that dominated the professional and domestic market, was considered to be the English counterpart of Italian opera, sharing many stylistic elements.

However, as we have seen, some Italian arias were translated and adapted into entirely different genres. In these instances, they underwent extensive musical alterations. This is seen no better than through ‘Idle boy I quit thy bow’r’, which became fully established under a new genre as a glee. A glee, by definition, is simple in form and style, composed for three or more unaccompanied voices in homophony and light imitation, and associated exclusively with the English language; this could not be further from an Italian operatic aria or duet. A comparison of a London publication of the original Italian aria (see Figure 2.8) with a publication of Callcott’s glee (see Figure 2.9) shows how drastically Italian arias could be altered to appeal to new markets. Corri’s presentation of ‘Idle boy...’ in *The Singers Preceptor* (see Figure 2.10) highlights the difficulties that inevitably arise when presenting translated texts alongside the original.<sup>56</sup> He features ‘Ah perdona, al primo affetto’ as the principal text and therefore prioritises the stylistic elements of Mozart’s original aria, including ornamentation in the vocal line and florid passages that do not feature in the glee arrangement. The performance of ‘Idle boy I quit thy bow’r’ in this manner would have been far removed from how it was known in British musical spheres, which would have potentially confused performers working from this treatise. Similar complications can be seen across much of the translated repertoire featured in Corri’s treatise. When presented in this manner, the English adaptations are neither ‘Italian airs’ nor ‘English songs’. They borrow elements from both genres – stylistically, from Italian opera; linguistically, from English song – but

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<sup>55</sup> Derek Scott has made similar arguments about the ‘Victorian parlour song’ and the ‘drawing room ballad’, challenging the assumption that they were clear-cut genres. See: *The Singing Bourgeois: Songs of the Victorian Drawing Room and Parlour* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2001).

<sup>56</sup> Corri’s *The Singers Preceptor*, Vol 2, 22.

they do not fully adhere to either tradition. Translated arias arranged in this manner rarely appeared on the publishing market other than in pedagogical treatises, suggesting that they did not appeal to domestic consumers.

Voci

Andante

Accom.

Ah per-dona al primo af-

-fetto questo ac-cen-to sconsi-glia-to col-pa fu' del labbro u-sa-to a co-

Printed for T. Monzani N° 2 Pall-mall.

Figure 2.8. *Ah perdona al primo affetto. Duetto nella Clemenza di Tito. Composto dal Sig. W. A. Mozart* (London: T. Monzani, c.1800), 1. © British Library Board, G.537.e.(1.)

**GO IDLE BOY.**  
*Finace.*      **GLEE FOR FOUR VOICES.**      *Dr. Callcott.*

ALTO.      Go i - dle boy, I quit thy bow'r, I quit, I quit thy

1st TENOR.      Go i - dle boy, I quit thy bow'r, I quit, I quit thy

2d TENOR.      Go i - dle boy, I quit thy bow'r,

BASS.      Go i - dle boy, I quit thy

Figure 2.9. Extract from John Callcott, 'Go Idle Boy' in *The British Minstrel, and Musical and Literary Miscellany Vol. 3* (Glasgow: William Hamilton, 1845), 295. © Creative Commons

**ANDANTE**      *Pmo* I - dle

.. Voice      Ah per

Accomp!      *f*      *p*

Boy I quit thy bow'r and thy couch of thorn and flow'r, Twanging  
do - na al pri - mo af - fet - to ques to ac - cen - to scon - si - gia - to col - pa

Bow and ar - row keen all the charms that grace thy  
fu dall' lab - brou - sa - to a co - - si chia - mar - ti ogn'

Figure 2.10. Extract from 'Ah perdona, al primo affetto' in Corri, *A Select Collection*, Vol. 2 (Edinburgh: John Corri, c.1782). In the facsimile edition edited by Richard Maunder (New York: Garland, 1993). © Reproduced with permission from the University of Southampton Hartley Library

Nonetheless, Corri did sometimes acknowledge the stylistic differences between Italian arias and English adaptations in his treatises. In his presentation of ‘Love, thou hast enchain’d my heart’, adapted from ‘Lungi dal caro bene’ (from *Giulio Sabino*),<sup>57</sup> he features two separate vocal lines, one for each version of the text (see Figure 2.11). The Italian vocal line is heavily decorated with ornamentation and embellished passages, which are not included on the English vocal line. This acknowledges the differences in the vocal styles that were appropriate for each version of the text, and indeed which vocal styles were generally considered suitable for the English and Italian languages. This would have been particularly useful for domestic performers, helping them to understand the meaning and purpose of each genre.

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<sup>57</sup> This opera originally premiered in 1781 in Venice and was adapted for the King’s Theatre in 1786. The music was composed by Giuseppe Sarti and the libretto by Pietro Giovannini.

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lun-gl-dal ca-ro be-ne sen-to  
lun-il dal ca-ro be-ne sen-to

Love has en-chain'd my heart deep-ly

sen-to man-car-mi il co-rq sen-to man-car-mi il  
deeply thou'st fix'd thy dart deep-ly thou'st fix'd thy

sen-to man-car-mi il cor.  
co-rq sen-to man-car-mi il cor.  
dart deep-ly thou'st fix'd thy dart.

finisci del coro

Figure 2.11. Extract from 'Ah perdona, al primo affetto' in Corri, *A Select Collection*, Vol. 2 (Edinburgh: John Corri, c.1782), 7. In the facsimile edition edited by Richard Maunder (New York: Garland, 1993). © Reproduced with permission from the University of Southampton Hartley Library

### 2.3.5 Instrumental Adaptations and Arrangements

In addition to being translated and published as English vocal music, Italian operatic music was also adapted and sold in instrumental forms. Arias, duets, and also orchestral operatic overtures were arranged for various domestic instruments, although keyboard adaptations were most common. Many of these arrangements were developed from operatic items that were also translated



and published as English vocal music; these instrumental arrangements therefore both reflected and contributed to the popularity and recognition of that specific item, in its various forms, as well as the broader spread of Italian operatic music. Instrumental adaptations – especially those for keyboard instruments – are particularly indicative of the domestication of operatic culture in Georgian Britain. Whilst translated vocal music usually originated on the professional stage before being published for domestic consumption, these instrumental adaptations were usually specifically arranged for domestic performance purposes, meeting the increasing demands for printed sheet music that was accessible to amateur performers across broad social spectrums.

The Austen Family Music Books can be used as a case study for understanding how Italian operatic arrangements and influences found its way into the music collections of those that did not otherwise interact with the genre. In comparison with the five domestic collections discussed earlier in this chapter, which each originated from elite social spheres, the Austen Family Music Books feature very little operatic music. There are a select number of operatic vocal items, but these are found in the volumes that belonged to Jane Austen's sister-in-law, Elizabeth Bridges, rather than Jane herself. Elizabeth had a distinctly wealthier background than Jane, attending the same finishing school as Elizabeth Sykes, where they both possibly received instruction from an Italian singing master. Samantha Carrasco argues that the 'superior education of Elizabeth Bridges gave her access to the genre'.<sup>58</sup> The lack of Italian music in the rest of the Austen collection suggests that Jane did not share Elizabeth's taste for Italian operatic music; this was largely dictated by their education, which was in turn influenced by their wealth and middle-class social status.<sup>59</sup>

However, there is still some evidence of the influence of Italian operatic culture in Jane's music-making, through the collection of some instrumental adaptations and arrangements of operatic music performed at the King's Theatre. Firstly, there are several opera overtures adapted for harpsichord or piano forte, such as those from Piccinni's *La buona figliuola* (Rome, 1760; London, 1766), Sacchini's *Enea e Lavinia* (London, 1779) and Anfossi's *I viaggiatori felici* (Venice, 1780; London, 1782).<sup>60</sup> It was extremely common for overture arrangements of this kind to appear in domestic collections, and many can be found in the elite collections explored

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<sup>58</sup> Samantha Carrasco, 'The Austen Family Music Books and Hampshire Music Culture, 1770-1820' (PhD diss., University of Southampton, 2013), 170.

<sup>59</sup> Instead of Italian composers, Jane and her family favoured reputable British composers of the era, such as William Shield, Charles Dibdin, and Thomas Arne, and there is a prominent presence of repertoire from English theatre and regional concerts in their volumes.

<sup>60</sup> See: Book 2/3 of the Austen Family Music Books for *La buona figliuola* and 1/5 for *Enea e Lavinia* and *I Viaggiatori Felici*. These volumes have been digitised by the University of Southampton in collaboration with Jane Austen's House Museum. See: <https://archive.org/details/austen1676477-2001> and <https://archive.org/details/austen1676431-2001> respectively. Book 2/3 bears the signature of Cassandra Austen. Samantha Carrasco notes: 'This has led to speculation as to whether these volumes belonged to Jane's sister Cassandra or, as generally presumed by Austen scholars, the books were bound after Jane's death by Cassandra and signed at that time'. See: Carrasco, 37.

previously in this chapter. They are abundant in the collection at Tatton Park, ranging from overtures from Handel's Italian operas (such as *Rodelinda*), to overtures from Rossini's operas from the early nineteenth century. Likewise, in the MMC, there are many overtures dating from across the eighteenth century, including from every Handel opera and oratorio, and also from contemporary Italian operas such as *I rivali delusi* (Milan, 1782; London, 1784). The MMC also features the same copy of the solo arrangement of the *La buona figliuola* overture found in the Austen Family Music Books. In the MMC, overtures are found in miscellaneous volumes as well as in full-length opera scores; however, even in miscellaneous volumes, they are mostly presented alongside vocal items from that particular opera, purchased as part of a set. The collection of overture arrangements in this manner therefore differs from the presence of operatic overtures in the Austen Family Music Books; in elite spheres, overture arrangements were usually just one small part of a family's engagement with Italian operatic music, rather than being a central feature of Italianate influences.

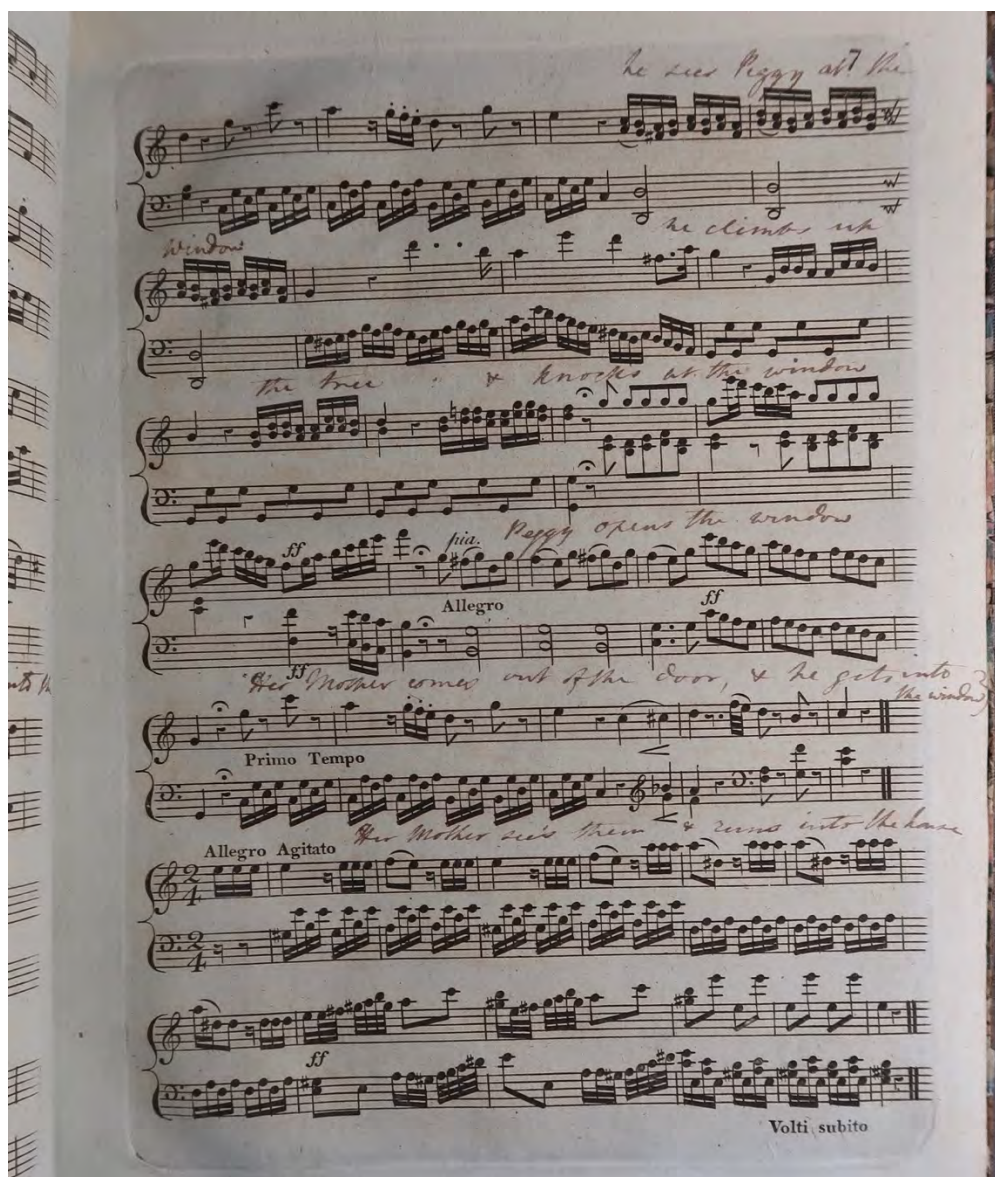
In addition to arrangements of operatic overtures, there are further influences from the King's Theatre in the music books belonging to Jane Austen; namely, the collection of several dances from Joseph Mazzinghi's ballet *Les trois sultanes*, which was presented at the King's Theatre in 1798.<sup>61</sup> This production was contemporary at the time of the sheet music acquisition, indicating the influence of the King's Theatre on the publishing market and their role in bringing Italian operatic culture to British domestic spheres, regardless of whether members of the household actually attended opera performances in London. Ballet music was frequently published in domestic arrangements, usually for solo keyboard, although also sometimes with accompaniments for the violin, flute and tambourine. Much like opera arias and duets, opera dances were published either as individual items or in a collection of 'favourites'. Although the consumption of domestic ballet arrangements does not directly reflect engagement with Italian operatic music, it is an indication of broader engagement with the repertoire of the King's Theatre, and of opera culture more broadly. Collection of dance music for use in the home was extremely common, as has been explored by Katrina Faulds. Operatic dance music is particularly prominent in the MMC, including in some of the volumes collected by Ladies Elizabeth and Caroline. Many of these scores, such as a copy of *Little Peggy's Love*, have been annotated, as explored by Faulds, and shown in Figure 2.12 below:

It belonged to Ladies Elizabeth and Caroline Montagu, and uniquely, it contains extensive hand-written annotations that include dancers' names and details about the plot, suggesting that they may have written these directions as they watched. The score was advertised by music sellers Longman & Broderip around two weeks after the family first saw the production, so they would have had at least another four opportunities to write on

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<sup>61</sup> Found in Book 1/2, which has been digitised by the University of Southampton in collaboration with Jane Austen's House Museum: <https://archive.org/details/austen1671983-2001>.

the score after it was published. Although it is not the only ballet in the collection that has been annotated, the indications on the score are extensive, and it is possibly the only record that describes how this ballet was staged.<sup>62</sup>



**Figure 2.12.** Annotations in the MMC Vol. 172. In *Little Peggy's Love, The Favorite Scotch Ballet, Performed at the King's Theatre, Composed by Mr Didelot, The Music by Sigr Cesare Bossi* (London: Longman & Broderip, [1796]), 7.

© The Buccleuch Collections

<sup>62</sup> Katrina Faulds, 'Opera Dances', in *A Passion for Opera: The Duchess and the Georgian Stage*, ed. Jeanice Brooks, Katrina Faulds, and Wiebke Thormählen (Buccleuch Living Heritage Trust, 2019), exhibition catalogue, 95.

This once again shows the difference between the presence of operatic influences in the MMC and in the Austen Family Music Books. For the former, collection of instrumental adaptations and arrangements of operatic music was part of the family's much broader engagement with Italian opera, and this sheet music was consumed with the conscious view to bring Italian operatic culture into the home. Whereas, for the latter, it reflects the family's engagement with keyboard music that was popular on the publishing market and circulating in spheres that were not necessarily engaging with operatic culture in other ways. The presence of these operatic influences in the Austen Family Music Books does not suggest that Jane was directly interacting with the repertoire of the King's Theatre. Instead, it shows that this music had infiltrated the British music scene far beyond the realms of aristocratic opera-goers. Popular operatic works were domesticated by the publishing industry, resulting in the consumption of Italian operatic music detached from its original form, by people who could not otherwise engage with opera for reasons of cost or geography, or who had little or no interest in the genre. Moreover, the operatic influences in the Austen Family Music Books originate exclusively from the King's Theatre, reflecting the reliance of those outside of elite spheres on British institutions to bring opera culture into their homes. In contrast, elite families could access operatic culture through other means, facilitated by their wealth and status.

### 2.3.6 Case Study: 'Hope Told a Flattering Tale'

Arguably the most successful adaptation of a singular operatic item during the Georgian era was 'Hope told a flattering tale'. This can be used as a case study for understanding translated vocal repertoire as well as instrumental arrangements, having enjoyed enormous success in a vast variety of vocal and instrumental arrangements. Originally 'Nel cor più non mi sento', from the opera *L'amor contrastato, ossia La molinara* (1788) by Paisiello, it was adapted as an aria for the King's Theatre pasticcio *Idalide* (1791) with new text, 'Ah che nel petto io sento'.<sup>63</sup> That same season, 'Ah che nel petto io sento' was adapted and translated by John Wolcot (alias Peter Pindar) into English as 'Hope told a flattering tale' for a Drury Lane production of Thomas Arne's *Artaxerxes*.<sup>64</sup> Despite the popularity of the English version surpassing that of the Italian, Wolcot is rarely attributed in printed sheet music. Paisiello was frequently recognized as the original composer,

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<sup>63</sup> The original version of this pasticcio premiered in Milan in 1783, but without Paisiello's aria. Gertrud Elisabeth Mara (1749-1833), one of the most popular sopranos of the era, initially introduced the aria at a benefit concert in London, and claimed authorship for the arrangement; however, the King's Theatre management disputed this, claiming Joseph Mazzinghi was responsible for the musical alterations. Mazzinghi is often credited in publications of 'Hope told a flattering tale'. This is explored in further detail in a paper by Katrina Faulds and Penelope Cave, 'A Suitable Case for Treatment: Multiple Layers of Authorship and the Practice of Keyboard Arrangements', for the 3<sup>rd</sup> International Conference on Historical Keyboard Music (7-9<sup>th</sup> June 2018). See also: Judith Milhous, Gabriella Dideriksen, and Robert D.Hume, *Italian Opera in Late Eighteenth-Century London, Volume II: The Pantheon Opera and its Aftermath 1789-1795*, 448-460 and 486-493.

<sup>64</sup> This production was staged at the King's Theatre, where the Drury Lane company were temporarily resident.

paying homage to its Italian roots, but very little attention is paid to authorship of the text.<sup>65</sup> The three versions of the text are detailed below:

***La Molinara* (1788)<sup>66 67</sup>**

**By Giuseppe Palomba**

Nel cor più non mi sento  
Brillar la gioventù  
Cagion del mio tormento  
Amor sei colpa tu  
Mi stuzzichi, mi mastichi  
Mi pungichi, mi pizzichi  
Che cosa e questa oime  
Pietà, pietà, pietà  
Amor è un certo che  
Che delirar mi foi

Bandiera d'ogni vento  
Conosco che sei tù  
Da uno sino di cento  
Burli la gioventù  
Tu stuzzichi, tu pizzichi  
Tu pungichi, tu mastichi  
Che grida ognuno oime  
Pietà, pietà, pietà

***Idalide* (1791)<sup>68 69</sup>**

Ah che nel petto io sento  
Tremare oh Numi il cor  
Cagion del mio tormento  
Sei tu tiranno Amor  
Quai fremiti, quai palpiti  
Meschina io provo in me  
Ah giusto Ciel pietà  
Nò che pietà non v'è  
Tutto tremar mi fà

***Artaxerxes* (1791)<sup>70</sup>**

**By John Wolcot**

Hope told a flatt'ring tale  
That joy would soon return  
Ah nought my sighs avail  
For love is doom'd to mourn  
  
Ah where's the flatt'rer gone  
From me forever flown  
Ah nought my sighs avail  
For love is doomed to mourn

The happy dream of love is  
o'er  
Life alas can charm no more  
The happy dream of love is  
o'er  
Life alas can charm no more

<sup>65</sup> 'Hope told a flattering tale' was originally published by Longman & Broderip in 1790, who attempted to credit all those responsible for the arrangement, titling the aria: *Madam Mara's additional Song and Instrumental Recitative introduced at the King's Theatre, Haymarket, in the opera of Artaxerxes taken from the Opera of Idalide. The words by Peter Pindar [...]*.

<sup>66</sup> Text sourced from: *Nel cor più non mi sento. The celebrated duetto [...]* (London, Birchall, c.1805). Only the first and final verses are included here.

<sup>67</sup> English translation of this text provided by Cristina Marinetti: 'In my heart I no longer feel, Sparkling youth, The reason for my torment, My love its fault is you, You tease/tickle me, you nibble me, You prick me, you pinch me, What is this, oh dear me, Mercy, mercy, mercy, Love is something, That makes me delirious / (Fickle) flag that bends to all the wind, I know it's you, From one to one hundred, You poke fun at youth / You tease, you nibble, You prick, you pinch, We all should out, Mercy, mercy, mercy, That lady has something, That makes me burn (with passion).'

<sup>68</sup> Text sourced from: *Idalide, o sia La Vergine del Sole. A serious opera [by Ferdinando Moretti], as represented at the King's Theatre, Pantheon. The poem translated by John Mazzinghi* (London: H. Reynell, 1791).

<sup>69</sup> English translation provided by Cristina Marinetti: 'I feel in my chest, The trembling, oh Gods, of my heart, The reason for my torment, It's you, tyrant love, What quivers, what heartbeats, I feel wretched in myself, Ah righteous Heaven have mercy, No, mercy is all but gone, Everything makes me tremble'.

<sup>70</sup> Text sourced from: *Madam Mara's additional Song and Instrumental Recitative introduced at the King's Theatre, Haymarket, in the opera of Artaxerxes taken from the Opera of Idalide. The words by Peter Pindar [...]* (London: Longman & Broderip, 1790).

La donna e un certo che  
Ch'abbrustolir mi fà

'Hope told a flattering tale' became enormously popular both on the stage and in the publishing houses, and it was printed in dozens of different arrangements for domestic consumption, including as a pedagogical aria in many vocal treatises. It was also published in instrumental arrangements such as keyboard sonatas, variation sets, and a duet for piano and flute. The popularity of the translated version helped to disseminate the melody broadly across domestic music culture throughout the nineteenth century and beyond; even though these instrumental versions do not feature the translated text, they are usually titled 'Hope told a flattering tale', and often with no reference to either of the two Italian texts.<sup>71</sup> The translated version, in all its arrangements and forms, became a staple of domestic repertoire and features in multiple surviving domestic collections today, consumed in a broad range of forms by amateur musicians from a variety of social classes. For example, various instrumental arrangements of the aria, including solos and duets for keyboard, harp, and flute, can be found in the music collections at Tatton Park, Killerton House in Devon (collected by Lydia Acland, née Hoare (1786-1856)), Belton House in Lincolnshire, and Charlecote Park in Warwickshire.<sup>72</sup> A domestic manuscript dating from 1842 features the vocal score copied in ink with a keyboard accompaniment, titled simply 'Hope told a flattering tale'; this manuscript belonged to the sisters Mary Anne Bacon and Jane Margaret Bacon, the daughters of Richard Mackenzie Bacon (founder of the *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review*).<sup>73</sup> In addition, sheet music of the vocal score can be found in the collections at Saltram House in Devon and Chastleton House in Oxfordshire, each dating from c.1800.<sup>74</sup> These are just a few examples; it continued to be published throughout the nineteenth century, more frequently than any other translated aria of the era.

Studying different versions and adaptations of this aria shows, once again, just how drastically Italian operatic music could be altered. Figure 2.13 below shows an extract from an arrangement of 'Nel cor più non mi sento' published by Birchall in 1824, with variations as sung by Angelica Catalani. Figure 2.14 shows a keyboard variation arrangement of 'Hope told a

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<sup>71</sup> For example: *The Favorite Air of Hope told a flattering tale, arranged as a Duett, with Variations for Piano Forte & Flute* (London: C. Wheatstone, [1815?]). British Library Music Collections DRT Digital Store g.270.y.(12.).

<sup>72</sup> The copies at Tatton Park and Killerton House are discussed and listed in: Penelope Cave, 'Piano Lessons in the English Country House, 1785-1845' (PhD diss., University of Southampton, 2013), 288; 324; 358; 360. The Tatton Park shelf mark is MR 2-5.11 and the Killerton House shelf mark is C2.10.A. The National Trust collection references for the copies at Belton House and Charlecote Park are C2.10.A.NT3033400 and NT3033400 respectively.

<sup>73</sup> Cambridge University Library, Department of Manuscripts and University Archives. GBR/0012/MS Add.6251

<sup>74</sup> NT3041862 and NT3092115 respectively. These can be found at: <http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/>.



flattering tale', published by C. Wheatstone in c.1815. Whilst the melody is recognizable in the keyboard arrangement's initial statement, this melody is then worked through various conventions of keyboard variation, including minor key variations, which – unlike the vocal variations – are not dramatic in nature. Instead, they reflect an instrumental genre that is very far removed from Italian opera. This reflects the varied and differing markets for printed sheet music in the Georgian era; those with access to Italian vocal tuition, such as the Buccleuch family, were more likely to buy arrangements of the Italian aria, as they were more equipped to perform it with stylistic precision, in comparison with those who were financially barred from this training as well as from broader engagement with Italian culture. Moreover, from studying the latter score, we can see how the origins of Italian operatic music could be forgotten, lost, or disregarded during the process of adaptation; the title page for this publication, as shown in Figure 2.15, features no mention of Paisiello, *La Molinara*, or even the King's Theatre adaptation of the aria.



**Figure 2.13.** Extract from Giovanni Paisiello, *Nel cor piu non mi sento*. *Cavatina* [...] as introduced and sung in [...] *Il Fanatico per la Musica*, by Madame Catalani, with her own *Variations* (London: R. Birchall, 1824), 2. © British Library Board, G.811.a.(32.)

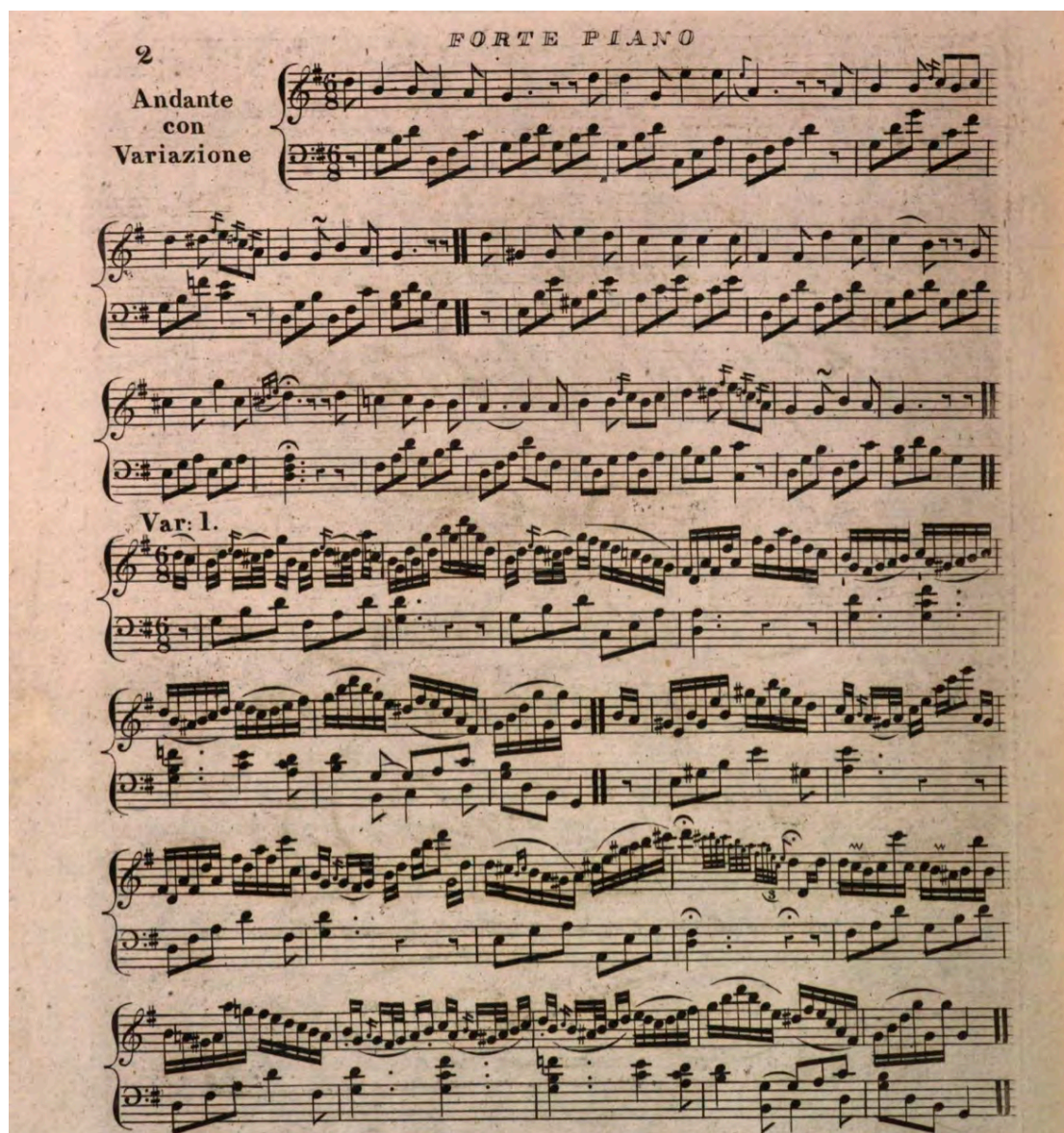
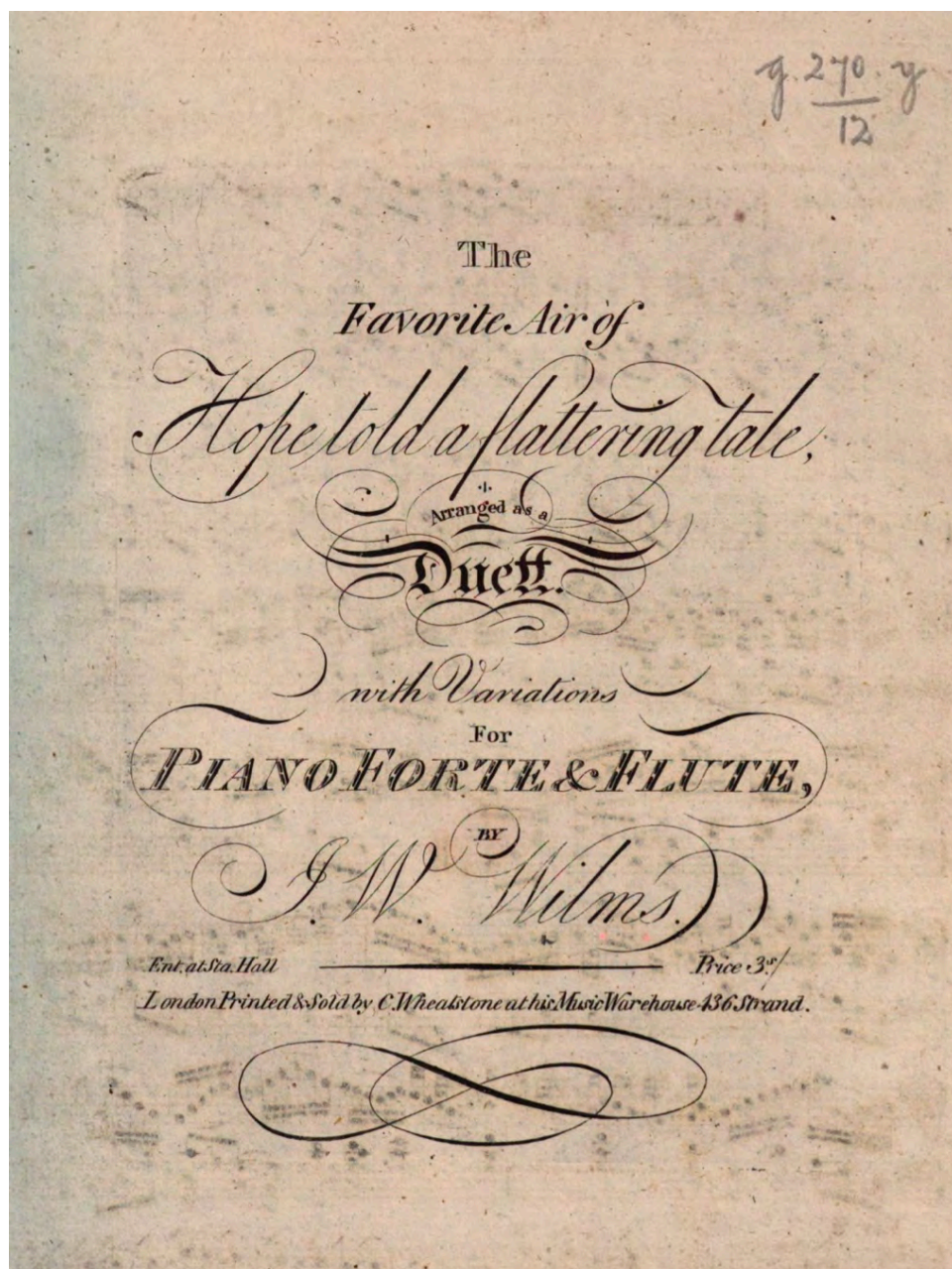


Figure 2.14. Statement and Variation 1 from J. W. Wilms, *The Favorite Air of Hope Told a Flattering Tale*, arranged as a Duett, with Variations for Piano Forte & Flute (London: C. Wheatstone, 1815), 2. © *British Library Board*, g.270.y.(12.)





**Figure 2.15.** Title page from J. W. Wilms, *The Favorite Air of Hope Told a Flattering Tale, arranged as a Duett, with Variations for Piano Forte & Flute* (London: C. Wheatstone, [1815]), 2. © British Library Board, g.270.y.(12.)

The adaptation of Italian operatic arias for domestic consumption in various forms provides a unique insight into processes of translation and musical adaption during the Georgian era as well as the domestication of Italian operatic music. Musical works were not just translated, but adapted, transformed, and presented as new works. Translated Italian arias became ‘English’ due to both stylistic and linguistic adaptation, and they were presented and consumed as such, whilst instrumental arrangements stood even further from their original sources. But, at their roots, they were imported European luxury goods, adapted to the tastes of the British public. They reflected

the increasing demand for cultural exchange and the growing consumption of Italian culture in Britain. But they also reflect the contrasting attitudes towards Italian culture and music at this time. Many wanted to consume Italian music as they heard it at the King's Theatre (and indeed on the Continent, for those who were able to travel abroad). But this was inaccessible to those in wider social spheres. The translation and adaptation of Italian repertoire enabled the spread of Italian music into the circles of those who would not otherwise have consumed it. The markets for Italian arias and English adaptations were, although sometimes interrelated, very different, and the adaptations themselves reflected these differences. Translated and adapted arias enjoyed great success on the publishing market, but only as 'English songs', or in other established native musical forms.

## 2.4 Conclusions

In this chapter we have seen the many different ways in which Italian operatic repertoire was consumed across British domestic spheres. The evidence suggests that this repertoire was being cultivated in broader spheres than might initially be assumed, and in a multitude of forms. We have seen that operatic vocal music commonly existed in both pedagogical repertoire and also elite domestic collections from the era, and often in extremely high proportions, reflecting contemporaneous operatic trends of the King's Theatre and concert programming. However, we have also seen that this music was translated and adapted into new arrangements, often extremely far removed from the originals, which were then purchased to form part of both elite and non-elite music collections. Studying a variety of these collections enables a deeper understanding of the influences behind the development of domestic music collections, and the routes of cultural transfer in Georgian Britain. Continental opera culture, the King's Theatre, British concert culture, publishing houses, the pedagogical canon, and individual singing masters all played extremely significant roles in shaping the domestic market. Some routes of cultural transfer involved all or nearly all of these agents, whilst others were influenced by a select few, bypassing national institutions such as the King's Theatre and instead relying on individuals, such as famous singers and Italian singing masters, to bring operatic culture into the homes of British citizens. Nearly all repertoire found in domestic collections, though, underwent processes of anglicisation before reaching the domestic sphere. This is most evident through the adapted and translated Italian repertoire explored in the final section of this chapter, which was often presented as 'English' music, completely disregarding its Italian origins in publication. However, even the Italian operatic arias performed at the King's Theatre and in British concerts, that were subsequently sold in British publishing houses for domestic consumption, were anglicised to some degree; productions at the King's Theatre were not exact replicas of productions on the Continent, and they were often adapted for British audiences, which had consequences for the operatic repertoire consumed in domestic spheres. Scholars have already used Italian opera in Britain during this era as a tool for

interrogating the idea of an ‘original’ work; however, they have focused solely on professional interpretations, and have not considered the importance of the domestic market in this debate, which this chapter has begun to highlight.<sup>75</sup>

In addition to these conclusions, the contents of this chapter can also be used to examine the complicated relationship between music and nationality. Can all the repertoire discussed in this chapter be considered ‘Italian’? Certainly, most of it had Italian origins, in that it was composed by an Italian composer and/or by a composer working with an Italian librettist. However, at what point, if ever, can it be considered ‘English’ music? Were there particular stages within the processes of anglicisation, translation, and adaptation, that marked the transition from ‘Italian’ to ‘English’? For example, does a piece of vocal music become ‘English’ once it is given English words? Some may have thought so during the Georgian era, largely due to the lack of copyright laws and the ‘cut and paste’ attitudes that existed in British theatre, publishing, and music cultures, wherein music and text could be freely altered to fit any desired context. However, today, within the contexts of modern copyright laws and protocols of ownership, some might disagree. Defining the nationality of a piece of music is a complicated task that may take into consideration a number of factors, including: the nationality of the composer; the style or genre; the geographical location of the original production or publication; and, in vocal music, the language of the text. However, these factors were not necessarily considered by British amateur musicians who were consuming Italian repertoire. Instead, they consumed music as it was presented to them by external influences, such as by theatres or publishing houses. This further highlights the significance of specific agents in bringing Italian culture to British homes, whether or not it was consumed as Italian culture once it arrived there. Moreover, this showcases the complexities surrounding the development of national identity during this era. For some people – particularly those in elite spheres – the conscious consumption of Italian culture was very much part of their identity as both as a British citizen and also as an enlightened cosmopolitan. However, Italian culture was also consumed subconsciously, such as in the form of translated or adapted Italian repertoire, disguised as a British product when in fact it was an imported foreign luxury good. This subconscious consumption contributed to the development of British music culture and, more broadly, the development of British national identity, with Italian culture playing a more prominent role in this identity than sometimes realised.

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<sup>75</sup> For example, see: Christina Fuhrmann, *Foreign Opera at the London Playhouses: From Mozart to Bellini* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015)



## Chapter 3 Performing Italian Opera: Inside Domestic Singing Lessons



**Figure 3.1. Elisabeth-Louise Vigée-Lebrun (1755-1842), Portrait of Angelica Catalani (c.1806). © Creative Commons**

In Vigée-Lebrun's portrait of Angelica Catalani (Figure 3.1), we can see the soprano posing in a domestic setting and performing from music on a keyboard stand. In Chapter 1, we learnt of the opera stars that travelled into aristocratic households to give intimate concerts and socialise with their wealthy patrons, reinforcing the close connection between the stage and the home in Georgian Britain. But how did members of households themselves contribute to the sounds of 'Italy' in the home?

Visual depictions of amateur vocalists, such as in the style of Catalani's portrait above, are rare; women were usually painted playing the keyboard instead, as a symbol of their domesticity. But descriptions of amateur singers, found in diaries, letters, and literature of the era, tell us that they, too, performed Italian operatic music in the home, contributing to broader representations of Italian culture in British domestic spheres. In 1771, Elizabeth Harris wrote to her husband and discussed her daughter Louisa's vocal talent:

This day we dine at Lady Newdigate. In the evening we go to a concert at Miss Chetwyndes, where Louisa is to sing. I have no great fears about her as she perfectly knows what she does[;] few lady singers are more steady and she has an excellent master in Tedeschini.<sup>1</sup>

In a later letter, she claimed that Louisa 'speaks Italian recitative I imagin [sic] better than most English ladies'.<sup>2</sup> Whilst Mrs Harris may have been biased in describing her daughter's vocal prowess, some amateur singers, like Louisa, seemingly became extremely skilled vocalists, and they performed frequently in domestic settings, not just during lessons and personal practice, but also in private concerts, both at home and as guests in other households. Aided by singing masters, they learnt to sing in the 'Italian style', emulating the opera stars they heard on the stage. Chapter 2 showed how amateur vocalists carefully selected the repertoire they performed in the home, often choosing popular operatic arias and duets from professional spheres. But how this repertoire was performed was also extremely important. In fact, accomplished technique was usually considered to be more imperative than choice of repertoire.

The 'Italian style' – or *bel canto*, as it is often referred to today – dominated European vocal practices throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth century.<sup>3</sup> Understanding and accomplishing this style was an important part of British engagement with Italian culture and a central aspect of domestic performance culture in elite spheres. Professional English singers such as Nancy Storace and Elizabeth Billington, who performed in Italian opera productions at the King's Theatre and abroad, proved that the genre and vocal style were accessible to British vocalists, and that Britons could perform Italian opera to standards that were acclaimed by

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<sup>1</sup> Letter from Elizabeth Harris to James Harris Jnr, 8 March 1771. Quoted in Donald Burrow and Rosemary Dunhills (eds.), *Music and Theatre in Handel's World: The Family Papers of James Harris, 1732-1780* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 626. Louisa was taught by Christiani Tedeschini, a famous *buffo* tenor and singing master. She was also taught by Sacchini.

<sup>2</sup> Letter from Elizabeth Harris to James Harris Jnr, 8 March 1771. Quoted in *ibid*, 640.

<sup>3</sup> The term *bel canto* was not used until the 1860s, and many modern scholars disagree over its application. See: Rodolfo Celletti, *A History of Bel Canto* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2001); Robert Toft, *Bel Canto: A Performer's Guide* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); and Philip A. Duey, *Bel Canto in Its Golden Age: A Study of Its Teaching Concepts* (Read Books Ltd., 2011). To understand the role of *bel canto* in broader historical developments of vocal technique, see: John Potter and Neil Sorrell, *A History of Singing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

Continental audiences.<sup>4</sup> And there is evidence across multiple domestic collections that suggest many amateur performers engaged deeply with the Italian style of singing, applying the appropriate vocal techniques to bring their performances of Italian operatic music to life.

Alongside style and technique, British singers of Italian vocal music needed to master another fundamental skill: the accurate and appropriate delivery of the Italian language. These two accomplishments were intricately linked and they were developed alongside each other by many domestic vocalists, forming an important part of elite musical and linguistic education and contributing to images of genteel refinement. This chapter will explore how amateurs learned to sing in the Italian style and language, what they were able to achieve, and what this can tell us about the broader relationship between British and Italian culture c.1800.

### 3.1 Performing in the Italian Style

The origins of *bel canto*, simply meaning ‘beautiful singing’, are closely related to the growth of *opera seria*, and its principles were largely derived from *castrato* singing techniques, which were gradually adopted and popularised by other voice types. At its core, *bel canto* singing liberates music from the written page, asking the performer to provide their own expressive interpretation of the melody using a variety of vocal techniques. Studies of *bel canto* have traditionally focused on the agility and flexibility of the voice, the use of legato, and the embellishment of the vocal line with appropriate ornamentation by the performer. Singers were trained to produce a pure and expressive tone whilst skillfully executing elaborate passages. However, as Robert Toft argues, focusing solely on these elements detracts from the broad range of techniques that were utilised by singers, such as ‘accent, emphasis, tone of voice, register, phrasing, *legato*, *staccato*, *portamento*, *messa di voce*, tempo, *vibrato*, and gesture’. Toft notes that ‘how these devices were realized and the degree to which singers favored or disfavored a single component or cluster of components not only determined the collective fashion of the *bel canto* era but also distinguished individual habits within the general custom’.<sup>5</sup>

The Italian style of singing was an important part of the allure of ‘Italy’ for many British people. Not only was it representative of Italian opera as a genre, it also more broadly reflected European cultural practices which many British people – particularly in elite spheres – sought to emulate. Mastering the Italian style of singing was an aspiration for many elite families and young women; it gave amateur singers access to the realm of virtuosity occupied by professional singers,

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<sup>4</sup> However, the Duke of Montagu’s letter to Elizabeth, Duchess of Buccleuch, discussing Storace’s performance in *Gli schiavi per amore*, which was previously discussed in Chapter two, suggests that he did not consider Storace to be ‘English’, as he notes that she was ‘so far an English woman as having been born in this country’.

<sup>5</sup> Toft, *Bel canto* [...], 4.



and enabled them to perform the Italian operatic repertoire discussed in Chapter 2 with proficiency. It was comparable to becoming fluent in a foreign language, or mastering other genteel accomplishments such as drawing or dancing. However, vocal technique as an accomplishment was also tied up with controversies and conflicting attitudes surrounding foreignness and virtuosity. Virtuoso display risked being considered ‘vain exhibitionism’ and had the potential to threaten the performer’s femininity, domesticity, and amateur status.<sup>6</sup> This applied to both vocal and instrumental performance. Gillen D’Arcy Wood has explored how both male and female amateurs struggled between notions of virtue and virtuosity, fuelled by anxieties surrounding the ‘professionalization of culture’.<sup>7</sup> Katrina Faulds agrees, arguing: ‘The spectre of professionalisation lurked behind such virtuosic achievement as a symbol of deep-seated anxiety about class and gender roles [...] questioning women’s devotion to their households, their subordination to their husbands, and their genteel status through association with pecuniary gain’.<sup>8</sup> This was particularly problematic for domestic vocalists; whilst the keyboard was designed as a domestic instrument, vocal performance, as Nicholas Temperley has argued, highlights the intimate relationship between professional performance and private consumption.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, specifically in the case of Italian operatic performances, virtuosic display was also associated with the exoticism and perceived immorality of the genre, which had the potential to further destabilise notions of genteel refinement. Whilst the domestic environment provided a space for women to engage in forms of display that would be closed off to them in the public arena, reflecting the permeability of the realms of ‘public’ and ‘private’, stigmas surrounding notions of professionalism still had the potential to influence domestic vocalists’ interactions with Italian style of singing.

Italian singing masters were specifically hired in domestic spheres to train amateur performers in the Italian style. As explored in Chapter 1, many amateur vocalists shared teachers with the professional singers they paid to see on the stage. Lessons from renowned Italian singing masters were expensive, but their appeal was twofold; firstly, they could provide specialist instruction for those wishing to perform Italian music, taken from their own experiences of tuition and performance on the Continent; and secondly, they were seen as a mark of a family’s wealth, status, fashionable taste, and cultural engagement. Hiring an Italian singing master arguably provided students with a more direct access to Italian operatic culture than hiring an English vocal

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<sup>6</sup> Elizabeth Natalie Morgan, ‘The Virtuous Virtuosa: Women at the Pianoforte in England, 1780-1820’ (PhD diss., University of California, 2009), 16. For further discussion on this topic, see: Regula Hohl Trillini, *The Gaze of the Listener: English Representations of Domestic Music-Making* (Rodopi, 2008); and Richard Leppert, *Music and Image: Domesticity, Ideology and Socio-cultural Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); *The Sight of Sound: Music, Representation and the History of the Body* (Berkeley and California: University of Los Angeles Press, 1995).

<sup>7</sup> Gillen D’Arcy Wood, *Romanticism and Music Culture in Britain, 1770-1840: Virtue and Virtuosity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 169.

<sup>8</sup> Faulds, ‘“Invitation pour la danse”’: Social Dance, Dance Music and Feminine Identity in the English Country House c.1770-1860’ (PhD diss., University of Southampton, 2015), 252.

<sup>9</sup> Nicholas Temperley, *Music in Britain: The Romantic Age, 1800-1914* (London: The Athlone Press, 1981), 122.



teacher. *Castrato* singers in particular were sought after as teachers in elite spheres. As Brianna Robertson-Kirkland argues, ‘It is only logical that non-castrated singers wishing to achieve high virtuosity would seek out a teacher strongly associated with the aesthetic’.<sup>10</sup> However, many English singing masters also taught in the Italian style, which further reflects the broad demand for Continental vocal practices across both professional and domestic spheres.

### 3.1.1 Vocal Pedagogy and the Italian Style in Print

Our understanding of how students learnt Italian vocal techniques is enhanced through examination of surviving treatises published by vocal pedagogues of the era. From the late eighteenth century onwards, vocal pedagogues increasingly published their teachings in singing manuals, to preserve their methods and also to further establish their reputations. These treatises provide insights into how singing masters taught British amateurs to sing in the Italian style. In particular, the contents of vocal treatises demonstrate the extent to which Italian vocal practises and repertoire dominated domestic vocal tuition in Britain. *Bel canto* techniques dominated treatises published by both Italian and English pedagogues, with the majority of treatises by English authors showing preference for the Italian style and acknowledging the eminence of Italian vocal music. Some were even specifically designed to aid performing Italian music, featuring Italian operatic repertoire and instructions for correct Italian pronunciation.<sup>11</sup> Nonetheless, some treatises by English authors did reject Italian vocal conventions entirely and instead solely cultivated simpler, English vocal practices. For example, Joseph Corfe’s *A Treatise on Singing* (1799) focuses on applying a modest approach to ornamentation and embellishments, and emphasises the importance of clear pronunciation of the text over virtuosic embellishments.<sup>12</sup>

Who were the intended purchasers of these vocal treatises? The growth of domestic performance and the consequent demand for vocal tuition established a market for manuals and guidebooks for teachers to use during lessons and for amateur performers to refer to outside of lessons. However, as noted in Chapter 2, treatises rarely feature in surviving domestic libraries, and the expense of some of these treatises suggests that relatively few amateur performers would actually have purchased them. Treatises may have been used more frequently by professional singers, both inside and outside of lessons, and also by other vocal pedagogues, to support their own teachings. Most publications of the era claimed to be suitable for both amateur and

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<sup>10</sup> ‘Are we all Castrati? Venanzio Rauzzini: “The Father of a New Style in English Singing”’ (PhD diss., University of Glasgow, 2016), 28.

<sup>11</sup> For example, William Huckel’s treatise *Practical Instructions for the Cultivation of the Voice* (London: H. Faulkner, 1820) was directly inspired by the teachings of both Domenico Corri and Domenico Crivelli, with Huckel being a former student of both masters.

<sup>12</sup> Joseph Corfe, *A Treatise on Singing explaining in the Most Simple Manner, all the Rules for Learning to Sing by Note* (London: To be had at the principal music shops in London & Bath, & at Mr. Corfe’s, Salisbury, 1799).

professional students alike. Corri, for example, claimed that *The Singers Preceptor* could make Italian singing accessible to everyone, including those who could not afford singing lessons with an Italian master. This was a marketing ploy, of course, but his note on the title page – that he intended to accommodate ‘the capacity of every student whether amateur or professor’ – implies that Corri was teaching his amateur students, including Ladies Elizabeth and Caroline Montagu, in the same manner as he would teach professionals, without simplifying the techniques. Lanza, too, claimed that his *Elements of Singing* catered for both amateur and professional singers, although there are sections that he advises his amateur students to skip, stating: ‘If pupils are not studying for the profession, they may omit the study of the whole of the second part and move on to the third part, which is calculated both for amateurs and those for the profession’.<sup>13</sup>

Whilst vocal treatises were potentially suitable for both professionals and amateurs, they had a gender bias, in that they were largely targeted at women. This is not only evident from the recommended repertoire explored in Chapter 2, which is overwhelmingly biased towards female voices, but also from the imagery found in treatises, which always depict women rather than men. For example, the title page for *The Singers Preceptor* includes illustrations female music characters, including Rosetta from *Love in a Village* (1762) and Queen Mary from the song ‘Queen Mary’s lamentation’ (see Figure 3.2). Moreover, in Lanza’s *Elements of Singing*, women are depicted when discussing the formation of the mouth whilst singing, with examples provided for each *sol-fa* syllable (see Figure 3.3). Lanza’s instructions are clearly intended for women; he argues: ‘The shape of the mouth must be preserved [...] without distorting the Features, or giving the Countenance any appearance of Caricature, or stern look! – on the contrary that it may seem pleasant [...]’. Instructions such as these would have been consumed alongside instructions found in conduct manuals and in broader social commentary concerning music and bodily display, and they were intricately linked to gendered notions of domesticity and refinement.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> The second section features instructions for transposition, and also a series of progressively difficult *solfeggio* exercises, suggesting Lanza did not think these were suitable or necessary accomplishments for amateur singers.

<sup>14</sup> For further discussion, see: Richard Leppert, *Music and Image [...]; The Sight of Sound [...]*; and Matthew Head, ‘“If the Pretty Little Hand Won’t Stretch”: Music for the Fair Sex in Eighteenth-Century Germany’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 52, no. 2 (1999): 203-54.



**Figure 3.2.** Illustrations on the title page of Domenico Corri, *The Singers Preceptor, or Corri's Treatise on Vocal Music* (London: Silvester; and Longman, Hurst, Rees & Orme, 1810). MMC Vol. 455. © The Buccleuch Collections



**Figure 3.3.** Gesualdo Lanza, *Elements of Singing* [...], Vol. 1 (London: 1813), 46.  
© British Library Board, E.351

Most vocal treatises outlined specific vocal techniques that students needed to learn to master *bel canto*, and they usually also provided exercises to support the development of these techniques. For

the most part, treatises offered very similar advice, with slight variations between different singing masters. Throughout the period this thesis covers, *bel canto* techniques remained relatively similar, as noted by Robert Toft:

[...] although compositional style obviously had changed dramatically between the late eighteenth century and the middle of the nineteenth century, most principles of expression remained relatively stable during this period. In fact, the strong connection to the eighteenth century in the second and third decades of the nineteenth century can be documented through treatises published between c. 1770 and c. 1860.<sup>15</sup>

This is largely because many early-mid nineteenth-century vocal pedagogues were trained by *bel canto* masters of the eighteenth century, and thus we can use the treatises of these later masters to understand eighteenth-century *bel canto* teachings. However, despite this broadly similar approach, vocal treatises of the period do manifest differences in teaching style and focus. Writers placed emphasis on different vocal techniques, and some used different terms for specific techniques, depending in part on their training, the years they were working, and most likely also their personal preferences. In some instances, singing masters profoundly disagreed with each other, even those who had trained together. Moreover, some individual pedagogues' teachings changed over the course of their careers. This is evident through the treatises of Domenico Corri; the first volume of *A Select Collection*, published in c.1782, provides differing advice with regard to the application of some ornamentation than is found in his *The Singers Preceptor*, which was published much later in his career in 1810, although the differences are minimal.<sup>16</sup> The differences found across vocal treatises of the era reflect the complexity of the Italian vocal tradition, and indicate that British amateurs may have engaged with one or more strands of the tradition, depending on: their vocal teacher; the singers they heard at the opera house; and the specific techniques they utilised themselves.

One of the central focuses of many vocal treatises and a source of frequent disagreement among singing masters was the importance of *solfeggio* exercises.<sup>17</sup> Originating from the exercises devised for professional singers trained in conservatories and by masters on the continent, *solfeggi* became a core element of singing manuals published in Britain. Usually sung using the *sol-fa* syllables of the diatonic scale (see Figure 3.4), and described by Corri as 'melodies in the form of songs', these exercises were used to support many aspects of vocal tuition, including agility, intonation, articulation, breath control, flexibility, and Italian pronunciation.<sup>18</sup> Figure 3.5 shows an

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<sup>15</sup> Toft, *Bel Canto* [...], 17.

<sup>16</sup> For example, in *The Singers Preceptor*, Corri states that the turn ornament should be executed rapidly, but in *A Select Collection* [...] he argues that it should be slow.

<sup>17</sup> Robertson-Kirkland has explored pedagogical approaches to *solfeggi* in detail, comparing the landmark *solfeggi* publications of Venanzio Rauzzini – *Twelve Solfeggi or Exercises for the Voice* (London: 1808) and *A Second Sett of Twelve Solfeggi or Exercises for the Voice* (London: Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter & Co, 1820) – to those of his contemporaries. For a detailed consideration of everything discussed in this paragraph, see Chapter 3 of 'Are we all castrati? [...]'.

<sup>18</sup> *The Singers Preceptor*, Vol 1, 52.

example composed by singing master Giuseppe Aprile and published in 1795. Aprile's *solfeggi* publications were widely acclaimed and frequently utilised by other singing masters working in Britain, including Thomas Bennett and John Addison.<sup>19</sup> The biggest disparity between vocal teachers regarding the functionality of *solfeggi* was the use – or not – of the *sol-fa* syllables. Some pedagogues, including many Italian singing masters, discouraged use of the *sol-fa* altogether, preferring their students to sing on a simple open vowel. Venanzio Rauzzini was one master who took this approach, which has led some to claim that his exercises aren't in fact *solfeggi*.<sup>20</sup> Other disagreements surrounding *solfeggi* largely focused on their function; many British authors who deployed Italian techniques argued that their principal purpose was to aid development of sight-singing, whilst Italian masters working in Britain largely used them to develop vocal technique, including agility and flexibility. Corri actively discouraged the use of *sol-fa* syllables for sight singing, but argued that they were useful for developing articulation.<sup>21</sup> In general, approaches to *solfeggi* were extremely varied, meaning amateur students would receive different tuition depending on who was teaching them. Where some singing masters strayed from the traditional teachings of Italian conservatoires – such as Rauzzini, in abandoning use of the *sol-fa* syllables – their students did not experience the same Italian vocal education as they might have received on the Continent, highlighting the importance of Italian singing masters as agents of cultural transfer. In fact, some Italian singing masters noted the differences between tuition in England and tuition on the Continent, with Jean. J. Jousse bemoaning the lack of focus on *sol-fa* syllables: 'the English will never arrive at a great degree of proficiency in Vocal Music unless they pay more attention to that part of the science'.<sup>22</sup>

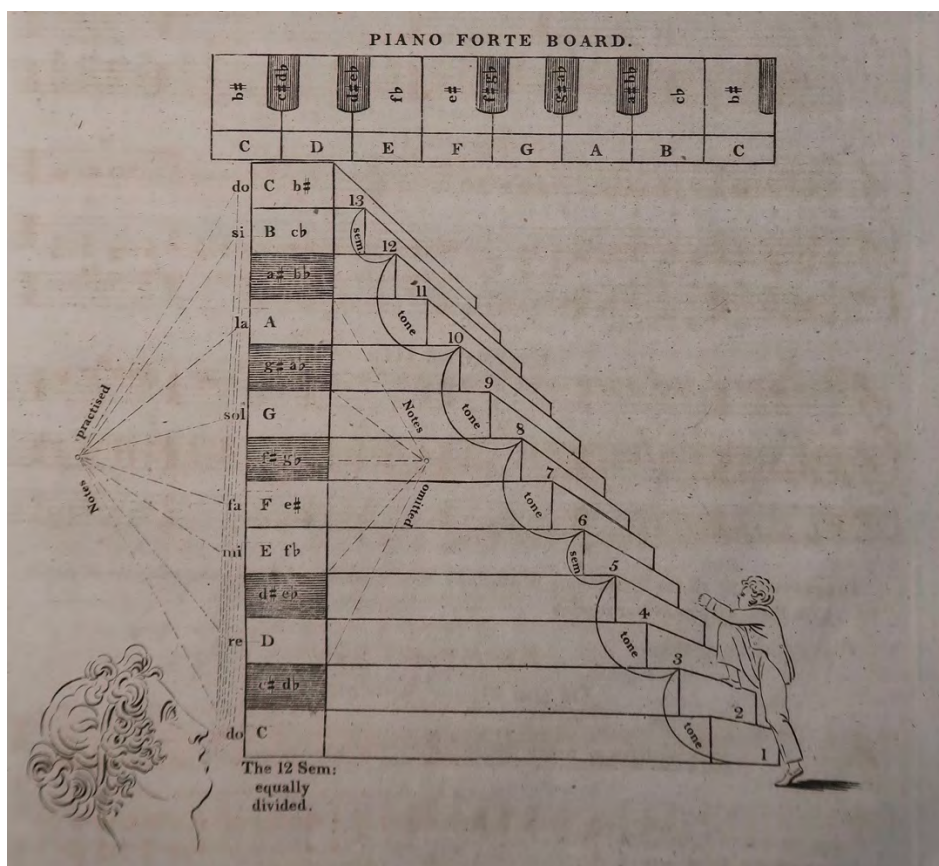
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<sup>19</sup> Bennett and Addison both recommend practising Aprile's *solfeggi* exercises in their treatises. See: *An Introduction to the Art of Singing* (London: 1807) and *Singing, practically treated* [...] (London, 1837) respectively.

<sup>20</sup> For example, see John Potter, 'The Tenor-Castrato Connection', *Early Music* 35, no. 1 (Feb 2007), 97-110. Potter's argument is explored further by Robertson-Kirkland in 'Are we all castrati [...]', 60.

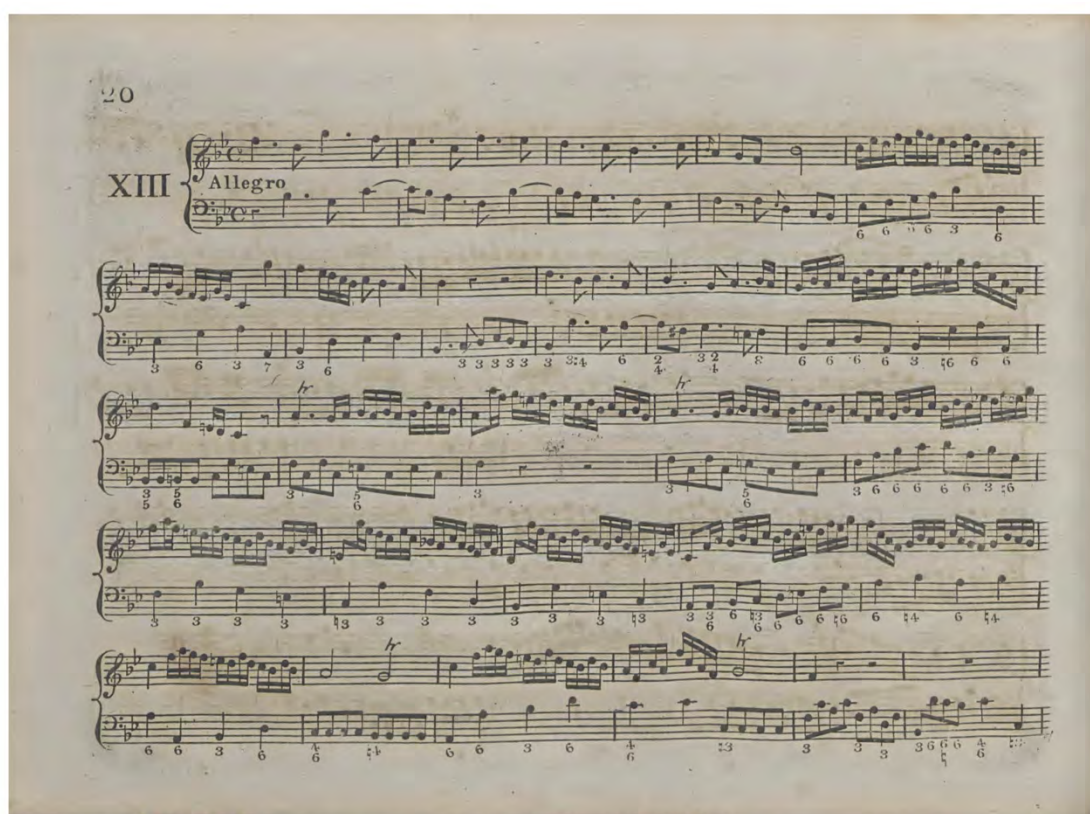
<sup>21</sup> Corri also argued that the *sol-fa* syllables should only be used when 'the scholar has attained correct and perfect intonation'. See: *The Singers Preceptor*, Vol 1, 34.

<sup>22</sup> Jean J. Jousse, *Introduction to the Art of Sol-fa-ing and Singing* [...] According to the Most Modern Italian Style (London: Goulding/D'Almaine & Co.1823), 1.



**Figure 3.4.** A diagram of the diatonic scale and the *sol-fa* syllables in Corri, *The Singers Preceptor*, Vol. 1 (London: Silvester; and Longman, Hurst, Rees & Orme, 1810), 21. MMC Vol. 455. © *The Buccleuch Collections*





**Figure 3.5.** *Solfeggio exercises in Giuseppe Aprile, *The Modern Italian Method of Singing* (London: Birchall, 1795), 20. © Creative Commons*

The importance of vocal agility and flexibility is expressed across the majority of singing treatises of the era, suggesting it was a central aspect of vocal tuition. Different treatise authors suggested specific exercises to support this development, some focusing on *solfeggi*, but others not. Several eminent vocal treatises of the era published exercises separately to *solfeggi* called divisions, which were specifically designed to develop vocal agility and flexibility. Division exercises are explored in detail in the landmark treatise of Francesco Pier Tosi, and subsequently in publications by Giuseppe Aprile (1795), Jean J. Jousse (1823), and some British authors such as Charles Arnold (1830) and Frederick Horncastle (1840). Jousse describes divisions as a ‘long-series of notes so running into each other as to form one connected chain of sounds [...] applied to a single syllable and [...] sung in one breath’; Figure 3.6 below shows some examples.<sup>23</sup> Some teachers, such as Domenico Corri, classified divisions as an ornament, executing similar techniques to those learnt using divisional exercises.

<sup>23</sup> Jousse, 36.



**Figure 3.6.** Divisional exercises in Jean Jousse, *Introduction in the Art of Sol-fa-ing and Singing* [...] (London: Goulding/D'Almaine & Co.1823), 36. © Creative Commons.

Lanza's *Elements of Singing* [...] in particular utilizes a broad range of exercises in his treatise to help students develop vocal agility, specifically building towards the accomplishment of 'the most difficult passages selected from all the songs of the most celebrated operas'.<sup>24</sup> He, like many other fellow masters, advised that students must have mastered vocalising exercises, such as those provided in his treatise, before moving on to learning operatic arias. It is only in the final stages of his treatise that he moves on to mastering arias and duets from operas, providing guidance on how vocal lines can be embellished using the skills learnt from his treatise. For example, Figure 3.7 below shows the Paisiello duet 'Nel cor più non mi sento' (*Nina*) with eight variations 'for study'. Each variation is increasingly complex and features higher proportions of embellishments and ornamentation.

<sup>24</sup> See 'Contents of Part 3' in Lanza's *Elements of Singing* [...].



When studying exercises such as these as well as the *soleggio* and divisional exercises shown in Figures 3.5. and 3.6, one can see how amateur singers might have developed the vocal agility and flexibility required for mastering the elaborate Italian arias they collected. For example, Figure 3.8 shows an extract from Catalani's variations for 'Nel cor più non mi sento', as previously shown in Chapter 2; this bears similarity to some of the more difficult variations in Figure 3.7, meaning students could have used Lanza's exercise to gradually build up to this level of difficulty. It also utilises some of the techniques shown in Figure 3.6. Although most surviving domestic collections don't feature vocal treatises, suggesting that the principal purchasers were other teachers/vocal professionals rather than amateur students, we can surmise from the musical connections between the methods in vocal treatises and the repertoire preserved in domestic collections that these or similar methods were employed to help singers develop the necessary techniques.



Figure 3.7. Variations on 'Nel cor più non mi sento' in Gesualdo Lanza, *Elements of Singing*, Vol. 4 (London, 1813), CLVII. © British Library Board, E.351



**Figure 3.8.** Extract from Giovanni Paisiello, *Nel cor più non mi sento. Cavatina [...]* as introduced and sung in [...] *Il Fanatico per la Musica*, by Madame Catalani, with her own Variations (London: R. Birchall, 1824), 2. © British Library Board, G.811.a.(32.)

Along with exercises used to develop general vocal ability and agility, students were taught other specific techniques of the Italian style. Among the most important of these was *messa di voce*, which involves the ‘swelling and dying of the voice’ in one breath on a single note or passage.<sup>25</sup> Domenico Corri described *messa di voce* as ‘the soul of music’, as shown in Figure 3.9. Mollie Sands notes that performers were frequently criticised for overusing *messa di voce*, arguing that ‘indeed one can scarcely imagine anything more tiresome than its use on every note of a slow cantabile passage’.<sup>26</sup> But most singing masters placed great weight on the importance of the technique in their treatises, and advised that it should be practiced ‘as often as possible’.<sup>27</sup> Corri argued that *messa di voce* should be used on ‘every note of any duration’, which gives reason to believe that his students were taught to use the technique extremely regularly.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>25</sup> As described by Corri in *The Singers Preceptor*, Vol. 1, 14.

<sup>26</sup> Mollie Sands, ‘The Teaching of Singing in Eighteenth-Century England’, 22.

<sup>27</sup> Jousse, x.

<sup>28</sup> *The Singers Preceptor*, Vol 1, 52.





Figure 3.9. 'The Soul of Music' in Corri, *The Singers Preceptor*, Vol. 1 (London: Silvester; and Longman, Hurst, Rees & Orme, 1810), 14. MMC Vol. 455. © *The Buccleuch Collections*

*Portamento* was another important technique, known today as the sliding from one note to another. However, the meaning of this term developed across the era this thesis covers. Robert Toft argues that for much of the eighteenth century, *portamento* 'simply referred to the general deportment of the voice with regard to the production of tone',<sup>29</sup> but in the later decades of this century some singing masters (including Corri) began to add descriptions of sliding, or 'blending'.<sup>30</sup> As the nineteenth century progressed, this meaning became the norm, with the term used to describe sliding between notes in rapid and elaborate passages, in such a way that intermediary notes could be 'heard but not distinguished'.<sup>31</sup> Corri argued that 'the *Portamento di voce* may justly be compared to the highest degree of refinement in elegant pronunciation in speaking' and called it the 'perfection of vocal music'.<sup>32</sup> This comparison highlights the importance of learning the Italian style alongside the Italian language, as will be explored further in the second half of this chapter. *Portamento* was frequently discussed and used alongside *messa di voce*, with both techniques considered essential for the expressive delivery of Italian operatic arias, conceived as a form of linguistic proficiency.

<sup>29</sup> Toft, 60.

<sup>30</sup> *The Singers Preceptor*, Vol 1, 3.

<sup>31</sup> Toft, 60.

<sup>32</sup> *The Singers Preceptor*, Vol 1, 3-4.

Arguably the most significant and complex skill that amateur students had to learn was the ability to ornament. During the eighteenth century, it was the norm to ornament vocal lines with embellishments, to add variety and aid expression. From the late eighteenth century onwards, composers and publishers increasingly including notated ornamentation in printed scores; some performers may have followed this ornamentation, whilst others may have interpreted it as a suggestion, making changes or additions. But the inclusion of notated ornamentation in printed scores c.1800 was far from consistent. Thus, the performer was still largely responsible for deciding when it was appropriate to ornament, in a seemingly improvisatory manner. What was on the page was only the groundwork for what was expected during a performance. Ornaments in a piece of vocal music were comparable to jewels worn by aristocratic ladies to complement their dresses; they added further interest and decoration, showing off elite refinement and taste. However, singers had to be careful to ornament with appropriate frequency and style, in a seemingly effortless and spontaneous manner. Corri agued: ‘Ornaments should ever be in subordination to the character and design of the composition, and introduced only on words which will admit of decoration, without destroying the sentiment; nor, indeed, should they ever be introduced, but by singers capable of executing them with precision and effect’.<sup>33</sup> This further highlights the importance of understanding the texts of Italian arias in order to ornament the vocal line appropriately. Learning the precepts of ornamental expression, and rehearsing these rules in vocal exercises, meant singers were able to freely embellish a vocal line with ornaments and embellishments to create a unique utterance. This would enable them to either use different ornamentation each time they performed, or to develop their own personal set of ornamentation that they would re-use for a particular aria or duet.

Thus, one of the most important responsibilities of Italian singing masters was to teach students how and when it was appropriate to ornament. Corri took this one step further, composing his own ornamentation for each item of repertoire in his *A Select Collection* (which he claimed was ‘innovative’ in its format), and having these printed in the scores. Corri’s presentation of ornamentation in this manner was uncommon for the era, and contrasted with vocal treatises published by his contemporaries. Robertson-Kirkland argues that Corri’s decision was a response to the ‘increasing demand for private vocal tuition within the middling-ranked populace’ who could not afford a live-in singing master to oversee all of their practice; Corri’s treatise therefore reduced reliance on the presence of a singing master. But the increasing tendency towards including printed ornamentation was met with opposition from some of Corri’s friends and fellow singing masters, including Rauzzini, who wrote in 1808: ‘It has become lately a fashion (but more honoured in the breach than in the observance) to publish Songs with a great number of Embellishments and Graces; but let me ask how many can execute those Graces with perfection?’.<sup>34</sup> This statement

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid, 3.

<sup>34</sup> Rauzzini, *Twelve Solfeggi* [...], 3.

corresponds with Corri's argument that ornaments should only be introduced 'by singers capable of executing them with precision and effect', but Rauzzini seemingly believed that the inclusion of printed ornamentation discouraged students from following this advice. This once again shows how opinions could differ between singing masters; although Corri was one of the most reputable pedagogues of the era, his teachings and practices did not necessarily represent those of his contemporaries.

Most vocal treatises, including Corri's, provided an explanation of each ornament and how it should be utilised. Although the same ornaments appeared throughout pedagogical literature of the era, variation still existed between authors, indicating the range of practices and opinions that British students could have encountered. Some teachers used different terms for each ornament; for example, Corri used the terms 'appoggiatura' and 'grace' interchangeably, whilst most others used the term 'graces' more broadly to cover all singular ornaments.<sup>35</sup> Sometimes traditional Italian terms were used; for example, the 'shake' ornament was sometimes referred to as the '*trillo*', whilst the 'turn' was sometimes referred to as the '*gruppo*' or '*grupetto*'. One particularly notable difference is Corri's use of the word '*mordente*' to describe the 'short shake', but this term was more commonly used to describe the 'turn', which is a similar but generally shorter embellishment. Generally, the Italian terms listed here were used only by a select few Italian authors, such as Corri, whilst British authors, alongside many other Italian authors, more consistently applied the terms 'appoggiatura', 'shake', and 'turn'. This reflects processes of anglicisation within vocal pedagogical literature. Use of original Italian terms brought amateur students closer to their singing masters' training on the Continent, and that particular singing master's perception of the Italian tradition.

Singing masters also disagreed over how each ornament should be utilised, and how often. In the case of the appoggiatura – described by Ferrari as the most 'frequently employed ornament' – some used it as a general term to describe all leaning notes, whilst others gave more specific descriptions that did not necessarily correlate. For example, Lanza in particular provided strict instructions for the length of the appoggiatura, stating: 'The Appoggiatura, of equal duration, must be held as long as if it was a large note; [...] if of half the duration, should be sung much stronger than the note which follows them [...]'.<sup>36</sup> Corri, on the other hand, argued that the length of time given to the appoggiatura 'never can be given so accurately as to direct the true expression of the words, which must be therefore regulated by the judgment, taste, and feeling of the Singer'.<sup>37</sup> He provided a list of examples in his *The Singers Preceptor*, as shown in Figure 3.10. Richard Maunder comments on Corri's distinctive approach to the use of appoggiaturas:

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<sup>35</sup> Spellings were not yet standardised and they varied between different authors and publications.

Appoggiatura is the modern spelling, but Corri and several other authors used the spelling appogiatura.

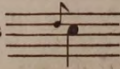
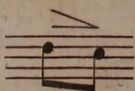
<sup>36</sup> Gesualdo Lanza, *Lanza's Elements of Singing; The Elements of Singing Abridged* (London, 1819), 80.

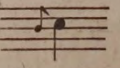

<sup>37</sup> *The Singers Preceptor*, Vol 1, 32. Jousse took a similar approach, arguing that length should be decided 'according as expression and taste require'.

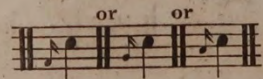

The style of Corri's ornamentation has a rather unfamiliar feel at times. He is very fond of adding short appoggiaturas, often at the end of a phrase but also elsewhere; though it is not clear from his 'Explanation of the Graces' whether a (conjunct) appoggiatura written, say, as a sixteenth in front of a quarter note should be interpreted as an exact sixteenth or as a very short 'acciaccatura'.<sup>38</sup>

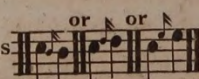
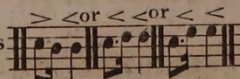
Despite the variation between advice found in treatises, and the lack of clarity in certain sets of instructions, singing masters of the era generally agreed that the appoggiatura should not be used in excess. For example, Ferrari noted: 'It is true that some singers use it when the language, as well as its harmonious accompaniment is injured by its offensive intrusion. I therefore hope that those who are too partial to embellishments will not introduce it unnecessarily'.<sup>39</sup>

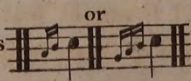
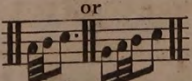
**Example**

Superior Grace thus  sung thus   
Take the Grace forte and melt it into the Note.

Inferior Grace thus  sung thus   
Take the Grace softly and force it into the Note.

Leaping Grace thus  sung thus   
This Grace is similar to those above, but has this distinction, that the strength necessary to its execution must be regulated more or less according to the distance of the Intervals.

Anticipation Grace thus  sung thus   
In descending, drop the Grace into the Note, and in ascending, swell the Note into the Grace.

Double Grace thus  sung thus   
Begin soft, gliding with crescendo into the Note.

**Figure 3.10. Variations of the 'Grace' in Corri, *The Singers Preceptor*, Vol. 1 (London: Silvester; and Longman, Hurst, Rees & Orme, 1810), 32. MMC Vol. 455. © The Buccleuch Collections**

<sup>38</sup> Richard Maunder is editor of *Domenico Corri's Treatises on Singing: A Select Collection of the Most Admired Songs, Duets, etc. and The Singers Preceptor: A Four-Volume Anthology* / Edited with Introduction by Richard Maunder, Vols. 1-4 (New York and London: Garland, 1993-1995).

<sup>39</sup> Giacomo Ferrari, *A Concise Treatise on Italian Singing* (London: S. Chappell, 1818), 12.

The advice given for employing the shake and the turn was also not completely consistent. The shake was often lauded as being one of the greatest splendours of vocal music, and it had many variations, which are explored in varying levels of depth across treatises of the era; Figure 3.11 shows Corri's instructions. Ferrari commented on the conflicting approaches of vocal pedagogues regarding this ornament, noting that some 'begin it with the note above that over which the letters *tr* are placed. Others prefer the commencement of it with the note to which the signature is marked'.<sup>40</sup> In addition, Corri notes in his *The Singers Preceptor* that whilst some of his contemporaries advocated for 'a close rapid shake, giving a brilliancy and shortness to the upper note', others preferred 'long notes of equal length and forte'. For his part, he states: 'From the instructions I received from my Preceptor Porpora, and from my own observation of almost all the best singers Europe has produced within these last fifty years find that the qualifications necessary to form a perfect shake are: equality of notes distinctly marked easy and moderately quick'.<sup>41</sup> Similar commentaries surrounded the use of the turn; most writers also recommended that the turn should be performed in rapid execution, but others disagreed, arguing that executing the notes slowly helped to emphasise specific notes and/or passages. Corri took the position of the former in 1810, but in his *A Select Collection* he advocated for the latter; Figure 3.12 shows his directions for the ornament.<sup>42</sup> The latter enabled the performer to further accentuate specific words, emphasising the emotive meaning of the text.

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<sup>40</sup> Ferrari, *A Concise Treatise* [...], 17.

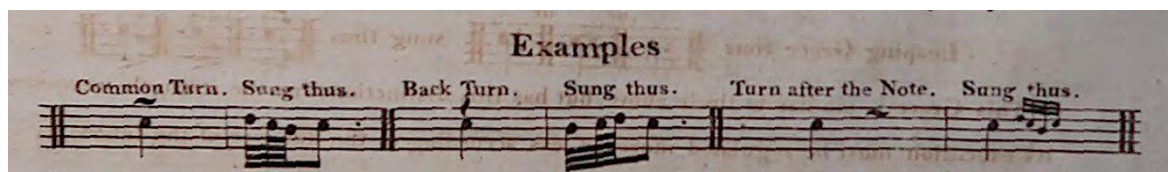
<sup>41</sup> *The Singers Preceptor*, Vol 1, 30. Corri is referring to his singing teacher, Niccolò Porpora (1686-1768).

<sup>42</sup> *The Singers Preceptor*, Vol. 1, 33; *A Select Collection* Vol. 1, 8.





**Figure 3.11.** Instructions for the ‘Shake’ in Corri’s *The Singers Preceptor*, Vol . 1 (London: Silvester; and Longman, Hurst, Rees & Orme, 1810), 30. MMC Vol. 455. © *The Buccleuch Collections*



**Figure 3.12.** Variations of the ‘Turn’ in Corri, *The Singers Preceptor*, Vol . 1 (London: Silvester; and Longman, Hurst, Rees & Orme, 1810), 33. MMC Vol. 455. © *The Buccleuch Collections*

To what extent can vocal treatises be considered reliable sources for understanding what happened during domestic vocal lessons? They can certainly be used to trace the print representation of the Italian style for this period. But the extent to which the manuals themselves were used by domestic vocalists is unclear. They were also largely self-promotional publications, consolidating the reputation of the author and usually also increasing the availability of their compositional works. Their accuracy and trustworthiness is therefore subject to debate; each treatise is biased towards its author, with potentially selfish motivations for its contents. Furthermore, each treatise only tells us the ideas and teachings endorsed by that specific author. This chapter has begun to demonstrate the micro variation within the macro landscape of *bel canto* c.1800; it has shown that the ‘Italian style’ was not a monolith, although it may have been consumed as such in some domestic spheres. Both the Italian tradition and the British consumption of this tradition had variations that affected how individual singers might have engaged with Italian operatic music. Understanding disparities



between different strands of practice is essential for the construction of a wider image of vocal pedagogy in Georgian Britain, as well as for understanding historic British receptions of Italian culture.

### **3.1.2 Evidence in Domestic Collections**

If vocal treatises provide perspectives on the wider pedagogical landscape, collections of music belonging to specific owners can generate further insights into what domestic vocalists were performing and how. Evidence found in domestic music collections of the era can be used to understand how particular domestic vocalists engaged with, learnt, and performed in the Italian style. In both printed scores and hand-copied manuscripts, this evidence is largely in the form of annotations, made either in pencil or ink. The frequency of annotations varied enormously depending on the collection, volume, and/or specific item of music; sometimes they were extremely sparse, whilst in other scores almost every note is annotated. Annotations took many forms, including but not limited to: ornamentation; performance markings such as breath marks, dynamics, and articulation; corrections (textual, melodic, and harmonic) to the vocal line and/or accompaniment (usually to rectify mistakes made by publishers); and additional and alternative accompaniments and vocal passages. The authorship of these markings is often unclear. Was it the owner and/or performer of the collection? Or was it a different hand, most likely a singing teacher or a governess? Many of the annotations indicate a multifarious process of learning and engagement, and one that was collaborative, not solitary. The heavier weighting of annotations in specific items from each collection can suggest a number of things: that the owner / performer was engaging very closely with that item, both musically and linguistically, and/or that they were performing it very frequently; that the performer developed a set of ornamentation that they preferred to use for that particular item, possibly with the help of a teacher; and/or that the particular item required additional work during their studies, and they needed further support from a singing master when learning it. This does not necessarily mean that unannotated items weren't performed as frequently, nor that they were performed without ornamentation; merely that we cannot be sure what ornamentation and other expressive techniques would have been applied.

#### **3.1.2.1 The Montagu Music Collection**

As explored in Chapter 2.2, the volumes in the Montagu Music Collection featuring high levels of annotation are the bound collections of miscellaneous sheet music, many of which contain significant amounts of operatic music. There is evidence across these volumes that members of the Buccleuch family – specifically Ladies Elizabeth and Caroline Montagu, who owned most of the volumes and collected and performed the music – were engaging with Italian vocal practices and performing Italian operatic arias and duets in the appropriate style. In particular, there is evidence

that they were engaging with the specific teachings of Domenico Corri, and that they were influenced by his interpretation of the Italian vocal tradition.

Many of the Italian operatic arias feature additional ornamentation, copied in either pencil and ink onto printed scores, or included in manuscript items copied by hand. The overwhelming majority of these are appoggiaturas, mostly single appoggiaturas. Other forms of ornamentation are annotated throughout the collection but they are less frequent, and turns and shakes are particularly uncommon. The predominance of the appoggiatura throughout the collection is in line with Corri's teachings, and also with the style of ornamentation provided in Corri's *A Select Collection*. It is reflective of Maunder's analysis that Corri was 'very fond of adding short appoggiaturas, often at the end of a phrase'. For example, Figure 3.13 below shows an extract from Bianchi's aria 'Per pietà padron mio' from *Gli schiavi per amore* (London, 1787) in Vol. 321 of the MMC. An appoggiatura has been annotated on the final note of every single phrase, not just on the page shown, but throughout the item. Connections between the MMC and Corri's approach to ornamentation are reinforced when comparing this collection item – and indeed other items from *Gli schiavi per amore* in the MMC, of which there are many – with a 1788 publication of the items from Act 1 of the same opera, arranged for voice and keyboard, to which Corri supplied printed ornamentation. Although the MMC does not feature any items from Act 1, and thus unfortunately a direct comparison of ornamentation cannot be made, the general approach is extremely similar. Figure 3.14 shows an extract from the duet 'Amare tacere' to which Corri has supplied only single appoggiaturas towards the end of phrases. The frequency of Corri's ornamentation in the 1788 publication is also similar to the frequency of the annotated ornamentation found across the MMC, suggesting that Ladies Elizabeth and Caroline followed Corri's advice on both how and when it was appropriate to ornament.

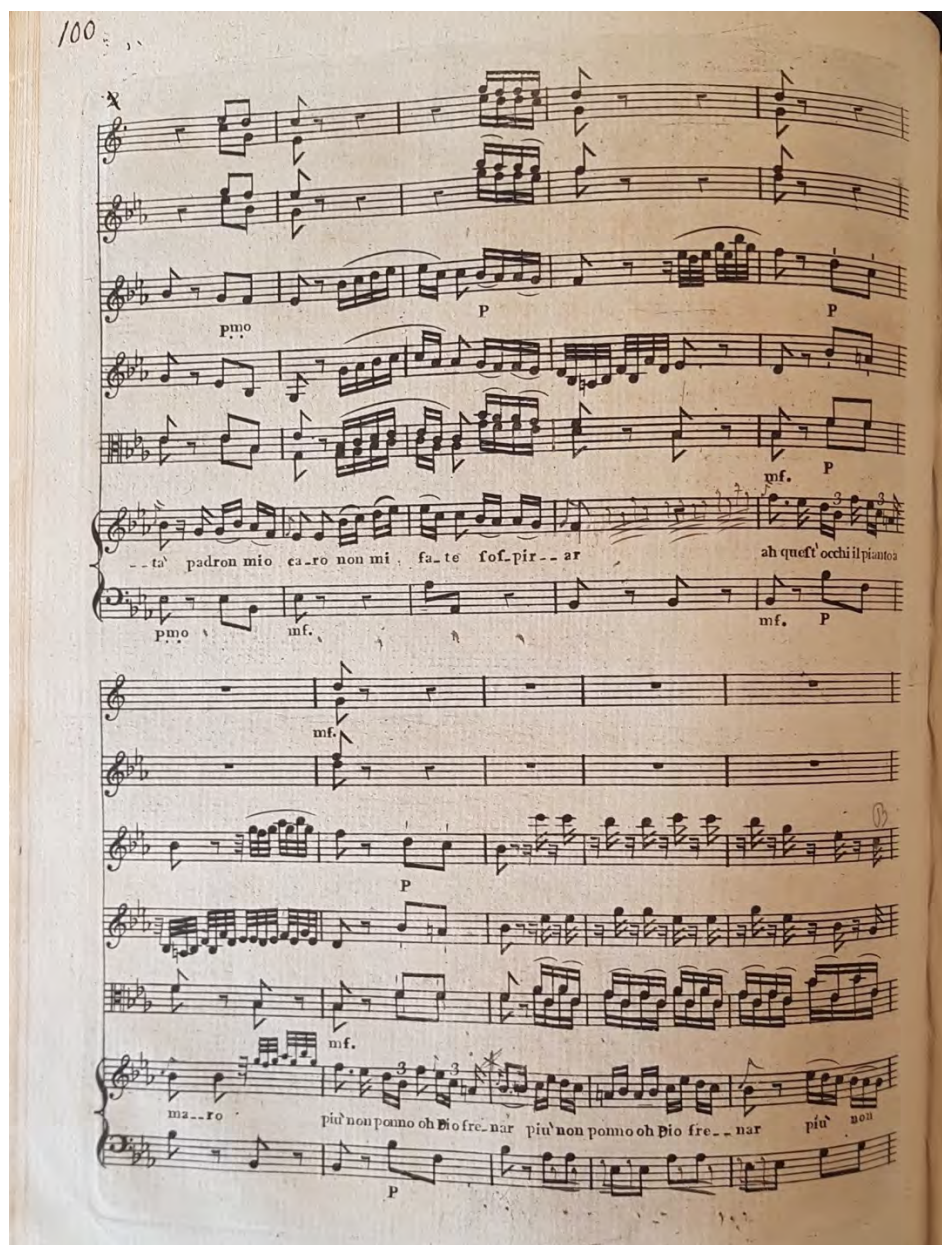


Figure 3.13. Annotated ornamentation in the MMC, Vol. 321, 100. In *Per pietà padron mio*, Sung by Sigr Storace in the Opera of *Gli schiavi per amore*, Composed by Sigr Bianchi (London: Longman and Broderip, 1787), 2. © The Buccleuch Collections



10

mu - to la - man - te fe - gre - to l'ar - dor

Si - len - zio fa - ga - ce pro -

Mio dol - ce con -

muo - ve i di - let - ti ap - por - ta - la pi - ce tra guer - re d'a - mor Mio dol - ce con -

for - te ta - cen - do con - vie - ne cal - mar del - la for - te fie - ro ri - gor af -

for - te ta - cen - do con - vie - ne cal - mar del - la for - te il fie - ro ri - gor

fet - to cos - tan - te Cu - pi - do vi chie - de vuol mu - to la - men - te fe -

Si - len - zio fa - ga - ce pro - muo - ve i di - let - ti ap - por - ta - la

Figure 3.14. Extract from *Gli schavi per amore* [...] with *Graces and Ornaments* by Sigr Domenico Corri (London: Longman and Broderip, 1788), 10. © British Library Board, H.445

Ornamentation is not the only annotated evidence in the MMC that correlates with Corri's teachings. Throughout the annotated items of Italian vocal music, a breath mark symbol is frequently added that matches a symbol used by Corri in his *A Select Collection*. Figure 3.15 shows the breath mark directions provided by Corri in the opening to this treatise. These breath markings are provided before any other instructions, suggesting that Corri placed great importance on them. There are two types: the first to be taken during a pause, and the second during a longer phrase when the breath is to be as 'imperceptible as possible'. Only the first of these symbols is found in the MMC, and it appears in the heavily-annotated items of operatic sheet music, alongside other annotations such as ornamentation. It is possible that Domenico or Natale made these markings themselves; either way, they reflect a clear link between the MMC and Domenico's teachings, increasing the likelihood that other annotations in the MMC were also influenced by Domenico.

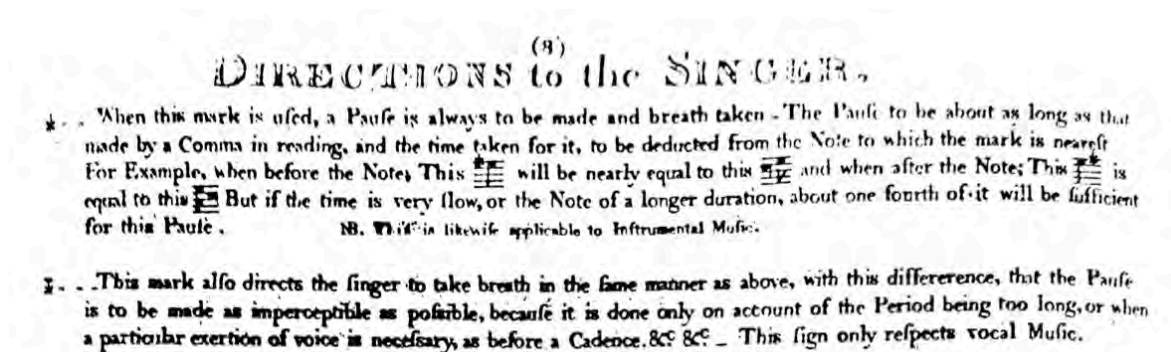


Figure 3.15. Breath mark directions in Corri, *A Select Collection* (Edinburgh: John Corri, c.1782), 8. In the facsimile edition edited by Richard Maunder (New York: Garland, 1993). © Reproduced with permission from the University of Southampton Hartley Library



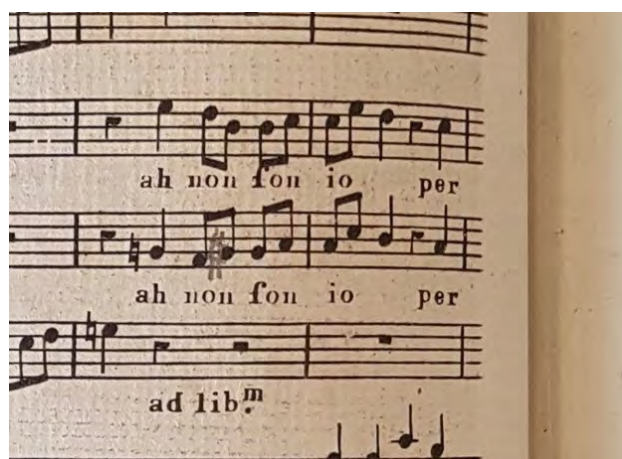
**Figure 3.16.** Corri's breath marks in MMC, Vol. 321, 112. In *Chi mi mostra*, Sung by Sgra Storace in the Opera of *Gli schiavi per amore*, Composed by Paisiello (London: Longman and Broderip, 1787), 3. © The Buccleuch Collections

In addition to ornamentation and breath marks, there are several other types of annotations found in the MMC that show close engagement with Italian vocal scores, and provide further evidence of Ladies Elizabeth and Caroline working with a singing master from the Corri family (either Domenico or Natale). Firstly, there are alterations and corrections made to scores throughout the collection, usually either through crossing out printed notes or passages and adding new notation, or by adding accidentals to printed notes. Figure 3.17 shows a G4 in the vocal line being corrected to an A4, whilst Figure 3.18 shows the addition of an accidental. Both of these annotations are correcting mistakes made by the publisher during the printing of the score. It is possible that Ladies Elizabeth and Caroline made these corrections themselves, given their extensive musical education and the fact that these printed mistakes would have caused dissonance and thus been easily identifiable. However, it is also possible that Domenico and Natale were making the corrections, reflecting one of the many ways in which they aided the vocal education and performance of the two sisters.





**Figure 3.17. Annotated corrections in the MMC, Vol. 321, 25. In *Non lagrimar ben mio*, Sung by Madam Mara & Sigr Rubinelli in the Opera of Virginia, Composed by Sgr Tarchi (London: Longman and Broderip, 1786), 8. © The Buccleuch Collections**

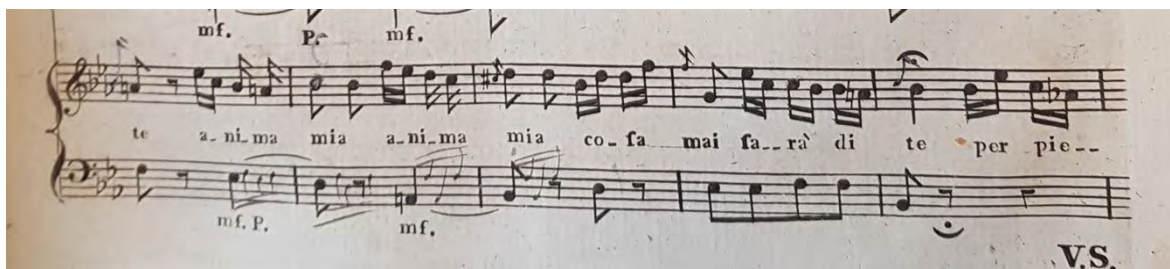


**Figure 3.18. Annotated correction in the MMC, Vol. 321, 27. In *Non lagrimar ben mio*, Sung by Madam Mara & Sigr Rubinelli in the Opera of Virginia, Composed by Sgr Tarchi (London: Longman and Broderip, 1786), 10. © The Buccleuch Collections.**

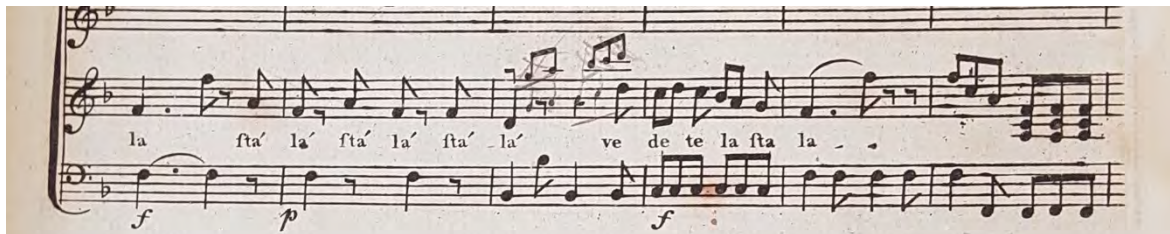
Also, there are many annotations that suggest Ladies Elizabeth and Caroline were accompanying either themselves or each other on a keyboard instrument whilst learning and performing Italian vocal music. Many operatic items across the MMC feature realisations of the bass line (for example, see Figure 3.19), suggesting that they were using these parts instead of the printed ensemble accompaniment. This also bears resemblance to Corri's approach to keyboard accompaniment in *A Select Collection*, as described by Rachel Cowgill and Peter Ward Jones:

[Corri's] most interesting work is perhaps his new system for realizing figured basses exemplified in the four volumes of *A Select Collection of the most Admired Songs, Duets*. Living at a time when the traditional practice of figured bass realization was dying out, Corri provided skeleton written-out accompaniments which clearly show the transition to the arpeggio figures which became the stock-in-trade of song accompaniment by the end of the century.<sup>43</sup>

Figure 3.20 shows that Ladies Elizabeth and Caroline also sometimes made alterations to accompanying parts; in this example, the top line of the accompaniment has been crossed out and written back in an octave lower. Once again, these alterations may have been made by Ladies Elizabeth and Caroline themselves, or with the support of Domenico or Natale.



**Figure 3.19.** Annotated keyboard realisation in the MMC, Vol. 321, 102. In *Per pietà padron mio*, Sung by Sigr Storace in the Opera of *Gli schiavi per amore*, Composed by Sigr Bianchi (London: Longman and Broderip, 1787), 3. © The Buccleuch Collections



**Figure 3.20.** Annotated accompaniment alterations in the MMC, Vol. 321, 5. In *Piche cornacchie e nottole*, Sung by Sigr Storace and Sigr Morelli, in the Opera of *Gli schiavi per amore*, Composed by Sigr Paisiello (London: Longman and Broderip, 1787). © The Buccleuch Collections

<sup>43</sup> Peter Ward Jones, Rachel E. Cowgill, J. Bunker Clark, and Nathan Buckner, 'Corri family', *Grove Music Online*. 2001; Accessed 18 Feb. 2021.  
<https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-00000006565>.



### 3.1.2.2 The Tatton Park Collection

The Italian operatic music at Tatton Park is also heavily annotated, often more so than the opera scores in the MMC. These annotations show that Elizabeth Sykes, much like Ladies Elizabeth and Caroline, engaged extensively with the *bel canto* style and she employed ornamentation with appropriate effect. Many of the annotations in the Tatton Park collection resemble the annotations found in the MMC; there are melodic corrections and realised bass lines alongside additional ornamentation and embellished passages. Much like in the MMC, many of these annotations suggest that Elizabeth was working with a vocal teacher and she was engaging with Italian vocal scores in an educational, collaborative manner. There are hand-copied items and annotations made in multiple hands, with many scores containing annotations in both ink and pencil, suggesting that Elizabeth worked on these items over an extended period of time, possibly with one or several partners. Unlike in the case of the MMC, where a connection has been established between the owners and a specific singing master, we cannot be sure who Elizabeth was working with whilst developing and working on her operatic collection. However, differences between the approach to *bel canto* in each collection highlights the variation that can be found in the British interpretation of the Italian vocal tradition. Elizabeth Sykes and Ladies Elizabeth and Caroline grew up and received their vocal education at very similar times, with Elizabeth Sykes and Lady Caroline being born just three years apart; yet, they still engaged with Italian operatic repertoire in different ways. In particular, there are some notable differences in the approach to ornamentation between the Tatton Park collection and the MMC. There are very few of the same operatic vocal items found in the two collections, and the matches that do exist are unannotated on either one or both collections, so direct comparisons cannot be made. However, an analysis of the broader approach and style of the two collections indicates some individual preferences.

Elizabeth Sykes's use of ornamentation and her mastering of the Italian style can be seen through her engagement with the aria 'Dove sei' from Handel's *Rodelinda* (1725). There are two copies of this aria in the Tatton Park collection. The first is a printed edition by Robert Birchall, noted as 'sung by Madame Mara', which features in a volume titled 'Miss E Sykes' with a flyleaf watermark dating from 1797. The second is a hand-copied version of the vocal line, in Elizabeth's 'April Fools' manuscript volume dating from 1800; this was almost certainly not copied by Elizabeth herself, as it does not match her handwriting elsewhere in the manuscript, including her signature on the title page. It may have been copied by a teacher instead. Given that it only includes the vocal line, it is likely that a teacher wrote out this ornamented vocal line for Elizabeth to practice, or possibly even to experiment with ornamented technique, whereas the printed copy would have been used for accompanied performances. Figure 3.21 shows the hand-copied version. During the refrain and the contrasting middle section, moderate ornamentation is provided, including appoggiaturas, turns, and trills. However, for the *da capo* section, the copyist has included additional instructions at the bottom of the aria, featuring more elaborate passages and

ornamentation. Annotated ornamentation found in the printed version is similar to this version in some aspects. It features a similar variety of ornaments, and also often features turns and trills in the same places. For example, as shown in Figure 3.22, there is a turn on the word ‘amato’ (meaning beloved), drawing out the second syllable and emphasising its significance in the broader text (‘Where are you my beloved?’). But on the whole, the ornamentation in the printed version is considerably more conservative; some of the ornamentation from the 1800 version is missing (such as the appoggiatura leading onto the word ‘sei’), and the elaborate passages from the *da capo* section are not included. This suggests that the hand-copied version was indeed used as a training tool, to aid Elizabeth’s understanding of how and when it was appropriate and effective to ornament. It is possible, given that the two copies were likely collected several years apart, that the manuscript version reflects a re-interpretation of the aria, corresponding with the development of Elizabeth’s vocal skill, tastes, and preferences. However, it is also possible that the scores were considered alongside each other, with the manuscript version serving as a means of ornamental experimentation, and the annotations in the printed version reflecting Elizabeth’s ‘final’ choices. Together, the scores reflect Elizabeth’s deep-rooted engagement with Italian vocal music, and her understanding and utilisation of the *bel canto* tradition.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> There is also a copy of this aria in the MMC, dating from 1775, but it is unannotated.



Figure 3.21. 'Dove Sei' in the Tatton Park collection, Elizabeth Sykes London April 1st 1799, April Fool (MS Book) MR 2-4.32, 11. © Tatton Park, Cheshire East Council, The National Trust



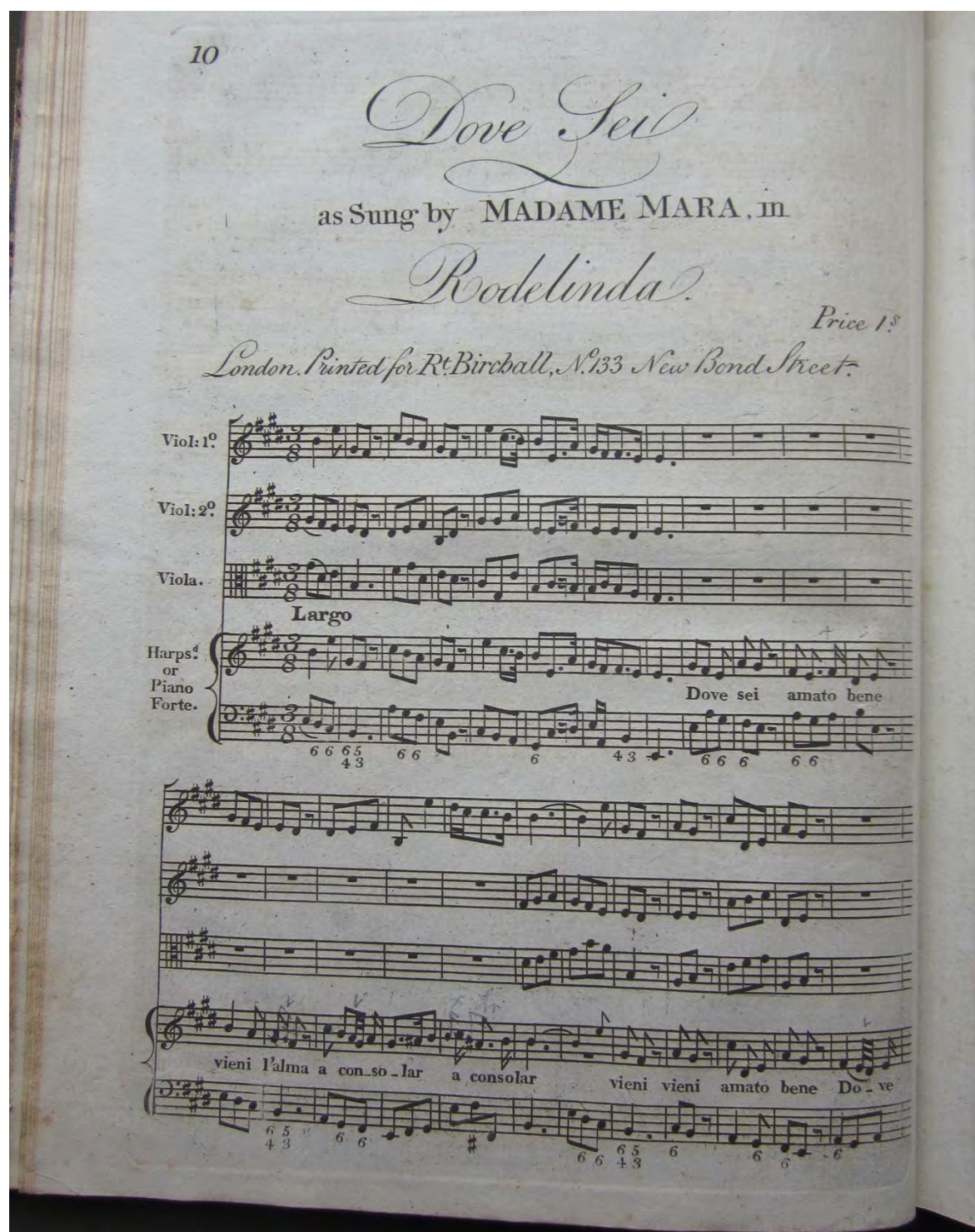
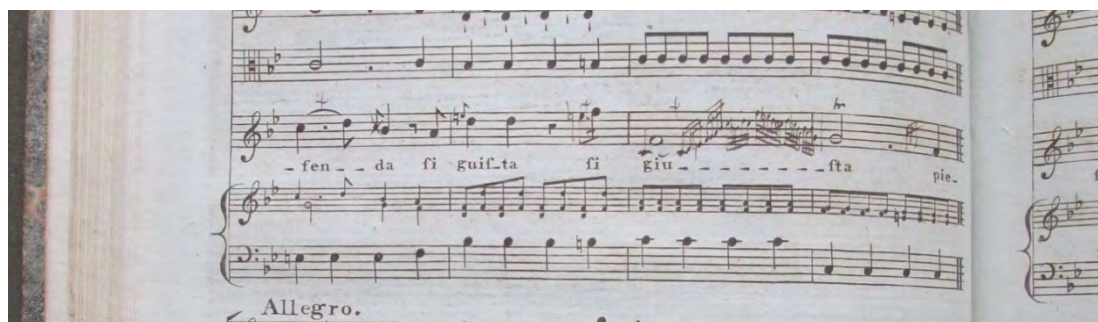


Figure 3.22. 'Dove Sei' in the Tatton Park collection, 'ENGLISH & ITALIAN SONGS/MISS E SYKES'. *Dove sei*, as Sung by Madame Mara, in *Rodelina* (London: Birchall), 10.

© Tatton Park, Cheshire East Council, The National Trust

The two copies of 'Dove sei' in the Tatton Park collection can also be used to identify differences between the use of ornamentation in the Tatton Park collection and the MMC. Whilst the annotated ornamentation in the MMC focuses heavily on appoggiaturas, at Tatton Park it is more wide-

ranging. Appoggiaturas, turns, trills, and divisions are frequently employed throughout. The use of turns – particularly inverted turns – is extremely frequent. This can be seen in Figure 3.23, in the aria ‘Ombre, larve’ (Gluck, *Alceste*), where the line ‘non v’offenda sì giusta pietà’ has been annotated with turns on the first three consecutive words: ‘v’offenda’ (appropriately emphasising the second syllable), ‘sì’, and ‘giusta’ (leading on to a further annotated elaborate passage). The use of turns here is particularly frequent in comparison with annotated ornamentation found in the MMC, which rarely features turns. It is possible that Ladies Elizabeth and Caroline preferred to improvise turns; however, they may also have been following Corri’s advice that: ‘The Scholar must be cautious not to grow too fond of [turns], lest he acquire the habit of teasing every Note with it’.<sup>45</sup> Corri’s teachings likely influenced Ladies Elizabeth and Caroline to apply turns less frequently, leading to this particular discrepancy between the ornamentation in the Tatton Park collection and the MMC. This once again highlights how choice of a specific singing master had the potential to impact how amateur vocalists engaged with the Italian style. Nonetheless, Corri also argued that the turn ‘may be used more frequently in quick Music than in any other style, and is particularly applicable to those Notes where the Language is animated’; this is applicable to the example in Figure 3.23, and many other examples in the Tatton Park collection.<sup>46</sup>



**Figure 3.23. Annotated passage in the Tatton Park collection, ‘SONGS/MISS SYKES’ MR 2-5.25. In *Ombre, larve*. As Sung at the King’s Theatre, Haymarket, by Signora Banti, in the Opera of *Alceste*, Composed by Gluck (London: Corri, Dussek & Co., c.1795), 6.**

© Tatton Park, Cheshire East Council, The National Trust

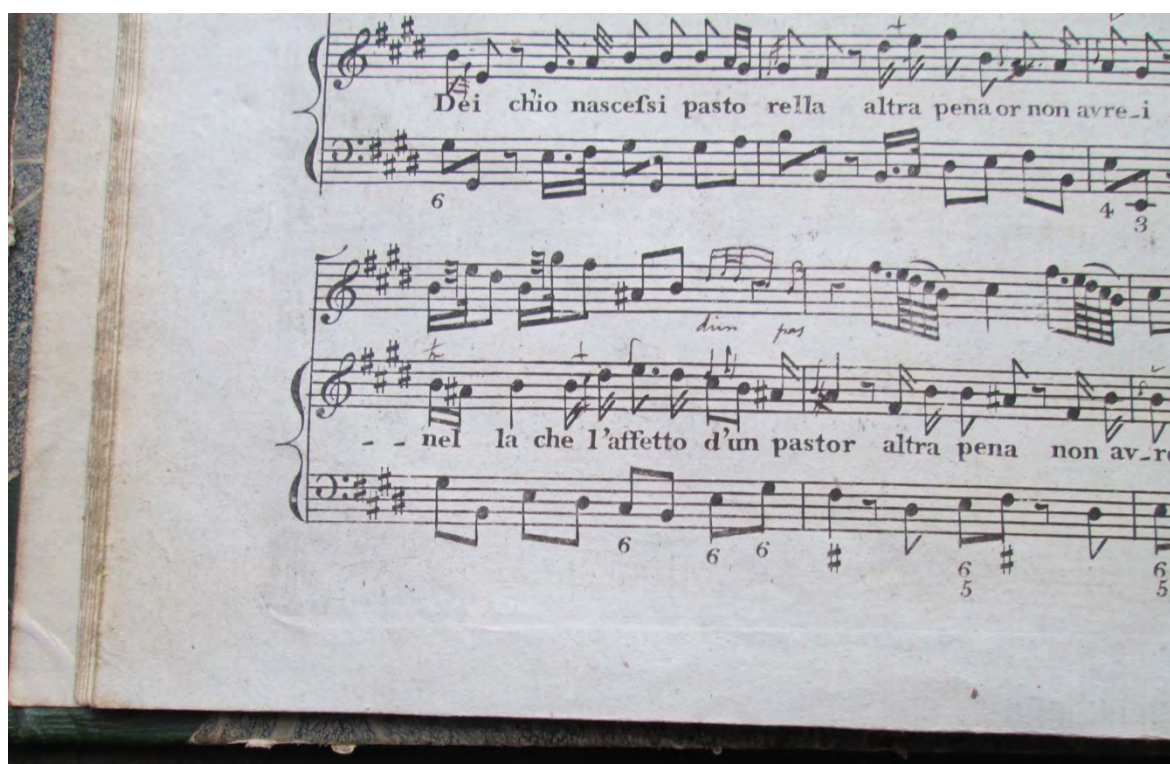
As well as employing a wider variety of ornaments, the annotated ornamentation in the Tatton Park collection is also generally more frequent than in the MMC. This can be seen in Figure 3.24, in an extract from Handel’s aria ‘Non vi piacque’ (*Siroe*, 1728) in Vol. 2-5.25, where an ornament is

<sup>45</sup> *The Singers Preceptor*, 33.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*



annotated on almost every note, including trills, turns, and appoggiaturas. Heavily annotated passages such as these do not exist in the MMC; instead, annotated ornamentation is more sporadic, with usually just one ornament applied towards the end of a passage. There could be various reasons for this: Ladies Elizabeth and Caroline may have preferred to ornament more freely rather than to establish a specific set of ornamentation for each item, or they may have been engaging with the score less frequently or in less depth. Many of the operatic items at Tatton Park are also extremely elaborate and vocally challenging, often much more so than the operatic repertoire found in the MMC; thus, many of Elizabeth's items may have required additional attention and studying with a singing master. Either way, the differing quantities of annotated ornamentation provide another example of how amateur vocalists engaged with Italian operatic music in different ways.



**Figure 3.24. Annotated ornamentation in the Tatton Park collection, ‘SONGS/MISS SYKES’ MR 2-5.25. In *Non vi piacque*, as Sung by Mr Nield, in *Siroe* (London: Birchall), 1.**

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As well as the addition of single ornaments, the operatic music at Tatton Park also frequently features the annotation of florid passagework and elaborate figuration, such as on the word ‘giusto’ in Figure 3.22. Passages such as these would have required considerable skill to execute, far more

so than the shorter trills, turns, and appoggiaturas. Many of these passages were added to pieces that were already extremely elaborate and vocally challenging; this indicates that Elizabeth Sykes was a highly skilled and accomplished vocalist, who was engaging closely with some of the most difficult operatic repertoire of the day. Figure 3.25 shows an example of this type of annotation from the aria ‘Son regina e sono amante’ (Sacchini, *Didone abbandonata*), which is one of many items in the Tatton Park collection with particularly complex annotated passages. It shows the end of an extremely long and elaborate passage sung to the words ‘sono amante’, where the syllable ‘so’ has already been given an intricate and extensive run in the printed score. The annotator has provided an optional ending to this passage which increases the level of difficulty, raising the final four notes on the ‘so’ syllable to a higher pitch (reaching a B5), and adding further decoration to the syllables ‘no’ and ‘a’. Figure 3.26 shows another example, from the aria ‘Oh momento fortunato’ (Sacchini, *Didone abbandonata*), appropriately placing emphasis on the second syllable of the word ‘parola’. This word features multiple times throughout the aria, and each time it is annotated with ornamentation that grows increasingly complex as the aria progresses. Annotated passages such as these reflect some of the training exercises provided by Italian masters such as Lanza in their vocal treatises. One can imagine how exercises such as shown as in Figure 3.7 would have aided Elizabeth in developing ornamentation and elaborate figurations for operatic vocal items, and/or helped her teacher to train and advise her. These annotations show that Elizabeth was engaging closely with the Italian language in the score as well as the specific techniques taught by Italian masters and published in their treatises.



**Figure 3.25.** Annotated passage in the Tatton Park collection, ‘SONGS/MISS SYKES’ MR 2-5.25. In *Son regina e sono amante*, Sung by Madam Mara in *Didone abbandonata*, Composed by Sigr Sacchini (London: Longman and Broderip, 1786), 9.  
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**Figure 3.26. Annotated passage in the Tatton Park collection, ‘ENGLISH & ITALIAN SONGS/MISS E SYKES’ MR 2-5.10. In *O momento fortunato, The Favorite Duett, Sung by Sigra Banti & Sigr Viganoni, in the Opera of Nina, Composed by Sigr Paisiello* ( London: Birchall, c.1800), 14. © Tatton Park, Cheshire East Council, The National Trust**

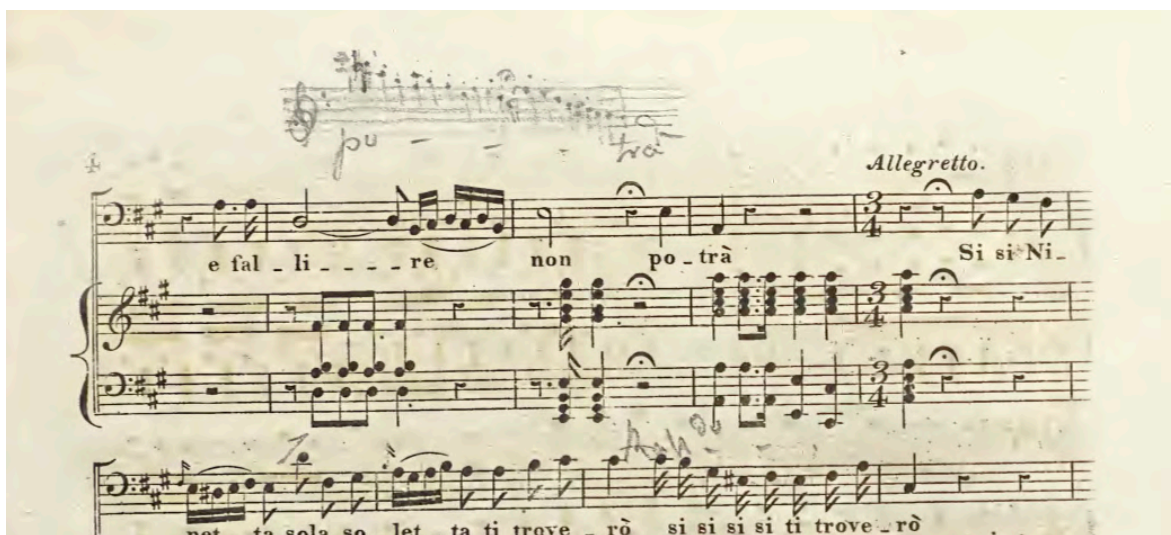
Passages such as these do not feature in the MMC. This is one of the most significant differences between the two collections and between their owners’ approach to ornamentation and engagement with the Italian style. Whilst the Buccleuch sisters utilised graces to great effect, extended florid and elaborate passages are not included within their annotations, suggesting that they were not part of their vocal tuition or domestic performances. The Tatton Park scores indicate a period of intense study and also a higher degree of proficiency than the MMC scores, both in terms of the difficulty of the printed music and the level of additional ornamentation. Elizabeth’s vocal skill is reflective of both her and her family’s broader accomplishments and activities, and also provides an insight into her family’s identity and status within high society. Whilst Ladies Elizabeth and Caroline were comfortably positioned at the heart of the British aristocracy by birth-right, Elizabeth Sykes came from a nouveau-riche family who showed a lot of attention to the idea of accomplishment and improvement. In addition to Elizabeth’s vocal ability, she was also a highly accomplished pianist. Her father’s collecting of musical instruments and her brother’s collecting of books indicates a common ambition to cultural distinction. Thus, Elizabeth’s advanced level of vocal instruction not only indicates her genuine musical skill, but also reflects her families’ ambitious tendencies and their apparent need to validate their abilities and tastes. Elizabeth may also have been following the family tradition of engaging deeply with Italian culture, given that the Egerton family fortune was rooted in Italian luxury goods and art.

### 3.1.2.3 The Gladstone Collection

The volumes owned by Thomas Gladstone within the Gladstone family music collection are also often heavily annotated in parts. The annotations are nearly always on the male vocal line, indicating that they were indeed either annotated for or by Thomas himself. Many of these

annotations are similar to those found in the MMC and the Tatton Park collection; they include single ornaments, lengthier elaborate passages, and corrections to the score. It is not known who Thomas employed as a singing teacher, but these annotations suggest that he, like Ladies Elizabeth and Caroline, was working with an Italian master; for example, on one of scores there is an annotation of the word 'pece' (meaning pitch), meaning it is highly likely an Italian speaker was working on the scores with him.

Thomas utilised ornamentation in similar ways to Ladies Elizabeth and Caroline; the frequency of his annotated ornamentation is closer to what is found in the MMC than in the Tatton Park collection, and although he employs a wide variety of ornaments, there is a similar focus on appoggiaturas, with significantly less frequent use of turns than in the Tatton Park collection. However, like Elizabeth Sykes, Thomas did sometimes annotate lengthier, elaborate passages; for example, Figure 3.27 shows an virtuosic figuration on the word 'potrà' in the cavatina 'Il mio piano è preparato' (Rossini, *La gazza ladra*), which suggests an unprepared octave leap followed by a descent spanning an octave and a half. This shows that Thomas was thinking about how to make the broader delivery of each vocal item as effective as possible, capitalising on the cadential placement to bring out the aria's emotive values and storytelling. However, passes such as these are not found as commonly in Thomas's volumes as they are in the Tatton Park collection; and this example in particular would not have been performed as quickly as some of Elizabeth's melismatic passages.



**Figure 3.27.** Annotated passage in the Gladstone collection, Vol. 6, 100. In *Il mio piano è preparato*, Cavatina, In the Opera of *La gazza ladra*, Composed by Signor G. Rossini (London: Birchall, 1830), 4.

Rare Books quarto M 341 GLA. © Hartley Library, University of Southampton

One notable difference between the annotations found in the Gladstone collection and those found at Tatton Park and in the MMC is the increased presence of additional performance directions other than ornamentation, such as dynamics, tempo markings, and accents. These appear sparsely at Tatton Park and in the MMC, but they often dominate the annotations found in Thomas Gladstone's volumes. For example, Figure 3.28 shows an extract from the aria 'Sorgete in si bel giorno' (Rossini, *Maometto secondo*), which includes: crescendo markings on the first two notes, appropriately emphasising the accented second syllable of the name 'Maometto'; the introduction of an extra quaver at the end of the same bar, to avoid the elision of [Maomet]-to in-[torno]; a 'dolce' marking on the second line, applied to the words 'oh[sic] prodi miei guerrieri' (meaning 'my brave warriors') and giving clear directions for a particularly elaborate passage in the printed score; and accents on this same passage, emphasising the core melodic notes with the intricate printed figuration. Again, these annotations show that Thomas was thinking very carefully about the expressive delivery of operatic vocal items. Figure 3.28 also shows how these types of marking were placed alongside annotated ornamentation (in this instance, turns on the second, third, and fourth lines). This supports Toft's argument that expressive tools such as 'accent, emphasis, tone of voice, register, phrasing, *legato*, *staccato*, *portamento*, *messa di voce*, tempo, *vibrato*, and gesture' were equally important as ornaments within the *bel canto* tradition, and they were utilised by performers – both professional and amateur – to maximise the expressive delivery of vocal music.

2

met - - - to in - - - tor - - - no ve - nite ad e - - - sul -

*Dolce*

tar si oh pro - - - di miei guer - - - rie - - - ri ve -

*ff*

ni - te deh ve - - ni - - - te ad e - - - sul - tar ad e - - - sul -

tar ve - - ni - - te a Ma - o - - met - - - to in - - -

2170

**Figure 3.28. Annotations in the Gladstone collection, Vol 6, 84. In *Sorgete in si bel giorno*, Aria, in the Opera of *Maometto secondo*, Composed by Signor G. Rossini (London: Birchall), 2. Rare Books quarto M 341 GLA. © Hartley Library, University of Southampton**

Annotations in Thomas's volumes often go beyond the addition of ornaments and expressive markings to encompass musical interventions on both small and large scales. Some of these interventions are melodic corrections of mistakes made by the printer, similar to those found in both the MMC and the Tatton Park collection. However, on several of Thomas's operatic scores, large portions of the score have been crossed out, indicating that these sections should not be



performed. For example, Figure 3.29 shows an extract from Mozart's 'Mentre ti lascio, o figlia' where an entire section of the aria has been scribbled over in pencil, indicating a cut. The most likely reason for this alteration is to shorten the aria, which in this case is particularly long; this might have been to make it easier to perform, or to make it more suitable for a particular domestic performance. The most significant alterations to the score, though, are those that are not correcting mistakes made by the printer or simply removing entire sections. Across the collection, there are extracts that have been re-arranged to lower the pitch of the melody, in order to avoid singing an F#5. Figure 3.30 shows an example, from Donizetti's 'Ah! nel cuor mi suona un grido' (*Gemma di Vergy*), where a two-bar extract has been covered by a pinned cut of paper. The subsequent bars have been edited to fit with this new arrangement, with annotated alterations in ink. Thomas was a bass, not a baritone, and thus it is likely his range did not reach F#5, hence the need to alter these melodic lines. In some regards, this meets some of the advice regularly found in treatises that performers should not attempt to sing vocal lines that are beyond their ability. However, some singing masters may have argued that Thomas should have avoided these arias altogether, and instead focused on repertoire he could capably perform.

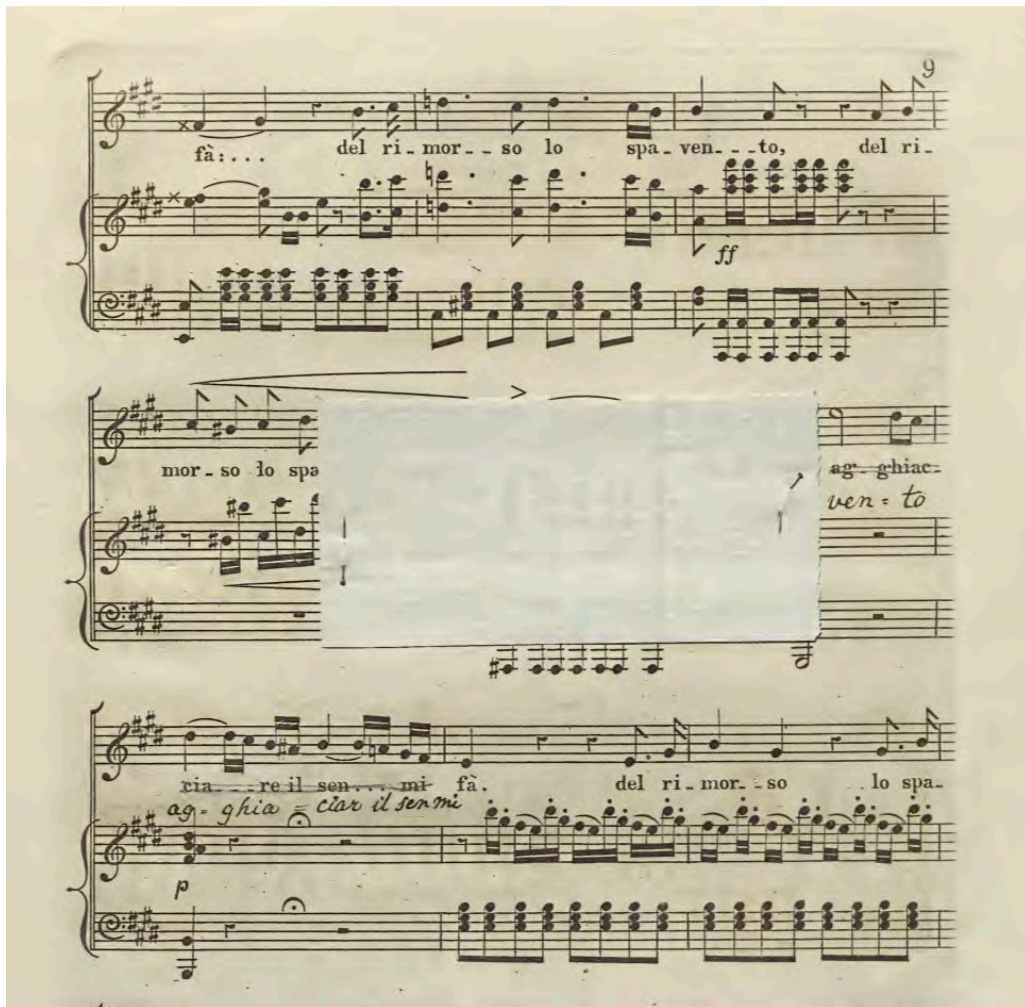
The significant musical and linguistic interventions found in Thomas Gladstone's Italian vocal scores, alongside the annotations found across the MMC and Tatton Park collection, can tell us many things about how Britons engaged not only with the Italian vocal tradition, but also with Italian culture more broadly. The application of ornamentation across these collections shows how performers learned and trained in the *bel canto* style, and also how they adapted their voices and vocal techniques to encompass Italian operatic singing traditions. However, evidence in the Gladstone collection also shows how the operatic music itself could also be adapted and transformed via encounters with British singers. This demonstrates the dialogic nature of European cultural transfer c.1800; it was a process that involved change, negotiation, and transformation on both sides. Furthermore, it reflects the domestication of Italian culture in British homes, showing how Italian operatic culture could be adapted to suit the individual requisites and preferences of British consumers.

10 Più Allegro

Ah mi si spez-za il cor, ah mi si spez-za, si spezza il cor; ah mi si spez-za il cor, ah - - - mi si spez-za il cor; ah mi si spez-za il cor. ah - - - mi si spez-za il cor, mi si spezza, si spezza il cor, ah - - mi si spez-za il cor, mi si spezza si spezza il

Mentre ti lascio.

Figure 3.29. Score interventions in the Gladstone collection, Vol 6, 44. In *Mentre ti lascio, o figlia. Aria. Composed by Mozart* (London: Birchall, c.1820), 10. Rare Books quarto M 341 GLA. © Hartley Library, University of Southampton



**Figure 3.30. Score interventions in the Gladstone collection, Box 1. In *Ah! nel cuor mi suona un grido. Cavatina, In the Opera of Gemma di Vergy, Composed by Signor Donizetti* (London: R. Mills, 1845), 9. Rare Books quarto M 341 GLA.**

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### 3.1.3 Conclusions

A comparison of the three domestic music collections discussed in this chapter tells us many things about how British amateur vocalists were engaging with Italian vocal music over the period relevant to this thesis. Firstly, it demonstrates the stability and continuity of the Italian vocal tradition over the decades surrounding 1800; on the whole, Ladies Elizabeth and Caroline, Elizabeth Sykes, and Thomas Gladstone engaged with their operatic collections in very similar ways, utilising ornamentation and other *bel canto* techniques to enhance their expressive delivery of operatic arias and duets. However, the differences found in each collection shows that there was variation within the domestic consumption and performance of Italian vocal music. These differences reflect the variation found in vocal treatises and, in particular, highlight the significance of the role of singing masters in influencing British consumption of the Italian vocal tradition.



Specific findings from each collection can also shed light on broader socio-cultural issues at play. For example, the difficulty of the Italian vocal music and the annotated ornamentation found in the Tatton Park collection suggests that some ‘amateur’ vocalists were in fact performing to similar standards as professional singers. But this level of skill would have only heightened tensions surrounding the need for domestic vocalists – particularly female vocalists in elite spheres – to retain their ‘amateur’ status, regardless of their ability. Moreover, this further contributes to the argument that, in some regards, private homes can be considered extensions of the stage, with their inhabitants utilising their virtuosic vocal ability to perform the same music heard in concerts and at the King’s Theatre. Whilst Figure 3.1. shows the opera star Angelica Catalani posing as a domestic vocalist, some amateur singers likely delivered performances that weren’t too far removed from those heard on the professional stage. However, the difference remains that the latter performances would only have been enjoyed within private households, and thus remained within the realms of domesticity.

Moreover, the annotations found in Thomas Gladstone’s volumes tell us that male amateur vocalists were engaging with Italian vocal scores in the same ways as young girls and women. Despite vocal treatises showing clear bias towards female performers, Thomas Gladstone’s engagement with his operatic vocal scores show that men, too, trained in the Italian style and learnt specific and often complicated Italian vocal techniques, which enabled them to perform operatic arias and duets with proficiency and in the appropriate style. This finding has broader consequences for our understanding of gender roles in the Georgian era, challenging assumptions surrounding the relationships between music, femininity, and domesticity.

### 3.2 Performing in the Italian Language

Language is an inescapable aspect of performing Italian vocal music. It is impossible to understand the consumption of Italian opera in Georgian Britain without considering the reception and use of the Italian language. Historical language scholars such as Helena Sanson have credited music and opera as crucial to the dissemination of Italian language in England and across Europe during the eighteenth century.<sup>47</sup> However, the reception of the language within domestic performance culture is yet to be explored. For many domestic vocalists, performing Italian opera was one of the earliest and most important ways in which they were exposed to the Italian language. Proper delivery of the language was necessary for an accomplished performance; correct pronunciation was essential, and understanding the meaning of the text enabled performers to convey the appropriate emotions. But how well did domestic performers understand the language they were singing in, if at all? What impact did this have on their performances? Were they receiving Italian language training? If so,

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<sup>47</sup> Helena Sanson, ‘Grammatiche dell’Italiano “Pur Les Dames” nel Settecento: Antonio Curioni fra Parigi e Londra’, *The Italianist* 36, no. 3 (2016), 447-470.

from whom? And was this training designed to aid musical performance, or was it a separate aspect of their education? Answering these questions provides further insight into the scale of European cultural transfer c.1800 and the depth of British engagement with Italian luxury goods.

### 3.2.1 General Language Training

Post-Renaissance Britain saw a renewed interest in the Italian language.<sup>48</sup> There were many reasons for this: some were practical, such as the development of commerce and travel, whilst others were social, such as the fashion for education and luxury goods (including opera), as noted by Vilma De Gasperin:

Members of either sex of the upper and middle classes now learnt Italian not only with literary aims, but more generally for cultural and practical reasons linked to commerce and a relatively increased mobility across Europe.<sup>49</sup>

As a result of this development, there was an increased demand for Italian language tuition. Native Italian speakers made a living teaching the language in Britain, but British pedagogues also taught the language, often alongside French. By the mid-eighteenth century, Italian training was a fundamental aspect of elite education; it was taught in finishing schools and also privately at home, second only to French as a language of choice for accomplished ladies.<sup>50</sup> Elizabeth Sykes is believed to have learnt Italian as part of her education at Mrs Devis's school, whilst many other wealthy families employed Italian language masters in their homes to support their linguistic education.<sup>51</sup> For example, Georgiana Cavendish, Duchess of Devonshire, employed Gasparo Grimani (1729-1801) as her Italian master, who was one of the leading linguists of the day residing in Britain.<sup>52</sup> Hester Thrale worked with Giuseppe Baretti (1719-1789), another renowned linguist of the era, and they travelled frequently together.<sup>53</sup> Surviving records from the third generation of the Buccleuch dynasty show they

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<sup>48</sup> Jason Lawrence, *'Who the Devil Taught Thee so Much Italian?'* *Italian Language Learning and Imitation in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011)

<sup>49</sup> Vilma De Gasperin, 'Rules and Grammars of Italian in Eighteenth-Century England: The Case of Giuseppe Baretti', *The Italianist* 36, no. 3 (2016), 430.

<sup>50</sup> Nicola McLelland, *Teaching and Learning Foreign Languages: A History of Language Education Assessment and Policy in Britain* (London: Routledge, 2017).

<sup>51</sup> Leena Rana comments on Italian language instruction at Devis's school, noting that in Devis's *Miscellaneous Lessons Extracted from Different Authors* (1794), she included an excerpt on learning Italian by Dr Joseph Priestley (1733-1804), stating that 'Italian may be easily learnt after French, and it is well worth the trouble of learning'. Rana argues that this 'implies that Devis's school included Italian lessons as part of the girls' education.' See: 'Music and Elite Identity in the English Country House, c.1790-1840' (PhD diss., University of Southampton, 2012), 125.

<sup>52</sup> Georgiana had a great interest in Italian culture, having toured the Continent several times throughout her lifetime. See: Amanda Foreman, *Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire* (London: Harper Collins, 1999). Grimani dedicated his language, *The Ladies New Italian Grammar*, to the Duchess, in 1788.

<sup>53</sup> See: Marianna D'Ezio, *Hester Lynch Thrale Piozzi: A Taste for Eccentricity* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010); and Hester Lynch Piozzi, *Thraliana: The Diary of Mrs. Hester Lynch Thrale (later Mrs. Piozzi) 1776-1809*, ed. Katharine C. Balderston (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1942). Thrale and Baretti were very close friends; D'Ezio claims that Hester was infatuated with him.

employed Francis Benevent as an Italian master in the mid 1780s, and James Garden in the early 1790s.<sup>54</sup> Some language masters also provided translation services for their clients; for example, the pedagogue Charles Payant advertised his service of translating French and Italian letters alongside private language tuition.<sup>55</sup> Italian language masters played a similar role to Italian singing masters with regard to the dissemination of Italian culture in domestic environments. They were responsible for a significant aspect of their clients' education and they were one of the most direct means by which Italian culture travelled into British homes, acting as agents of cultural transfer.

Much like the cost of singing lessons, the cost of Italian language lessons varied. Reputable singing masters, naturally, charged more. The Buccleuch records show that in 1790-91 the Duke and Duchess paid James Garden £25 for 24 lessons (approximately £1 8s per lesson). These lessons took place over a six-month period (August 7<sup>th</sup> 1790 – February 25<sup>th</sup> 1791), at Dalkeith. This suggests they were taking lessons approximately once a week. Given the extremely high cost of these lessons, it is likely that Garden was teaching more than one of the Buccleuch children at once, although this is not indicated in the records, and the charge isn't too dissimilar to those made by renowned linguistic pedagogues of the era; for example, Arthur Masson charged one guinea for his language classes in the late 1770s.<sup>56</sup> It is also approximately half of what the Duke and Duchess paid Domenico and Natale Corri for the provision of singing lessons. Nonetheless, the expense of the Buccleuch's lessons with Garden shows the importance they placed on Italian language education. However, they paid Francis Benevent considerably less, at only £2 12s 6d for 20 lessons. This price was more common for the era; advertisements in newspapers and pedagogical literature show asking prices of approximately 5-10s per lesson, reflecting that of singing lessons with lesser-known teachers. For example, M. Santagnello, another leading Italian linguistic pedagogue of the era, advertised lessons at the front of his treatise *Italian Phraseology; a companion to the Grammar* (1816), at a rate of 7s per lesson. This suggests there was availability of Italian language tuition for a variety of budgets, similarly to that of music training. Nonetheless, language tuition still targeted middle-upper class spheres, and the frequency and quality of this tuition was largely, if not solely, determined by income.

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<sup>54</sup> NRS voucher GD224/365/44 shows payment from the Duke of Buccleuch to Francis Benevent for giving Lady Mary twenty Italian lessons in 1784-85; Vouchers GD224/351/30 and GD224/351/34 show payment from the Duke of Buccleuch to James Garden for various Italian lessons in 1790-92. 'Francis Benevent' and 'James Garden' are likely to be anglicisations of Italian names (probably 'Benevento' and 'Giardini') but it hasn't been possible to determine this.

<sup>55</sup> *Manchester Mercury*, 8 July 1783, 2.

<sup>56</sup> *Caledonian Mercury*, 12 January 1771, 3. Masson was the language master of the Duchess of Gordon, and dedicated his *Rudiments of the Italian Language, with a Select Collection, in Prose and Verse, from some of the Best Italian Authors* to her in 1771.

The demand for Italian language tuition and, in particular, the development of the Grand Tour, led to the production of Italian language manuals. Like singing treatises, these manuals provide an insight into how people were learning Italian during this era, both at school and during private lessons with Italian language masters. Many publications were dedicated to aristocratic patrons or students, although some other dedicatees were reputable names within trade and diplomacy. Laisnè's *The Student's Companion; or, Italian Grammar, for the use of Schools, etc.* (1815) provides an insight into how the Italian language might have been taught in finishing schools. His publication is extremely detailed, providing an in-depth explanation of every aspect of Italian grammar and the use of the Italian language, including: pronunciation; rules for the genders, accents; the article; augmentatives and diminutives; adjectives; pronouns; verbs; prepositions; conjunctions; and more.

Many other language manuals published similarly detailed information, offering thorough advice for those wishing to become fluent in Italian. However, the eighteenth century also saw a trend towards the simplification of Italian language training. One of the pioneers of this trend was Baretti, who published several treatises including *A Grammar of the Italian Tongue* (1778) and *Easy Phraseology for the Use of Young Ladies who Intend to Learn the Colloquial Part of the Italian Language* (1775).<sup>57</sup> Frances Burney noted her use of the latter, during time of leisure at home.<sup>58</sup> Baretti criticised the 'excessive rules' laid out in previous language guidebooks and instead aimed to widen the accessibility of Italian language training, appealing to a range of audiences.<sup>59</sup> This method was adopted by several other linguists of the era, including Giovanni Veneroni and Gasparo Grimani.<sup>60</sup>

In general, there were two approaches for Italian language training: the first was colloquial, focused on 'language of the salon', whilst the other prioritised verse and poetry. The latter, of course, was more useful for those wishing to understand Italian solely to aid musical performance. However, many language manuals published across the eighteenth century engaged with the former approach, including multiple 'phraseology' manuals intended to aid those travelling across the Continent. Santagnello's *Italian Phraseology; A Companion to the Grammar* (1816), dedicated to Lord George Beresford, is an example of this; in the preface, the author claims: 'It is hoped that it will prove particularly useful to those who,

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<sup>57</sup> De Gasperin, 156-172.

<sup>58</sup> Frances Burney, *Journals and Letters*, selected and introduced by Peter Sabor and Lars E. Troide (London: Penguin, 2001), 241-242. Burney knew Baretti through her friend Hester Thrale, who the publication is also dedicated to.

<sup>59</sup> Giuseppe Baretti, *A Grammar of the Italian Tongue* (London: 1778), iv.

<sup>60</sup> Lacy Collison-Morley, *Giuseppe Baretti and His Friends* (London: John Murray, 1909). See also: Giovanni Veneroni, *The Complete Italian Master; Containing the Best and Easiest Rules* (London: John Nourse, 1763); Grimani, *The Ladies New Italian Grammar* (London: 1788).

knowing it but imperfectly, wish to make the tour of Italy'.<sup>61</sup> This manual focuses on everyday conversation and language appropriate for travelling (including asking for directions, meeting new people, etc.). Notably, there is a section featuring examples of phrases likely to be heard at the theatre. These phrases not only indicate the language used by British travellers abroad, but they also provide an insight into aristocratic theatre culture and the reception of opera. Many of the phrases focus on the social aspects of attending a performance, rather than the performance itself. For example, some of the phrases include: 'Pray, Sir, can you tell me who that lady is that has just entered the first box?' and 'She is a very handsome lady'.<sup>62</sup> Santagnello provides detailed grammatical explanations alongside this vocabulary, and criticises previous language manuals for providing Italian translations of English phrases without an explanation, which he believed hindered the learning process.<sup>63</sup>

Several publications were specifically intended for the use of women. Grammar and language learning for women was equated with education in science and philosophy for men, and thus it was a central aspect of their education. So-called 'easier' tuition manuals were often specifically targeted at women; it was generally assumed that women needed extra guidance with Italian language training, as they were less likely to also learn Latin. Gasparo Grimani commented on this in his publication *The Ladies New Italian Grammar* (1788):

As ladies in general have not learned Latin or Greek, when they attempt the study of any language grammatical terms terrify and discourage them, and they look upon grammar as a monstrous production. For this reason I shall begin mine, by a dictionary, which shall contain and explanation of all words used by grammarians; by which means scholars will not only easily understand what their masters teach them, but they will not be dazzled by the ostentatious language of pedants.<sup>64</sup>

Baretti was another Italian master to target his publications at women: his *Easy Phraseology for the Use of Young Ladies* (1775) was extremely popular, and it was yet another manual to focus on colloquial language, offering dialogue examples for young ladies speaking to gentlemen. Nonetheless, Baretti also published on Italian verse and classical poetry, which he highly recommended to ladies wishing to learn the language. There was a strong feeling across the eighteenth century that the best way of mastering the Italian language was to read Italian literature, focusing in particular on classic poetry such as Dante Alighieri.<sup>65</sup> This literature, alongside Grammar guidebooks, became part of a substantial tradition in Europe of 'literature for ladies'.<sup>66</sup> This reflects the gender bias found in vocal treatises of the era; both kinds of manuals seemingly envisioned a female student demographic.

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<sup>61</sup> Preface to Santagnello's *Italian Phraseology; A Companion to the Grammar* (London: 1816), 5.

<sup>62</sup> Santagnello, 107.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid, 6

<sup>64</sup> Grimani, *The Ladies New Italian Grammar*, i.

<sup>65</sup> This helped to avoid confusions with native language traditions, such as Tuscan and Venetian.

<sup>66</sup> Sanson, 447-470.

### 3.2.2 The Italian Language and Vocal Performance

How useful was general Italian language tuition for the performance of Italian vocal music? A good understanding of the language – in particular, of classic Italian literature, and of the rules of pronunciation – undoubtedly supported musical performance. However, the language manuals provide no specific guidance for musical performance. In fact, aside from the occasional introductory quote about the many uses of the Italian language, there is no mention of music at all. This poses the question: how far did performers need to understand the Italian language in order to perform it? There is little evidence to suggest that Italian language masters were providing guidance with musical performance, nor that language training was intended to supplement accomplished musical performance. Many who were known to be taking private language lessons were also taking music lessons with separate Italian masters. For example, Hester Thrale was taking music lessons from Gabriele Piozzi (her future husband), whilst the Buccleuchs worked with the Corri family. This suggests that language and music were considered to be two separate – albeit complimentary – accomplishments that required independent tuition, at least by those that could afford it.

Domestic vocalists did not necessarily need to be fluent in Italian in order to perform Italian operatic music correctly; instead, they needed guidance with pronunciation and, ideally, a general understanding of the text they were performing. Italian singing masters were able to provide this support. Singing treatises of the era demonstrate the extent to which singing masters offered language guidance, and the significance they placed on this training within general vocal tuition. Firstly, the development of the *bel canto* singing tradition led to the publication of *solfeggi* exercises in vocal treatises, instructed to be performed using the Italian *sol-fa* syllables. This enabled domestic vocalists to learn the Italian vowels and perfect their pronunciation for performance. However, some treatises also offered extremely detailed instructions for pronunciation, language, and grammar, with many as comprehensive as the language manuals themselves. Lanza's *Elements of Singing* by far provides the most detailed guidance for performing in the Italian language. He comments on the importance of language training to improve musical performance:

As the greatest beauty of good singing consists in making the words well understood by as clear, correct & melodious an articulation as the language will permit, and as this cannot be attained by the correct formation of the mouth and by its readily taking the respective shape best suited to give a full and clear sound to each vowel, and distinctness to each consonant, the Pupil ought repeatedly to recur to the rules and examples given on this subject. It is impossible to turn back too often for the attainment of this great charm.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Lanza, *Elements of Singing* [...], 48.

Lanza first provides a comprehensive explanation of how to approach ‘music with words’, arguing that students should first learn and practise the melody using the *sol-fa* syllables, before carefully studying the text and deciding where it is appropriate to take a breath. He then provides a detailed outline of the language and grammar itself, providing an explanation for how each vowel and consonant should sound as well as providing guidelines for taking breaths during vocal performance. Furthermore, he specifies which syllables should be stressed and unstressed; this guidance would considerably aid the performer when making decisions regarding ornamentation and expression. Lanza provides exercises for students to put these rules into practice and develop their pronunciation.

Throughout Lanza’s comprehensive guide to performing in the Italian language, he draws comparisons with the English language and specifically notes where the two languages differ. However, he also offers specific instructions for performing in English, providing a table of ‘all the sounds in the English language’.<sup>68</sup> These instructions aren’t as detailed (likely because English would have been the native language of those reading his treatise, so detailed instructions were unnecessary), and he shows a clear bias to performing Italian vocal music. Nonetheless, the inclusion of these English instructions contributes to the breadth of Lanza’s publication. The detailed exploration of language in Lanza’s treatise suggests that he considered it to be an extremely significant aspect of vocal performance, and one that demanded attention from singing masters.

Most other vocal pedagogues provided language instructions in far less detail than Lanza in their treatises, whilst some did not mention language or pronunciation at all. Montague Corri and Ferrari both provide moderate levels of language guidance in their treatises. Corri comments on the importance of correct pronunciation regardless of choice of language:

One of the greatest requisites in a Singer after having accomplished those of singing in Time, and in Tune, is that of pronouncing every word, nay every syllable correctly, for without it, the effect of the finest composition is lost, difficult passages, cadences, nay every other perfection, cannot make amends for the want of this great requisite.<sup>69</sup>

This comment alludes to the necessity of correct pronunciation for a satisfactory performance of Italian opera; any mispronunciation of Italian words would, he believed, taint a performance. He too provides an explanation of the Italian vowels, although it is brief and not supported by exercises or textual examples. Ferrari’s *Concise Treatise on Italian Singing* (1818) also includes a section on pronunciation, stating: ‘Clear pronunciation constitutes the beauty, nay, the very perfection of singing, particularly of Italian singing’. Ferrari provides an explanation for each of the Italian vowels (noting that ‘A’ sounds like ‘Father’; ‘E’ like ‘Reign’; ‘I’ like ‘Ink’ etc.), as well as

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid, 52.

<sup>69</sup> Montague Corri, *A Treatise on the Art of Singing* (London: Metzler & Son, 1830), 6.



explanations for specific letter combinations, such as ‘Ci’ and double consonants such as ‘rr’ and ‘ss’. Furthermore, he provides instructions for combining words beginning and ending with vowels, stating: ‘If in elision two equal vowels follow, the first must be pronounced without being detached from the second’. These instructions would have been difficult to follow without demonstration, much like many of the ornaments and vocal techniques that were also discussed in singing treatises. This reinforces the supposition that these treatises were intended to provide a sequence and structure for education, with appropriate examples, but they could not act as a substitute for personal tuition with an Italian master.

Several treatises by Italian authors also offer guidance for singing Italian recitative. Thomas Bennett briefly mentions recitative, informing his readers that they are ‘at liberty to imitate, as near as possible, the accent and emphasis of declamation or natural speech’.<sup>70</sup> Nicola Vaccai’s provides further detail, stating:

In the ‘recitative a clear and distinct enunciation of every syllable, is indispensable. Whenever two precisely similar notes come together at the end of a period, or even in the middle of a phrase, that upon which falls the accent of the word should be converted into an appoggiatura of that which follows.’<sup>71</sup>

Vaccai’s advice is also followed by musical examples and exercises for the student to practice. Tosi dedicates an entire chapter to recitative in his *Observations on the Florid Tongue* (1743), although he does not provide detail regarding pronunciation. Once again, Lanza also provides comprehensive instructions, indicating three main rules before following with musical examples. Firstly, that the speed of enunciation should be regulated by the subject matter, and that breath should not be taken during sentences, in order to ‘preserve meaning’.<sup>72</sup> Secondly, that an accompanied recitative should never begin until the ‘symphony’ is finished. Thirdly, following similar lines of Vaccai’s advice, Lanza advises:

Where a word of two or three syllables is found in the middle of a verse or terminating a sentence, the music is always written with two or three notes of the same sound, then the accenting vowel must be sung by changing its notes to the notes above or below, so as to make it an appoggiatura for the notes following.<sup>73</sup>

Despite the advice offered by Lanza, he notes that accurate delivery of recitative cannot be achieved merely by reading these instructions, arguing: ‘The proper manner of achieving recitative cannot be conveyed by notes, but must be learned from hearing a good singer, or from the *viva voce* of a Master’.<sup>74</sup> This highlights the limited guidance that treatises could provide regarding

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<sup>70</sup> Thomas Bennett, *An Introduction to the Art of Singing* (London: Clementi, 1807), 3.

<sup>71</sup> Nicola Vaccai, *Practical Method of Italian Singing* (London: 1832), 30.

<sup>72</sup> Lanza, *Elements of Singing* [...], 138-139.

<sup>73</sup> Vaccai, 30

<sup>74</sup> Lanza, *Elements of Singing* [...], 138-139.

language and pronunciation, and the reliance students thus had on Italian singing masters, and also on their experiences of listening to professional Italian singers, to gain understanding of the Italian language in music.

Given that vocal treatises were likely mainly used by professional singers and singing masters rather than amateur vocalists themselves, it cannot be assumed that domestic performers consumed the advice given regarding the Italian language and its pronunciation. Nonetheless, treatises give an indication of the guidance provided by singing teachers during lessons, and the significance placed on language guidance within general vocal tuition. The correct pronunciation of Italian vowels and consonants is a crucial aspect of performing Italian vocal music, and this is reflected in treatises. This guidance would not necessarily prevent inaccuracies during performances; to achieve greater accuracy performing in the Italian language, domestic vocalists needed further guidance from Italian masters. Learning Italian vocal music under the supervision of a native speaker was the best possible way to ensure correct development of pronunciation, and also to aid performers with understanding the meaning of the text they were performing. However, the focus on Italian language guidance within vocal treatises of the era challenges some eighteenth-century criticisms of Italian opera. British denigrations of the *bel canto* tradition and its supposed disfiguration of melodic lines and musical texts suggest that those engaging with Italian vocal music would have placed little significance on text, language, or pronunciation; but many Italian vocal treatises of the era prove this assumption wrong.

### 3.2.3 Evidence in Domestic Collections

There is evidence of language instruction from singing masters across surviving domestic collections, in particular the collections owned by the Buccleuch family and Thomas Gladstone. Throughout these collections there are annotations made to printed scores, making corrections, alterations, and additions to the Italian text. Due to the meticulousness of many of these annotations, it is almost certain that they were made by a native Italian speaker, or at least by someone who could speak the language fluently. Of course, the Buccleuch family are known to have worked with the Corri family, so it is possible that Natale or Domenico Corri were responsible for the annotations in the Buccleuch volumes. Annotations are made in both ink and pencil throughout the Buccleuch and Gladstone collections. There is no distinction between the handwriting used for annotations in pencil or ink, so it is likely the same person made them, but the use of ink demonstrates confidence in the annotator's knowledge of the music and the language.

The majority of language annotations are corrections of mistakes made by the printer, usually spelling or grammatical errors. Some of these corrections are minor, such as changing the direction of the accent, whilst others change entire words or sentences. A copy of Paisiello's 'Tu sai che amante io sono' (*Nitteti*) in the MMC features many mistakes of this kind, which have been corrected throughout. For example, there is a spelling correction made in pencil to the word 'sia'

(meaning ‘both’), which was misprinted as ‘sai’ (meaning ‘you know’), as shown in Figure 3.31. This mistake is repeated and corrected throughout the score; for example, corrections are also made to the same text featured on the bottom line of the same page (see Figure 3.32). However, some mistakes in the printed text were missed; for example, the ‘che’ in the top line instead of the correct ‘chi’ that appears below. Moreover, this particular item features annotations that erroneously alter the text: ‘non può negar pietà’ is correct, but the annotator has changed the ‘può’ to ‘puòi’ on each occasion.<sup>75</sup> The reasoning for this latter annotation is unclear, but it suggests that the annotations weren’t made by a fluent Italian speaker; instead, they may have been made by Ladies Elizabeth or Caroline themselves.



Figure 3.31. Language corrections in the MMC, Vol. 333, 185. In *A Periodical Italian Song*. No. 19 [‘Tu sai che amante io sono’] (London: Holborn), 3. © *The Buccleuch Collections*



Figure 3.32. Language corrections in the MMC, Vol. 333, 185. In *A Periodical Italian Song*. No. 19 [‘Tu sai che amante io sono’] (London: Holborn), 3. © *The Buccleuch Collections*

Similar corrections can be found in abundance across the Buccleuch collection. For example, in ‘Non lagrimar ben mio’ from Tarchi’s *Virginia* (1786), there is a correction of the spelling of the word ‘alme’ (misprinted as ‘alma’), as shown in Figure 3.33 below. Likewise, in ‘Dove ridotta sono’ from Paisiello’s *Gli schiavi per amore* the phrase ‘da un tiranno’ (‘from a tyrant’) has been

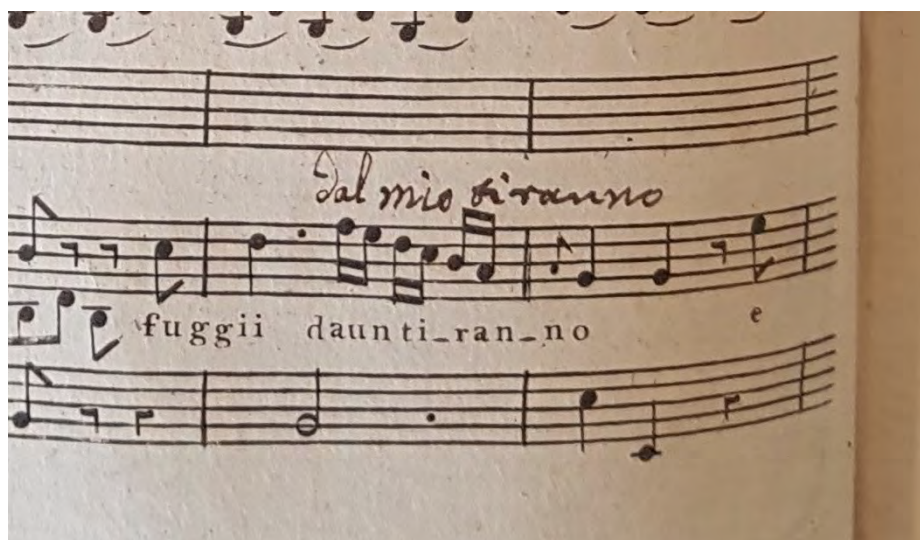
<sup>75</sup> The original text is detailed here:

<http://www.progettometastasio.it/public/synopsis/concordanzaarie/titolo/NITTETI>

corrected to 'dal mio tiranno' ('from my tyrant') as shown in Figure 3.34 below, and in 'Se'il ciel mi divide' from Piccini's *Didone abbandonata*, the word 'vi' has been corrected to 'vivo', which corrects the meaning to 'I live' (see Figure 3.35 below).



**Figure 3.33.** Annotated corrections in the MMC, Vol. 321, 25. In *Non lagrimar ben mio*, Sung by Madam Mara & Sigr Rubinelli in the Opera of Virginia, Composed by Sgr Tarchi (London: Longman & Broderip, 1786), 8. © The Buccleuch Collections



**Figure 3.34.** Annotated language corrections in the MMC, Vol 321, 135. In *Dove ridotta sono*, Sung by Sigr Storace in the Opera of Gli schiavi per amore, Composed by Sigr Paisiello (London: Longman & Broderip), 4. © The Buccleuch Collections



Figure 3.35. Language correction in the MMC, Vol. 321, 60. In *Madam Mara's Favourite Song in Didone abbandonata*, Composed by Sigr Piccini (London: Longman & Broderip), 3.

© The Buccleuch Collections

Comparable textual corrections are also found across the Gladstone music collection. For example, in the duet 'Un segreto d'importanza' from Rossini's *La Cenerentola*, an annotation has been made in ink correcting the text 'non partirà' to 'lei partirà' (which corrects the meaning from 'it will not start' to 'she will leave'), as shown in Figure 3.36 below.<sup>76</sup> However; they are less frequent than the annotations in the Buccleuch collection. There are three possible reasons behind this: the printed music purchased by the Gladstones contained fewer mistakes, and thus did not need correcting; or, an Italian master was not always present to make corrections; or, a master was present but missed the mistakes, and they remained uncorrected in the score. Unless amateur vocalists were also fluent in the Italian language, it is highly unlikely that they would have noticed all mistakes in a printed score without the aid of an Italian language or singing master; this highlights the crucial role played by Italian masters in their dissemination and shaping of Italian culture in British homes.

<sup>76</sup> This correction matches the text in the original libretto for Rossini's *La Cenerentola* (1817).





**Figure 3.36. Annotated language corrections in the Gladstone collection, Vol. 4, 88. In *Un segreto d'importanza, Duetto, in the Opera of La Cenerentola, Composed by Signor G. Rossini* (London: Birchall & Co.), 10. © Hartley Library, University of Southampton**

Some mistakes made by printers were so severe they changed the meaning of the text entirely. For example, Vol. 321 from the MMC features the aria ‘Pupille vezzose del caro mio bene’ from Tarchi’s *Virginia* (1786). However, the word ‘vezzose’ is misspelt as ‘venose’ throughout, both in the title and in the text of the aria (see Figure 3.37 and 3.38 for examples). This changes the meaning from ‘beautiful eyes of my dear’ to ‘venous eyes of my dear’. The annotated correction of the title suggests the annotator was extremely frustrated by this mistake; it creates an opposite meaning to the original text and makes no sense within the context of the rest of the aria. Due to the meticulousness of this correction, it was likely made by a native Italian speaker, and it is unlikely an English performer would have realised the mistake unless guided by an Italian singing master, or fluent in the language. Performing the aria with this mistake would have had a considerable effect in the eyes (and ears) of a native Italian speaker; likely, it would have roused both amusement and frustration.

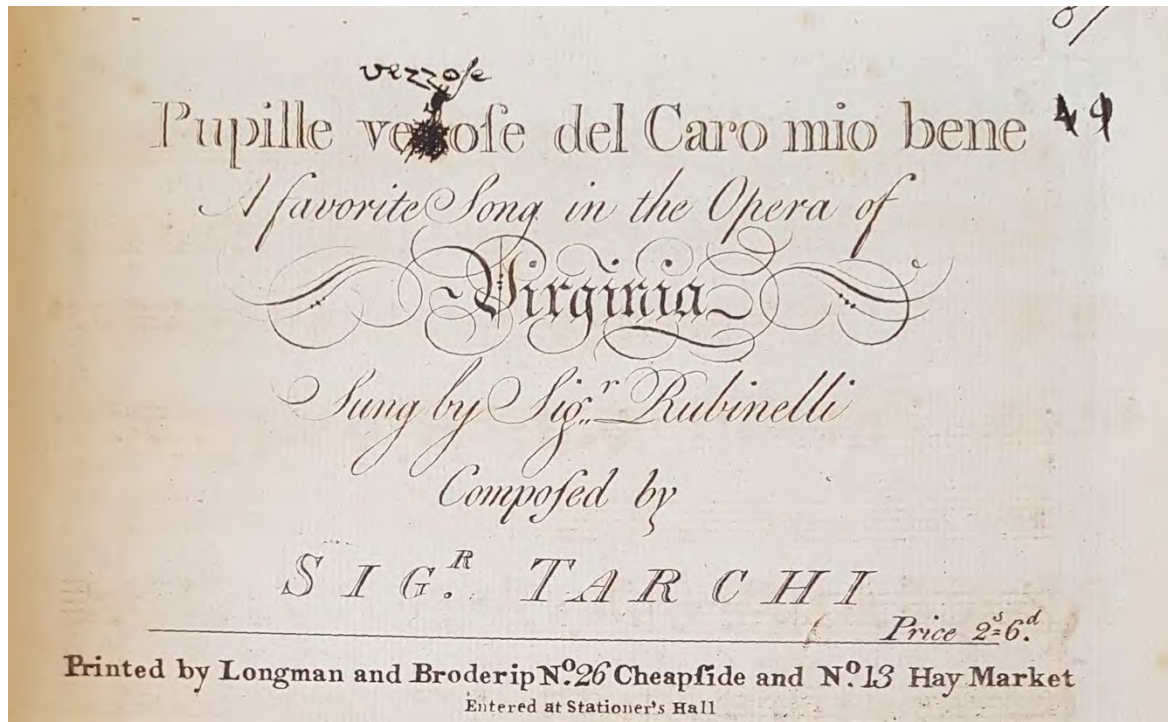


Figure 3.37. Language correction in the MMC, Vol. 321, 87. Title page to *Pupille venose* [sic] *del Caro mio bene*, *A Favorite Song in the Opera of Virginia*, Sung by Sigr Rubinelli, Composed by Sigr Tarchi (London: Longman & Broderip, 1786). © The Buccleuch Collections

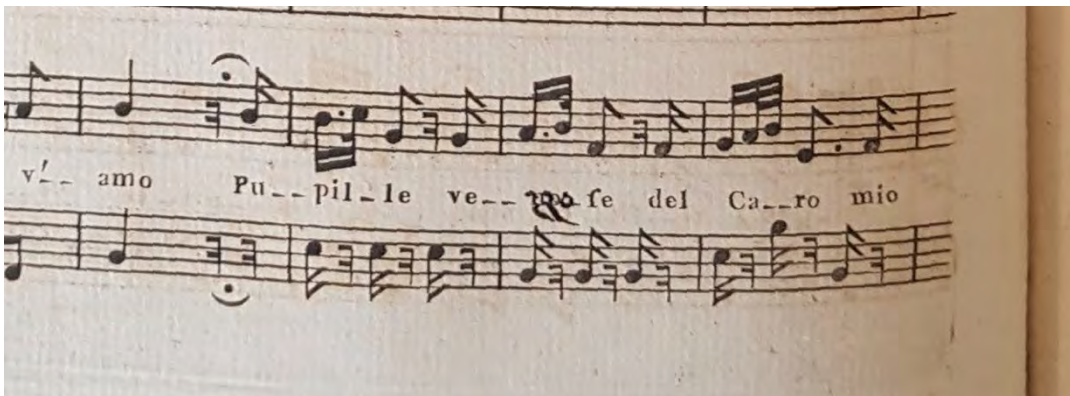
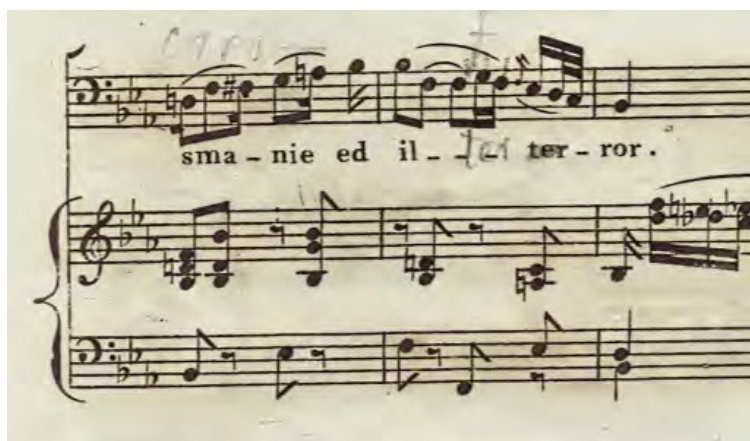


Figure 3.38. Language correction in the MMC, Vol. 321, 90. In *Pupille venose* [sic] *del Caro mio bene*, *A Favorite Song in the Opera of Virginia*, Sung by Sigr Rubinelli, Composed by Sigr Tarchi (London: Longman & Broderip, 1786), 4. © The Buccleuch Collections

Some other textual alterations found across domestic collections change the placement of words rather than the words themselves. These alterations are usually also correcting mistakes made by the printer, but are sometimes adjusting the word placement to increase the fluidity of the vocal line, to reflect correct syllable stresses, and/or to place emphasis on the most significant words with appropriate ornamentation and embellishment. For example, in Thomas Gladstone's copy of



Mozart's 'Mentre ti lascio, o figlia' (Vol. 6, 35-45), the first syllable of the word 'terror' has been adjusted to half a beat earlier, allowing the embellished vocal line to decorate this word rather than its preposition (see third stave of Figure 3.39 below). The critical edition of 'Mentre ti lascio, o figlia' shows the printed placement here is correct, as shown in Figure 3.40.<sup>77</sup>



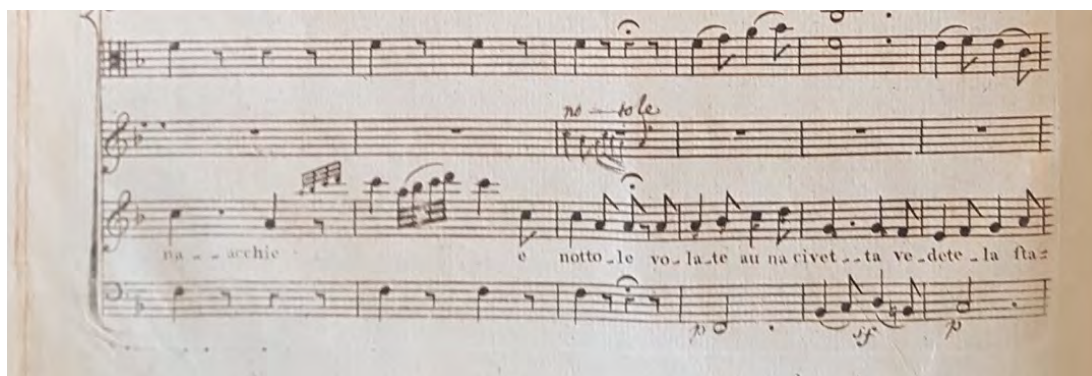
**Figure 3.39. Text alterations in the Gladstone collection, Vol. 6, 37. In *Mentre ti lascio, o figlia*. Aria. Composed by Mozart (London: Birchall, c.1820), 3. Rare Books quarto M 341 GLA. © Hartley Library, University of Southampton**



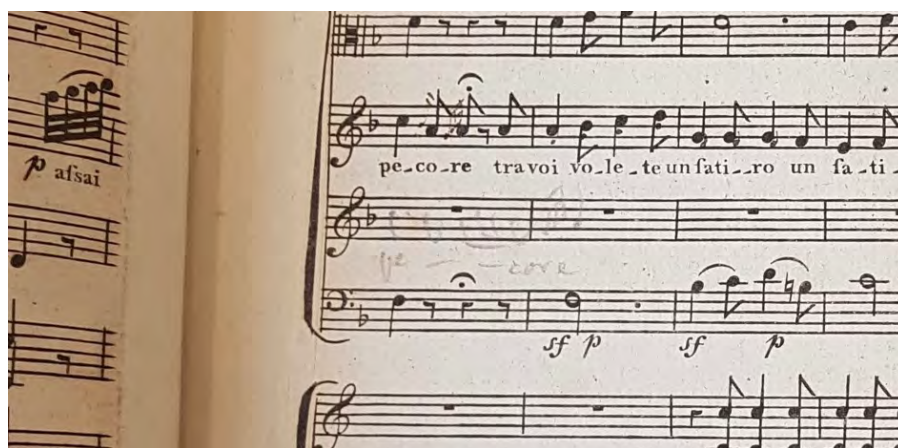
**Figure 3.40. Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756-1791), 'Mentre ti lascio'. Extract from the critical edition, NMA II / 7 / 4, KV 513, 23. © Creative Commons, accessed via the Digital Interactive Mozart Edition**

<sup>77</sup> The critical edition of 'Mentre ti lascio, o figlia' shows the printed placement here is correct. Accessed via the Digital Interactive Mozart Edition, published by the Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, Salzburg (<https://dme.mozarteum.at/movi/en>, [24 January 2021]).

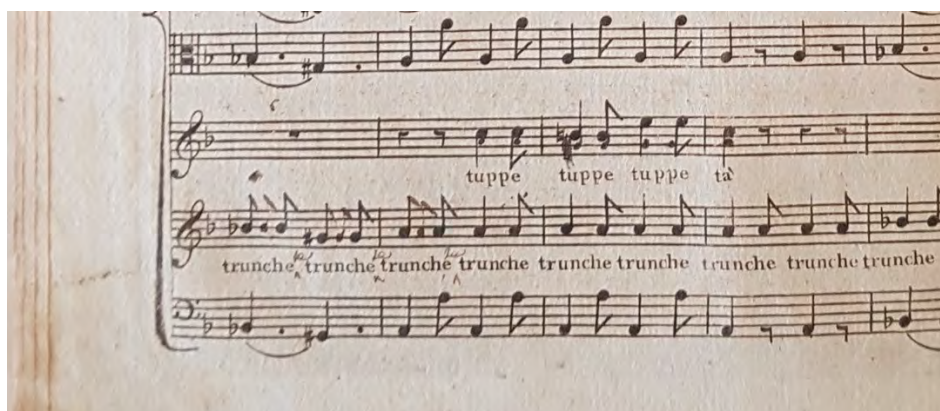
In some instances, annotations were made to extend or adapt the text of the item. This is most evident in the duet ‘Piche cornacchie e nattole’ from Paisiello’s *Gli schiavi per amore*, found in Vol. 321 (‘Songs and Rondos’) of the MMC, as shown in Figures 3.40-3.43 below. This item features additional annotated words in the vocal lines to imitate its partnered voice; for example, in Figures 3.41 and 3.42, the words ‘nattole’ and ‘pecore’ have been added. These are animal names, and thus the emphasis is placed on these words for additional humour. Similarly, in Figure 3.43, the annotator has added ‘le’ (‘the’) in front of the word ‘trunche’ which is an animal noise; this adds further emphasis to the word, which is consistently repeated throughout the duet, adding further humour to the performance. This alteration may have been made solely for comedic effect, but it may also have been made because ‘trunche’ is a difficult word to sing over two notes. Figure 3.44 features a similar annotation and also some corrections to the text. This duet is one of the most heavily annotated items across the Buccleuch collection; alongside these additions, there are also many linguistic and musical corrections, Corri’s breath markings, and also stylistic directions, such as the addition of staccato markings on the opening words ‘Piche cornacchie’. These annotations demonstrate profound engagement with both music and language, and they also indicate interaction with a singing master. Moreover, they reflect processes of British adaptation and domestication of Italian operatic culture, as previously seen through Thomas Gladstone’s significant alterations of his vocal scores.



**Figure 3.41. Annotations in the MMC, Vol. 321, 4. In *Piche cornacchie e nattole*, Sung by Sgra Storace and Sigr Morelli, in the Opera of *Gli schiavi per amore*, Composed by Sigr Paisiello (London: Longman and Broderip, 1787), 4. © The Buccleuch Collections**



**Figure 3.42.** Annotations in the MMC, Vol. 321, 7. In *Piche cornacchie e nottole*, Sung by Sigr Storace and Sigr Morelli, in the Opera of *Gli schiavi per amore*, Composed by Sigr Paisiello (London: Longman and Broderip, 1787), 7. © The Buccleuch Collections



**Figure 3.43.** Annotations in the MMC, Vol. 321, 8. In *Piche cornacchie e nottole*, Sung by Sigr Storace and Sigr Morelli, in the Opera of *Gli schiavi per amore*, Composed by Sigr Paisiello (London: Longman and Broderip, 1787), 8. © The Buccleuch Collections



**Figure 3.44. Annotations in the MMC, Vol. 321, 10. In *Piche cornacchie e nottole*, Sung by Sigr Storace and Sigr Morelli, in the Opera of *Gli schiavi per amore*, Composed by Sigr Paisiello (London: Longman and Broderip, 1787), 10. © The Buccleuch Collections**

What can we learn from studying the annotation of Italian operatic texts in domestic collections? The extent to which music printers frequently made mistakes when printing Italian texts demonstrates the fragility of cultural transfer in Georgian Britain; the potential for mis-readings and changes was significant, and in some cases the semantic content was removed altogether. This highlights the significance and power of Italian singing masters as agents of cultural transfer; they safeguarded the reception of Italian vocal music, and played a significant role in ensuring their students were not making linguistic errors. Unless an amateur performer was fluent in Italian, they were reliant upon their singing master to ensure they were singing Italian texts correctly, and to check that the texts themselves were devoid of inaccuracies. Even when errors made by publishing houses were not at play, there could be considerable differences in aspects such as rhythm, inflection, and emphasis, between uninformed performance based solely on reading musical texts, or informed performances that benefited from repeated hearings of the music at the opera and/or the advice of an Italian native speaker or singing master.

### 3.2.4 Conclusions

Evidence in both pedagogical literature and surviving domestic music collections shows that language was a significant aspect of both elite schooling and domestic performance culture. Amateur performers in elite circles had access to both general Italian language tuition and language guidance from Italian masters during music lessons; this considerably aided their ability to perform Italian vocal music with accuracy. This does not necessarily mean that amateur performers understood the language they were performing in, and there is little evidence to suggest they were making language annotations themselves. However, it shows that they were at least partially engaging with language during performance, and working with Italian masters to improve their approach to language during performance.

This evidence also shows there was a clear connection between language training and wealth/social class. Private language tuition from Italian language masters was extremely expensive, and thus only those in higher social spheres could afford it. Language training was an essential aspect of school curriculum, but this education was also reserved for those in elite circles. Those who did not have access to these advantages were therefore less likely to be engaging with the Italian language during amateur performance; they would not have understood the words they were singing, and they would have lacked knowledge of rules for pronunciation and expression. Lack of expert advice surrounding language training therefore would have meant that performances of Italian opera could be less satisfactory in lower social circles. This once again reinforces the connection between Italian opera and elite identity. Not only did upper-class performers develop a taste for Italian opera through social engagements such as attending the opera, they were also most likely to have sufficient means to gain the ability to produce accurate performances themselves.

Finally, the language annotations found across the three principal collections, alongside the musical and ornamental annotations discussed earlier in this chapter, provide insights for scholarly understanding of broader British consumption of Italian operatic culture. Firstly, the varying frequencies and types of annotations found in each collection can tell us how families interacted with Italian opera, language, and culture in different ways. Whilst there is a heavier focus on ornamentation in the Tatton Park collection, corresponding with the family's efforts to demonstrate accomplishment, the attention paid to musical texts in the MMC reflects the Buccleuch family's broader engagement with the Italian language. Continental travel was common for members of the Buccleuch family, and they also frequently enjoyed the company of Italian speakers in Britain, including in their own homes. It is highly likely that these personal interactions with Italian culture influenced Ladies Elizabeth and Caroline's understanding, interpretation, and delivery of Italian texts during vocal performance. Moreover, the annotations found across domestic collections demonstrate the significance of external influences – or, as they can be considered, agents of cultural transfer – in shaping the transmission and consumption of Italian opera in Britain. Singing masters, language masters, and music publishers each had a profound effect on the performance of Italian vocal music in the home, and of British understanding of the Italian language and vocal tradition more broadly. However, this influence was not restricted to the domestic sphere; it contributed to broader knowledge and understanding of Italian opera, which in turn shaped the reception of Italian culture across British spheres.



## Conclusion

Each chapter in this thesis has examined different processes of British engagement with Italian opera. Individually, they provide new insights for scholarly understanding of British travel, consumption, collection, musical education, language learning, and domestic performance culture c.1800. But when these findings are considered alongside each other, they contribute to broader understanding of British engagement with Italian culture and British perceptions of 'Italy', conjoined with developing notions of elite, national, and gendered identities. Returning to Figure 0.1, in which Thomas Rowlandson depicts opera goers at the King's Theatre, we can now begin to answer the following questions: what do we know about these spectators, and how they engaged with and understood what they saw on the stage? And how did their engagement with Italian opera in domestic spheres reflect their engagement with the genre in public, and vice versa?

Firstly, evidence put forth in this thesis tells us that many opera-goers were in fact extremely knowledgeable about Italian opera as a genre. They attended the King's Theatre not just as spectators, but as performers themselves, and thus had the potential not only to 'listen' to performances, as William Weber suggests, but also to understand them, from both a viewer's and a performer's perspective.<sup>1</sup> Many not only knew the repertoire well from the development of their own personal operatic collections, but they also understood the technique required to perform it, through their education in the Italian vocal tradition. In addition to an embodied understanding of musical style developed through their own performance training, many also had a strong understanding of the Italian language, which further enhanced their ability to understand and engage with professional performances. This linguistic understanding came from general language training, which was an important part of elite education, but also from engaging with Italian operatic texts during vocal tuition and domestic performance, in particular with the aid of an Italian speaker. With this in mind, many of the assumptions surrounding opera spectatorship in Britain, explored in depth by scholars such as Jennifer Hall-Witt, can be further challenged. Much of the criticism emitted from English theatrical spheres regarding the supposed inaccessibility of Italian opera as a genre and the vanity of its consumers is contradicted by the evidence put forth in this thesis. Only by understanding the depth and extent of operatic activity in domestic spheres can scholars truly understand the positioning of operatic audiences, and the extent of their engagement with the genre.

The same arguments can be applied to notions of collection and material consumption in elite Georgian spheres, which received similar criticism. The findings discussed in Chapter 3 shed new light on the formation of domestic collections as discussed in Chapters 1 and 2; they indicate

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<sup>1</sup> William Weber, 'Did People Listen in the 18th Century?', *Early Music* 25, no. 4 (1997): 678-91.

that people were making informed choices about the repertoire they purchased, and that they engaged closely and intellectually with many of the scores in their collections. Not only did they interact with the music itself, but also with the text, contributing to broader educational pursuits and engagement with foreign culture. This, combined with arguments made by scholars such as Brooks regarding the value of musical materials within broader house collections, shows that music should feature more prominently in scholarly discussions of intellectual and enlightened consumption in Georgian Britain. Likewise, evidence in this thesis supports recent scholarly positioning of domestic music-making as an intellectual pursuit, rather than as a tool for young women to demonstrate suitability for marriage. The collection and performance of Italian operatic music in the home was tied up with broader educational development, contributing to both musical and linguistic training as well as broader cultural understanding and engagement. The principal case studies of this thesis show that Elizabeth Sykes and Ladies Elizabeth and Caroline Montagu were not only skilled vocalists, but also highly knowledgeable about Italian opera as a genre. Moreover, evidence from Thomas Gladstone's music books shows that men, like women, were accomplished vocalists and enjoyed similar musical training; this challenges many of the assumptions surrounding the female motivations for musical education and amateur performance. Both men and women learnt, understood, and performed Italian opera in the home, engaging with the Italian style and language in similar ways. Although the case studies explored in this thesis do conform with the notion that music-making was a female-dominated activity, the evidence found in the Gladstone collection contradicts many of the stereotypes concerning gender, education, and domestic performance.

Moreover, understanding the development of domestic music collections for the home sheds new light on the role of elite personnel as connoisseurs of musical taste. The formation and display of Italian operatic collections in elite spheres contributed to domestic representations of genteel refinement, showcasing cultured taste and broader engagement with the foreign arts. Performances from these scores in the home, particularly to invited guests at private concerts, showcased their knowledge of this repertoire, and contributed to its circulation and recognition within the domestic sphere. In some ways, this is comparable to the role amateurs played in dictating concert programming, such as for the Concerts of Ancient Music, as previously explored by Simon McVeigh and William Weber. The Duchess of Buccleuch's support of and involvement with concert life in Edinburgh certainly has parallels with the development of the MMC. However, the promotion of Italianate collections contradicted the motivations of the organisers of the Concerts of Ancient Music in particular. Whilst some elite personnel were promoting a 'British' musical tradition, and sometimes even deliberately excluding Italian music from concert programming to support this view, others were proudly displaying their Italian opera scores to visitors to their homes, and staging private Italian opera performances. Many were caught up in both ventures, such as the Egertons, who frequently subscribed to the Concerts of Ancient Music but also developed extensive Italianate collections for their homes. This speaks to the tensions surrounding music and



## Conclusion

national identity in Britain at this time, with Italian opera at the heart of this struggle. The presence and influence of the genre in Britain c.1800 conflicted with developing notions of patriotism and British national identity. But British aristocrats in particular also used their Italianate collections to promote their power and to contribute to a growing artistic heritage in elite domestic spheres.

This thesis also enables scholars to re-examine the question: how exclusive was the relationship between Italian opera, wealth, and elite social spheres? Certainly, wealth provided access to Italian culture, in multiple ways. Only those who could afford to travel enjoyed the benefits of the Grand Tour, witnessing opera performances on the Continent and engaging with operatic personnel who worked outside of Britain. Likewise, ticket prices for performances at the King's Theatre rose across the era in question, and audience members from broader social spheres remained in the minority until the mid-nineteenth century. In the domestic sphere, hiring an Italian singing master and/or language master also came with a substantial price tag. But perhaps more significant than wealth was access to the social spheres that engaged with Italian operatic culture. Although the two commonly went hand-in-hand, they were not mutually exclusive. The case of Sally Shilton was unusual, but it serves as an example of how those from poorer backgrounds could be exposed to Italian operatic culture. Moreover, the expansion of the elite social sphere across this era indicates that the historic connection between opera and the nobility was loosening.

Furthermore, within elite social spheres, wealth and status did not necessarily correlate with increased interaction with Italian opera. But there is evidence to suggest that it had the potential to influence *how* people engaged with the genre, and with Italian culture more broadly. A comparison of the activities of the Buccleuch family with those of the Sykes/Egerton families illustrates how people at differing levels of the elite social spectrum interacted with Italian operatic culture. Whilst members of each family travelled on the Continent in the traditional Grand Tour format, it was a more prominent activity within the Buccleuch family, and their surviving domestic collection features operatic souvenirs from their time abroad. Both families also attended the King's Theatre, but the Buccleuch family enjoyed the most prestigious seats, and they were also able to exert significant financial support for the opera house to ensure its long-term stability. And whilst the Duchess of Buccleuch engaged with the genre in a public manner, supporting concert life in Edinburgh financially as well as through her social status, there is evidence to suggest that Elizabeth Sykes engaged with the Italian vocal tradition in greater depth than Ladies Elizabeth and Caroline Montagu as an amateur vocalist, learning to perform some of the most difficult Italian repertoire of the day. Further comparisons between the MMC and the music collections at Castle Howard and Harewood House – which contain minimal Italian operatic influences despite the families' access to Italian operatic culture – tell us that the Buccleuch family's high level of engagement with Italian repertoire and Italian operatic culture more broadly was not reflective of all British aristocratic households; personal taste and familial tradition played an important role in choices surrounding patronage and domestic performance of music.

Moreover, evidence explored in Chapters 2 and 3 shows that Italian operatic culture was infiltrating broader British theatrical and musical spheres, resulting in the widespread consumption of the genre across social spheres. The translation, adaptation, and reinterpretation of Italian operatic repertoire on the professional stage contributed to the popularisation of operatic melodies, and established a new market for this repertoire in the music publishing industry. Those who never set foot in the King's Theatre, such as Jane and Cassandra Austen, were collecting and performing music in the home that was a product of the King's Theatre's operatic output. The same operatic repertoire classified as an imported luxury good was also rebranded and sold as an 'English' musical product; this meant that many were potentially consuming Italian operatic culture without realising or intending to. Furthermore, the increasing dominance of the Italian style of singing across the eighteenth century and the training of both professional and amateur British singers in the *bel canto* tradition meant that Italian operatic culture was infiltrating the British music scene in ways beyond the consumption of Italian operatic repertoire, influencing the broader development of British vocal education and performance.

This thesis also provides multiple new insights for scholarly understanding of cultural transfer, exchange, and translation in Europe c.1800, as well as for perceptions of cultural formation and development in Georgian Britain. Firstly, it showcases the vitality of cultural agents, highlighting the multiple ways in which they contributed to the spread and consumption of Italian opera. Many of these agents were overt, but others were less visible to those they influenced. Amongst the most conspicuous of these agents were the Italian masters who worked and lived in Britain, forging careers and bringing their own interpretations of operatic culture – and Italian culture – to both professional and domestic spheres. We have seen that individual masters not only had the potential to shape the vocal education of amateur singers through their own personal understanding, experience, and teaching of the Italian vocal tradition, but they could also influence choice of repertoire and understanding of the Italian language. In addition, their contribution to the development of a pedagogical vocal canon and their role in popularising the Italian style of singing meant their influence spread far beyond their private clientele; many English singing masters adopted similar teaching methods and recommended the same operatic repertoire, contributing to the spread of that repertoire on the market and the increased demand for Italian vocal tuition. Although the study of Italian masters as cultural agents conforms with Jin-Ah Kim's observation that scholarly discussion of agency tends to focus on the intelligentsia and upper-class spheres, this thesis has also shown that the impact of Italian masters spread far beyond their elite clientele.<sup>2</sup> They influenced the vocal practices and repertoire selection of those they had never met, whilst also contributing to the broader presence of Italian culture in Britain.

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<sup>2</sup> Jin-Ah Kim, 'Cultural Transfer as a Branch of Research for Music Sociology and Music Anthropology', *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 46, no. 1 (2015): 43-53.

Many institutions discussed throughout this thesis were also important and highly visible agents, in particular the King's Theatre and also concert establishments across Britain. The significance of these institutions in contributing to the spread and formation of Italian opera in the public sphere has already been explored in great depth in previous scholarly literature, but this thesis sheds new light on their influence in domestic spheres. Much like individual Italian masters, these institutions contributed to broader British perceptions of Italian opera, shaping consumption of repertoire, vocal style, language, and individual opera stars. Other theatrical institutions were less conspicuous, and sometimes even inadvertent in their agency; the English-spoken theatres of Drury Lane and Covent Garden played a crucial role in the dissemination of Italian operatic music, albeit presented in new forms, and often disguised as 'English' music. Music publishers, too, significantly contributed to the interpretation and adaptation of Italian operatic culture in Britain. Although their choice of repertoire largely responded to repertoire performed at the King's Theatre and in concerts, they were responsible for arranging this repertoire to increase suitability for domestic performance, acting as a gateway between the stage and the home as a performing venue. Each of these institutions, like Italian masters, influenced the spread of Italian opera far beyond elite social spheres, contributing to broader socio-cultural formation in Britain. The study of these institutions as agents, alongside the study of Italian masters, also supports Thomas Adam's argument that cultural agents 'selected, redefined, modified, transferred, and integrated ideas and objects into the receiving society'.<sup>3</sup> Each agent discussed here was conscious of British expectations, requirements, and preferences regarding Italian operatic culture, and this contributed to decision making regarding their operatic outputs. Moreover, in the case of music publishers, Adam's argument that 'limited foreign language skills and lack of cultural knowledge led to misinterpretations and misappropriations' is also true;<sup>4</sup> mistakes in printed Italian texts were extremely common, and these mistakes were consumed in domestic spheres, contributing to British perception and understanding of the Italian language, and of Italian opera too.

Individual British patrons of Italian opera must, also, be classified as agents, in that they were responsible for bringing Italian musicians, composers, and pedagogues to Britain and they continued to support their careers once they arrived. This enabled the continued development of an Italian operatic hub in Britain, most prominently in London, Edinburgh, and Bath. Likewise, attending and funding the King's Theatre and/or concerts featuring operatic repertoire was also an act of agency, ensuring the stability of Italian opera on the professional stage. Some opera patrons were particularly visible; for example, the Duchess of Buccleuch's support of the King's Theatre and her significant role and influence in Edinburgh concert life were very much part of her public identity. But others who supported operatic culture in similar ways – although on a smaller scale – were less visible. For example, Sir Roger Newdigate's frequent attendance at the King's Theatre

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<sup>3</sup> Thomas Adam, *Approaches to the Study of Intercultural Transfer* (Anthem Press, 2019), 5.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

and his support of Motta as a singing master was not as overt as the actions of the Duchess of Buccleuch, but he still made important contributions to the development and stability of Italian opera in Britain.

All of the agents discussed in this thesis can be considered individually, but also alongside each other as a web of agents. For example, each Italian pedagogue, composer, musician, or singer brought their own personal experience and interpretation of Italian operatic culture to Britain, but they also formed operational networks and belonged to social groups that contributed to the consumption of 'Italy' as a singular entity. Institutional agents such as the King's Theatre were, themselves, a network of individual agents, and the individual components of these institutional networks both contributed to and were shaped by the institutions' broader purpose and values. And whilst the majority of wealthy opera patrons maintained social barriers between themselves and those they supported, they too were very much part of a broader network that were responsible for the movement and adaptation of Italian operatic culture in Britain, as a diverse but also collective body.

By reflecting on these networks, the intricate and multifaceted web of European cultural transfer c.1800 becomes more visible. Routes of cultural transfer and exchange – or, as they can also be considered, processes of cultural adaptation and negotiation – can be mapped out alongside the activities of cultural agents. The overwhelming majority of routes were influenced by the agency of institutions. For example, each of the Italian singers and musicians discussed in this thesis who influenced British domestic spheres were, at some point in their careers, stars or employees of the King's Theatre. The opera establishment was thus not only often responsible for bringing these artists across seas, but also for bringing them into the homes of the theatre's supporters, for private concerts, tuition, and social occasions.

Edinburgh was a particularly important geographical and cultural influence for routes of British-Italian cultural exchange, with the Edinburgh Musical Society acting as an extremely important cultural agent. Many Italian musicians were invited to the city after meeting Britons on the Continent, or moved there of their own accord, before potentially moving south to London. Sometimes, such as in the case of the Corri family, they did not move to London for many years after arriving in Edinburgh, and thus their Scottish experiences inevitably shaped their knowledge and interpretation of Italian operatic culture prior to their arrival in England. After or during their stays in Britain, many Italian musicians continued to travel across the Continent, taking with them their British experiences and their participation in the British adaptation of Italian operatic culture.

Routes that bypassed institutional influences were largely established through the experiences of Britons on the Grand Tour; for example, Lady Elizabeth Montagu's singing lessons with Giuseppe Aprile in Naples, and the Buccleuch family's collection of the Aprile manuscript, which was brought from Naples back to their domestic sphere without influence from British

## Conclusion

publishing houses or theatrical institutions. However, this example still cannot be considered as linear cultural movement; Aprile's teachings, and his acquiring of the manuscript on behalf of the family, were shaped by a tradition of British desire to experience operatic culture on the Continent. What the Buccleuch family – and Britons more broadly – wanted to see, learn, perform, and collect on the Continent, had the potential to influence the outputs of those who engaged with them whilst abroad, thus marking a multifaceted process of cultural exchange that involved interpretation and negotiation, rather than a transfer between giving and receiving cultures.

The concepts of cultural *métissage* and Bhabha's 'third space' are also applicable to many of the findings in this thesis. Each chapter has discussed different processes of engagement between British and Italian culture, in which the partakers have struggled – knowingly or otherwise – to define what is 'British' and what is 'Italian'. In Chapter 1: engagement with Italian opera on the professional British stage, alongside deep-rooted xenophobia and in opposition to 'English' theatre, as well as consumption of Italian goods in the home as part of a broader attempt to establish a national artistic heritage in elite domestic spheres. In Chapter 2: the consumption of Italian operatic repertoire, of which large portions were shaped by British institutions, and the adaptation, reinterpretation, and repackaging of some of this repertoire as an original 'English' product. And finally, in Chapter 3: an exploration of British interpretations of Italian opera within amateur performance, including understanding of the Italian vocal tradition and the Italian language. Examining each of these activities shows that British opera consumers were participating in something that was neither 'English' nor 'Italian'. The consumed Italian goods – physical objects, repertoire, and musical and/or linguistic knowledge – were products of multiple processes of adaptation, interpretation, and cultural negotiation. However, they should not necessarily be considered as a 'mixture' of Italian and British cultures. The hybridity of Italian-British cultural exchange c.1800 reflects an abstract space which, as Homi Bhabha describes, did not develop from the combination of two original cultures, but rather enabled new positions to emerge, ensuring that the same cultural symbols could be constantly 'appropriated, translated, rehistoricized and read anew'.<sup>5</sup>

Whilst this hybridity can be understood today in line with postcolonial theories, modern scholarly perceptions do not necessarily reflect how people considered themselves and their activities during the Georgian era. Arguments made by Maria Tymoczko regarding the supposed 'inbetween' status of agents are particularly relevant here:<sup>6</sup> regardless of the development of 'spaces' that belong to neither one culture or another, those that participate in cultural transfer, exchange, and translation are always individually 'positioned'. In many ways, the development of

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<sup>5</sup> Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London & New York: Routledge, 1994), 55.

<sup>6</sup> Maria Tymoczko, 'Ideology and the Position of the Translator: In What Sense is a Translator "In Between"?' in *Apophros of Ideology: Translation Studies on Ideology – Ideologies in Translation Studies*, ed. Maria Calzada-Pérez (London & New York: Routledge, 2014), 181-202.

political and cultural identities and agendas c.1800 contradicts hybridity theories understood by scholars today. Cultural historians tend to focus on the blurring of national boundaries, but during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries those boundaries were still considered to be distinct. They shaped how people considered themselves and each other, how Britons engaged with Italian opera as an imported product, and how they perceived 'Italy' as a singular entity. For example, today, scholars might not regard the translation and adaptation of an Italian aria as a fundamentally 'British' product, but it was considered as such by many who engaged with transported musical materials at the time.

Finally, many of the findings from this thesis demonstrate that processes of cultural transfer, exchange, and translation were constantly tied with broader cultural formation and development, both in Britain and across the Continent. Cultural and political developments abroad influenced those who travelled to and from Britain, shaping their experiences and understanding of Italian opera, and also influencing the outputs of broader cultural institutions such as the King's Theatre. The musical experiences of British tourists influenced domestic spheres in ways that are invisible to us today, and this must be considered when discussing the construction of 'the home' and family life in the Georgian era. The digestion of Continental music culture impacted tourists' knowledge of opera as spectators, consumers, and performers themselves, and had the potential to influence their domestic activities for years to come. Meanwhile, attitudes surrounding the consumption of Italian operatic culture in Britain developed alongside notions of patriotism, national pride, and 'Britishness', which were influenced by social, cultural, and political developments both abroad and at home. Cultural transfer and exchange were constitutive to the development of British national identity, and opera can be used as a tool for understanding this development. The early nineteenth-century London opera adaptations discussed by Christina Fuhrmann are a far cry from the Handelian operas staged at the beginning of the eighteenth century, reflecting the infiltration of Italian operatic culture across British theatre and music scenes, and demands from broader social spheres to enjoy music – both 'British' and 'foreign' – on the professional stage. And these changes were reflected in domestic spheres, reinforcing the close relationship between the stage and the home, and the influence of the 'public' on the 'private' and vice versa. Italian operatic culture was consumed increasingly broadly across the eighteenth and early-nineteenth century, in multiple forms, and in both public and private spheres, contributing to the development of both national and domestic identities.

Whilst this study has provided an insight into the relationship between opera and British domesticity, it also brings to the forefront additional questions that remain unanswered, and areas that would benefit from further research. Focusing on the years around 1800 has enabled a concentrated exploration of domestic opera consumption when the genre was enjoying peak success at the King's Theatre. But by the mid-nineteenth century, the landscape of London theatre looked very different, largely due to the rescinding of theatre patents in 1843 and the increasing

## Conclusion

demand for faithful representations of imported opera at Covent Garden and Drury Lane. This meant that more people were consuming and enjoying Italian opera than ever before. So how was this reflected in the domestic sphere? Thomas Gladstone's early-mid nineteenth century collection indicates that changes in King's Theatre repertoire were reflected in domestic collections, but this collection is still largely rooted in eighteenth-century traditions, hence its inclusion in this study. Examinations of mid and late nineteenth-century collections would aid scholarly understanding of how the relationship between the stage and the home developed towards the modern day. In addition, studies of collections developed by personnel outside of the *beau monde* that traditionally attended the King's Theatre would be particularly beneficial for understanding the relationship between Italian opera and broader British social classes.

The musical activities of Britons whilst travelling on the Continent in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries also remain largely unexplored. The musical influences of the Grand Tour on British domestic spheres is one of the biggest reasons why opera deserves more attention in scholarly studies of British tourism. In general, opera is overlooked in much of the literature on the topic, considering it was one of the central attractions of the Continent that shaped the travel plans of many tourists. Further investigation of British opera attendance, social interaction with opera stars and musical personnel, and perceptions of foreign opera production in relation to broader considerations of 'Italy', would vastly contribute to understanding of British travel c.1800 and the widespread influences of the Grand Tour. In particular, music needs to be included in discussions of tourist collection and consumption; although the collection of musical souvenirs may not have been as prolific as the collection of artwork or sculpture, souvenirs of this kind that survive today serve as crucial artefacts for the study of musical and cultural transfer in eighteenth-century Europe.

Finally, this thesis contributes to ongoing exploration of domestic music collections surviving in Britain and abroad. Whilst considerable work has been undertaken by independent scholars and more recently by the 'Music, Home and Heritage' team, there are many further collections that require exploration. In particular, this thesis raises further questions surrounding the influence of professional theatrical and operatic spheres on the development of domestic collections. What has been explored here in relation to Italian opera can also be asked of English opera. How did the repertoire, stars, and conventions of English-spoken theatres influence domestic music collection and practice? And how did this both reflect and contribute to the development of British national identity? These questions have been touched on in this thesis through the study of translated and adapted operatic repertoire, and also in Boughton House's 2019 exhibition 'A Passion for Opera: The Duchess and the Georgian Stage'. But further research in this area is required in order to establish an overview of historic relations between the stage and the home. Whilst surviving music collections remain, for the most part, physically inaccessible to visitors of historic houses, scholarly understanding of these collections has the potential to increase and



enhance curatorial interpretation, enabling the public to engage with the sounds and musical materials of the homes they visit and admire. In particular, exploring the theatrical influences of these collections provides houses with vast opportunities for demonstrating the vibrancy of domestic music culture in Georgian Britain to modern audiences.



## Appendix A    Opera Scores in the Montagu Music Collection

### Guide to Appendix A

A series of opera scores in the MMC, catalogued by Rachel Cadell and the late Patrick Cadell. Most of these scores were published in London but others in Paris, Naples, Milan, Florence, and Leipzig. Vols. 268-281 are the ‘favourite songs’ from each opera, published by Robert Bremner. They are listed here by volume, which have been arranged alphabetically by composer and then alphabetically by opera. The original and London premiere dates have been given for each opera; where only the London date is given, it indicates that this was an original production for London. Opera titles have not been modernised.

Opera	Composer	Librettist	Premiere (Org./Ldn.)	Vol.
<i>Il pirata</i>	Vincenzo Bellini (1801-1835)	Felice Romani (1788-1865)	Milan, 1827; London, 1830	201
<i>Il barone di Dolsheim</i>	Giovanni Pacini (1796-1867)	Felice Romani (1788-1865)	Milan, 1818; London, 1822	224
<i>Niobe</i>	Giovanni Pacini (1796-1867)	Andrea Leone Tottola (d.1831)	Naples, 1826	225
<i>La serva padrona</i> <sup>1</sup>	Giovanni Paisiello (1750-1816)	Gennaro Antonio Federico (d.1744)	St Petersburg, 1781; London, 1794	226
<i>La buona figliuola</i>	Niccolò Piccinni (1728-1800)	Carlo Goldoni (1707-1793)	Rome, 1760; London, 1766	227
<i>L'assedio di Corinto</i>	Gioachino Rossini (1792-1868)	Luigi Balocchi	Parma, 1828; London, 1834	230
<i>Guglielmo Tell</i>	Gioachino Rossini (1792-1868)	Victor-Joseph Étienne de Jouy (1764-1846), trans. unknown.	Paris, 1829, London, 1830 <sup>2</sup>	234
<i>La gazza ladra</i>	Gioachino Rossini (1792-1868)	Giovanni Gherardini	Milan, 1817; London, 1821	235

<sup>1</sup> This score is in MS, and incomplete.

<sup>2</sup> The Parisian premiere was for the original French version of this opera, *Guillaume Tell*. It was first performed in London at Drury Lane in 1830 in English. The Italian version was first performed at the King's Theatre in 1839, followed by the French version at Covent Garden in 1845.

## Appendix A

<i>Mosè in Egitto</i>	Gioachino Rossini (1792-1868)	Andrea Leone Tottola (d.1831)	Naples, 1818; London, 1822	236
<i>Otello</i>	Gioachino Rossini (1792-1868)	Francesco Berio di Salsa	Naples, 1816; London, 1822	239
<i>Giulietta e Romeo</i>	Niccolò Antonio Zingarelli (1752-1837)	Giuseppe Maria Foppa (1760-1845)	Milan, 1796; London, 1824	258
<i>Nina, o sia La pazza per amore</i>	Giovanni Paisiello (1740-1816)	Giambattista Lorenzi, trans. Giuseppe Carpani	Caserta, 1789; London, 1797	265
<i>Il bacio</i>	Mattia Vento (1735-1776)	Carlo Francesco Badini	London, 1776	269
<i>Cleonice</i>	Felice Giardini (1716-1796); Baldassare Galuppi (1706-1785); Ferdinando Bertoni (1725-1813)	Pietro Metastasio (1698-1782)	London, 1763	270
<i>Le contadine bizzarre</i>	Piccinni, Niccolò (1728-1800); Johann Christian Bach (1735-1782);	Giuseppe Petrosellini (1727-1799)	Venice, 1763; London, 1769	271
<i>Il desertore</i>	Pietro Alessandro Guglielmi (1728-1804)	Carlo Francesco Badini	London, 1770	272
<i>Le due contesse</i>	Giovanni Paisiello (1740-1816)	Giuseppe Petrosellini (1727-1799)	London, 1777	273
<i>Ezio</i>	Ferdinando Bertoni; (1725-1813) <sup>3</sup>	<i>Ezio</i>	London, 1781	274
<i>Leucippo e Zenocrita</i>	Vento, Mattia (1735-1776); Giardini, Felice (1716-1796); Hasse, Johann Adolph (1699-1783)	Giovanni Gualberto Bottarelli	London, 1764	275
<i>L'Olimpiade</i>	Niccolò Piccinni (1728-1800); Giuseppe Sarti (1729-1802);	Pietro Metastasio (1698-1782)	Rome, 1761; London, 1770 <sup>4</sup>	276

<sup>3</sup> Further music for this 1781 production was provided by Giuseppe Giordani (1751-1798), André Ernest Modeste Grétry (1741-1813), Pietro Alessandro Guglielmi (1728-1804), and Venanzio Rauzzini (1746-181), but only Bertoni's music features in this score.

<sup>4</sup> The London production was a pasticcio.

	Tommaso Traetta (1727-1779)			
<i>Sofonisba</i>	Mattia Vento (1735-1776); Antonio Maria Gasparo Sacchini (1730-1786); Gian Francesco de Majo (1732-1770)	Giovanni Gualberto Bottarelli	London, 1766	277
<i>Solimano</i>	Mattia Vento (1735-1776); Gian Francesco de Majo (1732-1770) Giovanni Battista Pergolesi (1710-1736)	Giovanni Ambrogio Migliavacca (c.1718-c.1795)	London, 1765	278
<i>La sposa fedele</i>	Pietro Carlo Guglielmi (1772-1817); Mattia Vento (1735-1776); Venanzio Rauzzini (1746-1810)	Pietro Chiari (1712-1785)	London, 1775	279
<i>Il trionfo della costanza</i>	Pasquale Anfossi (1727-1797)	Carlo Francesco Badini	London, 1782	280
<i>Gl'Uccellatori</i> <sup>5</sup>	Pietro Carlo Guglielmi (1772-1817)	Carlo Goldoni (1707-1793)	London, 1770	281

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<sup>5</sup> This opera is also known as *I cacciatori*.



## Appendix B    Miscellaneous Operatic Music in the Montagu Music Collection

### Guide to Appendices B, C, and D

These Appendices include all Italian-texted operatic vocal music found in the MMC, Tatton Park, and Gladstone collections. All titles have been reproduced here as they are found in the collections. Mistakes made by a printer or copyist and spelling variations remain unedited. If the incipit of a particular item is not included or recognisable in its original title, it has been added as an alternate title. For Appendices B and C, dates provided in square brackets in the ‘Publishing Details’ column are provided by the British Library where it has been possible to determine a match with an item from the British Library collection. In Appendix D, dates provided in square brackets in the ‘Publishing Details’ column, followed by a question mark, are marked at the top of the score next to Thomas Gladstone’s signature or initials, suggesting he acquired the score during that year. The question mark has been removed if it corresponds with dating provided by the British Library. The original and London premiere dates have been given for each opera; where only the London date is given, it indicates that this was an original production for London. All items have been ordered by volume, in the order they appear in that volume. Appendix B is the result of work undertaken by: Rachel Cadell and the late Patrick Cadell, Crispin Powell, Paul Boucher, Chandler Hall, and members of the ‘Music, Home, and Heritage: Sounding the Domestic in Georgian Britain’ research team including Jeanice Brooks, Katrina, Faulds, and Wiebke Thormählen. I am grateful to each of these individuals for making their research, cataloguing, and photographs available to me, and to His Grace the Duke of Buccleuch for permitting access to these materials and the reproduction of information here. In Appendix B, Volumes 159-178 feature ownership markings belonging to Ladies Elizabeth and Caroline Montagu. The rest belong to undetermined members of the Buccleuch family, and feature the Buccleuch crest.



No.	Type	Title	Composer / Poet	Opera	Publishing Details	Volume
1	SM	<i>Twelve DUETS for two Voices with a Thorough Bass for the HARPSICHORD or BASS VIOLIN Collected out of all the late Operas Compos'd by MR. HANDEL To which is added the Celebrated TRIO in the Opera of ALCINA</i>	George Frideric Handel (1685-1759) / [See below]		I. Walsh, 577 Catharine Street in the Strand [1764]	MMC 166
		1. 'Non è Amor nè Gelosia'	1. Riccardo Broschi (1698-1756)	1. <i>Alcina</i> (London, 1835)		
		2. 'Prendi prendi da questa mano'	2. Anon.	2. <i>Ariodante</i> (London, 1835)		
		3. 'T'amo si sarai tu quella'	3. Nicola Francesco Haym (1678-1729)	3. <i>Tolomeo, re d'Egitto</i> (London, 1828)		
		4. 'Bell'Iodo amato... deh Taci crudel'	4. Pietro Pariati (1665-1733), adap. Francis Colman	4. <i>Arianna in Creta</i> (London, 1734)		
		5. 'E vuoi con dure tempre di fiero'	5. Silvio Stampiglia (1664-1725),	5. <i>Partenope</i> (London, 1730)		

			adap. Anon.			
		6. 'Se mai turbo il tuo riposo'	6. Pietro Metastasio (1698-1782), adap. Anon.	6. <i>Porò, re dell'Indie</i> (London, 1731)		
		7. 'Per le porte del tormento'	7. [Unknown]	7. <i>Sofarmes</i> (London, 1732)		
		8. 'Deh perdona o dolce bene' / 'Ah mia cara se tu resti'	8. Nicola Francesco Haym (1678-1729)	8. <i>Flavio, re de' Longobardi</i> (London, 1723)		
		9. 'A teneni affetti'	9. Nicola Francesco Haym (1678-1729)	9. <i>Ottone, re di Germania</i> (London, 1719)		
		10. 'Caro Bella piu amabile belta'	10. Nicola Francesco Haym (1678-1729)	10. <i>Giulio Cesare in Egitto</i> (London, 1724)		
		11. 'Jo t'abbraccio e piu che morte'	11. Nicola Francesco Haym (1678-1729)	11. <i>Rodelinda</i> (London, 1725)		

Appendix B

		12. 'Al Trionso del nostro Furore'	12. Nicola Francesco Haym (1678-1729)	12. <i>Rodelinda</i> (London, 1725)		
2	SM	<i>The Favourite SONGS in the OPERA Call'd ALFONSO</i>  1. 'Rose di bell'aurora mi promettete ancora' 2. 'Gioje le piu gradite' 3. 'Per cercar di dei lo scampo' 4. 'Lo so Lo vedo un quelle' 5. 'Non val forza a Leon valoroso' 6. 'Cara su mei Rivali nell'impeto guerrier'	Giovanni Battista Lampugnani (c.1708-1786) / [Unknown]	<i>Alfonso</i> (London, 1744)	I. Walsh, 577 Catharine Street in the Strand [1744]	MMC 166
3	SM	<i>The Favorite SONGS in the OPERA Call'd TEMISTOCLE</i>  1. 'Basta dir ch'io sono amante' 2. 'Di che a sua Voglia eleggere' 3. 'L'ire tue sopporto in pace' 4. 'È specie di tormento' 5. 'Contrasto assai piu degno' 6. 'Se vuoi che to rammentino'	Nicola Antonio Porpora (1686-1768) / Pietro Metastasio (1698-1782)	<i>Temistocle</i> (London, 1743)	I. Walsh, Catharine Street in the Strand [1743]	MMC 166
4	SM	<i>The Favorite SONGS in the OPERA Call'd GIANGUIR</i>  1. 'Parto se vuoi Così'	Johann Adolph Hasse (1699-1783); Giovanni Battista Lampugnani	<i>Gianguir</i> (Venice, 1729)	I. Walsh, Catharine Street in the Strand [1743]	MMC 166

		2. 'Sepio senti con placido fiato' 3. 'Il Pastor se torna Aprile' 4. 'Alla salva al Prato rio la vezzosa Pastorella' 5. 'S'adolora il Pastorello' 6. 'Nell orror di notte oscura'	(c.1708-1786); Giuseppe Ferdinando Brivio (c.1700-1758); Rinaldo / [Unknown]			
5	SM	<i>The Favorite SONGS in the OPERA Call'd L'INCOSTANZA DELUSA</i>  1. 'Per pietà bell'Idol mio' 2. 'Io sento che in petto' 3. 'Da me apprendete O Semplicette' 4. 'Spergiuro crudele la sede dov'è' 5. 'Digli ch'è un infedele' 7. 'Senza pietà mi Credi'	Count de Saint Germain (d.1784); G. F. Brivio / [Unknown]	<i>L'inconstanza delusa</i> (London, 1745)	I. Walsh, Catharine Street in the Strand [1745]	MMC 166
6	SM	<i>The Favorite SONGS in the OPERA Call'd ALCESTE By Sigr Lumpagnani</i>  1. 'Placata è già l'onda la sponda m'attende' 2. 'Dolce vita in Negletta Capanna' 3. 'Speme di posseder L'oggetto del piacer'	Giovanni Battista Lampugnani (c.1708-1786) / [Unknown]	<i>Alceste</i> (London, 1744)	I. Walsh, Catharine Street in the Strand [1744]	MMC 166

Appendix B

		<p>4. 'Pensar m'è impossibile parlar vorrei'</p> <p>5. 'Alma che in van s'accende'</p> <p>6. 'Quando se L'erbe amene'</p>				
7	SM	<p><i>The Favorite SONGS in the OPERA Call'd ADRIANO IN SIRIA</i></p> <p>1. 'Prigioniera abbandonata'</p> <p>2. 'Dal labbro che t'accende di così dolce ardor'</p> <p>3. 'Infelice in van mi Lagno'</p> <p>4. 'Rendimi il mio bel nume'</p> <p>5. 'Parto date ben mio'</p> <p>6. 'Oh Dio, mancar mi sento mentre ti lascio'</p>	<p>Vincenzo Legrenzo Ciampi (1719-1762)</p> <p>/</p> <p>Pietro Metastasio (1798-1782)</p>	<p><i>Adriano in Siria</i> (Venice, 1748; London, 1750)</p>	<p>I. Walsh, Catharine Street in the Strand [1750]</p>	<p>MMC 166</p>
8	SM	<p><i>The Favorite SONGS in the OPERA Call'd IL NEGLIGENTE</i></p> <p>1. 'Oimè cos' e questo ch'io provo nel core'</p> <p>2. 'La mia Crudel Tiranna'</p> <p>3. 'Che bel contento è questo'</p> <p>4. 'Vita mia bel Tesoro'</p> <p>5. 'Oimè che fuor dal petto'</p> <p>6. 'Qual nocchioero abbandonato'</p>	<p>Vincenzo Legrenzo Ciampi (1719-1762)</p> <p>/</p> <p>Carlo Goldoni (1707-1793)</p>	<p><i>Il negligente</i> (Venice, 1749; London, 1750)</p>	<p>I. Walsh, Catharine Street in the Strand</p>	<p>MMC 166</p>

9	SM	<i>The Favorite SONGS in the OPERA Call'd TRIONFO DI CAMILLA</i>  1. 'Rammentati chi sono' 2. 'E'un raggio di Stella' 3. 'Già Corro in Seno del mio Contento' 4. 'Appena di speranza' 5. 'Là per l'ombrosa Sponda' 6. 'Pupille serene'	Vincenzo Legrenzo Ciampi (1719-1762) / Silvio Stampiglia (1664-1725)	<i>Il Trionfo di Camilla</i> (London, 1750)	I. Walsh, Catharine Street in the Strand	MMC 166
10	SM	'Favorite Songs in the Opera called Artamene', <sup>1</sup>  1. 'Pensa a serbarmi oh cara' 2. 'Rasserena il mesto ciglio' 3. 'È maggiore d'ogn'altro dolore' 4. 'Il suo leggiadro viso' 5. 'Se Crudeli tanto fiete' 6. 'Già presso al termine dè suoi martiri'	Christoph Willibald Gluck (1714-1787) / Bartolomeo Vitturi	<i>Artamene</i> (London, 1746)	[Unknown]	MMC 166
11	SM	<i>The FAVOURITE SONGS In the OPERA ORFEO</i>  1. 'Non è ver, il dir talora'	Christoph Willibald Gluck (1714-1787); Johann Christian Bach (1735-1782);	<i>Orfeo</i> (London, 1770) <sup>2</sup>	R. Bremner, Opposite Somerset House in the Strand [1770]	'Serious Italian Operas Vol I, No. 10'.  MMC 297

<sup>1</sup> Title page is missing; this is handwritten in ink.

<sup>2</sup> This was a pasticcio production.

		2. 'Gli sguardi trattieni' 3. 'Chiamo il mio ben così' 4. 'Chiari fonti ermi ritiri' 5. 'Accorda amico il fato' 6. 'Che fiero momento' 7. 'Sposa! Euridice!' 8. 'Contenta assai son'io' 9. 'Dell'amistà, ch'ho in seno' 10. 'Sotto un bel ciel sereno' 11. 'Men tiranne, ah, voi sareste' 12. 'Trionfo amore' 13. 'Più non turbi il tuo riposo' 14. 'Sulle sponde del torbido lete' 15. 'Non temer amor lo guida' 16. 'Obliar l'amato sposo'	Pietro Alessandro Guglielmi (1728-1804); Gaetano Guadagni (1728-92) / Ranieri de' Calzabigi (1714-1795)			
12	SM	<i>The Favorite SONGS in the          OPERA Call'd SIROE By Signor          Lampugnani</i>  1. 'Dille pur che il suo riposo' 2. 'Per me il ciel ridea sereno' 3. 'Gelido in ogni vena' 4. 'Sorgere benigna in seno sento la mia speranza' 5. 'Deh se piacer mi vuoi' 6. 'Parto con l'alma con l'alma in pene'	Giovanni Battista Lampugnani (1708-1786) / Pietro Metastasio (1698-1782)	<i>Siroe</i> (London, 1755)	I. Walsh, Catharine Street in the Strand [1755]	'Serious Italian Operas Vol I, No. 10'.  MMC 297



13	SM	<i>The FAVOURITE Songs in the OPERA ARTASERSE, by SIGR. BERTONI</i>  1. 'Deh ti ferma' 2. 'Non hò pace' 3. 'Figlio se più non vivi'	Ferdinando Bertoni (1725-1813) / Pietro Metastasio (1698-1782)	<i>Artaserse</i> (Farli, 1776; London, 1779)	William Napier, 4 Strand [1779]	'Serious Italian Operas Vol II, No 11'  MMC 298
14	SM	<i>The FAVORITE Songs in the OPERA ZEMIRA E AZORE, by Sigr Gretry.</i>  1. 'Senza te bell'Idol mio' <sup>3</sup>  2. 'Ah per pietà'  3. 'Vegliamo già vien L'aurora'	1. Ferdinando Bertoni (1725-1813) / [Unknown]  2. André Ernest Modeste Grétry (1741-1813) / Jean-François Marmontel (1723- 1799)  3. [See above]	<i>Zemira e Azore</i> (Fontainebleau, 1771; London, 1779)	William Napier, 474 Strand [1779]	'Serious Italian Operas Vol II, No 11'  MMC 298

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<sup>3</sup> This was an addition for the 1779 London production.

Appendix B

		4. 'Rosa vezzosa soave fior vieni e riposa'	4. [See above]			
		5. 'D'amor penando tra le catene'	5. [See above]			
		6. 'Se amore l'inspira se gli agita il cor'	6. [See above]			
15	SM	<i>The FAVORITE SONGS in the OPERA Demofoonte.</i>	[See below] / Pietro Metastasio (1698-1782)	<i>Demofoonte</i> (London, 1778) <sup>4</sup>	William Napier, 474 Strand [1778]	'Serious Italian Operas Vol II, No 11'  MMC 298
		1. 'Misero pargoletto il tuo destino sai'	1. Carlo Ignazio Monza (d.1739)			
		2. 'Teco resti anima mia'	2. Giuseppe Sarti (1729-1802)			
		3. 'Padre perdona oh pene'	3. Josef Mysliveček (1737-1781)			
		4. 'Non temer bell idol mio'	4. Ferdinando Bertoni			

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<sup>4</sup> This was a pasticcio production.

		<p>5. 'In te spero o sposa amato'</p> <p>6. 'Sperai vicino il lido'</p> <p>7. 'Se i detti miei comprendi'</p>	<p>(1725-1813)</p> <p>5. Josef Mysliveček (1737-1781)</p> <p>6. Ferdinando Bertoni (1725-1813)</p> <p>7. Ferdinando Bertoni (1725-1813)</p>			
16	SM	<p><i>The Favorite RONDO Sung by Sigr Sestini, in the NEW COMIC OPERA Il Barone di Torre Forte Composed by Sigr Giordani.</i></p> <p>/</p> <p>'Sento che in seno'<sup>5</sup></p>	<p>Tommaso Giordani (between 1730 and 1733-1806)</p> <p>/</p> <p>[Unknown]</p>	<p><i>Il Barone di Torreforte</i> (Rome, 1765; London, 1781)</p>	<p>S. Babb, 132 Oxford Street</p>	<p>'Serious Italian Operas Vol II, No 11'</p> <p>MMC 298</p>
17	SM	<p><i>The Favorite SONG from the Opera of RODELINDA composed by Mr. HANDEL. Sung by MISS HARROP at Rauzzini and Lamottes Concert at the Festino Hano</i></p> <p>/</p>	<p>George Frideric Handel (1685-1759)</p> <p>/</p> <p>Nicola Francesco Haym (1678-1729)</p>	<p><i>Rodelinda</i> (London, 1725)</p>	<p>Wm. Randall, 13 Catharine Street, Strand</p>	<p>'Serious Italian Operas Vol II, No 11'</p> <p>MMC 298</p>

<sup>5</sup> This was an addition for the 1781 London production.

Appendix B

		‘Dove sei amato bene’				
18	SM	<p><i>The Favorite SONGS in the OPERA of ENEA e LAVINA del Sigr Giardini for the VOICE and HARPSICHORD. With the INSTRUMENTAL PARTS printed each Seperately by which they are rendered ready for performance in any concert.</i></p> <p>1. ‘Di questo cor le pene’  2. ‘Del foglio del regno gli fido’  3. ‘Pastorella in umil tetto’  4. ‘Core quanto mai sia dolce amore’  5. ‘Se perte mio ben penai’</p>	<p>Felice Giardini (1716-1796)  / Giovanni Gualberto Bottarelli</p>	<p><i>Enea e Lavinia</i> (London, 1764)</p>	<p>R. Bremner, at the Harp and Hautboy opposite Somerset House in the Strand [1764]</p>	<p>‘Serious Italian Operas Vol. III No. 12’  MMC 299</p>
19	SM	<p><i>THE Favorite Songs in the OPERA SOLIMANO</i></p> <p>1. ‘Vuoi che lasci mio tesoro’  2. ‘Se del caro mio Germano’  3. ‘Serba gli affetti o cara’  4. ‘Caro Padre ah non sperare’  5. ‘Se non ti moro a lato’</p>	<p>Mattia Vento (1735-1776);  Giovanni Battista Pescetti (c.1704-1766);  Gian Francesco de Majo (1732-1770);  Giovanni Battista Pergolesi (1710-1736);  Davide Perez (1711-1778)</p>	<p><i>Solimano</i> (London, 1765)<sup>6</sup></p>	<p>R. Bremner, at the Harp and Hautboy opposite Somerset House in the Strand [1765]</p>	<p>‘Serious Italian Operas Vol. III No. 12’  MMC 299</p>

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<sup>6</sup> This was a pasticcio production.

			/ Giovanni Gualberto Bottarelli			
20	SM	<i>The Favourite Songs in the Opera DEMOFOONTE del Sigr VENTO</i>  1. 'Prudente mi chiedi' 2. 'Non è ver, che l'ira infegni' 3. 'Misero pargoletto' 4. 'Spose consorte, e tu per me te perdi... La destra ti chiedo mio dolce' 5. 'La destra ti chiedo mio dolce sostegno' 6. 'Che mai risponderti' 7. 'Nò non chiedo amate stelle' 8. 'Se ardiree speranza' 9. 'Se tutti i mali miei'	Mattia Vento (1735-1776) / Pietro Metastasio (1698-1782)	<i>Demofoonte</i> (London, 1765)	R. Bremner, at the Harp and Hautboy opposite Somerset House in the Strand [1765]	'Serious Italian Operas Vol. III No. 12'  MMC 299
21	SM	<i>The FAVOURITE SONGS in the OPERA Call'd ORIONE, O SAI DIANA VENDICATA</i>  1. 'Bene adore to addio'	Johann Christian Bach (1735-1782) / Giovanni Gualberto Bottarelli	<i>Orione</i> (London, 1763)	I. Walsh, Catharine Street in the Strand [1763]	'Comic Italian Operas. Vol.1, No 13'  MMC 300
22	SM	<i>The FAVORITE SONGS in the OPERA LE PAZZIE D'ORLANDO by Sigr Guglielmi</i>  1. 'Maccharone rinomato'	Pietro Alessandro Guglielmi (1728-1804) / Carlo Francesco Badini	<i>Le pazzie d'Orlando</i> (London, 1771)	R. Bremner, at the Harp and Hautboy opposite Somerset House in the Strand [1771]	'Comic Italian Operas. Vol.1, No 13'  MMC 300

		2. 'Ah! se dir io vi potessi quanti baci' 3. 'Temerario senti , e trema' 4. 'Supponiamoci che sia il compor la sinfonia' 5. 'Non voglio a mi che stelle' 6. 'E l'amor di tre maniere' 7. 'Poverino quanta pena' 8. 'Il Galante Damerino' 9. 'D'angelica il nome' 10. 'Son le tenere faville dell'amor' 11. 'Fratiranni io naqui al foglio' 12. 'Vorrei farmi sposa' 13. 'A Parigi proffumato' 14. 'Perquel Sembiente amato' 15. 'Quel furor Sospendi almeno' 16. 'Cori Amanti se sapeste' 17. 'Quel Angelico visino' 18. 'Sono confuso e stupefato'				
23		<i>L'AMORE SOLDATO OPERA COMICA composta da ANTONIO SACCHINI</i>  1. 'Viva marte del valore' 2. 'Amici, allegramento' 3. 'M'hanno tolto la mia cesta' 4. 'L'ortolana poverina' 5. 'Perdo il core ahi che matire' 6. 'Se mi venisse intorno' 7. 'Non non sono furbetta se faccio all'amore'	Antonio Sacchini (1730-1786) / Tassi	<i>L'amor soldato</i> (London, 1778)	Presso Roberto Bremner nello Strand dove si trova pure [1778]	'Comic Italian Operas. Vol.1, No 13'  MMC 300

		8. 'Mon temete, mia carina'				
24	SM	<p><i>L'AMORE SOLDATO OPERA COMICA composta da ANTONIO SACCHINI Act 2</i></p> <p>1. 'D'intorno ogni lume'  2. 'Vedrai con tuo periglio'  3. 'Signorino che pensate?'  4. 'Sento che amor mi dice'  5. 'Se mai sollecito vien l'ufficiale'  6. 'Non crediate, o luci care'  7. 'Poverino disperata'  8. 'Già tre mila fucilieri'  9. 'Bel piacer per me farà'  10. 'Deh t'in vola dal mio'  11. 'Piano u pò, non tante adore'</p>	<p>Antonio Sacchini (1730-1786) / Tassi</p>	<p><i>L'amor soldato</i> (London, 1778)</p>	<p>Presso Roberto Bremner nello Strand dove si trova pure [1778]</p>	<p>'Comic Italian Operas. Vol.1, No 13'  MMC 300</p>
25	SM	<p><i>THE FAVORITE SONGS in the OPERA I. VIAGGIATORI FELICI By Sigr. Anfossi.</i></p> <p>1. 'Se mi vedi a far lamore '  2. 'Al mio bene d'itorno volate'  3. 'Voi m'amate dite fi'  4. 'Dove povera me, dove son io'  5. 'Fuggi che fo?... f'arretta il fangue nelle vene'</p>	<p>Pasquale Anfossi (1727-1797) / Filippo Livigni</p>	<p><i>I viaggiatori felici</i> (Venice, 1780; London, 1781)</p>	<p>R. Bremner, at the Harp and Hautboy opposite Somerset House in the Strand [1781]</p>	<p>'Comic Italian Operas. Vol.1, No 13'  MMC 301</p>



Appendix B

26	SM	<p><i>The FAVORITE SONGS in the OPERA Call'd IL TUTORE E LA PUILLA</i></p> <p>1. 'Donne bella, miei Signori'  2. 'L'amor mio Ninetta cara'  3. 'Care pupille vere'  4. 'Ah son pur troppo rari'</p>	<p>Gioacchino Cocchi  (c.1712-1796);  [Unknown]  /  Giovanni  Gualberto Bottarelli</p>	<p><i>Il Tutore e la Pupilla</i>  (London, 1762)<sup>7</sup></p>	<p>I. Walsh, Catharine Street  in the Strand  [1762]</p>	<p>'Comic Italian Operas.  Vol.1, No 13'   MMC 301</p>
27	SM	<p><i>The Favorite SONGS in the OPERA I Rivali Delusi</i></p> <p>1. 'Per dar fine a ogni con tesa'  2. 'Che bella cosa e far all amore'  3. 'Dove sei perche t'ascondi'  4. 'Che vi par Dorina bella'</p>	<p>Giuseppe Sarti  (1729-1802)  /  Carlo Goldoni  (1707-1793)</p>	<p><i>I rivali delusi</i>  (Milan, 1782;  London, 1784)</p>	<p>J. Preston, 97 Strand  [1785]</p>	<p>'Comic Italian Operas.  Vol.1, No 13'   MMC 301</p>
28	SM	<p><i>The FAVORITE SONGS In the Comic Opera I VIAGGIATORI RIDICOLO. del Sigr Pietro Guglielmi.</i></p> <p>1. 'Quel labbro vermiglio'  2. 'Delle donne il core è fatto'  3. 'Sò far la semplicità'  4. 'Alla mia dolce face'  5. 'Che dolce liquore'  6. 'Ad un mio sguardo'</p>	<p>Pietro Alessandro  Guglielmi  (1728-1804)  /  Carlo Goldoni  (1707-1793)</p>	<p><i>I viaggiatori ridicolo</i>  (London, 1768)</p>	<p>R. Bremner, opposite  Somerset House in the  Strand  [1768]</p>	<p>'Comic Italian Operas.  Vol.1, No 13'   MMC 301</p>

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<sup>7</sup> This was a pasticcio production, with music predominantly composed by Gioacchino Cocchi (c.1712-1796). Three further items were provided by unidentified composers.

		7. 'Jo so quell che costumano' 8. 'Da quel viso prendo un vezzo' 9. 'Tutte le femine sono cosi' 10. 'È di donna ogn'or costume' 11. 'Che smania che caldo che fumi alla testa' 12. 'Ehi signor una parola'				
29	SM	<i>The SONGS, In LA BUONA FIGLIUOLA Compos'd y Sigr NICOLO PICCINI</i>  1. 'Che piacer, che bel diletto' 2. 'Quel che d'amore' 3. 'Non commodà all'amante' 4. 'Poverina tutto il dì' 5. 'E pur bella la cecchina' 6. 'Sono una giovane' 7. 'Che fi perbia meledetta' 8. 'Una povera ragazza' 9. 'Furia di Donna irata' 10. 'Dov'è Cecchina oh ciel' 11. 'Ah Cecchina il tuo Mengotto' 12. 'Star Trompette, Star Tampurri' 13. 'E'un Cavalier d'onore' 14. 'Vederete una Figliuola' 15. 'Vieni il mio seno' 16. 'Sorte crudel nemica nò' 17. 'Vedo la bianca' 18. 'Ah, come tutte je consolar'	Niccolò Piccinni (1728-1800) / Carlo Goldoni (1707-1793)	<i>La buona figliuola</i> (Rome, 1760; London, 1766)	R. Bremner, opposite Somerset House in the Strand [1767]	'Comic Italian Operas Vol III, No 15'  MMC 302

		19. 'La Baronessa amibile'				
30	SM	<p><i>La SCHIAVA OPERA COMICA RAPPRESENTATA AL TEATRO REALE nell HAY MARKET Composta dal Sigr NICOLÒ PICCINI, Napolitano.</i></p> <p>1. 'Dasse almeno un'occhiatina'  2. 'Ah quegl'occhi ladroncelli'  3. 'Quel labbro quell bocchino'  4. 'In Italia v'è l'ufanza'  5. 'Il capitano Asdrubale'  6. 'Come dame lontano'  7. 'Se quel cor non fosse inftabile'  8. 'La schiavetta hà glo'cchi neri ha'  9. 'Ahi disgraziata me!'  10. 'Serba per me fedele'  11. 'Torterella che fi vede'  12. 'Cara selve remite'  13. 'Dove vado sventurata!'  14. 'Quant'e solto quant'e Cupo'  15. 'Povero lelio! è finita per te'  16. 'Sentimi, O faggio amico'  17. 'Core in sen mi palpita'  18. 'Son restato un insensato'  19. 'Un certo non so che'  20. 'Non vò che siamo in due'  21. 'Non scrivete sopra un faggio'</p>	<p>Niccolò Piccinni  (1728-1800)  /  [Unknown]</p>	<p><i>La schiava</i>  (Rome, 1764;  London, 1767)</p>	<p>R. Bremner, facing  Somerset House in the  Strand  [1768]</p>	<p>'Comic Italian Operas  Vol III, No 15'  MMC 302</p>

31	SM	<p><i>The FAVORITE SONGS In the Opera LA MOGILE FEDELE del Sigr Felice Alessandri.</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. 'Non mi parlar d'more'</li> <li>2. 'Che vi credete cari Zerbini'</li> <li>3. 'E noi ridiamo è vi diciamo'</li> <li>4. 'Ziffiretti che volate'</li> <li>5. 'Sposa io ti comando'</li> <li>6. 'Ohime che fuor dal petto'</li> <li>7. 'Quà la mano oh che mai vido'</li> <li>8. 'La mano ti donno'</li> <li>9. 'Voi amarmi promettete'</li> </ol>	<p>Felice Alessandri (1747-1798) / Giovanni Gualberto Bottarelli</p>	<p><i>La mogile fedele</i> (London, 1768)</p>	<p>R. Bremner, opposite Somerset House in the Strand [1768]</p>	<p>'Comic Italian Operas Vol IV. No 16'  MMC 303</p>
32	SM	<p><i>The Favorite Songs in the OPERA Gl'Uccellatori</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. 'Senza padre, senza madre'</li> <li>2. 'Le povere donne son tanto amore'</li> <li>3. 'Di Roccolina bella'</li> <li>4. 'Non v'è più bella Cosa ch l'amore'</li> <li>5. 'Almen se non possi'o'</li> <li>6. 'Se mi rendi il primo amante'</li> <li>7. 'Ah Pierotto bada ben quel che fai'</li> </ol>	<p>[Unknown] / Carlo Goldoni (1707-1793)</p>	<p><i>Gl'Uccellatori</i> (London, 1770)<sup>8</sup></p>	<p>R. Bremner, opposite Somerset House in the Strand [1770]</p>	<p>'Comic Italian Operas Vol IV. No 16'  MMC 303</p>

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<sup>8</sup> This was a pasticcio production. No composers were credited.

		8. 'Guarda, Guarda... Che non mi sento che non f'av vedanno'				
33	SM	<i>The FAVOURITE SONGS In the OPERA IL CARNOVALE DI VENEZIA by Sigr Guglielmi</i>  1. 'Viva a tutte le vezzoze' 2. 'Vò buscando regaletti; 3. 'Ha una vita fi fottile' 4. 'Palefare al mio ben sole' 5. 'Questo mano partofetta' 6. 'Sono i denti a vorio schietto' 7. 'Mole tenere parole'	Pietro Alessandro Guglielmi (1728-1804) / Carlo Francesco Badini	<i>Il carnovale di Venezia</i> (London, 1772)	R. Bremner, opposite Somerset House in the Strand [1772]	'Comic Italian Operas Vol IV. No 16'  MMC 303
34	SM	<i>THE Favourite Songs in the OPERA GLI STRAVAGANTI. A Burletta.</i>  1. 'Ogni donna che al quanto' 2. 'Siam di cor tenero' 3. 'Ci voglio e trombe' 4. 'Le donna dell'Inghilterra son tutte buon cor'	Niccolò Piccinni (1728-1800) / Giovanni Gualberto Bottarelli	<i>Gli stravaganti</i> (London, 1767) <sup>9</sup>	R. Bremner, at the Harp and Hautboy opposite Somerset House in the Strand [1767]	'Comic Italian Operas Vol IV. No 16'  MMC 303
35	SM	<i>The FAVOURITE SONGS in the OPERA Call'd LA PESCATRICI.</i>  1. 'V'ingannate quanti fiete'	Ferdinando Bertoni (1725-1813) / Carlo Goldoni	<i>La pescatrice</i> (Venice, 1752; London, 1761)	I. Walsh, Catharine Street in the Strand [1764]	'Comic Italian Operas Vol IV. No 16'  MMC 303

<sup>9</sup> This was a pasticcio production, with music predominantly composed by Niccolò Piccinni (1728-1800). Other contributors were not credited.

		2. 'Hà gli occhi brillanti' 3. 'Un pescatore me l'ha fatta brutta' 4. 'Ero ancora piccinina' 5. 'Son povero figliola' 6. 'Son Amante ma fatta non sono'	(1707-1793)			
36	SM	<i>The FAVOURITE SONGS in the OPERA Call'd IL FILOSOFO DI CAMPAGNA</i>  1. 'Compatite, Signor, s'io non sò' 2. 'Donne, donne, fiete, nate' 3. 'La pastorella a prato' 4. 'Se io rittono cittadina' 5. 'Una ragazza, che non a pazza' 6. 'Non raccoglie le mie foglie' 7. 'Hò per lei in mezzo al core' 8. 'Gelsomino, che fei vago in sul mattino' 9. 'La bella mia sposina' 10. 'La bella che adoro' 11. 'Donne belle che piangete' 12. 'Se lo comanda, sì, veniro'	Baldassare Galuppi (1706-1785) / Carlo Goldoni (1707-1793)	<i>Il filosofo di campagna</i> (Milan, 1750; London, 1761)	I. Walsh, Catharine Street in the Strand [1761]	'Italian Comic Operas Vol V No 17'  MMC 304
37	SM	<i>The FAVOURITE SONGS in the OPERA Call'd LA PESCATRICI.</i>  1. 'V'ingannate quanti fiete' 2. 'Hà gli occhi brillanti'	Ferdinando Bertoni (1725-1813) / Carlo Goldoni (1707-1793)	<i>La pescatrice</i> (Venice, 1752; London, 1761)	I. Walsh, Catharine Street in the Strand [1764]	'Italian Comic Operas Vol V No 17'  MMC 304

Appendix B

		3. 'Un pescatore me l'ha fatta brutta' 4. 'Ero ancora piccinina' 5. 'Son povera figliola' 6. 'Son Amante ma fatta non sono'				
38	SM	<i>The FAVOURITE SONGS in the OPERA Call'd IL MONDO NELLA LUNA BY Sigr Gallupi</i>  1. 'Quando si travano' 2. 'Oh come è dolce amar' 3. 'Se gl'vomini sospirano' 4. 'Bella mia se fontuo sposò 5. 'Amor dal petto mi trosse il mio' 6. 'Non è Ver non son crudele'	Baldassare Galuppi (1706-1785) / Carlo Goldoni (1707-1793)	<i>Il mondo nella luna</i> (Venice, 1752; London, 1760)	I. Walsh, Catharine Street in the Strand [1760]	'Italian Comic Operas Vol V No 17'  MMC 304
39	SM	<i>The FAVOURITE SONGS in the OPERA Call'd LA CALAMITA DE' CUORI</i>  1. 'Donne bella che bramate' 2. 'Quel bel volto lusinghiero' 3. 'Quel bell'valor m'accende' 4. 'Pupilla vezzoso che il pianto stilla te'	Baldassare Galuppi (1706-1785) / Carlo Goldoni (1707-1793)	<i>La calamita di cuori</i> (Venice, 1753; London, 1763)	I. Walsh, Catharine Street in the Strand	'Italian Comic Operas Vol V No 17'  MMC 304
40	SM	<i>The Favourite SONGS in the Comic Opera Nanetta e Lubino Composed by Sigr Pugnani</i>	Gaetano Pugnani (1731-1798) /	<i>Nanetta e Lubino</i> (London, 1769)	Welcker, Gerrard Street in St Ann's, Soho [1769]	'Italian Comic Operas Vol V No 17'



		1. 'Perla Cara mia Nanetta' 2. 'Va la piccola brunetta' 3. 'Quell'augellin che fido' 4. 'Amor che il vere sca questi sospiri' 5. 'Mutati in ore flebili' 6. 'Palefate Amichi piante'	Carlo Francesco Badini			MMC 304
41	SM	<i>The Favorite SONGS, RONDEAUS and GLEE, in the Comic Opera of IL BACCIO Composed by Sigr Giordani</i>  1. 'Cantando gli Angelli' 2. 'Son fanciulla tenerina'	Tommaso Giordani (between 1730 and 1733-1806)  / Carlo Francesco Badini	<i>Il bacio</i> (London, 1782)	J. Preston, 97 near Beaufort Buildings	'Italian Comic Operas Vol V No 17'  MMC 304
42	SM	<i>La BUONA FIGLIUOLA MARITATA Opera Comica; RAPRASSENTATA AL TEATRO REALE nell' HAY MARKET. Composta dal Sigr NICOLÒ PICCINNI, Napolitano</i>  1. 'Per il fresco la matina' 2. 'È troppo raro al mondo' 3. 'Non ho tanti crimi in capo' 4. 'Se cieco amore vi rese la benda' 5. 'Jo non fo che Voglia' 6. 'Ah sposino mio Caro Carino' 7. 'Si rovinofi, e fieri'	Niccolò Piccinni (1728-1800) / Carlo Goldoni (1707-1793)	<i>La buona figliuola maritata</i> (Bologna, 1761; London, 1767)	R. Bremner, facing Somerset House in the Strand [1767]	'Comic Italian Operas Vol VI No 18'  MMC 305

## Appendix B

		8. 'Voi che ammirate' 9. 'Ah mi sento oppresso il core' 10. 'Oh memorie ancor gradite' 11. 'Hò una testa, che vola, che gira' 12. 'Sono allegra, son contenta' 13. 'Flanden Paster non soler' 14. 'Sio v'amo, vel dica' 15. 'Vò cercando in ogni parte'				
43	SM	<i>The FAVOURITE SONGS In the OPERA LA FRASCHETANA.</i>  1. 'D'una sposa meschinella' 2. 'Tornate sereni begli astri d'amore' 3. 'Care donne sventurate' 4. 'Vieni o caro amor diletto' 5. 'Giovinette semplicitte' 6. 'La sposa tua fedele' 7. 'Venite ò donne belle' 8. 'La prima volta che m'ho innamorato' 9. 'Mettiti un pò così' 10. 'Dove son? che cosa è questa' 11. 'Sentisti, Violante?... Questa tua gentil manina'	Giovanni Paisiello (1750-1816) / Filippo Livigni	<i>La frascatana</i> (Venice, 1774; London, 1776)	R. Bremner, opposite Somerset House in the Strand [1777]	'Comic Italian Operas Vol VII No 19.'  MMC 306
44	SM	<i>THE FAVOURITE SONGS in the OPERA IL CONVITO by Sigr Bertoni</i>	Ferdinando Bertoni (1725-1813) /	<i>Il convito</i> (London, 1782)	R. Bremner, opposite Somerset House in the Strand	'Comic Italian Operas Vol VII No 19.'

		1. 'Vezzofette donne belle' 2. 'Giovine vedovella' 3. 'A deffo che in Campo' 4. 'Ombra bella ed amorosa' 5. 'A boire du vin du Champagne'	Filippo Livigni		[1782]	MMC 306
45	SM	<i>The FAVOURITE SONGS In the OPERA LE VICENDE DELLA SORTE</i>  1. 'Pastorelle semplicette' 2. 'Nel volto vi mostra' 3. 'Questo ch'io ferbo in seno' 4. 'Qual delitto, stelle irate' 5. 'Ti chiedo la morte per pena'	François Hippolyte Barthélemon (1741-1808); Tommaso Giordani (between 1730 and 1733-1806); Antonio Sacchini (1730-1786) / Giuseppe Petrosellini (1727-1799)	<i>Le vicende della sorte</i> (London, 1770) <sup>10</sup>	R. Bremner, opposite Somerset House in the Strand [1770]	'Comic Italian Operas Vol VII No 19.'  MMC 306
46	SM	<i>The Additional RONDO Sung by SIGRA SESTINI in the Comic Opera IL GELOSO IN CEMENTO Composed by Sigr Tommaso Giordani</i> / 'Ah per me non v'e piu ho bene' <sup>11</sup>	Tommaso Giordani (between 1730 and 1733-1806) / Giovanni Bertati (1735-1815)	<i>Il geloso in cimento</i> (Rome, 1774; London, 1777)	William Napier, 474 Strand	'Comic Italian Operas Vol VII No 19.'  MMC 306

<sup>10</sup> This was a pasticcio production.

<sup>11</sup> This item was added for the 1777 London production.

Appendix B

47	SM	<i>The FAVOURITE SONG Sung by Sigr Prudom, in the OPERA GELOSO IN CIMENTO Composed by Mr Giardini</i> / 'Dimmi amor dou'è il mio Sposo', <sup>12</sup>	Felice Giardini (1716-1796) / Giovanni Bertati (1735-1815)	<i>Il geloso in cimento</i> (Rome, 1774; London, 1777)	[Unknown]	'Comic Italian Operas Vol VII No 19.'  MMC 306
48	SM	<i>The Favourite Songs as Sung by Sigr Sestini in the COMIC OPERA LA MARCHESA GIARDINIERA Composed by Sigr Giordani</i>  1. 'Mi sento il mezzo al core' 2. 'Quanto è dolce quanto è grato' 3. 'In grato mi lasci così' 4. 'Non è ver che sia contento'	Tommaso Giordani (between 1730 and 1733-1806) / [Unknown]	<i>La marchesa giardiniera</i> (Rome 1774; London, 1775)	Welcker, 17 Gerrard Street, Soho [1783]	'Comic Italian Operas Vol VII No 19.'  MMC 306
49	MS	<i>Roma 1782 Duetto Con quelle tue manine By Domenico Cimarosa</i>	Domenico Cimarosa (1749-1801) / Giuseppe Petrosellini (1727–after 1797)	<i>La londiera</i> (London, 1778) <sup>13</sup>	N/A	'Songs & Rondos Vol 1 No 24'.  MMC 309

<sup>12</sup> See above.

<sup>13</sup> Adapted from Cimarosa's *L'Italiana in Londra* (Rome, 1778 or 1779).

50	SM	<i>Six Italian SONGS Seleeted from the OPERAS, Composed by HANDEL, GUGLIELMI, Giordani &amp; Bertoni</i>  1. 'Spiegate o Zeffiri'       2. 'Se il mio tesor perdei'       3. 'Io sono in selva amena'       4. 'Per lei fra l'armi'	1. Tommaso Giordani (between 1730 and 1733-1806) / [Unknown]    2. Pietro Alessandro Guglielmi (1728-1804) / [Unknown]    3. Pietro Alessandro Guglielmi (1728-1804) / [Unknown]    4. Ferdinando Bertoni (1725-1813) / Pietro Metastasio	1. [Unknown]       2. [Unknown]       3. [Unknown]       4. <i>Demofoonte</i> (London, 1778) <sup>14</sup>	W. Napier, 474 Strand	'Songs & Rondos Vol 1 No 24'.  MMC 309
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<sup>14</sup> This was a pasticcio production.

		5. 'Cari oggetti del mio core'	(1698-1782) 5. George Frideric Handel (1685-1759) / Pietro Metastasio (1698-1782)	5. <i>Demofoonte</i> (London, 1778) <sup>15</sup>		
		6. 'La verginella et come la Rose'	6. Ferdinando Bertoni (1725-1813) / Carlo Francesco Badini	6. <i>La Governante</i> (London, 1779)		
51	SM	<i>Favorite RONDO in ARMIDE</i> <i>Composed by Signor Prati</i> / 'In felice in tanto orore'	Alessio Prati (1750-1788)	<i>Armide</i>	John Bland, 45 Holborn	'Songs & Rondos Vol 1 No 24'.  MMC 309
52	SM	<i>A Periodical Italian SONG No. 19</i> / 'Tu sai che amante io sono'	Giovanni Paisiello (1750-1816) / Pietro Metastasio (1698-1782),	<i>Nitteti</i> (St. Petersburg, 1777)	J. Bland, 45 Holborn	'Songs & Rondos Vol 1 No 24'.  MMC 309
53	SM	<i>A FAVOURITE RONDO Sung by Sigr Moschino and by Sigr Savoi</i>	Antonio Tozzi (c.1736-after 1812) /	<i>La Schiava</i> (Rome, 1764; London, 1768)	John Bland, 45 Holborn	'Songs & Rondos Vol 1 No 24'.

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<sup>15</sup> See above.

		<i>in the Opera La Schiava</i> <i>Composed by Sigr Antonio Tozzi</i> / 'La sposa l'amante deh cerca dov'è', <sup>16</sup>	[Unknown]			MMC 309
54	SM	<i>A FAVOURITE RONDO Sung at</i> <i>Venice by Sigr Toschi and by</i> <i>Sigra Prudom in the Opera Le</i> <i>Due Contesse</i> / 'La sposa l'amante deh cerca dov'è', <sup>17</sup>	Johann Gottlieb Naumann (1741-1801) / [Unknown]	<i>Le due contesse</i> (Rome, 1776; London, 1778)	John Bland, 45 Holborn	'Songs & Rondos Vol 1 No 24'.  MMC 309
55	SM	<i>Piche Cornacchie e nottole Sung</i> <i>by Sigr. Storace &amp; Sigr. Morelli</i> <i>in the Opera of GLI SCHIAVI</i> <i>PER AMORE</i> <i>Composed by Sigr Paesiello</i>	Giovanni Paisiello (1740-1816) / Antonio Palomba (1705-1769)	<i>Gli schiavi per</i> <i>amore</i> (Naples, 1786; London, 1787)	Longman & Broderip, 26 Cheapside and 13 Haymarket [1787]	'Songs and Rondos'  MMC 321
56	SM	<i>NON LAGRIMAR BEN MIO</i> <i>Sung by Madame Mara &amp; Sigr</i> <i>Rubinelli IN THE OPERA OF</i> <i>VIRGINIA Composed by Sigr</i> <i>Tarchi</i>	Angelo Tarchi (c.1760-1814) / [Unknown]	<i>Virginia</i> (London, 1786)	Longman & Broderip, 26 Cheapside and 13 Haymarket [1786]	'Songs and Rondos'  MMC 321

<sup>16</sup> This item was added for the 1768 London production.

<sup>17</sup> This item was added for the 1778 London production.

57	SM	<i>The favorite ARIETTE as sung by Sigr Sestini in the Comic Opera of IL MARCHESA TULIPANO Composed byr Sigr Paisiello and adapted for the HARPSICHORD or PIANO FORTE By Joseph Mazzinghi</i> / 'Gli affetti miei spiegare io bramerei'	Giovanni Paisiello (1740-1816), arr. Joseph Mazzinghi (1765–1844) / Pietro Chiari (1712-1785)	<i>Il Marchesa Tulipano</i> (Rome, 1766; London, 1786)	Longman & Broderip, 26 Cheapside and 13 Haymarket	'Songs and Rondos'  MMC 321
58	SM	<i>T'amosi sarai tu quella Sung by Madam Mara &amp; Sigr Rubinelli in the Opera of GIULIO CESARE Composed by Mr Handel</i>	George Frideric Handel (1685-1759) / Nicola Francesco Haym (1678-1729)	<i>Giulio Cesare</i> (London, 1724)	Birchall and Andrews, 129 New Bond Street [1787]	'Songs and Rondos'  MMC 321
59	SM	<i>Madame Mara's Favourite Song IN DIDONE ABBANDONATA Composed by Sigr PICCINI</i> / 'Seil ciel mi divide'	Niccolò Piccinni (1728-1800) / Pietro Metastasio (1698-1782)	<i>Didone abbandonata</i> (London, 1775) <sup>18</sup>	Longman & Broderip, 26 Cheapside and 13 Haymarket [1786]	'Songs and Rondos'  MMC 321
60	SM	<i>Ombra Cara Ombra Tradita Sung by MADAM MARA in Didone Abbandonata</i>	Johann Adolf Hasse (1699-1783) / Pietro Metastasio (1698-1782)	<i>Didone abbandonata</i> (London, 1775) <sup>19</sup>	Longman & Broderip, 26 Cheapside and 13 Haymarket	'Songs and Rondos'  MMC 321

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<sup>18</sup> This was a pasticcio production.

<sup>19</sup> See above.



61	SM	<i>Ah non Lasciarmi no bell 'Idol mio SUNG by MADAM MARA in Didone Abbandonata Composed by Sigr Mortellari</i>	Michele Mortellari (1750-1803) / Pietro Metastasio (1698-1782)	<i>Didone abbandonata</i> (London, 1775) <sup>20</sup>	Longman & Broderip, 26 Cheapside and 13 Haymarket [1786]	'Songs and Rondos'  MMC 321
62	SM	<i>LA MIA SPOSA Sung by Sigr Rubinelli IN THE OPERA OF VIRGINIA Composed by Sigr Albertini</i>	Joachim Albertini (1748-1812) / [Unknown]	<i>Virginia</i> (London, 1786)	Longman & Broderip, 26 Cheapside and 13 Haymarket [1786]	'Songs and Rondos'  MMC 321
63	SM	<i>Pupille venose del Caro mio bene A favorite Song in the Opera of Virginia Sung by Sigr Rubinelli Composed by Sigr TARCHI</i>	Angelo Tarchi (c.1760-1814) / [Unknown]	<i>Virginia</i> (London, 1786)	Longman & Broderip, 26 Cheapside and 13 Haymarket [1786]	'Songs and Rondos'  MMC 321
64	SM	<i>Se possono tanto Sung by Sigr Rubinelli in the Opera of GIULIO CESARE Composed by Mr Handel</i>	George Frideric Handel (1685-1759) / Nicola Francesco Haym (1678-1729)	<i>Giulio Cesare</i> (London, 1724)	Birchall and Andrews, 129 New Bond Street [1787]	'Songs and Rondos'  MMC 321
65	SM	<i>Per pietà padron mio Sung by Sigr Storace in the Opera of GLI SCHIAVI PER AMORE Composed by Sigr BIANCHI<sup>21</sup></i>	Giuseppe Francesco Bianchi (1752- 1810) / 	<i>Gli schiavi per amore</i> (Naples, 1786; London, 1787)	Longman & Broderip, 26 Cheapside and 13 Haymarket [1787]	'Songs and Rondos'  MMC 321

<sup>20</sup> See above.

<sup>21</sup> This item was added for the 1787 London production.

Appendix B

			Antonio Palomba (1705-1769)			
66	SM	<i>Chi mi mostra Sung by Sigr Storace in the Opera of GLI SCHIAVI PER AMORE Composed by Sigr PAISIELLO</i>	Giovanni Paisiello (1740-1816) / Antonio Palomba (1705-1769)	<i>Gli schiavi per amore</i> (Naples, 1786; London, 1787)	Longman & Broderip, 26 Cheapside and 13 Haymarket [1787]	‘Songs and Rondos’  MMC 321
67	SM	<i>Donne Donne chi vi crede / Sung by Sigr Morelli in the Opera of GLI SCHIAVI PER AMORE Composed by Sigr MENGOZZI<sup>22</sup></i>	Bernardo Mengozzi (1758-1800) / Antonio Palomba (1705-1769)	<i>Gli schiavi per amore</i> (Naples, 1786; London, 1787)	Longman & Broderip, 26 Cheapside and 13 Haymarket [1787]	‘Songs and Rondos’  MMC 321
68	SM	<i>The Favorite Song Sung by Sigr PACCHIEROTTI in the Opera of SILLA Composed by Sigr GLUCK / ‘Rasserena il mesto ciglio’</i>	Christoph Willibald Gluck (1714-1787) / Giovanni de Gamerra (1742-1803)	<i>Silla</i> (London, 1784) <sup>23</sup>	Wright and Wilkinson, Catherine Street Strand	‘Songs and Rondos’  MMC 321
69	SM	<i>Dove ridotta sono Sung by Sigr Storace in the Opera of GLI SCHIAVI PER AMORE Composed by Sigr PAISIELLO</i>	Giovanni Paisiello (1740-1816) / Antonio Palomba (1705-1769)	<i>Gli schiavi per amore</i> (Naples, 1786; London, 1787)	Longman & Broderip, 26 Cheapside and 13 Haymarket [1787]	‘Songs and Rondos’  MMC 321

<sup>22</sup> See above.

<sup>23</sup> This was a pasticcio production.

70	SM	<i>The Favourite Songs as Sung by Sigr Sestina in the Comic Opera LA MARCHESA GIARDINIERA</i> <i>Composed by Sigr Giordani</i>  1. 'Mi sento in mezzo al core' 2. 'Quantoè dolce quantoè grato' 3. 'Ingrato mi lasci così'	Tommaso Giordani (between 1730 and 1733-1806) / [Unknown]	<i>La Marchesa Giardiniera</i> (Rome, 1774; London, 1775) <sup>24</sup>	Longman and Broderip, 26 Cheapside [1775]	MMC 333
71	SM	<i>Artaserse. Sigr. Giordani.</i> / 'Non è ver che sia contento'	Tommaso Giordani (between 1730 and 1733-1806) / Pietro Metastasio (1698-1782)	<i>Artaserse</i> (London, 1772)	[Unknown]	MMC 333
72	SM	<i>The Favourite SONGS in the OPERA I Rivali Delusi</i>  1. 'Per dar fine a ogni Contessa' 2. 'Che bella cosa eglè far all sic] amore' 3. 'Dove sei perche t'ascondi 4 'Che vi par Dorina bella'	Giuseppe Sarti (1729-1802) / Carlo Goldoni (1707-1793)	<i>I rivali delusi</i> (Milan, 1782; London, 1784)	J. Preston, 97 Strand [1785]	MMC 333

<sup>24</sup> The Rome production was titled *La finta giardiniera*.

73	SM	<i>Six Italian SONGS Selected from the OPERAS, Composed By HANDEL, GUGLIELMI, GIORDANI, BERTONI</i>			W. Napier, 474 Strand	MMC 333
		1. 'Spiegare o Zeffiri'	1. Tommaso Giordani (between 1730 and 1733-1806 / [Unknown]	1. [Unknown]		
		2. 'Se il mio tesoro perdei'	2. Pietro Alessandro Guglielmi (1728-1804) / [Unknown]	2. [Unknown]		
		3. 'Io sono in selva amena'	3. Pietro Alessandro Guglielmi (1728-1804) / [Unknown]	3. [Unknown]		
		4. 'Per lei fra l'armi'	4. Ferdinando Bertoni (1725-1813) /	4. <i>Demofoonte</i> (London, 1778) <sup>25</sup>		

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<sup>25</sup> This was a pasticcio production.

		<p>5. 'Cari oggetti del mio core'</p> <p>6. 'La verginella come la Rosa'</p>	<p>Pietro Metastasio (1698-1782)</p> <p>5. George Frideric Handel (1685-1759) / Pietro Metastasio (1698-1782)</p> <p>6. Ferdinando Bertoni (1725-1813) / Carlo Francesco Badini</p>	<p>5. <i>Demofoonte</i> (London, 1778)<sup>26</sup></p> <p>6. <i>La Governante</i> (London, 1779)</p>		
74	SM	<p><i>THE FAVORITE SONGS in the OPERA I. VIAGGIATORI FELICI By Sigr. Anfossi.</i></p> <p>1. 'Se mi vedi a far lamore' 2. 'Al mio bene d'itorno volate' 3. 'Voi m'amate dite fi' 4. 'Dove povera me, dove son io' 5. 'Fuggi che fo?... f'arretta il fangue nelle vene'</p>	<p>Pasquale Anfossi (1727-1797) / Filippo Livigni</p>	<p><i>I viaggiatori felici</i> (Venice, 1780; London, 1781)</p>	<p>R. Bremner, at the Harp and Hautboy opposite Somerset House in the Strand [1781]</p>	MMC 333

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<sup>26</sup> See above.

75	SM	<p><i>The FAVOURITE SONGS In the Comic Opera I. VIAGGIATORI RIDICOLI del Sigr Pietro Guglielmi</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. 'Quel labbro vermiglio'</li> <li>2. 'Delle donne il core è fatto'</li> <li>3. 'Sò far la semplicità'</li> <li>4. 'Alla mia docile face'</li> <li>5. 'Che dolce liquore'</li> <li>6. 'Ad un mio sguardo'</li> <li>7. 'Io so quel che costumano'</li> <li>8. 'Da quel viso prendo un vezzo'</li> <li>9. 'Tutte le femine sonocosi'</li> <li>10. 'È di donna ogn'or costume'</li> <li>11. 'Che smania che caldo'</li> <li>12. 'Ehi signor uan parola'</li> </ol>	<p>Pietro Alessandro Guglielmi (1728-1804) / Carlo Goldoni (1707-1793)</p>	<p><i>I viaggiatori ridicoli</i> (London, 1768)</p>	<p>R. Bremner, opposite Somerset House in the Strand [1768]</p>	MMC 333
76	SM	<p><i>The FAVOURITE SONGS in the OPERA Call'd IL TUTORE LA PUPILLA</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. 'Donne belle, miei signori'</li> <li>2. 'L'amor mio Ninetta cara'</li> <li>3. 'Cara pupille belle'</li> <li>4. 'Ah son pur troppo rari'</li> <li>5. 'Vedo ben, che voi volete'</li> <li>6. 'Se il piacer'</li> </ol>	<p>Gioacchino Cocchi (1720-1804) / Giovanni Gualberto Bottarelli</p>	<p><i>Il tutore la pupilla</i> (London, 1762)<sup>27</sup></p>	<p>I. Walsh, Catharine Street in the Strand [1762]</p>	MMC 333

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<sup>27</sup> This was a pasticcio production.

		7. 'Contento brillante' 8. 'Non credo a detti tuoi'				
77	SM	<i>A Favourite RONDO, as sung by Signor Roncaglia, at Florence</i> / 'Sembianze amabile'	Giuseppe Francesco Bianchi (1752- 1810) / Carlo Innocenzo Frugoni (1698-1758)	<i>Castore e Polluce</i> (Florence, 1779)	J. Bland, 45 Holborn [c.1790]	MMC 333
78	SM	<i>A Periodical Italian SONG No. 19</i> / 'Tu sai che amante io sono'	Giovanni Paisiello (1750-1816) / Pietro Metastasio (1698-1782)	<i>Nitteti</i> (St. Petersburg, 1777)	J. Bland, 45 Holborn	MMC 333
79	SM	<i>A favourite SONG Sung by Sigr Sestini in LA SERVA PADRONA or THE MAID THE MISTRESS</i> / 'Dimmi Amor dove il mio sposo' / 'Dear old man, fond looks bestowing'	Giovanni Paisiello (1750-1816) / Giovanni Battista Pergolsei (1710 – 1736)	<i>La serva padrona</i> (St Petersburg, 1781; London, 1794)	Longman and Broderip, 26 Cheapside and 13 Haymarket	MMC 333
80	SM	<i>The Additional RONDO Sung by SIGRA SESTINI in the Comic Opera IL GELOSO IN CEMENTO Composed by Tommaso Giordani</i> /	Tommaso Giordani (between 1730 and 1733-1806) / Giovanni Bertati (1735-1815)	<i>Il geloso in cemento</i> (Rome, 1774; London, 1777)	William Napier, 474 Strand	MMC 333

## Appendix B

		‘Ah per me non v'e piu bene’ <sup>28</sup>				
81	MS	‘Argentina 1781 Partire degg'io Scena è Rondō Del Sig Luigi Caruso’	Luigi Caruso (1754-1823) / [Unknown]	[Unknown]	N/A	MMC 349
82	MS	‘Roma 1783 Teatro d'Argentina Scena c. Minue Bell'uolto dorato Del Sig Luigi Cherubini’	Luigi Cherubini (1760-1842) / [Unknown]	[Unknown]	N/A	MMC 349
83	MS	‘Vanne à regnar Ben' mio Scena e Duetto Del Sigr Giuseppe Magnelli’	Giuseppe Magnelli / [Unknown]	[Unknown]	N/A	MMC 349
84	MS	‘L'Artaserse Duetto Del Sigr Francesco Ceracchini’ / ‘In cosi fatal momento’	Francesco Ceracchini (1768-1824)	<i>Artaserse</i>	N/A	MMC 349

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<sup>28</sup> This item was added for the 1777 London production.



## Appendix C Miscellaneous Operatic Music in the Tatton Park Collection

No.	Type	Title	Composer / Poet	Opera	Publishing Details	Volume
1	MS	'Dove sei amato bene'	George Frideric Handel (1685-1759) / Nicola Francesco Haym (1678-1729)	<i>Rodelinda</i> (London, 1725)	N/A	'Elizabeth Sykes, London April 1st 1799, April Fool'  MR 2-4.32
2	MS	'Recitativo e Rondo Sarti' / 'D'una vita infelice... Costanza anima mia pochi momenti...'	Giuseppe Sarti (1729-1802) / Pietro Giovannini	<i>Giulio Sabino</i> (Venice, 1781; London 1788)	N/A	'Elizabeth Sykes, London April 1st 1799, April Fool'  MR 2-4.32
3	MS	'Duetto Serio Non temer non sono amante con recitativo – Del Signor Giovanni Paisiello In Napoli'	Giovanni Paisiello (1740-1816) / Pietro Metastasio (1698-1782)	<i>Antigono</i> (Naples, 1785)	N/A	'Elizabeth Sykes, London April 1st 1799, April Fool'  MR 2-4.32
4	MS	'Chorus Doni pace Handel'	George Frideric Handel (1685-1759) / Nicola Francesco Haym (1678-1729)	<i>Flavio, re de'</i> <i>Longobardi</i> (London, 1723)	N/A	'Elizabeth Sykes, St James's Square, May 18 <sup>th</sup> 1801  MR 2-4.33

# Appendix C

5	SM	<i>Dove Sei As Sung by MADAME MARA, in Rodelinda.</i>	George Frideric Handel (1685-1759) / Nicola Francesco Haym (1678-1729)	<i>Rodelinda</i> (London, 1725)	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	English and Italian Songs/Miss E Sykes'  MR 2-5.10 (c.1797)
6	SM	<i>O MOMENTO FORTUNATO THE FAVOURTE DUETT, Sung by Sigr Banti &amp; Sigr Viganoni, in the Opera of NINA, Composed by Sigr Paisiello.</i>	Giovanni Paisiello (1740-1816) / Giambattista Lorenzi (trans. Giuseppe Carpani)	<i>Nina, o sia La pazza per amore</i> (Caserta, 1789; London, 1797)	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	English and Italian Songs/Miss E Sykes'  MR 2-5.10 (c.1797)
7	SM	<i>CREDI LA MIA FERITA The favorite Duett as Sung by Madame Banti and Sigr Viganoni in ELFRIDA, Composed by Sigr Paisiello.</i>	Giovanni Paisiello (1740-1816) / Calzabigi Ranieri (1714-1795)	<i>Elfrida</i> (Naples, 1792; London, 1798)	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	English and Italian Songs/Miss E Sykes'  MR 2-5.10 (c.1797)
8	SM	<i>SOSPIRO E MI VERGOGNO AIR Sung at the King's Theatre Haymarket by Madme Bolla, in the Opera, I ZINGARI IN FIERA, Composed by G. G. FERRARI.<sup>1</sup></i>	Giacomo Gotifredo Ferrari (1763-1842) / Antonio Palomba (1705-1769)	<i>I zingari in fiera</i> (Naples, 1789; London, 1793)	34 Great Malboro' Street	English and Italian Songs/Miss E Sykes'  MR 2-5.10 (c.1797)
9	SM	<i>NON PIANGETE A Favorite Song As Sung at the King's Theatre in the Hay Market. by Madame Banti, In the Serious</i>	Giuseppe Francesco Bianchi (1752- 1810) /	<i>Antigona</i> (London, 1796)	Lewis Lavenu, 23 Duke Street, St. James's [1796]	English and Italian Songs/Miss E Sykes'  MR 2-5.10 (c.1797)

<sup>1</sup> This item was added for the 1798 London production.

		<i>Opera of ANTIGONA Composed by MR BIANCHI.</i>	Lorenzo Da Ponte (1749- 1838)			
10	SM	<i>CRUDEL PERCHE FINORA A Favorite DUETT, As it is Sung in the Comic Opera of LA VENDEMMIA at KING'S THEATRE in the Haymarket, by Sigre Benucci &amp; Sigra Storace, Composed by W. A. MOZART.<sup>2</sup></i>	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756-1791) / Giovanni Bertati (1735-1815)	<i>La vendemmia</i> (London, 1789)	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street [c.1794]	English and Italian Songs/Miss E Sykes'  MR 2-5.10 (c.1797)
11	SM	<i>DA QUESTI LINEAMENTI, The favorite fortune-telling Song, as sung at the KINGS THEATRE the HAYMARKET by Sigra Storace in the Comic Opera of I ZINGARI IN FIERA, &amp; Composed by Sigr Salieri<sup>3</sup></i>	Antonio Salieri (1750-1825) / Antonio Palomba (1705-1769)	<i>I zingari in fiera</i> (Naples, 1789; London, 1793)	Joseph Dale, 19 Cornhill, & 132 Oxford Street [1793]	'PIANO FORTE MUSIC & SONGS/MISS E SYKES'  MR 2-5.11
12	SM	<i>AL TU PIANTO, RONDÒ Sung by Sigr Rosselli, At the Kings Theatre Haymarket, In the Opera of LA VENDETTA DI NINO Composed by Sigr ROSSELLI.</i>	Rosselli / Francesco Bianchi	<i>La vendetta di Nino, o sia Semiramide</i> (Naples, 1790; London, 1794)	Domenico Corri, Jan Ladislav Dussek & co, 67 Dean Street, Soho & Bridge Street, Edinburgh	'PIANO FORTE MUSIC & SONGS/MISS E SYKES'  MR 2-5.11
13	SM	<i>LONGMAN AND BRODERIP's Collection of Italian Vocal</i>			John Longman & Francis Broderip,	'PIANO FORTE MUSIC &

<sup>2</sup> This item was added for the 1789 London production.

<sup>3</sup> This item was added for the 1793 production.

		<p><i>Music, with Accompaniments; for the GRAND AND SMALL PIANO FORTE, or pedal harp. N.B. In This Work the Most Admired Compositions of the Italian School, Consisting of Airs, Duetts, Trios, &amp; c. Will be Introduced.</i></p> <p>1. 'Perdonate, signor mio'</p> <p>2. 'Caro sposo a te vicino'</p>	<p>1. Domenico Cimarosa (1749-1801) / Giovanni Bertati (1735-1815)</p> <p>2. Francesco Bianchi (1752-1810) / Bartolomeo Benincasa</p>	<p>1. <i>Il matrimonio segreto</i> (Vienna, 1792; London, 1794)</p> <p>2. <i>Il disertore francese</i> (Venice, 1784)</p>	<p>26 Cheapside and 13 Haymarket</p>	<p>SONGS/MISS E SYKES'</p> <p>MR 2-5.11</p>
14	SM	<p><i>QUEL COR UMANO E TENERO. Duetto Sung by Sigr Morelli, &amp; Sigr Morichelli, at the Kings Theatre Haymarket, in the Opera of IL BURBERO DI BUON CORE with an accompaniment for the Piano</i></p>	<p>Joseph Haydn (1732-1809) / Lorenzo Da Ponte (1749- 1838)</p>	<p><i>Il burbero di buon core</i> (Vienna, 1786; London, 1794)</p>	<p>Domenico Corri, Jan Ladislav Dussek &amp; Co, 67 Dean Street, Soho &amp; Bridge Street, Edinburgh [c.1795]</p>	<p>'PIANO FORTE MUSIC &amp; SONGS/MISS E SYKES'</p> <p>MR 2-5.11</p>

		<i>Forte Composed by DR HAYDN. The Words by Sigr Da Ponte.<sup>4</sup></i>				
15	SM	<i>AH CHE NEL PETTO IO SENTO, Sung by Madam Mara at the King's Theatre, Pantheon. IN THE OPERA IDALIDE. With a Harp Accompaniment Composed by SIGR PAISIELLO.</i>	Giovanni Paisiello (1740-1816) / Ferdinando Moretti (d.1807)	<i>Idalide</i> (Milan, 1783; London, 1791) <sup>5</sup>	Joseph Dale, 19 Cornhill, & 132 Oxford Street	'PIANO FORTE MUSIC & SONGS/MISS E SYKES'  MR 2-5.11
16	SM	<i>AH IL MIO COR A Favorite Song as Sung by Madm Banti at the King's Theatre Haymarket in the Serious Opera of EVELINA, Composed by Sigr Sacchini.</i>	Antonio Sacchini (1730-1786) / Lorenzo Da Ponte (1749- 1838); Nicolas-François Guillard (1752-1814)	<i>Evelina</i> (Paris, 1788; London, 1797)	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside and 13 Haymarket	'SONGS/DUETTS &/MARCHES/MISS E SYKES'  MR 2-5.22 (c.1796)
17	SM	<i>AH QUEL CORE A Favorite Song; as Sung by Madm Banti. AT THE KING'S THEATRE, HAYMARKET, in the Serious Opera of EVELINA, Composed by Sigr Sacchini.</i>	Antonio Sacchini (1730-1786) / Lorenzo Da Ponte (1749- 1838)	<i>Evelina</i> (Paris, 1788; London, 1797)	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside and 13 Haymarket	'SONGS/DUETTS &/MARCHES/MISS E SYKES'  MR 2-5.22 (c.1796)

<sup>4</sup> This item was added for the 1794 London production.

<sup>5</sup> As discussed in Chapter 3.3, this aria did not feature in the original Milan production and was added specifically for the London production. Giuseppe Sarti is credited as the principal composer of the 1791 London production. The aria in question was adapted from the duet 'Nel cor più non mi sento' from Paisiello's *L'amor contrastato, ossia La molinara* (Naples, 1788).

18	SM	<i>AH! VOI GIUSTI E SOMMI DEI</i> <i>A favorite Song as Sung by</i> <i>MADM BANTI At the King's</i> <i>Theatre Haymarket. in the</i> <i>Serious Opera of EVELINA</i> <i>Composed by Sigr Sacchini.</i>	Antonio Sacchini (1730-1786) / Lorenzo Da Ponte (1749- 1838)	<i>Evelina</i> (Paris, 1788; London, 1797)	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside and 13 Haymarket	'SONGS/DUETTS &/MARCHES/MISS E SYKES'  MR 2-5.22 (c.1796)
19	SM	<i>SIGNORA STORACE'S</i> <i>Additional Song, in the Opera</i> <i>GLI SCHIAVI PER AMORE</i> <i>Composed by Sigr ISOLA.</i> / 'La mia barbara forte... Per pietà non m'opprimete' <sup>6</sup>	Gaetono Isola (1754-1813) / Antonio Palomba (1705-1769)	<i>Gli schiavi per</i> <i>amore</i> (Naples, 1786; London, 1787) <sup>7</sup>	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside and 13 Haymarket	'SONGS/DUETTS &/MARCHES/MISS E SYKES'  MR 2-5.22 (c.1796)
20	SM	<i>The Favorite Reco: &amp; Duetto,</i> <i>Parto ti lascio, addio! from the</i> <i>Opera of LODOVSKA, as</i> <i>Introduced, &amp; Sung by Signra</i> <i>Grassini, &amp; Sigr Niganoni, in the</i> <i>opera LA VERGINE DEL SOLE,</i> <i>Composed by Sigr Simone</i> <i>Mayer, Arranged with an</i> <i>Accompaniment for the PIANO</i> <i>FORTE.</i>	Simon Mayr (1763-1845) / Francesco Gonella De Ferrari	<i>La Lodoiska</i> (Venice, 1796) / <i>La</i> <i>verGINE del sole</i> (Geneva, 1783; London, 1804)	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	'Vocal Music &.c / Miss Sykes'  MR 2-5.23 (c.1803)
21	SM	<i>THE FAVORITE DUET. Me</i> <i>n'andro di Giove al piede, Sung</i>	Peter von Winter (1754-1825),	<i>Il trionfo dell'amor</i> <i>fraterno</i>	Michael Kelly, 9 Pall Mall	'Vocal Music &.c / Miss Sykes'

<sup>6</sup> This item was added for the 1787 production.

<sup>7</sup> Giovanni Paisiello (1740-1816) is credited as the principal composer of this opera.

		<i>by Mrs Billington, &amp; Mr Braham, in the New Serious Opera IL TRIONFO DEL AMOR FRATERNO, Composed by Winter, and Arranged by M. C. Mortellari.</i>	arr. Michele Mortellari (c.1750-1807) / Lorenzo Da Ponte (1749- 1838)	(London, 1804)		MR 2-5.23 (c.1803)
22	SM	<i>Vive Perte mio,<sup>8</sup> The Favorite Duet as Sung by Mr Viganoni &amp; Mrs Billington in the Opera of IL TRIONFO DELL'AMOR FRATERNO, Composed by WINTER, and Adapted with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte or Harp by M. C. Mortellari.</i>	Peter von Winter (1754-1825), arr. Michele Mortellari (c.1750-1807) / Lorenzo Da Ponte (1749- 1838)	<i>Il trionfo dell'amor fraterno</i> (London, 1804)	Michael Kelly, 9 Pall Mall	'Vocal Music &c / Miss Sykes'  MR 2-5.23 (c.1803)
23		<i>The Chorus of QUALE ORROR in the VERGINE DEL SOLE, Arranged as a Glee for Three Voices, with the Recitative and the Regiera as Sung by Signra Grassieri With an Accompaniment for the PIANO FORTE OR HARP, Violin. The Recitative &amp; The Rondo 'Caro padre caro bene' Sung by Signra Grassieri in the VERGINE DEL</i>	Peter von Winter (1754-1825), arr. Michele Mortellari (c.1750-1807) / Lorenzo Da Ponte (1749- 1838)	<i>La vergine del sole</i> (Geneva, 1783; London, 1804)	Michael Kelly, 9 Pall Mall	'Vocal Music &c / Miss Sykes'  MR 2-5.23 (c.1803)

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<sup>8</sup> The correct title is 'Vivo per te mio bene'.

		<i>SOLE. All Adapted by M. C. Mortellari.</i>				
24	SM	<i>In amor ognun dichiara, As Sung with Universal Applause by Madame Vinci IN LA PRINCIPESSA FILOSOFA, Composed by SIGR ANDREOZZI.</i>	Gaetano Andreozzi (1755-1826) / Simeone Antonio Sografi (1759-1818)	<i>La principessa filosofo</i> (Venice, 1794; London, 1801)	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	‘Vocal Music &.c / Miss Sykes’  MR 2-5.23 (c.1803)
25	SM	<i>RONDO Ah tornar la bella Aurora Del signor D Domenico Cimarosa NELLA VIRGINE DEL SOLE IN S. PIETROBURGO</i>	Domenico Cimarosa (1749-1801) / Ferdinando Moretti (d.1807)	<i>La vergine del sole</i> (St Petersburg, 1788)	Francis Broderip and C. Wilkinson, 13 Haymarket	‘Vocal Music &.c / Miss Sykes’  MR 2-5.23 (c.1803)
26	SM	<i>CAVATINA, Lungi dal caro bene, Sung by Sigr Marchesi in the Opera of GIULIO SABINO, Composed by SIGR SARTI.</i>	Giuseppe Sarti (1729-1802) / Pietro Giovannini	<i>Giulio Sabino</i> (Venice, 1781; London, 1788)	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	‘Vocal Music &.c / Miss Sykes’  MR 2-5.23 (c.1803)
27	SM	<i>Ah mio Cor as Sung by MADAME MARA, in Alcina.</i>	George Frideric Handel (1685-1759) / Anon.	<i>Alcina</i> (London, 1735)	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	‘Vocal Music &.c / Miss Sykes’  MR 2-5.23
28	SM	<i>Non vi Piacque, as Sung by MR NIELD, in Siroe.</i>	George Frideric Handel (1685-1759) / Nicola Francesco Haym (1678-1729)	<i>Siroe, re di Persia</i> (London, 1728)	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	‘SONGS/MISS SYKES’  MR 2-5.25 (c.1797)



29	SM	<i>IL MIO BEN A Favorite Song Sung by Madm Banti. in the Serious Opera of NINA, composed by Sigr Paisiello.</i>	Giovanni Paisiello (1740-1816) / Giambattista Lorenzi, trans. Giuseppe Carpani	<i>Nina, o sia La pazza per amore</i> (Caserta, 1789; London, 1797)	Lewis Lavenu, 23 Duke Street, St. James's	'SONGS/MISS SYKES'  MR 2-5.25 (c.1797)
30	SM	<i>The Favorite Prayer GRAN DIO, CHE REGOLI, Sung by Madme Banti, in the Opera of INES DE CASTRO. Composed by Sigr F. Bianchi. and the Favorite Duett TOGLITI AGLI OCCHI MIEI, Sung by Sigr: Benelli &amp; Sigr Viganoni, in the Same Opera.</i>	Giuseppe Francesco Bianchi (1752- 1810) / Luigi De Sanctis	<i>Ines de Castro</i> (London 1794)	Lewis Lavenu, 29 New Bond Street	'SONGS/MISS SYKES'  MR 2-5.25 (c.1797)
31	SM	VO SOL CANDO <sup>9</sup> A Much Admired Song Sung by Madame Mara at the Grand Professional Concert Hanover Square Composed by Sigr Vinci	Leonardo Vinci (1690-173) / Pietro Metastasio (1698-1782)	<i>Artaserse</i> (Rome, 1730)	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside and 13 Haymarket	'SONGS/MISS SYKES'  MR 2-5.25 (c.1797)
32	SM	SON REGINA E SONO AMANTE Sung by Madam Mara IN DIDONE ABBANDONATA Composed by Sigr Sacchini	Antonio Sacchini (1730-1786) / Pietro Metastasio (1698-1782)	<i>Didone abbandonata</i> (London, 1775)	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside and 13 Haymarket	'SONGS/MISS SYKES'  MR 2-5.25 (c.1797)

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<sup>9</sup> The correct title is 'Vo solcando un mar crudele'.

33	SM	<i>OMBRE LARVE As Sung at the King's Theatre Haymarket, by Signora Banti, in the Opera of ALCESTE, Composed by GLUCK.</i>	Christoph Willibald Gluck (1714-1787) / Ranieri de' Calzabigi (1714-1795)	<i>Alceste</i> (Vienni, 1767; London, 1795)	Domenico Corri, Jan Ladislav Dussek & Co, 67 & 68 Dean Street, Soho & Bridge Street, Edinburgh [c.1795]	'SONGS/MISS SYKES'  MR 2-5.25 (c.1797)
34	SM	<i>SE PUR CARA È A MÈ LA VITA. As Sung at the King's Theatre Haymarket, by Signora Banti, in the Opera of ALCESTE, Composed by GLUCK.</i>	Christoph Willibald Gluck (1714-1787) / Ranieri de' Calzabigi (1714-1795)	<i>Alceste</i> (Vienni, 1767; London, 1795)	Domenico Corri, Jan Ladislav Dussek & Co, 67 & 68 Dean Street, Soho & Bridge Street, Edinburgh [1795]	'SONGS/MISS SYKES'  MR 2-5.25 (c.1797)
35	SM	<i>AHI LO TREPIEDE E LO SPIEDEO. Sung by Signora Storace, At the KING'S THEATRE, Haymarket in the Comic Opera of I ZINGARI IN FIERA, Composed by SIGR PAISIELLO, Arranged with an Accompaniment for the PIANO FORTE by D. CORRI.</i>	Giovanni Paisiello (1740-1816), arr. Domenico Corri (1746-1825) / Antonio Palomba (1705-1769)	<i>I zingari in fiera</i> (Naples, 1789; London, 1793)	Domenico Corri, 67 Dean Street, Soho	'CLEMENTI OP.21.32./BACH OP.15./PLEYELS GR.SON.I SET./SONGS./MISS E SYKES'  MR 2-5.26 (c.1806)
36	SM	<i>Per l'amata padroncina. A Favorite Air BY SIGR G. PAISIELLO</i>	Giovanni Paisiello (1740-1816) / Giambattista Lorenzi, trans. Giuseppe Carpani	<i>Nina, o sia La pazza per amore</i> (Caserta, 1789; London, 1797)	Anne Bland & E. Weller's, 23 Oxford Street [ca.1800]	'CLEMENTI OP.21.32./BACH OP.15./PLEYELS GR.SON.I SET./SONGS./MISS E SYKES'  MR 2-5.26 (c.1806)

37	SM	<i>'IO NON ERA' THE FAVOURITE RONDO Sung at the King's Theatre in the Haymarket by Sigr Storace, in the Opera of LE NOZZE DI DORINA, Composed by Stephen Storace.</i>	Stephen Storace (1762-1796) / Carlo Goldoni (1707-1793)	<i>Le nozze di Dorina</i> (London, 1793)	Joseph Dale, 19 Cornhill, & 132 Oxford Street [1793]	'CLEMENTI OP.21.32./BACH OP.15./PLEYELS GR.SON.I SET./SONGS./MISS E SYKES'  MR 2-5.26 (c.1806)
38	SM	<i>TI RIVERISCO, a Favorite Air Sung by Sigr Storace At the King's Theatre Hay Market in the Comic Opera of I ZINGARI IN FIERA, Composed by Sigr Paisiello.</i>	Giovanni Paisiello (1740-1816) / Antonio Palomba (1705-1769)	<i>I zingari in fiera</i> (Naples, 1789; London, 1793)	Joseph Dale, 19 Cornhill, & 132 Oxford Street [1793]	'CLEMENTI OP.21.32./BACH OP.15./PLEYELS GR.SON.I SET./SONGS./MISS E SYKES'  MR 2-5.26 (c.1806)
39	SM	<i>DUETTINO Se il cor gli affetti suoi In the Opera La Pazza per amore Del Sigr PAISIELLO. NB. This originally was a a Cavatina con Corri and is arranged into a DUETTO by D. CORRI.</i>	Giovanni Paisiello (1740-1816), arr. Domenicor Corri (1746-1825) / Giambattista Lorenzi, trans. Giuseppe Carpani	<i>Nina, o sia La pazza per amore</i> Caserta, 1789; London, 1797)	[Unknown]	'CLEMENTI OP.21.32./BACH OP.15./PLEYELS GR.SON.I SET./SONGS./MISS E SYKES'  MR 2-5.26 (c.1806)
40	SM	<i>IRCO DELL' EREBO A Favorite Duett. As Sung at the King's Theatre Hay Market by Mr Kelly &amp; Sigr Morelli, in the</i>	Giovanni Paisiello (1740-1816) / Antonio Palomba	<i>I zingari in fiera</i> (Naples, 1789; London, 1793)	Joseph Dale, 19 Cornhill, & 132 Oxford Street [1793]	'CLEMENTI OP.21.32./BACH OP.15./PLEYELS GR.SON.I

		<i>Comic Opera of I ZINGARI IN FIERA.</i>	(1705-1769)			SET./SONGS./MISS E SYKES'  MR 2-5.26 (c.1806)
41	SM	<i>Aria, Si dice qua e là', DEL SIGR V. MARTINI.</i>	Martín y Soler (1754-1806) / Lorenzo Da Ponte (1749- 1838)	<i>L'arbore di Diana</i> (Vienna, 1787; London; 1797)	Anne Bland & E. Weller's, 23 Oxford Street	'CLEMENTI OP.21.32./BACH OP.15./PLEYELS GR.SON.I SET./SONGS./MISS E SYKES'  MR 2-5.26 (c.1806)
42	SM	<i>PANDOLFETTO GRAZIOSETTO a favorite Duett Sung by Sigr Morrelli, &amp; Sigr Bolla. at the King's Theatre Hay Market, in the Comic Opera of I ZINGARI IN FIERA</i>	Giovanni Paisiello (1740-1816) / Antonio Palomba (1705-1769)	<i>I zingari in fiera</i> (Naples, 1789; London, 1793)	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street [c.1795]	'Duets'  MR 2-5.42
43	SM	<i>LA MIA DORABELLA, The favorite TRIO in the Opera, COSI FAN TUTTE, As Sung by Messrs: Viganoni, Cimador &amp; Rovedino. Composed by W. A. MOZART.</i>	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756-1791) / Lorenzo Da Ponte (1749- 1838)	<i>Così fan tutte</i> (Vienna, 1790; London, 1811)	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street [c.1805]	'Duets'  MR 2-5.42
44	SM	<i>DUETTO BUFFO. Il core vidono</i> Composed by MOZART.	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756-1791) /	<i>Così fan tutte</i> (Vienna, 1790; London, 1811)	[Unknown]	'Duets'  MR 2-5.42

			Lorenzo Da Ponte (1749- 1838)			
45	SM	<i>DEH PRENDI UN DOLCE AMPLESSO A FAVORITE DUETT. In the Opera of LA CLEMENZA DI TITO, Composed by W. A. Mozart.</i>	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756-1791) / Lorenzo Da Ponte (1749- 1838)	<i>La clemenza di Tito</i> (Prague, 1791; London, 1806)	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street [between 1791 and 1820]	‘Duets’  MR 2-5.42
46	SM	<i>VAGHI COLLI AMENDI PRATI, The Much Admired Duett, As Sung at the King’s Theatre, by Sigr Grassini &amp; Mrs. Billington, in the Grand Serious Opera of IL RATTO DI PROSPERINA, COMPOSED BY P. WINTER, And Arranged by M. M. C. Mortellari.</i>	Peter von Winter (1754-1825), arr. Michele Mortellari (c.1750-1807) / Lorenzo Da Ponte (1749- 1838)	<i>Il ratto di Proserpina</i> (London; 1804)	Michael Kelly, 9 Pall Mall [1804]	‘Duets’  MR 2-5.42
47	SM	<i>ABBRACCIAMO O SPOSO The Favorite Duett as Sung by Madame Banti &amp; Sigr Viganoni in the Opera of ELFRIDA COMPOSED BY SIGR G PAISIELLO.</i>	Giovanni Paisiello (1740-1816) / Calzabigi Ranieri (1714-1795)	<i>Elfrida</i> (Naples, 1792; London, 1798)	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street [WM 1800]	‘Duets’  MR 2-5.42
48	SM	<i>PRENDERO QUEL BRUNETTINO, A Favorite DUET, Sung by Sigr Cimador, and Sigr Viganoni, in Both Public and Private Concerts. Composed by W. A. Mozart.</i>	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756-1791) / Lorenzo Da Ponte (1749- 1838)	<i>Così fan tutte</i> (Vienna, 1790; London, 1811)	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street [WM 1805]	‘Duets’  MR 2-5.42

48	SM	<i>VIENI O SONNO A Favorite Terzetto, Sung at the Kings Theatre, Haymarket, by Mme Banti, Sigr Viganoni, &amp; Sigr Morelli, in the Intermezzo of LI DUE SVIZZERA. Composed and Adapted with a Piano Forte Accompaniment, By G. G. FERRARI.</i>	Giacomo Gotifredo Ferrari (1763-1842) / Serafino Buonaiuti	<i>I due svizzera</i> (London, 1799)	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street [1799]	'Duets'  MR 2-5.42
49	SM	<i>Ah tu sei che stringo al seno a favorite DUETT as Sung by Sigra Grassini &amp; Sigr Viganoni, in the Opera of La VERGINE DEL SOLE COMPOSED SIGR G. ANDREOZZI. Arranged for the Harp or Piano Forte.</i>	Gaetano Andreozzi (1755-1826) / Ferdinando Moretti (d.1807)	<i>La vergine del sole</i> (Geneva, 1783; London, 1804)	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street [1804]	'Duets'  MR 2-5.42
50	SM	<i>Caro bene, mio dolce Amore, The Favorite Duet, as Sung by Sigr Morelli, &amp; Madame Vinci, In the Opera of La principessa filosofa, Composed by Sigr Ruggi.<sup>10</sup></i>	Francesco Ruggi (1767-1845) / Simeone Antonio Sografi (1759-1818)	<i>La principessa filosofa</i> (Venice, 1794; London, 1801)	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street [1801]	Duets'  MR 2-5.42
51	SM	<i>I Rivali Delusi. Sigra Dorta, Sigr Franchi Sigr Tasca.</i> /	Giuseppe Sarti (1729-1802) /	<i>I rivali delusi</i> (Milan, 1782; London, 1784)	[Unknown]	Duets'  MR 2-5.42

<sup>10</sup> This item was added for the 1801 London production.

		'Che vi par Dorina'	Carlo Goldoni (1707-1793)			
52	SM	<i>Ti veggo T'abbraccio, THE FAVOURITE DUETT Sung at the King's Theatre by MRS BILLINGTON &amp; SIGR GRASSINI, in the Opera of Il ratto di Proserpina, COMPOSED BY P. WINTER, And Arranged by M. C. Mortellari.</i>	Peter von Winter (1754-1825), arr. Michele Mortellari (c.1750-1807) / Lorenzo Da Ponte (1749-1838)	<i>Il ratto di Proserpina</i> (London; 1804)	Michael Kelly, 9 Pall Mall [1804]	Duets'  MR 2-5.42

## Appendix D    Miscellaneous Operatic Music in the Gladstone Collection

No.	Type	Title	Composer / Poet	Opera	Publishing Details	Volume
1	SM	COSI FAN TUTTE. Composed by MOZART.	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756-1791) / Lorenzo Da Ponte (1749-1838)	<i>Così fan tutte</i> (Vienna, 1790; London, 1811)	Rt. Birchall, No. 133 New Bond Street	Vol. 1
2	SM	IL FLAUTO MAGICO. Composed by MOZART.	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756-1791) / Emanuel Schikaneder (1751-1812)	<i>Il flauto magico</i> (Vienna, 1791; London, 1811)	Rt. Birchall, No. 133 New Bond Street	Vol. 1
3	SM	IL DON GIOVANNI. Composed by MOZART.	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756-1791) / Lorenzo Da Ponte (1749-1838)	<i>Don Giovanni</i> (Prague, 1787; London, 1817)	Rt. Birchall, No. 133 New Bond Street	Vol. 2
4	SM	Le Nozze di Figaro, Composed by MOZART.	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756-1791) / Lorenzo Da Ponte (1749- 1838)	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i> (Vienna, 1786; London, 1812)	Rt. Birchall, No. 133 New Bond Street	Vol. 3



5	SM	La Clemenza di Tito, Composed by MOZART.	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756-1791) / Lorenzo Da Ponte (1749- 1838)	<i>La clemenza di Tito</i> (Prague, 1791; London, 1806)	Rt. Birchall, No. 133 New Bond Street	Vol. 3
6	SM	<i>Che bella vita è il military DUO Chanté par Mrs Pelligrini et Berdegni aux Concerts Musique de Generali Dans l'Opera La Donna Soldato</i>	Pietro Generali (1773-1832) / Caterino Mazzolà (1745-1806)	<i>La donna soldato</i> (Milan, 1808)	A Paris: Chez Carli, editeur, md. de musique et cordes de Naples, boulevard Montmartre, no. 14, Md. de Musique Et De Cordes de Naples, Boulevard Montmarte, No. 14 [1832?]	'ITALIAN DUETS AND TRIOS' 'Gladstone 1836'  Vol. 4
7	SM	<i>Claudio? Claudio? ritorna fràle braccia paterne, recitve. ed "E sia ver?" Duetto in the opera of ELISA E CLAUDIO, Composed by Signor Mercadante.</i>	Saverio Mercadante (1795-1870) / Luigi Romanelli (1751-1839)	<i>Elisa e Claudio, ossia L'amore protetto dall'amicizia</i> (Milan, 1821; London, 1823)	Birchall & Co., 140 New Bond Street	'ITALIAN DUETS AND TRIOS' 'Gladstone 1836'  Vol. 4
8	SM	<i>All' idea di quell metallo SIGNORI CURIONI E DE BEGNIS, In the Opera of IL BARBIERE DI SEVIGLIA, Composed by SIGNOR G. ROSSINI.</i>	Gioachino Rossini (1792-1868) / Cesare Sterbini (1784-1831)	<i>Il barbiere di Siviglia</i> (Rome, 1816; London, 1818)	Lonsdale & Mills, 140 New Bond Street	'ITALIAN DUETS AND TRIOS' 'Gladstone 1836'  Vol. 4

9	SM	<i>DOVE VAI? Duetto in the Celebrated Opera of Guillaume Tell Composed by G. Rossini.</i>	Gioachino Rossini (1792-1868) / Victor-Joseph Étienne de Jouy (1764-1846); Hippolyte Louis Florent Bis (1789-1855), trans. / adapted by Luigi Balocchi (ca.1766-1832)	<i>Guglielmo Tell</i> (Paris, 1829; London, 1830) <sup>1</sup>	Goulding & D'Almaine, 20 Soho Square [1832?]	'ITALIAN DUETS AND TRIOS' 'Gladstone 1836'  Vol. 4
10	SM	<i>Parlar spiegar non posso Duetto In the Oratorio of MOSÈ IN EGITTO, Composed by Signor G. Rossini.</i>	Gioachino Rossini (1792-1868) / Andrea Leone Tottola (d.1831)	<i>Mosè in Egitto</i> (Naples, 1818; London, 1822)	Birchall & Co., 140 New Bond Street [between 1824 and 1829]	'ITALIAN DUETS AND TRIOS' 'Gladstone 1836'  Vol. 4
11	SM	<i>Un segreto d'importanza, Duetto, in the Opera of LA CENERENTOLA, Composed by Signor Rossini.</i>	Gioachino Rossini (1792-1868) / Jacopo Ferretti (1784-1852)	<i>La Cenerentola, ossia La bontà in trionfo</i> (Rome, 1817; London, 1820)	Birchall & Co., 140 New Bond Street [1832?]	'ITALIAN DUETS AND TRIOS' 'Gladstone 1836'  Vol. 4
12	SM	<i>Se fiato in corpo avete, Duetto, In the Opera IL</i>	Domenico Cimarosa (1749-1801) /	<i>Il matrimonio segreto</i>	Rt. Birchall, 140 New Bond Street [1831]	'ITALIAN DUETS AND TRIOS' 'Gladstone 1836'

<sup>1</sup> The Parisian premiere was for the original French version of this opera, *Guillaume Tell*. It was first performed in London at Drury Lane in 1830 in English. The Italian version was first performed at the King's Theatre in 1839, followed by the French version at Covent Garden in 1845. It has been titled *Guglielmo Tell* here because the duet 'Dove vai?' is from the Italian-texted production.

		<i>MATRIMONIO SEGRETO</i> , Composed by CIMAROSA.	Giovanni Bertati (1735-1815)	(Vienna, 1792; London, 1794)		Vol. 4
13	SM	<i>Il rival salvar tu dei, Duetto, In the Opera of I PURITANI.</i> Composed by SIGNOR BELLINI.	Vincenzo Bellini (1801-1835) / Carlo Pepoli (1796-1881)	<i>I puritani</i> (Paris, 1834; London, 1835)	R. Mills, 140 New Bond Street, & Cramer & Co., 201 Regent Street [1835]	'ITALIAN DUETS AND TRIOS' 'Gladstone 1836'  Vol. 4
14	SM	' <i>L'usato ardir il mio valor dov'e,</i> ' <i>TERZETTO, In the Opera of LA SEMIRAMIDE</i> , Composed by Signor G. Rossini.	Gioachino Rossini (1792-1868) / Gaetano Rossi (1774-1855)	<i>Semiramide</i> (Venice, 1823; London, 1824)	Birchall & Co., 140 New Bond Street [1825?]	'ITALIAN DUETS AND TRIOS' 'Gladstone 1836'  Vol. 4
15	SM	<i>Incerta l'anima, QUINTETTO, in the OPERA of OTELLO</i> , Composed by Signor G. Rossini.	Gioachino Rossini (1792-1868) / Francesco Berio di Salsa	<i>Otello</i> (Naples, 1816; London, 1822)	Birchall & Co., 140 New Bond Street	'ITALIAN DUETS AND TRIOS' 'Gladstone 1836'  Vol. 4
16	SM	<i>Ti parli l'amore, TERZETTO, in the Opera of OTELLO</i> , Composed by Signor G. Rossini.	Gioachino Rossini (1792-1868) / Francesco Berio di Salsa	<i>Otello</i> (Naples, 1816; London, 1822)	Birchall & Co., 140 New Bond Street	'ITALIAN DUETS AND TRIOS' 'Gladstone 1836'  Vol. 4
17	SM	<i>Regna il terror, CHORUS in TANCREDI</i> , Composed by ROSSINI. Arranged by MORTELLARI.	Gioachino Rossini (1792-1868) arr. Michele Mortellari (c.1750-1807) / Gaetano Rossi	<i>Tancredi</i> (Venice, 1813; London, 1820)	S. Chappell, 135 New Bond Street	'ITALIAN DUETS AND TRIOS' 'Gladstone 1836'  Vol. 4

			(1774-1855)			
18	SM	<i>Donna chi sei? Bianca son io, RECITATIVO, E Cielo il mio labbro ispira, QUARTETTO, In the Opera of BIANCA E FALLIERO, Composed by Signor G. Rossini.</i>	Gioachino Rossini (1792-1868) / Felice Romani (1788-1865)	<i>Bianca e Falliero, ossia Il consiglio dei tre</i> (Milan, 1819)	Birchall & Co., 140 New Bond Street [1832?]	'ITALIAN DUETS AND TRIOS' 'Gladstone 1836'  Vol. 4
19	SM	<i>Si dira che siete un Orso, TERZETTO, In the Celebrated Opera of AGNESE, Composed by Signor Ferdinando Paer</i>	Ferdinando Paer (1771-1839) / Luigi Buonavoglia	<i>Agnese</i> (Parma, 1809; London, 1820)	Rt. Birchall, 133 New Bond Street [1831?]	'ITALIAN DUETS AND TRIOS' 'Gladstone 1836'  Vol. 4
20	SM	<i>Dolce Tranquillita, TRIO, Sung by Sigr Pucitta, Sigr Collini &amp; Sigr Righi, In the Opera I Villeggiatori Bizzarri, Composed by Sigr PUCITTA.</i>	Vincenzo Pucitta (1778-1861) / Serafino Buonaiuti	<i>I villeggiatori bizzarri</i> (London, 1809)	Chappell & Co., 50 New Bond Street [1825?]	'ITALIAN DUETS AND TRIOS' 'Gladstone 1836'  Vol. 4
21	SM	<i>Padre! oh spavento! Recitvo, Deh! fermate non t'ascolto, DUETTO, in the Opera of LA SPOSA FEDELE, Composed by Signor Pacini.</i>	Giovanni Pacini (1796-1867) / Gaetano Rossi (1774-1855)	<i>La sposa fedele</i> (Venice, 1819) <sup>2</sup>	Birchall & Co., 140 New Bond Street [1831?]	'ITALIAN DUETS' 'Gladstone 1836'  Vol. 5
22	SM	<i>Ah! Sposo mio! RECITVO. E Squarcia mi il core o barbaro,</i>	Giovanni Pacini (1796-1867)	<i>L'ultimo giorno di Pompei</i>	Birchall & Co., 140 New Bond Street	'ITALIAN DUETS' 'Gladstone 1836'

<sup>2</sup> The first London performance date is unknown.

		<i>DUETTO in the Opera of L'ULTIMO GIORNO DI POMPEI, Composed by Signor G. Pacini.</i>	/ Andrea Leone Tottola (d.1831)	(Naples, 1825; London, 1831)	[1832?]	Vol. 5
23	SM	<i>La ripose il mio Germano. DUETTO, Nell Opera Giulietta e Romeo, del SGR M VACCAJ.</i>	Nicola Vaccai (1790-1848) / Felice Romani (1788-1865)	<i>Giulietta e Romeo</i> (Barcelona, 1827; London, 1832)	T. Welsh, Royal Harmonie Institution Argyll Rooms, 246 Regent Street [1832?]	'ITALIAN DUETS' 'Gladstone 1836' Vol. 5
24	SM	<i>Cara figlia il ciel seconda, DUETTO in the Opera of MEDEA IN CORINTO, Composed by Signor S. Mayer.</i>	Simon Mayr (1763-1845) / Felice Romani (1788-1865)	<i>Medea in Corinto</i> (Naples, 1813; London, 1826)	Birchall & Co., 140 New Bond Street [1832?]	'ITALIAN DUETS' 'Gladstone 1836' Vol. 5
25	SM	<i>Crudel, perchè finora, DUETTO, in the Opera of LE NOZZE DI FIGARO, Composed by Mozart.</i>	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756-1791) / Lorenzo Da Ponte (1749-1838)	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i> (Vienna, 1786; London, 1812)	Birchall & Co., 140 New Bond Street [1831?]	'ITALIAN DUETS' 'Gladstone 1836' Vol. 5
26	SM	<i>Questo cor ti giura amore, DUETTINO, In the Opera of DEMETRIO E POLIBIO, Composed by Signor G. Rossini.</i>	Gioachino Rossini (1792-1868) /	<i>Demetrio e Polibio</i> (Rome, 1812; London, 1822) <sup>3</sup>	Birchall & Co., 140 New Bond Street [1832?]	'ITALIAN DUETS' 'Gladstone 1836' Vol. 5

<sup>3</sup> This opera was first performed in London in 1822 under the title *Pietro l'Eremita*.

			Vincenza Viganò-Mombelli (1760-1814)			
27	SM	<i>Ella oh ciel! RECITVO. E Quel torbido aspeto DUETTO In the Opera of TORVALDO E DORLISKA, Composed by Signor Rossini.</i>	Gioachino Rossini (1792-1868) / Cesare Sterbini (1784-1831)	<i>Torvaldo e Dorliska</i> (Rome, 1815)	Birchall & Co., 140 New Bond Street [1832?]	‘ITALIAN DUETS’ / ‘Gladstone 1836’  Vol. 5
28	SM	<i>M'abbraccia, argiriom SCENA, ED Ah! si di mali miei, DUETTO In the Opera of IL TANCREDI Composed by Signor G. Rossini.</i>	Gioachino Rossini (1792-1868) / Gaetano Rossi (1774-1855)	<i>Tancredi</i> (Venice, 1813; London, 1820)	Birchall & Co., 140 New Bond Street [1831?]	‘ITALIAN DUETS’ ‘Gladstone 1836’  Vol. 5
29	SM	<i>Si mel credi allor che pensi, DUETTO, in the Opera of L'ESULE DI GRANATA, Composed by SIGNOR MEYERBEER.</i>	Giacomo Meyerbeer (1791-1864) / Felice Romani (1788-1865)	<i>L'esule di Granata</i> (Milan, 1822; London, 1829)	Birchall & Co., 140 New Bond Street [1832?]	‘ITALIAN DUETS’ ‘Gladstone 1836’  Vol. 5
30	SM	<i>Non più andrai farfallone amoroso, ARIA, In the Opera of LE NOZZE DI FIGARO, Composed by Mozart.</i>	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756-1791) / Lorenzo Da Ponte (1749-1838)	<i>Le nozze di Figaro</i> (Vienna, 1786; London, 1812)	R. Birchall, 140 New Bond Street [1835?]	‘ITALIAN SONGS’ ‘Gladstone 1836’  Vol. 6
31	SM	<i>Madamina! il catalogo è questo, ARIA, In the Opera of IL DON GIOVANNI, Composed by Mozart.</i>	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756-1791) /	<i>Don Giovanni</i> (Prague, 1787; London, 1817)	R. Birchall, 140 New Bond Street [1831?]	‘ITALIAN SONGS’ / ‘Gladstone 1836’

			Lorenzo Da Ponte (1749-1838)			Vol. 6
32	SM	<i>Quì sdegno non s'accende, ARIA, In the Opera of IL FLAUTO MAGICO, Composed by Mozart.</i>	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756-1791) / Emanuel Schikaneder (1751-1812)	<i>Il flauto magico</i> (Vienna, 1791; London, 1811)	R. Birchall, 140 New Bond Street [1829?]	'ITALIAN SONGS' 'Gladstone 1836'  Vol. 6
33	SM	<i>Sconsigliato che fò? Recitativ Care mie vaghe donnette: AIR de Sigr Paer, Composè pour Mr Barilli, Chantè dans l'Opera Così fan Tutte DE MOZART.</i>	Ferdinando Paer (1771-1839) / Lorenzo Da Ponte (1749-1838)	<i>Così fan tutte</i> (Vienna, 1790; London, 1811) <sup>4</sup>	A Paris: Chez Carli, editeur Marchand de musique, Place et Pèristyle des Italiens. [1833?]	'ITALIAN SONGS' 'Gladstone 1836'  Vol. 6
34	SM	<i>Come un' ape nei giorni d'aprile ARIA, Sung by Signor Tomburini, in the Opera of LA CENERENTOLA, Composed by Signor Rossini.</i>	Gioachino Rossini (1792-1868) / Jacopo Ferretti (1784-1852)	<i>La Cenerentola, ossia La bontà in trionfo</i> (Rome, 1817; London, 1820)	C. Lonsdale, 26 Old Bond Street [1835?]	'ITALIAN SONGS' 'Gladstone 1836'  Vol. 6
35	SM	<i>Miei rampolli femminini, ARIA in the Opera of LA CENERENTOLA, Composed by SIGNOR G. ROSSINI.</i>	Gioachino Rossini (1792-1868) / Jacopo Ferretti (1784-1852)	<i>La Cenerentola, ossia La bontà in trionfo</i> (Rome, 1817; London, 1820)	C. Lonsdale, 26 Old Bond Street	'ITALIAN SONGS' 'Gladstone 1836'  Vol. 6

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<sup>4</sup> The principal composer of this work was Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756-1791).

36	SM	<i>L'inganno fortunato Opera semi Seria Musica del Maestro ROSSINI Ridotta con accompagnamento di Piano Forte</i> / <i>ARIA Nell'INGANNO FORTUNATO Musica di Rossini Cantata da GALLI.</i> / 'Una voce m'ha colpito'	Gioachino Rossini (1792-1868) / Giuseppe Maria Foppa (1750-1845)	<i>L'inganno fortunato</i> (Venice, 1812; London, 1819) <sup>5</sup>	Paris, Au Magasin de Musique de PACINI, Boulevard des Italiens, No. 11	'ITALIAN SONGS' 'Gladstone 1836'  Vol. 6
37	SM	<i>Sorgète in si bel giorno, Aria, in the Opera of MAOMETTO SECONDO, Composed by Signor Rossini.</i>	Gioachino Rossini (1792-1868) / Cesare della Valle (1776/77-1860)	<i>Maometto secondo</i> (Naples, 1820; London, 1825)	Birchall & Co., 140 New Bond Street [1831?]	'ITALIAN SONGS' 'Gladstone 1836'  Vol. 6
38	SM	<i>Ah! gia trascorse, CAVATINA, in ZELMIRA, Composed by ROSSINI. Arranged by MORTELLARI.</i>	Gioachino Rossini (1792-1868), arr. Michele Mortellari (c.1750-1807) / Andrea Leone Tottola (d.1831)	<i>Zelmira</i> (Naples, 1822; London, 1824)	Chappell & Co., 50 New Bond Street [1833?]	'ITALIAN SONGS' 'Gladstone 1836'  Vol. 6
39	SM	<i>Il mio piano è preparato, CAVATINA, In the Opera of LA</i>	Gioachino Rossini (1792-1868) /	<i>La gazza ladra</i> (Milan, 1817; London, 1821)	Birchall & Co., 140 New Bond Street [1830]	'ITALIAN SONGS' 'Gladstone 1836'

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<sup>5</sup> This one-act opera is more commonly known as *L'inganno felice*.



		<i>GAZZA LADRA, Composed by Signor G. Rossini</i>	Giovanni Gherardini			Vol. 6
40	SM	<i>Agitato da smania funesta, ARIA, Composed expressly for Signor de Begnis, in the Opera I Fuorusciti, BY PAER.</i>	Ferdinando Paer (1771-1839) / Angelo Anelli (1761-1820)	<i>I fuorusciti di Firenze</i> (Dresden, 1802; London, 1825)	T. Boosey & Co., 28 Holles Street, Oxford Street [1831?]	'ITALIAN SONGS' 'Gladstone 1836'  Vol. 6
41	SM	<i>Come la nebbia al vento, CAVATINA, In the celebrated Opera of AGNESE, Composed by Signor Ferdinando Paer.</i>	Ferdinando Paer (1771-1839) / Luigi Buonavoglia	<i>Agnese</i> (Parma, 1809; London, 1820)	Rt. Birchall, 133 New Bond Street [1832?]	'ITALIAN SONGS' 'Gladstone 1836' Vol. 6
42	SM	<i>Quando lo trovero, CAVATINA, In the celebrated Opera of AGNESE, Composed by Signor Ferdinando Paer.</i>	Ferdinando Paer (1771-1839) / Luigi Buonavoglia	<i>Agnese</i> (Parma, 1809; London, 1820)	Rt. Birchall, 133 New Bond Street [1832?]	'ITALIAN SONGS' 'Gladstone 1836'  Vol. 6
43	SM	<i>Alla natia capanna, ARIA, as Sung by Signor Valdi, in the Opera of GRISELDA, Composed by Signor Ferdinando Paer.</i>	Ferdinando Paer (1771-1839) / Angelo Anelli (1761-1820)	<i>Griselda, ossia La virtù al cimento</i> (Parma, 1798; London, 1817)	Rt. Birchall, 133 New Bond Street [1833?]	'ITALIAN SONGS' 'Gladstone 1836'  Vol. 6
44	SM	<i>A rispettarmi apprenda, Aria Composed by SIGNOR M. CARAFA, Introduced &amp; Sung by</i>	Michele Carafa (1787-1872) / Andrea Leone Tottola (d.1831)	<i>Mosè in Egitto</i> (Naples, 1818; London, 1822)	Birchall & Co., 140 New Bond Street	'ITALIAN SONGS' 'Gladstone 1836'  Vol. 6

		<i>Signor Euchelli, In the Opera of MOSÈ IN EGITTO.</i> <sup>6</sup>				
45	SM	<i>Bello ardir d'uncongiurato, ARIA, in the Opera of MARINO FALIERO, Composed by DONIZETTI.</i>	Gaetano Donizetti (1797-1848) / Giovanni Emanuele Bidera (1784-1858), rev. Agostino Ruffini	<i>Marino Faliero</i> (Paris, 1835; London, 1835)	Mori & Lavenu's New Muscial Subscription Library, 28 New Bond Street	Box 1 (Loose SM)
46	SM	<i>Ah! Nel cuor mi suona un grido, CAVATINA, In the Opera of GEMMA DI VERGY, Composed by Signor Donizetti.</i>	Gaetano Donizetti (1797-1848) / Giovanni Emanuele Bidera (1784-1858)	<i>Gemma di Vergy</i> (Milan, 1834; London, 1842)	R. Mills, 140 New Bond Street	Box 1 (Loose SM)
47	SM	<i>AMBO NATI IN QUESTA VALLE, Romanza, Nell'Opera LINDA DI CHAMOUNIX, dal Maestro DONIZETTI.</i>	Gaetano Donizetti (1797-1848) / Gaetano Rossi (1774-1855)	<i>Linda di Chamounix</i> (Vienna, 1842; London, 1843)	T. Boosey & Co., 28 Holles Street, Oxford Street [1843?]	Box 1 (Loose SM)
48	SM	<i>Cari luoghi ov'io passai, Romanza, Nell'Opera LINDA DI CHAMOUNIX, dal Maestro DONIZETTI.</i>	Gaetano Donizetti (1797-1848) / Gaetano Rossi (1774-1855)	<i>Linda di Chamounix</i> (Vienna, 1842; London, 1843)	T. Boosey & Co., 28 Holles Street, Oxford Street [1843?]	Box 1 (Loose SM)

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<sup>6</sup> This item was added for the 1822 London production.

49	SM	<i>PER SUA MADRE ANDÒ UNA FIGLIA, Ballata, Nell'Opera LINDA DI CHAMOUNIX, dal Maestro DONIZETTI.</i>	Gaetano Donizetti (1797-1848) / Gaetano Rossi (1774-1855)	<i>Linda di Chamounix</i> (Vienna, 1842; London, 1843)	T. Boosey & Co., 28 Holles Street, Oxford Street [1843?]	Box 1 (Loose SM)
50	SM	<i>A CONSOLARMI AFFRETTISSI (FOR ONE VOICE.) Sung with great applause in Donizetti's Opera LINDA DI CHAMOUNIX.</i>	Gaetano Donizetti (1797-1848) / Gaetano Rossi (1774-1855)	<i>Linda di Chamounix</i> (Vienna, 1842; London, 1843)	T. Boosey & Co., 28 Holles Street, Oxford Street [1843?]	Box 1 (Loose SM)
51	SM	<i>Per la gloria d'adorarvi, Aria in the Opera of GRISELDA, Sung by Mr H .Phillips at the Ancient Concerts, Composed by Giov. Bat. Buononcini, Arranged by C. Lucas, One of the Conductors of the above Concerts.</i>	Giovanni Battista Bononcini (1670-1747) / Apostolo Zeno (1669-1750), rev. Paolo Antonio Rolli (1687-1765)	<i>Griselda</i> (London, 1722)	C. Lonsdale, 26 Old Bond Street [1843?]	Box 1 (Loose SM)
52	SM	<i>ESALTIAM LA TUA POTENZA (FOR ONE VOICE.) Sung with the greatest applause by LA BLACHE, Donizetti's favorite Opera, LINDA DI CHAMOUNI.</i>	Gaetano Donizetti (1797-1848) / Gaetano Rossi (1774-1855)	<i>Linda di Chamounix</i> (Vienna, 1842; London, 1843)	T. Boosey & Co., 28 Holles Street, Oxford Street [1843?]	Box 1 (Loose SM)
53	SM	<i>Armida dispietata RECITVO. E Lascia ch'io pianga, Aria in the Opera of RINALDO, as Sung by Madame Pauline Viardot Garcia, &amp; Arranged for the Concerts of Ancient Music by H. R. BISHOP</i>	George Frideric Handel (1685-1759) / Giacomo Rossi	<i>Rinaldo</i> (London, 1711)	C. Lonsdale, 26 Old Bond Street	Box 1 (Loose SM)

## Appendix D

		<i>Mus. Bac. Oxon. (Conductor of the above Concerts)</i>				
54	SM	<i>O DE' VERD' ANNI MIEI. CAVATINA FROM Verdi's admired Opera Ernani.</i>	Giuseppe Verdi (1813-1901) / Francesco Maria Piave (1810-1876)	<i>Ernani</i> (Venice, 1844; London, 1845)	T. Boosey & Co., 28 Holles Street, Oxford Street	Box 1 (Loose SM)
55	SM	<i>DUETTO E ben per mia memoria nell'Opera LA GAZZA LADRA Del Sigr. Mo. Gioachino Rossini. Eseguito al R. Teatro alla Scala, dale Sigr. Belloc e Gallianis. Dedicato dall'Editore ALL'ILLMA. Sgra. CONTESSA AMALIA BELGIOJOSO.</i>	Gioachino Rossini (1792-1868) / Giovanni Gherardini	<i>La gazza ladra</i> (Milan, 1817; London, 1821)	Milano	Box 1 (Loose SM)
56	SM	<i>Di piacer mi balza il cor CAVATINA NELL'OPERA LA GAZZA LADRA DEL SIGNOR MO. Gioachino Rossini Ridotta con accompagnamento di Chitarra Dal Dilettante il Sigr Carlo Gherardini</i>	Gioachino Rossini (1792-1868) / Giovanni Gherardini	<i>La gazza ladra</i> (Milan, 1817; London, 1821)	Milano	Box 1 (Loose SM)
57	MS	<i>'Una Voce poco fa Cavatina Nel Barbier di Siviglia Ridotta con Accompto del Piano Forte Del Sigr Gioacchino Rossini Nel Mago: e Stampa. di Musica di</i>	Gioachino Rossini (1792-1868) / Cesare Sterbini (1784-1831)	<i>Il barbiere di Siviglia</i> (Rome, 1816; London, 1818)	N/A	Box 2 (Loose MSS)

		Giuseppe Lorenzi, Sulla Piazza di S. Lorenzo, In Firenze'				
58	MS	'Tu che accendi questo core Scena, e Cavatina Ridotta & Pian Forte Del Sigr Giovacchino Rossini IN FIRENZE' Nel Magarzino, e Stamperia di Musica / di Giuseppe Lorenzi sulla Piazza di S Lorenzo.'	Gioachino Rossini (1792-1868) arr. Michele Mortellari (c.1750-1807) / Gaetano Rossi (1774-1855)	<i>Tancredi</i> (Venice, 1813; London, 1820)	N/A	Box 2 (Loose MSS)



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