Winkler, Amanda Eubanks, and Richard Schoch. "Notes." *Shakespeare in the Theatre: Sir William Davenant and the Duke's Company*. London: The Arden Shakespeare, 2022. 163–196. *Bloomsbury Collections*. Web. 26 Apr. 2023. <<http://dx.doi.org/10.5040/9781350130609.0009>>.

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NOTES

Chapter 1

- 1 The final parenthetical is struck through in Aubrey's manuscript; the quotation is taken from John Aubrey, *Brief Lives with An Apparatus for the Lives of the English Mathematical Writers*, vol. 1, ed. Kate Bennett (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 140.
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 Mary Edmond, 'Davenant [D'Avenant], Sir William (1606–1668), poet, playwright, and theatre manager', *ODNB* (accessed 7 October 2019). On Davenant's parentage, early life, and connection to Shakespeare, see also Edmond, *Rare Sir William Davenant* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987), 1–26.
- 4 Edmond, *Rare Sir William Davenant*, 24.
- 5 Ibid., 39.
- 6 He had married his first wife, also named Mary, shortly upon his arrival in London. On Davenant's wives, see Edmond, 'Davenant [D'Avenant], Sir William', *ODNB*.
- 7 Edmond, *Rare Sir William Davenant*, 54.
- 8 Paula R. Backscheider, *Spectacular Politics: Theatrical Power and Mass Culture in Early Modern England* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 1–31.
- 9 On the collaborative nature of the masque and the importance of spectacle, see Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong, *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court*, vol. 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 1–14.
- 10 [William Davenant], *Luminalia, or the Festivall of Light* (London, 1637[8]), A[1r].
- 11 On Lanier's engagement with recitative and Italianate styles more generally, see Ian Spink, 'Lanier family [Laniere, Laneare,

- Laneer, Lanyer, Lenear etc.], *GMO* (accessed 31 January 2020); on Lanier and *Luminalia*, see Michael Wilson, *Nicholas Lanier: Master of the King's Musick* (London: Routledge, 1994), 185.
- 12 [Davenant], *Luminalia*, 20–1.
 - 13 There is debate over whether he was officially appointed, although his contemporaries believed him to be the poet laureate; Edmond, *Rare Sir William Davenant*, 73–4.
 - 14 Robert Read wrote to his cousin, Thomas Windebank, ‘They say it was very good, but I believe the disorder was never so great at any’, *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles I. 1639–40*, vol. 15 (London: Longman & Co., 1877), 365.
 - 15 [William Davenant], *Salmacida Spolia* (London, 1639[40]), D1[v].
 - 16 Martin Butler, ‘Politics and the Masque: *Salmacida Spolia*’, in *Literature and the English Civil War*, ed. Thomas Healy and Jonathan Sawday (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 70.
 - 17 Davenant’s patent is reprinted in Thomas Rymer, *Foedera* 3rd edn, vol. 20 (London, 1744), 377–8. See also John Freehafer, ‘Brome, Suckling, and Davenant’s Theater Project of 1639’, *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 10, no. 3 (1968): 367–83.
 - 18 Edmond, *Rare Sir William Davenant*, 75–6.
 - 19 Edmond, *Rare Sir William Davenant*, 91; Edmond, ‘Davenant [D’Avenant], Sir William’, ODNB (accessed 14 February 2020).
 - 20 Edmond, *Rare Sir William Davenant*, 93–6.
 - 21 Edmond, *Rare Sir William Davenant*, 97; Edmond, ‘Davenant [D’Avenant], Sir William’, ODNB (accessed 16 February 2020).
 - 22 Edmond, *Rare Sir William Davenant*, 103–20; Edmond, ‘Davenant [D’Avenant], Sir William’, ODNB (accessed 16 February 2020).
 - 23 [Davenant], *A Proposition for Advancement of Moraltie, By a new way of Entertainment of the People* (London, 1654[3]), 2.
 - 24 *Ibid.*, 13–15.
 - 25 *Cupid and Death* was performed again in 1659 in a revised version. The music exists only in Matthew Locke’s short score,

copied for the 1659 production. It remains unclear how much revision took place between 1653 and 1659, if Locke was involved in the 1653 version, or if Gibbons composed the score on his own. Curtis Price, 'Cupid and Death', *GMO* (accessed 21 February 2020).

- 26 J[ames] S[hirley], *Cupid and Death* (London, 1653), [19], A2[r].
- 27 On this entertainment, see Edmond, *Rare Sir William Davenant*, 122–3 and Andrew R. Walkling, *Masque and Opera in England, 1656–1688* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), 151–2.
- 28 *A Proposition for Advancement of Morallitie*, 14–15.
- 29 *The First Days Entertainment at Rutland-House, By Declamations and Musick: After the manner of the Ancients* (London, 1655[6]), 3–40.
- 30 *The Siege of Rhodes Made a Representation by the Art of Prospective in Scenes, and the Story Sung in Recitative Musick* (London, 1656). On the work's combination of music and scenic effect, see Walkling, *Masque and Opera*, 164–75. Dawn Lewcock reproduces Webb's designs in *Sir William Davenant, the Court Masque, and the English Seventeenth-Century Scenic Stage, c1605–1700* (Amherst, NY: Cambria Press, 2008), 96–102.
- 31 James Winn analyses Davenant's libretto and discusses its impact on heroic drama and later English opera in 'Heroic Song: A Proposal for a Revised History of English Theater and Opera, 1656–1711', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 30, no. 2 (1996/1997): 113–37. As Andrew Pinnock and Bruce Wood note, while Davenant discusses his approach to recitative, he does not explain his poetic strategy for the more 'tuneful' or 'dance-patterned end of the song spectrum'; 'The Mangled Chime: The Accidental Death of the Opera Libretto in Civil War England', *Early Music* 36, no. 2 (2008): 272.
- 32 Niall Allsopp describes Davenant's careful political positioning during the 1650s in chapter 5 of *Poetry and Sovereignty in the English Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020).
- 33 Quoted in Janet Clare, 'The Production and Reception of Davenant's "Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru"', *The Modern Language Review* 89, no. 4 (1994): 834.
- 34 Clare, 'The Production and Reception', 835.

- 35 [William Davenant], *The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru. Exprest by Instrumentall and Vocall Musick, and by Art of Perspective in Scenes, &c.* (London, 1658), 26.
- 36 Clare, 'The Production and Reception', 836.
- 37 Edmond, *Rare Sir William Davenant*, 130; Stephen Watkins, 'The Protectorate Playhouse: William Davenant's Cockpit in the 1650s', *Shakespeare Bulletin* 37, no. 1 (2019): 98.
- 38 We cannot be more precise about the nature of the singing because the music for *The Cruelty of the Spaniards* does not survive.
- 39 [William Davenant], *The History of S^r Francis Drake. Exprest by Instrumentall and Vocall Musick, and by Art of Perspective in Scenes, &c.* (London, 1659), 1.
- 40 John Evelyn saw a performance, which he described as being 'after the *Italian* way in *Recitative Music & Sceanes*', *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. E.S. De Beer, vol. 3, *Kalendarium, 1650–1672* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 229. John Aubrey also indicates that it had recitative, although his memory is sometimes faulty (Edmond, *Rare Sir William Davenant*, 134–5). The musical components of the entertainment cannot be determined with absolute certainty as Matthew Locke's 'Symerons Dance' is the only piece that survives. It is no. 279 in John Playford's *Courtly Masquing Ayres* (1662).
- 41 William Davenant, *The Play-House to be Lett*, in *The Works of S^r William Davenant K^t*, vol. 2 (London, 1673), 72.
- 42 Winn describes the 'ironic' framing of these older musical works in *The Playhouse to Be Let*, and their influence on post-Restoration operatic forms in 'Heroic Song', 121ff.
- 43 [Davenant], *The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru*, 19.
- 44 [Davenant], *The Cruelty of the Spaniards*, 18.
- 45 John Dryden, *The Indian Emperour; or The Conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards*, in *The Works of John Dryden*, ed. H.T. Swedenberg, Jr., Earl Miner, and Vinton A. Dearing, vol. 9 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), 84.
- 46 On simian dancers, see Michael Burden, 'Dancing Monkeys at Dorset Garden (Henry Purcell's Opera "The Fairy Queen")', *Theatre Notebook* 57, no. 3 (2003): 119–35.
- 47 Winn, 'Heroic Song', 114.

Chapter 2

- 1 On theatrical activity in London in 1660, see Leslie J. Hotson, *The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1928), 198ff.
- 2 John Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus, or an Historical Review of the Stage* (London, 1708), 18. The production had an all-male cast and likely little or no movable scenery.
- 3 Sir Henry Herbert to William Beeston, a license for Salisbury Court Playhouse, [June] 1660, Lbl Add. MS 19256 f. 100. See also David Thomas and Arnold Hare, ed. *Restoration and Georgian England, 1660-1788* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 8.
- 4 Michael Mohun and the actors at the Red Bull to Sir Henry Herbert, August 14, 1660, Lna CP 40/2751/Mem. 317. See also Hotson, *Commonwealth and Restoration Stage*, 202.
- 5 See G.E. Bentley's discussion of acting companies on the eve of the Civil War in the first volume of his *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1941).
- 6 Davenant penned the text for *Salmacida Spolia* (1640), the last Stuart court masque performed before the outbreak of the English Civil War. Inigo Jones designed the scenery, costumes, and stage effects. Unusually, both Charles I, playing Philogenes ('lover of the people'), and the pregnant Queen Henrietta Maria performed in it. The queen and her Ladies-in-waiting had earlier performed in Davenant's *The Temple of Love* (1634) and *Luminalia* (1638).
- 7 Davenant's patent is reprinted in Rymer, *Foedera* 3rd edn, vol. 20, 377–8. See also Freehafer, 'Brome, Suckling, and Davenant's Theater Project of 1639', 367–83.
- 8 See Bentley, *Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, 6: 305–9. Richard Brome satirized Davenant's ambition in *The Court Beggar* – first performed at the Cockpit in 1640 – by claiming that the proposed theatre would be built not on Fleet Street, but upon barges spanning the Fleet River: '[B]uylding a new Theatre or Play-house / Upon the Thames on Barges or flat boats' (1.1.276–9).
- 9 Davenant, *A Proposition for Advancement of Morallitie*, 14.

- 10 *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, Entry Book v, 158; transcribed in Hotson, *Commonwealth and Restoration Stage*, 400.
- 11 Lna SP29/81. See transcription in Edward A. Langhans, 'The Theatre', in *The Cambridge Companion to English Restoration Theatre*, ed. Deborah Payne Fiske (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 1–18; citation at 1.
- 12 Lbl Add Ms 19256 f. 47. See transcription in Thomas and Hare, *Restoration and Georgian England*, 11–12, and N.W. Bawcutt, ed. *The Control and Censorship of Caroline Drama: The Records of Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels 1623–73* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 226–8.
- 13 Lbl Add. MS 19256 f. 47. See transcription in Thomas and Hare, *Restoration and Georgian England*, 12.
- 14 Sir Henry Herbert, petition to Charles II, August 4, 1660, Lbl Add. MS 19256 f. 48. See transcription in Thomas and Hare, *Restoration and Georgian England*, 9–10.
- 15 In January 1634, Charles I overruled Herbert's attempt to censor a production of Davenant's *The Wits* at the Blackfriars.
- 16 Sir Geoffrey Palmer, note to Charles II, Lna SP 29/10 n. 108. See transcription in Thomas and Hare, *Restoration and Georgian England*, 11, and Hotson, *Commonwealth and Restoration Stage*, 200.
- 17 Petition of actors from the Cockpit (Phoenix) in Drury Lane to Charles II, 13 October 1660, Lbl Add. MS 19256, f. 71. See transcript in Thomas and Hare, *Restoration and Georgian England*, 13–14, and Hotson, *Commonwealth and Restoration Stage*, 204.
- 18 Beeston apparently tried to stage plays without a license, judging from arrest warrants issued in his name in August 1663 and September 1664 (Hotson, *Commonwealth and Restoration Stage*, 213). And yet Downes, in *Roscius Anglicanus*, lists Beeston among those who acted with the King's Company after the 1663 opening of their theatre in Bridges Street (2). Rhodes, whose actors at the Cockpit became the Duke's Company in November 1660, was granted a license for a 'strolling' company (i.e., one that performed in the provinces outside London) in January 1664 (Hotson, *Commonwealth and Restoration Stage*, 216).

- 19 Petition of the actors at the Cockpit (Phoenix) to Charles II, 13 October 1660, Lbl Add. MS 19256, f. 71. See transcription in Thomas and Hare, *Restoration and Georgian England*, 13–14.
- 20 William Davenant, petition to Charles II, June 1660, quoted in Hotson, *Commonwealth and Restoration Stage*, 211.
- 21 Agreement between Thomas Killigrew and Sir Henry Herbert, 4 June 1662, Lbl Add. MS 19256, f. 66. See transcription in Thomas and Hare, *Restoration and Georgian England*, 15–16. Killigrew agreed to pay Sir Henry forty shillings for every new play that was performed from 11 October 1660 to 4 June 1662 and twenty shillings for every old play performed in the same period.
- 22 This probably occurred in July 1662, a month after Killigrew's agreement, when the Lord Chamberlain summoned Sir Henry and Sir William to appear before him.
- 23 When Killigrew died in 1678 the office passed to his son Charles.
- 24 Quoted in Hotson, *Commonwealth and Restoration Stage*, 211.
- 25 In April 1662, Killigrew and Davenant convinced Charles II to award them individual patents to supersede the original joint patent. But this was no more than recognition in law of what had become a fact of theatrical life: two different – and rival – companies were staging plays in London. The division of the patents reinforced the consequentially distinctive trajectories that each company would follow. This patent also enshrined in law what had already become common practice: 'all the women's parts . . . may be performed by women'. Charles II, patent awarded to Thomas Killigrew, 25 April 1662, Lna C/66/3013. See transcription in Thomas and Hare, *Restoration and Georgian England*, 16–18.
- 26 For a sympathetic reappraisal of Killigrew's management of the King's Company, see David Roberts, 'Thomas Killigrew, Theatre Manager', in *Thomas Killigrew and the Seventeenth-Century English Stage: New Perspectives*, ed. Philip Major (London: Routledge, 2013), 63–91. See also Riki Miyoshi, 'Thomas Killigrew's Early Managerial Career: Carolean Stage Rivalry in London, 1663–1668', *RECTR* 27, no. 2 (2017): 13–33. Roberts and Miyoshi challenge the negative characterization of Killigrew offered by Leslie Hotson, Robert D. Hume, and Judith Milhous.

- 27 The earliest known performance at Gibbon's Tennis Court was Killigrew's *Claricilla* in 1653.
- 28 Lna LC 5/137, reprinted in Allardyce Nicoll, *A History of English Drama: Vol. 1. Restoration Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952), 352.
- 29 Lna LC 5/137, p. 343. The non-Shakespearean plays were John Webster's *The Duchess of Malfi* and Sir John Denham's *The Sophy*. In 1668 the Duke's Company added *Timon of Athens*, *Troilus and Cressida* and the *Henry VI* trilogy to its repertoire.
- 30 In the first season at Vere Street, 1660–1, the only Shakespeare plays performed by the King's Company were *Henry IV, Part 1*, *The Merry Wives of Windsor* and *Othello*. See William Van Lennep, E.L. Avery, and A.H. Scouten, ed. *The London Stage*, 1: 19–33.
- 31 A lawsuit that Sir Henry Herbert filed against Thomas Betterton for unpaid licensing fees refers to performances staged by the Duke's Company beginning on 5 November 1660. See Hotson, *Commonwealth and Restoration Stage*, 208.
- 32 Articles of agreement between Sir William Davenant and the actors at the Cockpit in Drury Lane, 5 November 1660, Lbl Add. MS Charter 9295. See also the transcription in Thomas and Hare, *Restoration and Georgian England*, 33–6.
- 33 The choice by both patentees to adapt tennis courts into theatres was doubtless inspired by the example of the Théâtre du Marais in Paris, which had been converted from the Jeu de Paume tennis court in the 1630s.
- 34 In 1695, Elizabeth Barry, Anne Bracegirdle, and Elinor Leigh were among those who left Christopher Rich's tyrannical management of the United Company at Drury Lane to set up their own breakaway company at the theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields, where the Duke's Company had once performed. Mary Davenant, who inherited the patent after her husband's death in 1668, was not herself an actress in the Duke's Company, but she was the first woman to manage an English theatre company, although the extent of her financial or artistic governance remains uncertain.
- 35 Katherine Philips to Lady Temple, 24 January 1664, manuscript in the Harvard Theatre Collection; see *The London Stage*

- 1: 74. *Pompey the Great* is the English translation (by various hands) of Pierre Corneille's tragedy *La Mort de Pompée* (1642).
- 36 Lisa A. Freeman, 'Jeremy Collier and the Politics of Theatrical Representation', in *Players, Playwrights, Playhouses: Investigating Performance, 1660–1800*, ed. Michael Cordner and Peter Holland (New York: Palgrave, Macmillan 2007), 135–51; citation at 140.
- 37 Charles II and the Duke of York lent their coronation robes to the Duke's Company for their 1664 staging of Orrery's *The History of Henry the Fifth*.
- 38 Lna LC 5/137, 323; see also Thomas and Hare, *Restoration and Georgian England*, 14.
- 39 See the list of accounts for the Cockpit in Court in Eleanore Boswell, *The Restoration Court Stage (1660–1702)* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1932), 239–41.
- 40 Because renovations to the Cockpit had only begun a week or so earlier, the theatre must have felt quite bare to its first Restoration audience.
- 41 Sir John Denham, *The Prologue to his Majesty At the first Play presented at the Cock-pit in Whitehall*. . . . (London, 1660), quoted in Hotson, *Commonwealth and Restoration Stage*, 208–9. Davenant's prologue to *Ignoramus, or the Academical Lawyer*, performed at Whitehall in November 1662, was addressed to Charles II and alluded to James I, his grandfather, having seen the same play.
- 42 Sir William Davenant, 'Poem to the King's Most Sacred Majesty', *The Shorter Poems, and Songs from the Plays and Masques*, ed. A.M. Gibbs (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 371. See Hotson, *Commonwealth and Restoration Stage*, 218–19, and Watkins, 'The Protectorate Playhouse', 89–109.
- 43 In 1664, the failed playwright Richard Flecknoe contrasted, with some exaggeration, the 'plain and simple' theatres of former times, having 'no other scenes nor decorations of the stage', with the modern playhouses of the King's Company and the Duke's Company, whose 'costs and ornament are arrived to the height of magnificence'. Flecknoe, *A Short Discourse of the English Stage* (London, 1664), G7r.

Chapter 3

- 1 John Orrell, *The Theatres of Inigo Jones and John Webb* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 72–4.
- 2 Andrew R. Walkling describes the scenic capabilities at the Cockpit in Drury Lane in *Masque and Opera*, 163–4.
- 3 Burden, ‘Where Did Purcell Keep His Theatre Band?’ *Early Music* 37, no. 3 (2009): 434.
- 4 *Pepys*, 7 November 1667, vol. 8, 521.
- 5 *Pepys*, 12 May 1669, vol. 9, 552–3. Burden describes the placement of the musicians in Lincoln’s Inn Fields in ‘Where Did Purcell Keep His Theatre Band?’ 432.
- 6 On the revised *Siege of Rhodes*, see Walkling, *Masque and Opera*, 175–82. On Pepys and his conflation of actress with role, see Walkling, *Masque and Opera*, 177.
- 7 Colley Cibber, *An Apology for the Life of Mr. Colley Cibber*, 2nd edn (London, 1740), [241].
- 8 See James Winn’s ‘Heroic Song’, 121.
- 9 Langhans, ‘The Theatre’, 2.
- 10 *Ibid.*
- 11 *Pepys*, 20 November 1660, vol. 1, 297. As J.L. Styan notes, this is an odd comment about ‘so makeshift a theatre’; but Pepys did not yet have much experience with playgoing and so he may have been easily impressed, *Restoration Comedy in Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 19.
- 12 Powell, *Restoration Theatre Production* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984), 41.
- 13 On the Hall Theatre’s equipment and dimensions, see Lewcock, *Sir William Davenant*, 121–4.
- 14 Killigrew’s Bridges Street Theatre probably had similar dimensions also; Tim Keenan *Restoration Staging, 1660–74* (London: Routledge, 2017), 76.
- 15 Dawn Lewcock argues that the Hall Theatre and the theatre at Lincoln’s Inn Fields were fitted out in the same fashion; *Sir William Davenant*, 124. Tim Keenan elaborates upon her argument in chapter 3 of *Restoration Staging*.

- 16 Keenan, *Restoration Staging*, 78–82.
- 17 *Pepys*, vol. 2, 161.
- 18 Keenan, *Restoration Staging*, 84–93.
- 19 *Pepys*, vol. 2, 132.
- 20 The play was first printed in *The Works of Sr William Davenant K^t* (London, 1673). It is likely that the folio text represents the way it was played at Lincoln's Inn Fields, as there is no record of a performance after 1671, when the Duke's Company moved to a new theatre at Dorset Garden.
- 21 Davenant, 'The Law Against Lovers', 275, printed in the *The Works of Sr William Davenant, K^t* (London, 1673).
- 22 Barbara A. Murray, *Restoration Shakespeare: Viewing the Voice* (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2001), 40–1.
- 23 *Pepys*, 19 April 1667, vol. 8, 171.
- 24 [William Davenant], *The Rivals. A Comedy* (London, 1668); Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus*, 23–4.
- 25 [William Davenant and John Dryden], *The Tempest, or the Enchanted Island* (London, 1670), 15–16.
- 26 On the use of machines at Killigrew's theatre, see Walkling, *Masque and Opera*, 60–70.
- 27 Andrew R. Walkling, *English Dramatick Opera, 1661–1706* (London: Routledge, 2019), 90.
- 28 Lewcock, *Sir William Davenant*, 149–50.
- 29 Davenant, *A Discourse Upon Gondibert: An Heroick Poem* (Paris, 1650), 8.
- 30 Walkling, *English Dramatick Opera*, 54–60.
- 31 Keenan, *Restoration Staging*, 173.
- 32 Peter Holland, *The Ornament of Action: Text and Performance in Restoration Comedy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 54.
- 33 Betterton and Harris served as administrators for Davenant's heir, Charles, who did not officially become the head of the company until he reached his majority in 1677.
- 34 Walkling, *English Dramatick Opera*, 75–6.

- 35 Robert D. Hume, 'The Nature of the Dorset Garden Theatre', *Theatre Notebook* 36 (1983): 100; Judith Milhous, 'The Multimedia Spectacular on the Restoration Stage', *British Theatre and the Other Arts, 1660–1800*, ed. Shirley Strum Kenny (Washington, DC: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1984), 42, 63 n.5. The precise date of Betterton's trip cannot be ascertained. Planning for the theatre, whose architect remains unknown, began as early as September 1669. See Walkling, *English Dramatick Opera*, 75–8.
- 36 Hotson, *The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage*, 232.
- 37 Brunet, *Voyage d'Angleterre* (1676); quoted in A.M. Nagler, *A Source Book in Theatrical History (Sources of Theatrical History)* (New York: Dover Publications, 1959), 203. Brunet is waxing poetic, referring to the highest tier as 'paradise'.
- 38 Hume, 'The Nature of the Dorset Garden Theatre', 104.
- 39 Edward A. Langhans, 'A Conjectural Reconstruction of the Dorset Garden Theatre', *Theatre Survey* 13 (1972): 74–93; John Spring, 'Platforms and Pictures Frames: A Conjectural Reconstruction of the Duke of York's Theatre, Dorset Garden, 1669–1709', *Theatre Notebook* 31 (1977): 6–19; and Robert D. Hume, 'The Dorset Garden Theatre: A Review of Facts and Problems', *Theatre Notebook* 33 (1979): 4–17.
- 40 Hume, 'The Nature of the Dorset Garden Theatre', 104–7.
- 41 On the use of the balcony as music space, see Mark A. Radice, 'Theater Architecture at the Time of Purcell and Its Influence on His "Dramatick Operas"', *The Musical Quarterly* 74, no. 1 (1990): 114, and Burden, 'Where Did Purcell Keep His Theatre Band', 434–7.
- 42 Langhans, 'A Conjectural Reconstruction', figure 1, 82–3 and figure 2, 84–5.
- 43 Radice, 'Theater Architecture', 119–20.
- 44 Langhans, 'A Conjectural Reconstruction', 78–9.
- 45 Hotson, *Commonwealth and Restoration Stage*, 253–5.
- 46 On the performance date see Judith Milhous and Robert Hume, 'Dating Play Premières from Publication Data', *Harvard Library Bulletin* 22 (1974): 388. Thomas Duffett, *The Empress of Morocco: A Farce* (London, 1674), 30.

- 47 Walkling describes spectacle at Drury Lane in *English Dramatick Opera*, 199–207. A promptbook at the Folger Shakespeare Library (PROMPT T40), *Tyrannick Love: or, the Royal Martyr* . . . (London, 1672), indicates that the special effects in Dryden's play may have been pared back for the production at Drury Lane (Walkling, p. 205).
- 48 On the intermediality of dramatick opera, see Amanda Eubanks Winkler, 'The Intermedial Dramaturgy of Dramatick Opera: Understanding Genre through Performance', *Restoration: Studies in Literary Culture 1660–1700* 42, no. 2 (2018): 13–38.
- 49 Christopher Spencer, *Davenant's Macbeth from the Yale Manuscript: An Edition with a Discussion of the Relation of Davenant's Text to Shakespeare's* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1961), 37. Q1, published by Peter Chetwin, was likely copied from a transcript of Davenant's 'foul papers'. These now-lost 'foul papers' were Davenant's manuscript where he revised Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, crossing through unwanted text and freely making emendations and additions. Q2, published by Andrew Clark, was derived from Q1. Another quarto was issued by William Cademan in 1673; however, this version was almost certainly never staged; it combines the witches' songs penned by Davenant (possibly copied down in the theatre) with Shakespeare's folio text. *Macbeth: a Tragedy. Acted at the Dukes-Theatre* (London, 1673); on this 'bad' quarto, see Spencer, *Davenant's Macbeth*, 8–16. See also his description of Q1 and Q2, 18–24.
- 50 Spencer has posited that the Yale manuscript might reflect theatrical practice (NHUB, Gen. MSS Vol. 548). It may have been copied directly from Davenant's 'foul papers', and seems to have been used to prepare a promptbook because it includes stage directions; Spencer, *Davenant's Macbeth*, 37.
- 51 Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus*, 71–2.
- 52 All stage directions are reproduced from Q1, unless otherwise indicated; [William Davenant], *Macbeth, a Tragedy* (London: Peter Chetwin, 1674), 1.
- 53 [Davenant], *Macbeth*, 3.
- 54 *Ibid.*, 5.

- 55 Ibid., 5–6.
- 56 Ibid., 40.
- 57 Ibid., 48–9.
- 58 Early in *Macbeth*'s performance history, this song had been interpolated from Thomas Middleton's *The Witch*.
- 59 Spencer, *Davenant's Macbeth*, 121–2.
- 60 As suggested by Walkling, *English Dramatick Opera*, 88.
- 61 Lbl Egerton MS 2623, f. 55r. On the prologue, epilogue, and the special effects found in *The Tempest*, see Walkling, *English Dramatick Opera*, 122–38.
- 62 Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus*, 74.
- 63 All stage directions are drawn from [Thomas Shadwell], *The Tempest, Or The Enchanted Island* (London, 1674). This stage direction appears on p. 1. Italics reversed.
- 64 Cary DiPietro notes the alternation between chaos and order in the set design in 'Seeing Places: *The Tempest* and the Baroque Spectacle of the Restoration Theatre', *Shakespeare* 9, no. 2 (2013): 168–86.
- 65 [Shadwell], *The Tempest*, 5.
- 66 DiPietro argues that the 1674 quarto might retain staging practices first developed at Lincoln's Inn Fields; 'Seeing Places', 173.
- 67 [Shadwell], *The Tempest*, 14.
- 68 For a discussion of these scenes and how the changes were accomplished, see Powell, *Restoration Theatre Production*, 78.
- 69 [Shadwell], *The Tempest*, 27.
- 70 Ibid., 29–30.
- 71 Ibid., 59.
- 72 Ibid., 30.
- 73 Ibid., 11.
- 74 Ibid., 78–9.
- 75 Ibid., 80.
- 76 For more on these effects, see Powell, *Restoration Theatre Production*, 82.

Chapter 4

- 1 The second Prince Charles's Men was formed in 1631 after the collapse of the Lord Admiral's Men.
- 2 If prior experience counted, then Davenant unquestionably had the stronger claim, because he had written plays for the King's Men for over a decade.
- 3 James Wright, *Historia Histrionica: An Historical Account of the English Stage* (London, 1699), 3.
- 4 Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, 'New Light on English Acting Companies in 1646, 1648, and 1660', *The Review of English Studies* 42, no. 168 (1991): 487–509, citation at 509. As Milhous and Hume document, not a single member of the 1648 'society' joined Davenant and the Duke's Company in 1660.
- 5 Downes carefully explained that his list of plays for 'the Actors . . . under Mr. Thomas Killigrew' derived from Charles Booth, his counterpart in the King's Company. Downes, *Roscus Anglicanus*, A2r–v.
- 6 Deborah C. Payne, 'Patronage and the Dramatic Marketplace under Charles I and II', *The Yearbook of English Studies* 21 (1991): 137–52; see 142–3.
- 7 Lna LC 5/137, 343. The warrant is dated 12 December 1660.
- 8 Lna LC 5/137, 343–4. See also a transcription in Nicoll, *A History of English Drama*, Vol. 1, 314–15.
- 9 Robert D. Hume, 'Securing a Repertory: Plays on the London Stage 1660–5', in *Poetry and Drama 1570–1700: Essays in Honour of Harold F. Brooks*, ed. Antony Coleman and Antony Hammond (London: Methuen, 1981), 156–72; citation at 157.
- 10 Lna LC 5/139, 375. See transcription in Nicoll, *A History of English Drama*, Vol. 1, 315.
- 11 Allardyce Nicoll, 'The Rights of Beeston and D'Avenant in Elizabethan Plays', *The Review of English Studies* 1, no. 1 (1925): 84–91; see 85–6.
- 12 Lna LC 5/12, 212–13. See transcription in Nicoll, *History of English Drama*, Vol. 1, 315–16.

- 13 Both patent companies acted plays not listed in their respective warrants. Gunnar Sorelius, 'The Rights of the Restoration Theatrical Companies in the Older Drama', *Studia Neophilologica* 37, no. 1 (1965): 174–89; see especially 182–3.
- 14 Initially an opera, *The Siege of Rhodes* was transformed into a play with music for performance in the public theatre. *The London Stage* records thirteen different plays staged by the Duke's Company from the opening of the theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields to the end of the 1661–2 season. Four of them are Davenant's own (*The Siege of Rhodes, Part 1 and Part 2, The Wits, Love and Honour*), four are by or based on Shakespeare (*Hamlet, The Law Against Lovers, Twelfth Night, Romeo and Juliet*), and the remaining five are by other playwrights, including Philip Massinger's *The Bondman* and Fletcher's *The Mad Lover*. See *The London Stage*, 1: 29–52.
- 15 Hume, 'Theatre Performance Records in London, 1660–1705', *Review of English Studies* 67 (2016): 468–95; see 468 especially.
- 16 The main sources for specific theatre performances in London between 1660 and 1705 are: Pepys's diary, the Lord Chamberlain's list of plays attended by the King or Queen (but mostly by Charles II), Sir Henry Herbert's papers, documents from the Lord Chamberlain's office concerning Nell Gwyn's performances at Dorset Garden, and legal records about Penelope Lady Morley that detail her theatre-going from 1696 to 1701. Supplemental information derives from titles pages of printed drama, marginalia and a very small number of playbills. See Hume, 'Theatre Performance Records in London', 468–9.
- 17 Depledge, *Shakespeare's Rise to Cultural Prominence: Politics, Print and Alterations, 1642–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 49–51. In the list printed above we have omitted *The Rivals* – Davenant's adaptation of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* – because the original play by Shakespeare and Fletcher does not appear in the First Folio, the basis upon which Davenant's share of Shakespeare's plays was made.
- 18 Sir Henry Herbert lists 'Revived Play. Mackbeth' in his payment records for November 1663, but there is no evidence confirming that the play was performed at that time. Thus, *The London Stage* lists the first known performance of Davenant's *Macbeth* as 5 November, 1664.

- 19 Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus*, 21.
- 20 Colley Cibber, *An Apology for the Life of Mr. Colley Cibber*, 2nd edn (London, 1740), 84.
- 21 Downes records that the Duke's Company's first production in June 1661 was Davenant's *The Siege of Rhodes*, whose two parts 'continu'd Acting 12 Days without Interruption with great Applause' (*Roscius Anglicanus*, 21). But given the comparatively small size of the London theatre-going population, long runs for even the most successful productions were not commercially feasible.
- 22 'Hamlet being Perform'd by Mr. Betterton, Sir William (having seen Mr. Taylor of the Black-Fryars Company Act it . . .) taught Mr. Betterton in every Particle of it'. Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus*, 21.
- 23 William Shakespeare, *The Tragedy of Hamlet Prince of Denmark. As it is now Acted at his Highness the Duke of York's Theatre* (London, 1676). This quarto was reprinted in 1683, 1695, and 1703.
- 24 See Hazleton Spencer, 'Hamlet under the Restoration', *PMLA* 38, no. 4 (1923): 770–91. Spencer, although he was the first to realize that Q6 was Davenant's source text, was no admirer of the adaptation.
- 25 On different approaches to adapting Shakespeare in the Restoration, see the discussions of individual plays in Murray's *Restoration Shakespeare: Viewing the Voice*.
- 26 Gerard Langbaine, *An Account of the English Dramatick Poets* (Oxford, 1691), 108.
- 27 Davenant's *The Law Against Lovers* was printed only in the 1673 *Works*.
- 28 Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus*, 33.
- 29 Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus*, 22.
- 30 Davenant, not a wealthy man, raised the funds needed to convert Lisle's Tennis Court into a theatre by selling some of his shares in the Duke's Company to investors. See Hotson, *Commonwealth and Restoration Stage*, 219–20.
- 31 *Julius Caesar* is listed among the company's 'Principal Old Stock Plays' while *Titus Andronicus* appears among the 'Old Plays,

- [that] were Acted but now and then' by the King's Company (Downes, *Roscus Anglicanus*, 8–9).
- 32 See Hume, 'Theatre Performance Records in London', 484; Bawcutt, *Control and Censorship*, 268ff; and Joseph Quincy Adams, ed. *The Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1917), 116–18.
 - 33 Downes, *Roscus Anglicanus*, 2–9; citation at 8.
 - 34 *The London Stage* 1:20.
 - 35 Eleanore Boswell, *The Restoration Court Stage* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1932), 105. Records from the Lord Chamberlain's office indicate that a company was paid about twenty pounds for each performance at court. Such performances declined significantly beginning with the reign of William and Mary in 1689.
 - 36 See Boswell's 'A Calendar of Plays Acted at Court', in *Restoration Court Stage*, 278–93. See also James Winn, *Queen Anne: Patroness of Arts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014) and Walkling, *Masque and Opera*.
 - 37 The other four Shakespeare plays were not performed until the late 1680s, by which time James II had succeeded his brother and the rival patent companies had merged into the United Company.
 - 38 *Pepys*, vol. 8, 521.
 - 39 *Pepys*, 29 October 1666, vol. 9, 347. He attended a performance of the comedy *Love in a Tub*, presented by the Duke's Company.

Chapter 5

- 1 John Dryden, 'To my Dear Friend Mr. Congreve, on his Comedy, Call'd, the Double Dealer' (1694), in *The Works of John Dryden*, ed. A.B. Chambers, William Frost, and Vincent A. Dearing, vol. 4 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 432.
- 2 Davenant, *Kings Most Sacred Majesty*, D3v.
- 3 Articles of agreement between Davenant and the acting company at the Cockpit in Drury Lane, 5 November 1660, Lbl Add MS Charter 9295; Thomas and Hare, *Restoration and*

- Georgian England*, 33–36. Pepys mistakenly referred to Salisbury Court as ‘Blackfryars’.
- 4 ‘Then the Queene personating the chiefe Heroine . . . is sent downe from Heaven’. William Davenant, *Salmacida Spolia a Masque* . . . (London, 1639), B1v.
 - 5 Mary Davenant, ‘Epistle Dedicatory’, in *The Works of S^r William Davenant K^t* (London, 1673), n.p.
 - 6 Composed by Alphonso Marsh, Davis’s song ‘Wake all ye dead’ survives in *Select Ayres and Dialogues To Sing to the Theorbo-Lute or Basse-Viol* . . . *The Second Book* (London, 1669), 60.
 - 7 *Pepys*, 18 August 1660.
 - 8 Petition of actors to Charles II, 13 October 1660, Lbl Add. MS 19256, f. 71; Thomas and Hare, *Restoration and Georgian England*, 13–14.
 - 9 Bawcutt, *Control and Censorship of Caroline Drama*, 238.
 - 10 Mary Davis left the Duke’s Company shortly after Davenant’s death in 1668.
 - 11 *Pepys*, 18 February 1662.
 - 12 *Pepys*, 16 October 1667, vol. 8, 482. Pepys returned to Lincoln’s Inn Fields to see *Macbeth* three weeks later and was again disappointed: ‘mighty short of the content we used to have when Baterton acted, who is still sick,’ *Pepys*, 6 November 1667, vol. 8, 521.
 - 13 On the unique charisma of celebrity actors, see Joseph Roach, *It* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007).
 - 14 On the bond between actor and role in Restoration theatre, see Holland, *The Ornament of Action*, 65–66, and Tiffany Stern, *Rehearsal from Shakespeare to Sheridan* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 150–2.
 - 15 On Betterton’s ‘two bodies’ – one eternal, one decaying – see Joseph Roach, *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 73–85.
 - 16 Holland, *Ornament of Action*, 81.
 - 17 See John Astington, *Actors and Acting in Shakespeare’s Time: The Art of Stage Playing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 76–107 *passim*.

- 18 Among Davenant's actors, Thomas Lovell was a boy actor in the 1630s and Anthony Turner performed at the Cockpit in the 1620s. David Roberts, *Restoration Plays and Players: An Introduction* (Cambridge University Press, 2014), 75.
- 19 *Pepys*, 8 January 1661, vol. 2, 8.
- 20 Charles Gildon, *The Life of Mr. Thomas Betterton* (London, 1710), 7.
- 21 John Ogilby, who poached Davenant's actor, was ordered to cease 'draw[ing] away any of the company in future'. See W.J. Lawrence, 'Restoration Stage Nurseries,' *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* (1914): 301–15; citation at 301.
- 22 *Calendar of State Papers, Charles II, Domestic Series* 1663, 4:214. See also Robert D. Freeburn, 'Charles II, the Theatre Patentees and the Actors' Nursery', *Theatre Notebook* 48, no. 3 (1994): 148–56.
- 23 Thomas Edlyne Tomlins, 'The Original Patent for the Nursery of Actors and Actresses in the Reign of Charles II', in *The Shakespeare Society's Papers*, vol. 3 (London: The Shakespeare Society, 1847), 162–9; citation at 166. The Nursery patent is also reproduced in Lawrence, 'Restoration Stage Nurseries'.
- 24 *Pepys*, 2 August 1664, vol. 5, 230.
- 25 'As it is now Acted at the new Playhouse called the Nursery, in Hatton-Garden'. James Shirley, *The Constant Maid* (London, 1667), title page.
- 26 *Pepys*, 23 April 1669, vol. 9, 531.
- 27 Charles II told the petitioners of St Giles that 'Playhouses should be pulled down when the [religious] Meeting Houses were'. See Hotson, *Commonwealth and Restoration Stage*, 189–90.
- 28 [Dryden], *MacFlecknoe, or A Satyr upon the trew-blew Protestant poet, T.S.* (London, 1682), ll. 74–8. *MacFlecknoe* was published several years after Dryden wrote it.
- 29 *Pepys*, 24 February 1668, vol. 9, 89–90.
- 30 *Pepys*, 25 February 1668, vol. 9, 91.
- 31 Cibber, *Apology*, 148.

- 32 One of the few historical studies of rehearsal is Stern's *Rehearsal from Shakespeare to Sheridan*, which includes a section on Restoration theatre.
- 33 Only one Restoration acting 'part' survives. See Edward A. Langhans, 'A Restoration Actor's Part', *Harvard Library Bulletin* 23 (1975): 180–5.
- 34 Shakespeare, *Macbeth: A Tragedy* (London: Printed for William Cademan, 1673), title page. For a detailed study of the text, see Christopher Spencer, ed. *Davenant's Macbeth from the Yale Manuscript: An Edition, with a Discussion of the Relation of Davenant's Text to Shakespeare's* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1961).
- 35 In Betterton's 560-volume library, the only major Shakespearean work is Rowe's edition, for which the actor had helped to research Shakespeare's life. See Jacob Hooke's *Pinacotheca Bettertonaeana* (London, 1710) or David Roberts's modern edition published in 2013 for the Society for Theatre Research.
- 36 Barbara Murray, 'Performance and Publication of Shakespeare, 1660–1682,' *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 102, no. 4 (2001): 435–49.
- 37 George Guffey, ed. *After the Tempest* (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1969), 'Introduction', viii.
- 38 When productions were revived, little group rehearsal was needed because the actors already knew the staging. See Powell, *Restoration Theatre Production*, 101–2.
- 39 *Pepys*, 23 January 1667, vol. 8, 27.
- 40 Keenan, *Restoration Staging*, 62.
- 41 Gildon, *Life of Betterton*, 37.
- 42 *Pepys*, 2 February 1669, vol. 9, 436.
- 43 *Pepys*, 1 March 1662, vol. 3, 39.
- 44 Gildon, *Life of Betterton*, 15.
- 45 In attributing comments to Betterton, Gildon relied (sometimes verbatim) on earlier works of rhetoric, including Thomas Wright's *The Passions of the Minde* (1604).
- 46 [Davenant], *Macbeth*, 28.
- 47 [Davenant and Dryden], *The Tempest*, 17.

- 48 Gildon, *Life of Betterton*, 16.
- 49 Deborah C. Payne, Performing Restoration Shakespeare Colloquium, Folger Shakespeare Library, 18 August 2018.
- 50 Pepys, 19 April 1667, vol. 8, 171; 7 January 1667, 7.
- 51 Thomas Wilkes, *A General View of the Stage* (London, 1759), 107.
- 52 Joseph Haslewood, *The Secret History of the Green-room*, 2 vols (London, 1795), 1: lvi.
- 53 Wilkes, *General History of the Stage*, 107.
- 54 Cibber, *Apology*, 84.
- 55 Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus*, 24; Cibber, *Apology*, 84, 134.
- 56 Cibber, *Apology*, 84.
- 57 Joseph Roach, *The Player's Passion: Studies in the Science of Acting* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993), 15. Roach's landmark book demonstrates how the classical rhetoric of the passions dominated early modern and Restoration acting.
- 58 For an extended study of Downes, see Richard Schoch, *Writing the History of the British Stage, 1660–1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 138–64.
- 59 Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus*, 24.
- 60 Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus*, 21. Shakespeare could not have instructed Taylor in the role of Hamlet because while the playwright was alive the role belonged to Richard Burbage.
- 61 John Guillory, *Cultural Capital: The Problem of Literary Canon Formation* (University of Chicago Press, 1995).
- 62 Langbaine, *English Dramatick Poets*, 13v.

Chapter 6

- 1 Pepys, January 7, 1667, vol. 8, 7.
- 2 For an overview of these textual changes, see Mongi Raddadi, *Davenant's Adaptations of Shakespeare* (Uppsala: Studia Anglistica Upsaliensis, 1979), 49–63.
- 3 Ibid., 37–8.
- 4 Pepys, 19 April 1667, vol. 8, 171.

- 5 Christopher Spencer argues that Shakespeare might have written the first twelve lines; *Davenant's Macbeth from the Yale Manuscript*, 67.
- 6 All citations are from Q1. [William Davenant], *Macbeth, A Tragedy* (London: Printed for P. Chetwin, 1674), 27.
- 7 Sources from the 1660s are John Playford, 'A Jigg called Macbeth', in *Musick's Delight on the Cithren* (London, 1666), 65; John Playford, 'The Dance in the Play of Mackbeth, no. 11', in *Apollo's Banquet for the Treble Violin* (London: Printed by W. Godbid, 1669); and John Playford, 'A Dance in Mackbeth', no. 13, in *Apollo's Banquet*. For Robert Moore's argument about this piece, see his 'The Music to *Macbeth*', *Musical Quarterly* 47 (1961): 26–7. Walkling also speculates that another 'Witches Dance' in *Apollo's Banquet* might belong to *Macbeth*; *English Dramatick Opera*, 86.
- 8 On the jig and witchcraft, see Amanda Eubanks Winkler, *O Let Us Howle Some Heavy Note: Music for Witches, the Melancholic, and the Mad on the Seventeenth-Century English Stage* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006), 39–42.
- 9 [Davenant], *Macbeth*, 27.
- 10 [Davenant], *Macbeth*, 27–8.
- 11 [Davenant], *Macbeth*, 28.
- 12 Stephen Orgel, *The Authentic Shakespeare and Other Problems of the Early Modern Stage* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 166.
- 13 Christopher Spencer has argued that Davenant's source manuscript was closely related to the First Folio version of Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, although notably the First Folio only cues the song whereas Davenant's Q1 interpolates the full lyrics; *Davenant's Macbeth from the Yale Manuscript*, 55. Orgel argues that it is likely that Davenant took his text directly from the King's Men's performance text of *Macbeth*; *The Authentic Shakespeare*, 166.
- 14 Amanda Eubanks Winkler, 'Introduction', *Music for Macbeth* (Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era), vol. 133 (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, Inc.), viii.
- 15 John Dryden, unpaginated preface in [Dryden and Davenant], *The Tempest*. Italics reversed. Radaddi describes the divergent

- scholarly opinions about how much each author contributed to the collaboration in *Davenant's Adaptations of Shakespeare*, 121.
- 16 On the textual changes, see Radaddi, *Davenant's Adaptations of Shakespeare*, 127–8.
 - 17 Johnson's setting of 'Full fathom five' survives, but 'Come unto these yellow sands' does not.
 - 18 Claude Fretz, "“Marvelous and surprizing conduct”: The “Masque of Devils” and Dramatic Genre in Thomas Shadwell's *The Tempest*", *Restoration: Studies in English Literary Culture*, 1660–1700 43, no. 2 (2019): 4.
 - 19 [Davenant and Dryden], *The Tempest*, 37.
 - 20 On Henry Harris as Ferdinand, see Philip H. Highfill, Kalman A. Burnim, and Edward A. Langhans, *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers, and Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660–1800*, vol. 7 (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1982), 127–8. Amanda Eubanks Winkler argues that Davis took the role of Ariel in 'Sexless Spirits: Gender Ideology and Dryden's Musical Magic', *Musical Quarterly* 93, no. 2 (2010): 297–8, and 'A Thousand Voices: Performing Ariel', in *A Feminist Companion to Shakespeare*, ed. Dymphna Callaghan, 2nd edn (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2016), 520–38.
 - 21 On the relationship between actor, role, playwright, and audience, see Holland, *The Ornament of the Action*, 55–98. Harris often served as a foil to Betterton, who took more regal roles; David Roberts, *Thomas Betterton: The Greatest Actor of the Restoration Stage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 83–101.
 - 22 For more on boy actors/singers see Linda Phyllis Austern, "“No women are indeed”: The Boy Actor as Vocal Seductress in Late Sixteenth- and Early Seventeenth-Century English Drama", in *Embodied Voices: Representing Female Vocality in Western Culture*, ed. Leslie C. Dunn and Nancy A. Jones (Cambridge University Press, 1994), 83–102.
 - 23 *Pepys*, vol. 8, 522.
 - 24 *Pepys*, vol. 9, 134.
 - 25 *Pepys*, vol. 9, 195.

- 26 Published in London by John Playford, 1674/5. These songs were also issued as part of Playford's 1675 edition of his serial songbook, *Choice Ayres*. For a modern edition of the music for *The Tempest*, see Michael Tilmouth, ed., *Matthew Locke: Dramatic Music* (Musica Britannica), vol. 51 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1986).
- 27 [Davenant and Dryden], *The Tempest*, 43.
- 28 Ibid.
- 29 [Davenant and Dryden], *The Tempest*, 44.
- 30 Pelham Humfrey's setting and Pietro Reggio's song 'Arise, ye subterranean winds' survive in Paris's Bibliothèque Nationale, Libri MS Rés F 1090, a manuscript probably associated with domestic, not theatrical use. Reggio's song was also printed in *Songs set by Signior Pietro Reggio* (London, 1680) and also appears in a manuscript copied by Daniel Henstridge, in which Henstridge attempts to capture both the sound of Reggio's Italian-accented English and the ornamentation he used. See Rebecca Herissone, 'Daniel Henstridge and the Aural Transmission of Music in Restoration England', in *Beyond Boundaries: Rethinking Music Circulation in Early Modern England*, ed. Linda Austern, Candace Bailey, and Amanda Eubanks Winkler (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2017), 171–4.
- 31 [Davenant and Dryden], *The Tempest*, 15.
- 32 Tilmouth, 'Introduction', in *Matthew Locke: Dramatic Music*, xviii.
- 33 For an overview of the singing forces required in Shadwell's *Tempest*, see Walkling, *Dramatick Opera*, 141–2. The document allowing the Chapel Royal singers to perform at Dorset Garden is in the Records of the Lord Chamberlain's Department, Lna LC 5/15, 3 (16 May 1674).
- 34 [Shadwell], *The Tempest*, 28.
- 35 Ibid., 16.
- 36 Herissone, 'Daniel Henstridge and the Aural Transmission of Music in Restoration England', 171–4.
- 37 Michael Burden, 'To Repeat (Or Not to Repeat)? Dance Cues in Restoration English Opera', *Early Music* 35, 3 (2007): 397–418.

- 38 Langbaine, *English Dramatic Poets*, Ff2v.
- 39 F.J. Furnivall, *Some 300 Fresh Allusions to Shakspeare from 1594 to 1694 A.D.* (London: The New Shakspeare Society, 1886), 242.
- 40 On the history of Shakespeare burlesque, see Richard Schoch's *Not Shakespeare: Bardolatry and Burlesque in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
- 41 Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus*, 33
- 42 Thomas Duffett, *Epilogue. Being a new Fancy after the old, and most surprizing way of Macbeth . . .* (London, 1674), 30.
- 43 [Davenant], *Macbeth*, 44
- 44 [Davenant], *Macbeth*, 27.
- 45 Thomas Duffett, Prologue, *The Spanish Rogue. As it was Acted by His Majesties Servants* (London, 1674), 22.
- 46 Milhous, 'The Multimedia Spectacular', 51.
- 47 John Dryden, 'Prologue and Epilogue to the University of Oxon (1673)', in *The Works of John Dryden*, ed. Edward Niles Hooker and H.T. Swedenberg, Jr., et al (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1956), vol. 1, 147, 148, lines 8, 15, 21–4. Lapland was the traditional home of witchcraft.
- 48 Anon., 'Epilogue to The Ordinary', in *A Collection of Poems Written upon several Occasions By several Persons . . .* (London, 1673), 167.
- 49 George Villiers, *The Rehearsal*, in Robert D. Hume and Harold Love, ed. *Plays, Poems and Miscellaneous Writings Associated with George Villiers, Second Duke of Buckingham*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 417 (2.5).
- 50 Langbaine, *English Dramatic Poets*, M1r–v.
- 51 [Shadwell], *The Tempest*, stage direction, p. 1.
- 52 T[homas] Duffett, *The Mock-Tempest: or The Enchanted Castle. Acted at the Theatre Royal* (London, 1675), 5.
- 53 Duffett, *The Mock-Tempest*, stage direction, 1.
- 54 [Shadwell], *The Tempest*, stage direction, 20; Duffett, *The Mock-Tempest*, stage direction, 9. The songs in the Dorset Garden production are likewise parodied. In the burlesque Masque of Devils, the demons sing 'Arise! arise! the Subterranean fiends [*sic*]'.

- 55 [Shadwell], *The Tempest*, 37, 38.
- 56 [Shadwell], *The Tempest*, 59.
- 57 Duffett, *The Mock-Tempest*, 32–3.
- 58 Walkling, *English Dramatick Opera*, 134. Duffett calls Devoto ‘Author Punch’ in his ‘Epilogue to The Armenian Queen’. Duffett, *New Poems, Songs, Prologues and Epilogues* (London, 1676), 86–7.
- 59 Duffett, *The Mock-Tempest*, stage directions, 42, 41.
- 60 The comic libretto derived from Duffett’s play is *The songs & masque in the new Tempest* (London, 1675). See Charles Haywood, ‘The Songs & Masque in the New Tempest: An Incident in the Battle of the Two Theaters, 1674’, *Huntington Library Quarterly* 19, no. 1 (1955): 39–56; transcription of lyrics, 46–56.
- 61 John Dryden, ‘The Art of Poetry. Written in French by the Sieur de Boileau, Made English’, lines 81–92 (1683; printed in Chambers, Frost, and Dearing, ed. *Works* vol. 2: 126–7).
- 62 Montague Summers, Introduction, *The Rehearsal* (Stratford-upon-Avon: The Shakespeare Head Press, 1914), xxi.

Chapter 7

- 1 Peter Holman and Robert Thompson, ‘Purcell Henry (ii)’, *GMO* (accessed 29 July 2020).
- 2 Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court, 1540–1690* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 431–2.
- 3 Walkling, *English Dramatick Opera*, 267. Roger Savage speculates that up to three people may have executed the adaptation: one person reduced and modified Shakespeare’s text; one devised and described the machine effects, and one wrote the libretti for the show’s masques. Savage, ‘Introduction to *The Fairy-Queen: An Opera*’, in *Henry Purcell’s Operas: The Complete Texts*, ed. Michael Burden (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 340. Judging by *Dioclesian*, Betterton was capable of executing the task on his own.

- 4 *The Fairy Queen* survives in two quartos printed in 1692 and 1693. The surviving music score, Lam 3, which is Purcell's partial-autograph file copy, does not fully match either quarto and lacks music for the song 'When I have often heard young maids complaining'. For a lucid explication of the source situation for *The Fairy Queen*, see Rebecca Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 135–45, and Bruce Wood and Andrew Pinnock's introduction to *The Fairy Queen*, ed. Wood and Pinnock, *The Works of Henry Purcell*, vol. 12 (London: Stainer & Bell, 2009).
- 5 Savage, 'Introduction to *The Fairy-Queen*', 340.
- 6 Savage discusses the thematic parallels between Shakespeare's play and the use of music in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and the interpolated masques in *The Fairy Queen* in 'The Shakespeare-Purcell *Fairy Queen*: A Defence and Recommendation', *Early Music* 1, no. 4 (1973): 216–17.
- 7 Walkling, *English Dramatick Opera*, 275.
- 8 For a transcription of this letter, see Mary Arnold-Forster, *Basset Down: An Old Country House* (London: Country Life, [1950]), 116–17. For the argument regarding the structure of the adaptation, see Michael Burden, 'Casting Issues in the Original Production of Purcell's Opera "The Fairy-Queen"', *Music & Letters* 84, no. 4 (2003): 605. Tiffany Stern has noted that the actors rehearsed in the morning while the music and dance rehearsals took place in the evening: 'The stage was free after performance, and "machines," perhaps already set up for the play that had just happened – or set up in advance for the play of the next day – could be used for practice, so that evening rehearsal could be a combination of a musical and technical run-through: ideal for rehearsing operas'. Stern, *Rehearsal from Shakespeare to Sheridan*, 166.
- 9 Michael Burden, 'Aspects of Purcell's Operas', in *Henry Purcell's Opera: The Complete Texts*, ed. Michael Burden (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 9.
- 10 Judith Milhous believes that this machine effect happened. See 'The Multimedia Spectacular', 59.
- 11 *The Fairy-Queen* (London, 1693), 40. Italics reversed.
- 12 Walkling, *English Dramatick Opera*, 277–8.

- 13 Narcissus Luttrell documents the cost in *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs from September 1678 to April 1714* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1857), vol. 2, 435. Booth's letter to her mother gives the cost as £2,000; Arnold-Forster, *Basset Down*, 116–17.
- 14 Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus*, 89. Judith Milhous believes that it may have broken even. Milhous, 'Opera Finances in London, 1674–1738', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 37, no. 3 (1984): 569–70. As Milhous observes, the Duke's Company (and later the United Company) only staged one operatic extravaganza per year, so that the profits from plays might subsidize the high cost of producing opera.
- 15 Direct court subsidy for opera ceased in the late 1670s, but many theatre instrumentalists in the 1680s and 90s were moonlighting court musicians, seeking extra cash. See Andrew Pinnock and Bruce Wood, 'Come Ye Sons of Art – Again: Court Cross-Subsidy for Purcell's Opera Orchestra, 1690–1695', *Early Music* 37, no. 3 (2009): 445–66. The manuscript Lam 3 was lost for many years; in 1701 the theatre company had offered a reward for its return, without success. It turned up again in 1901 when John Shedlock, a lecturer at the Royal Academy of Music, discovered the score in the Academy's library; on Shedlock's discovery, see Bruce Wood and Andrew Pinnock, 'The Fairy Queen: A Fresh Look at the Issues', *Early Music* 21, no. 1 (1993): 45.
- 16 On Betterton's role in this tumultuous period of theatre history, see Judith Milhous, 'Betterton, Thomas', *ODNB* (accessed 10 August 2020) and Milhous, *Thomas Betterton and the Management of Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1695–1708* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois Press, 1979), 51–68.
- 17 Milhous, *Thomas Betterton*, 69.
- 18 Eric Walter White, 'New Light on "Dido and Aeneas"', in *Henry Purcell, 1659–1695*, ed. Imogen Holst (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), 23–4.
- 19 Milhous, *Thomas Betterton*, 71.
- 20 Milhous, *Thomas Betterton*, 70–1.
- 21 A theatrical file copy in Eccles's hand exists for *Macbeth* with two layers of annotations giving the singers' names (Lbl Add.

- MS 12219). An annotation in the earlier layer indicates that one of the witches was played by 'Mrs. Willis'. Her appearance in the production suggests that Eccles's *Macbeth* was not first performed at Lincoln's Inn Fields because she remained with Rich's company until 1697. Highfill, Burnim, and Langhans, 'Willis, Mrs. Richard, Elizabeth', in *Biographical Dictionary*, 155–8. Furthermore, in 1695 Henry Herringman and Richard Bentley reprinted Davenant's *Macbeth* with a title page reading: 'As it is now Acted at the Theatre Royal'. If the company at Lincoln's Inn Fields were performing it, surely they would have advertised it as such.
- 22 Highfill, Burnim, and Langhans, 'Cook, Mr.', in *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 3, 442–3 and 'Short, Daniel', vol. 13, 368–9.
 - 23 For more on Purcell and *The Tempest*, see Curtis A. Price, *Henry Purcell and the London Stage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 203–5.
 - 24 Weldon's setting may have been first performed there around 1712. Margaret Laurie, 'Did Purcell Set "The Tempest"?' *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 90 (1963–1964): 51–2, and Irena Cholić, 'Music in Eighteenth-Century London Shakespeare Productions', Ph.D. dissertation (King's College, University of London, 1996), 72–3.
 - 25 The score was first published in 1786 by Harrison and Company but also exists in a manuscript copy from c. 1724 (Lbl Add. MS 37027). On the dating of this score, based on watermark evidence, see Price, *Henry Purcell*, 204.
 - 26 Cibber, *An Apology*, 131.
 - 27 'To feague it away' means to 'to work at full stretch' (*Oxford English Dictionary*). *A Comparison Between the Two Stages* (London, 1702), 42. The authorship of this work has sometimes been attributed to Charles Gildon.
 - 28 *A Comparison Between the Two Stages*, 44.
 - 29 Robert Hume has argued that modern theatre historians have overestimated the practical impact of Collier's treatise; on the Collier controversy, see Robert D. Hume, 'Jeremy Collier and the Future of the London Theatre in 1698', *Studies in Philology* 96, no. 4 (1999): 480–511.

- 30 On this performance, see Bryan White, 'A Letter From Aleppo: Dating the Chelsea School Performance of *Dido and Aeneas*', *Early Music* 37, no. 3 (2009): 417–28.
- 31 For a full consideration of these interpolations, see Eric Walter White, 'New Light on "Dido and Aeneas"', 14–34.
- 32 As Cholíj notes, following Davenant he also sets the play in Turin and includes the character of Balthazar as well as several minor episodes involving Claudio and Isabella and Angelo and Isabella; 'Music in Eighteenth-Century London Shakespeare Productions', 35. For a full comparison of the Davenant and Gildon versions, see Caitlin McHugh, 'Late Seventeenth-Century Alterations to *Measure for Measure*', *Restoration: Studies in English Literary Culture, 1660–1700*, 35, no. 2 (2011): 37–56.
- 33 Aside from 'Take, o take these lips away', sung in Act 4, Scene 2 by Mariana's maid, and John Eccles's act tunes, the rest of the music is from *Dido*.
- 34 [Charles Gildon], *Measure for Measure or Beauty The Best Advocate* (London, 1700), 2–3.
- 35 [Gildon], *Measure for Measure*, 7.
- 36 In Act 2 Angelo observes: 'And when, my Dido [Isabella], I've Possess'd thy Charms, / I then will throw thee from my glutted Arms, / And think no more on all thy soothing Harms'. [Gildon], *Measure for Measure*, 16.
- 37 [Gildon], *Measure for Measure*, 28.
- 38 *Ibid.*, 2.
- 39 Two mythological masques with surviving music are *The Loves of Mars and Venus* (words: Motteux; music: Eccles/Finger), performed in Ravenscroft's *The Anatomist* (1696), and *Acis and Galatea* (words: Motteux; music: Eccles), which was interpolated into a revised version of Fletcher's *Mad Lover* (1700). Eccles's settings of *Hercules* (1697), *Ixion* (1697), and *Peleus and Thetis* (1701) have been lost. See Roger Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century*, 2nd edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 13.
- 40 Burnaby, *Love Betray'd; or, the Agreeable Disappointment* (London, 1703), unpaginated preface. Songs by John Eccles and act tunes by William Corbett survive for the production, as do two settings of 'Love in her Bosom end my Care'

- by John Weldon and William Corbett, one of which may have been used in place of the closing masque. On the music in the production, see Kathryn Lowerre, *Music and Musicians on the London Stage* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 312–13.
- 41 Cholić, ‘Music in Eighteenth-Century Shakespeare Productions’, 41. A separate libretto for the masque was printed for use in the theatre in 1701 and the text was apparently set by Eccles; Lowerre, *Music and Musicians*, 277. As Lowerre notes, the text of *Peleus and Thetis* continued to be printed all subsequent editions, but in Granville’s 1732 collected works the masque text appears with his poems, not as part of the playtext.
 - 42 Lowerre tries to draw allegorical analogies between masque characters and those in the drama (Prometheus as Antonio, Peleus as Bassanio, Thetis as Portia, Jupiter as Shylock), but these parallels are not as sharply or explicitly made in Granville’s text as they were in Gildon’s; *Music and Musicians*, 277.
 - 43 [Granville], *The Jew of Venice* (London, 1701), 19.
 - 44 [Gildon], *Measure for Measure*, [A3r–v].
 - 45 [Granville], *The Jew of Venice*, unpaginated ‘Advertisement to the Reader’.
 - 46 Cholić, ‘Music in Eighteenth-Century Shakespeare Productions’, 140–1. For a broader consideration of the treatment of musical witchcraft in the eighteenth century, see Eubanks Winkler, *O Let Us Howle Some Heavy Note*, 167–9.
 - 47 *Spectator*, no. 45 (Saturday, 21 April 1711).
 - 48 Quoted in Marvin Rosenberg, *The Masks of Macbeth* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 8.
 - 49 Rosenberg, *Masks of Macbeth*, 9.
 - 50 On these the later arrangements of Leveridge’s score see Eubanks Winkler, *Music for Macbeth*, 99–101.
 - 51 ‘The Music of Macbeth’, *Every Saturday: A Journal of Choice Reading* 1, no. 17 (23 April 1870): 263.
 - 52 See Laurie, ‘Did Purcell Set “The Tempest”?’ 43–57.
 - 53 Michael Kelly, *Reminiscences of Michael Kelly, of the King’s Theatre, and Theatre Royal Drury Lane*, vol. 1 (London: Henry Colburn, 1826), 318. Kemble’s version was printed in 1789 as *The Tempest; or, the Enchanted Island. Written by Shakspeare*

[sic]; *With Additions From Dryden: As Compiled by J.P. Kemble* (London, 1789).

- 54 William Macready, *Macready's Reminiscences, and Selections from His Diaries and Letters*, ed. Sir Frederick Pollock (New York: Macmillan and Co., 1875), 171.
- 55 Playbill from the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, Tuesday 15 May 1821. *Nineteenth-Century Collections Online*, https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/AKROHC565334329/NCCO?u=nysl_ce_syr&sid=NCCO&xid=9d4bbfdb (accessed 28 August 2020).
- 56 According to a contemporary review, this production apparently included music by 'Purcell [sic], Arne, Linley, and Corelli', *Theatrical Intelligence: The Monthly Magazine* 26, no. 155 (November 1838): 558. On the restoration of the 'original' Shakespeare by Macready, see Richard Schoch, 'Introduction', *Macready, Booth, Terry, Irving: Great Shakespeareans*, vol. 6, ed. Richard Schoch (London: Continuum, 2011), 15.
- 57 "'The Tempest" at Daly's: A Beautiful Pageant, with Delicate and Attractive Divertissements and Sweet Music', *New York Times* (7 April, 1897): 6–7.