DIAGNOSING LUCIA:
THE REPRESENTATION OF FEMALE MADNESS
IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY ITALIAN OPERA

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ABSTRACT

By the early nineteenth century, the 'madwoman' had become a prominent cultural figure, featuring in fine art, literature, and stage works, and became a particular fascination for Italian operatic composers, librettists and audiences alike. Sir Walter Scott's *The Bride of Lammermoor* (1819), and its successive Italian operatic adaptations (1829-1835), thus fanned the flames of this obsession. While interest in the archetypal madwoman continued to grow culturally, so too did proliferation of, and the reading publics' interest in descriptions and images of madness in medical literature and its popular dissemination.

This interdisciplinary thesis compares the cultural and operatic representation of female madness to pertinent, popular nineteenth-century medical literature. It will comparatively analyse the representation of female madness in historical descriptions (mostly of hysteria, insanity and monomania) with Sir Walter Scott's novel *The Bride of Lammermoor* (1819) and its Italian operatic adaptations: *Le nozze di Lammermoor* (Paris, 1829) by composer Michele Carafa and librettist Giuseppe Luigi Balocchi; *La fidanzata di Lammermoor* (Trieste, 1831) by Luigi Rieschi and Calisto Bassi; *La fidanzata di Lammermoor* (Padua, 1834) by Alberto Mazzucato and Pietro Beltrame, and *Lucia di Lammermoor* (Naples, 1835) by Gaetano Donizetti and Salvadore Cammarano.

Most previous studies on nineteenth-century Italian opera, and *Lucia di Lammermoor* specifically, have focussed on the musical representation of madness, and do not consider medical literature of the period. This project thus aims to remedy this position by combining the study of literature, theatre and opera, of detailed libretto and score study, with the analysis of medical texts and photographic iconographies on madness. In doing so, it aims to determine to what extent Italian operatic mad scenes – in embodying social and cultural ideas on madness – reflected and propagated popular medical ideas in the nineteenth century; and how far the visual representation of madness within opera and popular culture reciprocally influenced that in popular medical literature and photography. In short, I aim to use these cultural products and medical literature to sensitively elucidate the popular notions surrounding female madness in the early modern period and nineteenth century.

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Introduction

By the early nineteenth century, the 'madwoman' had become a prominent cultural figure, featuring in fine art, literature, and stage works, and became a particular fascination for Italian operatic composers, librettists and audiences alike. While interest in the archetypal madwoman continued to grow culturally, so too did proliferation of, and the reading publics' interest in, descriptions and images of madness in medical literature.[1] From the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, prominent scholars and doctors theorised their own ideas on the symptoms, causes and treatments for madness. During this period, mad people were often confined in the home or in institutions and moved out of sight, while many more were put on display for paying visitors. Amongst Georgian and Victorian society, there was a general fascination and curiosity for the eccentric, the grotesque and the insane. Members of the public often ventured to witness the abnormal behaviour and (sometimes directed) deranged 'performances' of lunatics within confinement.

In a novel or on the stage, a distance was instead established between the audience and madwoman: fictional onlookers narrated the moments of spiralling madness of principal characters, enabling the real reading or visiting public to witness, judge and/or admire from afar. This is epitomised by Sir Walter Scott's novel *The Bride of Lammermoor* (1819) and its operatic adaptations, such as Gaetano Donizetti's *Lucia di Lammermoor* (1835). These works assisted in fanning the flames of the public's obsession with madness, and both have since remained popular with readers and audiences. As a result, they serve as case studies in analysing the representation of female madness in the nineteenth century, as they have shaped the way society perceives historical and archetypal madness.

One of the main intentions of this interdisciplinary thesis is to therefore determine the extent to which nineteenth-century Italian operatic mad scenes – in embodying assumptions of madness in popular culture and wider society – reflected and propagated popular medical ideas; and how far the portrayal of female madness in opera and popular culture helped to cultivate its idealised visual representation within popular medical literature and photography. My study will principally do this by analysing the representation of female madness within Scott's *The Bride of Lammermoor* (1819), and its four Italian operatic adaptations: *Le nozze di Lammermoor* (Paris, 1829) by composer Michele Carafa and librettist Giuseppe Luigi Balocchi; *La fidanzata di Lammermoor* (Trieste, 1831) by Luigi Rieschi and Calisto Bassi; *La fidanzata di Lammermoor* (Padua, 1834) by Alberto Mazzucato

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[1] As a result, there has since been an explosion of literature on the social history of medicine and madness.

and Pietro Beltrame, and finally *Lucia di Lammermoor* (Naples, 1835) by Gaetano Donizetti and Salvadore Cammarano. In completing the principal operatic analyses, I have further divided and adapted the above notion into three separate broad hypotheses and research questions:

1. To what extent did Italian operatic mad scenes reflect and propagate popular medical ideas in the nineteenth century (as explored in Chapter 3 on Carafa's *Le nozze di Lammermoor* of 1829)?

2. To what extent did Italian operatic mad scenes, in embodying the beliefs and tropes of madness within popular culture, reflect and shape popular medical theories on madness in the nineteenth century (as explored in Chapter 4 on Rieschi's *La fidanzata di Lammermoor* of 1831, and Mazzucato's opera of the same name of 1834)?

3. To what extent did the representation of female madness within Italian operatic mad scenes and popular European culture shape its idealised visual portrayal in popular medical literature and photography in the late nineteenth century (as discussed in Chapter 5 on Donizetti's *Lucia di Lammermoor* of 1835)?

My analyses of the Italian operatic adaptations will incorporate detailed libretto and score study, in order to directly compare the operatic representation of madness to a sample of pertinent, popular medical literature from the early modern period and nineteenth century. By this, I specifically mean that I will primarily consult popular European medical treatises, handbooks and photography of the period, which would have been produced by scholars and physicians as a means of educating medical professionals and enlightening the wider reading public, and which are thus representative of popular medical beliefs on madness, rather than specialist medical literature solely intended for medical practitioners. This study further aims to determine to what extent the characterisation of Scott's heroine and her successive Italian dramatic, lyrical and embodied counterparts were shaped by the portrayal of madness within popular medicine and culture (including art, literature and stage works), in general. In doing so, I aim to reference and analyse cultural products, and medical literature and photography, to carefully elucidate the popular tropes and assumptions of female madness in the early modern period and nineteenth century, and document the parallels on its representation within popular culture, wider society and medicine.

The Representation of Madness in Art, Theatre and Popular Culture, circa 1700-1850

Leading up to the eighteenth century, madness was generally portrayed as a grotesque and animalistic phenomenon experienced by men. Caius Gabriel Cibber's notorious statues

'Melancholy Madness' and 'Raving Madness' – which stood outside the gates of the Bethlem Hospital, London – embodied this characterisation (see Image 0.1).[2] A similar depiction of male insanity can be found in William Hogarth's final engraving in *A Rake's Progress* (1735): the image portrays Tom Rakewell at Bethlem Hospital (colloquially known as Bedlam), copying the pose of one of Cibber's statues, while surrounded by several archetypal images of madness (Image 0.2).

Image 0.1: Engraving of Caius Gabriel Cibber's notorious statues 'Melancholy madness' and 'Raving madness'.[3]
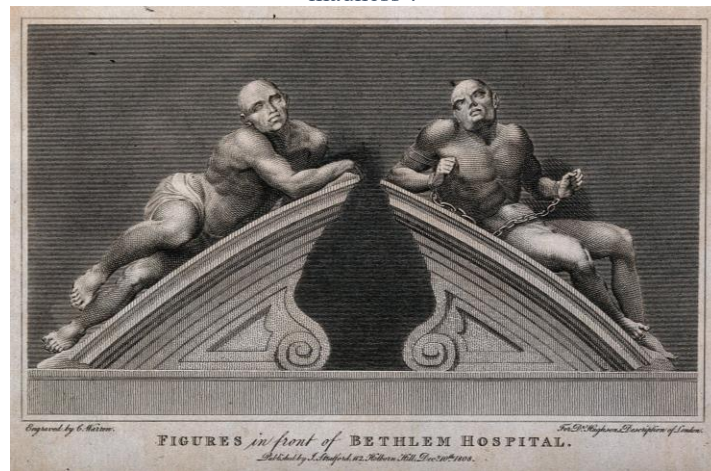
Image 0.2: William Hogarth's eighth and final engraving in *A Rake's Progress* (1735), portraying a Bedlamite scene.[4]

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[2] They stood outside the gates at its various sites. See Elaine Showalter, *The Female Malady: Women, Madness and English Culture, 1830-1980* (London: Virago Press, 1985), pp. 8-9.

[3] Caius Gabriel Cibber, *Statues of 'raving' and 'melancholy' madness, each reclining on one half of a pediment, formerly crowning the gates at Bethlem [Bedlam] Hospital,* 1808 (after 1680), engraving by C. Warren, 9.5 x 16.4 cm, Wellcome Collection <www.wellcomecollection.org> [accessed 1st November 2021].

[4] William Hogarth and T. Cook, *A Rake's Progress*, 1735, engraving, Wellcome Collection <www.wellcomecollection.org> [accessed 1st November 2021]. This image is released under the Creative

Furthermore, while William Shakespeare created prominent deranged heroines such as Lady Macbeth in *Macbeth* (1606) and Ophelia in *Hamlet* (1609), he more commonly portrayed madness in the male form. Hamlet, for instance, became the prototypical embodiment of the more prominent 'melancholy male madness', while Ophelia instead became the representative figure for 'erotomania, or love-madness',[5] which was less frequent in (and associated with) women until the late seventeenth century.[6] Furthermore, Max Byrd points out that there are no less than three different madmen in *King Lear* alone: King Lear, Edgar and the Fool.[7]

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, however, the tide began to turn, and the representative gender and characterisation of madness changed.[8] The image stopped being the beastly, chained madman, as epitomised by Cibber's statues, and became the beautiful madwoman 'whose insanity was an extension of her female condition'.[9] Madwomen were commonly characterised with long, loose, dishevelled hair, wearing a white dress, following the physical appearance of Ophelia in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. The image of the melancholic Crazy Kate from William Cowper's poem *The Task* (1785) also became a central focus for painters, with a number of artists promoting their own interpretations.[10]

The notable and much discussed 1876 painting, *Philippe Pinel Freeing the Insane* by Tony Robert-Fleury, followed this characterisation and embodied the feminisation of madness in the nineteenth century (Image 0.3).[11]

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[5] Elaine Showalter, 'Ophelia, Gender and Madness', *British Library*, 15 March 2016 <https://www.bl.uk/shakespeare/articles/ophelia-gender-and-madness> [accessed 22nd May 2019]; Elaine Showalter, 'Representing Ophelia: Women, Madness, and the Responsibilities of Feminist Criticism', in *Shakespeare and the Question of Theory,* ed. by Patricia Parker and Geoffrey Hartman (London: Methuen and Co, 1985), pp. 77-94 (p. 81).

[6] Love-melancholy was instead perceived as a male disease until the late seventeenth century. Ophelia's depiction perhaps assisted with the association of love-madness with women and feminisation of madness in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, 11th edn, 2 vols (London: Vernor, Hood and Sharp, 1806), II, p. 190; Helen Small, *Love's Madness: Medicine, the Novel, and Female Insanity, 1800-1865* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 6-11.

[7] Max Byrd argues that the insanity represented by Edgar and the Fool is not entirely genuine. Max Byrd, *Visits to Bedlam* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1974), p. 1.

[8] See Small, pp. 6-11; Showalter, *The Female Malady*, p. 8.

[9] For more on the feminisation of madness and hiding of Cibber's statues, see Showalter, *The Female Malady*, pp. 8-10; Small, p. vii; Roy Porter, *A Social History of Madness: Stories of the Insane* (London: Phoenix, 1996), p. 104.

[10] Four such examples are exhibited in Sander L. Gilman, *Seeing the Insane* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), pp. 126-27.

[11] Showalter, *The Female Malady*, pp. 3-4, describes madness as 'one of the wrongs of woman'.

Image 0.3: Tony Robert-Fleury's painting *Pinel Freeing the Insane* (1876).[12]

In 1793, the prominent humanitarian physician Philippe Pinel was the leading doctor of the
Salpêtrière and Bicêtre hospitals in Paris and, influenced by the ideals of the French
Revolution, unchained the confined madwomen.[13] Fleury's painting portrays this incident
with Pinel at the forefront, surrounded by scantily clad madwomen in the courtyard of the
Bicêtre hospital.[14] The patients in the painting are represented as beautiful, yet sexualised
women with parts of their bodies on display, who become attractive objects for the fully
dressed onlookers to gaze upon.[15] While the women, in their state of undress, portray the
mad, the fully-clothed observers represent sanity, and epitomise the male control of
patriarchal society.[16] Armand Gautier's earlier and more naturalistic lithograph *The
Madwomen of the Salpêtrière* (1855) also makes women synonymous with madness, as he
depicts female patients in the courtyard of the Salpêtrière (Image 0.4).

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[12] Tony Robert-Fleury, *Pinel Freeing the Insane from their Chains*, c. 1876, engraving,
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Philippe_Pinel_à_la_Salpêtrière.jpg> [accessed 17th April 2023].
See also Gilman, *Seeing the Insane*, p. 212; Showalter, *The Female Malady*, p. 2.
[13] Richard Hunter and Ida Macalpine, *Three Hundred Years of Psychiatry, 1535-1860* (London: Oxford
University Press, 1963), pp. 602-06; Showalter, *The Female Malady*, pp. 1-2; Sander L. Gilman, *Difference and
Pathology: Stereotypes of Sexuality, Race and Madness* (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press,
1985), p. 220; Ilza Veith, *Hysteria: The History of a Disease* (Chicago, IL and London: University of Chicago
Press, 1965), pp. 177-78.
[14] See Gilman, *Seeing the Insane*, p. 212, for a more detailed description.
[15] Like the 'male gaze' described by Laura Mulvey, 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema', in *The Routledge
Reader in Gender and Performance*, ed. by Lisbeth Goodman and Jane de Gay (London and New York:
Routledge, 1998), pp. 270-75.
[16] Showalter, *The Female Malady,* pp. 2-4.

Yet Gautier excludes bystanders, allowing madness to somewhat escape its performative embodiment and be more realistically displayed in its many forms, such as 'dementia, lunacy, mania, imbecility, and hallucination' (see Image 0.4).[18] In depicting insanity in a more naturalistic form, the women are less beautiful, less sexualised, and consequently less identifiable as women. The differences between this engraving and paintings such as those by Robert-Fleury therefore demonstrates how madness was feminised over the course of the nineteenth century.

While the representation of female madness became increasingly prominent in the nineteenth century, madness was still presented in and experienced by men. In *Hysterical Men*, Mark Micale provides the neglected history of mental illness in men.[19] Hysteria has been associated with women and the female reproductive system (*hystera* or uterus) since the times of the Ancient Greeks.[20] Middle-class men instead were seen to suffer from the equivalent hypochondria, which was not recognised as the symptomatic equivalent of hysteria until the seventeenth century.[21] Although prominent doctor Jean-Martin Charcot

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[17] Gilman, *Seeing the Insane*, p. 141; Armand Gautier, *Folles de la Salpêtrière (Cour des agitées)*, 1857, lithograph on chine collé, 186 x 276 mm, The British Museum <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1880-0710-181> [accessed 9th April 2022]. Copyright for this image is owned by The Trustees of the British Museum and the image is released under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0) license <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/4.0/> [accessed 17th April 2023].

[18] Gilman, *Seeing the Insane*, p. 141.

[19] Mark Micale, *Hysterical Men: The Hidden History of Male Nervous Illness* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008).

[20] As also acknowledged in Ibid., p. 5.

[21] Before this time, both hysteria and hypochondria were associated with melancholy. While men may become hypochondriacal after being too studious, or having an indulgent lifestyle, hysteria in women was still

predominantly showcased hysteria as a female malady in the late nineteenth century, he also diagnosed and noted the presence of hysteria in men.[22] In Joan Busfield's counter-study to Elaine Showalter's landmark study *The Female Malady*, she demonstrates that, while there were more women inmates in asylums than men in the nineteenth century, the gender imbalance and overall proportion between men and women was fairly narrow.[23] Busfield considers institutional residents and contributing factors such as asylum mortality, admission and discharge rates, as well as the representation of madness within culture, in order to evidence the equal prevalence of male madness within nineteenth-century culture and society.[24]

Yet, recent research by Akihito Suzuki on the unexplored history of madness within working-class men (specifically their institutionalisation and diagnosis in Middlesex County Asylum, Hanwell between 1845 and 1850) suggests that there were parallels between the 'diagnosis and construction of male [and female] insanity'.[25] The most prominent psychological and external causes of insanity in these men were (1) anxiety, caused by poverty and work, (2) grief, caused by economic loss, unemployment and bereavement, and (3) the combined, resulting distress of economic and domestic concerns.[26] Attributions of lay thought and perspectives from family narratives then framed the madness of these working-class men in their work, domestic and economic circumstances, and created associated stereotypes: the stereotype of 'economic' madness, for instance, was prominent amongst these men between the early to mid-nineteenth century, and was associated with the excitement and shock of men who gained and/or lost large sums of money in investment opportunities made available by the industrial revolution.[27] However, just as inactive middle-class men and women were thought to go insane from mental and emotional overexertion, cases of madness caused by 'chronic poverty' were more common amongst working-class

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associated with the female reproductive system. It was not until the seventeenth century, when physicians Thomas Sydenham and Thomas Willis respectively suggested that there was no connection between the female reproductive system and hysteria, that hysterical symptoms in men were recognised and acknowledged. See Micale, pp. 11-21.

[22] See Ibid., pp. 121-23.

[23] Joan Busfield, 'The Female Malady? Men, Women and Madness in Nineteenth Century Britain', *Sociology,* 28/1 (1994), 259-77.

[24] Ibid., pp. 269-72.

[25] Akihito Suzuki, 'Lunacy and Labouring Men: Narratives of Male Vulnerability in Mid-Victorian London', in *Medicine, Madness and Social History: Essays in Honour of Roy Porter*, ed. by Roberta Bivins and John V. Pickstone (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), pp. 118-28. See also Hilary Marland, 'Women, Health and Medicine', in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Medicine,* ed. by Mark Jackson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 484-502 (p. 491).

[26] Suzuki, p. 121.

[27] Ibid.

and lower-middle-class men.[28] This was often due to constant hard (and sometimes laborious) work, and physical and mental 'overwork and exhaustion', down to fear and anxiety over unemployment or financial ruin.[29]

In popular culture, the Romantics generally associated male insanity with the figures of the criminal lunatic and the creative genius.[30] The image of the criminal lunatic was personified by James Hadfield, who attempted to assassinate King George III by shooting him during a performance at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane on 15th May 1800. The ensuing trial for high treason had a significant influence on medico-legal practices of the time, as Hadfield's defence lawyer Thomas Erskine raised the question of criminal responsibility in cases of insanity, and provided evidence to support Hadfield's unstable state of mind at the time of the shooting.[31] Eugène Delacroix's oil painting *Tasso in the Asylum* (1839) alternatively embodied the figure of the creative mad genius, and depicted the contemplative sixteenth-century poet Torquato Tasso imprisoned in a madhouse, after a violent outburst in the Court of Ferrara.[32] Gustave Courbet's self-portrait *Le Désespéré*, or *The Desperate Man* (1844-45) realistically represented the artist's own frenzied despair, during an episode of melancholy.[33] Amongst creative Romantics, madness was interpreted as a fashionable quality, as though all who were clever or creative should be mad (and proud) to an extent.[34] Other nineteenth-century images of male madness included those of masturbatory insanity and syphilitic madness, as men were the main sufferers of venereal disease.[35] Gaetano Donizetti would become one such example, after developing neuro-syphilis: he initially experienced a continuous fever, outbursts of rage and sexual excitement, before being institutionalised in an asylum at Ivry, near Paris early in 1846.[36] Both male and female

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[28] Ibid., pp. 122-27.
[29] Ibid.
[30] See Busfield, pp. 269-73; Porter, *A Social History of Madness*, pp. 63-65.
[31] Hadfield sustained a head injury in battle, and Erskine employed surgeon Henry Cline and physician Sir Alexander Crichton to explain how this impacted Hadfield's mental capacity and state of mind. Hadfield was found not guilty, being under the influence of insanity, and was later committed to Bethlem Hospital. See Hunter and Macalpine, pp. 567-72.
[32] See Eugène Delacroix, *Tasso in the Asylum*, 1839, oil on canvas, 60 x 50 cm <https://www.wga.hu/html_m/d/delacroi/3/318delac.html> [accessed 1st November 2021].
[33] See Gustave Courbet, *Le Désespéré*, 1844-45, oil on canvas, 45 x 55 cm, The Metropolitan Museum of Art <https://www.metmuseum.org/exhibitions/listings/2008/gustave-courbet/photo-gallery> [accessed 4th February 2022].
[34] Romantic poets William Blake and John Clare were thought to be mad, for instance. See also Francisco Goya y Lucientes, *The Sleep of Reason Produces Monsters* (El sueño de la razon produce monstrusos), 1796, in Anna Faherty, 'The enduring myth of the mad genius', *Wellcome Collection* <www.wellcomecollection.org> [accessed 1st November 2021].
[35] Busfield, pp. 274-75.
[36] For more detail on Gaetano Donizetti's illness and symptoms, see Enid Peschel and Richard Peschel, 'Donizetti and the Music of Mental Derangement: *Anna Bolena*, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, and the Composer's

madness can therefore be distinguished into three prominent cultural forms in the nineteenth century: as the feminine and attractive, the ugly and naturalistic, and the masculine and violent. These representations are all equally embodied by Lucy Ashton in *The Bride of Lammermoor* and her operatic counterparts, to whom my attention will now turn.[37]

The Nineteenth-Century Madwoman

The madwoman, who became deranged after losing or being abandoned by her lover became one of the most prominent cross-cultural images of madness in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. [38] Yet, this portrayal of the love-mad woman recalled the ancient characterisation of female madness and 'irrationality' in Roman literature, as embodied by Dido, her heartbreak and suicide, in Virgil's Latin epic poem *Aeneid* (circa 19 BC).[39] The nineteenth-century love-mad woman became the focus for a vast collection of art works, novels, plays and operas, including the works of Sir Walter Scott.[40] Scott's *The Bride of Lammermoor* is set in the Lammermuir Hills, in South-East Scotland around the turn of the eighteenth century and at the time of the Act of Union between Scotland and England in 1707.[41] The historical novel is principally based on a feud between the Ravenswood and Ashton families, and an ensuing tragic romance between the young Lucy Ashton and brooding Edgar, Master of Ravenswood.

Following his father's death and the loss of his ancestral estate to Sir William Ashton, Ravenswood vows to maintain his late father's feud and seek vengeance.[42] His intentions are complicated on meeting Ashton's beautiful daughter Lucy, whom he rescues from a wild bull. A gradual and forbidden romance ensues between the pair, culminating in their secret betrothal, marked by a broken piece of gold. On the arrival of Lucy's controlling mother Lady Ashton, Lucy is told she will marry Frank Hayston of Bucklaw. Having been forced

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Neurobiological Illness', *The Yale Journal of Biology and Medicine*, 65 (1992), 189-200; William Ashbrook, *Donizetti and His Operas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 177, 190-200.

[37] With this acknowledgement of male madness in the nineteenth century, I shall hereafter focus on the pertinent figure of the nineteenth-century madwoman, epitomised by Lucy Ashton in *The Bride of Lammermoor* and her dramatic and lyrical counterparts.

[38] Small, p. viii.

[39] William F. Cole, 'The Aeneid', in *World History Encyclopedia* <https://www.worldhistory.org/The_Aeneid/> [accessed 18th January 2023].

[40] Small, p. viii.

[41] While the first edition was based before the Act of Union between England and Scotland in 1707, the Magnus edition of 1830 was based after the Act of Union. See Fiona Robertson, ed., 'Note on the Text', in Sir Walter Scott, *The Bride of Lammermoor* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. xxx-xl (p. xxxiv).
See Edinburgh University Library, 'The Bride Of Lammermoor (Tales Of My Landlord)', *The Walter Scott Digital Archive* <http://www.walterscott.lib.ed.ac.uk/works/novels/lammermoor.html> [accessed 5th October 2021].

[42] For a brief, but detailed synopsis, see 'The Bride of Lammermoor', *The Walter Scott Digital Archive*.

from his ancestral home, Ravenswood accompanies the local Marquis of A—— on his political endeavours and flees abroad. Lucy refuses her mother's proposition, insistent that she will write to Ravenswood, and hear from him directly before breaking their oath. Her mother, however, intercepts her communication with Ravenswood.

Twelve months later, Lucy continues to rebel against her mother's commands in waiting for a response from Ravenswood, unbeknownst that her mother has intervened and prevented their correspondence. Lady Ashton manipulates Lucy into thinking that Ravenswood has deserted her, that their oath means nothing and proceeds with the arrangement of her marriage. The weight of the oppression from her mother, and her constant confinement plunges Lucy into low spirits and her health deteriorates. As a result, the Wise Woman of Bowden, Ailsie Gourlay is employed to care for Lucy, and restore her spirits.

Her treatment, however, has the opposite effect, only disturbing Lucy further. On St. Jude's Day, the day the marriage contracts will be signed, Lucy appears with a deathly pallor, distraught over Ravenswood's silence and her confined situation. The peace is quickly broken as Edgar dramatically enters, just as Lucy is signing the marital contract, and accuses her of knowingly betraying her oath. Her mother cuts the ribbon from Lucy's neck and removes the gold token of their engagement, marking the end of their engagement. Ravenswood, in his fury, throws the token into the fire, accuses Lucy of perjury and storms out of the apartment. Following his exit, Lucy is plunged further into silent melancholy. Her mother takes her deteriorated health as an opportunity to progress the marital proceedings.

By the wedding day, her spirits have seemingly lifted. Following the wedding and adjournment to the bridal apartment, the wedding reception and celebrations ensue. Yet suddenly, a piercing cry is heard from the bridal apartment, and on its second hearing, a small number of the company and close relatives flee, in search of its origin.[43] The company first find an injured Bucklaw on the floor of the bridal apartment, and seek medical attention for the bridegroom. Eventually, they find Lucy

> seated or rather couched like a hare upon its form – her head-gear dishevelled; her night-clothes torn and dabbled with blood, – her eyes glazed, and her features convulsed into a wild paroxysm of insanity. When she saw herself discovered she gibbered, made mouths, and pointed at them with her bloody fingers, with the frantic gestures of an exulting demoniac […] As they carried her over the threshold, she looked down, and uttered the only articulate words that she had yet spoken, saying with a sort of grinning exultation, – 'So, you have ta'en up your bonny bridegroom?'[44]

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[43] See Scott, p. 337.
[44] Ibid., pp. 337-38.

Following her violent episode, Lucy experiences a series of convulsions and dies. The coroner determined that Lucy,

> in a sudden fit of insanity, had stabbed the bridegroom at the threshold of the apartment. The fatal weapon was found in the chamber, smeared with blood. It was the same poniard which Henry [Lucy's brother] should have worn on the wedding-day, and which his unhappy sister had probably contrived to secrete on the succeeding evening.[45]

After her convulsive death, Bucklaw recovers from his injuries but does not divulge the details of the event to anyone. Whilst attending Lucy's funeral, Lucy's brother, Colonel Ashton challenges Ravenswood to a duel the next morning. Ravenswood, however, meets his own tragic end while on his journey, and is seemingly engulfed by quicksand.

Over the next ten years, the novel would make its way to continental Europe, where it became familiar amongst the French and Italian reading public in translation. It was quickly translated into French as *La fiancée de Lammermoor* by Gabriel-Henri Nicolle between 15th and 20th August 1819.[46] The first Italian translation, *La promessa sposa di Lammermoor*, was published by Gaetano Barbieri in 1824 – five years after the initial publication of both Scott's novel and its French translation.[47] Other translations followed, including Giovanni Campiglio's *La fidanzata di Lammermoor* (1828), Giacomo Sormani's *La fidanzata di Lammermoor* (1829) and Carlo Rusconi's *La promessa sposa di Lammermoor* (1835).[48]

Within weeks of the novel's publication, it received its first stage adaptation and performance as the English *melodrama, The Bride of Lammermoor*, or *The Spectre at the Fountain* by dramatist Thomas Dibdin at the popular Royal Surrey Theatre on 5th July 1819.[49] John William Calcraft would be next to stage his own five-act *melodrama, The Bride of Lammermoor* at the Theatre Royal, Edinburgh on 1st May 1822.[50] The French Romantics particularly enjoyed the Gothic novels of British authors, and commonly looked to their dark

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[45] Ibid., p. 339.

[46] The novel is published as part of the third series of *Tales of my Landlord*, again under the pseudonym Jedediah Cleishbotham. See Joseph Marie Quérard, *La France littéraire, ou Dictionnaire bibliographique*, 8 (Paris: Chez Firmin Didot Frères, 1836), p. 570; *Bibliographie de la France: ou Journal général de l'imprimerie et de la librairie* (Paris: Chez Pillet Aîné, 1819), p. 352.

[47] See Gaetano Barbieri, *La promessa sposa di Lammermoor, o Nuovi racconti des mio ostiere* (Milan: Per Vicenzo Ferrario, 1824).

[48] See Giovanni Campiglio, *La fidanzata di Lammermoor* (Milan: co' torchi della Societa tipografica de' classici italiani, 1828); Giacomo Sormani's *La fidanzata di Lammermoor* (Milan: Giuseppe Crespi, 1829); Carlo Rusconi, *La promessa sposa di Lammermoor: romanzo, scrittto dall'autore del Waverley* (Padua: coi tipi della Minerva, 1835).

[49] Allardyce Nicoll, *A History of English Drama, 1660-1900*, 2nd edn, 6 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), IV (Early Nineteenth Century Drama), pp. 94, 302.

[50] See John William Calcraft, *The Bride of Lammermoor: A Drama: in Five Acts* (Edinburgh: Printed for John Anderson, 1823); Henry Adelbert White, *Sir Walter Scott's Novels on the Stage* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, Humphrey Milford and Oxford University Press, 1927), p. 76.

subject material for inspiration in creating their emerging theatrical genre of *mélodrame*.[51] Thus the novel was adapted into the three-act *mélodrame, La fiancée de Lammermoor* by Victor Ducange, with its first performance at the Théâtre de la Porte-Saint-Martin on 25th March 1828.[52] It would then become known to Italian audiences with Ferdinando Livini's Italian stage adaptation *La promessa sposa di Lammermoor,* which itself was based on Ducange's *mélodrame* and was published within the same year.[53]

At the same time, Italian operatic composers and librettists were developing their own melodramatic genre of *melodramma.* Composers and librettists similarly sought subject material from Gothic literature and French *mélodrame*, with tragic endings,[54] in order to deviate from the traditional *lieto fine* endings of Classical opera, including *opera buffa* and *opera seria*, and create more contemporary and melodramatic Romantic operas.[55] *The Bride of Lammermoor,* with its dark setting of Ravenswood's castle and star-crossed lovers of the 'Romeo and Juliet' type was an appealing option.[56]

By 1829, the story would take its first step onto the operatic stage as *Le nozze di Lammermoor* by Michele Carafa and Luigi Balocchi (12th December 1829, Théâtre-Italien, Paris). In the following years, it would be adapted again for the Italian operatic stage: first by Luigi Rieschi and Calisto Bassi as *La fidanzata di Lammermoor* (26th November 1831, Teatro Grande, Trieste), and secondly by Alberto Mazzucato and Pietro Beltrame as *La fidanzata di Lammermoor* (24th March 1834, Teatro Novissimo, Padua).[57] By September

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[51] Emilio Sala, 'Women Crazed by Love: An Aspect of Romantic Opera', trans. by William Ashbrook, *The Opera Quarterly*, 3/10 (1994), 19-41 (pp. 24-25).

[52] Victor Ducange, *La fiancée de Lammermoor: drame en trois actes* (Paris: impr. de E. Duverger, [n.d.]), in *Gallica: Bibliotèque Nationale de France* <www.gallica.bnf.fr> [accessed 18th February 2020]; White, p. 80. Local newspapers acknowledged the premiere and its continued performance. See *Le Figaro, Journal non Politique*, 26 March 1828, pp. 2, 4 <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k265845z> [accessed 12th March 2020]; *Le Corsaire, Journal des spectacles, de la littérature, des arts, mœurs et modes*, 27 March 1828, pp. 1-2 <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k4687790f> [accessed 12th March 2020]; *Le Corsaire*, 29 March 1828, pp. 1-2 <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k46877928> [accessed 12th March 2020].

[53] I have found no acknowledgement of a performance of this adaptation, only the publication. Ferdinando Livini, *La promessa sposa di Lammermoor: dramma imitato dal Romanzo di Sir Walter Scott* (Naples: Dalla Stamperia Francese, 1828).

[54] Sala, pp. 24-25.

[55] Susan Rutherford, *Verdi, Opera, Women* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013) p. 178, notes the emergence of death as a common theme in opera, in order to avoid the lieto fine ending. Sternfield defines the lieto fine as 'the happy conclusion of a drama or operatic libretto'. See F. W. Sternfield, 'Lieto fine (opera)', in *Grove Music Online* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com> [accessed 22nd April 2021].

[56] Sala, p. 25, also notes that operatic composers turned to Ducange's *mélodrame, La fiancée de Lammermoor*.

[57] For the premiere date of Rieschi's opera, see Gherardo Casaglia, *L'Almonacco di Gherardo Casaglia* <https://almanac-gherardo-casaglia.com> [accessed 7th February 2022]; Calisto Bassi, *La fidanzata di Lammermoor: tragedia lirica in tre parti* ([n. p.]: Michele Weis, 1831). For that of Mazzucato's opera, see Angelo Rusconi, 'MAZZUCATO, Alberto', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 72, in *Treccani* <https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/> [accessed 28th September 2020]; Pietro Beltrame, *La fidanzata di Lammermoor* (Milan: Dalla Stamperia Dova, 1835).

1835, Gaetano Donizetti and Salvadore Cammarano would present their own, hugely popular *Lucia di Lammermoor* (26th September 1835, Teatro San Carlo, Naples), and the three earlier operas would be eclipsed and almost forgotten.[58] In creating his libretto for *Lucia di Lammermoor*, Salvadore Cammarano seemingly consulted Scott's novel, and the 'three earlier Italian librettos'.[59] How, then, do the four operas compare and differ?

Carafa and Balocchi's *Le nozze di Lammermoor* (1829)

The first Italian operatic adaptation *Le nozze di Lammermoor*, remains the closest to Scott's novel, albeit with modifications. In writing the operatic libretto, Luigi Balocchi retained the Scottish setting of East Lothian, and reduced Scott's novel to two acts, which he separates with an interval of two months.[60] In doing so, he transfers and appropriately renames the principal characters Lucia (Lucy), Edgardo (Ravenswood), William Ashton, Lady Ashton, and Bucklaw (see Appendix).[61] The main action begins in Act I, scene 4, as minor character Donaldo describes to Caleb how Edgardo saved Lucia and her father, William Ashton, from a raging wild bull.[62] On Edgardo's entry in Act I, scene 5, he is already battling his own inner conflict, as he considers his sworn oath, and Lucia's beauty.[63] Lucia makes her first, official entry in Act I, scene 7, at the Tower of Wolfcrag with her father, as they shelter from the storm.[64] Act I, scene 13 then sees the romance between Lucia and Edgardo blossom at the Mermaid's fountain in the park of Lammermoor, as Balocchi transforms their described declaration of love and betrothal into an extensive duet, signifying their oath with a divided ring.[65] In the following scenes, Lady Ashton's anticipated, dramatic entrance occurs (as in

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[58] For the premiere date, see William Ashbrook, *Donizetti and his Operas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. 97.

[59] Ibid., p. 631.

[60] Luigi Balocchi, *Le nozze di Lammermoor* (Paris: Théâtre Royal Italien, 1829). In Scott's novel, however, there is a gap of twelve months where Ravenswood is abroad and remains silent. See Scott, p. 292. Jerome Mitchell, 'Operatic Versions of *The Bride of Lammermoor*', *Studies in Scottish Literature*, 10/3 (1973), 145-64 (p. 150), also observes the difference in interval.

[61] Balocchi, *Le nozze di Lammermoor*.

[62] Ibid., pp. 6-7. These events occur in Chapter 5 in Scott, pp. 54-62.

[63] Balocchi, p. 7. This could be read as the equivalent to Ravenwood and William Ashton's confrontation following the attack of the wild bull in the novel, and reflects Scott's descriptions: 'Master of Ravenswood had sustained wrongs at the hand of Sir William Ashton, his conscience told him they had been unhandsomely resented towards his daughter. When his thoughts took this turn of self-reproach, the recollection of Lucy Ashton's beautiful features […] made an impression upon his mind at once soothing and painful'. See Scott, pp. 62, 96.

[64] Balocchi, p. 9. This deviates from Scott's novel, as Lucy first appears in Chapter 3, playing the harp and singing. See Scott, pp. 39-40.

[65] Balocchi, pp. 18-20. This occurs in Chapter 20 of Scott, pp. 205-09.

Scott's novel), and by the Act's finale, she has regained her control over Lucia and her relationship with Edgardo.[66]

In transferring Lucy's madness to the stage, Balocchi deviates from Scott's original novel: instead, Carafa and Balocchi omit Lucy's final violent episode, and alternatively create an extensive, original operatic mad scene for Lucia in Act II, scenes 5 to 9, once she learns that Edgardo will not return.[67] Lucia's first appearance in Act II, scene 5, sees her alone in the gardens of Ravenswood castle, surrounded by beautiful flowers and playing a harp.[68] Here she sings a romanza, lamenting on Edgardo's silence and absence.[69] On meeting with Elisa and the presbyterian minister in the following scenes, however, she soon realises that Edgardo will not return.[70] Her delirium over this fact in Act II, scene 8, therefore represents her fury over Edgardo's betrayal and broken oath, a promise which she still intends to keep.[71]

In Act II, scenes 8 and 9, Lucia concludes that to remain loyal to Edgardo, she must redeem herself (in the eyes of God and society), and resigns to take a poison given to her by Alisia and die.[72] When she re-enters in Act II, scene 12, it is clear from her deathly pallor, as observed by Lady Ashton, that the poison has begun to take effect.[73] Her mother continues to persuade her that she will find happiness if she breaks her oath to Edgardo, but Lucia firmly intends to remain faithful to him, knowing that heaven will have mercy on her pain.[74] Act II, scene 15 then sees the assembled company and Lucia in the large and richly decorated reception hall, as Lucia and Bucklaw go to sign the marital contract.[75] Lucia's clear physical weakness and deteriorating condition prevent her from properly signing the contract. Just as Lucia finally signs her name, Edgardo makes a dramatic entrance (Act II, scene 16), believing that she has betrayed him.[76] The pair confront one another,[77] and ignoring Lucia's

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[66] Balocchi, pp. 21-32.
[67] Ibid., pp. 39-41.
[68] Ibid., pp. 37-38. This mimics the appearance of Lucy in Chapter 3 of Scott, pp. 39-40.
[69] Balocchi, pp. 37-38.
[70] Ibid., pp. 38-39.
[71] Ibid., pp. 39-40.
[72] Ibid., pp. 40-41. This is similar in circumstances to Lucy's resigning statement 'To sign and seal – to do and die!' in Chapter 29 of Scott, p. 301.
[73] Balocchi, pp. 45-50, 55-56. This and the following scenes (pp. 45-56) are based on the details and events that occur in Chapters 33 and 34 of Scott's novel, with Balocchi combining the events into one day (St Jude's Day and Lucy's later marriage to Bucklaw). See Scott, pp. 317-35.
[74] Balocchi, pp. 45-48. This duet aligns with Lady Ashton and Lucy's confrontation in Scott, pp. 298-99.
[75] Balocchi, pp. 49-50.
[76] Ibid., pp. 50-54. Balocchi follows the dialogue and descriptions of Chapter 33 in Scott's novel quite closely in creating his libretto for Act II, scenes 16 and 17, with some parts transferred verbatim. See Scott, pp. 321-28.
[77] Balocchi, pp. 53-54.

physical condition, Edgardo bitterly throws his half of the ring (the token of their oath) on the table.[78]

Lucia reveals her own half of the ring and announces that she has consumed a deadly poison.[79] Edgardo, furious with Lady Ashton for her constant intervention and role in Lucia's demise, is then confronted by Bucklaw, who draws his sword.[80] Lucia continues to weaken, and pleads with the others to calm down, for Edgardo and Bucklaw to cease their fury.[81] She tells Bucklaw that she would not have made him happy, and instead pledges her eternal faith to Edgardo.[82] In her dying moments, Lucia asks Edgardo to approach, and tells him that they will one day be reunited, before dying in his arms.[83] In a terrifying and tragic ending, Edgardo, distraught over Lucia's death, quickly realises that he cannot be parted from his love, and stabs himself on stage.[84]

Rieschi and Bassi's *La fidanzata di Lammermoor* (1831)

In writing his own libretto for *La fidanzata di Lammermoor,* which generally remained faithful to Scott's main plot, Calisto Bassi was to create the first Italian operatic adaptation of Scott's novel to be staged in Italy.[85] Like Balocchi, Bassi retained Scott's Gothic Scottish setting and moved his sequence of events to the end of the sixteenth century (see Appendix).[86] Bassi's opera of three acts retains fewer characters than Balocchi, and appropriately renames the principal characters Ida (Lucy), Guglielmo Ashton (William Ashton), and Edgardo (see Appendix).[87]

In a grand departure from Scott's novel and *Le nozze di Lammermoor*, Bassi becomes the first to omit the character of Lady Ashton whose unceasing interference plays a vital role in previous versions.[88] Instead, Bassi ensures that Guglielmo Ashton assumes Lady Ashton's role by portraying him as visibly deceitful and manipulative from the beginning of the

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[78] Ibid.

[79] Ibid., pp. 54-55. This claim is supported by Mitchell, pp. 153-54, who equally acknowledges this shocking twist and departure from the novel. This event occurs in Chapter 33 of Scott's novel, and Balocchi's deviation, thus means he omits the remainder of Scott's novel. Scott, pp. 330-49.

[80] Balocchi, p. 55.

[81] Ibid.; Mitchell, p. 153, similarly describes these moments.

[82] Balocchi, pp. 55-56.

[83] Ibid.

[84] Ibid.

[85] Calisto Bassi, *La fidanzata di Lammermoor* ([n. p.]: Michele Weis Tip. Teatr., 1831).

[86] Bassi, pp. 5, 7. Scott's novel was alternatively set in Lammermuir Hills in South-East Scotland around the Act of Union. See Robertson, 'Note on the Text', *The Bride of Lammermoor*, p. xxxiv.

[87] Having acknowledged the mammoth task of reducing Scott's novel with a preceding note to the reader, Bassi introduces the choice of his subject material for his new lyric tragedy (refraining from titling it as a tragic *melodramma*, as others wished), as the much adapted and familiar novel by Walter Scott. Bassi, pp. 3-5.

[88] Ibid., p. 5.

opera.[89] In doing this, Bassi and the composer Luigi Rieschi conform to a conventional and archetypal relationship between an older male relative and young woman (often father and daughter) of Italian opera.[90] Guglielmo's cruelty, for instance, is evident in Act I, scenes 11 and 12: Guglielmo in his feigned generosity and hope for salvation for Ida and Edgardo, urges them to flee and forces them towards a door, through which Bucklaw is about to enter, leaving the pair shocked and frozen with terror.[91] The end of Act II sees Guglielmo mercilessly try to break Ida and Edgardo's contract, as he exiles Edgardo, stating that Bucklaw will instead be marrying Ida.[92] As in Scott's novel and *Le nozze di Lammermoor*, Edgardo enters just as Ida is signing the marital contract in Act III, scene 2.[93] Just as Lady Ashton interferes in the breaking of their oath, Guglielmo takes the broken coin from around Ida's neck, and hands it to Edgardo.[94]

The celebration of Ida and Bucklaw's wedding in Act III, scene 4, leads to Bassi's most sensational addition of all, as he transfers Lucy's violent episode to her operatic counterpart Ida, who becomes an actual murderer.[95] The reception guests hear a prolonged scream from the bridal apartment and go to seek its origin, just as a deranged Ida slowly emerges with a bloodied dagger in hand.[96] Guglielmo alone exits to discover what has happened, and emerges to announce that Bucklaw is dead.[97] Initially, Ida is aware of her actions but unaware of their consequences, as she serenades Edgardo on stage.[98] As Ida begins to emerge from her delirium, she realises what she has done and is horrified. As a result, Ida, like Lucia in *Le nozze di Lammermoor*, hopes to be redeemed and takes a poison, dying on stage moments later.[99]

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[89] Ibid., pp. 8-11, 16-17, 24-26. Scott's individual descriptions of Lady Ashton's blunt cruelty and her superficial kindness are somewhat transferred to Guglielmo, albeit with a comparatively cowardly edge. See Scott, pp. 239-40, 287-90, 297-306. This is especially apparent in Act I, scene 10, where Guglielmo – having initially encouraged the romance (Act I, scene 2) – feigns distress in having to tear Edgardo and Ida apart. Guglielmo states that their unhappiness in separating is nobody's fault, but their own. This is reminiscent of Lady Ashton in Scott, p. 298.

[90] This allows the pair to create conventional father-daughter duets, such as that of Act II, scene 2, where Guglielmo and Ida describe the pain and torment of their individual positions, before Ida accepts that only death remains. See Bassi, pp. 34-37.

[91] Ibid., pp. 27-28.

[92] Just as Lady Ashton 'bent her whole efforts of her powerful mind to break her daughter's contract with Ravenswood', in Chapter 30. See Scott, p. 305.

[93] Bassi, p. 45.

[94] Ibid., pp. 46-51.

[95] See Scott, pp. 335-38; Bassi, pp. 54-55.

[96] Bassi, pp. 54-55.

[97] Ibid., pp. 54-55.

[98] Ibid., pp. 54-57.

[99] Ibid., pp. 58-60.

Pietro Beltrame, in creating his own three-act libretto for *La fidanzata di Lammermoor*, would not directly follow Bassi's lead, nor remain entirely faithful to Scott's novel. He retained Bassi's setting of the action, and reduced the number of principal characters to Guglielmo, Malvina (Lucy), Edoardo (Ravenswood), Ernesto (Bucklaw) and Adele, Malvina's attendant (see Appendix).[100] The opera instead begins with Guglielmo celebrating that his daughter will soon marry Ernesto, while Malvina laments over her oppressed situation, of her father's control, and how Edoardo will react when he returns.[101] When Edoardo does return, the pair sing a duet, lamenting their unhappy situation and hoping that one day they will find happiness together.[102] Act I ends with Edoardo confronting Guglielmo – and in turn Ernesto – who vows for vengeance.[103]

Act II sees Malvina immersed in a profound sadness over her father's complete rejection of Edoardo, her family's sworn enemy.[104] Guglielmo, however, tries to persuade Malvina that Edoardo will be spared and saved if she marries Ernesto whom she continues to refuse.[105] Edoardo hides, thinking of his love Malvina, but becomes agitated on hearing a celebratory song of love from inside the castle.[106] Act II ends with Edoardo and Ernesto confronting one another: Ernesto claims Malvina as his own, and the pair agree to duel on the sand dunes at dawn.[107]

Beltrame's ending and operatic mad scene, in particular, vastly differ to those of Balocchi's *Le nozze* and Bassi's *La fidanzata*, as Malvina instead goes mad over the death of her lover (Act III, scene 4).[108] Act III begins with a chorus of fishermen, who (allegorically) observe and warn that a storm is nearing.[109] Ernesto, who is waiting for Edoardo, hears the

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[100] Pietro Beltrame, *La fidanzata di Lammermoor* (Padua: Per il Fratelli Penada, e li figli del fa Giuseppe Penada, 1834).

[101] Ibid. The drama is seemingly based on the action after Chapter 28 in Scott, pp. 292-302. This is where twelve months have passed, Ravenswood is still abroad, and Lady Ashton continues to force Lucy into marrying Bucklaw.

[102] This occurs in Act I, scene 8, in Beltrame, pp. 15-17. Malvina's eventual madness is foreshadowed here, as she becomes semi-delirious on seeing Edoardo again (as if she believes she is hallucinating). Edoardo returns in Act I, scene 7, in Beltrame, pp. 13-14. He does not then enter at the signing of the contract, nor does he bitterly confront Malvina, and return the token of his oath, as in the previous operatic libretti, and Chapter 33 of Scott's novel. See Scott, pp. 321-29.

[103] Beltrame, pp. 18-21.

[104] Ibid., pp. 22-23.

[105] Ibid.

[106] This occurs in Act II, scene 4, in Ibid., pp. 26-27. Mitchell, p. 160, makes a similar observation.

[107] This occurs in Act II, scene 5, in Beltrame, pp. 27-28. This is clearly reminiscent of the intended duel between Lucy's brother, Colonel Douglas Ashton, and Ravenswood following Lucy's funeral. See Scott, pp. 343-44. Mitchell, p. 160, also makes such observations.

[108] Beltrame, pp. 31-32.

[109] Ibid., p. 29.

tolling of the bell, and learns from the fishermen that Edoardo's boat has been engulfed by waves in the storm and Edoardo has drowned.[110] Malvina rushes out of the castle – followed by Guglielmo, Adele, and the Guards – horrified by the turn of events and is plunged into madness: she is confused about her whereabouts and those surrounding her, and deliriously addresses an absent Edoardo on how they fell in love at the fountain.[111] On deviating from Scott's novel and the previous libretti, Beltrame creates a dramatic and violent ending, as Malvina transcends further into her delirium and realises she cannot be parted from her lover. Unlike her previous operatic counterparts, she grabs Ernesto's dagger and stabs herself on stage, in order to die with Edoardo.[112] In this instance only, it is the heroine (rather than the male protagonist) who violently kills herself on stage.

Donizetti and Cammarano's *Lucia di Lammermoor* (1835)

Cammarano was influenced by both Scott's novel and the previous operatic libretti, and used a combination of events in writing his own compact plot and operatic libretto for *Lucia di Lammermoor*.[113] He retained the same setting of Scotland, with the drama taking place at the end of the sixteenth century, and transferred most of the principal characters: he retained Balocchi's original names for Lucia and Edgardo, renamed Bucklaw as Arturo, and added characters Alisa (as with the other adaptations), Raimondo Bidebent (Mr Bide-the-Bent) and Normanno.[114] Most significantly, however, he channelled the energy of Lady Ashton (and Gugliemo from both Bassi's and Beltrame's respective libretti), into Lucy's brother Henry, now aptly named Enrico.[115]

Following an opening hunters' chorus, the opera begins with Enrico telling Raimondo and the surrounding huntsmen that he is trying to arrange a suitable marriage for his sister Lucia (with Arturo) in order to enhance his own political standing.[116] Raimondo, however,

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[110] This occurs in Act III, scenes 2 and 3 in Beltrame, pp. 29-31. This is similar to Ravenswood's death in the quicksand in Scott, pp. 347-48.

[111] Beltrame, p. 31.

[112] Ibid.

[113] Initially the opera was published in two acts, but it is now performed in three. Cammarano acknowledges that he has retained the most important characters of Scott's novel is foreword. See Salvadore Cammarano, *Lucia di Lammermoor: dramma tragico in due parti* (Naples: Tipografia Flautina, 1835). The writing of my own synopsis here has been aided by the additional consultation of Ellen Bleiler's translation of Cammarano's libretto. See Salvadore Cammarano and Gaetano Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, trans. and introduction by Ellen H. Bleiler (New York: Dover Publications, 1986).

[114] Cammarano, *Lucia di Lammermoor* (1835), shall simply be referred to as Cammarano in the remainder of this section (as sole author).

[115] For a more in-depth discussion of the similarities between *Lucia di Lammermoor*, Scott's novel and the earlier operatic adaptations of *The Bride of Lammermoor*, see Mitchell, pp. 161-64.

[116] Cammarano, pp. 6-7. A similar chorus occurs in the opening of Balocchi's libretto, as they are instead out hunting with Edgardo. See Balocchi, pp. 3-7. These are similar to the opening hunters chorus in Gioachino

pities Lucia, aware that she is still grieving the death of her mother.[117] Normanno and the surrounding hunters enrage Enrico when they inform him that Lucia has fallen in love, and has been meeting secretly with Edgardo, Enrico's enemy.[118] Enrico concludes that he will intervene, and end the romance.[119]

The following scene sees Lucia and her attendant Alisa, waiting patiently for Edgardo by the Mermaiden's fountain in a park near Ravenswood castle.[120] There Lucia recounts the story of a woman, stabbed to death by a Ravenswood in a jealous rage, and recollects seeing her ghost.[121] Alisa believes that Lucia's sighting is a bad omen, and asks for Lucia to give up her love for Edgardo, concerned that if Enrico learns of the romance, it will also end in tragedy and ruin.[122] Edgardo soon enters (prompting Alisa to leave), informing Lucia that he needs to travel to France on a political endeavour and hopes to restore peace with her brother before he leaves.[123] Lucia, however, wants to keep their romance secret, which in turn frustrates Edgardo, as he reminds Lucia of his sworn oath for vengeance, having lost his father and ancestral estate at the hands of Enrico.[124] Lucia hopes that Edgardo will forget his feelings of hate and vengeance, and remember only their love for one another.[125] This leads to their betrothal, as marked by their love duet, before they part.[126]

Act II sees Enrico strengthen his efforts to control his sister as he insists that she will marry Arturo and, along with Normanno, interferes with her letters to Edgardo.[127] Lucia's deathly pallor, as identified by Lucia herself, is reminiscent of Lucy's on St. Jude's Day in Scott's novel,[128] as she tells Enrico that she has sworn herself to another man and will not

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Rossini's in *La donna del lago* (based on Scott's The Lady of the Lake) and Scott's descriptions of Ravenswood and his hunters in Chapter 9. See Scott, pp. 104-17; Mitchell, p. 148. Enrico's behaviour here is also clearly based on Lady Ashton's own control and arrangement of Lucy's wedding to Bucklaw in Scott's novel. The action begins at a similar point to that of both Bassi's and Beltrame's respective libretti, whereby Guglielmo plots a similar scheme.

[117] Cammarano, p. 6.

[118] Ibid., pp. 6-7. Normanno's description of how Edgardo saved Lucia from the wild bull, is thus reminiscent of both Donaldo's description in *Le nozze di Lammermoor*, and the events in Chapter 5 of Scott's novel. See Balocchi, pp. 6-7; Scott, pp. 54-62.

[119] Cammarano, pp. 6-8.

[120] Ibid., p. 9.

[121] Ibid., pp. 9-10.

[122] Ibid.

[123] Like Ravenswood in Scott, pp. 262-73.

[124] Cammarano, pp. 11-12.

[125] Ibid., pp. 12-14.

[126] Ibid. This occurs as in Chapter 20 of Scott's novel, and as Balocchi's libretto, with Edgardo instead giving Lucia a ring, rather than a piece of gold. See Scott, pp. 205-09; Balocchi, pp. 18-20.

[127] Cammarano, p. 15. This is based on Lady Ashton's own attempts to force Lucy into a marriage with Bucklaw, as seen in Chapters 28 and 29 in Scott, pp. 292-302. The interval between the two acts, thus signifies the passing of time, as in Scott's novel and Balocchi's libretto. See Balocchi; Scott, p. 292.

[128] Cammarano, p. 16; Scott, pp. 317-18. This observation is also similar to that of Lady Ashton in Balocchi, pp. 45-48, 49-50, 55-56.

break her oath.[129] Lucia receives a forged letter by Enrico, insinuating that Edgardo no longer loves her, which she believes, and feels betrayed.[130] Hearing the sound of people rejoicing, Enrico announces that Arturo, Lucia's bridegroom has arrived and that their wedding is being prepared.[131] Lucia in turn accepts her fate as she declares that her tomb awaits and prays to heaven, insisting that death would be a blessing.[132] Lucia finally and unwillingly concedes to the proposal, as Raimondo offers her sympathy and persuades her to marry Arturo.[133]

The following scene opens in the decorated hall of Ravenswood castle, awaiting the marriage of Lucia and Arturo.[134] In creating this scene, Cammarano combines the events of St. Jude's Day and the wedding in Scott's novel.[135] Following the celebrations of the guests, in which Enrico warns Arturo of Lucia's unhappy disposition since the death of their mother, Lucia finally enters.[136] Lucia, upon weakly signing the contract, is interrupted by Edgardo's entrance.[137] Edgardo's following bitter confrontation of Enrico, Arturo, Raimondo and Lucia follows the events of Scott's novel and previous operatic libretti, and sees him discard and trample his ring.[138] Edgardo then offers his breast to his enemies inviting them to kill him, much to Lucia's distress.[139] The opening scene of Act III, which is often omitted from performances, thus sees Edgardo and Enrico confront one another privately.[140]

In creating his mad scene for Lucia, Cammarano was clearly influenced by Scott's novel and Bassi's mad scene for Ida in *La fidanzata di Lammermoor*, as both take place at the wedding reception.[141] The jubilant chorus celebrate the wedding of Lucia and Arturo, blissfully unaware of the violent events unfolding off-stage.[142] Unlike Bassi, however, Cammarano adds a further narration of the events, as Raimondo enters to tell all what Lucia

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[129] Cammarano, pp. 16-17.
[130] Ibid., pp. 15-17.
[131] Ibid.
[132] Ibid., pp. 17-18. These statements are dramatically based on Lucy's own statement 'To sign and seal – to do and die!' in Chapter 29 in Scott, p. 301, and thus follows Balocchi, pp. 40-41, and Bassi, pp. 34-37.
[133] Enrico continues to manipulate Lucia, who hopes to remain faithful to Edgardo: he forces her to accept the proposal of marriage to save him and avoid their family's downfall. Cammarano, pp. 17-20.
[134] Cammarano, p. 20.
[135] These events occur in Chapters 33 and 34 of Scott's novel, with the events combined (St Jude's Day and Lucy's later marriage to Bucklaw). See Scott, pp. 317-35. Balocchi, pp. 45-56.
[136] Cammarano, pp. 20-21.
[137] Ibid., pp. 21-22. This occurs in Chapter 33 of Scott, pp. 321-28; Bassi, p. 45 and Balocchi, pp. 50-54.
[138] Cammarano, pp. 23-26. This moment is of course significantly dramatically heightened here by the inclusion of the operatic sextet 'Chi mi frena in tal momento'.
[139] Ibid.
[140] Cammarano, pp. 27-29; Cammarano and Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, trans. by Bleiler, p. 51. This is dramatically similar to the intended duel at the end of Scott's novel, and with Bucklaw and Edoardo in Beltrame's operatic libretto. See Scott, pp. 343-44; Beltrame, pp. 27-8. See also Mitchell, p. 160.
[141] Cammarano, pp. 30-35; Scott, pp. 335-38; Bassi, pp. 54-55.
[142] Cammarano, pp. 30-31.

has done, before (prompting) her entry.[143] Lucia, like Ida, emerges in disordered dress, with a dagger.[144] While Ida deliriously serenades Edgardo in person, unaware of her actions, Lucia (like Malvina) hallucinates and sings to an absent Edgardo, believing that they are about to marry.[145] Lucia, in her delirious reverie and hallucinatory state, is uninterrupted by Enrico's entrance: he is initially outraged at her actions, but is shocked when the surrounding characters point out Lucia's mental instability.[146] Unlike Ida, Lucia does not return to her senses and remains unaware of her actions, as she transcends further into madness. She does, however, anticipate her own death by telling an absent Edgardo to weep at her graveside and pray for her in heaven, before collapsing into the arms of Alisa.[147] Unlike Bassi's and Balocchi's respective libretti, Cammarano's plot does not end there, as he further shows an unconscious Lucia be carried away by Alisa and her attendants, as in Scott's novel.[148]

The opera's final scene deviates slightly from Scott's novel and the previous operatic libretti, as it sees Edgardo alone near the Ravenswood tombs at the castle, and unaware of the events that have occurred.[149] He announces that he cannot live without Lucia and will give himself to his enemy, intending to die.[150] On encountering a small group of mourners who emerge from the castle, he questions their grief, and learns of Lucia's loss of reason, and subsequent (unseen) death.[151] The tolling of the bell, in announcing Lucia's off-stage death, is reminiscent of that in Act III of Beltrame's *La fidanzata di Lammermoor*.[152] Like the tragic endings of Balocchi's and Beltrame's respective libretti, Edgardo stabs himself in the heart with a dagger and dies onstage, ending the opera.[153]

Literature Review

There is already a large body of literature on the individual topics of Scott's *The Bride of Lammermoor*, the medical history of madness and Donizetti's *Lucia di Lammermoor*;

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[143] Ibid. In *La fidanzata di Lammermoor*, Bassi instead characterises the events with a scream, with Lucia's explanatory appearance, and with Guglielmo's statement that Bucklaw is dead. See Bassi, pp. 54-55.
[144] Cammarano, p. 32; Bassi, pp. 54-55.
[145] Cammarano, pp. 32-33; Bassi, pp. 54-57; Beltrame, p. 31.
[146] Cammarano, pp. 33-34.
[147] Ibid., pp. 34-35.
[148] Ibid. A conscious, but deranged Lucy has to be carried out of the bridal apartment by her female attendants. See Scott, p. 338.
[149] Cammarano, p. 35.
[150] Ibid.
[151] Ibid., pp. 36-37.
[152] Ibid., p. 37; Beltrame, pp. 29-31. This is also observed by Mitchell, p. 163.
[153] Raimondo emerges to confirm the news and calls Edgardo a madman for announcing his hope to be reunited with Lucia in heaven and his intention to die. See Cammarano, p. 37; Beltrame, pp. 29-31; Balocchi, pp. 55-56. See also Mitchell, p. 163.

however, no study currently exists that juxtaposes all three in substantial detail. Elaine Showalter's *The Female Malady*, for instance, is a seminal work within this interdisciplinary field and thus provided a starting point for this project.[154] In her work, Showalter discusses the representation of madness within popular culture and its influence on medical theories in England between 1830 and 1980, specifically in fuelling the notion of madness as a female malady. She introduces her study by briefly discussing the representation of female madness in popular culture before this time, and mentions Scott's novel and its quick succession of operatic adaptations.[155] Showalter recollects Gustave Flaubert's novel *Madame Bovary* – as Emma identifies with the role of Lucie on seeing *Lucie de Lammermoor* – and writes:

> 'Oh,' [Emma] asks herself, 'why had not she, like this woman, resisted?' But to watch these operas in performance is to realize that even the murderous madwomen do not escape male domination; they escape one specific, intolerable exercise of women's wrongs by assuming an idealized, poetic form of pure femininity as the male culture had construed it: absolutely irrational, absolutely emotional, and, once the single act is accomplished, absolutely passive.[156]

While the representations of female madness within art, literature, theatre and opera cannot therefore be converted 'into statistics of mental health', like those provided by the admissions registers of madhouses, they can still reveal the oppression of women and erroneous idealisation of women and (unhinged) femininity by men in patriarchal society at the time.[157]

Yet in the forty years since Showalter's study, critics have looked sceptically at the potential overabundance of feminist literature within the field of medical and psychiatric history, particularly on the institutionalisation of women and the association of mental conditions with gender.[158] Although Showalter's study has been acknowledged as a vital contribution within this field – by exploring a neglected area of history and making women more visible within scholarship about and by men – her absolute focus on madness as a female malady has been criticised by Joan Busfield for being one-sided in its argument, and for thus providing a potentially 'distorted reading of history', just as previous histories within male scholarship had excluded and neglected women.[159] Instead Busfield, with a more

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[154] See Showalter, *The Female Malady*.

[155] That 'violent sopranos reigned in one mad scene after another'. This statement alone is what initially sparked my interest in the other forgotten operatic adaptations of Scott's novel, and how they each represent female madness. See Showalter, *The Female Malady*, pp. 14-15.

[156] Showalter, *The Female Malady*, p. 17. See Gustave Flaubert, *Madame Bovary*, trans. by Eleanor Marx Aveling (New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston, 1962), p. 233, for this specific instance.

[157] Ibid.

[158] See Marland, 'Women, Health and Medicine', p. 491, whose summary of recent literature within this field has been greatly helpful here.

[159] See Busfield, pp. 259-60.

balanced outlook, suggests that between the early modern period and nineteenth century, 'madness took many forms, some of which were strongly linked to women and to femininity', while others were more associated with 'men and masculinity', and these associations consistently shifted throughout this period.[160] As already acknowledged, Busfield also argues that, while more women were institutionalised than men in the nineteenth century, the gender imbalance and overall proportion between men and women was remarkably narrow.[161] In David Wright's analysis of admissions data from Buckinghamshire Lunatic Asylum in the Victorian period, he similarly argues that women were in fact institutionalised in asylums 'in numbers commensurate with their representation in the adult population,' that male informants were not dominant in the certification of the insane, and therefore women were not necessarily certified by men.[162] In fact, Wright's examined empirical evidence further suggests that gender did not significantly affect psychiatric diagnosis.[163] Furthermore, institutions and hospitals were not simply used as a device of patriarchal control over women, as suggested by earlier feminist literature within this field,[164] but also offered 'refuge for poorer women, while many psychiatrists were prepared to attribute "blame" for particular disorders', to abusive and neglectful (financially and emotionally) husbands.[165]

Unlike Showalter's initial study, my own period of focus principally lies between 1600 and 1880. The sample of medical literature analysed will encompass the early modern period, ranging from the early seventeenth-century works and treatises of *The Suffocation of the Mother* (1603) by physician Edward Jorden and *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621) by scholar and clergyman Robert Burton, to the late nineteenth-century theories and photographs of hysteria given in the *Iconographie photographique de la Salpêtrière* by French neurologists Jean-Martin Charcot, Désiré Bourneville and physician and photographer Paul Regnard (volume II, 1878).[166] Further principal works to be analysed will include, but not be

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[160] Ibid., p. 260.
[161] Ibid., pp, 259-77.
[162] David Wright, 'Delusions of Gender?: Lay Identification and Clinical Diagnosis of Insanity in Victorian England', in *Sex and Seclusion, Class and Custody: Perspectives on Gender and Class in the History of British and Irish Psychiatry*, ed. by Jonathan Andrews and Anne Digby (New York and Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2004), 149-76. See also Marland, 'Women, Health and Medicine', p. 491.
[163] Wright, 149-76.
[164] See also Phyllis Chesler, *Women and Madness* (London: Allen Lane, 1974); Jane Ussher, *Women's Madness* (Herefordshire: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991).
[165] Marland, 'Women, Health and Medicine', p. 491; Hilary Marland, *Dangerous Motherhood: Insanity and Childbirth in Victorian Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).
[166] See Edward Jorden, *A Briefe Discourse of a Disease called the Suffocation of the Mother* (London: John Windet, 1603); Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, 11th edn, 2 vols (London: Messrs, Vernor, Hood and Sharpe, 1806); Jean-Martin Charcot, Désiré Bourneville and Paul Regnard, *Iconographie photographique*

limited to, the *Epistolary Dissertation* (1682, trans. 1801) by English physician Thomas Sydenham, *Della pazzia in genere* (1793) by Italian physician Vincenzo Chiarugi, *A Treatise on Insanity* (1801, trans. 1806) by French psychiatrist Philippe Pinel, and *Mental Maladies* (1838, trans. 1845) by French psychiatrist Jean-Étienne-Dominique Esquirol.[167]

Although my sample is not exhaustive, it primarily focusses on popular medical texts, treatises and photography, produced by physicians and scholars both for medical professionals and as a means of educating the wider reading European public on health, illness and madness. This sample therefore intends to be representative of the popular medical ideas circulating throughout Europe during this period, rather than specialist medical definitions or instructions solely written for psychiatrists and medical practitioners. As Michael MacDonald writes:

> Ever since antiquity, insanity has been defined by experts but discovered by laymen. Physicians and lawyers have devised more or less rigorous definitions of mental disorders, but they have been obliged to rely upon laymen's looser conceptions of insanity to enforce them. In seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England, even more than today, laymen identified particular persons as insane and sought medical treatment to cure them and legal action to manage them and their property, for there were no agencies, such as the psychiatric profession and the police, to act on behalf of the community. Popular beliefs about mental disorder were therefore significant in determining who was considered to be insane, and why. All of the principal sources for the study of insanity are conjunctions of official and lay thought: Medical records [and texts] represent the physician's thought, but the patients were selected by their relatives; legal documents reveal the lawyer's views, but the defendants were descried by their [neighbours].[168]

Thus understandings of mental illness were evolving and cumulative, being shaped by medical, legal and lay thought combined.

Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* (published under the pseudonym Democritus Junior in 1621), outlined the principal causes and symptoms of melancholy, and was edited

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de la Salpêtrière, 3 vols (Paris: Progrès medical, 1878), II, in *Wellcome Collection* <www.wellcomecollection.org> [accessed 13th September 2021].

[167] Thomas Sydenham, 'Epistolary Dissertation', in *The Works of Thomas Sydenham, M. D.*, trans. from the Latin edition by Dr William Alexander Greenhill, 2 vols (London: Printed for the Sydenham Society, 1850), II, pp. 53-118, originally published as *Dissertatio epistolaris* (1682); Vincenzo Chiarugi, *Della pazzia in genere, e in specie: trattato medico-analitico*, 3 vols (Florence: Presso Luigi Carlieri, 1793), I; Philippe Pinel, *A Treatise on Insanity,* trans. by D. D. Davis (Sheffield: W. Todd, Cadell and Davies, 1806), originally published as *Traité médico-philosophique sur l'aliénation mentale; ou la manie* (1801); Jean-Étienne-Dominique Esquirol, *Mental Maladies*, trans. with additions by E. K. Hunt (Philadelphia, PA: Lea and Blanchard, 1845), originally published as *Des maladies mentales: considérées sous les rapports medical* (1838).

[168] Michael MacDonald, *Mystical Bedlam: Madness, Anxiety and Healing in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 113-14.

five times throughout his lifetime.[169] By the end of the seventeenth century, the work had fallen out of print, but was translated and re-published in 1800, with at least over sixty editions published since, becoming a staple in English Literature and thus reigniting its prominence and popularity in the Romantic period.[170] Although the scholar and clergyman Burton wrote what is widely considered now as a medical text – with its consistent reference to ancient and seventeenth-century medical ideas (of actual medical practitioners) – his work is actually more representative of scholarly and philosophical thought on melancholy. Thus Burton still recalls common, lay notions and assumptions of madness from wider society and popular culture 'to validate [his] assertions'.[171]

On the other hand, the *Iconographie photographique de la Salpêtrière* by Charcot, Bourneville and Regnard, with its photographs and clinical observations of epileptic and hysterical patients, was explicitly published for the medical public.[172] Indeed, as a respected and influential physician, Charcot's works were translated into all languages, and he featured on reading lists at acclaimed universities around the world.[173] Yet, even the poses of Charcot's hysterical patients echoed familiar, Classical statuary. Furthermore, although Charcot's regular lectures at the Salpêtrière in Paris were similarly intended for an audience of medical professionals, by 1877 they were becoming increasingly more popular amongst members of the paying, well-healed public, therefore disseminating Charcot's works and ideas into the more popular press and sphere.[174]

While the individual countries and regions of Britain, France and Italy each developed their own ideas and practices surrounding madness, its representation, diagnosis, and treatment,[175] my sample of works instead reflects the most well-known and common assumptions of madness in medicine across Europe. This is especially important for my argument, as the wider educated public in each of these countries, and operatic composers

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[169] Jim Godfrey, 'Robert Burton' <https://www.chch.ox.ac.uk/blog/robert-burton> [accessed 20th December 2022]; Hunter and Macalpine, p. 94.

[170] Hunter and Macalpine, p. 94.

[171] MacDonald, p. 114.

[172] Jean-Martin Charcot, Désiré Bourneville and Paul Regnard, *Iconographie photographique de la Salpêtrière,* 3 vols (Paris: Progrès medical, 1878), I, in *Wellcome Collection* <www.wellcomecollection.org> [accessed 20th December 2022].

[173] Georges Didi-Huberman, *Invention of Hysteria: Charcot and the Photographic Iconography of the Salpêtrière,* trans. by Alisa Hartz (Cambridge, MA and London: The MIT Press, 2003), pp. xi, 18-19, 235.

[174] Andrew Scull, *Hysteria: The Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 113; Didi-Huberman, p. 235.

[175] See George Cheyne, *The English Malady*, 3rd edn (London: G. Strahan, 1734), and Burton, I; For more of a detailed overview of these differences, see Foucault, *Madness and Civilization*; Klaus Doerner [Dörner], *Madmen and the Bourgeoisie: A Social History of Insanity and Psychiatry,* trans. by Joachim Neugroschgel and Jean Steinberg (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1981).

and librettists, such as Gaetano Donizetti – in travelling between London, Paris, Naples, Milan and Vienna throughout their careers – would have likely been familiar with more popular pan-European notions and works on insanity through their increased dissemination and translation.[176] This sample equally reflects works which remain much referenced and analysed within modern interdisciplinary studies on madness and the social history of medicine, such as Roy Porter's *A Social History of Madness*, Showalter's *A Female Malady* and Helen Small's *Love's Madness*.[177] The first chapter therefore makes reference to this sample of popular medical literature to provide a brief history of female madness over a four-hundred-year period.

Since the 1970s, there has been a significant proliferation of feminist studies on the representation of women and madness in literature and opera, particularly in *Lucia di Lammermoor*. Mary Ann Smart's doctoral thesis *Dalla tomba uscita,* for instance, provides an excellent grounding for this project, as she also questions representation and reality with reference to five nineteenth-century Italian operas, including *Lucia di Lammermoor*.[178] Unlike my own project, however, she only briefly considers one 'case of clinical insanity'.[179] Her 1992 article 'The Silencing of Lucia' argues in post-Foucauldian vein that Lucia's madness is represented through her resistance to operatic formal and musical conventions, and her virtuosic coloratura.[180] Smart's overriding sentiment, however, is that in generally adhering to formal framework and harmonic expectations, such as in the employment of coloratura at cadential points, Lucia ultimately submits to patriarchal control. The incorporation of reminiscence themes, each recollecting an instance of male control, frame and confine Lucia within the operatic plot, forcing her to become a character within another's story and leaving her 'unable to tell her own'.[181] The off-stage announcement of her death in the tolling of the bell, thus silences her for eternity.[182]

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[176] This is also my reasoning for selecting mostly French, English, Latin and translated works, rather than specifically Italian medical texts, as the former tended to be published earlier, were more popular, and had thus been longer in the field of dissemination and read more widely.

[177] Porter, *A Social History of Madness*; Showalter, *The Female Malady*; Small, *Love's Madness.*

[178] See Mary Ann Smart, *Dalla tomba uscita: Representations of Madness in Nineteenth-Century Italian Opera* (PhD Thesis, Cornell University, 1994), p. 39.

[179] Ibid., p. 40.

[180] Mary Ann Smart, 'The Silencing of Lucia', *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 4/2 (1995), 119-41. When I say resistance to form, I mean resistance to the nineteenth-century conventional aria structure (scena, cavatina, tempo di mezzo and cabaletta).

[181] Smart, 'The Silencing of Lucia', p. 122.

[182] Ibid., p. 141.

Although Lucia is mostly framed and contained within her mad scene, as an operatic heroine Lucia is not wholly 'muted' in *Lucia di Lammermoor*.[183] The characterisation of Lucy in *The Bride of Lammermoor* greatly contrasts with that of her Italian operatic counterparts (Lucia, Ida, Malvina): while Lucy is silent and submissive throughout the novel and is inarticulate (and unseen by the public) in her madness, her operatic and embodied counterparts are placed centre stage, given power and agency in their voice and violent actions (of suicide and murder), and are further characterised by their text and music.[184]

Susan McClary's chapter 'Excess and Frame' in her text *Feminine Endings*, additionally discusses the representation of madness within *Lucia di Lammermoor*.[185] McClary initially states that the musical procedures used in opera, and the technical virtuosity of mad heroines, prevent any direct association or transferral of Elaine Showalter's ideas on madwomen in literature.[186] She instead argues that Lucia's madness and sexuality are represented in the 'excess' of her vocal writing: her extensive use of high, virtuosic coloratura, her musical deviation from the meaning of the libretto, her rebellion against the vocal writing of the chorus who 'frame' her, and her stretching of formal and musical conventions.[187] McClary therefore interprets this, and the ending of Lucia's mad scene as triumphant, and as a rebellion against social convention and male oppression.[188] While McClary mainly focuses on Lucia's cabaletta 'Spargi d'amaro pianto' in her mad scene – arguing that it portrays Lucia's ascension into 'another realm of consciousness' – my own analysis will principally be based on the portrayal of Lucia's hysteria in the earlier part of her mad scene (the scena, aria and tempo di mezzo).[189]

In her landmark feminist work *Opera, or the Undoing of Women*, Catherine Clément compares women to 'decorative' ornaments within operatic plots, advocating that women are

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[183] Although Smart initially argues that Lucia is 'muted' and framed by men within the plot of the opera, she also argues that Lucia's mad scene is 'liberatory' and 'aestheticized' (compared to Lucy's equivalent madness), giving her 'power and energy of voice'. Smart, however, argues that this evidences Lucia's 'domestication by the forces of plot and spectacle'. Ibid, pp. 122-24.

[184] Ida (*La fidanzata di Lammermoor*, 1831), for instance, enters holding a dagger, fully implying her actions. Malvina (*La fidanzata di Lammermoor*, 1834) commits suicide, stabbing herself onstage, leaving no room for speculation of her actions. Lucy's actions in Scott's novel are only implied, as there is no mention of the dagger being found in her possession. Smart, 'The Silencing of Lucia', p. 124, adds that music and text add a 'new dimension' to operatic heroines.

[185] See Susan McClary, *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender and Sexuality* (London and Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), pp. 80-111.

[186] Ibid., pp. 81-82.

[187] Ibid., pp. 90-99.

[188] Ibid., pp. 98-99.

[189] Ibid., pp. 92-94.

not given pivotal roles within opera.[190] She posits that women in opera 'sing their undoing', freeing themselves in madness, in order to avoid their own seduction or death.[191] Clément's work stands out first and foremost as a literary analysis based on operatic libretti, and thus excludes detailed musical analysis.[192] This has led to criticism of the work from Smart, who criticises Clément's argument that operatic heroines are freed in their madness: she instead posits that Lucia cannot be liberated, due to the structural confinement imposed by Donizetti's use of Italian operatic formal conventions, and states that Clément's non-musicological understanding of *Lucia,* and all operatic madwomen, is flawed.[193] In addition, Susan Rutherford criticises the 'small sample of works' considered by Clément in her study, and how she stereotypes all women in opera.[194] Paul Robinson, on the other hand, comments that Clément should not be penalised for neglecting works of comic opera, for her focus is merely on a sample of women who die, or suffer their own undoing on the stage.[195] Yet, he takes issue with Clément's ignorance of 'women's operatic triumph', in their decorative and powerful vocality, and their musical superiority within operatic plots and scores.[196]

Other prominent musicological literature on female madness and *Lucia* has been crucial to this project. Emilio Sala's 1994 article 'Women Crazed by Love' provides a concise history of female madness in opera, which greatly aided in the research and introduction on the operatic representation of female madness in Chapter 3.[197] Sala also addresses the influence of Gothic literature on (and the emergence of) the *mélodrame* and *melodramma* genres, which has been crucial in underpinning my own understanding of the dissemination of cross-cultural themes in the Romantic period.[198] Naomi Matsumoto's chapter 'Ghost Writing' has also provided support for this thesis, as she discusses the adaptation of Scott's novel, as well as the presence of Lady Ashton in *Le nozze di*

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[190] Catherine Clément, *Opera, or the Undoing of Women*, trans. Betsy King and foreword by Susan McClary (London: Virago Press, 1989), originally published as *Opéra, ou la défaite des femmes* in 1979.

[191] See Ibid.

[192] See Clair Rowden, *Republican Morality and Catholic Tradition at the Opera: Massenet's* Hérodiade *and* Thaïs (Heilbronn: Musik-Edition Lucie Galland, 2004), p. 9.

[193] Smart, 'The Silencing of Lucia', p. 127.

[194] Rutherford, p. 178.

[195] Paul Robinson, 'It's Not Over Till the Soprano Dies', *New York Times Book Review*, 1 January 1989, p. 3, referenced in Carolyn Abbate, 'Opera; or, the Envoicing of Women', in *Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music Scholarship*, ed. by Ruth A. Solie (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1993), 225-58 (pp. 253-24); and Ralph P. Locke, 'What Are These Women Doing in Opera?', in *En Travesti: Women, Gender Subversion, Opera,* ed. by Corinne E. Blackmer and Patricia Juliana Smith (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 59-98 (p. 65).

[196] Robinson, 'It's Not Over Till the Soprano Dies'.

[197] Sala, pp. 19-41; See Chapter 3 (section 3.1).

[198] See Sala, pp. 24-28.

Lammermoor and her absence in *Lucia di Lammermoor*.[199] This chapter was vital in grounding my contextual research, by introducing the transnational theatrical and operatic adaptational history of Scott's novel.[200] While Matsumoto's doctoral thesis *The Operatic Mad Scene* focuses on the representation of madness leading up to the eighteenth century, it provides excellent detail and context on the tropes and conventions of operatic madness prior to the period under study here.[201] She highlights that, while the mad scene in opera is mostly associated with the nineteenth century, the convention originated before the seventeenth century.[202] Matsumoto refreshingly interprets operatic madness and mad scenes as 'fictive embodiments of dramaturgical traditions and character-types', and thus 'as vehicles of musical expression', rather than representative of social or medical ideals.[203] Furthermore, my analysis of Lucia alongside the *Iconographie photographique de la Salpêtrière*, in particular, will be in a similar vein to previous work completed by Romana Margherita Pugliese, who instead compares Lucia's madness and hallucinations to Charcot's description of the third phase of a hysterical attack, and Charcot's *Les Démoniaques dans l'art*.[204]

Although musicologists have often written about Donizetti's *Lucia di Lammermoor* and Lucia's madness, the earlier operatic adaptations of Scott's novel have been neglected.[205] Francesco Izzo is one of the few musicologists who has analysed Carafa's *Le nozze di Lammermoor*, but he does not provide an in-depth analysis of Lucia's mad scene, (erroneously) claiming that no true mad scene exists.[206] Jerome Mitchell discusses each of the operatic adaptations respectively, but mainly focuses on the general details of the plot and excludes detailed musical analyses of the mad scenes.[207] Jeremy Tambling's chapter in *The Reception of Sir Walter Scott in Europe* focuses on operatic adaptations of Scott, but also

[199] Naomi Matsumoto, '"Ghost Writing": an Exploration of Presence and Absence in *Lucia di Lammermoor* (1835)', in *Silence and Absence in Literature and Music,* ed. by Werner Wolf and Walter Bernhart (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, Rodopi, 2016), pp. 63-84.

[200] Matsumoto specifically notes and discusses Calcraft's *melodrama, The Bride of Lammermoor*, Ducange's *mélodrame, La fiancée de Lammermoor*, Barbieri's and Livini's respective translations and adaptations, as well as Balocchi's operatic libretto. See Matsumoto, '"Ghost Writing"', pp. 67-69.

[201] Naomi Matsumoto, *The Operatic Mad Scene: Its Origins and Early Development up to c. 1700* (unpublished PhD thesis, London, 2004).

[202] Ibid., pp. 8-9.

[203] Ibid., p. 13.

[204] See Romana Margherita Pugliese, 'The Origins of *Lucia di Lammermoor*'s Cadenza', *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 16/1 (2004), 23-42 (pp. 35-36).

[205] Sala, p. 25, notes these different adaptations, but does not provide analyses.

[206] Chapter 3 of this thesis will argue otherwise. See Francesco Izzo, 'Michele Carafa e *Le nozze di Lammermoor*: Un oscuro precedente della Lucia', in *Ottocento e Oltre: Scritti in Onore di Raoul Meloncelli,* ed. by Francesco Izzo, Johannes Streicher and Raoul Meloncelli (Rome: Editoriale Pantheon, 1993), pp. 161-93 (p. 186).

[207] See Mitchell, 'Operatic Versions of *The Bride of Lammermoor*', 145-64; Jerome Mitchell, *The Walter Scott Operas* (Alabama: The University of Alabama Press, 1977).

fails to provide any in-depth analysis.[208] Furthermore, as Matsumoto highlights, little research has previously been completed on Scott's reception in Italy, as Murray Pittock's *The Reception of Sir Walter Scott in Europe* (2006), does not include a chapter solely devoted to the topic.[209]

The lack of research in this area could be due to the rarity of the scores and associated access issues: Carafa's opera is the only one of the three earlier adaptations that has since been scanned and published in its entirety by Philip Gossett in Garland's Italian Opera series.[210] Rieschi's score for *La fidanzata di Lammermoor*, however, is seemingly impossible to trace.[211] The manuscript of his later revision *Ida di Danimarca*, is also a mystery, and apparently remained unsold after an auction in December 2014.[212] Although excerpts of Mazzucato's *La fidanzata* have seemingly been published within the Garland Italian Opera series, this edition has proved impossible to obtain.[213] Furthermore, the musical score for Mazzucato's opera remains in manuscript form in the Archivio Storico Ricordi at the Braidense Library in Milan – a place that I have been unable to visit due to travel restrictions incurred by the coronavirus pandemic.[214]

By analysing these earlier operas, my thesis aims to remedy the current gap in existing musicological literature. In doing so, I have based my own analyses on Bassi's and Beltrame's operatic libretti to maintain consistency throughout Chapter 4, and have analysed both Carafa's and Donizetti's respective musical scores in writing Chapters 3 and 5. As noted by Clair Rowden, the analysis of operatic libretti (as in Clément's study) is an entirely legitimate method of musicological research.[215] In *Analyzing Opera*, Carolyn Abbate and Roger Parker note that

> opera is not music alone; it lives in association with poetry and dramatic
> action, an association that has made it idiosyncratic and special, certainly
> different in fundamental ways from instrumental music […] Of course, any
> writer who […] chooses to regard opera as music alone is seeing only one of

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[208] See Jeremy Tambling, 'Scott's "Heyday" in Opera', in *The Reception of Sir Walter Scott in Europe,* ed. by Murray Pittock, (London and New York: Continuum, 2006), pp. 285-92.

[209] Matsumoto, '"Ghost Writing"', p. 69.

[210] See Michele Carafa, *Le nozze di Lammermoor*, ed. with introduction by Philip Gossett, Garland Italian Opera Series, 1810-1840, II (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1985).

[211] See also Mitchell, 'Operatic Versions of *The Bride of Lammermoor*', p. 154.

[212] See 'Rieschi, Luigi', *Gonnelli* <https://www.gonnelli.it/uk/auction-0016/rieschi-luigi-ida-di-danimarca-tragedia-lirica-7.asp> [accessed 4th October 2021].

[213] On consulting *Le nozze di Lammermoor* in the Foyle Opera Rara Collection at the Royal Welsh College of Music and Drama, I noted the volume listed within the catalogue of Garland editions in the score. On looking throughout the archive, and in global library catalogues online, I have been unable to locate the volume. See Alberto Mazzucato, *Excerpts of La fidanzata di Lammermoor*, ed. by Philip Gossett, Garland Italian Opera Series, 1810-1840, XIII (New York: Garland Publishing, [n.d.]).

[214] I intend to revisit the score in the future, pending consultation or digitisation of the score.

[215] Rowden, p. 9.

three primary colors. "Analyzing opera" should mean not only "analysing music" but simultaneously engaging, with equal sophistication, the poetry and drama. Analysis of opera might also attempt to characterize the ways that music in opera is unique; that is, to address the idiosyncrasies that set operatic music apart from the instrumental music that has shaped our notions of analysis.[216]

My own study will combine the detailed analysis of (1) physical, visual representation (as described in stage directions), (2) the text and drama of the libretto, and (3) the musical score (of musical form, notation and vocal decoration). I will compare each heroine with the archetypal physical characterisation of female madness, such as the white dress and loose hair, as represented by Ophelia in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. In addition, I will analyse and acknowledge the use of generic directions, such as *delirio/delira/delirante* (delirious). My arguments distinctly differ from previous literature and are grounded more within the disciplines of medical humanities, medical history and cultural studies. While McClary perceived operatic madwomen as feminist heroines and Clément as liberated beings, I will focus instead on the extent to which madwomen in opera embodied and shaped social, cultural, and popular medical ideas on madness.[217]

This interdisciplinary thesis follows a similar premise to that of other studies, but instead focusses on Italian opera: that since the early modern period, popular medical literature has influenced the representation of madness within art, literature and on the stage, which has reciprocally shaped the textual and visual representation of madness in medical literature. This aim leads from Showalter's statement that the stage characterisation of Ophelia's mad scene in William Shakespeare's *Hamlet* was shaped by medical theories on female insanity.[218] Judith Wechsler also acknowledges the connection between the representation of female madness in culture, and how 'the clinical interest in female hysteria [was] documented in nineteenth century illustrations'.[219] Her own interdisciplinary analysis, similar to my study, discusses the visual representation of Ophelia in culture, in Shakespeare's text and in Harriet Smithson's notable performance of the role in Paris in 1827, as well connecting such representations to the discipline of psychiatry.[220] Sander L.

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[216] Carolyn Abbate and Roger Parker, eds., *Analyzing Opera: Verdi and Wagner* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), pp. 3-4, also partially referenced in Rowden, p. 9.
[217] Showalter, *The Female Malady*, pp. 1-20; Smart, 'The Silencing of Lucia', p. 120, notes McClary's view of Lucia's madness as a 'feminist victory'; McClary, pp. 90-99; Clément, pp. 78-90.
[218] Showalter, 'Ophelia, Gender and Madness'; Showalter, 'Representing Ophelia', pp. 77-94.
[219] Judith Wechsler, 'Performing Ophelia: The Iconography of Madness', *Theatre Survey*, 43/2 (2002), 201-21 (p. 215).
[220] Ibid. She discusses the pertinent medical theories of notable doctors Philippe Pinel and Jean-Martin Charcot, as I will do within my own study.

Gilman similarly states that the shifting images and representation of Ophelia over time could create a manual documenting the similar evolution of female insanity.[221] My thesis aims to take these issues further by documenting the parallels between the depiction of female madness in popular culture and medicine; through comparatively analysing its representation in pertinent medical texts and photography, with its operatic representation in the libretto and musical scores of *The Bride of Lammermoor*'s Italian operatic adaptations.

Madness and Representation

In order to create an intelligible argument, the terms 'mad', 'madness', and 'representation' must first be clarified. *The Oxford English Dictionary* currently defines a mad person as 'uncontrolled by reason or judgement; foolish, unwise […] extravagantly or wildly foolish; ruinously imprudent […] insane, crazy; mentally unbalanced or deranged; subject to delusions or hallucinations; […] psychotic'.[222] Madness has been termed by many as the loss or opposite of reason, while others have used it to define excessive emotions, passion or anger.[223] Authors have always found huge difficulty in clearly defining madness, as was exemplified in the nineteenth century by Thomas Beddoes's essay *Hygëia* (1803):

> MAD is one of those words, which mean almost every thing and nothing. At first it was, I imagine, applied to transports of rage; and when men were civilized enough to be capable of insanity, their insanity […] must have been of the frantic sort […] But the frantic would, at times, fall into the opposite immoveable extreme. […] The difficulty of a definition of madness, […] is evident from another consideration. The insane have the same muscles with the sane. In both, they perform the same general office. […] The knowing [or educated members of society] do not extend the boundaries of insanity so unmercifully, but they have no exact criterion for distinguishing it. They too can only judge of others by themselves. When the mind is occupied, and the active powers employed for an end, which they cannot conceive as desirable or attainable, there the party seems no longer in his right wits. He may not yet have attained a degree of wildness, at which it shall be necessary to seclude him from society. But he is in a fair way to reach this point. He may not at present be dangerous to others, nor likely to walk over a precipice, or into a river. He is not yet possessed with his delusion […] May it not be doubted whether any criterion can be established upon phenomena, exhibited by a

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[221] Gilman states that 'one could provide a manual of images of the insane by simply chronicling illustrations of Ophelia and Hamlet'. Gilman, *Seeing the Insane*, p. 126; Showalter, 'Representing Ophelia', p. 80.

[222] 'mad, adj.', in *Oxford English Dictionary Online* <www.oed.com> [accessed 4th October 2021].

[223] See John Haslam, *Illustrations of Madness, &c.* (London: Printed by G. Hayden, 1810), p. 15; Michel Foucault, *Madness and Civilization* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1971), pp. 93-97, 107; Busfield, p. 261; Beddoes, Thomas, *Hygëia*, Essay Tenth, 3 vols (Bristol: Printed by J. Mills, for R. Phillips, 1803), III, p. 40, in *Wellcome Collection* <www.wellcomecollection.org> [accessed 9th February 2022].

> number of the most declared lunatics […] it must be evident to every spectator that he is in a state of inordinate agitation[.][224]

The terms mad and madness, in the context of these definitions and my own study at least, can therefore be considered umbrella terms, along with terms such as crazy and lunatic. Such terms have been used for centuries to define both social and moral deviance in society, as well as clinical mental conditions.

Thus, the terms mad and madness encapsulate serious and legitimate early modern and nineteenth-century mental illnesses, such as insanity, hysteria, melancholy and monomania, which were each carefully defined within medical literature across Europe. As already acknowledged, Busfield states that between the early modern period and the nineteenth century, madness and its diverse forms each had different associations with women and femininity, and men and masculinity.[225] The boundaries and meaning of madness, and its associations with men and women, consistently shifted throughout this period, dependent on the ideas of medical men and the legal profession, and the observations of laymen within wider society.[226]

Insanity, for instance, was used as an umbrella term, which encompassed all individual disorders and species of madness.[227] Those who were thought insane seemingly lost self-restraint over their behaviour and conversation, often displaying morally insensible or inappropriate behaviour,[228] and their behaviour vastly differed from their previous state, straying from social convention.[229] While inactive and studious middle-class men were occasionally diagnosed with hypochondria,[230] hysteria was often interpreted and used as the umbrella term for most disorders experienced by young women (around and under the age of thirty), especially where the specific cause of their condition remained unknown.[231] This was due to the ancient belief that hysteria was associated with and caused by the female reproductive system.[232] In the seventeenth century, however, Edward Jorden famously

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[224] Beddoes, pp. 40-41, 43-46, Also partially referenced in John Haslam, *Observations on Madness and Melancholy*, 2nd edn (London: Printed for J. Callow by G. Hayden, 1809), pp. 1-4.

[225] Busfield, p. 260.

[226] Ibid., p. 261.

[227] See Chiarugi, pp. 1-2, 11.

[228] See John Haslam, *Considerations on the Moral Management of Insane Persons* (London: R. Hunter, 1817), pp. 46, 49-50.

[229] See Chiarugi, pp. 7, 35; Luigi Calvetti and Jean-Étienne-Dominique Esquirol, *Della alienazione mentale o Della pazzia in genere e in specie* (Milan: Coi tipi di Felice Rusconi, 1827) p. 4; Esquirol, *Mental Maladies*, pp. 21-22.

[230] See Micale, pp. 11-21.

[231] See George Man Burrows, *Commentaries on the Causes, Forms, Symptoms, and Treatment, Moral and Medical, of Insanity* (London: Thomas and George Underwood, 1828), pp. 191-93.

[232] See Cecilia Tasca, and others, 'Women and Hysteria in the History of Mental Health', *Clinical Practice and Epidemiology in Mental Health*, 8 (2012), 110-19 (p. 111); Helen King, 'Once upon a Text: Hysteria from

transferred the cause of hysteria to the brain.[233] Sufferers of hysteria tended to display a variety of symptoms, which were imitative in nature, thus making it difficult for physicians to specify an exact disorder.[234] Yet, bodily contractures, paralysis, convulsions and fits similar to epilepsy were all experienced by hysterical patients, sometimes resulting in actual death.[235] Patients also experienced a sense of choking, suffocation or strangulation.[236] Hysteria was interpreted as either permanent and prolonged, or temporary and intermittent,[237] and was often characterised by delirious, hallucinatory episodes.[238] Mania (or monomania) was similarly characterised by delirium, but was distinguished by its more frenzied appearance, high (angry, excited, gay) and low (sad, gloomy) moods, and diverse emotions.[239] While mania was often interpreted as the active state, melancholy – which had long-held associations with men – was often interpreted as the passive state of the same disease,[240] by being characterised by a gloomy mood.[241]

The representations of madness investigated in this thesis are thus simply that: *representations*. The term representation itself can be defined as a symbolic portrayal of an action, a person, or thing; as a performance.[242] The depictions of madness within Scott's novel and the four Italian operas discussed within this thesis are considered performative

Hippocrates', in *Hysteria Beyond Freud*, ed. by Sander L. Gilman, and others (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 3-90 (pp. 3-5).

[233] See Jorden, *The Suffocation of the Mother*.

[234] See Thomas Willis, *An Essay of the Pathology of the Brain and Nervous Stock* (London: Printed by J. B. for T. Dring, 1681), p. 76; John Purcell, *A Treatise of Vapours, or Hysterick Fits*, 2nd edn (London: Printed for Edward Place, 1707), p. 85.

[235] The assumptions and associated symptoms of hysteria lasted from at least the early seventeenth to the late nineteenth century. See Jorden, *The Suffocation of the Mother*; Richard Blackmore, *A Treatise of the Spleen and Vapours*, 2nd edn (London: Printed for J. Pemberton, 1726), pp. 106, 111; Sydenham, 'Epistolary Dissertation', p. 86; Thomas Laycock, *A Treatise on the Nervous Diseases of Women* (London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1840), pp. 310-11, 355-56; Jean-Martin Charcot, *Lectures of the Diseases of the Nervous System,* trans. by George Sigerson, vol. I (London: The Sydenham Society, 1877), pp. 234, 240, 263-66, 270. This is translated from the original French work Jean-Martin Charcot, *Leçons sur les maladies du système nerveux,* ed. by Désiré Bourneville (Paris: Adrien Delahaye, 1872-73).

[236] See Jorden, *The Suffocation of the Mother*; Laycock, pp. 310-11, 355-56.

[237] Burrows, pp. 191-93.

[238] See Didi-Huberman, pp. 187, 224-25. Charcot, *Lectures*, pp. 280-81; Charcot, Bourneville and Regnard, *Iconographie photographique,* II.

[239] See William Pargeter, *Observations on Maniacal Disorders* (Reading: Smart and Cowslade, 1792), p. 5; Pinel, *A Treatise on Insanity,* pp. 156-57; Jean-Étienne-Dominique Esquirol, *Note sur la monomanie homicide* (Paris and London: Chez J-B. Baillere, Libraire-Éditeur, Même Maison, 1827), p. 5; Esquirol, *Mental Maladies*, pp. 362-67.

[240] See Burton, I; Haslam, *Considerations on the Moral Management of Insane Persons*, p. 9; Foucault, *Madness and Civilization*, pp. 122-32, 135.

[241] See Burton, I; John Haslam, *Observations on Insanity* (London: Printed for F. and C. Rivington, 1798), p. 17.

[242] See 'representation, n. 1.', in *Oxford English Dictionary Online* <www.oed.com> [accessed 1st July 2021]. Stuart Hall similarly consults *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* in Stuart Hall, 'The Work of Representation', in *Representation*, ed. by Stuart Hall, Jessica Evans and Sean Nixon (London and Milton Keynes: SAGE and the Open University Press, 2013), 1-59 (p. 2).

versions of madness. They are a mere sample from within popular culture and could be interpreted alternatively as exaggerated or rather paired back versions of real early modern or nineteenth-century madness. Smart argues that early nineteenth-century operatic representations are more representative of 'extreme emotion' than real mental illness.[243] While there is no proof of a direct line of influence between the operatic representation of madness and writings on the real nature of mental illness, I can at least acknowledge that its representation within opera and popular culture likely embodies and originates in the popular assumptions of madness from within wider society, culture and medicine, and can therefore document and suggest the parallels between these representations. Helen Small's text *Love's Madness* supports this notion, as she also observes the close relationship between the fictive and medical representations of female madness in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and how they have 'proved fruitful areas for interdisciplinary research'.[244]

Madness, however, cannot be fully understood by the average person outside of the medical and psychiatric disciplines, and it is learnt through representation.[245] Stuart Hall states that representation 'connects meaning and language to culture': it is the way that we learn about and understand the world, and the people in it.[246] Culture is dominated by shared understandings about the world, and representations – in literature, artworks and stage works – contribute to these shared ideas.[247] *Representation* is one of the five elements that makes up the 'circuit of culture' – along with Identity, Production, Consumption and Regulation – which represents how shared meanings and cultural ideas are produced, circulated, consumed and maintained.[248]

The visual images these representations create pose meanings, which inform our own understanding of a word or concept from childhood, and in turn create stereotypes in different cultures, languages and societies.[249] Historical medical engravings and photographs, such as

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[243] Smart states that, 'madness [in opera] will thus have more in common with the sadness of a character like Norma, or the rage of Medea, than with an actual hysteric or manic-depressive'. Smart, *Dalla tomba uscita*, p. 5.
[244] Small, pp. 34-35.
[245] Simon Cross, *Mediating Madness: Mental Distress and Cultural Representation* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 1-2. On the representation of death, see Donnalee Dox, 'And All Was Cold As Any Stone: Death and the Critique of Representation', *Journal of Dramatic Theory and Criticism,* 12/1 (1997), 103-12 (p. 106).
[246] Hall, 'The Work of Representation', pp. 2-3.
[247] Stuart Hall, Jessica Evans and Sean Nixon, eds., *Representation* (London and Milton Keynes: SAGE and the Open University Press, 2013), pp. xix-xx.
[248] I am noting this for context but will not be using the 'circuit of culture' as the basis for my own analysis. Ibid., pp. xviii-xix. See Paul du Gay, and others, *Doing Cultural Studies: The Story of the Sony Walkman*, 2nd edn (London: Sage Publications, The Open University, 2013).
[249] Hall, 'The Work of Representation', p. 5. Gilman also suggests that we understand and learn stereotypes from a young age through visual representation. See Gilman, *Difference and Pathology,* pp. 17-19.

those of the *Iconographie photographique de la Salpêtrière,* also reflect these shared ideas of illness from culture.[250] Thus, medical photography and iconographies also perpetuated stereotypes of madness in the nineteenth century, as they presented an 'idealised' image of disease or illness.[251] Historical descriptions and images of medicine, and cultural representations of madness thus shared a close relationship within the nineteenth century, and likely fed into one another.[252] Simon Cross suggests that the continuity and immutability of such historical stereotypes have shaped our own representations and 'social fears' of madness.[253] Yet, as such representations continue to be performed today, they potentially maintain and fuel our own preconceptions on madness within modern popular culture.

In order to ground my own study in its medical context, I will begin Chapter 1 by outlining the history of female madness over four-hundred years (circa 1480 and 1880). In doing so, I will specifically focus on the years before, during and following the Enlightenment. This will first acknowledge the evolution of the criteria and terminology surrounding madness and social deviance in women between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries, specifically in relation to the classifications of the witch and the madwoman. It will then discuss the increasing proliferation of hospitals for the insane during this period, and the establishment of the psychiatric industry, including the reform of lunatic care and treatment. Secondly, I will discuss the patriarchal ideology of femininity and expectations of middle-class women, primarily concerning education, amusements, marriage, motherhood and sexuality. This section will also consider how legal restrictions further forced women into their subordinate social roles. Thirdly, it will describe the perceived biological causes and treatments of madness in women between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, particularly in relation to the long associated female condition of hysteria. The fourth section will interrogate the notion that more women experienced and received treatment for madness than men during the nineteenth century, by investigating statistics of treatment and asylum admission registers. Finally, I will consider the visual representation of madness within medical literature, photography and in society between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in order to explore the performative nature of madness in the nineteenth century.

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[250] Sander L. Gilman, *Picturing Health and Illness: Images of Identity and Difference* (Baltimore, MD and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1995), p. 18.
[251] Sander Gilman, *Disease and Representation: Images of Illness from Madness to Aids* (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 1988), p. 2; Cross, p. 131.
[252] Gilman, *Disease and Representation*, p. 2; Cross, p. 131.
[253] Cross, pp. 34-41.

The remainder of this thesis will then focus on the broad hypothesis: to determine the extent to which nineteenth-century literature, theatre and Italian operatic mad scenes – in embodying notions of madness in wider society and popular culture – reflected popular medical ideas on madness, and how far the representation of female madness in opera and popular culture helped to cultivate its idealised visual representation within popular medical literature and photography.[254] In Chapter 2, I intend to determine the extent to which the representation of female madness in Scott's *The Bride of Lammermoor* adhered to early modern and nineteenth-century medical theories. I will begin by first acknowledging Scott's circumstances at the time of writing *The Bride of Lammermoor*, as well as investigating the original legend of Janet Dalrymple, on which the novel is based. I will then principally analyse the representation of women, including Ailsie Gourlay, Lady Ashton and Lucy Ashton, as well as the representation of Lucy's violence and madness in Scott's *The Bride of Lammermoor*.[255] In doing so, I will compare Lucy's behaviour with journalistic descriptions of violent women, and pertinent medical descriptions of hysteria, melancholy and mania from the early modern period. Following this discussion, I will briefly explore the translation, dissemination and adaptation of Scott's novel and will analyse its principal theatrical adaptations in Europe (particularly in Britain, France and Italy).

The following chapters will then provide in-depth analyses of the four Italian operatic adaptations of Scott's novel, where I will frame each opera within its historical background and wider cultural context, and compare each with relevant popular medical texts and photography of the period. My principal operatic chapters will also fundamentally analyse the textual and musical construction of madness within the operatic libretti and musical scores. In analysing Bassi's and Beltrame's respective operatic libretti for Chapter 4, I will consider the use of language and verse, to determine how the librettists manipulate their text and its formal construction. In my analyses of Carafa's and Donizetti's respective musical scores for Chapters 3 and 5, I aim to determine how both manipulated musical, formal and lyric conventions in creating their operatic mad scenes.

Chapter 3 will begin by first discussing Carafa's and Balocchi's personal circumstances leading up to, and during, the composition of *Le nozze di Lammermoor,* in order to determine what led the pair to creating the first Italian operatic adaptation of *The*

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[254] Showalter, 'Representing Ophelia', pp. 77-94.
[255] My own analysis of Scott's novel will be based on Fiona Robertson's edition, which itself is an edited version of Scott's Magnum Opus Edition, published in 1830. This is a revised and corrected version of Scott's first edition, published in 1819, and is set shortly after the Act of Union between Scotland and England. See Robertson, ed., 'Note on the Text', in Scott, pp. xxx-xi.

Bride of Lammermoor. I will then outline the historical development and establishment of the theatrical and operatic representation of madness before and during the nineteenth century, particularly the associated conventions and Romantic trope of the love-mad heroine. The second section will then analyse Carafa's and Balocchi's mad scene for the first Lucia: Carafa composed *Le nozze di Lammermoor* for the Théâtre-Italien in Paris in the years following Harriet Smithson's renowned Parisian performances of Ophelia in Shakespeare's *Hamlet* in 1827, and I will thus compare the characterisation of Ophelia's madness, in both Shakespeare's text and in performance, with the portrayal of Lucia in Carafa's operatic mad scene.[256] This section will also compare the libretto and musical score of Lucia's mad scene with medical treatises of the early modern period and the nineteenth century (c. 1600-1829), aligning Lucia's madness with medical descriptions of hysteria, love-melancholy and erotomania in treatises such as James Ferrand's *Erotomania* (1645) and Phillipe Pinel's *Nosographie philosophique* (1813).[257] I will then focus on the representation of Lucia's redemptive suicide by poison at the end of Act II of *Le nozze di Lamm*ermoor, in consideration of the wider socio-religious, cultural and medical contexts and practices of both death and 'self-murder' in the early modern period (c. 1600-1829). In general, I aim to suggest the potential parallels between the cultural representation and reality of female suicide during this era. The final section will then examine the reception of *Le nozze di Lammermoor*, in light of its Parisian performance context, audience expectations and the development of the *grand opéra* genre.

I will similarly commence Chapter 4 by considering the historical context and circumstances that led to the composition of the lesser known operatic adaptations, *La fidanzata di Lammermoor* (1831) by Rieschi and Bassi, and Mazzucato and Beltrame's opera of the same name (1834). Due to the aforementioned restrictions and difficulties in completing research on these operas, this chapter will solely analyse Bassi's and Beltrame's respective operatic libretti, rather than Rieschi's or Mazzucato's musical scores. As *La fidanzata di Lammermoor* (1831) was the first to transfer Lucy's violent madness and murderous intent to the operatic stage, I will compare the text of her operatic counterpart, Ida, to historical journalistic descriptions of murderous women, in order to consider potential

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[256] In doing so, it aims to determine the extent to which Carafa and Balocchi were influenced by both the page and stage portrayals of Ophelia in the nineteenth century, in creating their mad scene for the first Lucia.

[257] Burton, II; Jorden, *The Suffocation of the Mother*; James (Jacques) Ferrand, *Erotomania, or A Treatise Discoursing of the Essence, Causes, Symptoms, Prognosticks, and Cure of Love, or Erotique Melancholy*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Printed for Edward Forrest, 1645); Philippe Pinel, *Nosographie philosophique, ou la méthode de l'analyse appliquée à la médicine*, 5th edn, 3 vols (Paris: J. A. Brosson, 1813), III.

'audience reactions' whether in real life, in the theatre, or on the operatic stage (through consideration of the onstage chorus). I will also compare Ida's behaviour with historical descriptions of insanity and homicidal monomania, in works such as Vincenzo Chiarugi's *Della pazzia in genere* (1793), as well as Jean-Étienne-Dominique Esquirol's *Note sur la monomanie homicide* (1827) and *Mental Maladies* (1838).[258] It will secondly analyse the representation of madness in Beltrame's libretto for Mazzucato's *La fidanzata di Lammermoor* (1834). In doing so, I will primarily examine Malvina's violent on-stage suicide in its wider cultural and social context, and will compare her suicide to the general representation of violent suicide in culture in the early modern period and nineteenth century. Finally, I will compare Malvina's death to contemporary statistical data and medical ideas on female suicide and suicidal monomania in works such as *Mental Maladies* by Esquirol, and *Suicide: An Essay on Comparative Moral Statistics* (pub. 1879, trans. 1882) by Italian physician and psychiatrist Enrico Morselli.[259]

   Chapter 5 will primarily focus on the most known and popular operatic adaptation, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, as well as Donizetti's earlier mad scenes, and their later revisions, for *Gabriella di Vergy* (1826) and *Anna Bolena* (1830). This chapter will begin by considering Donizetti's biographical journey, primarily between 1826 and 1835, in order to understand the composer's activities during his earlier compositional years and leading up to *Lucia*. Donizetti refined his own compositional technique over a number of years in creating mad scenes for *Gabriella di Vergy* (1826) and *L'esule di Roma* (1828), before his prominent mad scenes in *Anna Bolena* (1830) and *Lucia di Lammermoor* (1835). I will therefore next investigate the evolution of Donizetti's compositional technique, and his manipulation of formal procedures in his mad scenes in the high-Romantic era, by completing thorough analyses of Donizetti's lesser known mad scenes in *Gabriella di Vergy* (1826/1838), and *Anna Bolena* (1830). The madness of his heroines, principally of Anna, will then be directly compared to medical descriptions of mania with delirium in Philippe Pinel's *Treatise on Insanity* (1806), in order to understand how Donizetti and his librettists potentially shaped their mad scenes based on medical theories.[260]

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[258] See Chiarugi, *Della pazzia in genere*; Esquirol, *Mental Maladies*; Esquirol, *Note sur la monomanie homicide*.

[259] Esquirol, *Mental Maladies*; Enrico Morselli, *Suicide: An Essay on Comparative Moral Statistics* (New York: D. Appleton and company, 1882), originally published as Enrico Morselli, *Il suicidio: saggio di statistica morale comparata* (Milan: Fratelli Dumolard, 1879).

[260] Pinel, *A Treatise on Insanity*.

While Donizetti and his librettists, including Cammarano, no doubt propagated early nineteenth-century medical ideas on female madness in their operas, their continued performance and popularity over the course of the nineteenth century could feasibly have re-introduced and re-circulated older notions of madness in wider society, popular culture and medicine into the late nineteenth century. This in turn seems to have shaped the later representation of madness within medical literature and iconographies, for a society and medical discipline that had become increasingly more concerned and fascinated with the visual imagery of medical conditions and madness in the form of engravings and photography. Charcot, for instance, was widely acknowledged to have been influenced by depictions of madness in Classical art and popular theatre in producing his own medical theories and iconographies, and cited known examples, such as excerpts from Shakespearean plays, when presenting lectures. His published works and theories thus provide appropriate examples of how late nineteenth-century medical professionals called on older and more familiar examples of madness from popular culture, to disseminate ideas and understand hysteria and insanity within society.

The final section will begin by examining the reception of Lucia from its first performance in 1835, to the publication of the *Iconographie photographique de la Salpêtrière*, in order to establish the opera's popularity and performance throughout the nineteenth century. It will principally analyse the operatic representation of madness in Donizetti's *Lucia di Lammermoor* (1835) in order to determine to what extent Lucia's operatic mad scene – in embodying tropes of female madness from popular culture – assisted in shaping the idealised visual representation of hysteria in medical photography in the late nineteenth century. It will analyse and compare the stage directions and text of Cammarano's libretto and Donizetti's musical score for *Lucia di Lammermoor*, with photographs and narration of hysterical patients from Jean-Martin Charcot's *Iconographie photographique de la Salpêtrière,* and medical theories on hysteria from his famous lectures.

Chapter 1
Four Hundred Years of Female Madness

This first chapter aims to outline the feminisation and medicalisation of madness in early modern Europe for a musicological reader. It will do this through the analysis of a small yet representative selection of popular medical texts, published by physicians and scholars and disseminated in the popular sphere within the period circa 1480 to 1880. This chapter will principally discuss social and medical ideas, paying particular attention to the centuries immediately preceding and following the Enlightenment. The first section will explore witchcraft in the fifteenth century and its association with clinical female madness during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It will then investigate the birth of the psychiatric discipline and industry, with the new wave of hospitals and the health and asylum reforms across Europe in the nineteenth century. The second section will interrogate the patriarchal ideals for European women, particularly those of the middle-class, focussing on expectations of women within the domestic sphere, as well as addressing gendered ideals surrounding education, pursuits, employment, courtship, marriage, motherhood and sexual intercourse. I will also discuss the legal restrictions placed on women by Enlightenment society, and how these reinforced women's social roles. The third section will analyse pertinent medical and scholarly texts, in order to outline the common diagnosed causes of madness in women, their perceived vulnerability to hysteria, and briefly consider their treatments. The fourth section will interrogate both admission and 'use of service' statistics of therapeutic institutions, and the notion that more women experienced and received treatment for madness than men during the nineteenth century. The final section will investigate the visual representation and performative nature of madness within nineteenth-century society, by considering the public display of madness in madhouses, within Charcot's lectures and theories, and asylum photography. Once contemporary contextual issues have been examined, the main discussion of literary, dramatic and operatic representations of madness can begin.

1.1: From Witch to Madwoman: The Evolution of Female Madness

In the fifteenth century, the role of the witch was 'manufactured' by the superstitious leaders of patriarchal society to forcibly label heretics and certain wayward women who failed to follow social rules or the moral ideals of the day.[1] In Europe, witches were most associated

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[1] They did not all necessarily 'choose the role of witch […] [it] was *ascribed* to them'. Thomas Szasz, *The Manufacture of Madness* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1997), p. xxiii-xxv, 4.

with sorcery, and were the common merchants and practitioners of potions.[2] This definition, however, was insufficient in legal terms and secular, governing bodies looked to more detailed and specific categorisations created by those who led Christian society.[3] The seminal work the *Malleus Maleficarum* (circa 1486), published by Catholic inquisitors and clergymen Jacob Sprenger and Heinrich Kramer outlined both the criteria and appropriate punishment of witchcraft.[4] The work was disseminated all over Europe, having been published in at least thirty editions in Germany, Italy and France between 1486 and 1669.[5] This early text concluded that witchcraft was the pursuit of women, who were the source of all evil and superstitious behaviour, being more lascivious than men.[6] Difficult, deviant women, such as those who taunted their husbands, or rejected their husband's requests, were also branded as witches.[7]

By the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries the written discourse and attitudes towards all women within Europe remained similar.[8] While women were still considered more prone to social deviance, and the power of defining such criteria had generally shifted from Christian society to the emerging medical and scientific disciplines, the associated social terms had evolved: the term 'mad', like that of witch or heretic, was first used in print circa 1300-1330, but was more frequently being used by society to classify socially deviant individuals.[9] As a result of the Scientific Revolution (c. 1540 and 1690), an increasing number of physicians sought to further define clinical nervous disorders beyond social deviance.[10] Seventeenth-century physicians and scholars, such as Thomas Willis (1621-1675), Thomas Sydenham (1624-1689) and Robert Burton (1577-1640), theorised the moral and physiological causes and appropriate treatments of nervous distempers in men and

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[2] Ibid., pp. 4-8, 10.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Jacob Sprenger and Heinrich Kramer, *The Malleus Maleficarum,* trans. by Montague Summers (New York: Dover Publications, 1971); Szasz., p. 8

[5] Sprenger and Kramer, p. viii.

[6] Ibid., pp. 41, 47.

[7] Ibid., p. 87; Szasz, pp. 3, 9.

[8] See James F. McMillan, *France and Women, 1789-1914: Gender, Society and Politics* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), pp. 3-5, for more detail.

[9] See 'mad, adj.', *Oxford English Dictionary Online* <www.oed.com> [accessed 4th October 2021], which lists the usage of 'mad' (of a person) in *Body & Soul* (c.1300) and *Amis and Amiloun* (c.1330); Szasz, pp. xxiii-xxx, 14-15, states that the social terms of witch and madwoman are analogous, despite the transferral of ideology and criteria from Christianity to medicine. See also Andrew Scull, *The Most Solitary of Afflictions* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1996), p. 289. Elaine Showalter similarly notes that, although 'the name of the symbolic female disorder may change from one historical period to the next, the gender asymmetry of the representational tradition remains constant'. See Elaine Showalter, *The Female Malady: Women, Madness and English Culture, 1830-1980* (London: Virago Press, 1985), p. 4.

[10] See Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, 3rd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 34-37, for more information.

women, such as general insanity, hysteria (or vapours), hypochondria, mania and melancholia. Works of this era, such as Sydenham's *Dissertatio epistolaris* (1682), or *Epistolary Dissertation* (trans. 1801), were initially published in Latin, French or English, before being translated, allowing for wider dissemination and enabling the growing fascination amongst the reading public.[11] This occurred with the general popularisation of medicine within early modern Europe (particularly in Britain and France), whereby handbooks and treatises were differentiated for their clinical and popular, lay audiences, in order to educate the literate public on basic medicine and health, and rectify historical medical errors.[12] For example, seventeenth-century English physicians were known to publish such texts as a means of educating the reading public on matters such as madness, melancholy and suicide (or self-murder).[13] While the French medical élite 'mostly condemned popular medical books' in the nineteenth century, the popularisation of medicine continued, with the publication of journals such as *Gazette de santé*, intended for public readers.[14]

In creating such theories in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, medical men referenced Classical literature and ideas from Ancient Greece and Rome, and developed new approaches to madness and female vulnerability in light of new anatomical discoveries and medical developments.[15] Madness was predominantly believed to be caused by physiological imbalances within the body, primarily between the four humours: blood, phlegm, yellow bile and black bile. The 'passions' or extreme human emotions, such as anger and sadness, were further believed to agitate the humours and disrupt the whole body, causing madness and melancholy.[16] As women were generally believed to be more emotional, irrational and

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[11] Some noteworthy texts are: Thomas Sydenham, 'Epistolary Dissertation', in *The Works of Thomas Sydenham, M. D.*, trans. from Latin by Dr William Alexander Greenhill, 2 vols (London: Printed for the Sydenham Society, 1850), II, pp. 53-118; Thomas Willis, *An Essay of the Pathology of the Brain and Nervous Stock* (London: Printed by J. B. for T. Dring, 1681).

[12] See Roy Porter, ed., *The Popularization of Medicine* (London: Routledge, 1992); Matthew Ramsey, 'The Popularization of Medicine in France, 1650-1900', in *The Popularization of Medicine*, ed. by. Porter, pp. 97-133.

[13] Michael MacDonald, *Mystical Bedlam: Madness, Anxiety and Healing in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 2.

[14] Ramsey, pp. 113-14; Jacques Léonard, 'Les Guérisseurs en France au XIXᵉ siècle', *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine,* 27/3 (1980), 501-16 (p. 513).

[15] See Norman Hampson, *The Enlightenment: An Evaluation of its Assumptions, Attitudes and Values* (London: Penguin Books, 1968), pp. 16-17; Wiesner-Hanks, pp. 34-35.

[16] F. Bayle and H. Grangeon, *Relation de l'état de quelques personnes prétendues possédées faite d'autorité au Parlement de Toulouse* (Toulouse, 1682), pp. 26-27, referenced in Michel Foucault, *Madness and Civilization* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1971), p. 86.

physiologically cold and wet compared to men (who were rational, and physiologically 'dry and warm'), they were perceived more susceptible to such distempers and illness.[17]

By the eighteenth century, a variety of external factors, such as the climate, country of residence, poor diet and an inactive, idle lifestyle were generally believed to affect humoral balance and cause madness.[18] In 1733, English physician George Cheyne noted that all variations of nervous distempers, such as vapours (or hysteria) and low spirits, were typically termed English maladies by other European nations.[19] As a third of the English population reported experiencing such nervous disorders, it was seen that the combination of the moist air, variable weather and fertility of the soil of England, as well as the generally indulgent and inactive lifestyle of its people, had weakened their physical constitution.[20] Those living in warmer, southern European countries, such as Spain and Italy, were thought to be less susceptible to nervous disorders and better at maintaining the body's healthy internal balance and healthy circulation, than those living in colder northern European countries.[21] However, in his *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621), English scholar Robert Burton had argued that those who lived in warmer climes were more 'lascivious' and lustful, and more prone to love-melancholy.[22]

Physicians such as Cheyne noted that even those who were physiologically strong could develop nervous disorders if they maintained a poor diet, while those maintaining a healthy, 'proper' diet protected themselves from such distempers, thus suggesting that the mind and body were intimately connected.[23] Melancholy, especially love-melancholy, and hypochondria (in men) were also believed to be caused by poor diet, excessive eating, excessive drinking of tea, coffee and alcohol, idleness and excessive study.[24] In women, low-spirits, green-sickness and hysteria (or vapours, as it was termed) were all thought to be individually caused by poor diet, excessive eating and appetite: 'hankering after Trash' and consuming unripe fruit had a detrimental impact upon the digestion, and consequently the

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[17] McMillan, p. 6; Cecilia Tasca, and others, 'Women and Hysteria in the History of Mental Health', *Clinical Practice and Epidemiology in Mental Health*, 8 (2012), 110-19. See also Helen King, 'Once upon a Text: Hysteria from Hippocrates', in *Hysteria Beyond Freud*, ed. by Sander L. Gilman, and others (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), pp. 3-90 (pp. 3-5).

[18] This is also noted by Roy Porter, *Mind Forg'd Manacles* (London: The Athlone Press, 1987), p. 39.

[19] See George Cheyne, *The English Malady*, 3rd edn (London: G. Strahan, 1734).

[20] Ibid., p. i.

[21] Ibid., p. 173.

[22] Burton argued that their climate and the fruits they consumed altered their physiology. Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, 11th edn, 2 vols (London: Messrs, Vernor, Hood and Sharpe, 1806), II, pp. 209-16.

[23] Cheyne, pp. 22-4, 149-52, 183.

[24] Burton, II, p. 214. This was echoed in Samuel Solomon, *A Guide to Health; or Advice to Both Sexes*, 52nd edn (London: J. Clarke, 1800), p. 28.

body and mind (even after attempting to alter their diet).[25] Women were, therefore, advised to follow a good, nutritious and easily digestible diet.[26]

With the Enlightenment came further significant developments in philosophy, medicine, print culture and the sciences, creating an explosion of research activity and associated literature in the form of handbooks, periodicals and treatises.[27] English philosopher John Locke's psychological theory *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1689) would lay the foundations and become particularly influential in shaping Enlightenment ideas, with Locke describing the human mind at birth as a *tabula rasa* to be moulded by experience.[28] At the centre of the Enlightenment movement and Europe in the eighteenth century, France and its *philosophes* produced a vast number of such works, which were quickly disseminated amongst educated Europeans.[29] The *Encyclopédie* (1751-66) was one pertinent example which epitomised Enlightened, secular thought, having been created to educate the *bourgeois* public on all areas of essential human knowledge, such as the arts, sciences and philosophy.[30] Although works, such as Samuel-Auguste Tissot's handbook *Avis au peuple sur sa santé* (1761), were first predominantly disseminated in French and Latin in the eighteenth century, the increasing prominence of the English language in the early nineteenth century meant that English works and translations were quickly and widely disseminated across Europe and the world.[31]

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[25] Cheyne, pp. 194-201; Bernard Mandeville, *A Treatise of the Hypochondriack and Hysterick Diseases, in three dialogues,* 2nd edn (London: J. Tonson, 1730), pp. 239-41.

[26] Mandeville, p. 245. Women would not have encountered such works, and more educated women would more likely have read literature which detailed feminine disorders, and advised measures of cure or prevention for women. See *The Ladies Physical Directory or, A Treatise of all the Weaknesses, Indispositions, and Diseases peculiar to the Female Sex, from Eleven Years of Age to Fifty or Upwards* (London: Two Blue Posts in Haydon-Yard, 1739), pp. i-iv.

[27] The English periodical *The Gentleman's Magazine,* which was first established by Edward Cave in 1731 and ran until 1907, encompassed a wide variety of topics, including science and medicine, and was intended to provide the educated male readership with practical knowledge. See Roy Porter, ed., 'Laymen, Doctors and Medical Knowledge in the Eighteenth Century: The Evidence of The Gentleman's Magazine', in *Patients and Practitioners* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 283-314 (pp. 290-92).

[28] See Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, 'Women and the Enlightenment', in *Becoming Visible: Women in European History*, ed. by Renate Bridenthal, Claudia Koonz, and Susan Stuard, 2nd edn (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1987), pp. 251-77 (pp. 259-60) for more detail.

[29] Hampson, pp. 52-54.

[30] Some criticisms of the *Encyclopédie* are that it reduces all human knowledge 'to the alphabet' and that most definitions were written by elite and educated men. See Fox-Genovese, p. 262.

[31] Hampson, pp. 53-54. Tissot's work was widely translated, and 'translated into at least thirteen European languages'. See Roy Porter, ed., 'Introduction', in *The Popularization of Medicine*, pp. 1-16 (p. 2); Antoinette Emch-Dériaz, 'Towards a Social Conception of Health in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century: Tissot (1728-1797) and the New Preoccupation with Health and Well-Being (PhD thesis, University of Rochester, 1983), referenced in Ramsey, p. 109.

Within their theories, Enlightenment philosophers often argued against patriarchalism and the social hierarchy, often due to the constraints it posed on individuals.[32] In order to develop and share their enlightened ideas, philosophers gathered in salons often hosted by powerful women (described in France as *salonnières*) who sat amongst elite and educated male thinkers, mediating their debates and exchange of ideas.[33] Although the majority of *philosophes* respected these women, some disliked the independence of the *salonnières*, as they disrupted the 'natural order' (of gender), and gave an 'unrealistic' idea of femininity.[34] The *salonnières* had a significant, influential role in disseminating cultural ideas and rules on etiquette to men, whilst also being morally and socially governed by men on the ideal and appropriate manner in which to live.[35]

Yet while Enlightenment thinkers had the authority to encourage more equality between men and women, they instead established their own prominent and public place within society, and constructed an ideology of femininity, outlining women's subordinate place within society.[36] They believed that the ultimate test of 'civilization' within society was the placement of women: while the male philosophers dictated that women should be respected, they simultaneously reinforced women's social position, by emphasising women's 'excellence' in their predetermined social roles.[37] In creating their misogynistic discourse, they evidenced their dislike for the increasing prominence and independence of women in society, and held onto traditional and ancient beliefs of women as 'other'; as wholly submissive and inferior to men.[38] Beneath the surface lay a concern and fear over the declining birth rate in France, which prominent scholars blamed on women, and which drove them to recommend the return of women to the domestic sphere, to fulfil their natural life roles of wife and mother.[39] While moralists tried to justify this position by claiming that women were more spiritual than men, physicians underpinned such ideas by stating that women were biologically and physiologically weaker than men.[40] Patriarchal society, its published discourses and ideologies, therefore, warned that if women attempted to deviate

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[32] See Fox-Genovese, pp. 263-64.
[33] Wiesner-Hanks, pp. 39-41; McMillan, pp. 8-9.
[34] McMillan, pp. 8-9.
[35] Fox-Genovese, pp. 256-57.
[36] See Ibid., pp. 268-69.
[37] See Ibid., pp. 263-64.
[38] McMillan, pp. 3-4.
[39] For more detail, see Fox-Genovese, pp. 266-69.
[40] See McMillan, pp. 4-6.

from their prescribed social role, they ran the risk of becoming mad and suffering the externally imposed consequences.[41]

The French Revolution and establishment of the First Republic at the end of the eighteenth century would implement this ideology within law, resetting the social order, and further repressing women within their subordinate social role.[42] Before this time, women were generally interpreted as inferior beings within law: the spread of Roman law across most of Europe (excluding Britain) during the Middle Ages had ensured that women were recognised as secondary citizens, under the care and guardianship of their fathers or husbands.[43] Over the course of the Revolution and the First Republic, and despite some initial freedoms, French women were then stripped of their human and legal rights, becoming recognised as the natural 'passive' citizens.[44] The Civil Code of 1804, implemented by Napoleon I (Napoleon Bonaparte) would cement women in subordinate and inferior roles in society.[45] Yet despite this, large numbers of lower and upper-class women became involved in radical politics and activism in Britain, France and Italy, during and following the French Revolution, becoming leaders and supporters in advocating the rights of women.[46]

The discourse against women remained similar throughout the nineteenth century, with philosophers, moralists and physicians taking their turn to define appropriate social and moral ideals, as well as discuss female weakness and vulnerability to disorders. Authoritative works of previous centuries, remained within the repertory of discourse, their repeated reference and revival thus reinforcing older, traditional beliefs.[47] Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621), for instance, was republished in 1800 (with at least over sixty editions published afterwards), and its popularity was thus reignited in the Romantic period.[48] While each individual country and region within Britain, France and Italy undoubtedly developed their own ideas and practices surrounding the representation, diagnosis and treatment of madness during this

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[41] Roy Porter, *A Social History of Madness: Stories of the Insane* (London: Phoenix, 1996), pp. 118-19.
[42] See McMillan, pp. 16, 36-37.
[43] See Wiesner-Hanks, pp. 42-45, for more detail.
[44] Men over the age of 25, and later 21, were considered the active citizens. McMillan, p. 16.
[45] Ibid., p. 36.
[46] For more detail on France in particular, see Darline Fay Levy and Harriet Branson Applewhite, 'Women and Political Revolution in Paris', in *Becoming Visible*, ed. by Bridenthal, Koonz, Stuard, pp. 279-307.
[47] Wiesner-Hanks, pp. 17-18. As a result, there was little distinction between the basic principles outlined by French Enlightenment philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau in the eighteenth century, and those in the seminal work the *Angel in the House* by English poet Coventry Patmore in the mid-nineteenth century. See section 1.2.
[48] Richard Hunter and Ida Macalpine, *Three Hundred Years of Psychiatry, 1535-1860* (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 94; Jim Godfrey, 'Robert Burton' <https://www.chch.ox.ac.uk/blog/robert-burton> [accessed 20th December 2022].

period,[49] it appears that there were generally no significant cross-cultural or cross-national ideological differences in Europe on the causes and treatment of mental illness. In his *Treatise on Insanity,* for instance, Philippe Pinel acknowledges this clearly:

> All civilised nations, however different in their customs, and manner of living, will never fail to have some causes of insanity in common; and it is natural to believe, that all will do their utmost to remedy the evil. Why may not France, as well as England, adopt the means from the use of which, no nation is by nature prescribed, and which are alone discovered by observation and experience?[50]

By the nineteenth century, however, madness generally socially and culturally interpreted as an entirely female disorder.[51] As a result, the physical and moral hygiene of women became a primary concern: at the time, the female body, its physiology, and soul were considered as one, and treatises thus highlighted the importance of both moral and physical education in maintaining female health.[52]

In the early nineteenth century, public health and hygiene became a particular concern amongst physicians within Europe. The public health movement in France officially began in 1829, following the establishment of the journal *Annales d'hygiène publique et de médicine légale*. Inspired by the ideas of the Enlightenment, physicians and scientists from different fields collaborated as part of a new social, health and moral reform, in order to establish new regulations and controls for public hygiene and sanitation. The urbanisation of France, and Paris in particular, had significantly increased the population of its cities, and the resulting poor sanitation and human hygiene caused the mass spread of disease. Leading hygienists, such as Dr Alexandre-Jean-Baptiste Parent-Duchâtelet, published articles and treatises on matters ranging from water and sewage, to occupational hygiene and prostitution in the hope of creating new measures to curb the spread of disease and unite public matters with scientific disciplines.[53] The widely read posthumous work and public report of Parent-

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[49] See Cheyne, *The English Malady*; Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, 11th edn, 2 vols (London: Messrs, Vernor, Hood and Sharpe, 1806), I. For a more detailed overview of the differences in England, France and Germany, see Klaus Doerner [Dörner], *Madmen and the Bourgeoisie: A Social History of Insanity and Psychiatry,* trans. by Joachim Neugroschgel and Jean Steinberg (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1981). For more on Italy, see Patrizia Guarnieri, 'The History of Psychiatry in Italy', *History of Psychiatry*, 2/7 (1991), 289-301; Guido Cimino and Renato Foschi, 'Italy', in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Psychology: Global Perspectives*, ed. by David B. Baker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 308-46.
[50] All European residents were believed to be at risk of insanity, regardless of their 'manner of living', and most published theories shared similar ideas and remedies. Philippe Pinel, *A Treatise on Insanity,* trans. from French by D. D. Davis (Sheffield: W. Todd, Cadell and Davies, 1806), p. 51.
[51] Showalter, *The Female Malady*, pp. 1-4; MacDonald, pp. 35-40.
[52] McMillan, p. 102; Sun-Young Park, *Ideals of the Body: Architecture, Urbanism, and Hygiene in Postrevolutionary Paris* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2018), pp. 150-52.
[53] Ann F. La Berge, *Mission and Method: The Early Nineteenth-Century French Public Health Movement* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) has proven to be a very useful resource for obtaining relevant

Duchâtelet's, *De la Prostitution dans la ville de Paris* (1836), discussed the policing and regulation of prostitution in Paris.[54] Parent-Duchâtelet regarded the high population of prostitutes within Paris as a public health issue, due to the spread of venereal disease, equating their regulation and control to that of other public services.[55] At the time, overtly sexual or promiscuous women who had sex outside marital confines, such as prostitutes and adulteresses, were considered the antithesis of the ideal woman, and were often diagnosed as mad, in order to eradicate their threat to patriarchal ideals and society.[56] In regarding excess female pleasure as unnatural, European physicians of the nineteenth century diagnosed such women with nymphomania, a form of insanity, or sent them to an institution (even when the sexual act was non-consensual).[57] From the seventeenth century, the Salpêtrière hospital in Paris had been used for the confinement of those who had been convicted of prostitution or adultery, in order to morally reform their behaviour and thus sanitize the streets.[58] Parent-Duchâtelet concluded that similar hospitals should be established to care and confine such women, and to prevent the spread of venereal diseases within the city.[59]

With this proliferation of moral, medical and hygienist literature came a greater social need for confining the feared insane and social deviants, in order to hide them from public view and prevent the spread of madness and social deviance within society.[60] From the sixteenth century, most people diagnosed as mad or socially deviant were the responsibility of their family and were confined at home or institutionalised in private madhouses, built to cater to varying social classes.[61] A large number of hospitals had opened across Europe

information. See also A.-J.-B. Parent-Duchâtelet, *On Prostitution in the City of Paris*, trans. by Alexandre Jean Baptiste, 2nd edn (London: T. Burgess, 1840).

[54] A.-J.-B. Parent-Duchâtelet, *De la Prostitution dans la ville de P aris* (Paris: J. B. Baill ière, 1836); Parent-Duchâtelet, *On Prostitution in the City of Paris*.

[55] Ibid.

[56] See Jane Ussher, *Women's Madness* (Herefordshire: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991), pp. 72-73, makes a similar observation. William Acton, *The Functions and Disorders of the Re-productive Organs* (London: John Churchill, 1862), p. 102, considered such women as dangerous. Although medical and cultural ideas surrounding female sexuality continued to shift and evolve within British and French society over the course of the nineteenth century, the images of the angelic and obedient housewife, and the promiscuous 'harlot', or fallen woman, were consistently juxtaposed within society. Rachel Mesch, 'Housewife or Harlot? Sex and the Married Woman in Nineteenth-Century France', *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 18/1 (2009), 65-83. See also Sarah Kühl, 'The Angel in the House and the Fallen Woman: Assigning Women their Places in Victorian Society', *University of Oxford, Department for Continuing Education* <https://open.conted.ox.ac.uk/> [accessed 20th January 2022].

[57] See Acton, p. 101-02; Ussher, pp. 72-73.

[58] Wiesner-Hanks, p. 69.

[59] See La Berge, pp. 200-66 for more detail; Parent-Duchâtelet, *On Prostitution in the City of Paris*.

[60] The labels 'mad' or 'insane' thus served to justify their imprisonment. George Rosen, 'Social Attitudes to Irrationality and Madness in 17th Century and 18th Century Europe', *J. Hist. Med. And All. Sc.,* 18 (1963), 220-40 (p. 237); Szasz, pp. xxx, 14-15, 21.

[61] Szasz, pp. xxx, 14-15; Scull, *The Most Solitary of Afflictions*, p. 289; Porter, *Mind Forg'd Manacles*, p. 14; Vieda Skultans, *English Madness* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979), p. 10.

during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to assist the existing establishments in housing the increasing number of insane. In Britain, the well-known Bethlehem Hospital, London (known informally as Bedlam) was originally established in 1247, and remained the only hospital for lunatics until the eighteenth century, while the York Retreat (est. 1792) was opened in 1796 by William Tuke and the Quaker movement.[62] The collective population of such institutions in Britain would grow substantially from a 'few thousand' to over one-hundred thousand during the course of the nineteenth century.[63] In France, the Hôpital-Général, Salpêtrière and Bicêtre hospitals in Paris cared for the growing population of the poor and confined lunatics, having initially opened in the seventeenth century under the Ancien Régime.[64] While the birth of psychiatry in Italy did not fully occur until the second half of the nineteenth century, coinciding with the unification of Italy, madhouses and hospitals caring for the insane had been opened in Italy since the sixteenth century.[65] In Italy, the first hospital to care for the insane was the Hospitale della Pieta` de' Pazzi in Rome, opening in 1550, and was followed by the Pia Casa di Santa Dorotea de' Pazzerelli, Florence in 1647.[66] The Ospedale di Bonefazio, Florence (established 1380) initially cared for the poor and disabled, but became a primary hospital for the mentally ill from 1780. The Ospedale la Senavra, on the other hand, was founded in Milan in 1781, primarily for the purpose of housing the insane.[67] Once individuals were confined to such institutions, the responsibility for their care moved to those governing the hospitals, which generally allowed barbaric treatment, as well as unsanitary and inhumane living conditions.[68]

Journalist Daniel Defoe (1661-1731) was one of the first to publicly suggest a reform of lunatic care in Britain: in *Augusta Triumphans; or, The Way to Make London the Most Flourishing City in the Universe* (1728), Defoe expressed his clear outrage at the occurrence of wrongful confinement, whereby women were being institutionalised by their husbands,

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[62] See Hunter and Macalpine, p. 306; Andrew Scull, *Museums of Madness* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1982), p. 67; 'Asylums – European Journeys', *Bethlem Museum of the Mind*, <https://museumofthemind.org.uk/projects/european-journeys/asylums> [accessed 13th January 2023]; 'The Retreat', *History of York* <http://www.historyofyork.org.uk/themes/georgian/the-retreat> [accessed 12th November 2021].

[63] Porter, *Mind Forg'd Manacles*, p. 2.

[64] Foucault, pp. 39-43.

[65] Guarnieri, 'The History of Psychiatry in Italy', pp. 289-301; Cimino and Foschi, pp. 308-46.

[66] Lorenzo Lorusso, Antonia Francesca Franchini, and Alessandro Porro, 'Opera and neuroscience', *Progress in Brain Research*, 216 (2015), 389-409 (p. 393).

[67] 'Asylums – European Journeys' has proven to be very useful in detailing such information on lesser known European hospitals and asylums.

[68] Szasz, p. 15.

and in turn advocated for the increased inspection and official licensing of madhouses.[69] By the mid-eighteenth century, there were growing concerns in the care of the insane, as well as the ease of admission, and this culminated in the establishment of the Parliamentary Select Committee on Madhouses in 1763, which intended to investigate and publish reports on the conditions of private madhouses.[70] Within the next eleven years, the Act for Regulating Madhouses would be passed within government to outline standard regulations on the treatment of the insane within law and was spearheaded by leading physicians John Monro (of Bethlem Hospital) and William Battie (of St Luke's Hospital, London, est. 1751).[71]

A parliamentary Select Committee, established in 1807 in the wake of further calls from MPs, such as Charles Watkin Williams Wynn, continued this work by revising the regulations surrounding the care of the insane, particularly of pauper and criminal lunatics.[72] The County Asylums Act to build state run asylums would subsequently arrive in 1808, following a need for improved care and accommodation of pauper lunatics, in particular.[73] However, this merely enabled, rather than enforcing, individual counties to build their own asylums where necessary, and was not made compulsory in law until the County Asylums Act of 1845, where it was seen as a national necessity due to the high population of lunatics.[74] This standardisation of care did not effectively occur until the Lunacy Act of 1845 and the establishment of the Lunacy Commission within the same year.[75]

At the same time, the more humane 'moral management' movement had commenced across Europe, whereby a new wave of physicians, such as Vincenzo Chiarugi (1759-1820) in Florence and Philippe Pinel (1745-1826) in Paris, developed and implemented novel restraints and psychological treatments for the insane.[76] They did this in the hope of transforming existing hospital practices and standardising the treatment of insanity within

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[69] In *A Review of the State of the English Nation* (1709-10), Defoe recommended that separate hospitals be established to care for those with 'mental defects' and those with insanity. The anonymous work *Some Thoughts Concerning the Maintenance of the Poor* (1700) also proposed better and improved care for the insane, specifically suggesting the establishment of county asylums. See Hunter and Macalpine, pp. 265, 277.

[70] The Royal College of Physicians was initially approached to assist in the licensing and regulation of madhouses, but they declined. Ibid., pp. 265, 451-52.

[71] Ibid., p. 265. Both physicians were involved in establishing regulations for the care and conditions of the insane at their respective hospitals: while Monro blamed the conditions of Bethlem Hospital on the outdated psychiatric practices and employment of a minority of elite physicians, Battie established St Luke's Hospital (following a period of employment at Bethlem Hospital), to ensure better conditions and regulations. See Ibid., pp. 402, 404-05, 411.

[72] Ibid., p. 621.

[73] Ibid., pp. 277, 621.

[74] Local authorities would avoid building new asylums, and only 10 out of 52 counties built asylums, leaving pauper lunatics in work houses and other poor institutions. See Ibid., pp. 277, 621-23.

[75] See Ibid., pp. 453-54.

[76] See Porter, *A Social History of Madness*, pp. 15-19.

madhouses and asylums. Pinel, in particular, was motivated to do this as he saw his insane patients as mentally ill individuals, rather than as heretics or the dregs of society.[77] Influenced by the radical political change of the French Revolution, the humanitarian physician Pinel unchained the confined madwomen and incurable individuals in 1793, and replaced their restraints with innovative moral techniques, such as outdoor labour and the straitjacket (or *gilet de force*).[78] Women within such institutions were, however, still repressed within their subordinate roles and given gendered work.[79] In Britain, for instance, women were employed to launder and repair clothes, as well as work on the asylum farms.[80] In doing so, hospitals did not always legitimately or appropriately treat women for mental illness.[81] Indeed, most of the people who were eventually released from such institutions and described as cured were more likely to have cured themselves.[82]

Pinel's work would go onto inspire the next generations of physicians in Europe and at the Salpêtrière. Having studied and worked alongside Pinel, Jean-Étienne Dominique Esquirol (1772-1840) would follow in his footsteps, publishing *Note sur la monomanie-homicide* (1827) and his seminal text *Des maladies mentales* (1838), translated as *Mental Maladies* (1845).[83] Esquirol's compiled illustrations would then ultimately influence the works of Jean-Martin Charcot (1825-1893),[84] who would later produce and publish

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[77] See Hunter and Macalpine, pp. 602-06. Vincenzo Chiarugi adopted William Cullen's suggested diagnostic practices at the Ospedale di Bonefazio in Florence and developed new treatments in his 1794 treatise *Della pazzia in genere*, while Pinel's *A Treatise on Insanity* both references and critiques Thomas Willis in developing new moral treatments for insanity. George Mora, 'Vincenzo Chiarugi (1759-1820) and his Psychiatric Reform in Florence in the Late 18th Century', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences,* 14/10 (1959), 424-33 (p. 430); Vincenzo Chiarugi, *Della pazzia in genere, e in specie: trattato medico-analitico*, 3 vols (Florence: Presso Luigi Carlieri, 1793), I; Pinel, *A Treatise on Insanity*.

[78] See Hunter and Macalpine, pp. 602-06; Showalter, *The Female Malady*, pp. 1-2; Sander L. Gilman, *Difference and Pathology: Stereotypes of Sexuality, Race and Madness* (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 1985), p. 220; Ilza Veith, *Hysteria: The History of a Disease* (Chicago, IL and London: University of Chicago Press, 1965), pp. 177-78.

[79] Porter, *A Social History of Madness*, p. 119.

[80] Scull, *The Most Solitary of Afflictions*, p. 289.

[81] Szasz, pp. 14-15; Scull, *The Most Solitary of Afflictions*, p. 289.

[82] 'Bedlam', *In Our Time*, presented by Melvyn Bragg with Hilary Marland, Justin Champion and Jonathan Andrews, BBC Radio 4, 17 March 2016 <https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/> [accessed 16th Nov 2021].

[83] *Note sur la monomanie-homicide* (1827) resembles a pamphlet, and was incorporated into *Mental Maladies* (1838). See Jean-Étienne-Dominique Esquirol, *Mental Maladies*, trans. by E. K. Hunt (Philadelphia, PA: Lea and Blanchard, 1845); Jean-Étienne-Dominique Esquirol, *Note sur la monomanie homicide* (Paris and London: Chez J-B. Baillere, Libraire-Éditeur, Même Maison, 1827).

[84] German E. Berrios and Roy Porter, *A History of Clinical Psychiatry* (London: The Athlone Press, 1995), pp. 226-27; Judith Wechsler, 'Performing Ophelia: The Iconography of Madness', *Theatre Survey*, 43/2 (2002), 201-21 (pp. 216-17); Sander L. Gilman, *Picturing Health and Illness: Images of Identity and Difference* (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1995), p. 22.

Iconographie photographique de la Salpêtrière (1877-1880) alongside Désiré Bourneville and Paul Regnard, featuring photographs of Charcot's female hysterical patients.[85]

1.2: The Patriarchal Ideology of Femininity, c. 1600-1850

The Domestic Role, Employment and Education

Between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, European patriarchal society clearly defined the role of the middle or upper-class woman within the domestic sphere: as the *angel in the house* or *la femme au foyer*.[86] Enlightenment philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau and nineteenth-century poet Coventry Patmore were two such thinkers who defined the domestic role of the middle-class woman as primary caregiver and manager of the household.[87] Women were expected to please and devote themselves to their husbands, with whom they should maintain an appropriate temperament, and remain 'virtuous' at all times.[88] In conforming to their prescribed social role and long-standing Christian teachings, however, European women assisted in maintaining the patriarchal ideology.[89]

Middle-class European society romanticised femininity and the domestic role, making women appear as intrinsically delicate beings, and this further influenced their lack of personal independence and legal rights, their subordinate and childlike position within society.[90] In his conduct manual *An Enquiry into the Duties of the Female Sex* (1797), priest Thomas Gisborne stated that God, in giving men strength and power for laborious work, had made women weaker to provide them with the necessary qualities required to fulfil their domestic role, and meet their husband's needs.[91] Such beliefs were equally perpetuated within medical discourses: in his *Epistolary Dissertation* (1682) notable seventeenth-century physician Thomas Sydenham stated that women who fulfilled their domestic role and lived a 'softer life', were physically 'delicate', and were thus more susceptible to hysteria than

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[85] See Jean-Martin Charcot, Désiré Bourneville and Paul Regnard, *Iconographie photographique de la Salpêtrière,* 3 vols (Paris: Progrès medical, 1878), II.

[86] See Coventry Patmore, *The Angel in the House, Book 1: The Betrothal* (London: John W. Parker and Son, 1854); Coventry Patmore, *The Angel in the House, Book 2: The Espousals* (London: John W. Parker and Son, 1856); McMillan, pp. 47-48; Porter, *A Social History of Madness,* p. 118.

[87] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Emile or on Education*, trans. and ed. by Christopher Kelly and Allan Bloom from *Émile, ou de l'éducation* (Hanover, NH and London: University Press of New England, 2010); Patmore, I & II.

[88] Patmore, I & II; *Essays to Young Married Women* (London: T. Cadell, 1782), pp. 43-44. See also *The Handbook of Etiquette* (London: Cassell, Peter and Galpin, 1860), pp. 61-62.

[89] See Kathryn Gleadle, *British Women in the Nineteenth Century* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), p. 83-84; McMillan, p. 42.

[90] See Porter, *A Social History of Madness*, p. 118.

[91] Thomas Gisborne, *An Enquiry into the Duties of the Female Sex* (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1797), pp. 2, 19-22.

men.[92] While idle middle-class men were similarly diagnosed with hypochondria, lower-class women, who led a harder or more laborious life, were not considered susceptible to hysteria.[93] By the end of the nineteenth century, all married women in Europe would be subject to criticism for seeking employment, and those who required employment were generally expected to undertake work that mimicked their role within the domestic sphere.[94]

Among the lower-classes, women still worked and had more vocational independence, unable to afford the luxury of idleness. In eighteenth-century Britain, urban women were mostly employed within industrial labour and factories, while others sought work in domestic labour.[95] Such women played an important part in the economy, but were often low paid, and employed as a means of cheap labour (along with children), particularly within the textile industry.[96] All women would have still been required to fulfil their domestic responsibilities and care for their children, alongside their employment.[97] By the nineteenth century, patriarchal ideals on the suitability of women for the domestic role had further infiltrated into the lower-classes, with many urban women turning to work as domestic servants for middle and upper-class families; by the 1851 census, the 'service' industry was the biggest employer of women.[98] Those of the lower-middle-classes also sought employment in caregiving roles as school teachers and governesses. Rural women, on the other hand, were often choosing to fulfil the domestic needs of the family, rather than seeking other employment or paying for a domestic servant.[99] In addition, European women

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[92] Sydenham, p. 85.

[93] Ibid. According to Sydenham, p. 91, men were more suited to a laborious life and manual work, concealing them from the believed external causes of hypochondria. Yet, cases of insanity in working-class men were often caused by physical and mental 'overwork and exhaustion', due to constant hard and sometimes laborious work. See Akihito Suzuki, 'Lunacy and Labouring Men: Narratives of Male Vulnerability in Mid-Victorian London', in *Medicine, Madness and Social History: Essays in Honour of Roy Porter*, ed. by Roberta Bivins and John V. Pickstone (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), pp. 118-28 (pp. 122-23).

[94] Gleadle, pp. 5, 11, 53-54. See McMillan, p. 63; Levy and Applewhite, pp. 279-307, for the French perspective. Nineteenth-century women were expected to stay at home, rather than seeking employment or amusements, and were deemed difficult for questioning their domestic role: 'A thoughtless creature must she be, and a cipher in her family, who inquires *why* she must be kept at home'. Anne Taylor, *Practical Hints to Young Females on the Duties of a Wife and a Mistress of a Family*, 9th edn (London: Taylor and Hessey, 1818), pp. 107-09.

[95] These women remained hidden because such work was not listed in the census. Gleadle, pp. 5, 9-10.

[96] Ibid., pp. 13-16.

[97] Ibid., p. 21.

[98] Forty percent of urban women were employed in domestic roles, partly due to the industrial advances. Ibid., pp. 12, 14. See also Merry E. Wiesner, 'Spinning Out Capital: Women's Work in the Early Modern Economy', in *Becoming Visible,* ed. by Bridenthal, Koonz and Stuard, pp. 221-49 (pp. 243-44).

[99] Gleadle, pp. 5, 11, 53-54. See McMillan, p. 63, for the French perspective.

undertook caring roles within the healthcare sector, as nurses and midwives, being professions traditionally associated with women.[100]

At the end of the eighteenth century, Gisborne recognised that, while middle-class women received little formal education, their intelligence was not limited to domestic role: 'Genius, taste, and learning itself, have appeared in the number of female endowments and acquisitions'.[101] Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Italian treatises by educated women and activists Moderata Fonte (or Modesta Pozzo) and Lucrezia Marinella had already suggested that women were morally superior beings, and only remained in their inferior position in society because of their lack of formal education.[102] By the mid-nineteenth century in Britain, and despite the lack of compulsory secondary education for girls, a small number of the most intelligent students could participate in a 'pupil-teacher scheme', allowing them to become school teachers.[103] However, it was only the proliferation and establishment of state elementary education in the mid- to late nineteenth century (aided by the Elementary Education Act of 1870) which provided girls with a more formal education, and broadened the career prospects of young women, enabling more women to pursue a career in teaching.[104]

Although the majority of middle and upper-class European women embraced their prescribed role of housewife, a minority sought independence in a variety of political, philanthropic and artistic roles, as well as unpaid roles within family businesses or estates.[105] Pertinent to this study is the prominent role of the *prima donna* on European stages from the Renaissance, as women such as Isabella Andreini (1562-1604), Fanny Tacchinardi Persiani (1812-1867) and Henriette Sontag (1806-1854) gained personal and financial independence

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[100] For more on midwifery, see Hilary Marland, ed., *The Art of Midwifery: Early Modern Midwives in Europe* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993).

[101] Gisborne, pp. 19-22.

[102] See Moderata Fonte (Modesta Pozzo), *The Worth of Women: Wherein Is Clearly Revealed Their Nobility and Their Superiority to Men*, ed. and trans. by Virginia Cox from the original *Il merito delle donne* (Chicago, IL and London: Chicago University Press, 1997); Lucrezia Marinella, *The Nobility and Excellence of Women, and The Defects and Vices of Men*, ed. and trans. from *Nobilità et l'eccellenza delle donne, co' difetti et mancamenti degli uomini* by Anne Dunhill, with introduction by Letizia Panizza (Chicago, IL and London: Chicago University Press, 1999); Wiesner-Hanks, pp. 26-27.

[103] Gleadle, pp. 14-15.

[104] This was partly influenced by the need of formal education for girls as the educators of their future children. Ibid., pp. 106-08; 'Women's Education', *Newnham College, University of Cambridge*, <https://newn.cam.ac.uk/about/history/womens-education/> [accessed 10th February 2022]; Liza Picard, 'Education in Victorian Britain', *British Library* <https://www.bl.uk/victorian-britain/articles/education-in-victorian-britain> [accessed 17th February 2022]. Women were going into different areas of employment, such as retail and clerical work. The number of women teachers increased significantly in the late nineteenth century, from 80,000 in 1861 to 172,000 in 1901. Gleadle, pp. 106-8; Patricia Hollis, ed., *Women in Public, 1850-1945* (London: UCL Press, 1995), p. 45.

[105] Gleadle, pp. 51-7, 62-70.

in their careers as operatic singers.[106] A minority of talented women, such as Jane Austen, Charlotte Brontë and George Elliot (or Mary Ann Evans), achieved success as authors within the period. Other educated women, such as Mary Wollstonecraft and her seminal work *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792), disseminated their own Enlightenment ideas in treatises and the press, advocating the rights of women and their position within society.[107]

Patriarchal society feared the power and liveliness of such imagination in 'idle' women and its potential destruction of male reason.[108] Middle and upper-class women were thus advised to partake in daily physical exercise and genteel pursuits, such as embroidery, in order to prevent and combat the associated nervous effects of idleness.[109] Those who followed such advice, however, were still considered more susceptible to mental illness: clinicians stated that amusements, such as reading and going to the theatre could cause actual mental derangement in women.[110] Excessive reading of books, without physical exercise, as well as exposure to and enjoyment of fine art, literature and theatre, were instead believed to have 'disastrous' consequences on the mind to a certain extent.[111]

Early modern medical and moral discourses thus perceived educated, cultured women as dangerous, as the antithesis of feminine values, and dictated that the formal education of women should be restricted – women instead needed to be sheltered from the outside world, so as to prevent 'intellectual over-exertion', or distraction from their domestic role and responsibilities.[112] In his famous novel and treatise *Emile or On Education* (1762), Rousseau focussed on the formal education of the prototypical young man Emile, and only outlined the gendered expectations and appropriate education of young women, or Sophie, in his final chapter. He prescribed that Sophie should be taught only the required skills and knowledge to fulfil her domestic role and be an ideal and pleasing companion to Emile.[113] In Britain, the principles behind the education of girls remained similar and all girls received a basic education, to provide them with the necessary skills for their future domestic and caregiving

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[106] See McMillan, p. 61, for a similar comment on *prima donnas* at the Opéra.

[107] See Gleadle, pp. 55-56, and McMillan, pp. 11-12, 19-20, 52-53, for more on the roles of women.

[108] Gisborne, p. 34. See also Porter, *Mind Forg'd Manacles,* pp. 57-58; Foucault, p. 156.

[109] Gisborne, p. 315.

[110] Learning for women was considered an 'immoderate thirst for knowledge'. Foucault, p. 157. In 1645, John Winthrop claimed that Anne Hopkins had 'fallen into a sad infirmity', because she had given 'herself wholly to reading and writing, and had written many books'. John Winthrop, *The History of New England from 1630 to 1649*, ed. by James Savage (Boston, MA: [n. pub.], 1826), p. 216, referenced in Wendy Martin, 'Anne Bradstreet's Poetry: A Study of Subversive Piety' in *Shakespeare's Sisters*, ed. by Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979), pp. 19-31 (p. 26).

[111] Foucault, p. 217; Edme-Pierre Beauchene, *De l'influence des affections de l'âme dans les maladies nerveuses des femmes* (Paris, 1783), p. 33, referenced in Foucault, p. 218.

[112] See Porter, *A Social History of Madness*, p. 118.

[113] Rousseau, *Emile or on Education*. See Wiesner-Hanks, p. 42 and McMillan, p. 10, for more detail.

role. While upper-class girls were taught languages and cultural subjects by governesses, or attended private boarding schools, lower-class girls received a limited education focussed on basic literacy and domestic skills at dame schools or Sunday schools, provided by local charities or churches.[114]

Courtship, Betrothal and Marriage

Courtship and eventually marriage were seen as the principal destiny of European women. Young middle-class women were expected to marry more experienced men, older than themselves, of a similar social and financial status, with sufficient financial means to support a wife.[115] As a result, marriages among the middle and upper-classes could either be arranged by the young couple themselves, or their parents (as was common in Britain and France).[116] British women from a lower-class had more freedom in choosing their partner, and those of a rural background tended to marry at a younger age than those of the middle or upper-classes, or urban background.[117] Consent was legally required from the two individuals, as stipulated in both English and Italian laws, however, this did not prevent parents, families and employers from illegitimately pressuring young people into marriages.[118]

Although parental consent was required for women under the age of 21 to marry in England and France in the early nineteenth century, parents were always permitted to reject their daughter's choice, should a man not match their criteria.[119] Before the establishment of Lord Hardwick's Marriage Act of 1753, which enforced the need for parental consent into English law until it was 'repealed' in 1823, young men had been allowed to marry from the

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[114] 'Women's Education'; Picard. On the private education of girls in Britain and France, see Christina de Bellaigue, *Educating Women: Schooling and Identity in England and France, 1800-1867* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007). By contrast, British lower-class girls perhaps benefited from a better school attendance and education than boys due to lack of employment opportunities. Gleadle, pp. 14-15.

[115] *The Habits of Good Society* (London: J. Hogg and sons, 1859), pp. 361-63. See also *The Handbook of Etiquette*, pp. 44-46.

[116] *The Habits of Good Society*, pp. 361-63; *The Handbook of Etiquette*, p. 45.

[117] Wiesner-Hanks, p. 78; Gleadle, pp. 38-39.

[118] See Alan Macfarlane, *Marriage and Love in England: Modes of Reproduction 1300-1840* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986), pp. 128-29; Trevor Dean and K. J. P. Lowe, eds., *Marriage in Italy*, *1300-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 9-10. Dean and Lowe, p. 15, also describe the fourteenth century tale of Giangaleazzo Visconti, who held his niece, Lucia, to stop her from fainting during a forced marriage to 'the landgrave of Thuringia'. The marriages of lunatics were void in law, as they were incapable of sanely consenting to marriage. See William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, 3rd edn, 4 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1768), I, pp. 438-39.

[119] In England, this age restriction also applied to men, while in France men under the age of 25 required consent. Under the Ancien Régime in France, however, 'the age of majority had been 30 for men and 25 for women'. Joan Perkin, *Women and Marriage in Nineteenth-Century England* (London: Routledge, 1989) p. 12; McMillan, p. 33.

age of 14, and young women from the age of 12.[120] Parental consent was not required to marry in Scotland in the same period.[121] Between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries, familial approval was also generally required before the marriage of a young couple in the Italian states, and where the marriage occurred or consent was obtained in secret, they were labelled clandestine.[122] Although clandestine marriages were acceptable in law, they

> conflicted with the notion then prevalent in the Christian world that the purpose of marriage was to establish a new alliance between two families, to reconcile battling factions, to bring peace wherever there was war. Those who refused to participate in family strategies and who married clandestinely unleashed hatred and resentment rather than creating friendship.[123]

In the sixteenth century, the Council of Trent eradicated the need for parental consent for marriage, but instead required that the parish priest attend the wedding, along with at least two witnesses, in order to curb clandestine betrothals and marriages.[124] By the nineteenth century, many secularised European legal codes replicated those of the Civil Code of 1804 in France (also known as the Napoleonic Code), and paternal consent was again required before a couple could marry or start a family in Italy.[125]

Yet, as seen in Scott's *The Bride of Lammermoor*, parental rejection could cause significant emotional distress for young women, as well as the utmost conflict and resentment amongst friends and family, which proved difficult to resolve.[126] In his analysis of the case files of seventeenth-century British doctor and astrologist Richard Napier (1559-1634), Michael MacDonald found that out of the 767 identified cases of stress, 141 people experienced stress and emotional turmoil due to lovers' problems, with young women making up two-thirds of cases.[127] Forty-one patients – of which thirty-two, or three-quarters, were young women – claimed that their friends, family and employers had rejected their

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[120] Parental consent was still desirable. See Macfarlane, p. 127.

[121] Edward Westermark, *The History of Human Marriage*, 5th edn, 3 vols (London: Macmillan and Co, 1921), II, p. 343; Macfarlane, p. 127.

[122] Daniela Lombardi, 'Marriage in Italy', in *Marriage in Europe, 1400-1800,* ed. by Silvana Seidel Menchi (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2016), pp. 94-121 (pp. 99-101). The majority of Italian cities had 'laws requiring parental consent to daughters' marriages', each with different ages restrictions, ranging from fifteen in Vercelli to twenty-five in 'Piacenza, Pergui, Mirandola'. Trevor Dean, 'Fathers and Daughters: Marriage Laws and Marriage Disputes in Bologna and Italy, 1200-1500', in *Marriage in Italy, 1300-1650,* ed. by Dean and Lowe, pp. 85-106 (p. 89).

[123] Lombardi, pp. 99-100.

[124] Ibid., p. 103.

[125] Ibid., p. 118.

[126] Parents were warned to observe the company their daughters kept, as hearts could quickly be 'won and lost'. *The Handbook of Etiquette*, pp. 44, 49. See also MacDonald, pp. 94-95, 97. John Haslam noted that even those with 'the soundest minds', could end up resenting their own family members and close friends, as such disagreements were hard to overcome. John Haslam, *Considerations on the Moral Management of Insane Persons* (London: R. Hunter, 1817), p. 51.

[127] See 'Table 3.5. Courtship stresses by sex' in MacDonald, p. 89.

prospective match, and this had directly caused their anguish.[128] Objection to marriage was most common amongst the lower-classes, with a total of nineteen lower-class women prevented from marrying their choice by their parents, fifteen by their 'friends', and three by their employers.[129] The young women involved in such cases had seemingly taken 'the initiative in courting', only informing their parents of their attachment at a later stage and once emotionally involved, in the hope that their match would not be rejected.[130]

Although the ideal of a companionate or love marriage was newly developing in Europe during this era, marriage was generally seen as a happy and pleasurable blessing sent by God.[131] In early modern Britain, women had few economic or legal freedoms in marriage and were completely dependent on their husbands, unable to even make purchases, act with agency or 'enter into economic contracts' in their own right.[132] In 1777, the lawful view in Britain was that, in

> marriage the very being or legal existence of a woman is suspended; or at least it is incorporated and consolidated into that of the husband; under whose wing, protection and *cover*, she performs every thing; and she is therefore called in our law a *feme-covert*.[133]

By contrast, in marriage husbands immediately became the guardians and proprietors of their wives' finances, property and possessions, forcing some women to establish equitable trusts, in order to keep their own property.[134] Following the establishment of the Civil Code of 1804, French women were equally restricted, and unable to act independently without the permission of their husbands.[135] In nineteenth-century Italy, women generally faced similar laws and restrictions, but in Sardinia specifically, women had more rights than elsewhere in Italy and Europe: they were able to enter into economic contracts or 'dispose of [their] own property', with or without the permission of their husbands, and had the same inheritance

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[128] Ibid., pp. 94-95; see Table 3.5 in Ibid, p. 89. The term 'friends' includes 'immediate family'. Ibid., p. 73.

[129] This is from MacDonald's 'Table 3.6. Courtship stresses by social status' (out of 767 of Napier's cases), with titles indicating social class (peer and knights are of upper-class, and those with no title are of a lower class). Ibid., p. 95. Amongst Napier's patients, the most common causes of mental distress were love, marriage, money and conflicts involving family, friends and lovers. Ibid., pp. 74-75.

[130] In the lower-classes, parents usually rejected prospective suitors because they 'did not have the [financial] means to support a wife'. Ibid., p. 94.

[131] See Burton, II, pp. 203-04; *Essays to Young Married Women*, pp. 15-17.

[132] Joanne Bailey, 'Favoured or Oppressed? Married Women, Property and "Coverture" in England, 1660-1800', *Community and Change*, 17/3 (2002), 351-72 (pp. 351-4). See also Perkin, p. 11. At the time, many European women felt they had lost their identity, being quite literally defined by their marital status. See Gleadle, pp. 88-89, and Wiesner-Hanks, pp. 55-56, for more detail.

[133] *The Laws Respecting Women, in Four Books* (London: Printed for J. Johnson, 1777), I, p. 65.

[134] Gleadle, pp. 88-90.

[135] McMillan, pp. 38-39.

rights as their male relatives.[136] In general, single, unmarried or widowed women were considered to have more legal privileges than married women in Europe, with those in England having similar legal rights and independence to men, and those in France shared the 'same inheritance rights as men'.[137]

In early modern England, men and women had little to no option for divorce, and often experienced difficulties and distress within their marriages.[138] In both Britain and Italy divorce was rare and very difficult to obtain, forcing women to live in an imprisoned existence with domineering husbands.[139] Of the few permitted cases of separation in early modern Italy, it can be seen that women commonly consulted the courts if their husband was abusive or violent, in order to allow them to separate, even if only temporarily, or to repair their marriages.[140] In France, divorce had been legal between 1792 and 1803, and was granted for unsuitable matches (such as arranged marriages, general dissatisfaction with the marriage, in cases of adultery, celibacy and mental illness).[141] The divorce law of 1803 (as part of the Civil Code), would severely restrict the grounds of divorce for women, which could only be granted on the grounds of 'degrading criminals sentences, adultery and physical abuse'.[142]

Motherhood

Motherhood was one of the principal roles for married European women of the early modern period, as it had been since Ancient Greek and Roman times. In the sixteenth century, German priest Martin Luther somewhat epitomised the view of women's subordinate and inhuman position within society, when he stated that

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[136] G. Vismara, 'Momenti della storia della famiglia sarda', in *Famiglia e societa sarda,* ed. by Societa sassarese per le scienze giuridice (Milan, 1971), p. 188; Marzio Barbagli, 'Marriage and the Family in Italy in the Early Nineteenth Century', in *Society and Politics in the Risorgimento: Essays in Honour of Denis Mack Smith,* ed. by John A. Davis and Paul Ginsborg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 92-127 (pp. 121-22).
[137] Perkin, pp. 11-12, compares the rights of single and married women using Barbara Leigh Smith's *Brief Summary, in Plain Language, of the Most Important Laws of England concerning Women* (1869 edn). For the French perspective, see McMillan, p. 37.
[138] 'Almost 40% of the men and women who described their anxieties and dilemmas to Napier complained about the frustrations of courtship and married life'. There were 135 'cases in which anxieties were caused by marital strife, and in 114 instances, or 84 [percent], the sufferer was a wife'. MacDonald, pp. 88, 99-100.
[139] Gleadle, pp. 88-89; Barbagli, p. 98; Lombardi, pp. 112-14.
[140] Lombardi, pp. 112-14.
[141] See McMillan, pp. 32-33.
[142] Ibid., p. 37.

> Women are created for no other purpose than to serve men and be their helpers. If women grow weary or even die while bearing children, that doesn't harm anything. Let them bear children to death; they are created for that.[143]

In outlining the sexual and biological differences between men and women, European doctors of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries maintained the notion of women's delicate nature, in order to firmly establish their principal role as child bearer and caregiver.[144] At the time, the maternal mortality rate was around one percent: in his study on maternal mortality in Britain, Geoffrey Chamberlain estimated there to be around 10.5 mortalities per one thousand live births between 1700 and 1750, which decreased to 7.5 between 1750 and 1800, and decreased again to 5 between 1800 and 1850.[145] In early modern England, those women who survived childbirth were merely permitted a short period of recovery and bed-rest following childbirth (known as 'lying-in'), usually lasting around one month, after which point they were classed as well.[146]

Patriarchal society therefore remained generally apathetic to the trials of childbirth and childbearing, dismissing the physical and potentially fatal pains of women as weakness, and perpetuating false ideals of womanhood. In doing so, they also discounted the short and long-term mental consequences of motherhood and showed disregard for women's recovery while simultaneously fulfilling employment or domestic responsibilities. Child or infant mortality, for instance, could cause women to become depressed or suicidal, leading to a proliferation of sympathetic advice books for mothers in such cases.[147] By 1851, the infant mortality rate in Britain was around 150 per thousand births, and the early childhood mortality rate (where death occurred between the ages of 1 and 4) was around 140 per thousand births, with most occurring in urban and industrial areas.[148] For the period of 1800-

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[143] Martin Luther, *Sämmtliche Werke* (Erlangen and Frankfurt, 1826-57), vol 20, p. 84, trans. and referenced in Wiesner-Hanks, p. 17.

[144] McMillan, p. 101.

[145] Wiesner-Hanks, p. 87; Geoffrey Chamberlain, 'British Maternal Mortality in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries', *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*, 99/11 (2006), 559-63 <https://doi.org/10.1258/jrsm.99.11.559> [accessed 13th January 2022].

[146] Leah Astbury, 'Being Well, Looking Ill: Childbirth and the Return to Health in Seventeenth-Century England', *Social History of Medicine*, 30/3 (2017), 500-19.

[147] Wiesner-Hanks, p. 93.

[148] University of Cambridge, 'Overview', *Populations Past – Atlas of Victorian and Edwardian Population*, 2022 <www.populationspast.org> [accessed 14th January 2022]. The infant mortality rate for Britain varied between 150 and 200 per 1000 births between 1550 and 1850. See Robert Woods, Naomi Williams and Chris Galley, 'Infant Mortality in England, 1550-1950: Problems in the Identification of Long-Term trends and Geographical and Social Variations', *The Decline of Infant Mortality in Europe, 1800-1950: Four National Case Studies*, ed. by Carlo A. Corsini and Pier Paolo Viazzo (Florence: UNICEF, 1993), pp. 35-50 (pp. 36-37).

1850, the average infant mortality rate in pre-unified Italy was particularly high, at around 260 per thousand births.[149]

The acts of childbearing and childbirth could alone trigger nervous disorders in a multitude of both lower- and upper-class women which became clinically recognised as puerperal insanity in the nineteenth century.[150] Although mild postpartum depression was an accepted occurrence in the aftermath of childbirth at the time, puerperal insanity was more akin to a delirious, potentially violent derangement or psychosis, utterly contradicting the delicate, maternal and feminine ideal.[151] Such insanity could occur during pregnancy, childbirth, or in the days and weeks afterwards, and patients could experience a multitude of melancholic, maniacal or hysterical symptoms.[152] Other women who had given birth to illegitimate children were seen to be more prone to frenzied symptoms, which perhaps led to infanticide or suicide.[153] However, on closely investigating and discussing such violent cases of puerperal insanity, which themselves 'contradicted notions of domesticity and maternity', physicians again associated madness with the female condition.[154]

Sexual Pleasure and the Double Standard

In early modern Europe, traditional Christian religious teachings promoted the belief that women did not wish for sexual pleasure, as they were content in serving their family, and only engaged in sexual intercourse to fulfil their conjugal duty and procreate.[155] Yet by the nineteenth century, sexual pleasure became an accepted and recommended part of the female experience, and was regarded as natural during conjugal relations.[156] Despite their biological differences, patriarchal discourses commonly compared the sexuality of men and women: in *The Functions and Disorders of the Re-productive Organs* (1857), British physician William Acton disseminated the belief that, while women should experience as much passion and

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[149] Median infant mortality rates in pre-unified Italy varied between 256 and 311 from 1670-1800. Lorenzo del Panta, 'Infant and Child Mortality in Italy', *Infant and Child Mortality of the Past,* ed. by Alain Bideau, Bertrand Desjardins and Héctor Pérez Brignoli (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), pp. 7-21 (pp. 15, 18).
[150] Hilary Marland, *Dangerous Motherhood: Insanity and Childbirth in Victorian Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), p. 3.
[151] Ibid., pp. 4-5. See also Robert Gooch, *A Practical Compendium of Midwifery; Being the Course of Lectures on Midwifery, and on Diseases of Women and Infants, Delivered at St Bartholomew's Hospital, by the late Robert Gooch, M. D*. (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green, 1831), p. 290.
[152] George Man Burrows, *Commentaries on the Causes, Forms, Symptoms, and Treatment, Moral and Medical, of Insanity* (London: Thomas and George Underwood, 1828), p. 364.
[153] Ibid; Esquirol, *Mental Maladies*, pp. 125-26.
[154] Marland, *Dangerous Motherhood*, p. 8.
[155] Acton, p. 102; Gisborne, pp. 226-28; Phyllis Chesler, *Women and Madness* (London: Allen Lane, 1974) pp. 19-20. See also McMillan, pp. 105-06, for a similar observation of French women.
[156] Acton, pp. 80-81. See also Mesch, pp. 65-83.

pleasure as men, it was unnatural for them to experience excess sexual desire and gratification, as their efforts should be solely focused on their domestic role.[157]

In nineteenth-century Britain and France, a clear double standard existed: while middle-class women were expected to remain virgins before marriage and then entirely faithful to their husbands, men were actively encouraged to be promiscuous, and extramarital relations were 'tolerated'.[158] In early modern Britain, however, sex often occurred before marriage, especially in the lower-classes, and was considered a sign of commitment, with at least one in five women already pregnant at the time of marriage, increasing to half (of women) in the eighteenth century.[159] In early modern Italy, premarital sexual relations were also accepted as part of the marital process, and solidified the match when the young couple were already betrothed to one another, as the 'marriage was already initiated and was only awaiting conclusion'.[160] Only at the top of British aristocracy were women's extramarital affairs condoned, but this could still initiate conflict within the family.[161] In Italy, early modern women usually faced corporal punishment for adultery, such as beating or even death, while men received a low financial penalty and rarely faced corporal punishment.[162] In France, sex before or outside marriage was also a severe and punishable offence for women: if a woman was convicted of adultery, she could be sentenced to two years in prison, but if her husband caught her with a lover *in flagrante delicto*, he was legally allowed to commit double homicide.[163] Adulterous men received no similar punishments, with women merely being permitted to divorce their husbands if the adultery took place within the marital home (as specified by the Napoleonic Code of 1803).[164]

While the unmarried woman, or widow, was considered to have more legal privileges than the married woman, their deviance from the social norm of marriage was considered dangerous, their apparent celibacy being perceived as both a cause and a symptom of clinical

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[157] Acton, p. 102.

[158] See McMillan, pp. 39-40; Gleadle, p. 86. See also Acton, pp. 73-74, who encourages virility in men.

[159] Wiesner-Hanks, p. 64; Gleadle, p. 40.

[160] Lombardi, pp. 98-99.

[161] Gleadle, p. 85. One historical example of the conflict and distress caused by extramarital relations was that seen in the marriage of aristocrats Georgiana Cavendish (formerly Spencer), Duchess of Devonshire (1757-1806) and William Cavendish, Duke of Devonshire (1748-1811). Georgiana became distressed upon learning that her close friend Lady Elizabeth Foster had become the Duke's mistress. Foster later lived with the pair permanently in a *ménage à trois*, causing Georgiana to long for a similar companionship. See Amanda Foreman, *Georgiana: Duchess of Devonshire* (London: Harper Collins Publishers, 1998).

[162] Dean, 'Fathers and daughters', pp. 86-87.

[163] McMillan, p. 40. See also Ussher, p. 81; Keith Thomas, 'The Double Standard', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 20/2 (1959), 195-216 (p. 195).

[164] McMillan, p. 40.

insanity.[165] In the mid-nineteenth century, women who appeared to be against marriage or sexual intercourse, were regarded by physician William Acton as suspicious, and were often psychiatrically assessed for unnaturally deviating from social norms.[166] In early modern Italy, single women were often sent to convents and Catholic institutions, to work and live out their days, or to earn a dowry (in the hope of attracting a husband).[167] Yet celibacy, like other aspects of sexuality, shared the double standard: although Acton actively avoids discussing the celibacy of Catholic priests, he recommends celibacy for academic men, as long as they are of strong physical constitution.[168] The rules outlining male and female sexuality thus remained distinctly different, to best befit men and women to adhere to social ideals.[169]

1.3: Clinical Diagnosis and Treatment: Madness and the Female Body

In ancient times, hysteria was widely believed to be a solely feminine disorder – the term itself derived from the Greek word *hystera*, meaning uterus – and to be caused by an impaired or abnormal female reproductive system.[170] As a result, madness was closely associated with the female experience, and the diagnosis of hysteria as one of the disorders of women became theoretical and framed within the patriarchal discourse.[171] One common Ancient Greek and Egyptian theory, which was referenced until the early modern period, established that the wandering womb was the root of the disease: philosophers and healers believed that the womb travelled around the body, creating a variety of different symptoms.[172] Scholars of the time believed that the uterus would move and become agitated following deprivation of sexual intercourse, causing anxiety and convulsive behaviour, as

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[165] See Ussher, pp. 81-82; Perkin, pp. 11-12.

[166] Acton, p. 104.

[167] Other unmarried women worked as domestic servants for the rest of their lives. Wiesner-Hanks, pp. 68-69, 81.

[168] Acton, pp. 51-52, states that 'weak' men become unwell, and experience nocturnal seminal emissions.

[169] Although women's sexuality became a prominent theme of discussion in medical texts of the nineteenth century, male impotence and 'excess' sexuality was also given attention. While men were advised to be promiscuous, excessive sexual intercourse was considered to demasculinise men, and could cause nymphomania and satyriasis. See Acton; Robert A. Nye, 'Honor, Impotence and Male Sexuality in Nineteenth-Century French Medicine', *French Historical Studies,* 16/1 (1989), 48-71 (pp. 49-58).

[170] See Showalter, *The Female Malady*; Elaine Showalter, *Hystories* (London: Picador, 1997), pp. 9, 15-16; Helen Small, *Love's Madness: Medicine, the Novel, and Female Insanity, 1800-1865* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 16-17; Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar, *The Madwoman in the Attic*, 2nd edn (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1984), p. 53.

[171] See Ussher, p. 74.

[172] Tasca, and others, p. 111; Showalter, *Hystories,* p. 15. See also King, pp. 3-5.

well as paralysis.[173] The prominent ancient belief was that vapours caused the womb to ascend upwards in the body and caused hysteria.[174]

Due to hysteria's imitative nature – in that the symptoms imitated those of other physiological diseases – it had previously been diagnosed in women who displayed a variety of symptoms. In the early modern period, if a woman exhibited signs of illness, with unusual or hidden causes, hysteria was invariably diagnosed and the uterus was erroneously blamed.[175] In *The Suffocation of the Mother* (1603), British physician Edward Jorden described the symptoms of hysteria, or *passio hysterica*, as convulsive in nature, with contractions and a feeling of suffocation or choking.[176] While his work is grounded in ancient theories of hysteria, he nevertheless stated that the mind was at fault.[177]

Jorden's revolutionary treatise set a trend for many other physicians who began to acknowledge that the uterus was not the cause of hysterical disorders.[178] Over the course of the seventeenth century, physicians such as Thomas Sydenham and Bernard Mandeville (1670-1733) instead theorised that hysteria was caused by 'a disorder (ataxy) of the animal spirits'.[179] Sydenham consequently diagnosed hysteria in patients suffering from both mental and physiological complaints.[180] British physicians Thomas Willis (1621-1675) and John Purcell (1674-1730) realised the anatomical impossibility of the wandering womb,[181] and instead invoked other physiological issues, provoking, as with the male equivalent hypochondria, a multitude of digestive symptoms, and causing patients to vomit and feel a sense of suffocation.[182]

By the nineteenth century, when more physicians were acknowledging the role of the mind and the brain in nervous disorder, women were still considered more susceptible to

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[173] Tasca, and others, p. 111.
[174] Thomas Willis and John Purcell referenced this theory in their counter studies. Willis, p. 77; John Purcell, *A Treatise of Vapours, or Hysterick Fits*, 2nd edn (London: Printed for Edward Place, 1707), p. 19.
[175] Willis, p. 76; Purcell, p. 85.
[176] Edward Jorden, *A Briefe Discourse of a Disease called the Suffocation of the Mother* (London: John Windet, 1603). This work was written to counter argue King James's *Daemonologie* (1597) treatise on witchcraft; see Hunter and Macalpine, pp. 70-72.
[177] Jorden had partially trained in Italy and his work would become hugely influential in the history of hysteria and psychiatry in general. See Veith, pp. 120-23; Hunter and Macalpine, pp. 68-72.
[178] Sydenham, p. 85.
[179] Ibid., p. 90; Mandeville, pp. 238-39, 246.
[180] Sydenham, p. 90.
[181] Willis, pp. 76-77. Willis, p. 77, stated that 'the body of the womb is of so small bulk, […] and is so strictly tyed by the neighbouring parts round about, that it cannot of itself be moved, or ascend from its place'. Purcell, p. 19, condemned the wandering womb theory as ignorant, and stated that anyone with anatomical knowledge would understand the impossibility of such a phenomenon.
[182] Purcell, pp. 7-8; Willis, p. 77.

hysteria, along with its epileptic fits and paroxysms.[183] Notable English physician George Man Burrows (1771-1846) believed that young women below the age of thirty, especially those that were unmarried and chaste, were thought to be most susceptible to hysteria, reiterating the belief that not engaging in sexual intercourse would cause mental illness in women.[184] Such women were more likely to experience stronger emotions which aroused 'mental derangement' – just as earlier theorists connected the passions to the movement and imbalance of bodily humours.[185] At the time, it was additionally believed that insanity could develop from hysteria, impairing brain function and causing delirious episodes (a common symptom).[186] Hysteria was either interpreted as permanent and prolonged, or temporary and intermittent, and was thought to arise in young women 'without any such suspicion'.[187] By the late nineteenth century, the term hysteria was still being used by Jean-Martin Charcot (1825-1893) to diagnose patients with similar physical symptoms. While Charcot did not personally believe that the cause of hysteria lay in the uterus, he attributed the cause to the nervous system and acknowledged that the ovaries still played a minor role in contributing to the disorder.[188] Despite a more nuanced approach, such theories were still part of a patriarchal discourse which enforced control over women's minds and bodies.

Moralists and physicians alike had long implemented principles and procedures to treat women for nervous disorders which centred around the female reproductive organs. Moderate sexual intercourse had been a long-established remedy for hysteria in women since the fourth century BC, as it was widely believed to restore and return the wandering womb back to its normal position.[189] In *On Virgins*, Hippocrates interpreted sexual intercourse, or 'cohabitation', as both a preventative measure and cure for female madness:

> When these places [the heart and lungs] are filled with blood, shivering sets in with fevers. […] The fact is that the disorder is cured when nothing impedes the downward flow of blood. My prescription is that when virgins experience this trouble, they should co-habit with a man as quickly as possible. If they become pregnant, they will be cured. If they don't do this, either they will

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[183] In his 1828 treatise, George Man Burrows references other notable physicians, including Sydenham and Willis, and claims that only women experience hysteria (though he had known some men with similar symptoms). Burrows, pp. 191-92.

[184] Ibid., p. 192.

[185] Ibid.

[186] Ibid., p. 193.

[187] Ibid..

[188] Jean-Martin Charcot, *Lectures of the Diseases of the Nervous System,* trans. by George Sigerson, I (London: The Sydenham Society, 1877), p. 247. Translated from Jean-Martin Charcot, *Leçons sur les maladies du système nerveux,* ed. by Désiré Bourneville (Paris: Adrien Delahaye, 1872-73).

[189] Tasca, and others, pp. 13-15.

> succumb [to hysteria] at the outset of puberty or a little later, unless they catch another disease.[190]

By the nineteenth century, green-sickness – which was commonly associated with hysteria – was also believed to be caused by young women deviating from patriarchal ideals and repressing their 'natural' desires, reinforcing moral and medical ideals of modest female sexuality.[191] The reproductive system of such women had become irritated and marriage, or conjugal relations, were quickly prescribed to hysterical women as the 'most natural cure'.[192]

The recommended prescription of sexual intercourse within marriage was, of course, not a successful cure for all hysterical women, with some requiring further treatment. Over the centuries, physicians had developed and established other medical procedures to rid them of their irritation, such as a stimulating vaginal massage, as described by prominent Dutch physician Pieter Van Foreest in 1653, to produce what was known medically as a 'paroxysm' (or orgasm).[193] Such treatments had been practised by Western physicians since the times of the Ancient Greeks, and their prescription became especially popular during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, where male physicians employed midwives or a technological device.[194] The patriarchal discourse thus paradoxically dictated that, while masturbation was considered to be one of the principal causes of insanity in the nineteenth century, the procedure of sexually gratifying a woman would treat and cure her of hysteria or nymphomania.[195]

More drastic treatments, such as the procedures of genital mutilation developed by surgeon and gynaecologist Isaac Baker Brown, were intended to desensitize women and rid them of any sexual pleasure altogether, in order to prevent them from engaging in masturbation or sexual intercourse in the future.[196] After finding that his earlier treatments did not entirely eradicate hysterical symptoms, Baker Brown devised his own procedure for hysterical and maniacal women, known as the clitoridectomy, to prevent any sexual feeling

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[190] E. Littré, *Oeuvres Complètes d'Hippocrate* (Paris: J. B. Baillière, 1853), VIII, pp. 466-71, quoted and trans. in Mary R. Lefkowitz, *Heroines and Hysterics* (London: Duckworth, 1981), pp. 14-15.

[191] Solomon, p. 105.

[192] Ibid., pp. 105-06.

[193] Rachel P. Maines, *The Technology of Orgasm* (Baltimore, MD and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1999), pp. 1-4; Alemarianus Petrus Forestus [Pieter van Foreest], *Observationem et Curationem Medicinalium ac Chirurgicarum Opera Omnia* (Rouen: Betherlin, 1653), III, bk. 28, reproduced in Maines, p. 1.

[194] The devices included the 'electromechanical vibrator, invented in the 1880s by a British physician', or the pelvic douche, as employed by French physicians in the 1860s. Maines, pp. 1, 4, 11.

[195] Maines, pp. 1-4; Forestus, reproduced in Maines, p. 1. For ideas on masturbatory insanity, see Acton, p. 104; Esquirol, *Mental Maladies*, pp. 51, 383, 342.

[196] See Andrew Scull, *Hysteria: The Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 78. Baker Brown suggested the 'continual application of the strongest caustics to the seat of the irritation', namely the clitoris or vagina. Isaac Baker Brown, *On the Curability of Certain Forms of Insanity, Epilepsy, Catalepsy, and Hysteria in Females* (London: Robert Hardwicke 192, 1866), p. 10.

and cure their illness.[197] The efficacy of such operations, however, was disputed and Baker Brown was consequently expelled from the Obstetrical Society, signalling the end of his career.[198] For once, women patients were defended by a minority of male doctors, but this did not prevent them from receiving oppressive treatments from other parties.

1.4: A 'Female Malady'?: The Gender Imbalance in Nineteenth-Century European Admission Statistics[199]

It is widely acknowledged amongst scholars that since at least the seventeenth century, there has been a gender imbalance in those suffering with mental illness: more women than men have been institutionalised and known to be suffering with mental illness.[200] Richard Napier's seventeenth-century case files, for instance, evidence that nearly twice as many women were found to be mentally ill, compared to the number of men. Out of his recorded cases of 'mental disorder', 1286 of the sufferers were women, while 748 were men.[201]

Analysis of nineteenth-century admission registers, such as those for Bethlem Hospital, London, reveal more about this gender imbalance. Early nineteenth-century lists of curable patients reveal a somewhat minor gender imbalance, but merely demonstrate that men were more classified as curable (itself a subjective classification), and were more eligible for discharge, than women: out of 355 legible entries on a list of curable patients present at Bethlem Hospital in 1802, 165 were women, while 190 were men.[202] The 1842 admissions register of Bethlem Hospital depicts a clearer picture: it indicates that between 7th January and 31st December 1842, 166 patients were admitted, out of which 107 were female (64 percent) and 55 were male (33 percent).[203] In contrast with the previous admissions

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[197] Baker Brown, pp. vi, 10. Baker Brown, pp. 21-31, detailed his first clitoridectomy in his text, explaining that he had treated and cured a melancholy dressmaker from Yorkshire. This then became his routine operation and was performed on single and married women of varying ages.

[198] J. B. Flemming, 'Clitoridectomy – The Disastrous Downfall of Isaac Baker Brown, F. R. C. S. (1867)', *BJOG: An International Journal of Obstetrics and Gynaecology*, 67/6 (1960), 1017-34.

[199] This title is based on Showalter's *The Female Malady* and Joan Busfield, 'The Female Malady? Men, Women and Madness in Nineteenth Century Britain', *Sociology,* 28/1 (1994), 259-77.

[200] This gender imbalance is seemingly demonstrated in admission registers of madhouses and lists of patients suffering with mental illness. See MacDonald, pp. 35-40; Elizabeth Howell and Marjorie Bayes, eds., *Women and Mental Health* (New York: Basic Books, 1981), p. xi; Showalter, *The Female Malady*; Busfield, pp. 259-77; Porter, *Mind Forg'd Manacles*, pp. 104-05, 163; Porter, *A Social History of Madness*, pp. 103-04, 118.

[201] Showalter, *The Female Malady*, p. 3; MacDonald, pp. 35-40.

[202] As there is no list of male patients for the year 1801, I have only included results from my analysis of the patient lists of 1802. 'List of curable patients', ARA - General admissions registers, London, Bethlem Museum of the Mind, Digital Archives, ARA-08 <http://archives.museumofthemind.org.uk/image_viewer.htm?ARA-08,8,1,S> [accessed 11th November 2021].

[203] 'Admission register', ARA - General admissions registers, London, Bethlem Museum of the Mind, Digital Archives, ARA-09 <http://archives.museumofthemind.org.uk/image_viewer.htm?ARA-09,73,1,L> [accessed 14th June 2019]. The gender of the remaining 4 is unknown due to neutral name or illegible writing.

register, more women were classified as curable: in the years 1841 and 1842, 86 males and 136 females were additionally admitted under the care of Scottish physician Sir Alexander Morison, most of whom were treated and cured within these two years.[204] Marital status seemingly did not affect admission and out of the total number of patients, 21 were found to be widowed, 79 married and 65 were single at time of admission.[205]

Nineteenth-century continental statistics reflected a similar gender imbalance to that of Britain, as more women were diagnosed as hysterical than men. The Salpêtrière Hospital in Paris had always been considered 'the largest hospice in France', overrun with paupers, incurables and madwomen.[206] Between 1841 and 1842, 648 women had been listed as 'official placements' at the Salpêtrière and Bicêtre hospitals, only seven of which were diagnosed as hysterical.[207] By the late nineteenth century, with the reign of Charcot, the number of those diagnosed with hysteria had increased significantly: between 1882 and 1883, 89 of the 500 women admitted had been diagnosed with hysteria.[208] During the same period, in comparison, none of the male admissions of the Bicêtre were diagnosed as hysterical, with only two diagnoses in 1883.[209]

When considering the apparent gender imbalance in 'use of service' statistics, however, other factors must be considered and acknowledged.[210] The high number of women accessing treatment could have been exacerbated in urban areas where many of them were employed.[211] The gender imbalance could have also been indirectly affected by women's increased susceptibility to regular illness (than men) and their increased willingness to seek medical guidance from a physician.[212] Although nineteenth-century admission statistics indicate a higher percentage of female patients and residents, they alone cannot singularly support the claim that madness was an entirely female malady, as there was little difference between the proportion of men and women patients (of which 'around 45 per cent' were

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[204] Ibid.
[205] Ibid. Marital status was not recorded for one patient.
[206] By the 1873, 4,383 people worked, or were confined at the Salpêtrière, 'including 580 employees, 87 "reposantes," 2,780 "administered women," 853 "demented women" and 103 children'. Georges Didi-Huberman, *Invention of Hysteria*, trans. by Alisa Hartz (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2003), p. 13; Jean Losserand, 'Epilepsie et hystérie: Contribution à l'histoire des maladies,' *Revue française de psychanalyse,* 43/5 (1978), 411-38 (p. 429), referenced in Ibid.
[207] Jan E. Goldstein, *Console and Classify: The French Psychiatric Profession in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 322.
[208] Ibid.
[209] Ibid.
[210] Porter instead argues that, until the mid-nineteenth century, the number of men in madhouses 'outstripped' the number of women, and therefore implies that the madhouse was not used as a patriarchal device 'to punish difficult women'. See Porter, *Mind Forg'd Manacles*, pp. 104-05, 163.
[211] MacDonald, p. 37.
[212] Ibid., pp. 38-39.

men).[213] However, due to the higher mortality rate for men, and the longer life expectancy of women, such institutions accumulated a high population of women.[214] In addition, such registers do not take into account the proportion of men and women in the general population, nor do they acknowledge discharges, or the length of time patients stayed.[215] Such data only reveals those who sought treatment or advice in or outside an institution, and thus does not consider those confined to the home or suffering in silence.[216]

1.5: The Visual Representation and Performative Nature of Madness in the Nineteenth Century

Leading up to the nineteenth century, the ugly and exposed image of madness did nothing to alter the increasingly curious and negative social attitudes towards mental illness. It was perfectly acceptable for the confined mad to be exhibited for the public to observe and enjoy in a grotesque, animalistic form: shackled and imprisoned.[217] During the Middle Ages, it became customary within Europe to put the insane on display for paying visitors: in Germany windows allowed the public to observe patients within their cells, and this subsequently became standard practice in both Paris and London madhouses.[218]

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, a visit to Bethlem Hospital, London, was considered an ordinary and acceptable pastime.[219] The public paid a low fee of around a penny to feed their fascination and observe the mad, usually scantily clad and unwashed.[220] Patients on display at both Bethlem and Salpêtrière hospitals were thought to exaggerate their madness for the paying guests, in order to get food, attention and establish 'a mocking rapport with the sane'.[221] Richard Newton's engraving *A Visit to Bedlam* (1794) depicts the mad as rude and obscene, acting up to the paying crowd, while the visitors' faces are portrayed as mirror images and equals of the madmen (see Image 1.1).[222]

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[213] The validity of Showalter's claims that madness is a female malady, and her focus on women specifically, has been critiqued, as well as her lack of empirical evidence to support her argument. See Busfield, p. 262. Busfield specifically references the Special Report of the Commissioners in Lunacy on the Alleged Increase in Insanity (1897), creating a table from the results, which lists the gender and population of patients in a number of British asylums in 1859, 1879 and 1896.

[214] See Ibid., p. 265 for more detail.

[215] Ibid.

[216] Ibid., pp. 259, 262, 268.

[217] Foucault, pp. 69, 73-78.

[218] Ibid., p. 68.

[219] 'Bedlam', *In Our Time*; Porter, *A Social History of Madness*, pp. 30-31, describes the public display of patients at the Charenton Hospital, Paris and Bethlem Hospital, until around 1770.

[220] 'Bedlam', *In Our Time*; Porter, *Mind Forg'd Manacles*, p. 37.

[221] Porter, *Mind Forg'd Manacles*, pp. 37-38.

[222] Sander L. Gilman, *Seeing the Insane* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), pp. 56-57.

Image 1.1: Richard Newton's engraving *A Visit to Bedlam* (1794).[223]

Image 1.2: An etching of André Brouillet's painting of Charcot giving a lecture with hysteric Blanche Wittman at the Salpêtrière (1877).[224]
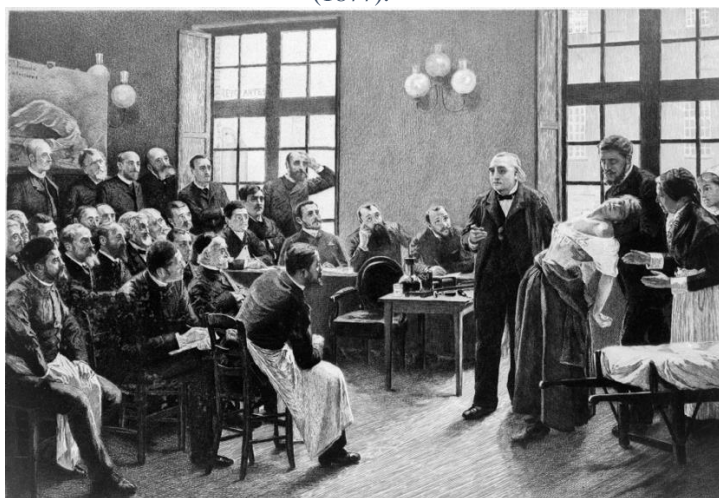
By 1877, the prominent theorist of hysteria Jean-Martin Charcot was presenting regular lectures to medical professionals at the Salpêtrière in Paris,[225] and entertaining 'séances' to a paying, well-healed public (see Image 1.2).[226] In his attempts to evidence the ideal representation of hysteria, however, Charcot predominantly showcased one gender of hysteria to the public: although he treated some hysterical men, most of Charcot's famous patients on display at his lectures, or in his works, were women.[227] The physical portrayal of madness thus remained consistent throughout Charcot's public lectures and his *Iconographie photographique de la Salpêtrière* (produced alongside Désiré Bourneville and Paul Regnard), with the hysterical women appearing in revealing medical gowns (see Image 1.3).[228]

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[223] Richard Newton, *A Visit to Bedlam*, 1794, hand-coloured etching, The British Museum <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_2001-0520-6> [accessed 17th April 2023]. Copyright for this image is owned by The Trustees of the British Museum and the image is released under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0) license <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/4.0/> [accessed 17th April 2023].

[224] André Brouillet, *Une leçon clinique à la Salpêtrière (A Clinical Lesson at the Salpêtrière)*, 1887, etching of original oil painting by A. Lurat, 24 x 34.8 cm, Wellcome Collection <www.wellcomecollection.org> [accessed 27th July 2022]. This image is released under the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International (CC by 4.0) license <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/> [accessed 17th April 2023]. See also Sander L. Gilman, 'The Image of the Hysteric', in *Hysteria Beyond Freud,* ed. by Sander L. Gilman, and others (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), pp. 345-436 (p. 345); Gilman, *Seeing the Insane*, p. 213.

[225] See Scull, *Hysteria,* p. 104; Didi-Huberman, pp. 3-4, 224-43; Elizabeth Bronfen, *The Knotted Subject: Hysteria and its Discontents* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998), p. 175; Gilman, 'The Image of the Hysteric', p. 345; Sander L. Gilman, *Seeing the Insane*, pp. 194-200.

[226] Scull, *Hysteria*, p. 113, Didi-Huberman, p. 235, and Romana Margherita Pugliese, 'The Origins of *Lucia di Lammermoor*'s Cadenza', *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 16/1 (2004), 23-42 (p. 36), also address the changing audience and popularity of Charcot's lectures.

[227] Scull, *Hysteria*, pp. 122-23, 125; Didi-Huberman, pp. 80, 85-87, 137-41.

[228] Jean-Martin Charcot, Désiré Bourneville and Paul Regnard, *Iconographie photographique de la Salpêtrière,* 3 vols (Paris: Progrès medical, 1878), II, in Wellcome Collection <www.wellcomecollection.org> [accessed 13th

Image 1.3: Augustine in Plate XXIII, 'Extase' from the *Iconographie photographique de la Salpêtrière*.[229]

Planche XXIII.

ATTITUDES PASSIONNELLES

EXTASE (1878).
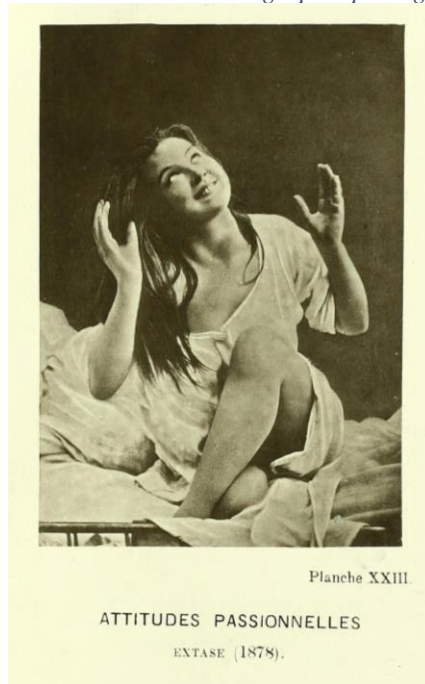
Hysterical patients such as Augustine (Louise Augustine Gleizes), and Marie 'Blanche' Wittman became celebrities when featured in the *Iconographie*, and for their convulsive performances in Charcot's lectures. Amongst the hysterical women who posed for Charcot, Augustine became the most photographed and featured in a total of twenty-two images (see Image 1.3).[230]

Engravings had initially sought to define and represent certain disorders, in order to teach other physicians and the reading public about madness. The trend of photographing the insane had emerged alongside that of forensic photography in the 1850s, with the first portraits captured at the Surrey County Asylum, before spreading to the rest of Europe.[231] For these photographs to take place, the hysterical women were expected to pose – mostly due to the slow imaging and longer exposure time of the camera – in order to produce an ideal image of their neuroses.[232] Between 1839, the year that photography was officially invented, and 1877, when Charcot produced the first volume of his *Iconographie*, significant improvements were made in the development of photography, and portrait photography in

September 2021]. Didi-Huberman, pp. xi, 75, 115-7, describes how the *Iconographie* contains hysterical 'poses, attacks, cries, "attitudes passionelles" […] and all the postures of delirium'. See also Scull, *Hysteria*, pp. 104-05.

[229] Charcot, Bourneville and Regnard, II, p. 163.

[230] Augustine featured prominently in volumes II and III. Asti Hustvedt, *Medical Muses: Hysteria in Nineteenth-Century Paris* (London: Bloomsbury, 2011), p. 145.

[231] Didi-Huberman, pp. 38-39, 50.

[232] Ibid., pp. 45, 65, 87-89, 107.

particular.[233] As a result, exposure times were substantially reduced: while the maximum amount of exposure time was around thirty minutes in 1839, by the 1850s it had reduced to as little as one second (dependant, of course, on the light conditions).[234]

In creating his works, Charcot had combined his interest of art and culture with medicine.[235] Charcot was a known reader of the works of William Shakespeare – so was familiar with his mad heroines Ophelia and Lady Macbeth – and often cited the playwright in his lectures.[236] He referenced Lady Macbeth's behaviour in describing somnambulism, and in describing the movements of hysteria quoted 'There is method in their madness', derived from Polonius's line in Act II, scene 2 of *Hamlet*.[237] Charcot was particularly invested in fine art, both as an admirer and as a skilled artist of portraits and caricatures.[238] He had conventional taste, favouring the works of Classical and ancient artists over emerging nineteenth-century realism.[239] In 1887, he published *Les Démoniaques dans l'art* with his assistant and artist Paul Richer, in which he compared the artistic representation of the ecstatic states in ancient sculptures of Christian martyrs to the poses adopted by his hysterical patients.[240] He did this in order to disprove the notion that hysteria was connected to demonic possession, and instead support its ancient origins and existence as a nervous disease in both men and women.[241] Although the principal difference between the compared images was his medicalisation of such states[242] – as also exhibited in his *Iconographie* – in manipulating such images, Charcot merely reinforced the stereotypes and connections which he questioned.[243] In doing so, the representation of hysteria and ecstatic states in fine art and in medicine fed into one another.

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[233] Michel Frizot, ed., *A New History of Photography* (Könemann, 1998), pp. 39-92; Jean Sagne, 'All Kinds of Portraits: The Photographer's Studio', in *A New History of Photography*, ed. by Frizot, pp. 103-29.
[234] Frizot, pp. 39-92.
[235] Didi-Huberman, p. 135.
[236] Charcot's interest in Shakespeare is also noted by Wechsler, p. 217; Didi-Huberman, p. 227. Christopher G. Goetz, 'Shakespeare in Charcot's Neurologic Teaching', *Arch Neurol*, 45/8 (1988), 920-21 (p. 920).
[237] Goetz, p. 920; William Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, II, 2, ed. by G. R. Hibbard (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 214.
[238] For more on Charcot's personal art work, see Julien Bogousslavsky and François Boller, 'Jean-Martin Charcot and Art: Relationship of the "Founder of Neurology" with Various Aspects of Art', *Progress in Brain Research*, 203 (2013), 185-99 <https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-444-62730-8.00007-4> [accessed 22nd October 2021]; Hélio A. G. Teive, and others, 'The Art of Charcot: An Outstanding Caricaturist', *European Neurology*, 84/1 (2021) 49-52 <https://doi.org/10.1159/000513677> [accessed 22nd October 2021]; Hustvedt, pp. 8-9.
[239] Bogousslavsky and Boller.
[240] Richer provided Charcot with engravings of nervous diseases. Jean-Martin Charcot and Paul Richer, *Les Démoniaques dans l'art* (Paris: Adrien Delahate and Émile Lecrosnier, 1887); Bogousslavsky and Boller.
[241] Charcot and Richer, p. v; Bogousslavsky and Boller, p. 198.
[242] Bogousslavsky and Boller, p. 198.
[243] Charcot, Bourneville and Regnard, II.

In reality, it would have been difficult for deranged and sane individuals alike to have stayed still and posed for a period of time, under the command of an engraver, photographer or physician.[244] From the mid-nineteenth century, photographic studios often had instruments such as head and body rests, to assist in creating the required, still poses for their portrait photography.[245] In hospital, while those genuinely ill individuals perhaps struggled to contain their own involuntary movements or expressions on having their photograph taken, some of Charcot's hysterical women obediently posed for the camera, their audience and physician.[246] To ensure the perfect image could be captured, the physicians and photographers staged patients in the photographic studio at the Salpêtrière, which included the latest in photographic technology, as well as lighting: 'beds, screens and backdrops in black, dark gray and light gray, headrests, [and] gallows'.[247]

This elaborate staging and theatricalization of clinical madness was equally taking place elsewhere. In creating the mid-nineteenth-century iconography of the female patients in Surrey Asylum, Dr Hugh Welch Diamond had also provided his patients with props and costume, such as 'Ophelia-like garlands'.[248] In his *Study of* Hamlet in 1863, clinician Dr John Connolly also commented that 'casual visitors [could] recognise in the wards an Ophelia; the same young years, the same faded beauty, the same fantastic dress and interrupted song'.[249] Notable neurologist and electrophysiologist Duchenne de Boulogne was similarly inspired by Shakespeare's madwomen and *Macbeth* in his work. In photographing patients for his analysis on the muscular movements and human facial expressions produced by *électro-physiologie* (an electric therapy) at the Salpêtrière in 1862, he placed electrodes on his patient's face to reproduce the imagined expressions and emotions of Lady Macbeth (in the scene after making sure Duncan and his guards were sound asleep), and narrated the images with direct, translated quotations from Shakespeare's text (see Image 1.4).[250]

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[244] While Didi-Huberman, p. 89, acknowledges the difficulty of asking a patient to stay still.
[245] Ibid., pp. 104-10.
[246] Ibid., pp. 169-70, makes this assertion.
[247] Ibid., p. 45. A similar description is given by Showalter, *The Female Malady*, pp. 149-50. Elaine Showalter, 'Representing Ophelia: Women, Madness, and the Responsibilities of Feminist Criticism', in *Shakespeare and the Question of Theory,* ed. by Patricia Parker and Geoffrey Hartman (London: Methuen and Co, 1985), pp. 77-94 (p. 86), states that 'Charcot was the first clinician to install a fully-equipped photographic atelier in his Paris hospital, La Salpêtrière'.
[248] Showalter, 'Representing Ophelia', p. 86.
[249] John Conolly, *Study of* Hamlet (London: 1863), pp. 177-78.
[250] Duchenne de Boulogne, *Mécanisme de la physionomie humaine,* 2 vols (Paris: Jules Renouard, 1862), I, pp. 169-75.

Conolly suggested that actresses preparing for mad stage roles, who hoped to portray more than a 'cold imitation', might not find it useful to observe real mental patients.[252] He went on:

> It seems to be supposed that it is an easy task to play the part of a crazy girl, and that it is chiefly composed of singing and prettiness. The habitual courtesy, the partial rudeness of mental disorder, the diminished consciousness of what is present and real, […] the sudden transitions, the broken recollections mingled with painful and with lighter fancies, the vague purpose […] are things to be witnessed and reflected upon, things to be imagined only by a few. Without such observation or such imaginative power, an actress must fail; her gestures, however graceful, will want true expression; her delivery of the words will have the fault of being too pointed and significant; and her singing, however finished and artistic, will want the affecting intonation of a lunatic's song.[253]

Conolly thus believed only in an authentic performance of madness.[254] And yet actresses such as Ellen Terry who dared to venture to the asylum to observe real madwomen in preparing for the role of Ophelia, found them too mad, '*too theatrical* to teach [her] anything.'[255] Terry recounts her experience in *The Story of My Life*:

> There was no beauty, no nature, no pity in most of the lunatics. […] Then, just as I was going away, I noticed a young girl gazing at the wall. I went between her and the wall to see her face. It was quite vacant, but the body expressed that she was waiting, waiting. […] She was very thin, very pathetic, very young.[256]

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[251] This is a cropped image from Fig. 9, in Boulogne, n.p.

[252] Conolly also believed that no nineteenth-century actress was able, or perhaps talented enough, to match their mad Shakespearean role (of Ophelia, or Lady Macbeth). Conolly, p. 178.

[253] Ibid., pp. 179-80.

[254] Conolly, pp. 180-81, cites the case of Mrs. Mountfort, 'an actress of derangement of mind, got away from her attendants one evening when *Hamlet* was the play performing, and went onto the stage as Ophelia […] and she exhibited, it is said, "a representation of it that astonished the performers as well as the audience"'.

[255] Ellen Terry, *The Story of My Life: Recollections and Reflections* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co, 1909), n. p. [Project Gutenberg EBook].

[256] Ibid.

From her observations, Terry came to the conclusion that as an actor, she 'must imagine first and observe afterwards'; that the initial idea of madness must be conceived, then developed and induced with realism following observation.[257]

Although, Charcot refuted claims that his hysterical performers exhibited fictitious behaviours,[258] he had acknowledged the potential simulation of hysteria amongst patients in the late 1870s:

> This leads me to say a word on simulation. [We] meet with it at every step in the history of hysteria, and [we sometimes find ourselves] admiring the amazing craft, sagacity, and perseverance which women, under the influence of those great neurosis, will put in play for the purposes of deception – especially when a physician is to be the victim. As to the case in point, however, it does not seem to me demonstrated that the erratic paruria of hysteria has ever been wholly simulated and, as it were, created by these patients. On the other hand, it is incontestable that in a multitude of cases, they have taken pleasure in distorting, by exaggerations, the principal circumstances of their disorder, in order to make them appear extraordinary and wonderful.[259]

In a clinical setting, the simulation or 'acting out' of hysterical symptoms – whether led by the physician or patient – became a means by which the real nature of the condition could be clarified. Yet, Charcot's hysterical protagonist Augustine has since been accused of acting, of creating her own horrifying but false illusions.[260] The defining evidence that these hysterical women were sometimes able to simulate, control and dramatize episodes of hysteria, however, is that they stopped: on a number of occasions, and in 1878 in particular, hysterical celebrity Geneviève Basile Legrand simply refused to be hysterical for Charcot.[261] Following Charcot's death in 1893, Blanche additionally ceased to display any delirious or convulsive hysterical symptoms.[262] Augustine instead managed to escape the Salpêtrière in 1880 after several attempts, disguised as a man.[263] If madness could itself be theatricalised and simulated in real life, it must thus be considered how this related to the portrayal of madness in culture, literature and on stage in the nineteenth century.

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[257] Ibid.
[258] Didi-Huberman, p. 29.
[259] I have corrected the English translation after consulting the original source. Charcot, *Lectures*, p. 230; Charcot, *Leçons sur les maladies du système nerveux*, p. 249.
[260] René Descartes, *Oeuvres et lettres* (Paris: Gallimard, 1953), p. 706, referenced in Didi-Huberman, p. 137.
[261] Geneviève's attacks could no longer be provoked: 'M. Charcot lui a adressé une vive réprimande. Elle en a été profondément mortifiée. Sous l'influence de cette vive émotion, la *rachialgie* a complètement disparu et on ne peut plus provoquer d'attaques'. Charcot, Bourneville and Regnard, II, p. 205. Hustvedt, pp. 297-98; and Didi-Huberman, p. 255, also note Geneviève's refusal. For more on Geneviève, see Husvedt, pp. 215-99.
[262] Hustvedt, p. 137.
[263] Augustine's multiple attempts of escape are detailed in Ibid., pp. 206-08.

Chapter 2
Scott's *The Bride of Lammermoor* (1819): Lucy's First Fit of Insanity

Before completing any textual or musical analysis of the Italian operatic adaptations of Scott's *The Bride of Lammermoor*, I will first acknowledge the wider context in which the novel was created. I aim to understand Scott's personal and professional circumstances prior to and at the time of writing his novel, and how they potentially shaped his work. Furthermore, it is important to understand the source of inspiration for Scott's novel, the legend of Janet Dalrymple, and demonstrate its influence on *The Bride of Lammermoor*. This chapter then aims to determine the extent to which the representation of female madness in Scott's *The Bride of Lammermoor* (1819) reflected popular notions and medical theories on madness from the early modern period and nineteenth century. I will principally analyse the representation of women, specifically Ailsie Gourlay, Lady Ashton and Lucy, in order to suggest how the former are represented as socially deviant and perpetrators of witchcraft, and the latter is idealised.[1] I will then consider the representation of Lucy's violence and madness, where I will compare Lucy's behaviour with literary and journalistic descriptions of violent women, principally from *The Times* newspaper, and medical descriptions of hysteria, melancholy and mania in works such as Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621), William Pargeter's *Observations on Maniacal Disorders* (1792), and James Cowles Prichard's *A Treatise on Insanity* (1835).[2] In conclusion, I will discuss the translation, dissemination and adaptation of Scott's novel in Europe (specifically Britain, France and Italy). In doing so, I will analyse the novel's principal theatrical adaptations and melodramas, including John William Calcraft's *The Bride of Lammermoor* (1823), Victor Ducange's *La fiancée de Lammermoor* (1828) and Ferdinando Livini's *La promessa sposa di Lammermoor* (1828), in light of their theatrical context and the conventions of melodrama.

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[1] My analysis of Scott's novel will be based on Fiona Robertson's edition, which itself is an edited version of Scott's Magnum Opus Edition (1830). The Magnum Opus Edition is a revised version of Scott's first edition (1819) and is set shortly after the Act of Union between Scotland and England. See Sir Walter Scott, *The Bride of Lammermoor*, ed. by Fiona Robertson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

[2] Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, 11th edn, 2 vols (London: Messrs, Vernor, Hood and Sharpe, 1806), I; William Pargeter, *Observations on Maniacal Disorders* (Reading: Smart and Cowslade, 1792); James Cowles Prichard, *A Treatise on Insanity, and Other Disorders Affecting the Mind* (London: Sherwood, Gilbert and Piper, 1835).

2.1: Sir Walter Scott's (1771-1832) Life and Illness while writing *The Bride of Lammermoor*

Although it is unclear precisely when Scott began writing *The Bride of Lammermoor*, it is understood that he commenced work on the novel between May and September 1818.[3] The release of the novel was postponed, having originally been intended for inclusion within the second series of *Tales of My Landlord,* along with *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, published under the pseudonym Jedediah Cleishbotham in June 1818.[4] Following resounding acclaim for his second series of *Tales of My Landlord*, Scott spent September 1818 preparing and writing the first chapters of *The Bride of Lammermoor*.[5]

While writing *The Bride of Lammermoor* towards the end of 1818, however, Scott became seriously ill as he experienced recurrent 'painful seizures of cramp', causing a decrease in his working pace and delays to his writing in the early months of 1819 – a year he spent mostly bedridden.[6] This was one of a series of illnesses that Scott had experienced throughout his life.[7] Scott's painful illness persisted for months, as he suffered with undiagnosed gallstones, and his clear discomfort during this time is evidenced in his letters to close friends and business associates (see Figure 2.1).[8]

Figure 2.1: Scott describes his illness in a letter to friend, D. Terry, Esq. on 18th April 1819.[9]

> I am able (though very weak) to answer your kind enquiries. I have thought of you often, and been on the point of writing or dictating a letter, but till very lately I could have had little to tell you of but distress and agony, with constant relapses into my unhappy malady, so that for weeks I seemed to lose rather than gain ground […] from five or six to ten hours of mortal pain every third day; latterly the fits have been much milder, and have at least given way to the hot bath without any use of opiates; an immense point gained, as they hurt my general health extremely. Conceive my having taken, in the course of six or seven hours, six grains of opium, three of hyoscyamus, near 200 drops of laudanum – and all without any sensible relief of the agony under which I laboured.

In another letter to Robert Shortreed, Esq. he complained of his fatigue when writing, even when simply writing a short letter, while to the Duke of Buccleuch, he emphasised the seriousness of his illness and stated that he was left 'roaring' loudly from the intensity of his

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[3] Jane Millgate, *Walter Scott: The Making of the Novelist* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1984), pp. 169-70; John Gibson Lockhart, *Memoirs of Sir Walter Scott*, 5 vols (London: Macmillan and co, 1900), III, pp. 179, 208-09, 214-15. See H. J. C. Grierson, ed., *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, 12 vols (London: Constable and Co, 1933), V.

[4] Lockhart, III, p. 179; Fiona Robertson, ed., 'Brief Biography of Sir Walter Scott', in *The Edinburgh Companion to Sir Walter Scott* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), ix-x (p. ix); David Hewitt, 'Scott, Sir Walter (1771–1832), poet and novelist', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <https://www.oxforddnb.com> [accessed 3rd June 2020].

[5] Millgate, pp. 169-70; Lockhart, III, pp. 208-09, 214-15.

[6] Lockhart, III, p. 248. See Grierson, V, pp. 300, 316-19.

[7] In 1773, Scott contracted polio, which left him disabled and lame in his right leg. Scott also withdrew from Edinburgh University in 1786 due to ill health. Hewitt, 'Scott, Sir Walter (1771–1832)'; A.N. Wilson, *A Life of Walter Scott: The Laird of Abbotsford* (London: Pimlico, 2002), pp. xi-xii.

[8] John Sutherland, *The Life of Walter Scott: A Critical Biography* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), p. 220; Lockhart, III, pp. 266-97; Grierson, V, pp. 300, 316-19, 329.

[9] Lockhart, III, p. 276.

pain.[10] Scott was in agony, and experiencing occasional delirium, due to his stomach cramps and the side effects of his opiate treatments: he appeared weak, and close to death to his immediate friends and family.[11] His pain and consequently drugged state meant that he dictated most of *The Bride of Lammermoor* to friends and colleagues, such as John Ballantyne, his publisher, and William Laidlaw.[12] Scott generally dictated each sentence in one breath, despite occasionally turning to expel 'a groan of torment' into his pillow; however, when dictating animated dialogue, 'he arose from his couch and walked up and down the room, raising and lowering his voice […] acting the parts'.[13]

Although his seizures became calmer, Scott suffered several more bouts of his malady over the course of 1819, from May until late December,[14] yet finished and sent his final version of *The Bride of Lammermoor* to John Ballantyne between May and June 1819.[15] The novel was finally published under the pseudonym of Jedediah Cleishbotham, following common practices of the time, on 10th June 1819 as part of the third series of *Tales of My Landlord*.[16]

2.2: Janet Dalrymple: The Original *Bride of Lammermoor*

Scott's *The Bride of Lammermoor* is widely acknowledged to be based on the legend of Janet Dalrymple.[17] After first being told the story as a child, Scott enjoyed repeating it to friends and family as an adult.[18] Due to wide interest in the tale, its popularity and oral repetition as it was passed down through generations, it was inevitably adapted, with a number of versions being notated by different authors.[19] As a result, four different published versions exist of the

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[10] Ibid., pp. 266-67, 276.

[11] Millgate, p. 170.

[12] Sutherland, pp. 220-21; Lockhart, III, pp. 279-80; Grierson, V, p. 341. Millgate, p. 170, instead argues that the incomplete manuscript of the novel, held in the Signet Library, lends little support to the idea that Scott mostly dictated the novel to others.

[13] Lockhart, III, p. 280.

[14] Ibid. pp. 289-93, 297; Grierson, V, pp. 395-97, 399.

[15] Grierson, V, p. 392; Millgate, p. 169.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Scott himself acknowledged the source in his 1830 Introduction. Scott, pp. 1-11. See also Mrs Hughes [Mary Ann Watts], *Letters and Recollections of Sir Walter Scott*, ed. by Horace G. Hutchinson (London: Smith, Elder and co, 1904), pp. 279-80; Douglas M. Bennett, 'The "Real" *Lucia di Lammermoor* & the "Fake" Walter Scott', *History Scotland*, 9/1 (2009), 30-34 (p. 30).

[18] He was told the story by his mother, his great-aunt Margaret Swinton, Mrs Anne Murray Keith and William Clerk. See Coleman O. Parsons, 'The Dalrymple Legend in *The Bride of Lammermoor*', *The Review of English Studies*, 19/73 (1943), 51-58 (pp. 51-53); Hughes, pp. 279-80; 'The Bride of Lammermoor (Tales Of My Landlord)', *The Walter Scott Digital Archive* <http://www.walterscott.lib.ed.ac.uk/works/novels/lammermoor.html> [accessed 5th October 2021].

[19] Parsons, pp. 51-53; *The Walter Scott Digital Archive*. Robert Law, *Memorialls, or The Memorable Things* (Edinburgh: Printed for Archibald Constable, 1819), pp. 225-27, and William Hamilton, 'Satyre on the Familie of Stairs', in *A Book of Scottish Pasquills, &c.* (Edinburgh: [n. pub.], 1827), pp. 43-55, are clear adaptations of

original legend, with little record remaining of the actual historic details.[20] On reviewing these versions and other historical materials, however, a descriptive timeline of the 'legendary' events and how they unfolded, can be established. I intend to now acknowledge and determine how the original tale (along with the four published versions) influenced Scott in writing *The Bride of Lammermoor*.

The events took place in 1669: Janet Dalrymple was the daughter of James Dalrymple, the first Viscount of Stair (1619-1695), and was allegedly secretly engaged to Lord Rutherford.[21] Following their engagement, however, Lady Stair (Janet's mother) insisted Janet marry David Dunbar, Rutherford's nephew, and 'heir of David Dunbar of Baldoon, in Wigtonshire'.[22] The pressure from her parents to accept the proposal, forced Janet to reveal that she was engaged to Rutherford, and Rutherford was ultimately rejected by her parents as a socially and economically unsuitable suitor.[23] Lady Stair condemned the romance, and interfered with letters between the pair, insisting that Janet renounce her engagement to Rutherford.[24] Rutherford in turn refused to accept Lady Stair's responses, insisting that he wished to only hear from Janet directly. In the face of her mother's exhortations, Janet remained 'mute, pale and motionless as a statue', eventually returning the broken piece of gold – given to her by Rutherford as a token of their union – when prompted by her mother.[25]

Janet Dalrymple and David Dunbar married on 12th August 1669: the bride remained quiet, melancholy and impassive towards Lady Stair throughout the ceremony.[26] Following the bridal feast, while the newlyweds were locked in the bridal chamber (as dictated by tradition), the wedding guests heard a piercing cry, causing them to seek out the origin:

> [o]n opening the door a ghastly scene presented itself, for the bridegroom was discovered lying on the floor, dreadfully wounded, and streaming with blood. The bride was seen sitting in the corner of the large chimney, dabbled in gore –

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the legend, and could have influenced Scott. Another tale influenced by the legend is *Historical Tragedy, of Young Beateman's Ghost, or The Perjured Maid, Justly Rewarded* (Edinburgh: Printed according to order, 1778).

[20] Parsons, pp. 51-52. Parsons's article is central to this discussion, as little literature covers the origin of Scott's novel and the legend of Janet Dalrymple. Those involved refused to speak of the events that occurred, which caused speculation, and led to enquiries from others about the true details.

[21] *The Walter Scott Digital Archive*; T. F. Thiselton Dyer, *Strange Pages from Family Papers* (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Company, 1895), p. 69; Parsons, p. 52.

[22] Parsons, p. 52; Thiselton Dyer, pp. 69-70; Scott, p. 2.

[23] Thiselton Dyer, p. 69; *The Walter Scott Digital Archive*; Parsons, p. 52.

[24] Thiselton Dyer, p. 70.

[25] Ibid.; Scott, p. 3.

[26] Parsons, p. 51; Thiselton Dyer, p. 71.

> grinning – in short, absolutely insane, and the only words she uttered were;
> '[Tak'] up your bonny bridegroom'.[27]

After her fit of insanity, Janet was transported from her familial home to her bridal home on 24th August, and remained silent following the incident, dying on 12th September.[28] David Dunbar miraculously recovered and survived, but refused to disclose the events of that evening, which had left him wounded. He later died on 28th March 1682 after a riding accident.[29]

In writing *The Bride of Lammermoor*, Scott closely followed the Dalrymple legend, and was mainly influenced by an 'eclectic version' initially conceived in the eighteenth century, which was based on the second and fourth published versions of the legend.[30] In doing so, he maintained an emphasis on the role of Lady Stair, in order to create the character Lady Ashton.[31] While both versions exhibit a similar series of events to that presented above, the fourth version also focusses on the breaking of a piece of gold by Janet and Rutherford as they promise their devotion to one another: Janet swore that, if she were to break her solemn vow, the devil was allowed to possess her body, provoking her attack on her bridegroom.[32] Scott thus repositioned the events of the legend from 1669 to the early 1700s, and from West to East Scotland, transferring Janet's violent madness to his heroine, Lucy Ashton.[33]

2.3: Representations of Women, Madness and Violence in Scott's *The Bride of Lammermoor*

On first reading Scott's *The Bride of Lammermoor*, it becomes obvious that each of the principal female characters (Ailsie Gourlay, Lady Ashton and Lucy Ashton), could be interpreted as mad or socially deviant in their behaviour, according to eighteenth and nineteenth-century social ideals. This becomes more intriguing considering that Scott's novels were intentionally written for a mostly female readership, having been originally

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[27] Thiselton Dyer, pp. 71-72. See also Scott, p. 4; Parsons, p. 52; *The Walter Scott Digital Archive*.
[28] It is speculated that she did not speak again before her death. Parsons, pp. 51-52; Bennett, p. 30.
[29] Scott, pp. 4-5; Parsons, p. 52; Thiselton Dyer, p. 72.
[30] Scott thus ignored the first and third published versions: he was unaware of the third version until after the novel was published. The first alternatively portrays Dunbar as the violent villain, in a fit of madness stabbing his bride, while the second exhibits a similar series of events to that presented above. A third version detailed in a letter written on 5th September 1823 by Sir Robert Dalrymple Horn Elphinstone to Sir James Stewart of Coltness (descendants of Janet's father, James Dalrymple), instead portrays Rutherford as the assailant: Rutherford secretly entered the bridal chamber during the celebrations, attacking his rival, and escaping into the garden. Copy of the letter in the Constable Papers, MS, 683, ff. 455-7, National Library of Scotland, referenced in Parsons, p. 52. For detail on all versions, see Parsons, pp. 51-53; Thiselton Dyer, p. 69.
[31] Parsons, p. 56
[32] Thiselton Dyer, p. 69; Parsons, p. 53.
[33] *The Walter Scott Digital Archive*.

criticised for feminising the Romantic literary genre.[34] Although the characterisation of the powerful and authoritative Lady Ashton is more representative of 'modern femininity', the novel still reflects the inequalities of patriarchal society experienced by the intended domestic female readership.[35]

By contrast, Lucy is first idealised, as Scott initially represents Lucy as embodying feminine virtues of the time, showing her to be delicate and obedient. Over the course of the novel, however, Scott portrays Lucy as increasingly resistant to her parents' expectations and feminine ideals. At the same time, her own mental wellbeing begins to decline, leading her to become melancholy and requiring medical treatment. This causes her state to degenerate into madness, and her behaviour becomes comparable to that described in pertinent medical theories on insanity, mania and hysteria. Her degradation culminates in a violent act, as she assaults her new husband Bucklaw but ultimately avoids punishment and is forgiven by the provincial judge in her convulsive death.

Representation of Women
Ailsie Gourlay

Ailsie Gourlay is a healer whose assistance is enlisted by Lady Ashton as Lucy becomes increasingly melancholy and mentally fragile.[36] The summoning of treatment for Lucy in Chapter 31 is reminiscent of the attendance of medical assistance in Act V, scene 1 of Shakespeare's *Macbeth*: as Lady Macbeth is discovered sleepwalking, a Doctor of Physic is employed to treat her apparent illness.[37] On observing Lady Macbeth, however, the Doctor does not prescribe any specific treatments, instead stating that her 'disease is beyond [his] practice'.[38] Instead of a physician, Scott first employs 'Wise Woman' Ailsie Gourlay,[39] who remains comparable to the so-called 'cunning or wise women' of early modern Europe, due

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[34] Miriam Elizabeth Burstein, *Narrating Women's History in Britain, 1770-1902* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2004), p. 78; Ina Ferris, *The Achievement of Literary Authority: Gender, History, and the Waverly Novels* (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 1991), referenced in Ibid., pp. 78-79.

[35] Burstein, p. 96.

[36] Scott, pp. 310-11, begins Chapter 31 with a quotation from *Fairy Queen*, implying Gourlay is a witch.

[37] William Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, V. 1, ed. by Nicholas Brooke (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 193-96.

[38] Ibid., pp. 193-96. This is also observed by Paul H. Kocher, 'Lady Macbeth and the Doctor', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 5/4 (1954), 341-49. In *Macbeth*, V. 1., The Doctor then recommends that the assistance of a member of the clergy should be summoned. This also occurs in *The Bride of Lammermoor*, as the assistance of Reverend Mr Bide-the-Bent is required to treat Lucy. See Scott, pp. 314-15.

[39] Physicians are, however, employed to care for Lucy Ashton following her confrontation with Ravenswood and following her fit of insanity (Chapters 33 and 34). Scott, pp. 321-30, 338-39.

to their association with herbal medicines, natural cures and their caregiving role.[40] In a period of active (yet diminishing) witch prosecution,[41] the character of Ailsie Gourlay is normalised within the early eighteenth-century context, just as many people in contemporary society had accepted the presence of healers, regarding them as protectors against illness and disease.[42]

Scott's descriptions and inclusion of Gourlay also conform to former literary tropes, as cunning characters and witches featured heavily in plays and novels in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[43] Scotland, the setting for both Scott's novel and Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, was regarded as 'an important place for witchcraft' in the early modern period.[44] Scott further perpetuated this idea in his work *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft* (1830), and in the introduction of witches in his own novels.[45] In addition to Ailsie Gourlay, Scott describes instances of the 'three village hags' meeting together, reminiscent of the three witches' coven in *Macbeth*.[46] The spiteful presence and gathering of the three village hags at Lucy's funeral in Chapter 35, on 'the misty dawn of an autumnal morning', particularly recalls the witches appearances in Act I, scenes 1 and 3 in *Macbeth*.[47]

The language used by Scott to describe the witches – notably that they 'had snuffed the carrion like vultures' and 'engaged in their wonted unhallowed conference' – conjures an ugly, maleficent image, as was common in the cultural representation of witchcraft.[48] Scott, however, quickly balanced his own description of Gourlay's ugliness by describing her display of kindness and attentive behaviour towards Lucy, to which she was 'little

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[40] Diane Purkiss, 'Witchcraft in Early Modern Literature', in *The Oxford Handbook of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe and Colonial America*, ed. by Brian P. Levack (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 122-40 (p. 135), notes that, cunning and wise women were 'associated with old wives' remedies and herbal lore, matchmaking, love potions, fortune-telling, midwifery, and natural cures for various ailments.'

[41] The prosecution of witchcraft gradually declined in Europe over the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Although rare, witchcraft prosecution still occurred in Britain well into at least the eighteenth century (despite the British statute of 1736, which repealed the laws of witchcraft). In Italy, prosecutions declined following the establishment of new guidelines for the prosecution of witchcraft in the 1620s. See Brian P. Levack, ed., 'The Decline and End of Witchcraft Prosecutions', in *The Oxford Handbook of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe and Colonial America*, pp. 429-46.

[42] Alison Rowlands, 'Witchcraft and Gender in Early Modern Europe', *The Oxford Handbook of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe and Colonial America*, ed. by Levack, pp. 449-67 (p. 452).

[43] Purkiss, p. 135; Julian Goodare, 'Witchcraft in Scotland', in *The Oxford Handbook of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe and Colonial America*, ed. by Levack, pp. 300-17 (p. 300).

[44] Goodare, p. 300.

[45] Ibid.

[46] The Witches are described as the Weïrd Sisters in Shakespeare, *Macbeth*.

[47] Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, I. 1, p. 95; Ibid., I. 3, pp. 100-04; Scott, p. 341. The hags also attend and unite at the wedding of Bucklaw and Lucy Ashton. See Scott, pp. 332-35.

[48] Alan Macfarlane, *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England: A Regional and Comparative Study*, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 1999), p. 158, writes that 'Literary accounts of witches written in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries often stress the suspect's ugliness'.

accustomed' (in Chapter 31).[49] Yet this kind image is quickly dispelled, as her malicious

intent is revealed in her actions: she leads Lucy to believe a false truth and increasingly

causes her health to decline (Figure 2.2).[50]

Figure 2.2: Description of Ailsie and her 'treatment' of Lucy Ashton in Chapter 31. [51]

> Dame Gourlay's tales were at first of a mild and interesting character […] Gradually, however, they assumed a darker and more mysterious character, and became such as, told by the midnight lamp, and enforced by the tremulous tone […] the uplifted skinny fore-finger, and the shaking head of the blue-eyed hag […] Lucy might have despised these tales […] But circumstanced as she was, the idea than an evil fate hung over her attachment, became predominant over her other feelings; and the gloom of superstition darkened a mind, already sufficiently weakened by sorrow, distress, uncertainty, and an oppressive sense of desertion and desolation. […] Dame Gourlay […] directed Lucy's thoughts to the means of enquiring into futurity […] and destroying the spirits. Omens were expounded, dreams were interpreted, and other tricks of jugglery perhaps resorted to, by which the pretended adepts of the period deceived and fascinated their deluded followers. I find it mentioned in the articles of dittay Ailsie Gourlay, – (for it is some comfort to know that the old hag was tried, condemned, and burned […] by sentence of a commission from the Privy Council,) – […] it was charged against her, […] that she had, by the aid and delusions of Satan, shown to a young person of quality, in a mirror glass, a gentleman then abroad, to whom the said young person was betrothed, and who appeared in the vision to be in the act of bestowing his hand upon another lady. […] Meanwhile, this mysterious visionary traffic had its usual effect, in unsettling Miss Ashton's mind. Her temper became unequal, her health decayed daily, her manners grew moping, melancholy, and uncertain. Her father, guessing partly at the cause of these appearances […] made a point of banishing Dame Gourlay from the castle; but the arrow was shot, and was rankling barb-deep in the side of the wounded deer.

Ailsie Gourlay has cursed Lucy – an 'arrow was shot'– which eventually leads to her loss of

reason, as described in Kramer and Sprenger's criteria of witchcraft, *Malleus Maleficarum* (c.

1486):

> with regard to the first class of injuries with which [witches] afflict the human race, it is to be noted that, apart from the methods by which they injure other creatures, they have six ways of injuring humanity. And one is, to induce an evil love in a man for a woman, or in a woman for a man. The second is to plant hatred or jealousy in anyone. The third is to bewitch them so that a man cannot perform the genital act with a woman, or conversely a woman with a man; or by various means to procure an abortion, as has been said before. The fourth is to cause some disease in any of the human organs. The fifth, to take away life. The sixth, to deprive them of reason.[52]

As was the case in Scotland between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, the witch

Gourlay is eventually tried and burnt by the Privy Council (see Figure 2.2).[53] Scott's

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[49] Scott, p. 312.

[50] Ibid., pp. 312-13.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Heinrich Kramer and Jacob Sprenger, *The Malleus Maleficarum*, trans. by Montague Summers (New York: Dover Publications, 1971), p. 115.

[53] See Julian Goodare and Joyce Miller, 'Introduction', in *Witchcraft and Belief in Early Modern Scotland*, ed. by Julian Goodare, Lauren Martin and Joyce Miller (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp. 1-25 (p. 1). In Scotland alone, 3,837 people were accused of witchcraft. Lauren Martin and Joyce Miller, 'Some Findings from the Survey of Scottish Witchcraft', in *Witchcraft and Belief in Early Modern Scotland,* ed. by Goodare, Martin and Miller*,* pp. 51-70 (p. 56). The peak of accusations in Scotland was in 1662, where 331 women,

inclusion of women witches in *The Bride of Lammermoor* reinforces and perpetuates the archetypal portrayal of witchcraft (as middle-aged, or old, single or widowed women).[54] Yet the majority of suspects of witchcraft in early modern Europe and Scotland in particular were married women,[55] and most of their victims young adults, as in Scott's novel.[56]

Lady Eleanor Ashton

The behaviour and actions of Lady Eleanor Ashton prove her to be a controlling, difficult and tempestuous woman (as shown in Figure 2.3).

Figure 2.3: Scott's description of Lady Ashton's audacious temper in Chapter 22.[57]

> So soon as the spouses had both entered, her ladyship gave way to that fierce audacity of temper, which she had with difficulty suppressed, out of respect to appearances. She shut the door behind the alarmed Lord Keeper, took the key out of the spring-lock, and with a countenance which years had not bereft of its haughty charms, and eyes which spoke at once resolution and resentment, she addressed her astounded husband in these words: – 'My lord, I am not greatly surprised at the connexions you have been pleased to form during my absence – they are entirely in conformity with your birth and breeding; and if I did expect any thing else, I heartily own my error, and that I merit, by having done so, the disappointment you had prepared for me.'

Lady Ashton chooses to 'conceal' rather than 'moderate' her anger and frustration with her husband here; by confronting him in private and physically shutting the door behind him, she is careful to monitor and preserve her external, public appearance.[58] This is reminiscent of Lady Macbeth's overbearing presence in her confrontation with Macbeth in Act I, scene 7 of *Macbeth*: having advised her husband to assassinate Duncan in a previous scene,[59] Lady Macbeth forcefully rejects her husband's reasons for breaking their agreement and questions his masculinity.[60] She then successfully manipulates him as the pair again agree and plot to murder Duncan.[61]

Lady Ashton's sudden hostility towards her own husband is also akin to that described of witchcraft in *The Malleus Maleficarum*:

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compared to 63 men, were accused of witchcraft. In the Haddington area of Scotland, the location of the Lammermuir hills, the peak of accusations occurred in 1649, where 86 women and 15 men were accused of witchcraft. See Julian Goodare, and others, University of Edinburgh, *The Survey of Scottish Witchcraft*, <http://witches.shca.ed.ac.uk/index.cfm?fuseaction=home.main> [accessed 21st February 2022].

[54] Martin and Miller, p. 59; Kramer and Sprenger; Rowlands, pp. 449-50, 460, 464.

[55] Yet 78 percent of witchcraft suspects from 'elsewhere in Europe' were married. Martin and Miller, p. 60.

[56] Macfarlane, *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England,* p. 162. In Scotland, 85 percent of all people accused of witchcraft were women. Out of a total of 166 witchcraft suspects (where age was known), 41 percent (68 suspects) were between the ages of 41 and 50, and 22 percent (36 suspects) were between the ages of 31 and 40, and a total of 81 percent were under 51. Martin and Miller, pp. 59-60.

[57] Scott, p. 237.

[58] See Burstein, p. 83, for more on the social etiquette of such women.

[59] In Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, I. 5, pp. 112-14, Lady Macbeth advises Macbeth to kill Duncan so that he may become King.

[60] Ibid., I. 7. 28-83, pp. 119-21.

[61] Ibid.

the evil may come so suddenly upon a man that it can only be ascribed to witchcraft. An example of how this happened to one man has been made known to us. A certain well-born citizen of Spires had a wife who was always plaguing him with abusive taunts. It happened that, on going into his house one day, and his wife railing against him as usual with opprobrious words, he wished to go out of the house to escape from quarrelling. But she quickly ran before him and locked the door by which he wished to go out; and loudly swore that, unless he beat her, there was no honesty or faithfulness in him.[62]

The later comment that 'her husband dares not contradict her' from the more minor character the Marquis of A—— (a kinsman and patron to Ravenswood) echoes the above sentiment and likens Lady Ashton's behaviour to that of a witch, despite their contrasting public and private outbursts.[63] Scott reinforces this characterisation of Lady Ashton towards the end of the novel by poignantly confirming her associations with witchcraft: in Chapter 34, the witch Ailsie Gourlay observes Lady Ashton from afar, commenting that her behaviour is more devilish than other Scottish witches.[64]

In portraying animosity between Lady and William Ashton in Chapter 22, Scott further evidences how Lady Ashton's behaviour directly subverts feminine ideals of the nineteenth century. Women were idealised as virtuous, submissive and devoted to pleasing their husbands;[65] a wife was expected to demonstrate her love and loyalty to her husband by ensuring that she remained the 'most agreeable companion'.[66] It was seen as a wife's duty to 'regulate her own Temper towards her husband', and ensure that she remain calm and sensible at all times.[67] The pair also do not display the ideal wedded bliss promoted within eighteenth-century society, where marriage was legally and religiously considered to 'promote the private happiness of individuals, and the most essential interests of civil society'.[68] Lady Ashton's domineering presence would have been perceived as unusual in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as women who were hostile or controlling of their husbands were considered to reverse the natural order.[69]

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[62] Kramer and Sprenger, p. 87.

[63] Scott, p. 291. Dianne Purkiss, *The Witch in History: Early Modern and Twentieth-Century Representations* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), p. 10, suggests that to a modern reader, the witch mirrors the image of 'feminism itself'.

[64] Scott, p. 334.

[65] See Coventry Patmore, *The Angel in the House, Book 1, The Betrothal* (London: John W. Parker and Son, 1854); Coventry Patmore *The Angel in the House, Book 2, The Espousals* (London: John W. Parker and Son, 1856).

[66] *The Handbook of Etiquette* (London: Cassell, Peter and Galpin, 1860), pp. 61-2. See also Anne Taylor, *Practical Hints to Young Females on the Duties of a Wife and a Mistress of a Family*, 9th edn (London: Taylor and Hessey, 1818), pp. 130-44; *Essays to Young Married Women* (London: T. Cadell, 1782)*,* pp. 43-44.

[67] *Essays to Young Married Women,* pp. 43-44.

[68] *The Laws Respecting Women, in Four Books* (London: Printed for J. Johnson, 1777), I, p. 23.

[69] Michael MacDonald, *Mystical Bedlam* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 99, 105.

Scott portrays Lady Ashton as equally overbearing with her daughter, and distinctly contrasts the pair of women: Lady Ashton is authoritative and outspoken, while Lucy is submissive and voiceless (Figure 2.4).

Figure 2.4: Lady Ashton's feelings towards Lucy (Chapter 3). [70]

Her mother alone did not feel that distinguished and predominating affection, with which the rest of the family cherished Lucy. She regarded what she termed her daughter's want of spirit, as a decided mark, that the more plebeian blood of her father predominated in Lucy's veins, and used to call her in derision her Lammermoor Shepherdess. To dislike so gentle and inoffensive a being was impossible; but Lady Ashton preferred her eldest son, on whom had descended a large portion of her own ambitious and undaunted disposition, to a daughter whose softness of temper seemed allied to feebleness of mind.

Although Lady Ashton finds an appropriate match for her daughter, and employs medical help to tend to Lucy, when necessary, she does not support her wishes (Figure 2.4).[71] Lady Ashton's deceit and manipulation of Lucy are evidenced in the contrasting depictions of her public and private behaviour, as in the meeting with Bucklaw to discuss future nuptials to Lucy (Figure 2.5).

Figure 2.5: Lucy and Lady Ashton's meeting with Bucklaw in Chapter 29.[72]

Lady Ashton, followed by her daughter, entered the apartment. She appeared, as he had seen her on former occasions, rather composed than agitated; but a nicer judge than he could scarce have determined, whether her calmness was that of despair, or of indifference. […] 'You need not blush, my love, and still less need you look so pale and frightened,' said Lady Ashton, coming forward; 'we know that maiden's ears must be slow in receiving a gentleman's language; but you must remember Mr Halton speaks on a subject on which you have long since agreed to give him a favourable hearing. You know how much your father and I have our hearts set upon an event so extremely desirable.'
   In Lady Ashton's voice, a tone of impressive, and even stern innuendo was sedulously and skilfully concealed, under an appearance of the most affectionate maternal tenderness. The manner was for Bucklaw, who was easily enough imposed upon; the matter of the exhortation was for the terrified Lucy, who well knew how to interpret her mother's hints […] 'My dear Bucklaw,' said Lady Ashton, 'let me spare Lucy's bashfulness. I tell you, in her presence, that she has already consented to be guided by her father and me in this manner. – Lucy, my love,' she added, with that singular combination of suavity of tone and pointed energy which we have already noticed – 'Lucy, my dearest love! Speak for yourself, is it not as I say?'

Thus, Lady Ashton attempts to maintain a maternal image in complete contradiction to her earlier hostility. She ironically orders Lucy to 'speak for herself', after intimidating and silencing her previously (Figure 2.5). By opening the wedding reception and ball, and dancing with Bucklaw on Lucy's behalf in Chapter 34, Scott provides one final display of Lady Ashton's unusual dominance and control over her daughter, before Lucy degenerates into madness.[73]

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[70] Scott, p. 41.
[71] In eighteenth-century Britain, parents were responsible for morally educating their children and ensuring they were supported in life. *The Laws Respecting Women*, p. 350.
[72] Scott, pp. 297-98.
[73] Ibid., p. 336.

Women were commonly represented as housing a propensity for evil or insanity in nineteenth-century fiction and medical literature, creating paradoxical representations of woman as beauty and beast.[74] The evil, envious queen and the beautiful Snow White in the German fairy tale *Snow White* (published as *Sneewittchen* in 1812) provide a familiar example.[75] Charlotte Brontë's 1847 novel *Jane Eyre* contained similar images of the embodiment of femininity: Jane Eyre, and the madwoman in the attic, Bertha Mason.[76] In the case of *The Bride of Lammermoor,* the juxtaposed images could be represented by Lucy, the beautiful, silent and submissive young woman, and her menacing, envious and controlling mother Lady Ashton. This outlook supports the idea that Lady Ashton herself is represented as mad or as a witch for not conforming to feminine ideals, and equally suggests that Lucy's madness could in fact be hereditary, a popular belief amongst clinicians.[77] The juxtaposing images of Lucy, earlier as beautiful and feminine and later as insane and animalistic, also fulfil this paradoxical portrayal of women.

Lucy Ashton

From her first entrance in Chapter 3, Scott idealises Lucy, portraying her as reserved in character and typically feminine (Figure 2.6).

Figure 2.6: Scott's idealisation of Lucy's features in Chapter 3.[78]

Lucy Ashton's exquisitely beautiful, yet somewhat girlish features, were formed to express peace of mind, serenity, and indifference to the tinsel of worldly pleasure. Her locks, which were of shadowy gold, divided on a brow of exquisite whiteness, like a gleam of broken and pallid sunshine upon a hill of snow. The expression of the countenance was in the last degree gentle, soft, timid, and feminine, and seemed rather to shrink from the most casual look of a stranger, than to court his admiration. Something there was of a Madonna cast, perhaps the result of delicate health, and of residence in a family, where the dispositions of the inmates were fiercer, more active, and energetic, than her own. […] Yet her passiveness of disposition was by no means owing to an indifferent or unfeeling mind. […] Lucy willingly received the ruling impulse from those around her. The alternative was, in general, too indifferent to her to render resistance desirable

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[74] Jane Ussher, *Women's Madness: Misogyny or Mental Illness?* (Hertfordshire: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991), p. 85.

[75] Snow White was originally published in German as 'Sneewittchen', the fifty-third tale in *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* by Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm in 1812 and translated into English in 1823. See Ussher, p. 85; Jacob Grimm and Wilhelm Grimm, 'Sneewittchen', in *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (Berlin: Realschulbuchhandlung, 1812), pp. 238-50 <http://www.deutschestextarchiv.de/grimm_maerchen01_1812> [accessed 4th Feb 2020]; Jacob Grimm and Wilhelm Grimm, 'Snow-drop', in *German Popular Stories*, trans. by Edgar Taylor from *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (London: C. Baldwyn, 1823), pp. 128-30.

[76] Bertha Mason inspired the seminal study by Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar, *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination*, Veritas paperback edition, with introduction by Lisa Appignanesi (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2020).

[77] Pargeter, p. 37.

[78] Ibid., p. 39.

Here and throughout the novel, Scott's romantic language portrays Lucy as the epitome of femininity – both in terms of appearance and behaviour – emphasising her delicate nature, 'submissive gentleness' and her 'exquisite feminine beauty'.[79] By portraying Lucy as delicate, embodying typical feminine values, and the virtues of submission and silence, Scott thus perpetuates the same gendered ideals as early modern moral and medical discourses, such as those found in Thomas Sydenham's *Epistolary Dissertation* (1682, trans. 1801).[80]

Although Scott defines Lucy as timid in Chapter 3 (as in Figure 2.6), he increasingly portrays her as fearful and mute in her mother's presence: she grows pale and 'breathless with terror' at the mere thought of her mother approaching in Chapter 22.[81] Lucy is especially nervous and fearful in her mother's company while meeting with Bucklaw to discuss the prospect of their future nuptials in Chapter 29, and distracts herself from the conversation by fixating on her embroidery.[82] When Lady Ashton directly addresses Lucy here, Lucy becomes startled and drops the needle, replying with 'contradictory answers', before remaining silent.[83] Scott describes Lucy as a victim of Lady Ashton, as Lucy's voice becomes tremulous in responding to her mother, further emphasising Lady Ashton's domineering control.[84] As a young woman of high social rank, however, Lucy's behaviour in remaining silent and ignorant of her company contradicts social expectations.[85] Her disregard for Bucklaw's attention presents a marked change in her behaviour, as she begins to behave in a somewhat socially erratic manner.

Representation of Madness: from Archetypal Madness and Social Deviance, to Horrifying Hysteria and Mania

Throughout *The Bride of Lammermoor*, Scott makes subtle suggestions in describing Lucy's appearance, manner and behaviour which foreshadow her eventual madness. Scott's introduction of Lucy in Chapter 3, portrays her as singing and playing the lute, mimicking

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[79] Scott, pp. 156, 195.
[80] See Thomas Sydenham, 'Epistolary Dissertation', in *The Works of Thomas Sydenham, M. D.*, trans. from Latin by Dr William Alexander Greenhill, 2 vols (London: Printed for the Sydenham Society, 1850), II, pp. 53-118 (p. 91). Scott was potentially influenced by the qualities of his own daughters in characterising Lucy: while Anne was shy, Sophia was affectionate and likeable. See Wilson, p. 132-33.
[81] Scott, pp. 33-232.
[82] 'Miss Ashton listened, or looked as if she listened, but returned not a single word in answer, continuing to fix her eyes on a small piece of embroidery, on which, as if by instinct or habit, her fingers were busily employed.' See Ibid., p. 297.
[83] Ibid.
[84] Ibid., p. 299.
[85] She should not allow her mind to wander in company. See *The Lady's Preceptor, or a Letter to a Young Lady of Distinction upon Politeness, taken from the French of the Abbé D'Ancourt, and adapted to the Religion, Customs and Manners of the English Nation* (London: J. Watts, 1743), p. 14.

Ophelia's behaviour during her mad scene in Act IV, scene 5 of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*.[86] Moreover, on St Jude's day in Chapter 32 Lucy is pale and adorned in a white satin dress, which acts as a further visual indication of her madness and vulnerability, following the archetypal cultural representation of madwomen such as Ophelia.[87]

Scott first emphasises Lucy's deviant and rebellious traits by depicting Lucy's clandestine engagement to her family's enemy Edgar, Master of Ravenswood in Chapter 20. Lucy pleads with Ravenswood not to speak to her father (Sir William Ashton) about their engagement, as he intends, as she knows that her mother will strongly reject or control the match, or at least be 'jealous of her rights'.[88] Hoping that Lucy's mother would accept Ravenswood if she were to know him, the pair ignore their familial feud and betroth themselves to one another, signifying their oath with a piece of gold. Lucy vows to remain loyal and faithful to Ravenswood, and will never allow the gold to leave her bosom, until Ravenswood request she resign it to him.[89] In aristocratic families like the Ashtons, however, marriages would have commonly been arranged on a basis of benefitting the family's economic, social or political position.[90] As previously discussed, in similar situations, young people often sought and pursued their own match, without notifying their parents until they were emotionally attached, in hope that their choice would not be rejected.[91] In making such an agreement, both Lucy and Ravenswood risk considerable heartache in the likely knowledge that Lucy's parents would reject her choice.[92]

Secondly, Scott demonstrates that, as time passes and Lucy is further oppressed by her mother, she is increasingly prepared to rebel against her parents' wishes (as in Figure 2.7).

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[86] Scott, p. 39. See William Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, IV. 5, ed. by G. R. Hibbard (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), pp. 298-308; 'Music And Madness In Shakespeare's Plays', *Explore Shakespeare*, 2013 <https://www.shakespeare.org.uk/explore-shakespeare/blogs/music-and-madness-shakespeares-plays/> [accessed 23 May 2019]; Elaine Showalter, 'Representing Ophelia: Women, Madness, and the Responsibilities of Feminist Criticism', in *Shakespeare and the Question of Theory,* ed. by Patricia Parker and Geoffrey Hartman (London: Methuen and Co, 1985), 77-94 (pp. 80-81).
[87] Scott, p. 318.
[88] Despite the match being initially encouraged by her father, William Ashton, Lucy becomes engaged to Ravenswood without first seeking her parents' permission.
[89] Scott, pp. 207-09.
[90] *The Handbook of Etiquette*, pp. 44-46; MacDonald, p. 92.
[91] MacDonald, p. 94.
[92] Ibid.

Figure 2.7: Lucy speaks out against her mothers' wishes, remaining loyal to Ravenswood (Chapter 29).[93]

> 'Madam,' said Lucy, with unwonted energy, 'urge me no farther – if this unhappy engagement be restored, I have already said you shall dispose of me as you will – till then I should commit a heavy sin in the sight of God and man, in doing what you require.'

This moment demonstrates a marked change in Lucy's behaviour and character, as she finally speaks out and expresses her own opinion – a perceived characteristic of insanity described by physician John Haslam as the moment when even 'the most virtuous' women appeared to abandon 'all restraint on their conversation and actions'.[94] Further evidence of Lucy's growing lack of self-restraint and the self-regulation of her emotions is provided following Ailsie Gourlay's bewitching treatment and departure, where Lucy again reiterates to her parents that she remains contractually bound to Ravenswood (Figure 2.8). Lucy's strength and sheer frustration over her own situation thus becomes progressively more apparent to those around her (Figure 2.8).[95]

Figure 2.8: Lucy continues to speak out against her parents' wishes (in Chapter 31).[96]

> It was shortly after the departure of [Ailsie Gourlay], that Lucy Ashton, urged by her parents, announced to them, with a vivacity by which they were startled, 'that she was conscious heaven and earth and hell had set themselves against her in union with Ravenswood; still her contract,' she said, 'was a binding contract, and she neither would nor could resign it without the consent of Ravenswood. Let me be assured,' she concluded, 'that he will free me from my engagement, and dispose of me as you please, I care not how. When the diamonds are gone, what signifies the casket?'
>   The tone of obstinacy with which this was said, her eyes flashing with unnatural light, and her hands firmly clenched, precluded the possibility of dispute; and the utmost length which Lady Ashton's art could attain, only for her the privilege of dictating the letter, by which her daughter required to know of Ravenswood whether he intended to abide by, or to surrender, what she termed, 'their unfortunate engagement.' […] The faint ray of hope which still glimmered in Lucy's mind was wellnigh extinguished.

Lucy's expression of anger and emotion in this way, while normal for men, show her as what Haslam defines as mentally unstable, and thus precipitates her downfall (Figure 2.8). Scott here displays both Lucy's social deviance and inherited passion from her mother, as well as the effects of Ailsie Gourlay's bewitchment. With Lucy's iconic statement 'To sign and seal – to do and die!' in Chapter 29, Scott signals that Lucy's fate is sealed and she will die, indicating the beginning of her real mental decline – a warning to other young women not to behave in a similar manner.[97]

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[93] Scott, p. 299.
[94] In his 1817 treatise, Dr John Haslam observed that amongst his cases of insanity, even 'the most virtuous females' demonstrated morally insensible behaviour, having 'abandoned all restraint on their conversation and actions'. John Haslam, *Considerations on the Moral Management of Insane Persons* (London: R. Hunter, 1817), pp. 46, 49-50.
[95] Her own characterisation thus grows closer to that of Lady Macbeth in Shakespeare, *Macbeth*.
[96] Scott, pp. 313-14.
[97] Ibid., p. 301.

Scott also portrays Lucy as genuinely distressed and melancholic, therefore making her behaviour and actions comparable to symptoms described in medical literature of the period. As already discussed, Scott indicates Lucy's unhappy disposition during her ceremonious meeting with Bucklaw and her mother in Chapter 29, during which she turns her attention to her habitual needlework as a way of avoiding attention and interaction (Figure 2.9).[98]

Figure 2.9: Scott's subtle hints of Lucy's unhappy disposition (in Chapter 29).[99]

> Miss Ashton listened, or looked as if she listened, but returned not a single word in answer, continuing to fix her eyes on a small piece of embroidery, on which, as if by instinct or habit, her fingers were busily employed. […] The idea of her mother's presence seemed to have slipped from the unhappy girl's recollection. She started, dropped her needle and repeated hastily, and almost in the same breath, the contradictory answers, 'Yes, madam – no, my lady – I beg your pardon, I did not hear.' […] Miss Ashton sat upright in her chair, cast round her a glance, in which fear was mingled with a still wider expression, but remained perfectly silent.

Embroidery was a popular and recommended genteel pursuit for young women in Lucy's domestic and social position in the early modern period,[100] as women with little to do were often advised to take up needlework to busy themselves and occupy their minds.[101] Physician John Haslam similarly recommended such activities as a humane treatment for the insane.[102]

Moreover, English writer Mary Lamb (1764-1847) regularly occupied herself with such amusements, as she was institutionalised for most of her life. The sister of Charles Lamb, Mary Lamb suffered from a mental breakdown, and violently attacked and killed her own mother in 1796.[103] In 1815, she authored an article 'On Needlework' under the pseudonym Sempronia for *The British Lady's Magazine*, critiquing the leisure activities prescribed to women, and their low value in society compared to the work of men.[104] Mary instead dreamt for men and women to have equal freedom in selecting their own employments, so that women may be able to use their intelligence for more productive and valued means and business.[105] This growing frustration amongst nineteenth-century women was similarly exhibited in fiction, specifically in Chapter 12 of Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre*

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[98] Scott's use of 'habit' here suggests that Lucy regularly amuses herself with genteel pursuits to avoid her mother's attention.

[99] Ibid., p. 297.

[100] James Fordyce exhibits one such lady who regularly engaged in needle-work, who (regardless of her surroundings) 'never sat idle in company, unless when compelled to it by the punctilio of ceremony'. James Fordyce, *Sermons to Young Women*, 13th edn, 2 vols (London: Printed by G. Sidney, 1809), I, pp. 194-95.

[101] Such amusements could, however, becomes habitual, dependent on the individual. Thomas Gisborne, *An Enquiry into the Duties of the Female Sex* (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1797), pp. 112-14, 207.

[102] Haslam, *Considerations on the Moral Management of Insane Persons*, pp. 69-70.

[103] See Lisa Appignanesi, *Mad, Bad and Sad* (London: Virago Press, 2008), pp. 15-17.

[104] Sempronia (Mary Lamb), *The British Lady's Magazine*, 1/4 (1815), pp. 257-61; Appignanesi, pp. 30-31.

[105] Sempronia, pp. 257-60. Appignanesi, p. 30, notes that Lamb 'condemns an activity which keeps middle-class women falsely busy, where in fact their intelligence would benefit from the kind of leisure which is men's natural right.'

(1847), whose title character exclaimed that women should not be confined to the domestic role and its associated amusements, such as 'playing on the piano and embroidering bags'.[106]

The sedentary behaviour of most middle-class women, as depicted by Lucy in her 'habits of reading and reflection', was similarly thought by many clinicians to have a negative effect on mental constitution.[107] Robert Burton, for instance, believed that domestic amusements caused nervous diseases and melancholy in particular.[108] Inactivity was also identified by Burton as a principal cause of 'love-melancholy' specifically.[109] Thus Lucy's gender, social position and associated lifestyle would have also made her more susceptible to illnesses: an 'indulgent' lifestyle was often detailed as one of the causes of maniacal disorders.[110]

The passion and lust experienced by Lucy and Ravenswood, especially evident in their rush to marry, was also perceived as a frequent cause of melancholy.[111] Intense emotions, 'passions' and unfulfilled love alone – as portrayed by Lucy – were recognised to have an impact on the body, and could cause illnesses, such as melancholy, love-sickness, and green sickness in women.[112] Yet Scott's descriptions of Lucy's gloomy mood in Chapters 30 and 31 in Ravenswood's absence, are reflective of love-melancholy, specifically. In Chapter 30, Lucy becomes deeply melancholic, as she realises she is virtually a prisoner in her father's home: she begins to feel abandoned by Ravenswood, and becomes paranoid of those around her, fearing she is the object of suspicion and scorn.[113] Sufferers of insanity often became paranoid of contrived plots, and suspicious of those around them, creating a hostile

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[106] Charlotte Brontë, *Jane Eyre*, ed. by Margaret Smith, with introduction by Sally Shuttleworth (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 109; Sally Shuttleworth, 'Jane Eyre and the 19th-Century Woman', British Library, 15 May 2014 <https://www.bl.uk/romantics-and-victorians/articles/jane-eyre-and-the-19th-century-woman> [accessed 7th January 2020].

[107] Scott, p. 312; Burton, I, p. 214; Bernard Mandeville, *A Treatise of the Hypochondriack and Hysterick Diseases* (London: J. Tonson, 1730), p. 244.

[108] See Burton, I, pp. 122-3. See also Samuel Solomon, *A Guide to Health; or Advice to Both Sexes*, 52nd edn (London: J. Clarke, 1800), pp. 30-31.

[109] 'If thou hast nothing to do […] thou shalt be haled in peeces with envy, lust, some passion or other […] [as it is] a rare thing to see a yong man or woman, that lives idly, and fares well'. Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, 11th edn, 2 vols (London: Messrs, Vernor, Hood and Sharpe, 1806), II, pp. 190, 199-214.

[110] Thomas Trotter, *A View of the Nervous Temperament being A Practical Enquiry into the Increasing Prevalence, Prevention, and Treatment of those Diseases* (London: Printed by EDW, Walker, 1807), pp. 49-52; Pargeter, pp. 29-31; See also Solomon, p. 30.

[111] Burton, II, pp. 200, 203.

[112] Erin Sullivan, 'Shakespeare and the History of Heartbreak', *The Lancet*, 382/9896 (2013), 933-34 (p. 934) <https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(13)61923-6> [accessed 27th May 2020]; Helen Small, *Love's Madness: Medicine, the Novel, and Female Insanity, 1800-1865* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), pp. 6-7; Burton, II, pp. 173-349; Solomon, p. 260; Michel Foucault, *Madness and Civilization,* trans. by David Cooper (London: Tavistock Publications, 1971), pp. 85-91; Vieda Skultans, *Madness and Morals* (London and Boston, MA: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975), pp. 35-37.

[113] Scott, p. 308.

atmosphere.[114] Similarly, mania was sometimes provoked following 'the intrusive interference of other friends and relations', or from paranoia of the plots to control the individual.[115] In Chapter 31, Lucy also experiences key triggers for love-melancholy: she grows fearful of Ravenswood's fate, causing her mind to darken and weaken further from 'sorrow, distress, uncertainty, and an oppressive state of desertion and desolation'. Ailsie Gourlay's tales further unsettle Lucy's mind: Lucy's 'temper became unequal, her health decayed daily, her manners grew moping, melancholy, and uncertain'.[116]

Lucy henceforth falls into a depression. As her low mood becomes evident to those around her in Chapter 34 (after Ravenswood ends their engagement), medical help is sought (Figure 2.10).

Figure 2.10: Scott's description of Lucy's declining health in Chapter 34.[117]

> After the dreadful scene that had taken place at the castle, Lucy was transported to her own chamber, where she remained for some time in a state of absolute stupor. Yet afterwards […] she seemed to have recovered, not merely her spirits and resolution, but a sort of flighty levity, that was foreign to her character and situation, and which was at times chequered by fits of deep silence and melancholy, and of capricious pettishness. Lady Ashton became much alarmed, and consulted the family physicians. But as her pulse indicated no change, they could only say that the disease was on the spirit, and recommended gentle exercise and amusement. Miss Ashton […] was often observed to raise her hands to her neck, as if in search of the ribbon that had been taken from it, and mutter […] when she could not find it […] Notwithstanding all these remarkable symptoms, Lady Ashton was too deeply pledged, to delay her daughter's marriage even in her present state of health […] if Lucy continued passive, the marriage should take place upon the day that had been previously fixed, trusting that a change […] of character would operate a more speedy and effectual cure upon the unsettled spirits of her daughter, than could be attained by the slow measures which the medical men recommended.

The doctor's instructions and prescription for Lucy – of 'gentle exercise and amusement' – in Chapter 34, echo historical medical treatments for mania and melancholy. Eighteenth-century physician William Pargeter describes the similar case of a young lady who, after returning home from visiting a friend, became melancholy: she preferred staying alone in her room, and upon being visited by Pargeter, remained silent, thoughtful and oblivious to his presence. Pargeter recommended that she join her family for dinner, 'to drink two or three glasses of wine, and to join in the conversation of the table'. Soon afterwards, he recommended a change in her residence, diet, exercise regime and amusements, which led the lady to make a

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[114] John Haslam, *Observations on Insanity* (London: Printed for F. and C. Rivington, 1798), pp. 16-17.
[115] Haslam describes such a case of a thirty-eight year old woman, from 11th June 1796, who became paranoid following her husband's death, believing that those within her parish 'meditated her destruction'. John Haslam, *Observations on Madness and Melancholy*, 2nd edn (London: Printed for J. Callow, 1809), p. 126.
[116] Scott, pp. 312-13.
[117] Ibid., p. 330.

full recovery.[118] In remaining mostly inactive and independent from her family, however, Lucy's health deteriorates further.

Although Lucy's submissive and fearful behaviour in the company of her own mother supports her feminine and virtuous image, it is also akin to the typical behaviour associated with insanity (Figures 2.11 and 2.12).

Figure 2.11: Scott reflects varying low and high spirit in Chapter 30.[119]

> Lucy, however, could only murmur these things to herself, unwilling to increase the prejudices against her lover entertained by all around her, who exclaimed against the steps pursued on his account, as illegal […] As a natural consequence of the alleged injustice meditated towards her father, every means was resorted to, […] to induce Miss Ashton to break off her engagement with Ravenswood, as being scandalous, shameful, and sinful […] and calculated to add bitterness to the distress of her parents.
> Lucy's spirit, however, was high; and although unaided and alone, she could have borne much – she could have endured the repinings of her father

Figure 2.12: Although Lucy once again experiences low-mood in Chapter 30, her temper remains high.[120]

> [I]n a manner reduced to despair, Lucy's temper gave way under the pressure of constant affliction and persecution. She became gloomy and abstracted, and, contrary to her natural and ordinary habit of mind, sometimes turned with spirit, and even fierceness, on those by whom she was long and closely annoyed. Her health also began to be shaken, and her hectic cheek and wandering eye gave symptoms of what is called a fever upon the spirits.

Those that were depressed would frequently experience a variety of symptoms, and had an 'anxious and gloomy' appearance (Figures 2.11 and 2.12).[121] Lucy's behaviour, in consciously murmuring to herself, is also comparable to the unconscious behaviour and somnambulistic monologue of Lady Macbeth (in Act V, scene 1).[122]

Having exhibited clear melancholic lows, Lucy equally exhibits contrasting high spirits and temper, suggestive of mania (Figures. 2.11 and 2.12).[123] Scott, in clearly contrasting Lucy's gaiety with her deep melancholy mood on the eve and the day of her wedding, in particular, further suggests her maniacal tendencies (Figure 2.13).

Figure 2.13: Lucy's spirits preceding and on her wedding day (in Chapter 34).[124]

> On the eve of the bridal day, Lucy appeared to have one of her fits of levity, and surveyed with a degree of girlish interest the various preparations of dress […] The morning dawned bright and cheerily. […] The bride was led forth betwixt her brother Henry and her mother. Her gaiety of the preceding day had given rise to a deep shade of melancholy, which, however, did not misbecome an occasion so momentous. There was a light in her eyes, and a colour in her cheek, which had not been kindled for many a day, and which, joined to her great beauty, and the splendour of her dress, occasioned her entrance to be greeted with an universal murmur of applause.

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[118] Pargeter, pp. 51-52.
[119] Scott, p. 305
[120] Ibid., pp. 308-09.
[121] Haslam, *Observations on Insanity,* p. 17.
[122] Shakespeare, *Macbeth,* V. 1, pp. 193-95.
[123] See Pargeter, p. 5.
[124] Scott, pp. 331-32.

Such behaviour and symptoms were observed to occur when mania

> advances beyond [delirium], and assumes the characteristics of insanity, […]
> [as] the patient's behaviour differs widely from her usual conduct, the language
> is quick and incoherent, the eyes wide and wandering in expression, and then
> there is a regular outburst of mania. In these cases the countenance is often
> pale, […] the pulse and respiration hurried'.[125]

In both the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, mania and melancholy were commonly compared and opposed as forms of insanity by clinicians, as they represented 'active and passive states' of one disease: the sadness of melancholy, could become frenzied when aggravated, and the fury of mania could become calmer, once diminished.[126] Before this time, those with melancholy were thought to be 'passive, listless, withdrawn', and those with mania were thought to appear beastly with animalistic behaviour.[127] Other physicians disputed the proximity of the two diseases, and stated that if women experienced any signs of a nervous distemper, hysteria was to blame.[128]

Scott's phrase 'fever upon the spirits' (in Figure 2.12) is particularly reminiscent of historical medical theories on hysteria, which was thought to be caused by an excess or disorder of 'animal spirits'.[129] Hysteria was commonly diagnosed in women with nervous complaints, and symptoms varied from patient to patient: some attacks of hysteria could be accompanied by convulsive and epileptic fits, with others ending in convulsive deaths.[130] If Lucy's manner and appearance could instead be interpreted as representative of hysteria, the 'light in her eyes' and 'colour in her cheek' could suggest that she has been revived, indicative of a forthcoming hysterical paroxysm (Figure 2.13).[131] To the reader it would appear that her happiness, health and strength have returned; it is not yet obvious that her revived appearance is due to her planned attack. Such physical descriptions also relate to medical theories on the connection between hysteria and the restraint of sexual desire which, according to American physician Benjamin Rush (1746-1813), caused 'a flushing of the face,

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[125] Thomas Laycock, *A Treatise on the Nervous Diseases of Women* (London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1840), p. 355.

[126] Haslam, *Considerations on the Moral Management of Insane Persons*, p. 9; Foucault, pp. 122-32, 135.

[127] Roy Porter, *The Faber Book of Madness* (London: Faber and Faber, 1991), p. 92.

[128] Foucault, pp. 132, 138; Laycock, p. 2.

[129] See Sydenham, 'Epistolary Dissertation', p. 90; Thomas Willis, *Affectiounum quae dicuntur hystericae et hypochondracae*, referenced in Mark Micale, *Approaching Hysteria: Disease and Its Interpretations* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), p. 22.

[130] Laycock, pp. 355-56; Sydenham, 'Epistolary Dissertation', p. 86. Scott's daughter Anne was similarly described as having a 'high temper, depressions and fits of hysteria'. Wilson, p. 133.

[131] Laycock, p. 310, states that 'several hours before a [hysteric] paroxysm, or even for some days, the patient […] is cold, anxious, and impatient; and feels a desire to leap, run, walk'. This is similar to the illusion of recovery in tuberculosis. See Arthur Groos, '"TB sheets": Love and Disease in *La traviata*', *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 7/3 (1995), pp. 233-60 (p. 257).

sighing, nocturnal pollutions', all associated with hysteria.[132] The label 'hysteric paroxysm' was liberally applied when women exhibited general symptoms of nervous disorder, just as the label 'wild paroxysm of insanity' is applied by Scott (Figure 2.14).[133]

Figure 2.14: The events of the bridal night in Chapter 34.[134]

> Arrived at the door of the apartment, Colonel Ashton knocked and called, but received no answer except stifled groans. He hesitated no longer to open the door of the apartment, in which he found opposition from something which lay against it. When he had succeeded in opening it, the body of the bridegroom was found lying on the threshold of the bridal chamber, and all around was flooded with blood. A cry of surprise and horror was raised by all present; and the company, excited by this new alarm, began to rush tumultuously towards the sleeping apartment. Colonel Ashton, first whispering to his mother, —'Search for her—she has murdered him!' drew his sword, planted himself in the passage, and declared he would suffer no man to pass excepting the clergyman, and a medical person present. By their assistance, Bucklaw, who still breathed, was raised from the ground, and transported to another apartment. [...] In the meanwhile, Lady Ashton, her husband, and their assistants, in vain sought Lucy in the bridal bed and in the chamber. There was no private passage from the room, and they began to think that she must have thrown herself from the window, when one of the company, holding his torch lower than the rest, discovered something white in the corner of the great old-fashioned chimney of the apartment. Here they found the unfortunate girl, seated, or rather couched like a hare upon its form – her head-gear dishevelled; her night-clothes torn and dabbled with blood, – her eyes glazed, and her features convulsed into a wild paroxysm of insanity.

Scott describes Lucy's animalistic tendencies as she is discovered by Colonel Ashton, conforming to the common cultural idea that insanity equalled inhumanity. Although Scott recognises Lucy as the 'unfortunate girl' – emphasising her dire state and youth, and thus encouraging sympathy from the reader – in her fit of insanity, he reduces Lucy to a 'thing', a 'something white in the corner' (Figure 2.14). While her white nightdress again recollects the archetypal characterisation of female madness from *Macbeth*, Scott's comparison of Lucy to a hare specifically once again evokes Shakespeare's 'malevolent witches', as it was commonly believed that witches were able to metamorphose into hares.[135] Such animalistic language and behavioural tendencies are similarly depicted by Bertha Mason in Brontë's *Jane Eyre* (Figure 2.15).

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[132] Rush also stated that the excess of sexual desire caused mental and physiological disorders. His connection between the restraint of sexual desire and hysteria, thus reiterates ancient ideas that hysteria was linked to activity of the female reproductive system. Benjamin Rush, *Medical Inquiries and Observations upon The Diseases of the Mind* (Philadelphia, PA: Kimber and Richardson, 1812), p. 347.

[133] Laycock, pp. 1-2.

[134] Scott, pp. 337.

[135] Small, p. 125. Small, p. 125, and Lakshmi Krishnan also discuss Lucy's animalistic representation. See Lakshmi Krishnan, '"It has Devoured My Existence": the Power of the Will and Illness in *The Bride of Lammermoor* and *Wuthering Heights*', *Brontë Studies*, 32/1 (2007), 31-40 (pp. 32-34).

Figure 2.15: Animalistic female madness in Chapters 15 (vol. I) and 26 (or 11, in vol. II) of Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre*.[136]

> This was a demoniac laugh—low, suppressed, and deep—uttered, as it seemed, at the very key-hole of my chamber-door. The head of my bed was near the door, and I thought at first the goblin-laugher stood at my bedside—or rather, crouched by my pillow: but I rose, looked round, and could see nothing […] Something gurgled and moaned. Ere long, steps retreated up the gallery towards the third story staircase: a door had lately been made to shut in that staircase; I heard it open and close, and all was still. […]
> In the deep shade, at the further end of the room, a figure ran backwards and forwards. What it was, whether beast or human being, one could not, at first sight, tell: it grovelled, seemingly, on all fours; it snatched and growled like some strange wild animal: but it was covered with clothing, and a quantity of dark, grizzled hair, wild as a mane, hid its head and face.

Furthermore, sufferers of madness were often thought to appear in disordered dress, with wild hair and bared teeth, just as Lucy's appearance is dishevelled, as she bares her own teeth in a 'grinning exultation' (Figures 2.14 and 2.16).[137]

Figure 2.16: Lucy's behaviour on being discovered in Chapter 34.[138]

> When she saw herself discovered, she gibbered, made mouths, and pointed at them with her bloody fingers, with the frantic gestures of an exulting demoniac.
> Female assistance was now hastily summoned; the unhappy bride was overpowered, not without the use of some force. As they carried her over the threshold, she looked down, and uttered the only articulate words that she had yet spoken, saying, with a sort of grinning exultation, – 'So, you have ta'en up your bonny bridegroom?'

The description of Lucy's 'grinning exultation' is vaguely reminiscent of Pargeter's case of a maniacal woman who greeted him with a smile, and laughed upon elaborating on her maniacal symptoms.[139] In addition, the sheer fact that Lucy experiences this 'wild paroxysm' at night fits general medical beliefs of the time: although those in the throes of insanity were believed to be 'generally worse in the morning', when the illness first began to develop, victims were commonly 'more violent in the evening' and through the night.[140]

Therefore, Lucy's brief maniacal fury – which motivates her to violently assault her bridegroom – is triggered by her 'sudden and violent emotions or passions' over her wrongful confinement and forced marriage.[141] In the context of the bridal chamber, however, Scott's direct references to Lucy's 'torn' clothing, 'dabbled' with blood, take on their own meaning and clearly allude to strong sexual violence and forced intercourse. Bucklaw potentially forced himself on Lucy, prompting her to defend herself with her brother Henry's poniard. Thus in a shocking reversal of roles, Lucy violently penetrates her bridegroom's body, spilling his blood, and in the 'staining of her night-clothes brutally parodies the

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[136] Brontë, *Jane Eyre*, pp. 147, 293.
[137] Ibid.
[138] Scott, pp. 337-38.
[139] Pargeter, pp. 32-33.
[140] Haslam, *Observations on Insanity*, p. 25.
[141] Pargeter notes that maniacal fury 'is a mark of a strongly excited state of the mind, and therefore of the brain: the same takes place in the paroxysms of anger'. Pargeter, pp. 9-10, 16.

consummation he and the wedding-guests' expected.[142] These passions reduce Lucy to an inarticulate and animalistic form – into a gibbering, 'exulting demoniac' – which instead resembles the behaviour of hysterical patients.[143] The assertion that she is an 'exulting demoniac' also suggests that she is possessed, and supports the believed connection between insanity, moral insensibility and demonic behaviour.[144]

Following the attack on Bucklaw, Lucy's madness steadily deteriorates from archetypal madness into an authentic and horrifying clinical condition, as she begins to experience paroxysms akin to that of epilepsy (Figure 2.17).

Figure 2.17: Following the attack, Lucy experiences a series of convulsions before dying.[145]

> The cares of the medical man were next employed in behalf of Miss Ashton, whom he pronounced to be in a very dangerous state. Farther medical assistance was immediately summoned. All night she remained delirious. On the morning, she fell into a state of absolute insensibility. The next evening, the physicians said, would be the crisis of her malady. It proved so; for although she awoke from her trance with some appearance of calmness, and suffered her night-clothes to be changed, or put in order, yet so soon as she put her hand to her neck, as if to search for the fatal blue ribbon, a tide of recollections seemed to rush upon her, which her mind and body were alike incapable of bearing. Convulsion followed convulsion, till they closed in death, without her being able to utter a word explanatory of the fatal scene.

Convulsions were commonly believed to occur in mania, as the disorder was often known to become frenzied.[146] Furthermore, a hysterical paroxysm could also be aroused by anger, such as at being assaulted, to become convulsive.[147] Medical assistance was sought in such cases as immediate treatment and restraint was required until the end of the violent paroxysm.[148] Lucy's tranquil state the following day (when the passions of her paroxysm have subsided),[149] suggests that she is passing from the active to the passive state of mania.[150]

Scott's later mention of Lucy's convulsions are also medically accurate according to the degeneration of hysteria, which was known to imitate epilepsy and its associated convulsions once it affected the mind.[151] In particular, Scott's reference of Lucy putting 'her hand to her neck', albeit in search of her ribbon, resembles the feeling of throat constriction

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[142] Small, p. 125.
[143] As with other hysterical patients, Lucy makes 'odd and inarticulate Sounds, or Mutterings'. John Purcell, *A Treatise of Vapours, or Hysterick Fits*, 2nd edn (London: Printed for Edward Place, 1707), p. 7.
[144] Krishnan, p. 32. It was widely believed that those suffering with insanity behaved as though they were demonically possessed, 'plotting mischief, or even murder'. James Cowles Prichard, *A Treatise on Insanity, and Other Disorders Affecting the Mind* (London: Sherwood, Gilbert and Piper, 1835), p. 21.
[145] Scott, pp. 338-39.
[146] See Laycock, pp. 355-56; Foucault, pp. 91-92.
[147] Hysterical women were often known to develop passionate feelings of 'rage and jealousy'. Laycock, p. 178.
[148] Haslam, *Moral Management of the Insane*, p. 10.
[149] Ibid.
[150] This period was known to leave patients 'in an equal state of intellectual derangement'. Ibid.
[151] Richard Blackmore, *A Treatise of the Spleen and Vapours*, 2nd edn (London: Printed for J. Pemberton, 1726), pp. 106, 111.

or strangulation during a mild hysteric fit, as described by physician Thomas Laycock (Figure 2.17).[152] In portraying Lucy as experiencing a series of hysterical paroxysms before dying, therefore, Scott realistically depicts the development and eventual outcome of the disorder, as hysterical seizures could end in death.[153]

Of all of Scott's fictional deaths, Lucy's death haunted and emotionally affected him the most due, perhaps, to his personal connection with the text.[154] As was relatively common in literature of this time, whether novels or moralistic conduct manuals written by priests,[155] Scott juxtaposed contrasting images of Lucy – the beautiful and innocent girl, and the violent and animalistic madwoman – and in doing so displayed the dangers to young women of rebelling against their prescribed social role and arranged marriages.[156]

Representation of Violence

In the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the violent crimes of women were not only confined to fiction, but were also graphically detailed in journalism. This trend was a small part of Western European print culture which was established in the sixteenth century, with broadsheets becoming ever more popular as a news source in the seventeenth century.[157] In Britain, various forms of print media became popular amongst the upper and lower-classes for their sensationalised depictions of violence and murder between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries: while broadsheets and small books were financially accessible to the upper-class reading public, pamphlets and penny dreadfuls were readily available for lower classes to purchase in the street.[158] Acts of passionate, public or random violence in women

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[152] Laycock, pp. 310-11.

[153] Death was also the occasional outcome for maniacal convulsions. Ibid, pp. 310-11, 355-56. Scott foreshadows Lucy's death at the beginning of Chapter 34 with the quotation, 'Who comes from the bridal chamber? It is Azrael, the angel of death' from Robert Southey's extended poem *Thalaba the Destroyer* (1801). See Scott, p. 330; Robert Southey, *Thalaba the Destroyer,* 2 vols (Edinburgh and London: James Ballantyne and Co; Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orme, 1809), II, p. 62.

[154] Lockhart, V, p. 411; Small, p. 123.

[155] MacDonald, p. 92; James F. McMillan, *France and Women, 1789-1914: Gender, Society and Politics* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), p. 49.

[156] Ussher, p. 85, suggests that the juxtaposition of women as angel and as monster in nineteenth-century literature, served to educate women of the 'consequences of rebellion'.

[157] Julius R. Ruff, *Violence in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 15-17.

[158] The popularity of street literature was helped by William Hogarth who provided skilful engravings of such violence. See Ibid., pp. 17, 23, 30, 33; Ruth Richardson, 'Street Literature', *British Library*, 15 May 2014 <https://www.bl.uk/romantics-and-victorians/articles/street-literature> [accessed 5th April 2022].

particularly grabbed public attention, as such women were considered the antitheses of feminine ideals.[159]

In *Violent Women and Sensation Fiction*, Andrew Mangham analyses such depictions, and compares them to literary representations of violent women in nineteenth-century sensation fiction and medical literature.[160] As with my own study, Mangham does this to frame fictional representations within their real, historical context, and evidence the connections and reciprocal exchange of ideas between popular fiction and non-fiction (particularly journalism and medical literature) in the nineteenth century.[161] Influenced by Mangham's work, I adopt a similar approach, analysing and comparing Scott's descriptions of Lucy's violence with British journalistic descriptions from the period.

Unlike later nineteenth-century sensation fiction, *The Bride of Lammermoor* does not detail nor describe the violent act carried out by Lucy. Sensation fiction tends to depict the grotesque acts and the gore, even when the narrator is not personally present, often describing violent, graphic images of blood and raw flesh which are difficult to ignore. The seminal work *The Woman in White* (1860) by Wilkie Collins helped establish the genre of sensation fiction,[162] followed closely by the little-known short story *The White Maniac: A Doctor's Tale* (1867) by Mary Fortune (known by the pseudonym Waif Wander) which epitomises the characteristics of the genre (Figure 2.18).

Figure 2.18: Excerpt from *The White Maniac* (1867).[163]

Her eyes […] flashed into madness at the sight of the flowers as I turned. Her face grew scarlet, her hands clenched, and her regards devoured the scarlet bouquet, as I madly held it towards her […] Then there was a rush, and white teeth were at my throat, tearing flesh, and sinews and veins; and a horrible sound was in my ears, as if some wild animal were tearing at my body! […] The first intimation her wretched relatives had of the horrible things was upon the morning of her eighteenth year. They went to her room to congratulate her, and found her lying upon the dead body of her younger sister, who occupied the same chamber; she had literally torn her throat with her teeth, and was sucking the hot blood as she was discovered. No words could describe the horror of the wretched parents

Although Scott does not describe the violent scene that occurs during Lucy's assumed assault on Bucklaw, rather narrating the aftermath of it from the point of view of an onlooker or wedding guest, his description is detailed and sensationalised in some respects: he

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[159] In England, a woman who murdered her husband could be charged with petty treason in the early modern period, which was punished by burning until the eighteenth century. Ruff, pp. 35-37, 117.

[160] Andrew Mangham, *Violent Women and Sensation Fiction* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

[161] Ibid., p. 3.

[162] Ibid., pp. 3, 172-82.

[163] Ibid., p. 11; Waif Wander [Mary Fortune], *The White Maniac: A Doctor's Tale*, in *Gaslight* <http://gaslight-lit.s3-website.ca-central-1.amazonaws.com/gaslight/whtmanic.htm> [accessed 20th July 2022]. For more information, see Matthew Sweet, 'Sensation novels', *The British Library*, 15 May 2014 <https://www.bl.uk/romantics-and-victorians/articles/sensation-novels> [accessed 11th October 2019].

references the cries of horror from Bucklaw and the wedding guests, the flood of Bucklaw's

blood on the floor, and the blood on Lucy's fingers and clothes, as well as other references to

her appearance and 'paroxysm of insanity'.[164] This subsequently prompts the question of how

the attack occurred, and whether it was in fact a premeditated attempt of murder, rather than a

spontaneous act of madness?[165] Scott's later 'general hypothesis' for the events (in Chapter

34) implies that Lucy, in a manic frenzy, stabbed her bridegroom, having secretly obtained

her brother's weapon during wedding preparations.[166] Scott thus provides a more sinister

image of Lucy's eventual, concluding madness, which significantly contrasts with her

previous image of innocence and femininity.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, women who committed violent acts rarely

did so with legitimate weapons, which were solely associated with men and masculinity.

Women were instead more likely to use tools readily available at home, as in Lucy's case,

and most often attacked male victims.[167] An example of the so-called insane violence of

women (which can be compared to Lucy's violent attack) was featured in *The Times*

newspaper in 1838, and graphically detailed how a woman had assaulted her own husband

with a knife (Figure 2.19).

Figure 2.19: The article 'Desperate Assault by a Woman upon her Husband', printed in *The Times* newspaper in 1838.[168]

> On Thursday week a desperate assault was committed in Magdalen-street by a woman named Charlotte Knight upon her husband, Stephen Knight, by striking him with a large case knife upon one side of the head, which laid the skin over for several Inches. It appears that the wounded man has lived upon unhappy terms with his wife for a considerable time, and has been in the habit of getting Intoxicated; and on Thursday evening he went home in that state, when, in a fit of passion, she seized the knife and struck him. Dr. Nunn was sent for, and promptly attended, and having bound the wound, which bled most copiously, he directed that the unfortunate man should be taken to the hospital where he now lies, and, we are happy to say, in a fair way of recovery.

The phrase 'fit of passion' is especially reminiscent of Scott's 'fit of insanity'. An earlier

article published in *The Times* in 1796 detailed similar, shocking events that occurred in the

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[164] Scott, pp. 337-38. Scott does not reveal the precise details of the attack, perhaps in an effort to avoid speculation on the events of the Dalrymple legend.

[165] Furthermore, was it an act of self-defence, or did Ravenswood, in fact, make his way into the room through a window, and stab Bucklaw himself before fleeing, leaving Lucy raving in the corner?

[166] Ibid., p. 339.

[167] Garthine Walker, *Crime, Gender and Social Order in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 78-79. Statistics from England show that only around 20 percent of women committed violence alone, while over 50 percent of female defendants committed violence alongside other women. Three-quarters of female defendants attacked male victims. Ibid., pp. 79-80.

[168] 'Desperate Assault by a Woman upon her Husband', *The Times*, 7 July 1838, p. 7, in *The Times Digital Archive* <https://go.gale.com/ps/i.do?p=TTDA&sw=w&u=ucw_itc&v=2.1&pg=BasicSearch&it=static&sid=bookmark-TTDA> [accessed 8th October 2019].

home of the aforementioned Mary Lamb when, in a manic rage, she murdered her own mother (Figure 2.20).

Figure 2.20: An article published in *The Times* in 1796.[169]

On Friday afternoon the Coroner and a Jury sat on the body of a Lady, in the neighbourhood of Holborn; who died in consequence of a wound from her daughter the preceding day.

It appeared by the evidence adduced, that while the family were preparing for dinner, the young lady seized a case-knife laying on the table, and in a menacing manner pursued a little girl, her apprentice, round the room. On the calls of her infirm mother to forbear, she renounced her first object, and with loud shrieks approached her parent. The child, by her cries, quickly brought up the landlord of the house, but too late. The dreadful scene presented to him the mother lifeless, pierced to the heart, on a chair, her daughter yet wildly standing over her with the fatal knife, and the old man her father weeping by her side, himself bleeding at the forehead from the effects of a severe blow he received from one of the forks she had been madly hurling about the room.

For a few days prior to this, the family had observed some symptoms of insanity in her, which had so much increased on the Wednesday evening, that her brother, early the next morning, went to Dr. Pitcairn, but that gentleman was not at home.

Both the above description and Scott's description of Lucy describe young women in mentally fragile states, who carry out violent assaults within their own homes. In leaving out the detail of events, Scott distances Lucy from the violence – preserving her youth and innocence – and consequently disassociates her feminine image from such a gruesome, frenzied act. This was mostly due to the contrasting intended genteel female readership of Scott's novel, and the likely male readership of a daily newspaper.

In early modern Europe, criminal acts of violence were believed to be inherently masculine and male, and women were predominantly perceived as victims.[170] Although women committed acts of violence, such incidences were rare in English statistics from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and entirely subverted feminine ideals.[171] In Scotland, however, it appears that women more commonly committed violent acts.[172] Between 1750 and 1815, in Lowland Scotland alone, women committed 292 out of 791 cases of assault brought before the Justiciary Court.[173] Across Europe, the term assault was liberally applied to major and minor crimes (from serious, lethal violence to petty arguments), but in Scotland assault was defined when a suspect intentionally threatened or attacked another.[174] The files of the Justiciary Court confirm that women were not usually the perpetrators of domestic violence – only 28 of 109 charges of violence were committed at home.[175] On the rare

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[169] *The Times*, 26 September 1796, in *The Times Digital Archive*.
[170] Walker, p. 75; Anne-Marie Kilday, *Women and Violent Crime in Enlightenment Scotland* (Suffolk: The Royal Historical Society/The Boydell Press, 2015), p. 19.
[171] Walker, p. 75. There is a lack of research on the criminality of Scottish women in particular. See Kilday, p. 1.
[172] Kilday, pp. 12-13, 16, 82.
[173] Ibid., p. 82.
[174] Ibid., pp. 80-81.
[175] Ibid., p. 87.

occasions that women did commit violent acts within the home, they ranged from a trivial or serious disputes with their husband or family members to a passionate 'reaction to given circumstances'.[176]

Lucy's crime is dismissed by the courts in Scott's novel, which concludes that it was an act of temporary insanity, and she was thus not responsible for her actions. Such a court response was common for the time, as people who received a verdict of insanity were often excused of their crimes.[177] Over the course of the nineteenth century, courts became more lenient in strictly punishing cases where extreme violence was the result of mental instability, and increasingly acknowledged the evidence of medical professionals.[178] In general, early modern courts were often more lenient towards women who had committed acts of lethal violence compared to men.[179] A married woman (a *feme-covert*) who committed crimes in the presence of her husband often could not be punished or considered legally responsible, as coercion was assumed.[180]

Although shocking, the crimes of women were thus not considered as significant as those of men.[181] Scott's novel further perpetuates this belief: in describing Lucy's deteriorating health and her death, the criminality of her actions are ignored, and she is instead idealised in death.

2.4: Lucy's Journey: The Theatrical Adaptation of Scott's *The Bride of Lammermoor*

The following section will briefly consider the reception of Scott's *The Bride of Lammermoor* and its subsequent translation, dissemination and theatrical adaptation in Britain, France and Italy in the years immediately after the novel was published. Fundamental to this study is the popular theatrical genre of melodrama (principally French *mélodrame*)

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[176] Ibid., pp. 92, 103.

[177] Roger Smith, *Trial by Medicine: Insanity and Responsibility in Victorian Trials* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1981), p. 90, notes that the 'ancient tradition of excusing criminals exhibiting extreme forms of raving madness […] coincided with nineteenth-century medical views'. The Criminal Lunatics Act, which was established in 1800 after James Hadfield attempted to assassinate King George III, stated that insane persons who committed violent acts were no longer able to walk free, and should instead be institutionalised. See Richard Moran, 'The Origin of Insanity as a Special Verdict: The Trial for Treason of James Hadfield (1800)', *Law & Society Review*, 19/3 (1985), 487-519.

[178] Smith, *Trial by Medicine,* pp. 3, 6; Mangham, p. 12.

[179] Walker, p. 113. Women who committed infanticide in England and Ireland in the nineteenth century, were especially given the insanity verdict or institutionalised. Women who had killed their husbands were perceived to have more responsibility for their actions, and thus received stricter penalties. Pauline M. Prior, 'Murder and Madness: Gender and the Insanity Defense in Nineteenth-century Ireland', *New Hibernia Review*, 9/4 (2005), 19-36; Mary Beth Wasserlein Emmerichs, 'Trials of Women for Homicide in Nineteenth-Century England', *Women and Criminal Justice*, 5/1 (1993), 99-110 (p. 108).

[180] *The Laws Respecting Women,* pp. 70-71.

[181] Kilday, p. 21.

which shaped Romantic theatrical and operatic conventions, and served as an influential source for Italian operatic librettists in the creation of Italian *melodramma* in the early nineteenth century.[182]

Britain

Scott's novel had a mixed reception, with the British reading public generally disfavouring the novel and its dark subject material.[183] Although Scott's close friends and associates were more favourable – with Lockhart describing Scott's novel as 'the most pure and powerful of all tragedies that Scott ever penned' – other British authors, like Lord Byron, felt the novel was rushed and did not match the high standard of Scott's previous works.[184] Author Sydney Smith similarly shared mixed feelings on the novel, initially praising Scott, his dramatic characters and dialogue, before later criticising Scott's carelessness and repetition in writing the novel.[185] British dramatists, however, quickly realised its potential for adaptation, and the first stage play and melodrama, *The Bride of Lammermoor*, or *The Spectre at the Fountain* by dramatist and theatre manager Thomas Dibdin, was premiered at the popular Royal Surrey Theatre, London within weeks of the novel's publication, on 5th July 1819.[186] With his adaptation, however, Dibdin ignited a trend as further dramatists simultaneously created and performed their own melodramas. First, an anonymous adaptation, *The Bride of Lammermuir*; or, *The Mermaid's Well* was performed at 'Astley's' Royal Amphitheatre, London, from 13th July 1819, while a second was being prepared for the Royal Coburg Theatre, London, and a third appeared at the Theatre Royal, Edinburgh on 27th October 1819.[187] Due to their quick succession, it is likely that audiences encountered the stage adaptations and their potentially different plots, prior to reading Scott's novel.

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[182] Emilio Sala, 'Women Crazed by Love: An Aspect of Romantic Opera', trans. by William Ashbrook *The Opera Quarterly*, 3/10 (1994), 19-41 (pp. 24-25).

[183] John Gibson Lockhart, *Narrative of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.*, 2 vols (Edinburgh and London: Robert Cadell; Houlston and Stoneman, 1848), II, pp. 29-33. Lockhart notes that the third series of the *Tales of my Landlord* was intended to be 'read with indulgence', however, this was difficult as the details of Scott's illness had been circulated in print media and were widely known.

[184] Lockhart, *Narrative*, II, p. 33; Leslie A. Marchand, ed., *Byron's Letters and Journals*, 12 vols (London: John Murray, 1977), VII, p. 48. On 5th January 1821, Byron acknowledged (in his journal) that he was a true fan of Scott, and had read all of his novels 'at least fifty times', including the third series of the *Tales of my Landlord*. See Leslie A. Marchand, ed., *Byron's Letters and Journals*, 12 vols (London: John Murray, 1978), VIII, p. 13.

[185] Nowell C. Smith, ed., *The Letters of Sydney Smith*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), I, pp. 328-30.

[186] Allardyce Nicoll, *A History of English Drama, 1660-1900*, 2nd edn, 6 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), IV (Early Nineteenth Century Drama), pp. 94, 302. At the time, Dibdin was manager of The Royal Surrey Theatre (formerly named The Royal Circus Theatre). He was widely renowned for adapting Scott's novels for performances on his stage, and captivated huge audiences from across London. See Jane Moody, *Illegitimate Theatre in London, 1770-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 35-37.

[187] Nicoll, p. 94; John C. Greene, *Theatre in Dublin, 1745-1820: A Calendar of Performances*, 6 vols (Lanham, Maryland and Plymouth: Lehigh University Press; The Rowman and Littlefield Publishing Group, 2011), VI, p.

Melodrama began to develop around Europe in the 1770s, first arriving in Britain from France in 1800 where it became increasingly popular over the next three decades.[188] The nineteenth-century melodrama was intended to be a performance for a popular audience: it included a combination of tragic, comic or pantomime elements, and a cast of archetypal characters, with a 'suffering heroine or hero, a persecuting villain, and a benevolent comic'.[189] By the 1820s, there was an increased demand for realism in the genre and theatre producers additionally aimed

> to intensify the emotional rather than the sensational appeal of melodrama: to present figures and actions drawn from contexts more proximate to everyday life; to increase their suffering and make it more intimately felt; and to give the sensation of pathos equal weight with the terror of spectacular violence.[190]

Such changes, therefore, increased the popularity of melodrama in British theatres,[191] with popular London theatres jockeying for domination of the industry.[192] Attending the theatre, however, was an altogether different pastime in Georgian Britain than today: audience members would talk throughout performances, entering and leaving as they pleased.[193] Theatres favoured captivating large audiences, and thus primarily produced melodramas – their dramatic style, exaggeration and high emotional impact were perfect for this purpose.[194]

John William Calcraft's five-act adaptation was first performed on 1st May 1822 at the Theatre Royal, Edinburgh and while initially a failure, by 25th November 1822 the play had been successfully revived and was published in 1823.[195] The revival would see Calcraft

4546; *The Times*, 13 July 1819, p. 3, in *The Times Digital Archive* <https://go.gale.com/ps/i.do?p=TTDA&sw=w&u=ucw_itc&v=2.1&pg=BasicSearch&it=static&sid=bookmark-TTDA> [accessed 28th July 2022].

[188] See Carolyn Williams, ed., 'Introduction', in *The Cambridge Companion to English Melodrama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 1-10 (p. 1); Matthew S. Buckley, 'The Formation of Melodrama', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Georgian Theatre*, 1737-1832, ed. by Julia Swindells and David Francis Taylor (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 457-74 (p. 458). The genre particularly developed in Britain, France, Italy and Germany. See Maureen Turim, 'French Melodrama: Theory of a Specific History', *Theatre Journal*, 39/3 (1987), 307-27 (p. 308).

[189] Frank Rahill, *The World of Melodrama* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1967), p. xiv. Melodrama has retained this basic form since its initial development. See Buckley, p. 461.

[190] Dramatists instead turned to 'domestic', rather than mythical, or 'foreign' origins. Buckley, pp. 470-72.

[191] Ibid.

[192] Ibid., p. 472.

[193] See Jacky Bratton, 'Theatre in the 19th Century', *British Library*, 15 March 2014 <https://www.bl.uk/romantics-and-victorians/articles/19th-century-theatre> [accessed 20th May 2020]; Matthew White, 'Georgian Entertainment: From Pleasure Gardens to Blood Sports', *British Library*, 14 October 2009 <https://www.bl.uk/georgian-britain/articles/georgian-entertainment-from-pleasure-gardens-to-blood-sports> [accessed 20th May 2020].

[194] See Buckley, p. 472; Bratton; White, 'Georgian Entertainment'; Jim Davis and Janice Norwood, 'The History and Legacy of Melodrama', *Elephant Melodrama Blog*, 15 July 2017 <https://www.elephantmelodrama.com/elephant-melodrama-blog/the-history-and-legacy-of-melodrama> [accessed 7th April 2022].

[195] John William Calcraft, *The Bride of Lammermoor: A Drama in Five Acts* (Edinburgh: Printed for John Anderson, 1823). It failed due to 'poor acting' and issues with production management. See Henry Adelbert

performing the role of Edgar (Master of Ravenswood) and Harriet Siddons as Lucy Ashton.[196] As a result, Calcraft's adaptation gained popularity and eclipsed the other more ephemeral British stage adaptations of Scott's novel.[197] Calcraft's adaptation is like any other, as he reduces Scott's three-hundred and forty-nine page novel to a two-hour and thirty-five minute stage play.[198] In doing so, he abandons most of the detail from the first two-hundred pages of Scott's novel, and eliminates the majority of intermittent conversations between characters such as Caleb Balderstone and Hayston of Bucklaw which appear throughout the novel (mostly because they are unimportant to the overarching plot).[199] Calcraft retains the principal characters of the novel, in order to preserve the stock characters of the genre, transferring Sir William Ashton, Colonel Ashton (Lucy's older brother), Henry Ashton, Edgar (Master of Ravenswood), Hayston of Bucklaw, Captain Craigengelt, Lady Ashton, Lucy Ashton, Caleb Balderstone and Alice to the stage.[200] The witches and, most importantly, the healer Ailsie Gourlay are cut from the play, principally because Calcraft, in creating his melodrama, omits Lucy's iconic illness and eventual madness.[201] In giving Lucy a voice, Calcraft instead vocalises the necessary detail from Scott's novel, to create melodramatic dialogue and monologues for a popular, theatrical audience.

Calcraft brings to life Scott's characterisation of Lucy's feminine beauty from her first appearance (Act I, scene 2), and immortalises her on the theatrical stage in 'Plain silk or satin, with plaid scarf' and later in 'Bridal dress'.[202] On retaining Ravenswood's rescue of Lucy from the raging bull in Act I, scene 4 (albeit off-stage), Calcraft emphasises Lucy's

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White, *Sir Walter Scott's Novels on the Stage* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1927), p. 76; Nicoll, p. 94; *The Edinburgh Dramatic Review*, 1 (Edinburgh: Printed for James L. Huie, 1822), p. 133; 'Playbill advertising a performance of *The Bride of Lammermoor* at the Theatre Royal, Edinburgh', in *Playbills of the Theatre Royal Edinburgh* <https://digital.nls.uk/playbills/view/?id=23486> [accessed 19th May 2020]; Brotherton Library, 'Nineteenth Century Playbills' (unpublished exhibition paper, exhibition in Brotherton Library foyer, 1974), p. 5 <https://explore.library.leeds.ac.uk/special-collections-explore/465328> [accessed 19th Feb 2020].

[196] Calcraft (1823).

[197] Calcraft was the 'laureate for the Theatre Royal' and was known for creating melodramas. See White, *Sir Walter Scott's Novels on the Stage*, p. 76. His adaptation remains accessible and easy to source, while other adaptations are completely untraceable. Calcraft's melodrama continued to be revived at the Theatre Royal for the remainder of 1822 and into 1823. See *The Edinburgh Dramatic Review*, 1, pp. 132-34, 140-42, 152-54, 176-77; *The Edinburgh Dramatic Review*, 2 (Edinburgh: Printed for James L. Huie, 1823), pp. 84-86, 161-62.

[198] See Scott. The length is mentioned in later editions: John William Calcraft, *The Bride of Lammermoor: A Drama in Five Acts* (London: John Dicks, [n. d.]); John William Calcraft, *The Bride of Lammermoor: A Drama in Five Acts* (New York: Samuel French, [n. d.]).

[199] Captain Craigengelt and Bucklaw's conversation in Act II, scene 1 is based on their conversation in Chapter 6 of Scott's novel, for instance. See Calcraft (1823), pp. 11-14; Scott, pp. 69-76.

[200] Calcraft (1823).

[201] Ailsie Gourlay is only mentioned in passing by minor character Dame Lightbody in Act IV, scene 4. See Calcraft (1823), pp. 48, 60-62.

[202] The relationship between Lucy and her father is more affectionate compared to Scott. Calcraft (1823), pp. 4-5; Scott, pp. 39-42. Lucy's costume is described in Calcraft (London); Calcraft (New York).

delicate nature, and portrays a 'fainting' and feeble Lucy as inherently weak and helpless.[203] Calcraft also transfers Lucy's emotional vulnerability from her betrothal to Ravenswood at The Mermaiden's Well in Scott's novel to his play, notably her apprehension about informing William Ashton, where they also break a piece of gold.[204] To create a foil for his idealistic heroine, Calcraft emphasises the 'villain' in Lady Ashton, portraying her strong and stubborn disposition (Act IV, scene 1) that she privately displays with William Ashton in the novel.[205] Her superficial public persona – as she is overly motherly, yet evidently controlling – in the meeting with Lucy and Bucklaw in Act IV, scene 2, provides further evidence of how Calcraft remains faithful to Scott's dialogue.[206] Similarly, Calcraft's dialogue for Lucy and Lady Ashton's later confrontation in Act V, scene 1 – as she insists that Ravenswood is intent on marrying another – is based on Ailsie Gourlay's stories and Lucy's confrontation with her parents (in Chapter 31).[207]

      As Scott's detail of Lucy's silence and unhappy mood cannot be easily transferred to the theatrical stage, Calcraft instead elaborates on Scott's descriptions to create original dialogue. Lucy's fateful statement 'To sign and seal – to do and die!' in Chapter 29 is elaborated into a new dramatic monologue at the end of Act IV, scene 2 (see Table 2.1).[208]

Table 2.1: Scott's fateful statement in Chapter 29 and Calcraft's Act IV, scene 2.[209]

| 'To sign and seal!' echoed Lucy […] 'To sign and seal – to do and die!' and clasping her extenuated hands together, she sunk back on the easy-chair she occupied, in a state of resembling stupor. | LUCY: To sign and seal! To do and die! (*Clasps her hands in agony, and sinks into a chair.*) […] It is decreed that every living creature, even those who owe me most kindness, are to shun me, and leave me to encounter the difficulties by which I am beset. It is just I should be thus. Alone and uncounselled I involved myself in these perils. Alone and unconscious I must extricate myself – or die. |

A similar process occurs in Act V, scene 1, as Calcraft provides Lucy with an original, melancholy monologue as she dwells on the circumstances of the forthcoming St Jude's day, her oppressed situation and her eventual fate.[210] In giving Lucy a voice in his adaptation,

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[203] Calcraft therefore adheres to the common idealisation of women as inherently delicate creatures. Act I, scene 4, therefore follows Chapter 5 in Scott's novel. Calcraft (1823), pp. 7-10; Scott, pp. 54-57.

[204] See Calcraft (1823), pp. 36-39; Scott, pp. 204-10.

[205] This occurs along with her surprise entrance in Scott's Chapter 22. Calcraft (1823), pp. 40-41; Scott, pp. 232-39. Calcraft contrasts the two sides of good and evil (Lucy and Lady Ashton). See Rahill, p. 1; Linda Williams, 'Melodrama Revisited', in *Refiguring American Film Genres: History and Theory,* ed. by Nick Browne (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), p. 62.

[206] Calcraft transfers this meeting, and Lady Ashton's deceitful comments, from Chapter 29, at least a year after Ravenswood's departure. Calcraft (1823), pp. 42-46; Scott, pp. 292, 297-301.

[207] See Calcraft (1823), pp. 52-54; Scott, pp. 312-14.

[208] Calcraft (1823), pp. 45-46; Scott, pp. 299-301.

[209] Calcraft (1823), pp. 45-46; Scott, p. 301.

[210] Calcraft (1823), pp. 52-53; Scott, pp. 317-20. In Act IV, scene 4, Dame Lightbody instead describes Ravenswood's sighting of Alice's ghostly figure (from Chapter 23). Calcraft (1823), pp. 48-52; Scott, p. 245.

Calcraft's outspoken Lucy greatly contrasts with Scott's mostly silent original (at the equivalent point in the novel).[211]

Unlike Scott, Calcraft deviates from the nineteenth-century theatrical trend of love-mad women by excluding Lucy's violent madness. Instead, he places the emphasis and blame for Lucy's death (Act V, scene 2) on the fact that she breaks her oath with Ravenswood and her vow to God, and on returning her piece of gold, she immediately dies in Ravenswood's arms.[212] With Lucy's references to her breaking heart in her dying moments, Calcraft's adaptation supports the Romantic idea that women can die of a broken heart. He equally promotes popular medical beliefs, as love and the grief attributed to heartbreak were often listed as causes of death leading up to and during the nineteenth century.[213]

Calcraft romanticises his ending, in order to adhere to the emerging tragic conventions of melodrama.[214] He reunites Lucy and Ravenswood prior to her death – to declare their love for one another one final time, and ask for forgiveness – and thus omits Lucy's assault on Bucklaw.[215] Calcraft's Lucy 'dies to prove her faith', and in turn preserve her pure and loyal image.[216] After omitting Lucy's violence, Calcraft's ending includes the sensational killing of Ravenswood – who runs into Colonel Ashton's sword, in hope of redeeming himself, meeting his own fate and being reunited with Lucy in death.[217] In doing so, Calcraft reinforces common gender stereotypes and associations with men as the perpetrators of violence.[218]

France

Before publishing *The Bride of Lammermoor*, Scott's work was well received and successful in France as his historical and *Waverley* novels, and their notably French style of writing, were favoured by the French reading public and absorbed into French culture.[219] As a result,

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[211] The equivalent point of Act V, scene 1 is Chapter 32 in Scott's novel, but Lucy's outspoken nature could be based on the confrontation with her parents in Chapter 31. See Calcraft (1823), pp. 52-53; Scott, pp. 312-14, 319-20. All dialogue following Ravenswood's surprise entrance, until the end of the play follows Chapter 33. See Calcraft (1823), pp. 56-62; Scott, pp. 321-28.

[212] Calcraft (1823), pp. 60-62.

[213] Those in love will either 'runne mad, or dye'. See Burton, II, pp. 346-49; Sullivan, 'Shakespeare and the History of Heartbreak', p. 934.

[214] Calcraft's melodrama does not conclude happily, as was originally expected for the genre. See Rahill, p. xiv.

[215] Calcraft omits the remainder of Scott's novel. To compare, see Calcraft (1823), pp. 60-61; Scott, pp. 330-49.

[216] Calcraft (1823), pp. 60-61.

[217] Ibid., pp. 61-62.

[218] See Walker, p. 75; Kilday, p. 19.

[219] Scott had written about 'French literature, history and culture' throughout his literary career, especially in the *Waverley* novels, and was influenced by the biographical style. See Richard Maxwell, 'Scott in France', in *The Reception of Sir Walter Scott in Europe*, ed. by Murray Pittock (London and New York: Continuum, 2006), pp. 11-30 (pp. 11-13).

The Bride of Lammermoor was rapidly translated into French, and *La fiancée de Lammermoor* by Gabriel-Henri Nicolle was published between 15th and 20th August 1819.[220]

Following the success of its theatrical adaptations in Britain, Achille d'Artois and Eugène de Planard were successful in providing the first loose parodic theatrical adaptation of *The Bride of Lammermoor* in French for the Théâtre des Nouveautés, Paris in December 1827 with the one-act spectacle *Le Caleb de Walter Scott,* featuring music by Adolphe Adam.[221] Victor Ducange's three-act *mélodrame, La fiancée de Lammermoor*, however, would prove to be the closest and most noted French adaptation of Scott's novel, and following its first performance on the 25th March 1828 at the Théâtre de la Porte-Saint-Martin, it was staged for over fifty performances.[222]

While melodrama developed throughout Europe, each country established its own specific styles and traits, with the French producing their own distinctive style.[223] On comparing Ducange's *mélodrame* to both Scott's novel and Calcraft's adaptation respectively, there are notable differences and similarities. First, Ducange transfers the principal roles from Scott's novel, as well as introducing new and renaming existing characters to preserve the stock characters.[224] Second, Ducange retains dramatic events from the novel: Lucy's/Lucie's encounter with the furious bull is transferred to Act I, scene 7, before Ravenswood's rescue and her reunion with her father (Act I, scene 8).[225] Unlike Calcraft's play, Lucy/Lucie and Ravenswood's declaration of love instead features in Act II,

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[220] The novel was published in three volumes as part of the third series of *Tales of my Landlord*, again under the pseudonym Jedediah Cleishbotham. Joseph Marie Quérard, *La France littéraire, ou Dictionnaire bibliographique*, 8 (Paris: Chez Firmin Didot Frères, 1836), p. 570; *Bibliographie de la France: ou Journal général de l'imprimerie et de la librairie* (Paris: Chez Pillet Ainé, 1819), p. 352. The novel would be translated and published in further editions in the following years. In 1830, a further translation by Albert de Montémont was published with the same title. See Rebecca Harris-Warrick, 'Lucia goes to Paris: A Tale of Three Theaters', in *Music, Theater, and Cultural Transfer: Paris, 1830-1914*, ed. by Annegret Fauser and Mark Everist (Chicago, IL and London: University of Chicago Press, 2009), pp. 195-227 (p. 198); Quérard, p. 570.

[221] White, *Sir Walter Scott's Novels on the Stage*, p. 80. *L'Irlandais* by M. Benjamin, was another loose adaptation, and premiered at the Théâtre du Gymnase Dramatique on 6th September 1831. Ibid., p. 81; M. Benjamin, *L'Irlandais, ou L'Esprit National, comédie-vaudeville en deux actes* (Paris: Quoy, Libraire, 1834).

[222] Victor Ducange, *La fiancée de Lammermoor: drame en trois actes* (Paris: impr. de E. Duverger, [n.d.]), in *Gallica: Bibliothèque nationale de France* <https://gallica.bnf.fr> [accessed 6th April 2022]; White, *Sir Walter Scott's Novels on the Stage*, p. 80. Several newspapers acknowledged the premiere and its continued performance. See *Le Figaro, Journal non Politique*, 26 March 1828, pp. 2, 4; *Le Corsaire, Journal des spectacles, de la littérature, des arts, mœurs et mo des*, 27 March 1828, pp. 1-2; *Le Corsaire*, 29 March 1828, pp. 1-2.

[223] Turim, pp. 308-9.

[224] Ducange transfers Lord Ashton, Edgard de Ravenswood, Caleb, Lady Ashton, Lucie Ashton and Mysie. He renames existing and introduces new characters, such as Lord Douglas (formerly Colonel Ashton), Lord Seymours (who takes Bucklaw's position as Lucie's suitor), Alix (Alice), as well as Sir Melval, Donnald, Barkleit, Jackson and Anna, but omits Captain Craigengelt and Henry Ashton. See Ducange, p. 1.

[225] The villagers, 'les voix' (the voices), Anna and Alix alert Lord Ashton. Ibid., p. 5; Scott, pp. 54-57.

scene 4, followed by Lady Ashton's surprise entrance.[226] Ducange also preserves both Lady Ashton's passionate character and Lucy's/Lucie's fear, maintaining their respective statuses of villain and heroine as established in Calcraft's melodrama.[227] As in Scott's novel and Calcraft's play, Ducange similarly demonstrates Lord and Lady Ashton's controlling nature throughout Act III, as both continue to protest and intervene in Lucie's union with Ravenswood, despite Lucie's rejection of the proposed union with Lord Seymours.[228] In addition, both the meeting and signing of the marriage contract between Lucie and Lord Seymours are merged in Act III (scenes 9 and 10), while Ducange retains Ravenswood's shock entrance at the end of the scene which (as in the Calcraft) leads on to a private interview between Edgard and Lucie in scene 12.[229]

In keeping with melodramatic theatrical conventions, Ducange adds a dramatic farewell at the end of Act II, scene 10 before Edgard's departure.[230] Furthermore, Act III, scene 1 unusually opens with a joyous musical item featuring Anna and a choir (with dances) as the inhabitants of Lammermoor and the neighbouring castles pay homage to Lord and Lady Ashton.[231] Ducange's most crucial departure from Scott's text is his ending, which is again Romanticised, omitting Lucy's violence and madness, and given a completely original, dramatic setting. Thus, Ducange's *mélodrame* ends with a grand spectacle and tragedy, with Edgard and Lucie reunited, dying together and being engulfed by the sea (see Figure 2.21).[232]

Figure 2.21: Edited and translated excerpt of Ducange's ending (Act III, scene 15).[233]

LUCIE:	(*appearing on the rocks*): Edgard! Wait for me! I have come to die with you!
EDGARD:	It's her!... Stop! Death surrounds you.
	(*He jumps on the rock where she appears, climbs it and leads her to the top of the highest reef.*)
CALEB:	(*wanting to follow him*) My master! My master!
	(*At this moment the sea, which rises rapidly, floods the beach, isolates the rock where Edgard and Lucie are, and threatens to engulf them. [...] However, the sea continues to rise. The women begin to pray; the men throw ropes into the sea; soon everyone is at work to manage to save Edgard and Lucie. But their efforts are superfluous, soon the waves dominate them and they disappear into the waves.— A cry, followed by a dismal stupor, follows the general agitation.— We then see a few fishermen, who have run along the shore, bringing back Lucie in their arms; they place her on the beach. The Governor rushes towards her, embraces her and wants to hug her to his heart; but suddenly he draws his sword and wants to strike himself with it; everyone around him holds him back. Anna falls unconscious, and Caleb, kneeling, weeps for his master at the feet of the one who is no more.*)

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[226] Lady Ashton enters in Act II, scene 5. Ducange, pp. 14-16; Scott, pp. 204-11, 232-39.
[227] Ducange, pp. 16-18; Scott, pp. 232-307
[228] Ducange, p. 20; Scott, pp. 232-307, 313-14.
[229] This interview is based on Scott's Chapter 33. Ducange, pp. 25-28; Scott, pp. 296-301, 318-28.
[230] Ducange, p. 19.
[231] Ibid., pp. 19-20.
[232] Ibid., p. 29.
[233] Ibid.

Italy

The translation and dissemination of Scott's works in Italy was markedly slower than in France, with the first of Scott's works translated into Italian in 1821, with two Italian translations of the poem *The Lady of the Lake* (first published in 1810).[234] The Italian public instead first encountered Scott in 1819 through the medium of opera: Gioachino Rossini's *La donna del lago* (with libretto by Andrea Leone Tottola) was first performed at the Teatro San Carlo in Naples on 24th September 1819. Rossini had composed the opera after a visiting friend had spoken 'enthusiastically' about the French translation of *The Lady of the Lake* (which had been produced in 1813 by Elisabeth de Bon).[235] The first Italian translation of *The Bride of Lammermoor*, *La promessa sposa di Lammermoor*, was published in 1824 by well-known Italian translator Gaetano Barbieri, five years after the initial publication of both Scott's novel and its French translation.[236] Other later translations followed, including Giovanni Campiglio's *La fidanzata di Lammermoor* (1828), Giacomo Sormani's translation of the same name (1829) and Carlo Rusconi's *La promessa sposa di Lammermoor (*1835).[237] Scott's model of historical novel, as showcased in his *Tales of my Landlord* series, also significantly inspired Italian writer Alessandro Manzoni in writing his novel *I promessi sposi* (The Betrothed).[238]

The Italian reading public had thus had the chance to become acquainted with Scott's novel before the publication of its first theatrical adaptation in Italy: dramatic artist Ferdinando Livini's five-act *La promessa sposa di Lammermoor*, published in Naples in 1828.[239] Despite Livini's affirmation that his adaptation is based on both Scott's and Ducange's works, it is mostly a translation of Ducange's *mélodrame*.[240] Lady Ashton's

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[234] Two Italian translations of *The Lady of the Lake* were published in 1821, with *La donna del lago* by Cavalier Pallavicini in Turin, and *Chirio e Mina* by Giuseppe Indelicato in Palermo. See *Biblioteca Italiana o sia Giornale di Letteratura, Scienze ed Arti compilato da Varj Letterati*, 12, 11th year (Milan: Presso la Direzione del Giornale, 1826), p. 37; Mary E. Ambrose, '*La donna del lago*: The First Italian Translations of Scott', *The Modern Language Review*, 67/1 (1972), 74-82 (p. 74).

[235] Ambrose, p. 74.

[236] See Gaetano Barbieri, *La promessa sposa di Lammermoor, o Nuovi racconti des mio ostiere* (Milan: Per Vicenzo Ferrario, 1824).

[237] Giovanni Campiglio, *La fidanzata di Lammermoor* (Milan: co' torchi della Societa tipografica de' classici italiani, 1828); Giacomo Sormani, *La fidanzata di Lammermoor* (Milan: Giuseppe Crespi, 1829); Carlo Rusconi, *La promessa sposa di Lammermoor: romanzo, scritto dall'autore del Waverley* (Padua: coi tipi della Minerva, 1835). See also Naomi Matsumoto, '"Ghost Writing": an Exploration of Presence and Absence in *Lucia di Lammermoor* (1835)', in *Silence and Absence in Literature and Music,* ed. by Werner Wolf and Walter Bernhart (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, Rodopi, 2016), pp. 63-84.

[238] As has been widely acknowledged. See M. F. M. Meiklejohn, 'Sir Walter Scott and Alessandro Manzoni', *Italian Studies*, 12/1 (1957), 91-98 <https://doi.org/10.1179/its.1957.12.1.91> [accessed 30th March 2020].

[239] Ferdinando Livini, *La promessa sposa di Lammermoor: dramma imitato dal Romanzo di Sir Walter Scott* (Naples: Dalla Stamperia Francese, 1828).

[240] Livini's transfers Ducange's characters and some of his dialogue verbatim. Livini, pp. 5-6; Ducange, p. 1.

passionate nature reappears,[241] as does the lovers' betrothal, both closely following Ducange's text (see Table 2.2 for a comparison).[242]

Although Livini (like Ducange) omits Lucy's violent madness, he does retain some of the signs of Lucy's illness and madness in order to prepare his own tragic ending. Most notable of all is Lucy's/Lucia's outspoken nature, as Livini transfers recurring confrontations between Lucy/Lucie and her parents Lord and Lady Ashton from Scott's novel to Act IV of his own adaptation.[243] As in the previous instances, Lucia resists the demands of her parents, and refuses to end her engagement to Ravenswood.[244] Then, at the end of Act IV, scene 4, Lucia begins to show signs of frenzy in reaction to Lady Ashton's enforcement of her marriage to Lord Seymours (Bucklaw).[245] This resembles Lucy's mental decline, particularly her contrasting high and low spirits and 'fits of levity' in Scott's novel.[246] Again in Act IV, scene 6, in confrontation with her mother, Lucia's speech breaks down (highlighted by ellipses) indicating her hyperventilation and panic.[247]

In Act V, Livini provides further signs of illness and low mood, as implied by a number of factors: Lord Ashton's comments on Lucia's evident deathly pallor and tears ('Il suo pallore…le sue lagrime…') at the beginning of scene 3; Lucia's silence on meeting with Seymours, Lord and Lady Ashton (as in the novel); and Lucia's confusion and silence as she signs the contract at the end of scene 3.[248] In addition, Livini remains faithful to Scott's novel by depicting Lucy's convulsive tremors in his stage directions (Figure 2.22).

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[241] Lady Ashton's passionate nature and ceremonious meeting with Bucklaw/Lord Seymours and Lucy/Lucia are all retained, followed by Ravenswood's shock entrance and confrontation with Lucia. Lady Ashton's arrival occurs at the end of Act III, scene 2 and her passionate nature is evidenced through the remainder of scenes 3 and 4. Livini, pp. 53-62; Ducange, pp. 16-18; Scott, pp. 232-39. The meeting in Act V, scene 3 is based on Chapter 29 of Scott's novel. It differs slightly to the novel as characters Melval, Anna and Lord Ashton are present. See Livini, pp. 87-92; Ducange, pp. 25-28; Scott, pp. 296-301, 318-21. Ravenswood enters at the end of Act V, scene 3, and his confrontation with Lucia takes place in scenes 4 and 5, in the presence of Lady Ashton, Lord Douglas, Lord Seymours and Melval. See Livini, pp. 92-98; Ducange, pp. 26-28; Scott, pp. 320-328.
[242] Livini, pp. 19-21; Ducange, p. 5; Scott, pp. 54-57.
[243] Livini, pp. 68-71; Ducange, pp. 26-28; Scott, pp. 232-307, 313-14.
[244] Livini, pp. 68-71; Ducange, pp. 26-28; Scott, pp. 232-307, 313-14.
[245] Livini, pp. 75-77.
[246] Scott, pp. 301-16, 330-31.
[247] Livini, p. 80.
[248] Ibid., pp. 87, 91; Scott, pp. 296-98, 317-20, 330-31.

Figure 2.22: Livini provides directions for Lucia, who experiences a convulsion in Act V, scene 3.[249]

LUCIA: (*sforzasi di ascoltare con attenzione, all'ultima parola le prende un tremito convulsivo, e dice atterrita*). Lo so! (*voltandosi verso Melval con calma, e fermezza*). Signore, innanzi a Dio che mi legge in cuore, io accetto lo sposo sceltomi dai genitori.
[LUCIA: (*striving to listen attentively, at the last word a convulsive tremor seizes her, and she says terrified*). I know! (*turning to Melval calmly and firmly*). Lord, before God who reads my heart, I accept the bridegroom chosen by my parents.]

Thus, Lucia's death vastly differs from that of Ducange's Lucie (see Figure 2.22). Lucia instead experiences another convulsion as a consequence of having broken her pledge to Ravenswood, falls to the ground and dies. Although not dissimilar in circumstances to Scott's novel, the final emphasis and cause of her convulsions is placed on the removal of the white ribbon and ring from her neck – symbolising the end of her engagement (as in Calcraft), and signalling her death (see Tables 2.2 and 2.3 for comparison).[250]

The three prominent melodramas analysed here by Calcraft, Ducange and Livini thus paved the way for the next stage in the adaptation of Scott's novel, as *The Bride of Lammermoor* next began its operatic evolution.

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[249] Livini, p. 90; Scott, pp. 330-31, 308-13, 338-39
[250] The removal of the blue ribbon and piece of gold occurs near the end of Chapter 33 in Scott's novel, but is not followed by Lucy's death, as there are a further twenty-nine pages before the end. See Scott, pp. 327-28, 329-49.

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Table 2.2: A comparison of Ducange's dialogue from Act II, scene 4 (left), and Livini's Act III, scene 2 (right), with English translations (presented below each example).

LUCIE:	Je vous aimerai toujours.	LUCIA:	Vi amerò eternamente.
EDGARD:	Je me défie de mon destin. Non, Lucie, une vaine promesse ne rassure point mon cœur. Si tu m'aimes, il faut que tu m'appartiennes, que tes jours soient les miens, qu'un serment nous unisse. […]	EDGARD:	Non basta! Una vana promessa non mi assicura. Se tu mi ami, devi appartenermi con un sacro giuramento. […]
LUCIE:	Je tremble! […] Mon Dieu ! protège-nous… Devant le ciel qui reçoit mon serment, Edgard de Ravenswood, je vous engage ma foi.	LUCIA:	(*inginocchiandosi*). Io tremo!...Dio, ricevi il mio giuramento, e ci potreggi!... Edgard di Ravenswood, vi impegno la mia fede.
EDGARD:	Lucie, promets d'être à moi tant que ma volonté ne te dégagera pas.	EDGARD:	Fino che la mia volontà non ti affranchi?
LUCIE:	Je le jure.	LUCIA:	Lo giuro.
EDGARD:	Et moi, je fais serment de n'avoir point d'autre épouse… (*relevant Lucie.*) Tu es à moi, à moi jusqu'au tombeau !	EDGARD:	Nè, giuro, mai avrò altra sposa! Prendi quest'anello.
LUCIE:	Jusqu'au tombeau ! […] Prends cet anneau. […]	LUCIA:	Eccoti il mio. Ciascuno di noi conservi questo pegno fino al giorno dell'imeneo, o fino all'ora della morte.
EDGARD:	Reçois le mien; que chacun de nous conserve ce gage jusqu'au jour de l'hymen ou jusqu'à l'heure du trépas.		
LUCIE:	Oui… du trépas.		
LUCIE:	I will always love you.	LUCIA:	I will love you eternally.
EDGARD:	I distrust my destiny. No, Lucie, an empty promise does not reassure my heart. If you love me, you must belong to me, your days must be mine, an oath must unite us. […]	EDGARD:	It is not enough! A vain promise does not assure me. If you love me, you must belong to me with a sacred oath. […]
LUCIE:	I am trembling! […] My God! Protect us… Before heaven, that receives my oath, Edgard of Ravenswood, I commit my faith to you.	LUCIA:	(*kneeling*). I am trembling!... God, take my oath, and you can help us!... Edgard of Ravenswood, I pledge my faith to you.
EDGARD:	Lucie, promise to be mine until my will releases you.	EDGARD:	Until my will frees you?
LUCIE:	I swear.	LUCIA:	I swear.
EDGARD:	And I, I swear to have no other wife… (*raising Lucie up*.) You are mine, mine until the grave!	EDGARD:	Nor, I swear, will I ever have another bride! Take this ring.
LUCIE:	To the grave! […] Take this ring. […]	LUCIA:	Here is mine. Let each of us keep this pledge until the day of the hymen, or until the hour of death.
EDGARD:	Receive mine; let each of us keep this pledge until the day of the hymen or until the hour of death.		
LUCIE:	Yes… until death.		

(Ducange, p. 15; Livini, pp. 51-2. These can in-turn be compared with Scott, pp. 204-07.)

Table 2.3: A comparison of Lucy's and Lucia's deaths in Scott's novel (left) and in Act V, scene 5 of Livini's drama (right), with English translations.

Here they found the unfortunate girl, seated, or rather couched like a hare upon its form – her head-gear dishevelled; her night-clothes torn and dabbled with blood, – her eyes glazed, and her features convulsed into a wild paroxysm of insanity. When she saw herself discovered, she gibbered, made mouths, and pointed at them with her bloody fingers, with the frantic gestures of an exulting demoniac. Female assistance was now hastily summoned; the unhappy bride was overpowered, not without the use of some force. As they carried her over the threshold, she looked down, and uttered the only articulate words that she had yet spoken, saying, with a sort of grinning exultation, – 'So, you have ta'en up your bonny bridegroom?' She was by the shuddering assistants conveyed to another and more retired apartment, where she was secured as her situation required, and closely watched. […] The cares of the medical man were next employed in behalf of Miss Ashton, whom he pronounced to be in a very dangerous state. Farther medical assistance was immediately summoned. All night she remained delirious. On the morning, she fell into a state of absolute insensibility. The next evening, the physicians said, would be the crisis of her malady. It proved so; for although she awoke from her trance with some appearance of calmness, and suffered her night-clothes to be changed, or put in order, yet so soon as she put her hand to her neck, as if to search for the fatal blue ribbon, a tide of recollections seemed to rush upon her, which her mind and body were alike incapable of bearing. Convulsion followed convulsion, till they closed in death, without her being able to utter a word explanatory of the fatal scene.	LUCIA: (*che ha dati sempre i più alti segni di dolore da ridurla agli estremi, dice con voce languidissima.*) Si!... EDGARD: Basta! (*rendendo le carte a Lady, che le pone in silenzio sulla tavola, intanto Edgard si cava dal petto l'anello di Lucia, sospeso a una catena*). Perdono, Milady – Miss, ecco il pegno della vostra fede, rendetemi la stessa prova della mia tenerezza. LUCIA: (*impedita da un tremito universale, e più che convulsivo*). Io!...non….posso… LADY A: (*velocemente snoda dal collo di Lucia un nastro bianco, nel quale è infilato un anella, e ne fa il cambio con Edgard*). Eccolo. EDGARD: Era sempre sul di lei cuore! Qui, fino alla morte. (*si pone il nastro in petto, e scaglia la catena, e l'anello ai piedi di Lucia*). LUCIA: (*quasi con un ultimo sforzo prende la catena, e l'anello, lo riconosce per il suo, e gettandolo con orrore*). Ah! è il mio! (*pronunziate queste parole si cuopre del pallore di morte, e cade al suolo priva di sensi*). LADY A: (*accorrendo da lei, e vedendola in tale stato*). Cielo!... soccorso!...soccorso! essa muore. LUCIA: (*who has always given the highest signs of pain to reduce her to the extremes, says in a very languid voice.*) Yes!... EDGARD: Enough! (*giving the cards back to Lady, who silently places them on the table, meanwhile Edgard takes Lucia's ring, suspended from a chain from his chest*). Forgive me, Milady – Miss, here is the pledge of your faith, give me the same proof of my tenderness. LUCIA: (*prevented by a universal tremor, and more convulsive*). I… can… not… LADY A: (*she quickly unties a white ribbon from Lucia's neck, in which a ring is inserted, and exchanges it with Edgard*). There it is. EDGARD: It was always on her heart! Here, until death. (*he places the ribbon in his chest, and throws the chain, and the ring at Lucia's feet*). LUCIA: (*almost with one last effort she takes the chain, and the ring, recognises it for hers, and throws it in horror*). Ah! It's mine! (*when these words are uttered, she turns the pallor of death, and falls to the ground unconscious*). LADY A: (*rushing to her, and seeing her in such a state*). Heavens! … Help!... Help! She is dying!

(Scott, pp. 337-39; Livini, pp. 98-99.)

Chapter 3
Le nozze di Lammermoor (1829): The First Lucia, Shakespeare and Early Modern Madness

As the first Italian operatic adaptation of Scott's *The Bride of Lammermoor* (1819), *Le nozze di Lammermoor* (1829) is an important marker in the novel's adaptational history. Carafa composed his opera for the Théâtre-Italien, Paris in the immediate years following Harriet Smithson's renowned Parisian performance of Ophelia in Shakespeare's *Hamlet* in 1827. Smithson's physical characterisation – her white dress and disordered appearance – and naturalistic portrayal of Ophelia's madness, captivated both audiences and artists. Section 3.2 thus aims to determine to what extent Carafa and Balocchi were influenced by portrayals of Ophelia in the nineteenth century, in creating their mad scene for the first sung Lucia. In doing so, I will analyse and compare the musical score and libretto of *Le nozze di Lammermoor* first to contemporary descriptions of Ophelia and her mad songs in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, then to early modern and nineteenth-century medical treatises (from c. 1600-1829), which critics have equally associated with Ophelia's madness.[1] It will specifically align Lucia's madness with medical descriptions of hysteria, love-melancholy and erotomania found in treatises such as James Ferrand's *Erotomania* (1645) and Phillipe Pinel's *Nosographie philosophique* (1813).[2]

     During Lucia's mad scene in Act II, scene 8, she decides that to redeem herself from the betrayal of her oath, she must take the poison given to her by Alisia and dies in the opera's final scene (Act II, scene 18).[3] In section 3.3, I will therefore focus on the representation of Lucia's feminine suicide by poison in *Le nozze di Lammermoor*, in consideration of the wider socio-religious, cultural and medical contexts of death and 'self-

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[1] Elaine Showalter, 'Ophelia, Gender and Madness', *British Library*, 15 March 2016 <https://www.bl.uk/shakespeare/articles/ophelia-gender-and-madness> [accessed 18th July 2022]; Elaine Showalter, 'Representing Ophelia: Women, Madness, and the Responsibilities of Feminist Criticism', in *Shakespeare and the Question of Theory,* ed. by Patricia Parker and Geoffrey Hartman (London: Methuen and Co, 1985), pp. 77-94 (p. 81); Caroll Camden, 'On Ophelia's Madness', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 15 (1964), 247-55 (p. 254); Judith Wechsler, 'Performing Ophelia: The Iconography of Madness', *Theatre Survey*, 43/2 (2002), 201-21 (p. 215).

[2] Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, 11th edn, 2 vols (London: Messrs, Vernor, Hood and Sharpe, 1806), II; Edward Jorden, *A Briefe Discourse Called The Suffocation of the Mother* (London: John Windet, 1603); James (Jacques) Ferrand, *Erotomania, or A Treatise Discoursing of the Essence, Causes, Symptoms, Prognosticks, and Cure of Love, or Erotique Melancholy*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Printed for Edward Forrest, 1645); Philippe Pinel, *Nosographie philosophique, ou la méthode de l'analyse appliquée à la medicine*, 5th edn, 3 vols (Paris: J. A. Brosson, 1813), III.

[3] Luigi Balocchi, *Le nozze di Lammermoor* (Paris: Théâtre Royal Italien, 1829), pp. 40, 56; Michele Carafa, *Le nozze di Lammermoor*, ed. with introduction by Philip Gossett, Garland Italian Opera Series, 1810-1840, II (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1985), p. 257.

murder' in the early modern period. In doing this, I further aim to document the parallels between the cultural representation and reality of female suicide during this era.

Overall, this chapter aims to determine how Lucy's madness was first musically and dramatically transformed for the operatic stage, and the extent to which her operatic mad scene – in embodying notions and tropes of female madness within popular culture and theatre – propagated popular medical ideas in the nineteenth century. It aims to do this most successfully by first framing *Le nozze di Lammermoor* within its performance context, and considering the circumstances of composer Michele Carafa and librettist Luigi Balocchi at the time of composition. I will then discuss the theatrical and operatic representation of madness before and during the nineteenth century, particularly focussing on the establishment of associated theatrical, musical and formal conventions, and the increasing prominence of the Romantic love-mad operatic heroine. In conclusion, I will examine the reception of *Le nozze di Lammermoor* following its first performance in Paris, paying particular attention to the reception of its musical characteristics in light of its premiere at the Théâtre-Italien, as well as Parisian audience expectations and the emerging development of the *grand opéra* genre. In doing so, I will also directly compare reception of Carafa's opera alongside press of Rossini's *Le siège de Corinthe* (1826).

3.1: Carafa and Balocchi's *Le nozze di Lammermoor*: The Beginning of *The Bride*'s Operatic Evolution

By 1829 – ten years after the first publication of Scott's novel – *The Bride of Lammermoor* had been read by the many, seen by more, and was ready to be given a new lease of life.[4] This was initially attempted in 1827 with the one-act comic musical drama *Le Caleb de Walter Scott* by Achille d'Artois, Eugène de Planard, and composer Adolphe Adam.[5] Conforming to *comédie-vaudeville* conventions, Adam only composed a third of the music himself, and incorporated known airs by composers such as Rossini and Méhul, and from other popular works, such as François-Adrien Boieldieu's *La dame blanche* (1825).[6] *Caleb*

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[4] See David Hewitt, 'Scott, Sir Walter (1771–1832), poet and novelist', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <https://www.oxforddnb.com> [accessed 19th May 2021].

[5] Rebecca Harris-Warrick, 'Lucia goes to Paris: A Tale of Three Theaters', in *Music, Theater, and Cultural Transfer: Paris, 1830-1914*, ed. by Annegret Fauser and Mark Everist (Chicago, IL and London: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 195-227 (p. 198); Roger Fiske and George Biddlecombe, 'Scott, Sir Walter', in *Grove Music Online* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com> [accessed 19th May 2021]; Jerome Mitchell, 'Operatic Versions of *The Bride of Lammermoor*', *Studies in Scottish Literature*, 10/3, 145-64 (p. 145) <https://scholarcommons.sc.edu/ssl/vol10/iss3/3> [accessed 31st March 2020].

[6] Mitchell, p. 145; Achille d'Artois and Eugène de Planard, *Le Caleb de Walter Scott* (Paris: Chez J.-N. Barba, 1828), pp. 6, 18, 41, 46. Caleb's airs and duets alone, for instance, are based on music from specific vaudevillian works, such as *Le bouffe et le tailleur* (1804), *Le petit dragon* (1817) and *La somnambule* (1819).

premiered on 12th December 1827 at the Théâtre des Nouveautés, Paris and was labelled a success by *Le Corsaire* and *Le Figaro*, eventually running for fifty-two nights.[7] The loose adaptation focuses on Caleb (the only character retained from the original plot), rather than on Lucy and Edgar's romance, and the remainder of *Caleb*'s plot and characters, including its happy ending, bear no relation to the literary source.[8] It can thus hardly be considered a direct adaptation of *The Bride of Lammermoor*, just as its vaudevillian qualities mean that it cannot be interpreted as operatic.[9]

Scott's literature began to influence nineteenth-century music in 1811 with Henry Bishop's musical drama *The Knight of Snowdoun* (5th February 1811, Covent Garden, London), and Italian opera in 1819 with Gioacchino Rossini's *La donna del lago*, both based on *The Lady of the Lake* (1810).[10] A number of Scott's novels were subsequently adapted, to create the pastiche *Ivanhoé* (1826), based on Rossini's music,[11] François-Adrien Boieldieu and Eugène Scribe's *opéra-comique, La dame blanche* (10th December 1825; Opéra-Comique, Paris), and Gaetano Donizetti's *melodramma, Elisabetta al castello di Kenilworth* (6th July 1829; Teatro San Carlo, Naples).[12] *The Bride of Lammermoor*'s historical narrative, familial conflicts, and Lucy and Ravenswood's clandestine romance would have been hugely appealing to nineteenth-century operatic composers, librettists and audiences alike, thus leading to the creation of *Le nozze di Lammermoor* by composer Michele Carafa and librettist Giuseppe Luigi Balocchi.[13]

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[7] d'Artois and Planard, *Le Caleb de Walter Scott*; Fiske and Biddlecombe, 'Scott, Sir Walter'; Elizabeth Forbes, 'Adam, Adolphe', in *Grove Music Online* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com> [accessed 7th April 2020]; *Le Corsaire*, 13 December 1827, p. 2, in *Gallica: Bibliothèque nationale de France* <https://gallica.bnf.fr> [accessed 19th May 2021]; *Le Figaro,* 13 December 1827, pp. 906-07, in *Gallica*; Henry Adelbert White, *Sir Walter Scott's Novels on the Stage* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1927), p. 80.

[8] Sir Walter Scott, *The Bride of Lammermoor*, ed. by Fiona Robertson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 142-46; d'Artois and Planard, *Le Caleb de Walter Scott*; Mitchell, pp. 145-46; Douglas M. Bennett, 'The "Real" *Lucia di Lammermoor* & the "Fake" Walter Scott', *History Scotland*, 9/1 (2009), 30-34 (p. 33).

[9] Mitchell, pp. 145-6; d'Artois and Planard, p. 52.

[10] For more on Scott's influence on nineteenth-century music and opera, see Jeremy Tambling, 'Scott's "Heyday" in Opera', in *The Reception of Sir Walter Scott in Europe,* ed. by Murray Pittock (New York and London: Continuum, 2006), pp. 285-92; Fiske and Biddlecombe, 'Scott, Sir Walter'; Bruce Carr and Nicholas Temperley, 'Bishop, Sir Henry R(owley)', in *Grove Music Online*; Mary Ambrose, 'Walter Scott, Italian Opera and Romantic Stage-Setting', *Italian Studies*, 36/1 (1981), 58-78; Donald Davie, *The Heyday of Sir Walter Scott* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1961).

[11] Mark Everist acknowledges that the 'music for *Ivanhoé* was assembled by Antonio Francesco Gaetano Saverio Pacini in collaboration with Rossini himself'. See Mark Everist, *Music Drama at the Paris Odéon, 1824-1828* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002), pp. 181-82.

[12] *La dame blanche* was based on 'Scott's novels *Guy Mannering*, *The Monastery* and *The Abbot*'; and Gaetano Donizetti's *Elisabetta al castello di Kenilworth* (6th July 1829; Teatro San Carlo, Naples), was based on Scott's novel *Kenilworth* and Scribe's *Leicester.* See Fiske and Biddlecombe, 'Scott, Sir Walter'; Elizabeth Forbes, 'Dame blanche, La', in *Grove Music Online*; Mary Ann Smart and Julian Budden, 'Donizetti, (Domenico) Gaetano', in *Grove Music Online*; Ambrose, p. 60.

[13] See Ambrose, p. 62.

Michele Carafa (1797-1872), as seen in Image 3.1, was a prolific composer who predominantly worked for Italian and French theatres, receiving most of his success in Paris.[14] Carafa firmly established his operatic career with *Gabriella di Vergy* (1816, Naples).[15] During this time, he became close friends with Rossini, contributing music to *Adelaide di Borgogna* (1817) and *Mosè in Egitto* (1818), before composing *Jeanne d'Arc à Orléans* (Opéra-Comique; 10th March 1821).[16] Carafa continued to be influenced by Rossini's musical style, in composing his Parisian operas *Le solitaire* (1822), *Masaniello* (1827), and *Le nozze di Lammermoor* (1829).[17] Like *Le nozze*, the subject of Carafa's *opéra-comique, Masaniello,* was used again by another composer, Daniel-Francois Auber, and became the hugely successful *grand opéra, La muette de Portici* (1828).[18]

Image 3.1: An engraved portrait of composer Michele Carafa published by L. Dupré in 1825.[19]

Italian librettist Giuseppe Luigi Balocchi, or Balloco (1766-1832) began to establish his career in Paris in 1802, with his publication *Il merto delle donne* (translated from Gabriel-Marie J.B. Legouvé's poems *Le mérite des femmes*).[20] Around this time he became the

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[14] Carafa was born in Naples on 17th November 1787. See Julian Budden, 'Carafa (de Colobrano), Michele', in *Grove Music Online*; Philip Gossett, ed., 'Introduction', in Michele Carafa, *Le nozze di Lammermoor*, Garland Italian Opera Series, 1810-1840, II (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1985), n.p.

[15] Budden, 'Carafa (de Colobrano), Michele'.

[16] Ibid.; Robert Ignatius Letellier, *Opéra-Comique: A Sourcebook* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010), p. 33.

[17] Budden, 'Carafa (de Colobrano), Michele'.

[18] Gossett, ed., 'Introduction', n.p.. *La muette de Portici* (1828) was a significant work in the establishment of the *grand opera* genre, which was developing at the time that Carafa was composing in Paris.

[19] L. Dupre, *Michele Enrico Carafa*, 1825, lithograph, 18 x 17 cm, Bibliothèque nationale de France <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8416188w> [accessed 17th May 2021].

[20] Luigi Balocchi, *Il merto delle donne, Le rimembranze, La malinconia e Le pompe funebri* (Paris: Renouard, 1802); Silvana Simonetti, 'BALLOCO, Giuseppe Luigi', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 5 (1963), in *Treccani* <http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedi a/> [accessed 17th May 2021]; François-Joseph Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens*, I (Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, 1866), p. 232.

librettist and director of the Italian theatre, Théâtre de l'Impératrice in Paris (later named the Théâtre-Italien) – a position he would retain for over twenty-five years.[21] During this period, Balocchi also tried his hand as a chamber music composer, writing works such as *L'Arabe au Tombeau de son Coursier* (c. 1810) and *L'amandier* (c. 1822).[22] Like Carafa, Balocchi shared a close relationship with Rossini, and had provided libretti for a number of Rossini's Parisian operas, including *Il viaggio a Reims* (19th June 1825, Théâtre-Italien), *Le siège de Corinthe* (9th October 1826, Théâtre de l'Opéra) and the revised version of *Mosè in Egitto*, *Moïse et Pharaon* (26th March 1827, Théâtre de l'Opéra).[23] Balocchi's original and translated libretti were also set to music by composers Gaspare Spontini (cantata *L'eccelsa gara,* L'Impératrice, 8th February 1806), and Valentino Fioravanti (opera *I virtuosi ambulanti*, Théâtre-Italien, 26th September 1807).[24]

Although Carafa and Balocchi were working in Paris in the late 1820s, it is difficult to establish the exact circumstances that led the pair to create *Le nozze di Lammermoor*, due to lack of historical evidence and documentation.[25] Balocchi's libretto for *Le nozze* was seemingly the only independent and original libretto that he had created without an extrinsic purpose.[26] Yet, it is unclear as to who assigned the libretto to Carafa, or whether he chose the text on his own accord.[27] Traditionally, the libretto would have been assigned to the composer by the management of the theatre (in this case the Théâtre-Italien) in commissioning the opera.[28] This process would have been mostly organised and communicated by the theatre's musical director(s), who, at the time, was Émile Laurent.[29] The director's correspondence would have been especially detailed as it had to outline works,

[21] Simonetti, 'BALLOCO, Giuseppe Luigi'; Fétis, p. 232; Daniele Boschetto, *Sempre con Orfeo: L'opera di Luigi Balocchi, poeta per musica* (Cantalupa: Effatà Editrice, 2009), p. 90.

[22] See Luigi Balocchi, *IMSLP: Petrucci Music Library* <https://imslp.org/wiki/Category:Balocchi%2C_Luigi> [accessed 14th April 2020].

[23] Simonetti, 'BALLOCO, Giuseppe Luigi'; Phillip Gossett, 'Rossini, Gioachino (Antonio)', in *Grove Music Online*; Richard Osborne, 'Moïse et Pharaon', in *Grove Music Online*. Rossini's *Le siège de Corinthe* was a significant precursor in the development of the *grand opera* genre in Paris. See David Charlton, *The Cambridge Companion to Grand Opera* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 8.

[24] Simonetti, 'BALLOCO, Giuseppe Luigi'; Anselm Gerhard, 'Spontini, Gaspare', in *Grove Music Online*; Marvin Tartak, 'Fioravanti, Valentino', in *Grove Music Online*.

[25] This has also been acknowledged by Francesco Izzo, 'Michele Carafa e *Le nozze di Lammermoor*: Un oscuro precedente della Lucia', in *Ottocento e Oltre: Scritti in Onore di Raoul Meloncelli (Itinerari Musicali) [Nineteenth Century and Beyond: Writings in Honor of Raoul Meloncelli],* ed. by Francesco Izzo, Johannes Streicher and Raoul Meloncelli (Rome: Editoriale Pantheon, 1993), pp. 161-93 (p. 175).

[26] This assertion is made by Boschetto, p. 28

[27] Izzo, p. 174, acknowledges that it is unknown who selected the subject first.

[28] For more information on this conventional procedure, see Philip Gossett, *Divas and Scholars: Performing Italian Opera* (Chicago, IL and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2006), pp. 34, 37.

[29] Both Rossini (1824-1826) and Ferdinando Paer (1813-1824, 1826-1827) had held the position of director. See Nicole Wild, *Dictionnaire des théâtres parisiens, 1807-1914* (Lyon: Symétrie, 2012), pp. 198-202; David Charlton and John Trevitt, 'Paris VI: 1789–1870', in *Grove Music Online*.

performers, stage decoration and monetary details for the upcoming season.[30] However, there is little to no such detail or correspondence readily available in relation to *Le nozze*.[31]

Before *Le nozze*, neither Balocchi nor Carafa had experience in adapting Scott's literature for the operatic stage. In writing his original libretto, Balocchi would have been influenced by Romantic literary and theatrical trends, such as the emerging melodramatic genres: *mélodrame* in France, and the operatic *melodramma* in Italy.[32] Carafa and Balocchi had likely encountered and been inspired by the theatrical adaptations and publications in France and Italy prior to this time, as well as Alessandro Manzoni's novel *I promessa sposi* (1827).[33] In creating his libretto, Balocchi likely consulted Ducange's *mélodrame* (or Livini's adaptation) and the French literary translation *La fiancée de Lammermoor*, rather than Scott's original English text.[34] Balocchi would have been responsible for both providing the operatic text according to convention and modest staging directions necessary for the production.[35]

Carafa, on choosing or being assigned the text, would have then set it to music within a short time-frame in autumn 1829, following his premiere of *Jenny* at the Opéra-Comique (26th September 1829).[36] Carafa remained loyal to the Rossinian style of writing in composing *Le nozze di Lammermoor*,[37] due not only to his own taste, but also the contracted Rossinian singers (such as Henriette Sontag), and the dominance of Rossini's operas in the Théâtre-Italien's repertoire in 1829.[38] Rehearsals for *Le nozze di Lammermoor* commenced by 23rd November 1829,[39] throughout which Carafa would have continued composing and

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[30] John Rosselli, *The Opera Industry in Italy from Cimarosa to Verdi: The Role of the Impresario* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 5-6.

[31] While *Le nozze* is mentioned in passing, there is no correspondence specifically relating to the opera. See Jean Mongrédien, *Le Théâtre-Italien de Paris, 1801-1831: chronologie et documents*, 8 vols (Lyon: Symétrie, 2008), VIII (1829-31).

[32] See Gossett, *Divas and Scholars*, pp. 36-39; Evan Baker, *From the Score to the Stage: An Illustrated History of Continental Opera Production and Staging* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2013), p. 168. Emilio Sala, 'Women Crazed by Love: An Aspect of Romantic Opera', trans. by William Ashbrook, *The Opera Quarterly,* 10/3 (1994), 19-41 (pp. 24-25). Sala, p. 25, states that French *mélodrame* became a prominent 'source' for the subject material of Italian operas, and exemplifies Ducange's work in relation to *Le nozze di Lammermoor*.

[33] Italian author Manzoni was inspired by Scott, notably in writing *I promessa sposi*, as he had read the French translation *La fiancée de Lammermoor*. 'Alessandro Manzoni', *Pathways through Literature: Italian Writers* <http://www.internetculturale.it/directories/ViaggiNelTesto/manzoni/eng/c16.html> [accessed 26th April 2022].

[34] Gossett, ed., 'Introduction', n.p.; Budden, 'Carafa (de Colobrano), Michele'.

[35] Gossett, *Divas and Scholars*, pp. 36-39; Baker, p. 168.

[36] Izzo, p. 175, notes that Carafa's premiere of *Jenny* is one of the few activities known of Carafa immediately before *Le nozze*.

[37] For a full list of Carafa's operas, consult Budden, 'Carafa (de Colobrano), Michele'.

[38] For repertoire, see Mongrédien, VIII, pp. 110-269. Henriette Sontag was contracted to play Lucia, having performed as the heroine in Rossini operas at the Théâtre-Italien throughout the calendar year, including as Rosina in *Il barbiere di Siviglia* (27th January 1829), and *Cenerentola* (19th February 1829). See Izzo, pp. 173-75; Mongrédien, VIII.

[39] This is mentioned in an announcement for a performance of *Don Giovanni* (with Santini as Leporello), which notes that Santini is simultaneously rehearsing for Carafa's new opera. See Mongrédien, VIII, p. 243.

revising his musical score.[40] Following this, all involved and invested parties would have hoped for success at its premiere at the Salle Favart on 12th December 1829.[41]

The Operatic and Theatrical Representation of Madness

The operatic mad scene (*scène de folie*, or *scena di pazzia*)[42] and representation of female madness was firmly established as a captivating device and theme in Italian opera by the mid-seventeenth century, with Pietro Antonio Giramo's *Il pazzo con la pazza* (1630), and Francesco Sarcrati's *La finta pazza* (1641).[43] Both works were influenced by I Gelosi's 1589 production of *La pazzia d'Isabella,* as described in Flaminio Scala's work on *commedia dell'arte* scenarios in 1611, which portrayed a woman who had 'lost her reason'.[44] *La finta pazza* ('The false madwoman'), with libretto by Giulio Strozzi, was premiered in January 1641 at the Teatro Novissimo, Venice, and subsequently embarked on a popular tour around Italy: in Act II, the soprano heroine Deidamia feigns madness to prevent her lover Achilles from leaving for war.[45]

Other popular, but alternatively male mad scenes which appeared during the seventeenth century included that in Francesco Cavalli's *L'Egisto* (1643), where the tenor protagonist goes mad in the third act.[46] In the eighteenth century, Antonio Vivaldi's *dramma per musica* (1727) and George Frederic Handel's *opera seria* (1733) both titled *Orlando* were based on Ludovico Aristo's *Orlando Furioso* (1532), and also included mad scenes to portray Orlando's loss of reason following his jealousy of and betrayal by his lover Angelica.[47]

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[40] For more on the Italian operatic context, see Rosselli, p. 7.

[41] Izzo, p. 175; Mitchell, pp. 145-64.

[42] Stephen A. Willier, 'Mad scene', in *Grove Music Online*.

[43] Sala, p. 19; Lorenzo Lorusso, Antonia Francesca Franchini, and Alessandro Porro, 'Opera and Neuroscience', *Progress in Brain Research*, 216 (2015), 389-409 (p. 392).

[44] The title role was performed by the Gelosi leader Isabella Andreini. See Anne MacNeil, 'The Divine Madness of Isabella Andreini', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 120/2 (1995), 195-215 (pp. 195-6); Sala, p. 19; Giulio Strozzi, *La finta pazza* (Venice: Surian, 1641); Lorusso, Franchini, and Porro, p. 392; Flaminio Scala, *Il Teatro delle favole rappresentative* (Venice: Pulciani, 1611), pp. 114-18. Ellen Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice: The Creation of a Genre* (Berkeley: University of California Press), pp. 121-22; Willier, 'Mad scene'.

[45] See Strozzi, *La finta pazza*. *La finta pazza* and Francesco Cavalli's *L'Egisto* toured together across Europe. Lorenzo Bianconi, 'Finta pazza, La', in *Grove Music Online*.

[46] Thomas Walker and Irene Alm, 'Cavalli [Caletti, Caletto, Bruni, Caletti-Bruni, Caletto Bruni], (Pietro) [Pier] Francesco', in *Grove Music Online*; Lorusso, Franchini, and Porro, p. 390; 'Monteverdi's *L'incoronazione di Poppea*', *Opera on 3*, BBC Radio 3, 30 September 2017 <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b0965q50> [accessed 12th November 2020].

[47] Erin Cross, '*Orlando* (i)', in *Grove Music Online*; Lorusso, Franchini, and Porro, pp. 391-92; Sala, p. 19. Handel also used *Orlando furioso* as the basis for his opera *Ariodante* (1735). See Anthony Hicks, 'Handel [Händel, Hendel], George Frideric', in *Grove Music Online.* The first year of Handel's premiere at the King's Theatre, London (27th January 1733), poignantly coincided with William Hogarth's final engraving of a bedlamite scene in *A Rake's Progress* (1733). Andrew Scull, 'Madness in Opera', programme note on *Madness*, Welsh National Opera, Autumn 2015, pp. 5-11 (p. 6).

Yet it was Giovanni Paisiello's *Nina, o sia La pazza per amore* (1789) which heralded the start of the Romantic trend and archetype of the love-mad woman in opera.[48] Paisiello's *Nina* was first performed at the Palazzo Reale, Caserta on 25th June 1789 and was set to a libretto by Giambattista Lorenzi, based on the *opéra-comique, Nina, ou La folle par amour* (Paris, 1786) by Nicolas Marie Dalayrac (composer) and Benoît-Joseph Marsollier des Vivetières (librettist).[49] *Nina* was influenced by Anfossi Pasquale's little known *dramma giocoso, La pazza per amore* (1785) which portrayed a woman, Giulietta, driven mad by love.[50] Nina is abandoned by her lover prior to the opera's beginning; Nina's father, the Count intends to arrange a marriage for his daughter, and selects Lindoro as an appropriate suitor; however, on the emergence of a seemingly better match, he rejects Lindoro.[51] As a result of his absence, Nina concludes that Lindoro has been killed in a duel with his rival, and goes mad, forgetting all that has happened (including the apparent death of her lover).[52] Her madness is first musically characterised by a simple recitative and a lamenting, lyrical cavatina 'Questa è l'ora che deve arrivar… Il mio ben quando verrà' (in Act I, scene 6): she returns to the same place each day, bringing flowers for Lindoro and waiting for his return.[53]

It was Nina's physical appearance and behaviour, as described in both Marsollier des Vivetières and Lorenzi's successive operatic libretti, which truly epitomised her madness and the archetype of the love-mad woman (see Table 3.1 below).[54] During the nineteenth century, the same characterisation was then transferred from comic and semi-serious opera to tragic, Romantic opera (see Figures 3.1 and 3.2 below).[55]

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[48] Sala, pp. 20-21; Lorusso, Franchini, and Porro, pp. 391-92; Michael F. Robinson, Mary Hunter and Marita P. McClymonds, 'Anfossi, Pasquale', in *Grove Music Online*.

[49] Nina was a one-act *commedia in prosa ed in verso per musica*, based on Giuseppe Carpani's Italian translation of the original French libretto. Giovanni Paisiello, *Nina o sia La pazzia per amore*, revised and ed. by Fausto Broussard, vocal score (Milan: Casa Ricordi, 1981), p. xiv; Gordana Lazarevich, 'Nina', in *Grove Music Online*.

[50] See Sala, pp. 20-21.

[51] Lazarevich, 'Nina'.

[52] Lindoro is instead only wounded, and reappears in Act II of the opera, prompting Nina's return to reason.

[53] Giovanni Paisiello, *Nina o sia La pazza per amore: commedia in prosa ed in verso per musica tradotta dal francese*, with libretto by Benoît-Joseph Marsollier des Vivetières, Italian translation by Giuseppe Carpani and with additions by Giambattista Lorenzi, vocal score (Milan: Ricordi, 1981), pp. 95, 104-16; Lazarevich, 'Nina'.

[54] Sala, p. 21.

[55] Ibid.

Table 3.1: The descriptions of Nina's physical appearance and reflection of her madness in the operatic libretti by Marsollier des Vivetières (left) and Lorenzi (right).[56]

SCENE 6:	SCENA 6:
(*NINA entre; ses cheveux sans poudre, bouclés au hasard; elle est vêtue d'une robe blanche; elle tient un bouquet à la main; sa marche est inégale; elle s'arrête; elle soupire; et va s'asseoir; en silence; sur le banc; le visage tourné vers la grille.*)	(*Nina semplicemente vestita, con capelli sciolti, e con un mazzetto di fiori in mano. Il suo passo è ineguale, e sospirando, senza far motto, va poi a sedere sul poggetto, rivolta al cancello, che risponde alla strada.*)
[Her hair is unpowdered, carelessly bound; she is dressed in a white gown; she holds a bouquet in her hand; she walks unsteadily; she halts, she sighs, and goes to sit silently on the bench, her face turned toward the grating.]	[Nina simply dressed, with her hair down, and with a bouquet of flowers in her hand. Her step is uneven, and sighing, without saying a word, she then goes to sit on the hillock, facing the gate, which meets the road.]

Figure 3.1: Elvira's stage direction as she enters for her Act II mad scene in Bellini's *I puritani*.[57]

(*Elvira enters with hair dishevelled. Her looks and gestures show that she is bereft of reason.*)

Figure 3.2: Anna's stage directions at the beginning of her mad scene in Donizetti's *Anna Bolena*.[58]

(*Anna appears from her prison in neglected dress, and with her head uncovered: she advances slowly, absorbed in deep thought. Universal silence. Her ladies surround her in great emotion. She observes them carefully, she appears calm.*)

The physical characterisation of operatic madwomen – the long, loose hair, the white dress and disordered appearance – remained consistent with spoken theatre at the time.[59] The white dress, suggestive of underwear and therefore implying a state of undress, and the flowers, both provided representations of sexuality.[60] In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, actresses performing as Ophelia shared a similar physical characterisation of her Act IV mad scene.[61] As Elaine Showalter explains:

> [Jane] Lessingham in 1772, and Mary Bolton in 1811, played Ophelia in this decorous style, relying on the familiar images of the white dress, loose hair, and wild flowers to convey a polite feminine distraction.[62]

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[56] The English translation of Marsollier de Vivetiere's libretto is reproduced from Sala, pp. 21, 38-39; B.-J. Marsollier des Vivetieres, *Nina, ou La folle per amour, comedie en un acte, en prose, melee d'ariettes* (Paris: Chez Peytieux, 1789), p. 11; Paisiello, p. 95. Her sighing is also musically notated. See Paisiello, pp. 108-16.

[57] Vincenzo Bellini, *I puritani di Scozia: opera in three acts, with Italian and English text*, 6774 Kalmus Vocal Scores (Melville, NY: Belwin Mills Publishing Corp., [n. d.]), p. 180.

[58] Translated and adapted from the original Italian in Gaetano Donizetti, *Anna Bolena: tragedia lyrica in due atti,* libretto by Felice Romani, vocal score, critical edn. ed. by Paolo Fabbro, 2 vols (Milan: Ricordi and Foundazione Donizetti di Bergamo, 2017), II, pp. 431-68 [nkoda].

[59] See Mary Ann Smart, 'The Silencing of Lucia', *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 4/2 (1995), 119-41 (p. 125); Elaine Showalter, *The Female Malady: Women, Madness and English Culture, 1830-1980* (London: Virago Press, 1985), p. 11; Showalter, 'Ophelia, Gender and Madness'; Showalter, 'Representing Ophelia', pp. 78-81.

[60] Showalter, 'Representing Ophelia', pp. 80-81.

[61] William Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, IV. 5, ed. by G. R. Hibbard (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), pp. 298-300, 305-9; Smart, 'The Silencing of Lucia', p. 125; Showalter, *The Female Malady*, p. 11; Showalter, 'Ophelia, Gender and Madness'; Showalter, 'Representing Ophelia', pp. 78-81.

[62] Showalter, 'Representing Ophelia', p. 82.

Yet even by the time of Sheridan's 1779 satirical play *The Critic*, the stereotypical representation of madwomen on stage was mocked: in Act III, scene 1 characters Puff and Sneer, while sitting in the audience, discuss Tilburina, who enters onstage acting as a madwoman (Figure 3.3).

Figure 3.3: Excerpt from Act III, scene 1 of *The Critic* by Richard Brinsley Sheridan (first performed in London in 1779), where Puff, Sneer and Dangle discuss the appearance of a theatrical madwoman.[63]

PUFF:	True. — Now enter Tilburina! —
SNEER:	Egad, the business comes on quick here.
PUFF:	Yes, Sir — now she comes in stark mad in white satin.
SNEER:	Why in white satin?
PUFF:	O Lord, Sir — when a heroine goes mad, she always goes into white satin — don't she, Dangle?
DANGLE:	Always — it's a rule.
PUFF:	Yes — here it is — (*looking at the book.*) 'Enter Tilburina stark mad in white satin, and her confidant stark mad in white linen.' *Enter TILBURINA and CONFIDANT mad, according to custom.* […]
PUFF:	To be sure she is, the confidant is always to do whatever her mistress does; weep when she weeps, smile when she smiles, go mad when she goes mad.

Indeed, the prominence of the mad scene and its associated physical characterisation within Italian opera meant that by the 1850s, its conventional form could also be mocked by French composers. In Hervé's parody of the Italian *opera seria, Gargouillada* (from Act III of Dumanoir and Clairville's *vaudeville, Les folies-dramatiques*), as the heroine Cabriola sees a ghost and goes mad, the spectator Grosménu sardonically declares this to be the first mad scene he has seen in an Italian opera (Figure 3.4).

Figure 3.4: Excerpt from *Gargouillada*.[64]

CABRIOLA	(*poussant un grand cri et devenant tout à coup folle.*) Ah ! … che veggio! ... la ! ... tout prèso di mi!... Voyete ! ... voyete fantômi! ...
NIASO:	Ah ! che folia !
GARGOUILLADA :	Ah ! che folia !
GROSMÉNU:	Une scène de folie ! ... c'est la première que je vois dans un opéra italien ... Bravo !

Thus from the 1820s onwards, the female mad scene had gained mass prominence and popularity.[65] They were commonly written for soprano heroines, and crucially (to this argument) represented the Romantic 'rather than a clinical state of mind'.[66] They

[63] Richard Brinsley Sheridan, *The Critic; or, A tragedy rehearsed, a dramatic piece in three acts as it is performed at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane* (London: Printed for T. Becket, 1781), pp. 94-95; Richard Brinsley Sheridan, *The Critic*, ed. by David Crane (London: A & C Black Publishers, 1989), in *Drama Online Library* <https://www.dramaonlinelibrary.com/plays/the-critic-iid-133365> [accessed 13th February 2023].
[64] Philippe Dumanoir and Clairville (Louis-François Nicolaïe), *Les folies dramatiques vaudeville en cinq actes* (Paris: Michel Lévy frères, 1853) p. 39; also referenced in Clair Rowden, 'La Parodie musicale d'Hervé', in Etienne Jardin, ed, *Les Folies d'Hervé* (Paris: Actes Sud / Palazzetto Bru Zane, forthcoming 2023).
[65] Willier, 'Mad scene'; James Anderson, 'Mad scenes', in *The Complete Dictionary of Opera and Operetta* (New York and Avenel, NJ: Wings Books, 1993), p. 348.
[66] Anderson, p. 348.

predominantly included a solo, virtuosic coloratura display, where the madwoman articulates her delirious thoughts and sings incomprehensible phrases in front of an attentive audience, both onstage and in the auditorium of the theatre, enabling the singer to showcase their talent.[67] The heroines were therefore interpreted as going mad in order to resolve their own situations, or redeem themselves.[68] The theme of madness prominently fascinated Italian operatic composers Vincenzo Bellini and Gaetano Donizetti, who incorporated mad scenes in their other operas *Il pirata* (1827), *I pazzi per progetto* (1830) and *I puritani* (1835).[69]

In theatre and opera, madness is generally conveyed through a disruption in language, or form. In spoken theatre, madness is usually signified through the inclusion of music (as in Ophelia's mad scene in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*), as it stands out as different and deviant.[70] In this instance, music could be considered the 'ideal vehicle' to represent female madness, due to its own associations with femininity, sensuality and excess ('psychic, social and moral').[71] In opera, however, where music is the expected discourse, music and text have to work both independently and together (supporting one another), in order to uniquely shape the representation of operatic madness.[72] This enables the heroine to communicate her madness in multifaceted ways: she narrates her own story and unravelling sanity, giving her an increased agency of voice; her decorative and virtuosic vocal writing then give her further power and means of communicating her madness.[73] Upon witnessing the heroine's operatic delirium, and horrifying physical appearance, the audience in the theatre are directly and intimately confronted with her madness.[74]

Although this musical madness can arguably be liberatory for operatic heroines, as Clément claims, it is restrictive in its construction, due to strict Italian operatic conventions;

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[67] See Catherine Clément, *Opera, or the Undoing of Women*, trans. Betsy King and foreword by Susan McClary (London: Virago Press, 1989), p. 87; Burton D. Fisher, *Donizetti's* Lucia di Lammermoor (Coral Gables, FL: Opera Journeys, 2003), p. 26.

[68] Ibid.

[69] I will further elaborate on these operas in Chapter 5.

[70] Leslie C. Dunn, 'Ophelia's Songs in *Hamlet*: Music, Madness, and the Feminine', in *Embodied Voices: Representing Female Vocality in Western Culture,* ed. by Leslie C. Dunn and Nancy A. Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 50-64 (pp. 54, 58); Ellen Rosand, 'Operatic madness', in *Music and Text: Critical Inquiries,* ed. by Steven Paul Scher (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 241-87 (pp. 241-42).

[71] 'If music arouses excessive "feminine" passions, then it is also an ideal vehicle for representing feminine excess.' See Dunn, pp. 56, 59.

[72] See Rosand, 'Operatic madness', pp. 241-43, 265, 286-87, who uses the Act II mad scene from Handel's *Orlando* (1733) as an example.

[73] Smart, 'The Silencing of Lucia', p. 124, similarly emphasises that music in opera 'adds a new dimension' to its mad operatic heroines, giving them 'power and energy of voice'.

[74] This allows the audience to confront Lucia's madness (as Shakespeare intended with Ophelia). See Caralyn Bialo, 'Popular Performance, the Broadside Ballad, and Ophelia's Madness', *Studies in English Literature,* 53/2 (2013), 293-309 (p. 299).

therefore, in order for madness to be characterised and represented, it must deviate in some way from its formal constraints.[75] By the 1830s, the 'solita forma' was firmly established, with an aria made up of four separate sections: a declamatory and introductory scena; a lyrical cantabile section, known widely as the cavatina; a fast transitional tempo di mezzo (which often involved exchanges between the characters and chorus); and finally the virtuosic cabaletta.[76] The text of the scena was written in free verse (known as *versi sciolti*), which could be rhymed or unrhymed, while the cavatina and cabaletta are in metred verse (*versi lirici*), and the tempo di mezzo alternatively incorporates elements of both.[77] The following section thus aims to analyse Lucia's mad scene in *Le nozze di Lammermoor* in consideration of the conventions of female madness (its physical characterisation and the Italian formal procedures).

3.2: 'Oh smania atroce': Lucia's Mad Scene and Shakespearean Madness

> Lucia: Delira la mia mente… oh smania atroce!
>
> [Lucia: My mind is delirious… oh atrocious madness!][78]

Carafa and Balocchi's opera does not strictly follow Scott's *The Bride of Lammermoor*, as the pair omit Lucy's eventual violent madness and create an original operatic mad scene for Lucia in Act II, once she learns that Edgardo will not return.[79] Like madness, sleepwalking was of interest to nineteenth-century audiences and readers, and before *Le nozze*, Carafa portrayed Ernesto's, albeit male, somnambulism in his *melodramma semiserio, Il sonnambulo*, with libretto by Felice Romani (1824).[80] *Il sonnambulo* preceded *Le nozze di Lammermoor* by five years, with its first performance at the Teatro alla Scala, Milan on 13th November 1824.[81] The opera takes place a year after a series of events which lead Ernesto to kill his own brother, Ansaldo (Duke of Scilla), in hope of stealing his daughter, Erminia, as a bride for his son, Ermanno.[82] On the day of the wedding, the residents of 'Scilla and its

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[75] See Clément, pp. 78, 87-90; Smart, 'The Silencing of Lucia', pp. 124-25, 131.

[76] See Scott L. Balthazar, ed., 'The Forms of Set Pieces', in *The Cambridge Companion to Verdi* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 49-68 (pp. 49-52); Smart, 'The Silencing of Lucia', p. 131; Julian Budden, 'Tempo di mezzo', in *Grove Music Online*; Julian Budden, 'Cabaletta', in *Grove Music Online*.

[77] Smart, 'The Silencing of Lucia', p. 131.

[78] Balocchi, *Le nozze di Lammermoor,* pp. 39-41.

[79] Ibid.

[80] Carafa premiered *Il sonnambulo*, with libretto by Felice Romani, on 13th November 1824 at Teatro alla Scala, Milan. See Michele Augusto Riva, and others, '*Il Sonnambulo* by Michele Carafa: A Forgotten Romantic Opera with Sleepwalking', *European Neurology*, 76/5-6 (2016), 210-15 <https://doi.org/10.1159/000450852> [accessed 6th April 2020].

[81] Felice Romani, *Il sonnambulo: melodramma semiserio* (Milan: Della tipografia di Giacomo Pirola, 1824); Riva, and others, pp. 210-15.

[82] For a summary of the events, see Riva, and others, p. 212*; Romani, Il sonnambulo*.

soldiers have been frightened by what they believe was Ansaldo's ghost'.[83] This aspect of the plot is similar to that conceived in Boieldieu's *La dame blanche* (1825), which also reveals the Romantic fascination with the Gothic: based on Scott's novel and set in a Scottish castle, the villagers, specifically Dickson, are frightened of The White Lady's ghost who turns out to be no more than the disguised heroine Anna.[84] In *Il sonnambulo*, Ernesto sleepwalks around the castle, carrying a candle and is difficult to wake, becoming confused on awaking, similar to Shakespeare's Lady Macbeth.[85]

It is likely that the French and Italian reading public first became familiar with Shakespeare from the eighteenth century through French and German intermediary translations and Italian adaptations, such as Jean-François Ducis's French comedic adaptation of *Hamlet* (1769) and Francesco Gasparini's three-act opera and loose adaptation *Amleto* (Teatro San Cassiano, Venice; carnival season 1706) with libretto by Apostolo Zeno and Pietro Pariati, rather than the original English plays.[86] Although Shakespeare had based many of his plays on older Italianate sources and plots, after encountering the 'multitude' of available English translations in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,[87] Italians (at the time) only became familiar with the works of Shakespeare through travel to England.[88] Ducis's work was subsequently translated and adapted by an anonymous dramatist, and first became known to the Italians as the similarly titled *Amleto* in 1772.[89] Francesco Gritti's later translation of Ducis's work in 1774 finally reached the stage and received nine performances

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[83] Ibid.

[84] Forbes, 'Dame blanche, La'.

[85] Ibid. See William Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, V, 1, ed. by Nicholas Brooke (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 193-95; Riva, and others, p. 213*;* Stanley Finger S, Vittorio Alessandro Sironi, and Michele Augusto Riva, 'Somnambulism in Verdi's *Macbeth* and Bellini's *La Sonnambula*: Opera, Sleepwalking, and Medicine', *Progress in Brain Research*, 216 (2015), 357-88 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/bs.p[br].2014.11.015> [accessed 25th February 2021].

[86] Pierre-Antoine de La Place's adapted translations in *Théâtre Anglais, 1746-1749*, is a further example. Sandra Pietrini, 'The Eighteenth Century Reception of Shakespeare: Translations and Adaptations for Italian Audiences', in *Shakespeare, Italy, and Transnational Exchange: Early Modern to Present*, ed. by Enza De Francisci and Chris Stamatakis (New York and London: Routledge, 2017), 113-24 (pp. 113-15); Harris S. Saunders, 'Ambleto', in *Grove Music Online*; Mary B. Vanderhoof, '*Hamlet*: A Tragedy Adapted from Shakespeare (1770) by Jean-François Ducis: A Critical Edition', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 97/1 (1953), 88-142 (p. 88).

[87] Susan Bassnett, 'Foreword', in *Shakespeare, Italy, and Transnational Exchange: Early Modern to Present*, ed. by Francisci and Stamatakis, pp. xi-xvi (pp. xi-xii).

[88] Ibid., p. xiii; Giovanna Buonanno, 'Shakespeare's Reception in Nineteenth Century Italy: Giulio Carcano's Translation of *Macbeth*', in *Shakespeare, Italy, and Transnational Exchange: Early Modern to Present*, ed. by Francisci and Stamatakis, pp. 125-36 (p. 125).

[89] Ibid. The first official and direct Italian translation of a Shakespeare play would be *Il Giulio Cesare* (translated from the tragedy *Julius Caesar*), published in 1756 by clergyman and Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Domenico Valentini. Pietrini, p. 116; Bassnett, p. xiii; William Weaver, 'The Shakespeare Verdi Knew', Macbeth*: A Sourcebook*, ed. by David Rosen and Andrew Porter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 144-48 (p. 144).

in Venice.[90] Yet *Hamlet* (and Shakespeare in general) did not gain prominence or popularity in Europe until the late 1820s.[91] Shakespeare would become best adapted, translated and known to Italians in new operatic forms, gaining mass familiarity and popularity by the mid-nineteenth century.[92]

The distinct similarity between Ernesto's and Lady Macbeth's somnambulism is that both begin sleepwalking as a result of their emotional trauma following their involvement in murder.[93]

Figure 3.5: Descriptions of Ernesto's sleepwalking in *Il sonnambulo* from the preface and Act I, scene 3.[94]

> Ernesto was seized by terrible remorse: persecuted by the remembrance of his brother everywhere, by day prey to a thousand terrors, and by night frightened by horrible dreams, he sleepwalked to the place where he had committed the crime, moaning, and frightening anyone who happened to see him from afar, so that a rumor had spread that the shadow of the extinct Duke appeared in the castle.
>
> […]
>
> Act I, scene 3.
> Room in Duke Ernesto's apartment; alcove on one side covered with curtains. In front of entrance door.
>
> *Duke Ernesto enters covered with a sheet like a mantle with a lamp in his hand as seen on the walls of the castle, walking slowly and with his eyes motionless like a sleeping man. Ruggiero follows him in a hurry who, as soon as he arrives on stage, takes him in his arms and wakes him up.*

Just as Lady Macbeth enters with a taper in the darkness, Ernesto enters 'with a lamp in his hand' (Figure 3.5).[95] Rather than being portrayed in a white nightgown or state of undress, Ernesto appears entirely covered in a bed sheet, and thus does not necessarily share the same connotations of sexuality as with mad female heroines. Ernesto's (and equally Lady Macbeth's) behaviour here, specifically his 'trance-like state', however, is a medically accurate representation of somnambulism, especially its association with severe emotional distress.[96]

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[90] Bassnett, p. xiii.

[91] Aimée Boutin, 'Shakespeare, Women, and French Romanticism', *Modern Language Quarterly*, 65/4 (2004), 505-29 (p. 507).

[92] Bassnett, pp. xiii-xiv. Rossini's opera *Otello* was first performed on 4th December 1816 at Teatro del Fondo, Naples, before being subsequently performed at the Théâtre-Italien, Paris (5th June 1821), with Giuditta Pasta as Desdemona. See Richard Osborne, '*Otello* (i)', in *Grove Music Online*; James Radomski, *Manuel García (1775–1832): Chronicle of the Life of a bel canto Tenor at the Dawn of Romanticism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 149.

[93] Also observed in Riva, and others, p. 213.

[94] The translation of Ernesto's sleepwalking (from the preface of the libretto) was created using a translation of Romani's libretto, and that presented in Riva, and others, p. 213. Romani, *Il sonnambulo*, pp. 4, 12.

[95] Ibid.

[96] Riva, and others, p. 213. Real somnambulists were often diagnosed after experiencing 'nocturnal forms of epilepsy, hysterics, and malingerers'. Ibid., pp. 210-15.

While Ernesto's somnambulism is triggered by his crime and subsequent guilt, Lucia's madness in Act II of *Le nozze di Lammermoor* is instead triggered by the loss of her love, Edgardo.[97] Despite this, both plead for pity and forgiveness: Lucia asks for her faithful heart to be consoled in the cavatina of her mad scene, 'Oh di sorte crudel' (in Act II, scene 5).[98] Ernesto's marked confusion (in Act I, scene 3) also relates to Lucia's later frenzy (in Act II, scene 8), as both texts are partially broken up by use of ellipses to evoke their raving delusions and delirium.[99] Although this demonstrates a consistency in approach between Carafa's respective representations of male somnambulism and female madness, Lucia's madness more closely relates to that of Ophelia in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*.

Ophelia

Despite Ophelia's subordinate and relatively minor role in *Hamlet*, over the centuries she has become one of Shakespeare's most prominent figures, known widely for her mad scene in Act IV, scene 5 and death by drowning in Act IV, scene 7.[100] In the eighteenth century, actors and Classicists had approached the role of Ophelia with caution, being careful to censor any suggestion of her sexuality and suppress her excitable madness: on performing the role in Britain circa 1785, actress Sarah Siddons followed strict theatrical rules and performed Ophelia's mad scene 'with classical dignity' (see Image 3.2).[101] In 1786, however, a *Times* critic stated that Mrs Siddons, unlike her colleagues, had 'slighted' Ophelia's customary dress, and instead proved 'that it was possible to assume *distraction*, without appearing in *white Satin!*'.[102]

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[97] Balocchi, *Le nozze di Lammermoor*, pp. 39-40. There is no violent madness as in Scott, pp. 337-39.
[98] Romani, *Il sonnambulo*, pp. 13-14; Balocchi, *Le nozze di Lammermoor*, pp. 37-38.
[99] Romani, *Il sonnambulo*, pp. 13-14; Balocchi, *Le nozze di Lammermoor*, pp. 39-40.
[100] As previously mentioned, in Act IV, scene 5, Ophelia adopts inappropriate social conventions by singing, playing the lute, and distributing flowers. Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, IV. 5, pp. 298-308. Ophelia only appears in five scenes in *Hamlet*, but she has often been portrayed in art, literature, music and on the stage. See Showalter, 'Ophelia, Gender and Madness'; Showalter, 'Representing Ophelia', pp. 77-78.
[101] Showalter, 'Ophelia, Gender and Madness'; Showalter, 'Representing Ophelia', pp. 82-83.
[102] *The Times*, 17 May 1786, p. 3, in *The Times Digital Archive* <https://go.gale.com/ps/i.do?p=TTDA&sw=w&u=ucw_itc&v=2.1&pg=BasicSearch&it=static&sid=bookmark-TTDA> [accessed 28th July 2022].

Image 3.2: Actress Sarah Siddons as Ophelia, c. 1785.[103]

Sarah Siddons as Ophelia,

Yet by the nineteenth century, this approach had utterly transformed due to Enlightenment ideas. In their respective revolutionary, Romantic manifestos, Stendhal (1822) and Victor Hugo (1827), in the Preface to his play *Cromwell*, had taken a stand against the 'outdated [French] neoclassical dramatic theory', instead promoting naturalism.[104] Hugo advised the use of a Shakespearean model as the basis for new, tragic drama: he recommended incorporating a combination of both tragic and comic elements; the 'grotesque with [the] sublime'; low art and high art.[105] Classicism, which had become associated with male reason, the clarity of ideas and suppressed emotional expression, aimed to maintain convention, to deny female sensuality and its associations with madness. Romanticism, which was more interested in appropriating characteristics traditionally associated with

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[103] *Sarah Siddons as Ophelia in Shakespeare's* Hamlet, ink drawing, [n.d.], 187 x 163 mm, image 34762, LUNA: Folger Digital Image Collection (Folger Shakespeare Library) <https://luna.folger.edu> [accessed 4th March 2022]. This image is released under the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International (CC by 4.0) license <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/> [accessed 17th April 2023].

[104] Boutin, pp. 509-11. See A. W. Halsall, *Victor Hugo and the Romantic Drama* (Toronto, ON; Buffalo, NY and London: University of Toronto Press, 1998), for more detail.

[105] Hugo wrote his Preface shortly after encountering the English Shakespearean productions in Paris in 1827. Halsall, pp. 66-67.

women, instead aimed to whole-heartedly embrace, explore and realistically represent themes such as madness.[106]

By the 1827-28 season in Paris, the Romantic interest in Shakespeare reached its peak: amongst the English and French productions being performed, appeared a British company of actors, led by actor Charles Kemble, who had travelled to Paris with a production of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* at the Odéon and Théâtre-Italien.[107] It was Irish actress Harriet Smithson, however, who would capture the most attention and receive huge acclaim for her portrayal of the mad Ophelia.[108] Prior to agreeing to perform the role, Smithson was apprehensive, as it had been twelve years since she'd last performed the role in Ireland, and she worried that her 'modest singing voice' would not satisfy the performance requirements for Ophelia's mad scenes.[109] Nevertheless, Smithson's physical appearance followed Elizabethan and Jacobean theatrical conventions:[110] she 'performed in the white dress of innocence and the long black veil of mourning; her long, loosened hair bore sprigs of straw'.[111] Although Smithson followed direction and traditional stage conventions in the rehearsal period, she had been privately working on her own Romantic and realistic embodiment of Ophelia's madness, which she finally revealed once in front of the attentive audience (see Image 3.3).[112]

Smithson need not have been nervous. As her Parisian performances were given in English, audiences mostly attended for Smithson's delirious and expressive characterisation of Ophelia.[113] At one point, she 'spread her long black veil on the ground and, mistaking it for her father's shroud, scattered flowers upon it'.[114] Her use of gesture, mime and trance-like movements around the stage, as well as her emotional and combined portrayal of 'grief and delirium', made her performance utterly naturalistic and 'memorable' to the audience.[115]

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[106] Showalter, 'Ophelia, Gender and Madness'; Boutin, p. 510; Wechsler, p. 204.

[107] Performances included *Romeo and Juliet, King Lear, Macbeth* and *Othello*. Peter Raby, '*Fair Ophelia': A Life of Harriet Smithson Berlioz* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 43-44; Boutin, p. 510; Wechsler, pp. 202, 217.

[108] Wechsler, pp. 201-21; Raby, p. 63.

[109] Raby, p. 55.

[110] Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, IV. 5, pp. 298-300, 305-09. A look of distraction and '"loose" or "dishevelled"' hair were most symbolic of female madness (or rape) on the Elizabethan stage. See Allan Dessen, *Elizabethan Stage Conventions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 36-38.

[111] Wechsler, p. 203. See also Raby, p. 63.

[112] Raby, p. 56; Wechsler, p. 203; J. Q. Borgerhoff, *Le Théâtre Anglais à Paris sous la Restauration* (Paris: Hachette, 1928), pp. 92-93, referenced in Wechsler, p. 205.

[113] Parisian audiences would not have understood English, and may have been aware of French translations of Shakespeare's text. See Wechsler, p. 202.

[114] Raby, p. 63.

[115] Jacques Barzun, *Berlioz and the Romantic Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), pp. 85-86, referenced in Wechsler, p. 205; Raby, p. 63.

Although Smithson had worried that her singing voice would not satisfy the requirements of the scene, she performed the mad songs as 'sweetly pleasing musical interlude[s]'.[116] In doing so, she highlighted the deviant and disruptive nature of the songs, and thus successfully and realistically conveyed Ophelia's distress.[117]

Image 3.3: Devéria and Boulanger's lithograph of Harriet Smithson as Ophelia in Moreau's *Souvenirs du Théâtre Anglais à Paris* (1827).[118]

Overall, critics praised the British company's performance of *Hamlet*: Alexandre Dumas *père* stated that 'it was the first time [he] saw in the theatre real passions, giving life to men and women of flesh and blood'.[119] Hector Berlioz's association of Smithson with the idealised 'fair Ophelia' led to obsession as he pursued the actress in the following years, and the pair eventually married on 3rd October 1833.[120] Smithson's performance additionally contributed to fashionable trends of the time, as women began to wear their hair '*à la folle*', with a black veil intertwined with straw, as reported by French newspaper *Le Corsaire* in 1827.[121] Smithson's Romantic embodiment of the mad Ophelia, brought new attention to the role, and would have reigning influence over the cultural representation of female madness

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[116] The developed 'English theatre practice emphasised the performance of the songs in Ophelia's mad scenes. Raby, pp. 55, 63.

[117] Raby, pp. 63, 66-67.

[118] M. Moreau, *Souvenirs du Théâtre Anglais à Paris,* with lithographs by Achille Devéria and Boulanger (Paris: H. Gaugain, Lambert et Cie, 1827) <www.gallica.bnf.fr> [accessed 4th March 2022].

[119] 'C'était la première fois que je voyais au théâtre des passions réelles, animant des hommes et des femmes en chair et en os'. Alexandre Dumas *père*, *Mes Mémoires*, new edition, 10 vols (Paris: Michel Levy Fréres, 1867), IV, p. 280. Also translated in Raby, p. 63; Showalter, 'Representing Ophelia', p. 83; Wechsler, p. 206.

[120] Raby, pp. 1, 77, 100-02, 120-45.

[121] 'A la vogue de la girafe et des Osages succède chez nos marchandes de modes, celle des artistes anglaise: déjà on a vu une coîffure à la miss Smithson, dite *à la folle*. Elle consiste en un voile noir et en fétus de paille artistement entremêlés aux cheveux'. *Le Corsaire*, 11 October 1827, p. 4, in *Gallica* <www.gallica.bnf.fr> [accessed 24th February 2021].

for years to come.[122] Smithson's performance was immortalised and visually portrayed by Devéria and Boulanger's lithographs in Moreau's *Souvenirs du Théâtre Anglais à Paris* (of 1827) and then Delacroix's series of lithographs published in 1843 (see Images 3.3 and 3.4).[123] Several paintings would also depict the death of Ophelia, most notably those of Delacroix (1853) and John Everett Millais (1851-1852).[124]

Image 3.4: Eugène Delacroix's lithograph *Le chant d'Ophélie* (Act IV, scene 5), published 1843.[125]

Prior to her mad scene, Lucia (like Ophelia) is represented as an 'elite ideal of the silent, chaste, and obedient woman'.[126] From the beginning of Lucia's mad scene (in Act II, scene 5), however, her madness and its Ophelian traits are visually suggested: just as Lucy is portrayed as singing and playing the lute in Chapter 3 of Scott's novel, here Lucia sings and plays the harp alone (see Figure 3.6).[127]

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[122] Wechsler, p. 201; Showalter, 'Representing Ophelia', p. 83.

[123] See Moreau, *Souvenirs du Théâtre Anglais à Paris.* See Wechsler, pp. 202, 211; Showalter, 'Representing Ophelia', pp. 84-85; Raby, p. 63.

[124] See Eugène Delacroix, *La mort d'Ophélie*, painting, 23 x 30 cm, 1840-1860, Musée du Louvre <https://collections.louvre.fr> [accessed 7th January 2021], for instance.

[125] Eugène Delacroix, *Le chant d'Ophélie*, lithograph, 25.8 x 20.7 cm, 1834, published 1843, Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art <http://www.nationalgalleries.org/> [accessed 6th December 2021].

[126] Caralyn Bialo, 'Popular Performance, the Broadside Ballad, and Ophelia's Madness', *Studies in English Literature,* 53/2 (2013), 293-309 (p. 299).

[127] Ophelia enters 'playing on a lute, with her hair down, singing'. Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, IV. 5, p. 298.

Figure 3.6: Translated excerpt of Lucia's scena 'L'amica ancor non torna' and its opening stage directions (Act II, scene 5).[128]

> (*Pleasant garden of Ravenswood Castle; on one side, a graceful pavilion, surrounded by [...] flower bushes; in the middle a sofa,* and around various elegant furniture, up and over where there are scattered books, *musical instruments, canvases with embroidery, and a harp*.)
>
> LUCIA SOLO (SCENA)
> The friend still does not return.... every moment
> Seems to me a century... troubled, uncertain
> Throbs the heart in the breast... Oh cruel trial!
> The oppressed mind
> Foresees a thousand pains and damages... oh you,
> My faithful and pleasing companion,
> Help me to endure the bitter pain. (*She takes the harp*.)

Although Lucia is simply sat in the garden, the presence of flowers surrounding her is reminiscent of Ophelia's flowers which, in Smithson's performance, evoke associations with her femininity and sexuality, and in Shakespeare's text recollect Ophelia's 'farewell' in Act IV, scene 5, due to their funereal connotations.[129] Lucia, as in Chapter 29 of Scott's novel, is confined and unhappy over Edgardo's silence: while Lucy remains impassive and quietly embroiders in her mother's company, Lucia ponders upon her cruel fate alone in a scena and two-verse cavatina (labelled a romanza), and wonders whether Edgardo will return.[130]

Although others have argued that no real mad scene exists within *Le nozze di Lammermoor*,[131] I instead propose that the Act II mad scene is in fact large in scale and akin to the traditional *gran scena* of Rossinian opera with several lyrical sections – linked by choral interventions and recitative – concluding with a cabaletta.[132] It comprises a short scena and opening cavatina ('L'amica ancor non torna… Oh di sorte crudel'), an additional scena and aria ('E fia mai vero… No ad altri mai'), before transitioning into a conventional tempo

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[128] All translations in this chapter have been completed using both French and Italian text in Balocchi, *Le nozze di Lammermoor,* pp. 37-38.

[129] Where she gives away her flowers and bids farewell to those around her, as well as of Smithson's adorned garlands and arrangement of the flowers. Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, IV. 5, pp. 298-300, 305-09. On Smithson's associations, see Showalter, 'Ophelia, Gender and Madness'; Showalter, 'Representing Ophelia', pp. 80-81; Raby, p. 63. On Ophelia's madness in *Hamlet*, see Gabrielle Dane, 'Reading Ophelia's Madness', *Exemplaria*, 10/2, 405-23 <https://doi.org/10.1179/exm.1998.10.2.405> [accessed 20th February 2021].

[130] In Chapter 29, twelve months have passed since Ravenswood's exit. Scott, pp. 296-301. Balocchi, *Le nozze di Lammermoor,* pp. 37-41; Michele Carafa, *Le nozze di Lammermoor* ([n.p.]: [n. pub.], [n.d.]), Cardiff, Foyle Opera Rara Collection, Royal Welsh College of Music and Drama, OR B-51, pp. 250-54.

[131] Izzo, p. 186, states that there is no real or true mad scene in *Le nozze*.

[132] Gossett describes Lucia's mad scene as a 'Gran Scena of sorts', and notes that it is more 'traditional' in form than Donizetti's later mad scene in *Lucia di Lammermoor*. See Gossett, ed., 'Introduction', in Carafa, *Le nozze di Lammermoor*, n.p. Donizetti uses a similar structure for *Anna Bolena*. See Chapter 5; Donizetti, *Anna Bolena,* vocal score, pp. 431-68; Philip Gossett, Anna Bolena *and the Artistic Maturity of Gaetano Donizetti* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), pp. 31-32.

di mezzo and cabaletta, with choral interjections and repeated verse structure ('Già lo sposo fè ritorno… Il dolor ch'opprime il seno'; see Table 3.2).[133]

Table 3.2: Structural outline of Lucia's mad scene in *Le nozze di Lammermoor*.

Section/Movement	Corresponding Scene	Opening libretto
Scena (i)	Act II, scene 5	'L'amica ancor non torna…'
Cavatina		'Oh, di sorte crudel'
Dialogue/recitative	Act II, scenes 6-7	'Èccoti alfin, diletta amica…'
Scena (ii)	Act II, scene 8	'E fia mai vero…'
Aria		'No ad altri mai'
Tempo di mezzo	Act II, scene 9	'Già lo sposo fè ritorno…'
Cabaletta		'Il dolor ch'opprime il seno'

Lucia's first scena and cavatina (Act II, scene 5), in its lyrical and languid quality and musical conventionality, shares dramatic similarities with *Nina*'s lamenting mad cavatina (Act I: 'Il mio ben quando verrà'), and other mad scenes of the period.[134] Due to Carafa's Classical style of composition, Lucia's mad scene is more traditional in form, and deviates only slightly from the flowing structure of the emerging Romantic mad scene, as presented in Bellini's *Il pirata* (1827), for instance.[135]

The diegetic on-stage harp, which evokes the lute from Ophelia's mad scene, is heard in the arpeggiated harp *preludio* and orchestral introduction leading into Lucia's cavatina, its religious overtones reinforcing her purity (see Musical Example 3.1).[136]

Musical Example 3.1: The four-bar harp *preludio*, preceding Lucia's cavatina 'Oh, di sorte crudel' (Bars 34-37).[137]

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[133] Carafa, pp. 250-271. Carafa's musical scores for *Le nozze di Lammermoor* share the same page numbers.
[134] See Paisiello, pp. 108-116.
[135] See Carafa, pp. 255-71; Vincenzo Bellini, *Il pirata: melodramma in due atti,* with libretto by Felice Romani, vocal score (Milan: Ricordi, 2007), pp. 337-55 [nkoda].
[136] Carafa, p. 251.
[137] Ibid. No formal bar numbers are written in this score, therefore, I have numbered the bars myself, and will further refer to these in the caption.

Lucia's quiet and youthful demeanour are equally reflected in the clarinet solo's extensive *piano,* and highly embellished melodies throughout the introductory passage from bars 38 to 57 (see Musical Example 3.2).[138] Indeed, such an opening woodwind solo became an archetypal characteristic of the operatic mad scene.[139]

Musical Example 3.2: The opening five bars of the introductory clarinet solo and arpeggiated accompaniment of Lucia's cavatina (Bars 38-42).[140]

Lucia's continued reference to heaven throughout her cavatina further accents her purity, and the arpeggiated accompaniment portrays her as serenading the daughter of heaven to console her oppressed and faithful heart. Lucia's phrase at the opening of the cavatina 'Oh, di sorte crudel' in B major, however, romanticises the text 'oh cruel fate', and the passing modulation to C sharp minor on 'solo ristoro' (only rest), emphasises her unhappiness over her confined situation (see Musical Example 3.3).[141]

Musical Example 3.3: Lucia's opening phrase 'Oh, di sorte crudel' (cavatina) in Act II, scene 5 (Bars 58-61).[142]

Overall, however, the cavatina is hopeful: Lucia is optimistic that Edgardo will be returned to her, that her heart will be consoled, and this is emphasised in the embellishment of 'speranza'

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[138] Carafa, p. 252.

[139] Carafa, pp. 252-53. Bellini similarly incorporates a cantabile cor anglais prelude in 'Oh! S'io potessi' (accompanied by harp and strings), and a flute prelude at the beginning of 'Col sorriso d'innocenza' (with string accompaniment) introducing Imogene's vocal melody. Vincenzo Bellini, *Il pirata: melodramma in due atti,* with libretto by Felice Romani, opera score (Milan: Ricordi, [n.d.]), pp. 666-68, 678-79 [nkoda].

[140] These musical examples have been created for the purpose of this thesis, and are copies of what is written in Carafa's score. See Carafa, p. 252.

[141] Ibid., p. 253.

[142] Ibid.

(hope) and the singer's extemporised decoration of 'libertà' in the second verse (bars 98-99), as exhibited in contemporary recordings (Musical Example 3.4).[143]

Musical Example 3.4: Embellishment on 'speranza' (hope) in bars 64-65.[144]

As previously discussed, madness is musically represented through the manipulation of standard formal conventions. While the conventional two-verse structure of Lucia's cavatina suggests that she has not yet lost her reason, the similarities in her behaviour and surroundings to those of Ophelia subtly suggest what is to come. On learning that there has been no news from Edgardo in the following scenes, Lucia's fury is unleashed and her passionate madness is finally triggered in her second scena and aria 'E fia mai vero… No ad altri mai' (in Act II, scene 8).[145] 'My mind is delirious… oh atrocious madness!' ('Delira la mia mente… o smania atroce!'), Lucia declares on believing that Edgardo will not return from his travels, and that their vow is now broken.[146] As Gabrielle Dane observes in relation to Ophelia, with the loss of her lover, 'Madness becomes [Lucia's] last resort'.[147]

In stark contrast to the conventionality of her initial scena and cavatina, the structure of her second scena and aria is unclear: Lucia instead begins with a long scena with a number of recitative and cantabile sections, entirely comprised of *versi sciolti* (see Tables 3.3a and b for comparison).[148]

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[143] Carafa, p. 253. Joyce DiDonato embellishes 'libertà' in her recording of Lucia's scena and cavatina. See Michele Carafa, '*Le nozze di Lammermoor*, Act 2: "L'amica ancor non torna… Oh, di sorte crudel" (Lucia)', on *Stella di Napoli*, Joyce DiDonato, Jean-Michel Bertelli, Orchestre de l'Opéra National de Lyon, Erato/Warner Classics [Apple Music] (2014); Warner Classics, *Joyce DiDonato: Carafa's L'Amica ancor non torna from the album Stella di Napoli*, online video recording, YouTube, 2 September 2014 <https://youtu.be/7IY_FiBBxTE> [accessed 16th June 2022].

[144] Carafa, p. 253.

[145] Balocchi, *Le nozze di Lammermoor,* pp. 39-40.

[146] Ibid., pp. 37-38. 'In passing through a large Gothic anteroom, Sir William Ashton heard the sound of his daughter's lute. […] He stopped, therefore, and listened, while the silver tones of Lucy Ashton's voice mingled with the accompaniment in an ancient air'. Scott, pp. 39-40.

[147] Dane, p. 412.

[148] Balocchi, *Le nozze di Lammermoor,* pp. 39-40.

Movement	Section and Tempo Description	Transcribed Bars	Movement	Section and Tempo Description	Transcribed Bars
			Scena (ii)	**Begins *Andante***	**1-71**
Scena (i)	***Andante***	**1-33**		*Orchestral introduction*	1-8
	Orchestral introduction	1-8		*Long scena with lyrical and recitative sections* [*Andante*, recit: 'E fia mai vero…']	8-71
	Short, opening recit: 'L'amica ancor non torna…'	8-33			8-34
Cavatina	***Andantino***	**34-109**		[*Allegro moderato*, lyrical section: 'incerta, oppressa']	34-49
	Harp prelude	34-37			
	Introduction (with clarinet solo)	38-57		[Return to recit: 'e solo di feroce…']	49
	Verse 1: 'Oh di sorte crudel'	58-81		[*Allegro*: 'Verrà! Verrà!']	55-58
	Instrumental transition	81-85		[*Andante*: 'a Edgardo noto fia']	59-71
	Verse 2: 'Tu frà l'ondeal nocchier'	86-109	**Aria**	***Maestoso***	**72-132**
				First verse: 'No ad altri mai'	72-98
				Modified verse repeat	99-116
				Coda: 'quest'anima'	116-32

Although her following aria is written in *versi lirici* and is therefore indicative of a conventional repeated verse structure, Carafa unexpectedly alters the structure of the repeated passage 'No ad altri mai', as he omits certain phrases and transitions, thus disrupting and rewriting the vocal melody.[149] Just as Ophelia predominantly communicates through 'disruptive' ballads in her mad scene, Lucia communicates through disjunct text here. In doing so, she disrupts audience expectations and expressively commands attention (both from the audience on stage and in the theatre).[150]

Although Balocchi's libretto and stage directions reveal little of Lucia's madness in her physical appearance, Lucia's words are 'Delira la mia mente' (My mind is delirious) with the accompanying stage direction '*Quasi delirando*' (Almost delirious).[151] Moreover, Lucia's mention of the veil and flowers related to her forthcoming nuptials heighten the resemblance

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[149] For example, at Bars 106-16, Carafa omits a repeat of the passage 'Contro un verace amor…' (which initially features in bars 81-88), and instead provides a modified repeat of the phrase 'Al primo ardor quest'anima…' (first heard at bars 88-98).

[150] Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, IV. 5, pp. 298-300, 305-09; Bialo, p. 293; Dunn, pp. 50-1, 58. Just as Derek Russell Davis, *Scenes of Madness: A Psychiatrist at the Theatre* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), pp. 30-40, says of Ophelia's indecent, 'disordered language' and 'unequivocal' madness.

[151] Balocchi, *Le nozze di Lammermoor,* p. 40.

between Lucia and Ophelia, recalling the latter's ballad 'Larded with sweet flowers / Which bewept to the grave did not go', and evoking her impending death (see Figure 3.7).[152]

Figure 3.7: Translated excerpt of text from Lucia's scena 'E fia mai vero!' (Act II, scene 8).[153]

LUCIA:	My mind is delirious... oh atrocious madness!
	Oh, cruel torture! The fatal moment
	Is coming... the altar is prepared… (*Almost delirious*.)
	The pomp... The veil... The flowers...The torches.

While Ophelia makes indirect and passive references to the loss of her lover, Hamlet, in singing her St Valentine's day ballad – about a young woman who has been seduced and abandoned – Lucia is instead markedly active, direct and angry, singing of her own lover's silence and abandonment (see Table 3.4).[154]

Table 3.4: Comparative example of Ophelia's 'St Valentine's Day' ballad and Lucia's scena (ii) and aria.[155]

OPHELIA:	'Tomorrow is Saint Valentine's day,	LUCIA:	SCENA:
	All in the morning betime,		And may it never be true!... Edgardo
	And I a maid at your window,		Mirror of loyalty, of honour... Edgardo,
	To be your Valentine,'		Who before Heaven swore eternal faith,
			So he can betray me! […]
	Then up he rose, and donned his clothes,		But if my bridegroom knows […]
	And dupped the chamber door;		in what state I find myself, Ah!
	Let in the maid, that out a maid		Why does he stay silent, and
	Never departed more […]		leave me at the mercy of my cruel
			oppressors? […]
	By Gis, and by Saint Charity,		
	Alack, and fie for shame!		ARIA:
	Young men will do't, if they come to't,		No to others never
	By Cock, they are to blame.		I will not give the right,
			I swore I would
	Quoth she 'Before your tumbled me,		Not betray him.
	You promised me to wed.'		Against true love
	'So would I ha' done, by yonder sun.		Tyrannical power has no strength;
	An thou hadst not come to my bed.'		Anyone will try to extinguish it in vain,
			This heart will
	[*Hamlet*, IV. 5. 47-64]		Always be faithful to its first love.

Furthermore, while Ophelia's singing of 'bawdy' ballads transports her from high to low culture – as she appropriates the behaviour of lower-class characters and their associated sexuality – Lucia, in her aria 'No ad altri mai' remains noble, chaste and loyal to her love in refusing to break her oath to Edgardo (see Table 3.4).[156] In behaving thus, Lucia conforms to the archetypal, vengeful heroines of *opera seria*, wronged in love, such as Mozart's heroines

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[152] Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, IV. 5, pp. 298-299, 305-09; Dane, p. 417.
[153] 'Delira la mia mente… o smania atroce! / O reo martir!... s'appressa / Il momento fatal… già pronta è l'ara… / (*Quasi delirando.*)' Balocchi, *Le nozze di Lammermoor,* pp. 39-41.
[154] Dane, p. 417.
[155] Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, IV. 5, pp. 299-300; Balocchi, *Le nozze di Lammermoor*, pp. 39-41.
[156] Bialo, pp. 294, 300, 302; Dunn, pp. 50-51, 58.

Donna Anna and Donna Elvira (*Il dissoluto punito, ossia Don Giovanni*) and Elettra (*Idomeneo*), remaining within Classical conventions.[157]

This characterisation is further supported by Lucia's tempo di mezzo and cabaletta 'Già lo sposo fè ritorno… Il dolor che opprime il seno' (Act II, scene 9), with repeated verse structure and choral interjections, directing her back to convention and reason.[158] The chorus enter to announce that Lucia's bridegroom has arrived, and Lucia remains markedly active, responding with a decorative, *con forza* statement: she knows that the time has come to face her bridegroom (and fate), but hopes that eventually she will triumph.[159] Lucia's cabaletta, with its *poco più lento* tempo and *con espressivo* markings, is more of a lyrical lament and stylistically akin to her opening cavatina.[160] Lucia expressively sings of her pain, recalling the importance of her betrothal to Edgardo with extensive decoration on 'giuramento' (oath), and laments that she has been abandoned and betrayed.[161] Lucia's long coda, however, is more passionate and vengeful in character, as she repeats the text 'Il voler d'un alma forte […] trionfare alfin saprà' (the will of the strong soul will always triumph), from the tempo di mezzo at a *più allegro* tempo and with fortissimo dynamics.[162] While Ophelia in her singing thus estranges herself from norms of behaviour acceptable to patriarchal ideals and theatrical conventions, Lucia in contrast is framed and confined within them.[163]

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[157] For examples of comparable Mozart arias and scenes, see Donna Anna's 'Don Ottavio; son morta!... Or sai chi l'onore' and Donna Elvira's 'In quali eccessi, o numi… Mi tradì quell'alma ingrata'. Elettra similarly goes mad and seeks vengeance in her mad scene following betrayal in love ('O smania! O furie! O disperata Elettra… D'Oreste, d'Ajace'). Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Don Giovanni, K. 527: dramma giocoso in due atti,* with libretto by Lorenzo Da Ponte (Milan: Ricordi, 2005), pp. 104-13, 288-96 [nkoda]; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Idomeneo*: *dramma per musica in tre atti,* libretto by Giambattista Varesco, vocal score (Milan: Edizioni Suvini Zerboni, 1947), pp. 167-74.

[158] Carafa, p. 261. The conventional repeated verse structure and chorus interjections in Lucia's cabaletta place it within the realms of other mad cabalettas of the period, such as 'Coppia iniqua' in Donizetti's *Anna Bolena* (1830). Donizetti, *Anna Bolena*, vocal score, pp. 457-68.

[159] There are decorative, descending runs on both 'barbaro cimento' (barbaric ordeal, or trial) and 'alma' (soul). Balocchi, *Le nozze di Lammermoor,* p. 41; Carafa, p. 263.

[160] Carafa, pp. 264-71. Lucia's cabaletta differs from the *con forza* 'Coppia iniqua' (*moderato*) and 'Sole! Ti vela' (*allegro giusto*) which both have moderate tempi. Donizetti, *Anna Bolena*, vocal score, pp. 457-68; Bellini, *Il pirata*, vocal score, pp. 350-55. Izzo, p. 186, likens Lucia's cabaletta to Amina's cabaletta 'Sovra il sen la man mi posa' in *La sonnambula*.

[161] Carafa, pp. 264-65; Balocchi, *Le nozze di Lammermoor,* pp. 41-42. This decoration occurs again in the repeated verse, see Carafa, p. 268.

[162] Carafa, pp. 268-70.

[163] Bialo, pp. 294, 300-02; Dunn, pp. 50-51, 58.

Ophelia and Lucia: Love-Madness and Hysteria

The cultural image of Ophelia remained consistent with the developing medical representation of female madness between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries.[164] Ophelia's madness, however, has been perceived by critics as most akin to seventeenth-century theories on love-madness (or erotomania), and hysteria, such as Edward Jorden's *The Suffocation of the Mother* (1603), Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621), and James Ferrand's *Erotomania* treatise (1640).[165] In consideration of this and the influence of Ophelia on Lucia's mad scene, such medical theories can, therefore, be investigated and compared to *Le nozze di Lammermoor,* in order to determine to what extent Lucia's mad scene reflected early modern and nineteenth-century medical ideas.

While Lucia's second scena (ii) in Act II, scene 8 is the main focus here in considering the influences of medical theories on *Le nozze di Lammermoor*, there are suggestive signs of her susceptibility to madness in her 'idleness' in Act II, scene 5.[166] As Lucy's 'habits of reading and reflection' were thought to bring on love-melancholy,[167] so Balocchi's libretto implies Lucia's vulnerability to nervous diseases by providing details of her sedentary lifestyle and 'domestic amusements': he describes the elegant furniture, books, musical instruments, embroidery and the harp of her surroundings (see Table 3.5).[168]

Table 3.5: Lucia's scena 'L'amica ancor non torna' and opening stage directions (Act II, scene 5).[169]

(Ameno giardino del Castello di Ravenswood; da un lato, un padiglione di leggiadra forma, circondato da […] cespugli di fiori; nel mezzo un sofà, ed all' intorno vari mobili eleganti, sù cui vi stanno sparsi dè libri, dè strumenti di musica, dè telari con ricami, ed un'arpa. È sorta l'aurora.)	*(Pleasant garden of Ravenswood Castle; on one side, a graceful pavilion, surrounded by […] flower bushes; in the middle a sofa, and around various elegant furniture, up and over where there are scattered books, musical instruments, canvases with embroidery, and a harp. It is dawn.)*

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[164] And in-turn assisted in developing such theories of female insanity. See Showalter, 'Ophelia, Gender and Madness'; Showalter, 'Representing Ophelia', pp. 77-78.

[165] Showalter, 'Ophelia, Gender and Madness'; Showalter, 'Representing Ophelia', p. 81; Camden, p. 254; Wechsler, p. 215.

[166] Balocchi, *Le nozze di Lammermoor,* pp. 37-38; Carafa, pp. 250-54.

[167] Scott, p. 312; Burton, II, p. 214, stated that 'If thou hast nothing to do […] thou shalt be haled in peeces with envy, lust, some passion or other […] [as it is] a rare thing to see a yong man or woman, that lives idly, and fares well, of what condition soever, not to be in love'.

[168] While women were generally perceived to be more vulnerable to passions (as well as mental and physical illnesses) than men, middle-class women, who enjoyed especially indulgent, idle lives, and domestic amusements, were especially at risk of nervous diseases. See Samuel Solomon, *A Guide to Health; or Advice to Both Sexes*, 52nd edn (London: J. Clarke, 1800), pp. 30-31; Jorden, p. 1. Ferrand similarly acknowledges women's vulnerability. See Ferrand, pp. 11, 215. Thomas Trotter equally contributed to the idea that women who lived indulgent, idle domestic lives, would fall victim to melancholy: 'The female constitution therefore furnished by nature with peculiar delicacy and feeling'. See Thomas Trotter, *A View of the Nervous Temperament being A Practical Enquiry into the Increasing Prevalence, Prevention, and Treatment of those Diseases* (London: Printed by EDW, Walker, 1807), pp. 49-52.

[169] Balocchi, *Le nozze di Lammermoor,* pp. 37-38.

LUCIA SOLA	LUCIA SOLO (SCENA)
L'amica ancor non torna.... ogni momento	The friend still does not return.... every moment
Un secolo mi par... turbato, incerto	Seems to me a century... troubled, uncertain
Palpita il cor nel seno... ò reo cimento!	Throbs the heart in the breast... Oh cruel trial!
Mille la mente oppressa	The oppressed mind
Pene e danni prevede... o tu, fedele	Foresees a thousand pains and damages... oh you,
Mia compagna gradita,	My faithful and pleasing companion,
L'amaro duolo a sopportar m'aita. (*Prende l'arpa.*)	Help me to endure the bitter pain. (*She takes the harp.*)

Although seventeenth-century scholars and physicians described love as the 'cause of all good', they acknowledged its influence on passions and 'perturbations of the mind'.[170] The passion and lust evidenced by Lucia and Edgardo in their rush to betroth themselves to one another (in Act I, scene 13), together with Lucia's evident 'Grief and disappointment' at Edgardo's absence, could have affected her mind and contributed to her melancholic disposition.[171] Lucia's 'oppressed mind' is reminiscent of Lucy's 'oppressive state of desertion and desolation' after Ravenswood's silence, and evokes Burton's aforementioned descriptions of love-melancholy (see Table 3.5).[172]

Lucia's 'idleness' and potential love-melancholy are further underlined within the musical score: the *andante* tempo at the start of her recitative, and her phrase 'ogni momento un secolo mi par' (every moment seems a century to me) are indicative of her slower pace of life and longing for Edgardo (see Musical Example 3.5).[173]

Musical Example 3.5: Lucia's scena (i) 'L'amica ancor non torna' in Act II, scene 5 (Bars 8-13).[174]

Although the section begins in recitative, the accompanying silence underneath 'L'amica ancor non torna' (the friend still does not return) and 'o tu fedele mia compagna gradita' (oh you, my faithful and pleasing companion) echoes Edgardo's silence and absence.[175] In

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[170] Ferrand, pp. 1-2, 4, 7, 9.

[171] Balocchi, *Le nozze di Lammermoor,* pp. 18-20; Burton, II, pp. 200, 203; Solomon, pp. 30-31. The declaration of love and betrothal occurs in Chapter 20 of Scott, pp. 207-09.

[172] Scott, pp. 312-13; Burton, II, pp. 200, 208 more specifically uses phrases such as 'perturbation of the minde'.

[173] Carafa*,* p. 250.

[174] Ibid.

[175] Ibid.

addition, the *allegretto* tempo and accompanying semiquaver rhythms under 'turbato, incerto' (troubled, uncertain) and 'palpita il cor nel seno' (throbs the heart in the breast), mimics Lucia's increasing heartbeat and uncertainty over Edgardo's absence (see Musical Example 3.6).[176] The C sharp on 'duol' (duolo in the libretto) and passing modulation to F sharp minor then emphasise her bitter pain and heartbreak over her separation from Edgardo (see Musical Example 3.7).[177]

Musical Example 3.6: Lucia's scena (i) 'L'amica ancor non torna' in Act II, scene 5 (ii) (Bars 14-17).[178]

Musical Example 3.7: Continuation of 'O tu fedele...' in Lucia's scena (i) (Bars 27-31).[179]

While Lucia seemingly exhibits symptoms of love-melancholy here, her later scena (ii) and aria in Act II, scene 8, instead suggest she is suffering from love-madness. Love-madness, or erotomania, was primarily caused by unrequited love, before its association with nymphomania in the mid-eighteenth century.[180] Women were generally considered more susceptible to love-madness, passionate love and its associated torments, while love-melancholy was more associated with men.[181] Hamlet, for instance, became the representative figure for 'melancholy male madness' with Ophelia the prototype for

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[176] Ibid., p. 251.
[177] Ibid.
[178] Ibid.
[179] Ibid.
[180] German E. Berrios and N. Kennedy, 'Erotomania: A Conceptual History', *History of Psychiatry,* 13/52 (2002), 381-400 (pp. 381-85).
[181] Helen Small, *Love's Madness: Medicine, the Novel, and Female Insanity, 1800-1865* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), pp. 6, 9-11; Burton, II, p. 190.

'erotomania, or love-madness'.[182] Although Burton believed that 'unsatisfied love' alone perturbed the mind, a sedentary lifestyle (as exhibited by Lucia) also provoked more passionate emotions and jealousy.[183] While Ophelia's bawdy songs portray her love-madness, Lucia's scorn and rage over Edgardo's silence in her scena in Act II, scene 8, exhibit a more passionate love (see Table 3.6).[184]

Table 3.6: An excerpt of Lucia's scena (ii) in Act II, scene 8.[185]

LUCIA sola	*LUCIA solo*
E fia mai vero!... Edgardo,	And may it never be true!... Edgardo
Specchio di lealtà, d'onor… Edgardo	Mirror of loyalty, of honour... Edgardo,
Ch'eterna fede innanzi al Ciel giurommi,	Who before Heaven swore eternal faith,
Così potria tradirmi! Ah! No… tal grido	So he can betray me! Ah! no… Perhaps this rumour
Forse ad arte si sparse, onde non veda	was spread on purpose, in order to deprive me of all
Scampo, ed ai cenni della Madre io ceda.	hope, and to make me give in to my mother's orders.
Ma s'al mio sposo è noto […]	But if my bridegroom knows […]
in qual stato io mi trovi,	in what state I find myself, Ah!
Ah! Perchè tace, e in preda	Why does he stay silent, and
Mi lascia a un reo poter?... incerta, oppressa	leave me at the mercy of my cruel oppressors?... uncertain, oppressed,
Delira la mia mente… o smania atroce!	My mind is delirious... oh atrocious madness!
O reo martir!... s'appressa	Oh, cruel torture! The fatal moment
Il momento fatal… già pronta é l'ara…	Is coming... the altar is prepared…
(*Quasi delirando.*)	(*Almost delirious.*)
La pompa… il velo… i fior…. le faci… e solo	The pomp... The veil... The flowers...The torches… and
Di feroce ambizion, d'aspra vendetta	all that awaits is the unfortunate victim of
La sventurata vittima s'aspetta!	ferocious ambition, of bitter vengeance!
(*Con intenzione marcata.*)	(*With marked intention.*)
Verrà!... verrà!... decisa	He will come!... He will come!...
E' la mia infausta sorte! […]	My unfortunate fate is decided! […]
Altro scampo non vedo… a Edgardo noto	I do not see another escape... Edgardo
Fia un giorno s'era degna	Will one day know if I was worthy
Del suo amor, s'atterrirmi	Of his love, if rigor,
Potè il rigor, la forza… ed in qual guisa	If force, could have frightened me… and how
Seppi, priva d'aita e di consiglio,	Without help and council, I knew
Intrepida involarmi al reo periglio.	To escape from the cruellest dangers.

Lucia's vocal writing and text work together in Act II, scene 8, to further evidence how, as a woman, she was deemed to be more prone to love-madness; to be 'more furious in her follies' than man, and principally how she was more 'ready to run Mad for Love', as suggested by Ferrand.[186] Lucia's despair and fury are first suggested in her opening recitative with her declamatory and accusatory phrases towards Edgardo, and underpinned by the

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[182] See Burton, II, p. 190; Showalter, 'Ophelia, Gender and Madness'; Showalter, 'Representing Ophelia', p. 81; Small, pp. 6-11.
[183] Burton, II, p. 432.
[184] Ferrand, pp. 11-12, 213-15.
[185] This has been translated using the French and Italian text. Balocchi, *Le nozze di Lammermoor,* pp. 39-41.
[186] Men were not believed to display such extreme behaviours in love. Ferrand, pp. 214-17.

increase from *piano* to *fortissimo* in the accompaniment over the course of her phases (see Musical Example 3.8).[187]

Musical Example 3.8: Lucia's phrase 'Edgardo specchio di lealta d'onor' in her scena (ii) (Bars 11-13).[188]

The repetition of Edgardo's name, and repositioning of his name to the beginning of the phrase further emphasises why she is furious, the reason why she is going mad.[189] The short burst of descending coloratura on 'scampo' (escape) is therefore fatalistic and confirms that she sees no other escape from her situation, her madness or her mother's intentions, than death (see Musical Example 3.9).[190]

Musical Example 3.9: Lucia's short burst of coloratura on 'scampo' in her scena (ii) (Bars 19-21).[191]

Lucia's questions as to why her groom would stay silent, if he knew of her situation, emphasise her despair and anger, and are underpinned by a diminished chord in the vocal line on 'tace' (he is silent; see Musical Example 3.10), as well as the modulation to G minor and increase in tempo to *allegro moderato* into the next section.[192]

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[187] See Ibid; Carafa, p. 255.
[188] Carafa, p. 255.
[189] Ferrand, pp. 214-17.
[190] Carafa, pp. 255-56. This phrase appears in the printed libretto after Lucia's declaration that she will take the poison given to her by Alisia (between 'decisa e' la mia infausta sorte!' and 'a Edgardo noto fia un giorno…'), however, this section of text is omitted from the equivalent point in Carafa's musical score. Balocchi, *Le nozze di Lammermoor*, p. 40.
[191] Carafa, pp. 255-56.
[192] Ibid., p. 256.

Musical Example 3.10: Lucia questions why Edgardo remains silent (Bars 30-32).[193]

Her growing frustration is highlighted again in recitative from 'e solo di feroce' onwards: fortissimo tremolo strings, markings of *con forza* and *con intenzione marcata*, and an increase to *allegro* tempo, underpin Lucia's claims of bitter vengeance and that Edgardo will return (see Musical Examples 3.11 and 3.12).[194] In particular, the descending *fortissimo* demi-semi-quaver responses in the accompaniment (played in octaves) to Lucia's 'verrà…' (he will come), again appear fatalistic, and confirm Lucia's uncertainty and vexation that Edgardo will not return (see Musical Example 3.12).[195]

Musical Example 3.11: Lucia's growing frustration is evidenced in recitative from 'e solo di feroce' onwards (Bars 49-52).[196]

Musical Example 3.12: Lucia's phrase 'Verrà! verrà!...' (Bars 55-59).[197]

Lucia's madness is also comparable to the nineteenth-century definition of erotomania due to her distinct phase of delirium, which is suggested from her arioso section

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[193] Ibid.
[194] Ibid., p. 257.
[195] Ibid.
[196] Ibid.
[197] Ibid.

at 'incerta, oppressa'. The *allegro moderato* tempo and racing G minor accompaniment here, emphasise the accelerating pace in which Lucia is losing her mind (see Musical Example 3.13).[198] The repetition of the melody in octaves in the accompaniment at 'delira' (delirious) further underlines her delirium.[199] The repetition of the phrase 'o smania atroce' (oh atrocious madness) and the crescendo, heighten her increasing derangement after being 'separated from her lover', as described in a case of the closely associated nymphomania in Pinel's *Nosographie philosophique*.[200]

Musical Example 3.13: *Allegro moderato* tempo change and Lucia's phrase 'incerta, oppressa, delira la mia mente… o smania atroce' (Bars 34-39).[201]

Lucia's highly decorative and descending coloratura on 'involarmi' immediately preceding her aria, and the accompanying *fortissimo* chord and silence, emphasise her absolute insistence and determination that she will escape her cruel situation (through death), unlike

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[198] Ibid., p. 256. By the 1820s, Scottish physician Alexander Morison had labelled erotomania as a species of monomania or 'partial insanity' sometimes experienced by young women, differentiating it from love-melancholy by its delirium. It is described as a mental disorder and is 'less connected with desire of sensual gratification', while nymphomania was described as being driven by lust, with the cause of the disease lying in the 'irritation in the genital organs'. Alexander Morison, *Outlines of Mental Diseases with Seventeen Illustrative Engravings for the Use of Students*, 3rd edn (Edinburgh: Maclachlan and Stewart, [1829(?)]), p. 49. The earlier, second edition of the work was Alexander Morison, *Outlines of Lectures on Mental Diseases*, 2nd edn (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown & Green and S. Highley, 1826), in *Wellcome Collection* <www.wellcomecollection.org> [accessed 19th July 2022].
[199] Carafa, p. 256.
[200] Ibid.; Pinel, *Nosographie philosophique*, p. 286; also translated in Ilza Veith, *Hysteria: The History of a Disease* (Chicago, IL and London: University of Chicago Press, 1965), pp. 179-80. Pinel, *Nosographie philosophique,* p. 286, describes a relevant case of a young, pubescent, and idle woman who, in deceiving her parents, had secret affair with a young man: 'She was discovered and separated from her lover and reacted at first by experiencing horrible painful dreams. A few days later she began to display obscene and lewd behaviour […] She scarcely slept and became increasingly deranged'.
[201] Carafa, p. 256.

her more defeatist lament at 'scampo', and confirms her uncontrollable madness (see Musical Examples 3.9 and 3.14).[202]

Musical Example 3.14: Lucia's final phrase before her aria in Act II, scene 8 (Bars 68-71).[203]

Lucia's mad scene could equally be suggestive of hysteria (otherwise labelled as 'fits of the mother' or 'Passio Hysterica' in the seventeenth century). By the nineteenth century, hysteria was the all-encompassing term for mental illnesses experienced by Parisian women, and was specifically defined by Philippe Pinel as one of the 'névroses genitales' of women.[204] In addition, Harriet Smithson's successful portrayal of Ophelia was thought to imitate 'hysteria by appearing both engaged and distracted'.[205] Lucia's behaviour and circumstances similarly relate to hysteria's defined causes: she enjoys the culturally associated indulgent lifestyle, goes mad following the loss of her love (and potential deprivation from its associated pleasures), and exhibits lively, diverse emotions.[206] The musical setting and structure of the second scena in Act II, scene 8, with its contrasting sections thus further highlight the contrasting nature of her own emotions and madness.[207] For instance, Lucia both grieves and curses at Edgardo's betrayal; she is sad and regretful, before being equally angry and vengeful.[208]

Although Lucia (as a young woman) is vulnerable to hysteria, the realisation that her forced and 'speedy marriage' is being prepared to Bucklaw in fact assists in sending her mad, rather than treating her hysteria, as historically intended.[209] While Lucia does not necessarily

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[202] Ibid., p. 258.

[203] Ibid.

[204] See Chapter 1; Janet Oppenheim, *Shattered Nerves: Doctors, Patients and Depression in Victorian England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 181. Pinel, *Nosographie philosophique,* p. 285; Veith, p. 179.

[205] Wechsler, p. 217.

[206] Small, pp. 15, 18; Pinel, *Nosographie philosophique*, p. 293; Jorden, pp. 4-5, 13, 18, 22. Although Jorden, pp. 18, 22, specifies the internal and external causes for hysteria, Lucia goes mad following the loss of her love.

[207] Carafa, pp. 255-60.

[208] Jorden also noted that the hysterical woman is 'distracted through love, feare, griefe, joye', and 'will laugh, crye, prattle, threaten'. Jorden, pp. 4-5, 13; Ferrand, pp. 11-12, 213-14. Ferrand, p. 107, exemplifies the contrasting nature of emotions in love-madness, describing a patient who is happy and suddenly extremely sad.

[209] Ferrand, pp. 96-97. As with Ophelia, Lucia would have been prescribed a 'speedy Marriage: otherwise it is to be feared that through Madnesse and Impatience, they will make away themselves, either by drowning or hanging'. See also Camden, p. 255.

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exhibit the 'Suffocation in the throate' or 'hissing of snakes' associated with hysteria, she does sing and exhibit signs of distress and a confused frenzy: the accompaniment following 'o reo martir' (oh, cruel torture), for instance, becomes more frantic with more chordal harmonies and tremolo strings (see Musical Example 3.15).

Musical Example 3.15: The frenzied accompaniment following 'o reo martir' in Lucia's scena (ii) in Act II, scene 8 (Bars 40-43).[210]

The dynamics here change quickly from *piano* to *fortissimo*, heightening Lucia's realisation that – in betraying her oath to Edgardo – the 'fatal moment' has arrived and evidencing her increasing frenzy as she recalls 'la pompa… il velo… i fior…' (the pomp… the veil… the flowers; see Musical Example 3.16).[211] Her following vocal climax at 'le faci' (the torches) with a *fortissimo* A flat (before a brief silence), therefore, dramatically implies that her own wedding is indeed prepared, and that she has lost reason (see Musical Example 3.16).[212]

Musical Example 3.16: Lucia's phrase 'La pompa... il velo... i fior' in scena (ii) (Bars 45-49).[213]

[210] Carafa, pp. 256-57

[211] Jorden, p. 2; Carafa, pp. 256-57. Ophelia in her madness, 'weeps, prattles constantly, sings snatches of old songs, is distracted […] and ends her life by drowning'. See Camden, p. 254.

[212] Carafa, pp. 256-57.

[213] Ibid., p. 257.

3.3: 'O spectacolo d'orror': The Representation of Death and Suicide in *Le nozze di Lammermoor*

One distinguishing sign of Lucia's madness in Act II, scene 8 – which appears in the printed libretto, but not in the musical score – is her soliloquy, where Lucia concludes that in order to overcome her misfortune and redeem herself from the betrayal of her oath, she must take a poison given to her by Alisia and die.[214] Lucia does not suffer the effects of the poison until her re-entry in Act II, scene 12, and only dies in the final scene (scene 18): her deathly pallor, as observed by Lady Ashton and Bucklaw in scenes 12 and 15, indicates that she is already dying.[215] Despite her mother's constant persuasion and declarations that Lucia will one day be happy (in scene 12), Lucia intends to stay faithful and loyal to Edgardo for eternity, and hopes that heaven will have mercy on her pain.[216] Thus, while in Scott's novel, it is Lucy's state of mind that causes her weak signature on the signing of the marriage contract, Balocchi's text in Act II, scene 15 emphasises her physical weakness due to the poison as she almost faints and leans on her companion Elisa.[217]

On re-entering in Act II, scene 16, however, Edgardo remains ignorant of Lucia's suicidal act and turns on her: he bitterly throws his half of the ring (the sign of their betrothal) on the table, angry at her betrayal in signing the contract (scene 17).[218] In a shocking move which departs from the novel and avoids Lucy's violent madness, Lucia – after revealing her own half of the ring still placed on her breast – passionately confronts and horrifies those around her, by revealing that she has taken the deadly poison ('Mortifero veleno').[219] Following Edgardo's and Bucklaw's subsequent confrontation of one another before the surrounding on-stage audience of wedding guests (in Act II, scene 18), Lucia pleads with them to calm down and cease their fury.[220] Lucia, weakening by the second, makes her final

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[214] Lucia's soliloquy appears in the libretto between 'decisa e' la mia infausta sorte!' and 'a Edgardo noto fia un giorno…'. Balocchi, *Le nozze di Lammermoor,* p. 40; Carafa, p. 257. This has perhaps been moved to a recitative section, not included in the score, or could have been omitted due to the views on suicide at the time. The name Alisia is reminiscent of the character Ailsie Gourlay, who is employed to treat Lucy in Scott's novel. See Scott, pp. 312-13.

[215] Balocchi, *Le nozze di Lammermoor,* pp. 45-50, 55-56. Act II, scene 12 and the following scenes are based on Chapters 33 and 34 of Scott's novel, with Balocchi combining the events of St Jude's Day and Lucy's later marriage to Bucklaw into one day. See Balocchi, *Le nozze di Lammermoor*, pp. 45-56; Scott, pp. 317-35.

[216] Balocchi, *Le nozze di Lammermoor,* pp. 45-48. This duet aligns with Lady Ashton and Lucy's confrontation in Scott, pp. 298-99.

[217] Balocchi, *Le nozze di Lammermoor*, pp. 49-50; Scott, pp. 319-20.

[218] Following Edgardo's dramatic entrance in Act II, scene 16, a *tutti* largo concertato takes place, halting the drama (for all to reflect on their own feelings on the situation). Balocchi, *Le nozze di Lammermoor*, pp. 50-54. Balocchi closely follows the dialogue and descriptions of Chapter 33 in creating his libretto for Act II, scenes 16 and 17, with some parts transferred verbatim from Scott, pp. 321-28.

[219] Balocchi, *Le nozze di Lammermoor*, pp. 54-55. See Mitchell, pp. 153-54.

[220] Balocchi, *Le nozze di Lammermoor,* p. 55. See Mitchell, p. 153.

pardons and wishes to Bucklaw and Edgardo.[221] In her dying moments, Lucia grows more dejected and speaks with difficulty, accepting that it is her time to die and asking Edgardo to approach.[222] She tells him that one day they will be reunited, and asks him to feel her heart before dying alone for him ('Per te solo… io moro').[223] Following her death, Edgardo, stricken with grief, realises that he cannot bear to be parted from his love, and stabs himself on stage (in front of the chorus of relatives and wedding guests).[224]

Although starkly different to Scott's novel, in which Lucy dies of convulsions, Lucia's choice and organisation of her death is highly romanticised and performative:[225] in taking the poison given to her by Alisia, she commits suicide, reinforcing her comparability to Ophelia.[226] In the early modern period (c. 1600-1829), suicide was culturally associated with the heroic and voluntary deaths of ancient philosophers, political figures, and Christian martyrs (following great shame or infamy).[227] In Italian opera, Claudio Monteverdi's *L'incoronazione di Poppea* (1642) had portrayed the seemingly noble and 'heroic' suicide of Seneca (in 'Amici, e giunta l'ora') as a 'natural, inevitable end' relating back to Ancient Greek tragedy and philosophical ideas of suicide as a 'noble' act.[228] In addition, Henry Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas* (1689) featured Dido's lament 'When I am laid in Earth', where she welcomes death on Aeneas's departure.[229] In the nineteenth century, death and suicide became increasingly popular in opera: the dramatic suicide presented in Daniel-François-Esprit Auber's *grand opéra, La muette de Portici* (1828), for instance, portrayed the mute Fenella diving into an erupting Vesuvius at the opera's finale, following news of her brother Masaniello's death by poisoning.[230]

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[221] Balocchi, *Le nozze di Lammermoor,* pp. 55-56.
[222] Ibid., p. 56.
[223] Ibid.
[224] Ibid. Mitchell, p.154, again makes similar observations.
[225] Scott, pp. 337-39.
[226] Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, IV. 7, pp. 318-19.
[227] Lisa Lieberman, 'Romanticism and the Culture of Suicide in Nineteenth-Century France'*, Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 33/3 (1991), 611-29 (p. 611). A. Alvarez lists the ancient figures who committed suicide: 'Socrates, Zeno, Cleanthes, Seneca […] Lucretius […] Antony and Cleopatra'. See A. Alvarez, *The Savage God: A Study of Suicide* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1971), p. 81.
[228] Early modern opera and theatre had mostly dealt with the 'heroic' suicides of Ancient Greek and Roman figures. See Graeme Feggetter, 'Suicide in Opera', *British Journal of Psychiatry*, 136/6 (1980), 552-57 (pp. 553-4); Linda Hutcheon and Michael Hutcheon, *Opera: The Art of Dying* (London and Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), pp. 123-24; Lorusso, Franchini, and Porro, 'Opera and neuroscience', p. 390.
[229] Henry Purcell, *Dido and Aeneas*, ed. by Margaret Laurie and Thurston Dart (London: Novello Publishing, 1966), pp. iii, 70-72. Also cited by Feggetter, p. 553, and Hutcheon and Hutcheon, p. 124.
[230] Hutcheon and Hutcheon, pp. 9-10, 38-39; Susan Rutherford, *Verdi, Opera, Women* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 178; Feggetter, p. 554; Herbert Schneider, 'Muette de Portici, La', in *Grove Music Online*.

Lucia's suicide by poison and Edgardo's ensuing violent suicide also partially conform to the conventions of Italianate spoken theatre, as represented in Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* and *Anthony and Cleopatra*.[231] Such works made it appear culturally acceptable for men and women to commit suicide in order to redeem themselves, following their own shame, or the 'death of a lover'.[232] The Romantic Shakespeare revival in Paris in the 1820s would have made such suicidal deaths contemporary cultural issues and themes for dramatists, librettists and composers at the time. Charles Kemble and Harriet Smithson played the protagonists in an adapted rendition of *Romeo and Juliet* at the Odéon, Paris in September 1827, and the pair performed a significantly modified ending.[233] As in David Garrick's famous 1750 production at Drury Lane, London, Juliet instead awakes before Romeo's suicide by poison, adding elaborate dialogue between the pair, with final climactic emphasis placed on Juliet's sacrificial suicide.[234] This production took place at the same time as the premiere of Niccola Vaccai's tragic opera *Giulietta e Romeo* (with a libretto by Felice Romani) at the Théâtre-Italien, with singers Girolamo Crescentini and Giuditta Pasta performing the title roles.[235] Vaccai's finale emphasised Giulietta's death, with remorseful statements from the chorus and Capellio (Giulietta's father).[236] Both endings are comparable to that of *Le nozze di Lammermoor*, as Lucia and Edgardo share an intimate exchange in their final moments (in front of the on-stage audience of wedding guests), and Lucia's suicide indirectly causes the death of Edgardo.[237]

While in the stage representation of death, time appears to stand still and emotion suspended, in reality death is an exceptionally distressing experience for both the person

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[231] These plays equally included 'potions, both soporific and poisonous'. Tanya Pollard, '"A Thing Like Death": Sleeping Potions and Poisons in *Romeo and Juliet* and *Antony and Cleopatra*', *Renaissance Drama*, 37 (2003), 95-121 (p. 95). Martha Tuck Rozett, 'The Comic Structures of Tragic endings: The Suicide Scenes in *Romeo and Juliet*', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 36/2 (1985), 152-64 (p. 152), notes that works of this genre are 'distinct from tragedies in which love is made subordinate to revenge', and are commonly identified by their title, such as *Romeo and Juliet*, and *Anthony and Cleopatra*.

[232] Michael MacDonald, 'The Inner Side of Wisdom: Suicide in Early Modern England', *Psychological Medicine*, 7/4 (1977), 565-82 (p. 569); Paul S. Seaver, 'Suicide and the Vicar General in London: A Mystery Solved?', in *From Sin to Insanity: Suicide in Early Modern Europe,* ed. by Jeffrey R. Watt (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004), pp. 25-47 (p. 42).

[233] Raby, pp. 69-71.

[234] Ibid. George C. Branam, 'The Genesis of David Garrick's *Romeo and Juliet*', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 35/2 (1984), 170-79 (pp. 174-75).

[235] Raby, pp. 69-71.

[236] Nicola Vaccai, *Giulietta e Romeo* (Milan and Florence: Ricordi, [n.d.]), pp. 10-14. This was based on the libretto by Giuseppe Maria Foppa, which was used by Niccolò Antonio Zingarelli for his opera of the same name, premiering at La Scala, Milan in on 30th January 1796. This then influenced Romani's later libretto for Vincenzo Bellini's *I Capuleti e I Montecchi* (1830). See Julian Budden, '*Giulietta e Romeo* (ii)', in *Grove Music Online*; R. M. Longyear, 'Zingarelli, Niccolò Antonio', revised by Rodobaldo Tibaldi, in *Grove Music Online*.

[237] Rozett, p. 152; Carafa, pp. 362-64.

dying and their loved ones.[238] Death and madness cannot, therefore, be represented accurately because they are unknown until experienced and yet, in turn, are only known and understood via their representation.[239] Thus, while death on stage may appear unrealistic to a modern audience (especially in opera, due to the medium of music and exaggerated acting), historically it was intended to both reflect and challenge social conventions surrounding death.[240] Henry Siddons, in *Practical Illustrations of Rhetorical Gesture and Action* (1807) – his adapted translation of Jacob Engel's handbook of theatre practices, *Ideen zu einer Mimik* (1785) – nevertheless advises a romanticised and toned down (rather than realistic) performance of death on stage, in order to avoid a crude 'imitation':

> If the first actress now on our stage had never been present at the bed of a dying person, her acting, under such circumstances, might probably have lost one of its most natural and affecting traits […] At the moment when [the actress's] soul is supposed to be just ready to quit her body, she gives signs of a slight convulsion, but this is apparent only at the ends of her fingers […] With regard to the second piece of advice […] death ought not to be represented with all the horrors which attend these dreadful moments in nature. The judicious player will soften down these horrors. His head should have more the appearance of a man sinking to a sound sleep, than of a person convulsed with strong agonies; the voice should be broken and altered, but not so as to give the effect of a disgusting rattling: in a word, an actor ought to acquire a manner of his own in representing the last sigh of expiring mortality.[241]

Although actors in the eighteenth century had adopted a toned-down approach and ensured that deaths mostly occurred off-stage (as with Ophelia in *Hamlet*), the Romantics embraced and were fascinated by death.[242]

In reality, death was perceived as performative and ritualistic in society, which those who were dying organised for themselves, 'involving expressions of grief, the pardoning of others, prayer, and absolution'.[243] In taking Alisia's poison, Lucia also organises her own

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[238] Kent Neely, 'Death: (Re)Presenting Mortality and Moribundity: Praxis: An Editorial Statement', *Journal of Dramatic Theory and Criticism,* 12/1 (1997), 97-101 (pp. 98, 100).

[239] Sarah Webster Goodwin and Elisabeth Bronfen, eds., *Death and Representation* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 1993), p. 20; Donnalee Dox, 'And All Was Cold As Any Stone: Death and the Critique of Representation', *Journal of Dramatic Theory and Criticism,* 12/1 (1997), 103-12 (p. 106).

[240] Hutcheon and Hutcheon, pp. 11-12; William Joseph Gavin, *Cuttin' the Body Loose: Historical, Biological, and Personal Approaches to Death and Dying* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple UP, 1995), referenced in Dox, 'And All Was Cold As Any Stone', p. 107; Rutherford, p. 180.

[241] Henry Siddons, *Practical Illustrations of Rhetorical Gesture and Action*, *adapted to the English Drama, from a work on the same subject by M. Engel* (London: Richard Phillips, 1807), pp. 14-16. Rutherford, p. 180, notes that Jacob Engel's *Ideen zu einer Mimik* (1785) was 'translated into French in 1795, English in 1807 […] and then Italian in 1818/19 by Giovanni Rasori'.

[242] See Hutcheon and Hutcheon, pp. 9-10, 38-39; Rutherford, p. 178.

[243] Hutcheon and Hutcheon, pp. 2, 26.

ritualised death, and becomes the central spectacle.[244] Lucia's public death scene – whereby she is surrounded by her loved ones, reaches out for eternal God and has a supernatural vision before dying – is particularly representative of the medieval 'ars moriendi' (or the art of dying) tradition.[245] The on-stage characters and chorus replicate the role of the friends and family and provide an outpouring of grief as she is dying, exclaiming 'O funesto orrendo evento! O spectacolo d'orror!'.[246] The intensity of the chorus's grief and terror is emphasised in their final statements by the C minor tonality, and *fortissimo* juxtaposition of funereal rhythms in the vocal line and fast tremolo accompaniment (with a diminished chord at 'd'orror'; see Musical Example 3.17).[247]

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[244] The domesticity of Lucia's death, whereby she dies in Ravenswood's castle, reflects social tendencies at the time, as most died at home. Ibid., pp. 2, 26; Rutherford, p. 180.

[245] Balocchi, *Le nozze di Lammermoor*, p. 56; Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 52, referenced in Rutherford, p. 181, in her discussion on Giuseppe Verdi's *Giovanna d'Arco* (1845); Philippe Ariès, 'The Reversal of Death: Changes in Attitudes Toward Death in Western Societies', trans. by Valerie M. Stannard, *American Quarterly*, 26/5 (1974), 536-60 (p. 541). See also Hutcheon and Hutcheon, p. 24.

[246] This is written as 'spectacolo' in the libretto, and 'spettacolo' in the musical score. Balocchi, *Le nozze di Lammermoor,* p. 56; Carafa, pp. 359, 362-64.

[247] Carafa, pp. 362-64.

Musical Example 3.17: Reduced transcription of the climactic statement from the principal characters and chorus.[248]

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[248] Ibid. I have refrained from adding bar numbers here and in the remainder of Chapter 3, as the Musical Examples are taken from the extensive operatic finale.

The operatic music here, however, adds another 'experiential dimension' to the representation of death for the audience in the theatre who thus participate in this 'ritual of grieving'.[249] They grieve for the character they have grown fond of, or for whom they feel the most sympathy and empathy, and look to those on-stage for an appropriate reaction.

The contrasting views of Christian European society and ancient civilisation, however, further shaped the cultural representation of suicide in the early modern period.[250] In early modern Britain and France, suicide was considered an unnatural and criminal act; it was perceived as 'self-murder'.[251] Suicide was also considered sinful and condemned by the Church, who believed that it was an offence to God: the person committing suicide rejects God's gift of life and they die 'without doing penance, and for this reason [do] not merit salvation'.[252] Ironically, Lucia's suicide over her 'loss of honour' is closer to that of heroic suicide and voluntary death: Lucia's suicide – her declaration that she is a victim, who needs to be sacrificed – mimics the sacrifices and religious motivations of Christian martyrs, and therefore makes her act appear noble to the audience.[253] Balocchi's use of 'sacrificio' (sacrifice), 'vittima innocente' (innocent victim), and 'destin' (fate), in particular, are more suggestive of a violent act, that is being done to her, rather than by her.[254] Alisia's poison offered Lucia an opportunity to repent her ills ('pentita a mali miei'), which she takes to prove and emphasise her faith and purity.[255] Lucia's words 'Del mio barbaro dolore / Aura il cielo alfin pieta' (Heaven will have mercy on my barbaric pain) suggest that she drinks the poison to redeem herself and to be forgiven by God.[256]

The dominance of the Church in early modern Europe had a dramatic impact on the way that suicides were posthumously dealt with in society. While suicide was not considered a crime in Ancient Rome, the Ordinance of 1670 prohibited suicide in French law, with extreme sanctions and legal implications for the rare few (and their families) that committed suicide.[257] Legally, cases of suicide were heard and petitioned in European courts (at least in

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[249] See Neely, p. 97; Hutcheon and Hutcheon, pp. 10-11.

[250] Jeffrey R. Watt, ed., 'Introduction: Toward a History of Suicide in Early Modern Europe', in *From Sin to Insanity: Suicide in Early Modern Europe*, pp. 1-8 (p. 2).

[251] Seaver, pp. 27, 29; MacDonald, 'The Inner Side of Wisdom: Suicide in Early Modern England', pp. 567, 571; Michael MacDonald, *Mystical Bedlam* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 132-34. See also Hutcheon and Hutcheon, p. 124, who note that ancient philosophers perceived suicide as a 'rational response to life'.

[252] Lieberman, p. 616; Seaver, p. 29.

[253] Balocchi, *Le nozze di Lammermoor,* p. 45.

[254] Ibid.

[255] Ibid., p. 55.

[256] Ibid. p. 48.

[257] Watt, pp. 4-5; Lieberman, p. 617.

both Britain and France) for the coroner and his jury to decide on the cause or motivation of death, and whether there would be any posthumous implications for the victims and their families. The victim was represented in court by friends or family, who offered explanations as to the motivations for their act.[258] Verdicts varied dependent on the mental state of self-murderers, who could only be charged as guilty if they were sane: the most common verdicts given by British courts were accidental death, *felo de se* ('felon of himself'; guilty of premeditated suicide) and insanity, or *non compos mentis* (not of sound mind).[259]

Verdicts of guilty or not guilty were thus followed by drastically different punishments. In early modern France (notably from the Middle Ages to the early nineteenth century), the verdict of *felo de se* meant 'the body was to be dragged, face down, through the streets on a hurdle', and left on public display – either impaled or hung by the feet – in order to deter others from doing the same.[260] The bodies were then denied the right of a normal, Christian burial, within church or consecrated parish grounds.[261] The issue of appropriate burial for suicides had been widely and publicly debated in society since the early modern period, as reflected in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*: following Ophelia's off-stage suicide, two clowns acting as grave diggers openly discuss her burial in Act V, scene 1, with the first arguing against the court's decision for Ophelia's Christian burial and believing it to be legally and religiously inappropriate (given the circumstances of her death).[262] The clowns argue whether Ophelia willingly committed suicide, believing that Ophelia was only granted Christian burial, and thus given a not guilty verdict by the courts because of her social standing (as a Gentlewoman).[263] While this scene reflected the conflicting values and beliefs of society, it also assisted in shaping new ideas: at the same time as the clowns' dispute about Ophelia's punishment for suicide, 'the vicar general of the diocese of London began to entertain petitions requesting licenses to give suicides a Christian burial'.[264]

Throughout the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century, a public argument – as addressed by French print media – ensued surrounding the appropriate burial and punishment

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[258] Lieberman, p. 617. This was the same in Paris. See Jeffrey Merrick, 'Suicide in Paris, 1775', *From Sin to Insanity: Suicide in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Watt, pp. 158-74 (p. 162).

[259] Michael MacDonald and Terence R. Murphy, *Sleepless Souls: Suicide in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), pp. 15-16; Donna T. Andrew, 'The Suicide of Sir Samuel Romilly', *From Sin to Insanity: Suicide in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Watt, pp. 175-88 (p. 175).

[260] See Lieberman, p. 617; Watt, p. 1; Merrick, p. 159.

[261] Seaver, pp. 25, 27.

[262] See Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, V. 1. 1-28, pp. 320-22. When Gertrude explains Ophelia's death, she implies that Ophelia accidentally 'fell' into the river in the throes of her madness, rather than consciously submerging herself. Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, IV. 7, pp. 318-22.

[263] Ibid., p. 321.

[264] Feggetter, p. 552; Seaver, p. 45.

of deceased suicide victims and their families, with the Church and the state going against one another.[265] Despite Church intervention, verdicts generally became more lenient during this period: victims of suicide were not subjected to dramatic displays of punishment, and more people were legally assumed as not responsible for their own acts, having lost their reason.[266] Moreover, the Penal Code of 1791 decriminalised suicide and by 1804, Article 19 of the Decree of 23 Prairial (year XII) allowed state officials to 'intervene when a Christian burial was refused [by the Church] for any reason, including suicide'.[267] And yet, in retaining control of the burial of suicide victims, as Lisa Lieberman posits, the Church were 'reacting against' the medicalisation of suicide, in order to avoid questions or comments on the mental state of Christian martyrs, 'whose novel sacrifices had inspired countless acts of devolution'.[268] In Britain, on the other hand, only from 1823 were suicide victims allowed to be buried in consecrated grounds (when religious punishment was abolished).[269]

Historically, many acts of suicide were left uninvestigated and 'escaped punishment' due to the often unclear and ambiguous circumstances of death.[270] This was, however, dependent on the chosen method of suicide, which varied amongst social classes, genders and occupations,[271] regardless of the internal or external causes or motivations for the act.[272] In drowning, for instance, there was little indication of the circumstances of death: there were numerous 'reports about corpses reclaimed from the river [Seine], but more often than not they had no way of knowing if the dead men and women had intentionally [or accidentally] drowned'.[273] Such victims, therefore, avoided a *felo de se* verdict.[274]

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[265] Lieberman, pp. 617, 619-20.

[266] Merrick, p. 159.

[267] Lieberman, p. 618.

[268] Ibid., p. 620

[269] See Seaver, p. 27; MacDonald and Murphy, *Sleepless Souls*, pp. 346–53.

[270] This is true of both Britain and France in the early modern period. Lieberman, p. 618; Merrick, p. 164; MacDonald, 'The Inner Side of Wisdom: Suicide in Early Modern England', p. 567.

[271] See Olive Anderson, *Suicide in Victorian England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), p. 19.

[272] Pinel exemplifies a case of a gloomy young man, who considered a variety of methods, and resolved to committing suicide by either leaping 'from the top of the house', or by 'pistol'. Philippe Pinel, *A Treatise on Insanity*, trans. from the French by D. D. Davis (Sheffield: W. Todd, Cadell and Davies, 1806), p. 147.

[273] Anderson, *Suicide in Victorian England*, p. 44, states that there was no way of knowing how the body ended up in the water. See also Merrick, p. 160. Ophelia's suicide by drowning is both fitting for the original time of writing and the French Romantic revival of *Hamlet.* In seventeenth-century London, suicide by drowning was common, but was equally 'easy to disguise as, or mistake for, misadventure', being 'one of the most common causes of accidental death'. See Seaver, p. 30; MacDonald, 'The Inner Side of Wisdom: Suicide in Early Modern England', p. 567; Anderson, *Suicide in Victorian England,* pp. 43-44. By the time of the Shakespeare revival in Paris, however, suicide, particularly by drowning, had become a more common occurrence, despite the changes in attitude and punishment. Pinel, for instance, exemplifies the case of a man with 'great depression of spirits' from 1785, whose unhappiness caused him to feel a great need to jump in the River Seine. See Merrick, p. 158; Pinel, *A Treatise on Insanity*, p. 231.

[274] Anderson, *Suicide in Victorian England*, p. 44.

Posthumous verdicts often relied on those who left a note behind or lived beyond their act, while other suicides (which employed quicker methods) had no such support or options.[275] Lucia's suicide by poison – a proven slow and prevalent method of suicide amongst women[276] – enables her to explain her motivations for suicide and ask for forgiveness from those around her (as in opera in general).[277] The suicide of Marie Playe in 1616 particularly relates to that of Lucia:

> Marie Playe, a servant living in St. Botolph's Aldgate, who was alleged to have been frantic with grief […] drank a "potion of strong and deadly poison," but lived for three hours after taking the draught, during which "she did confess and acknowledge what she had done and was sorry for it […] [She] prayed heartily to God to forgive her this great offence and all her sins.[278]

Nevertheless, those who witnessed an act of suicide could be prosecuted for the death, and a woman in Lucia's position, who had committed suicide by poison amongst her friends and relatives, was 'unlikely to escape the coroner's attention'.[279] The heinous penalties and prosecution, however, meant that family members often attempted to vindicate the victim of suicide of any blame in court, in effort 'to avoid any possibility of posthumous prosecution', with some using the insanity plea.[280]

While Playe's real death is nevertheless performative, the portrayal of Lucia's impending death is heightened, leaving no room for speculation on the circumstances of her death. Lucia's approaching death is initially indicated in her stage direction 'Moribonda' (dying) and her physical weakness is musically portrayed by a comparably sparser orchestral

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[275] Ibid., p. 20; Seaver, p. 35.

[276] Poison as a method of suicide was a prevalent method of suicide amongst women due to the accessibility of apothecary shops in cities. See Seaver, p. 32. MacDonald, in discussing cases of suicide in England, notes that 132 hanged themselves, 88 drowned, 28 stabbed themselves, 19 drank poison, and 1 'jumped into a pit'. See MacDonald, 'The Inner Side of Wisdom: Suicide in Early Modern England', p. 567. Seaver, p. 32, disputes the reliability in the suicide statistics and figures available for London suicides in the early modern period, due to the vastly different numbers presented in the Bills of Mortality and the vicar generals' books. Seaver notes that 5 of the 31 cases of suicide recorded in the London vicar generals' books took poison.

[277] Balocchi, *Le nozze di Lammermoor,* pp. 55-56. Suicidal characters in opera often experience a delay 'between the fatal act and their ensuing death', in which they explain their motivations. See Feggetter, p. 53. Ophelia, on falling and drowning in the river, however, was given no such opportunity. See Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, IV. 7, pp. 318-19.

[278] Playe's clear penitence and regret for her act prior to her death, also meant she was given a Christian burial. London Metropolitan Archive, Vicar General Book, 1616-23, DL/C/341, 11r, ref. in Seaver, p. 34. See also Ibid., pp. 34-35, 38.

[279] Anderson, *Suicide in Victorian England*, p. 23. Anderson also states that it mattered who witnessed or found the victim of suicide, particularly if they were 'a relative, employer, or householder', as they were 'likely to be blamed for the attempt, or knew that some discreditable circumstances were likely to emerge at an inquest'.

[280] Lieberman, p. 619; Merrick, p. 164.

accompaniment (than other characters), as is evidenced following Lucia's phrase 'mortifero veleno' (see Musical Example 3.18).[281]

Musical Example 3.18: Lucia's phrase 'mortifero veleno…'.[282]

Lucia's deterioration is mostly characterised with a descending and chromatic accented appoggiatura in the accompaniment, which reappears intermittently under each of her solo sections and into the final scene (see Musical Example 3.18 above).[283]

Lucia's suicide by poison also enables her to extensively pardon others: she tells Bucklaw that she would never have made him happy, pledges her eternal faith to Edgardo, and wishes peace amongst them.[284] Both instances are dramatically heightened, as her characteristic motive (from Musical Example 3.18) reappears significantly modified in the accompaniment: the pattern instead consists of a semitone crotchet-quaver rhythm, and features in every bar – as a descending sigh, in octaves, and also inverted – over a sparse quaver chord accompaniment, indicating her fast approaching death (see Musical Examples 3.19 and 3.20).

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[281] While other principal characters, such as Edgardo, are underpinned by strong, block chordal melodies here, Lucia's accompaniment becomes more sparse, and has a weaker sense of tonality due to the crotchet-quaver pattern. Balocchi. *Le nozze di Lammermoor,* pp. 45, 50; Carafa, pp. 351, 356.

[282] This pattern is also evident at 'Ah nel periglio estremo'. See Carafa, p. 351.

[283] Ibid. This recurring motive continues, despite the sparse accompaniment at 'veleno, serpendo in cor mi va', and into the final scene of Act II. A further two examples of Lucia's theme are underneath 'tu tradirmi' and 'e pentita mali miei', where the melody is doubled and played in octaves. See Ibid, p. 353.

[284] Balocchi, *Le nozze di Lammermoor,* pp. 55-56. As stated prebiously, early modern deaths often involved 'expressions of grief, the pardoning of others, prayer, and absolution'. Hutcheon and Hutcheon, pp. 2, 26.

Musical Example 3.19: Lucia's pardoning of Bucklaw, where she tells him she would never have made him happy.[285]

Musical Example 3.20: Lucia's pardoning of Edgardo.[286]

By the nineteenth century, physicians were fascinated by suicide and its causes (its external and internal contributing factors), and mostly associated it with insanity or a 'rational motivation', society seeing those who committed suicide as weak.[287] Early modern medical literature had earlier associated suicide with melancholy, with Burton describing suicide as the common cause of death in melancholics:

> Seldome this malady [melancholy] procures death, except (which is the greatest, most grievous calamity', and the miserie of all miseries) they make away themselves; which is a frequent thing, and familiar amongst them […] In such sort doth the torture and extremity of his miserie torment him, that he can take no pleasure in his life, but is in a manner inforced to offer violence unto himself, to be freed from his present insufferable pains. So some (saith Fracastorious) in fury, but most in despair, sorrow, feare, and out of the anguish and vexation of their soules, offer violence to themselves; for their life is unhappy and miserable.[288]

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285 Carafa, p. 357.
286 Ibid.
287 Watt, pp. 2-3; Lieberman, pp. 611-12. See Hutcheon and Hutcheon, pp. 124, 130.
288 Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, 11th edn, 2 vols (London: Messrs, Vernor, Hood and Sharpe, 1806), I, pp. 317-18. Such was Burton's impact that most petitions dated after 1630 used terms such as 'melancholia'. Seaver, p. 37.

Writing in the early nineteenth century, Pinel also closely associated suicide with melancholy and insanity, describing such occurrences as 'melancholia with the propensity to suicide'.[289] Although Pinel explained that this 'horrid deed' often occurred 'without any apparent cause', or as a result of disease, he also acknowledged that people in England and France committed suicide as a result of strong motives 'such as the loss of honour or fortune'.[290]

In general, suicide became associated with the wealthy, with artists and philosophers, as a yearning for death became synonymous with 'artistic promise'.[291] This idea had a drastic consequence, as numerous political figures heroically attempted and committed suicide.[292] In Britain, such political figures were celebrated and idealised by society and print media, who assisted in establishing a public outpouring of grief.[293] In France, Napoleon Bonaparte's published thoughts on suicide and his own suicide attempts, prior to and during his domination over France and Europe, further fuelled this notion: in 1786, Napoleon wrote 'So what fury leads me to desire my own destruction? It is the question, "What is there for me to do in this world?" Since I have to die, I might as well kill myself'.[294] Public interest in Napoleon's suicide attempts grew following the 1842 publication of his adolescent journal entries in *Revue des deux mondes*.[295] For nineteenth-century physicians like Charles Bourdin, who published *Du Suicide consideré comme maladie* (1845), Napoleon's suicide attempts and published thoughts on suicide would have clearly demonstrated his insanity and loss of reason.[296] Bourdin believed that those who were regarded as heroes, generally were statistically more inclined to commit suicide than the general population of France.[297]

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[289] See Pinel, *A Treatise on Insanity*, pp. 146, 231.

[290] Ibid., p. 146.

[291] Watt, p. 2; Lieberman, p. 611; Saint-Marc Girardin, 'Du suicide et de la haine de la vie', in *Cours de literature dramatique ou de vusage des passions dans la drama*, 2nd edn (Paris: Charpentier, 1845), p. 76, referenced in Lieberman, p. 611.

[292] In the 1790s, '27 members of the National Convention committed or attempted to commit suicide', and '58 *conventionnels* […] were guillotined in this period', 7 of which had attempted suicide. See A. Kuscinski, *Dictionnaire des conventionnels* (Paris, 1916), as referenced in Dorinda Outram, *The Body and The French Revolution: Sex, Class and Political Culture* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1989), p. 90.

[293] Here I am specifically referring to the suicide of Member of Parliament, Samuel Romilly on 2nd November 1818. In the days following Romilly's death, there was a public outpouring of grief and mourning, with print media celebrating and praising Romilly, as an ideal family man, as well as in terms of his political career. Andrew, pp. 175-88.

[294] *Napoleon Wrote Fiction*, trans. and ed. by Christopher Frayling, (New York: St Martin's Press, 1971), pp. 32, 77, referenced in Lieberman, p. 613; Lieberman, pp. 613-14.

[295] Lieberman, p. 614.

[296] Ibid., p. 616.

[297] C. E. Bourdin, 'Le suicide, est-il toujours le résultat ou, si l'on veut,'le sym ptôme ''un trouble de l'esprit? En d'autre termes, le suici de est-il toujours une maladie?', *Annales medico- psychologiques,* vol. 8 (1846), 41-55 (p. 43).

The sympathetic statements of the chorus and those around Lucia as she commits suicide further mimics the idealisation of heroic suicides committed by political figures: they portray her as the ideal selfless woman right until the end, as she acknowledges her wrongdoings.[298] The chorus's statements further mirror the changing attitudes surrounding suicide in society: in the final scene of Act II alone they cry out at her inexorable fate ('O destino inesorabile! / O tremendo, infausto dì!'), and declare that she has a beautiful heart ('Che bel cor! La brilla in fronte / D'innocenza il bel candor').[299] Their statement 'O destino inesorabile!', is underpinned by a B major tonality and a diminished seventh chord under 'destino', which is followed by an uncertain tonality with a D major chord under 'inesorabile' (hinting at a later modulation on 'dì'; see Musical Example 3.21).

Musical Example 3.21: The chorus' statement 'O destino inesorabile'.[300]

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[298] Like the idealisation of Christian martyrs in earlier centuries. Balocchi, *Le nozze di Lammermoor,* pp. 55-56.
[299] Ibid. The phrase 'd'innocenza' is then underpinned by a Neapolitan sixth chord, before modulating to C minor, indicating the chorus's mourning and Lucia's impending death. Carafa, p. 358.
[300] Ibid., pp. 354-55.

Lucia's suicide therefore further suggests her own insanity; her loss of love and grief over Edgardo's departure (as well as her misery over her current situation) specifically fit Burton's listed causes for suicide.[301] Lucia's initial heartbreak over Edgardo's departure could have triggered her erotomania, or love-madness as previously discussed, and in turn motivated her suicide.[302] Lucia, in extreme peril ('periglio estremo'), was driven by sheer desperation, and felt she had no other option or escape after being forced into another marriage and breaking her oath to Edgardo (see Musical Example 3.22).[303] This, her despair and lack of strength are then underpinned by Lucia's monotonous vocal line, with emphasis on 'estremo', the return of her characteristic death motive in the accompaniment (from Musical Example 3.18), and the sparse accompaniment.[304] Like other melancholics, Lucia wishes for death, in order to be absolved of her troubles, and to be 'freed' of her shame.[305]

Musical Example 3.22: Lucia's phrase 'Ah nel periglio estremo'.[306]

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[301] Burton, I, p. 319, outlines the principal causes of suicide as, 'love, griefe, anger, madness; and shame'.

[302] Erotomania is the medically defined term for love-madness, which usually arose from the 'melancholy of disappointed love' and caused delirium. Morison, *Outlines of Lectures on Mental Diseases* (1826), p. 49. While in reality people did not commonly, or successfully commit suicide following the loss of a loved one (through rejection or bereavement), 'disappointment in love' was attributed to 8 cases of attempted suicides in the files of Richard Napier. MacDonald, 'The Inner Side of Wisdom: Suicide in Early Modern England', pp. 569-70.

[303] Balocchi, *Le nozze di Lammermoor,* pp. 52, 54.

[304] Carafa, pp. 351-52.

[305] Burton, I, pp. 318-19, 324. On the other hand, Lucia's drinking of a poison given to her by Alisia (reminiscent of the witch Ailsie Gourlay) equally follows the seventeenth-century view that 'witches could plunge their victims into suicidal gloom'. MacDonald and Murphy, *Sleepless Souls*, p. 52.

[306] Carafa, p. 351.

The tragic ending of *Le nozze di Lammermoor* thus follows early modern medical ideas on suicide, in order to avoid the traditional lieto fine ending.[307] While ellipses in her text suggest her breathlessness and death throes in her final moments with Edgardo, Lucia's vocal line becomes both stagnant and fragmented (from 'vieni Edgardo…').[308] Lucia's request that Edgardo come closer is underpinned by a diminished 7th chord in the accompaniment followed by a modulation to A minor at 'De spirar vicino a te' (to expire near you) to indicate her fast approaching death (see Musical Example 3.23).[309] On 'Uniti un giorno!' (United one day!) there is a modulation to godly C major, further demonstrating her hope and foreshadowing their reunion in death (see Musical Example 3.24).[310]

Musical Example 3.23: Lucia asks Edgardo to approach.[311]

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[307] Rutherford, p. 178. Sternfield defines the lieto fine as 'the happy conclusion of a drama or operatic libretto'. See F. W. Sternfield, 'Lieto fine (opera)', in *Grove Music Online*. Hutcheon and Hutcheon, p. 9, discuss the convention of lieto fine in opera leading up to the nineteenth century.

[308] Balocchi, *Le nozze di Lammermoor,* p. 56; Carafa, p. 360.

[309] Carafa, p. 360.

[310] Ibid.

[311] Ibid.

Musical Example 3.24: Lucia tells Edgardo that they will be united one day.[312]

Furthermore, this modulation emphasises Lucia's purity, her impending redemption and ascension to heaven, in spite of the Church's teaching on the moral failings of suicide.[313] At 'estremi palpiti', Lucia's heart palpitations are underpinned by the A minor tonality, two accompanying chordal quavers, and a fragment derived from the characteristic death motive (from Musical Example 3.18) in the accompaniment, which together musically represent her faltering heartbeat (see Musical Example 3.25).[314] Lucia's statement 'Per te sol… io moro' (For you alone… I die), is underlined first with a descending perfect 4th interval, and secondly with a diminished 5th interval in the accompaniment, emphasising the bittersweet and tragic nature of the situation (see Musical Example 3.25).[315] With an expression of 'ahime!', her (now fragmented) death motive finally comes to an end, and in making her 'last sigh', she dies (see Musical Example 3.26).[316]

Musical Example 3.25: The orchestral accompaniment suggests Lucia's heart palpitations.[317]

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[312] Ibid.

[313] Ibid.

[314] Ibid., p. 362.

[315] Ibid.

[316] Balocchi, *Le nozze di Lammermoor,* p. 56; Carafa, p. 362. In the aforementioned excerpt by Henry Siddons, *Practical Illustrations of Rhetorical Gesture and Action*, pp. 14-16, he notes that the nineteenth-century actress, typically makes a 'last sigh' before dying on-stage.

[317] Carafa, pp. 361-62.

Musical Example 3.26: Lucia tells Edgardo that for him alone, she dies.[318]

Carafa and Balocchi thus give the earlier indications of Lucia's madness in her Act II mad scene, in order to absolve their heroine of any posthumous guilt or responsibility for her criminal act on her death at the end of the opera. By showing that Lucia is mad in the scenes prior to her suicide, the authors make an insanity plea to the audiences onstage and in the theatre, and justify a verdict of *non compos mentis*.[319]

3.4: Reception

In the hope of creating a grand Italian opera for the Théâtre-Italien, that perhaps conveyed the 'stylistic diversity' found in Scott's novel, Carafa and Balocchi had broken audience expectations of operatic form: they seemingly crossed the boundaries of genre by incorporating elements from *opera buffa* and *opera seria,* and defining *Le nozze di Lammermoor* as a *dramma semi-seria*.[320] After all, the love-mad heroine had first emerged as an archetype of comic, rather than tragic, opera in Dalayrac's *Nina* in 1786 and Paisiello's opera of the same name in 1789.

Carafa and Balocchi's fusion of genres in creating *Le nozze* was not unusual, as the emerging *grand opéra* genre at the Paris Opéra similarly combined elements of *mélodrame, vaudeville, opéra-comique* and Italian opera to create grand visual spectacles and large ensembles.[321] This overcomplication would, however, be Carafa's downfall at the Théâtre-Italien: Carafa had made his name in Paris as a successful composer of *opéra-comiques,* and the Parisian audiences were much less familiar with his more serious Italianate compositional

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[318] Ibid., p. 362.
[319] For more on the verdicts and how families attempted to 'absolve' victims of their crime, see Merrick, p. 164 and MacDonald and Murphy, *Sleepless Souls*, pp. 15-16.
[320] This is suggested by Gossett, 'Introduction', *Le nozze di Lammermoor.*
[321] See Benjamin Walton, *Rossini in Restoration Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 194-201; Charlton, *The Cambridge Companion to Grand Opera,* p. 25; Sarah Hibberd, *French Grand Opera and the Historical Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 1-5.

style of *Le nozze di Lammermoor*.[322] For audiences who favoured his *opéra-comiques,* the lack of dialogue and the rich variety of arias, duets and ensembles,[323] may have appeared radically different, and out of character to what they usually expected of the composer.[324] Yet, for the Théâtre-Italien, whose repertoire between September and December 1829 mostly featured more serious operas by Rossini (of *melodramma, dramma per musica* and *dramma tragico* genres, such as *Semiramide*),[325] Carafa's score still seemed long and ultimately unsuccessful.[326]

Le Figaro believed Carafa's opera to be on a grand scale similar to Rossini's *Le siège de Corinthe* (1826), a forerunner in French *grand opéra,* more favoured by Parisian audiences.[327] Following its premiere at the Paris Opéra on 9th October 1826, Rossini's *Le siège de Corinthe* similarly surpassed the expectations of the Parisian press, who still appeared ambivalent and uncertain about the developing operatic form: *Le Figaro* critiqued the opera, stating that although the third act was superb and inspirational, it could not redeem the boredom of the first two acts.[328] While *Le Corsaire* described *Le siège* as a complete success, they believed that the work would have been more successful, had it not been comprised of 'fatally boring' arias – cuts were therefore recommended.[329] Nevertheless, Rossini's new opera was favoured by the paying audience, whose applause and cries for the composer seemingly lasted for half an hour following the final curtain.[330]

By contrast, the premiere of *Le nozze di Lammermoor* on 12th December 1829 was perceived as neither a flop nor a success, and the audience gradually left, due to the length of

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[322] *Le Figaro,* 14 December 1829, p. 2.

[323] *Le Constitutionnel: journal du commerce, politique et littéraire*, 15 December 1829, p. 3, in *Gallica* <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k653285h/f3.item> [accessed 4th May 2020].

[324] *Le Figaro,* 14 December 1829, p. 2.

[325] Other genres that appeared were *opera buffa,* and *dramma giocoso*. See Mongrédien, VIII, pp. 110-269.

[326] *Le Corsaire*, 13 December 1829, p. 2. *Le Mercure de France* stated that Carafa's compositional performance was well below what was expected for the dramatic situation, and inevitably produced a dull score, full of Rossinian reminiscences. *Le Mercure de France, au dix-neuvième siècle* (Paris: au bureau de mercure, 1829), p. 582, in *Gallica* <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k9692872m/f589.item> [accessed 1st May 2020].

[327] *Le Figaro*, 14 December 1829, p. 2; Charlton, *The Cambridge Companion to Grand Opera,* p. 8.

[328] 'Il y a des choses superbes, des choses d'inspiration dans ce troisième acte; il ne peut racheter le mauvais, le décousu, l'ennui des deux premiers, mais du moins il peut le faire oublier.' *Le Figaro*, 11 October 1826, p. 3. For context on *Le siège de Corinthe,* see Richard Osborne, 'Siège de Corinthe, Le', in *Grove Music Online*.

[329] 'Cet opéra a obtenu un succès complet; mais ce succès eût été plus complet encore, si les auteurs avaient voulu faire le sacrifice d'un divertissement qui a lieu sur des airs mortellement ennuyeux, et qui fait perdre l'action de vue […] Il faut des coupures'. *Le Corsaire*, 10 October 1826, p. 2. Rossini's premiere of Moïse et Pharaon (28th March 1827; Paris Opéra), was also labelled a success, but critiqued for its rich music and lack of breaks within the score. *Le Corsaire*, 28 March 1827, p. 2. *Le Figaro*, 27 March 1827, pp. 278-80, also labels *Moïse* a complete success.

[330] 'Après la chûte du rideau, mille cris ont demandé M. Rossini, et les cris n'ont point eu de cesse pendant une demi-heure, mais le rideau n'a pas bougé.' *Le Corsaire*, 10 October 1826, p. 2.

the opera.[331] Carafa and Balocchi followed Italian customs: the libretto was published ahead of the premiere with Balocchi's name omitted, and in the performance, Carafa led the orchestra and singers from the piano.[332] Balocchi was commended on his choice of subject material and the execution of his libretto, particularly his skilful arrangement of scenes and situations.[333] *Gil Blas* described the libretto as a credit to Balocchi, as he had found an interesting subject, was able to skilfully reduce the novel, and bring out the situations most likely to stimulate the composer's verve.[334] *Le Constitutionnel* recognised Balocchi's choice of subject material, wondering why other librettists had not often addressed Walter Scott's novels prior to the premiere of *Le nozze*.[335] Yet, the opera was described as generally cold and languid by *Le Constitutionnel* which expressed particular distaste at the inordinate length of the show, which lasted nearly four hours.[336] Although Carafa's music was described as graceful in character, the press mostly criticised and questioned its originality, suggesting that it instead sounded like a long series of Rossinian reminiscences.[337]

According to standard review-writing practices, the principal singers were recognised by the press for their efforts: Henriette Sontag was commended for an admirable, skilful and moving performance as Lucia, particularly towards the end.[338] Domenico Donzelli was also highly applauded for his performance as Edgardo, and honourable mention went to the remainder of the company.[339] Most singers were, however, noted to have suffered the consequences of the long musical score: Sontag was spent; Carlo Zucchelli's (Lord Ashton) voice became heavy; and Vincenzo-Felice Santini (Caleb) was deemed to be having a very

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[331] 'ni chute ni succès, les loges se vidaient peu à peu, et la fine, chacun a pris son manteau en calculant la terrible langueur du spectacle'. *Le Corsaire*, 13 December 1829, p. 2.

[332] While that of the maestro, Carafa, was known. Ibid.

[333] Ibid.; *Le Figaro*, 14 December 1829, p. 3; *Le Constitutionnel*, 15 December 1829, p. 3.

[334] *Gil Blas*, 15 December 1829, p. 3.

[335] *Le Constitutionnel*, 15 December 1829, p. 3.

[336] Ibid. The opera premiered with a cast of renowned Italian singers: Domenico Donzelli performed the role of Edgardo, Henriette Sontag as Lucia, Carlo Zucchelli as Lord Ashton, and Graziani as Bucklaw. As well as Vincenzo-Felice Santini as Caleb, Benedetta Rosmunda Pisaroni as Lady Ashton, Mmes. Rossi as Misia, and finally, Mmes. Amigo as Elisa. See Mongrédien, VIII, p. 269; *Le Corsaire*, 12 December 1829, p. 1; *Gil Blas*, 15 December 1829, p. 4, in *Gallica* <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k6280990d/f3.item> [accessed 5th May 2020]; Laura Macy, ed., *The Grove Book of Opera Singers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 129-30; Laurie Shulman, 'Santini, Vincenzo-Felice', in *Grove Music Online*; Balocchi, *Le nozze di Lammermoor,* p. 1.

[337] *Le Corsaire*, 13 December 1829, p. 2; *Le Figaro*, 14 December 1829, pp. 2-3; *Gil Blas*, 15 December 1829, p. 3.

[338] *Gil Blas*, 15 December 1829, pp. 3-4; *Le Constitutionnel*, 15 December 1829, p. 3.

[339] *Gil Blas*, 15 December 1829, pp. 3-4. *Le Constitutionnel*, 15 December 1829, p. 3, noted that Donzelli, Santini, Graziani and Zuchelli performed their roles with their usual zeal and talent, while Pisaroni's role of Lady Ashton was described as insignificant. *Le Figaro*, 14 December 1829, p. 3, also applauded Donzelli.

bad day vocally.[340] The press thus suggested that the creators make large cuts to this opera also.[341]

M. Ferri's scenery also did not please the audience or critics: it was described by the press as clumsy, and not in any way representative of the Scottish setting (instead looking entirely Italian).[342] The setting thus went against the emerging Romantic tendencies of creating more naturalistic drama, as well as the expectations of Parisian audiences, who preferred the sensational spectacles and realistic aesthetic provided by *grand opéra* and *mélodrame.* Although this was likely due to the limited resources of the Théâtre-Italien, compared to the heavily subsidised Paris Opéra, the captivating spectacles of boulevard theatres were hugely popular and attracted a diverse audience.[343] Had *Le nozze di Lammermoor,* with its rich music, been premiered in French, with more realistic and dramatic scenery at the Paris Opéra, perhaps the opera would have stood more chance of success.

The opera only lasted at the Théâtre-Italien for three performances and has not since been revived.[344] Despite Carafa's prolific output and success, his music has been virtually forgotten.[345] In addition to the aforementioned factors and criticisms, its eventual eclipse may also be due to the enduring popularity of Donizetti's *Lucia di Lammermoor*, and the ever-changing style and conventions of the Italian opera.[346] Carafa himself perhaps realised the unsuitability of his grand operatic composition for the Théâtre-Italien, as *Le nozze di Lammermoor* would be his only Parisian opera set to an Italian language libretto, performed at the Théâtre-Italien.[347] It would also seemingly be the only Carafa opera with a Balocchi

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[340] *Le Figaro*, 14 December 1829, p. 3.

[341] *Gil Blas*, 15 December 1829, p. 3; *Le Constitutionnel*, 15 December 1829, p. 3.

[342] *Gil Blas*, 15 December 1829, p. 4; *Le Corsaire*, 13 December 1829, p. 2. The scenery and staging of *Moïse et Pharaon* also proved visually disappointing compared to the spectacular *mélodrames* premiering in Paris at the time, with *Le Figaro* describing the decoration as rich, but neither beautiful nor good. See *Le Figaro*, 27 March 1827, pp. 278-80; Walton, pp. 195-96.

[343] Walton, pp. 196-97.

[344] This is noted by Harris-Warrick, p. 198; Izzo, p. 188. It is unknown whether Scott was aware of Carafa and Balocchi's opera, as there is no evidence to suggest as such in his published letters or memoirs. See John Gibson Lockhart, *Memoirs of Sir Walter Scott*, 5 vols (London: Macmillan and co, 1900), III; H. J. C. Grierson, ed., *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, 12 vols (London: Constable and Co, 1933), V. Scott witnessed other operatic and musical adaptations of his novels, such as Pacini's pastiche *Ivanhoé* (created in collaboration with Rossini)*, which he saw in Paris. See Fiske and Biddlecombe, 'Scott, Sir Walter'.

[345] Budden, 'Carafa (de Colobrano), Michele'. *Le nozze di Lammermoor* was not Carafa's only operatic adaptation of Scott, as he later produced the three-act *opéra-comique, La prison d'Édimbourg* with a libretto by Eugène Scribe and François-Antonine-Eugène de Planard (based on Scott's *The Heart of Midlothian*, from the second series of *Tales of my Landlord*), and premiered at the Opéra-Comique on 20th July 1833. See Michele Carafa, Eugène Scribe and Eugène de Planard, *La prison d'Édimbourg, opéra-comique en trois actes* ([n.p.]: Paris, 1833); Budden, 'Carafa (de Colobrano)'.

[346] Boschetto, p. 28; Raoul Meloncelli, 'CARAFA, Michele Enrico', *Dizionario degli Italiani*, 19 (1976), in *Treccani* <http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/michele-enrico-carafa_(Dizionario-Biografico)> [accessed 1st April 2020].

[347] Boschetto, p. 28.

libretto.[348] Later, in 1837, *La Quotidienne* described Carafa's music in *Le nozze di Lammermoor* as remarkable, yet stated that the reason for its lack of success was because it was written in Paris, rather than Naples or Florence.[349] Parisian audiences seemingly favoured Italian operas that had already gained success in Italy or elsewhere, before being performed in Paris.[350] Perhaps this is telling of why the successive adaptations of *The Bride of Lammermoor* would premiere in Italy in the following years.

Thus, while Carafa and Balocchi frame and contain Lucia's madness within traditional tropes and musical structures in her mad scene, her heroic suicide and voluntary death by poison escapes the moral frame of suicide as a sinful act. Yet, by trying to create a grand Italian opera for the Théâtre-Italien – which combined comic, serious and melodramatic genres and was more akin to the emerging *grand opéra* at the Paris Opéra – they broke the frame of audience expectations. In doing so, the opera also was not contained within the norms of Parisian theatre and failed to succeed amongst Parisian audiences, therefore leading the way for Lucy's lyrical adaptation and success in Italy.

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[348] A full list of Carafa's operas can be found in Budden, 'Carafa (de Colobrano), Michele'. Balocchi only ever provided libretto for *Le nozze di Lammermoor,* and seemingly did not base any other libretti on subject material written by Scott.

[349] *La Quotidienne,* 18 December 1837, p. 1, in *RetroNews, le site de presse de la Bibliothèque nationale de France* <https://www.retronews.fr/journal/la-quotidienne/18-decemb^re-1837/737/2141579/1> [accessed 24th April 2020]; This is also quoted in Harris-Warrick, pp. 200, 216.

[350] Harris-Warrick, p. 199; *Le Constitutionnel*, 15 December 1837, p. 1, in *Gallica* <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k656206z> [accessed 9th September 2021].

Chapter 4
Representations of Violent Madness and Suicide in the Forgotten *'fidanzate' di Lammermoor*

Previously excluded from the majority of studies on nineteenth-century Italian opera and their mad scenes, the two neglected '*fidanzate*'[1] *di Lammermoor* and *Ida*, premiered within a three-year period at different theatres across the Veneto region of Northern Italy.[2] *La fidanzata di Lammermoor* (1831), by Luigi Rieschi and Calisto Bassi, was the first to transfer Lucy Ashton's violent and murderous madness to their equivalent heroine Ida. On the other hand, Alberto Mazzucato and Pietro Beltrame's opera of the same name (1834) featured a modified ending and mad scene for Malvina, followed by her violent suicide by dagger. As stated in the introduction of this thesis, I will solely be analysing the operatic libretti for the two concerned operas, as I have regretfully been unable to locate Rieschi's manuscript or published musical score for *La fidanzata di Lammermoor* (1831),[3] or consult Mazzucato's musical manuscript for *La fidanzata di Lammermoor* (1834) in the Archivio Storico Ricordi at the Braidense Library in Milan, due to the travel restrictions incurred by the coronavirus pandemic.[4]

Overall, this chapter aims to compare the operatic representation of madness, murderous intent and violent suicide to historical medical literature; to determine the extent to which the studied Italian operatic mad scenes, in embodying the assumptions and archetypes of madness within wider society and popular culture, both propagated and assisted in shaping popular medical theories on madness in the nineteenth century. Section 4.2 will therefore comparatively analyse Bassi's libretto and Ida's mad scene in *La fidanzata di Lammermoor* (1831), first with Lucy's madness in *The Bride of Lammermoor*, then with historical descriptions of murderous intent (in journalism), and insanity and homicidal

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[1] Fidanzate is the feminine plural of fidanzata in Italian, meaning fiancée.

[2] This was prior to Italy's unification in 1869 (following the Risorgimento movement). For ease of understanding and to reflect its 'cultural unity', I shall still address it simply as Italy, as others have done before. See Evan Baker, *From the Score to the Stage: An Illustrated History of Continental Opera Production and Staging* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2013), p. 161; John Rosselli, *The Opera Industry in Italy from Cimarosa to Verdi: The Role of the Impresario* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 4.

[3] This is also admitted by Jerome Mitchell, 'Operatic Versions of *The Bride of Lammermoor*', *Studies in Scottish Literature*, 10/3 (1973), 145-64 (p. 154). As acknowledged previously, Rieschi's manuscript for the revision, *Ida di Danimarca*, is also a mystery, and apparently remained unsold after an auction in December 2014. See 'Rieschi, Luigi', *Gonnelli* <https://www.gonnelli.it/uk/auction-0016/rieschi-luigi-ida-di-danimarca-tragedia-lirica-7.asp> [accessed 4th October 2021].

[4] As previously acknowledged, excerpts of Mazzucato's *La fidanzata* have seemingly been published within the Garland Italian Opera series, but this edition has proved impossible to locate or obtain. See Alberto Mazzucato, *Excerpts of La fidanzata di Lammermoor*, ed. by Philip Gossett, Garland Italian Opera Series, 1810-1840, XIII (New York: Garland Publishing, [n.d.])

monomania (in medical literature). While Chapter 3 analysed Lucia's feminised and heroic suicide by poison in *Le nozze di Lammermoor,* section 4.3 will focus on the representation of Malvina's masculine and violent suicide by dagger in *La fidanzata di Lammermoor* (1834). It will compare Beltrame's libretto of Malvina's mad scene and suicide to the representation of violent suicide in early modern and nineteenth-century culture and society, such as Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's portrayal of male suicide in *Die Leiden des jungen Werther* (1774) and Lady Macbeth's off-stage suicide in William Shakespeare's *Macbeth*. This section will also compare Malvina's suicide to descriptions of suicidal behaviour and suicidal monomania in pertinent medical literature, and statistical data on suicides in nineteenth-century Europe, in works such as *Mental Maladies* (pub. 1838, trans. 1845) by French psychiatrist Jean-Étienne Dominique Esquirol and *Suicide: An Essay on Comparative Moral Statistics* (pub. 1879, trans. 1882) by Italian physician and psychiatrist Enrico Morselli. The chapter will begin by first considering the necessary historical context surrounding the composition of Bassi's and Beltrame's successive adaptations.

4.1: Historical Context of *Le fidanzate*

The first *La fidanzata di Lammermoor* by composer Luigi Rieschi and librettist Calisto Bassi was premiered on 26th November 1831 at the Teatro Grande, Trieste, less than two years after Carafa and Balocchi's *Le nozze di Lammermoor* at the Théâtre-Italien in Paris.[5] Shortly afterwards, composer Giuseppe Bornaccini again set Bassi's libretto for his own operatic adaptation simply titled *Ida* (or *Ida di Lammermoor*).[6] This opera was given its first performance in the Teatro Apollo, Venice in the autumn of 1833.[7] The second *La fidanzata di Lammermoor* by composer Alberto Mazzucato and librettist Pietro Beltrame later premiered on 24th March 1834 at the Teatro Novissimo, Padua.[8]

[5] Gherardo Casaglia, '26 Novembre 1831, Sabato', in *L'Almanacco di Gherardo Casaglia* <https://almanac-gherardo-casaglia.com> [accessed 25th Nov 2020]; Calisto Bassi, *La fidanzata di Lammermoor: tragedia lirica in tre parti* ([n. p.]: Michele Weis, 1831); Stanford Libraries, 'La fidanzata di Lammermoor', in *Opening Night!: Opera & Oratorio Premieres* <https://exhibits.stanford.edu/operadata/> [accessed 29th September 2020]; William Ashbrook, 'Lucia di Lammermoor', in *Grove Music Online* <https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com> [accessed 28th September 2020].
[6] Roger Fiske and George Biddlecombe, 'Scott, Sir Walter', in *Grove Music Online*; Mitchell, p. 154; Calisto Bassi, *Ida: tragedia lirica divida in tre parti* (Venice: Nella Edit. Tipografia Rizzi, 1833).
[7] Ibid.
[8] Angelo Rusconi, 'MAZZUCATO, Alberto', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 72, in *Treccani* <https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/> [accessed 28th September 2020]; Pietro Beltrame, *La fidanzata di Lammermoor* (Milan: Dalla Stamperia Dova, 1835). The premiere date for Mazzucato's opera is more widely acknowledged, perhaps suggesting it was the most popular or performed of the three earlier adaptations.

Of all the composers examined in this thesis, Luigi Rieschi (Riesck or Rieski) appears to be the most forgotten and unknown to the modern Italian operatic audience, and is only fleetingly acknowledged for his role as composer of *La fidanzata di Lammermoor*.[9] This is principally because practices and procedures surrounding nineteenth-century operatic production were vastly different from today: theatres were continuously commissioning and producing new operas, and only the most successful remained within their repertoire.[10] Rieschi was thus one of the many composers who did not benefit from high profile theatrical commissions or relationships with powerful publishers, as was more common from the 1840s onwards. As a result, his manuscripts could have been lost, forgotten or potentially destroyed, meaning his works fell out of the repertoire.[11] Although composers of Italian opera are regarded highly by audiences and musicologists alike today, in the nineteenth-century operatic world and production process, the composer, in this case Rieschi, was hierarchically lower than the stage performers.[12] While there is little written specifically about the composer, it is possible – in examining and framing the composer within his own context – to speculate what might have led him to select *The Bride of Lammermoor* as the subject material for his new opera, and about his production processes prior to the opera's first performance.

Before composing *La fidanzata di Lammermoor*, Rieschi collaborated with librettist Felice Romani on the *melodramma serio*, *Bianca di Belmonte* (which was premiered on the 26th December 1829 at the Teatro alla Scala, Milan).[13] This fleeting partnership with Romani occurred during a period of great productivity for the latter who, between 1827 and 1832, produced libretti for a number of Italian composers, such as for Bellini's *Il pirata* and *La*

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[9] This is immediately apparent on scouring numerous resources, and dictionaries on Italian opera history and their composers, where there is little to no trace of the composer. The composer is cited twice on *Grove Music Online*, but never given his own dedicated entry. See Ashbrook, '*Lucia di Lammermoor*'; Fiske and Biddlecombe, 'Scott, Sir Walter'.

[10] Philip Gossett, *Divas and Scholars: Performing Italian Opera* (Chicago, IL and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2006), pp. 33-35.

[11] Ibid., p. 63, states that autograph manuscripts, specifically vocal scores, are often untraceable now: they 'have fallen victim to the ravages of time, the social system that put opera seasons under the control of a series of changing impresarios, or the destructive powers of fire or housecleaning'.

[12] Rosselli, p. 6.

[13] The opera premiered on St Stephen's night, the opening night of the 1829/30 carnival season – one of the highlights of the year in any Italian town – and could have been performed up to six times a week throughout the season, until it ended on Shrove Tuesday. See Rosselli, pp. 3-4. The libretto states that it was intended for the carnival season of 1830: see *Bianca di Belonte: melodramma serio* (Milan: Per Antonio Fontana, 1829). Other sources state that its first performance was in 1829: Gherardo Casaglia, '26 Dicembre 1829, Sabato', in *L'Almanacco di Gherardo Casaglia* <https://almanac-gherardo-casaglia.com> [accessed 28th September 2020]; Alessandro Roccatagliati, 'Romani, (Giuseppe) Felice', in *Grove Music Online*; Stanford Libraries, 'Bianca di Belonte', in *Opening Night!: Opera & Oratorio Premieres.*

sonnambula and Donizetti's *Anna Bolena*, and largely contributed towards the growing trend of mad scenes in Italian opera.[14]

It can be assumed that around this time, in early 1831, Rieschi and the librettist Calisto Bassi would have been contracted to produce a new opera for the Teatro Grande, and would likely have become familiar with *The Bride of Lammermoor*, which by then, was widely known amongst Italy's literate population.[15] At the time, Bassi, the son of Neapolitan opera singer Nicola Bassi, led a distinguished career as a librettist, as well as being a prominent figure in adapting and translating existing operatic libretti into Italian.[16]

Prior to completing *La fidanzata*, Bassi provided several original and translated libretti, most notably from French, for various Italian theatres.[17] Such works included Gioachino Rossini's *L'assedio di Corinto* (31st January 1828; Teatro Ducale, Parma), an Italian translation and adaptation of Rossini's French opera *Le siège de Corinthe* (which itself was a revision of Rossini's *Maometto II* (1820)); and Giovanni Pacini's *I crociati a Tolemaide* (13th November 1828; Teatro Grande, Trieste).[18] In addition, while completing the libretto for *La fidanzata,* Bassi would have likely been working on the libretto for Rossini's *Guglielmo Tell* (the Italian translation of *Guillaume Tell*) for its Italian premiere on 17th September 1831 at the Teatro del Giglio, Lucca.[19]

In creating his operatic libretto, Bassi likely consulted Gaetano Barbieri's Italian translation *La promessa sposa di Lammermoor* (1824), or Ferdinando Livini's stage adaptation and Italian translation of Ducange's *mélodrame*, *La promessa sposa di Lammermoor* (1828), rather than Scott's original novel. For the operatic premiere in November 1831, Bassi would have completed and sent his libretto to Rieschi between June

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[14] Alessandro Roccatagliati, 'Romani, (Giuseppe) Felice', in *Grove Music Online*.

[15] Italy's familiarity with Scott's novel was due to a number of Italian translations and Ferdinando Livini's stage adaptation, as discussed in Chapter 2. Naomi Matsumoto makes a similar observation in relation to Donizetti and Cammarano's *Lucia.* See Naomi Matsumoto, '"Ghost Writing": an Exploration of Presence and Absence in *Lucia di Lammermoor* (1835)', *Silence and Absence in Literature and Music,* ed. by Werner Wolf and Walter Bernhart (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, Rodopi, 2016), pp. 63-84 (p. 68).

[16] This became a new, necessary activity in the nineteenth century, as most of the operas disseminated in previous centuries were predominantly Italian. See 'BASSI, Calisto', in *Treccani*; Francesco Regli, *Dizionario Biografico* (Turin: Enrice Dalmazzo, 1860), p. 33.

[17] 'BASSI, Calisto', in *Treccani*; Regli, p. 33.

[18] Bassi's *L'assedio di Corinto* libretto was translated from Luigi Balocchi and Alexandre Soumet's French libretto for *Le siège de Corinthe,* for Rossini's revision of *Maometto II*, which originally featured an Italian libretto by Cesare della Valle. Richard Osborne, 'Maometto II', in *Grove Music Online*; 'BASSI, Calisto', in *Treccani*; Philip Gossett, 'Rossini, Gioachino (Antonio)', in *Grove Music Online*.

[19] 'BASSI, Calisto', in *Treccani*; Simonetti, 'BALLOCO, Giuseppe Luigi', in *Treccani*; Gossett, 'Rossini, Gioachino (Antonio)'.

and August 1831 (at the latest), and Rieschi would have continued composing throughout the rehearsal process, in the lead up to the first performance.[20]

In contrast with Rieschi and Bassi's age and experience, however, Mazzucato and Beltrame were relatively new to the world of opera composition: preceding *La fidanzata*, Mazzucato was still receiving tuition in composition at the Padua Conservatory of Music and had not yet composed an opera at the tender age of twenty-one, and Beltrame was four years his junior.[21] Mazzucato, Beltrame and the Teatro Novissimo, Padua, would likely have been influenced by Barbieri's or Livini's translations, or the Rieschi/Bassi collaboration in Trieste as they created their own version of the tried and tested subject material.[22] Despite their ages and inexperience, the pair would have followed a similar production process to Bassi and Rieschi ahead of their premiere on 24th February 1834, the apparent success of which lead to a further successful second run in autumn 1835 at the Teatro Carcano, Milan.[23]

4.2: 'Fatal deliro!': The Representation of Violent Madness in Calisto Bassi's *La fidanzata di Lammermoor* (1831)

As the first adaptation to transfer Lucy's violent outburst to the operatic stage, it is important to first examine Calisto Bassi's libretto for *La fidanzata di Lammermoor* to determine how the librettist transformed Scott's narrative details for the operatic stage and created Ida's mad scene.

Ida and Lucy

> Edgardo: Fu il pensier… crudele…insano!
>> [Edgardo: It was the thought… cruel… insane!][24]

'Insano!', Edgardo cries (or more accurately sings), as he attempts to make Ida realise the brutal reality of her actions: the actions that have left her new husband Bucklaw dead on the floor of the bridal apartment.[25] But what led to this? Why does Bassi label her murderous violence as 'insanity', and what did it mean to be insane in Italy at the time?

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[20] This assumption is based on Rosselli's timeline of an operatic composition for the carnival season. He specifies that, if the libretto 'had reached the composer sometime in late September or early October, the impresario could rest content'. Rosselli, pp. 7-9.

[21] Mazzucato had first studied mathematics, before leaving to study music at the Padua Conservatory. Rusconi, 'MAZZUCATO, Alberto'; Andrea Lanza, 'Mazzucato, Alberto', in *Grove Music Online*; Mitchell, p. 159.

[22] Rusconi, 'MAZZUCATO, Alberto'.

[23] See Rusconi, 'MAZZUCATO, Alberto'; Lanza, 'Mazzucato, Alberto'. This would have occurred simultaneously with the premiere and performance run of Donizetti's *Lucia di Lammermoor* (1835) at the Teatro di San Carlo, Naples.

[24] Bassi, *La fidanzata*, p. 59.

[25] Ibid.

From Ida's first appearance on stage in Act I, scene 5, her fate is sealed: in the scena and her cavatina ('Ida, ti scuoti…Sognai, ch'errante e profuga'), she recounts her terrible dream to her attendant Alina, where she unknowingly foresees her own violent act.[26] Wandering in the wilderness, she sees Edgardo, who smiles at her like the sun smiles at the flowers, and experiences the ecstasy of her wedding day, of a blessed future, when suddenly darkness surrounds her and she sees a horrifying vision.[27] She witnesses a man, dying on the ground, desperately crying out to heaven, and feels his blood on her face, before waking in terror.[28] By adding this solo cavatina and Alina's onstage presence, Bassi gives voice to Scott's descriptions of Lucy's unsettling visions and torment.[29] Her described vision in this instance, however, foreshadows events that will later be invisible to the audience in the theatre, once Ida's madness is finally exhibited in Act III, scenes 4 and 5 (see Table 4.1).

Table 4.1: Scott's description of Lucy's attack on Bucklaw (left), and a translated excerpt of Bassi's operatic madness from Act III, scenes 4 and 5 (right).[30]

| [A] cry was heard so shrill and piercing, as at once to arrest the dance and the music. All stood motionless; but when the yell was again repeated, Colonel Ashton snatched a torch from the sconce, and demanding the key of the bridal chamber […] rushed thither, followed by William and Lady Ashton, and one or two others, near relations of the family […] Arrived at the door of the apartment, Colonel Ashton knocked and called, but received no answer except stifled groans […] When he succeeded in opening it, the body of the bridegroom was found lying on the threshold of the bridal chamber, and all around was filled with blood. A cry of surprise and horror was raised by all present; and the company, excited by this new alarm, began to rush tumultuously towards the sleeping apartment. […] In the meanwhile, Lady Ashton and her husband, and their attendants, in vain sought Lucy […] they | (*suddenly a prolonged groan was heard from the above apartments*)
 Ah!... (*from inside*)
 CORO: What a moan!
 GUGLIELMO: And whence, and from where does it leave? (*to Alina who hurries*)
 ALINA: The lament came from there. (*as Guglielmo goes to the place indicated by Alina, the door opens, from which **Ida appears on the edge. She has a bloody dagger in her hands. The disorder of her clothes announces the disorder of her spirits**).

 SCENE 5:
 ALL: Ida! (*with horrified surprise*)
 GUG: Great god!! (*remains annihilated at the sight of Ida*)
 IDA: Who is calling me? What do you want? There is the husband you gave me.
 (*she descends and moves forward slowly*)
 GUG: Oh daughter! -
 (*he goes towards the apartment from which Ida came out, and enters*)
 IDA: The father sees, (*with great calm*) |

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[26] Ibid., p. 14. Although this cannot be definitively concluded without a musical score, I have determined this is her first scena and cavatina from the *versi sciolti* and *lirici*.

[27] Ibid., pp. 14-15.

[28] Ibid.

[29] The scene is reminiscent of the terrifying visions that Lucy experienced, while receiving treatment from Ailsie Gourlay (who does not feature in *La fidanzata di Lammermoor*): 'But circumstanced as she was, the idea of an evil fate hung over her attachment, became predominant over her other feelings; and the gloom of superstition darkened a mind, already sufficiently weakened by sorrow, distress, uncertainty […] Stories were told by her attendant so closely resembling her own in their circumstances […] Meanwhile, this mysterious visionary traffic had its usual effect, in unsettling Miss Ashton's mind'. See Sir Walter Scott, *The Bride of Lammermoor*, ed. by Fiona Robertson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 312-13.

[30] Scott, pp. 337-38; Bassi, *La fidanzata*, pp. 54-55.

found the unfortunate girl, seated or rather crouched […] her head-gear dishevelled; her night-clothes dabbled with blood – her eyes glazed, and her features convulsed into a wild paroxysm of insanity […] When she saw herself discovered, she gibbered, made mouths, and pointed at them with her bloody fingers […] the unhappy bride was overpowered […] As they carried her over the threshold, she […] uttered the only articulate words that she had yet spoken, saying, with a sort of grinning exultation – 'So you have ta'en up your bonny bridegroom?'	He sees if he still lives. As soon as the blow was struck for me, He made a cry and fell… (*smiling*) He fell like a flower from a hailstorm. The hand is not accustomed to so much enterprise, It was uncertain… trembling… Perhaps – not well struck. CORO: Fatal delirium! GUG: Bucklaw is dead! (*with a sound of grief from the staircase*) IDA: He's dead?... Oh!... Breath at last! (*dropping the dagger*)

This depiction of Ida is sensational as she emerges from the apartment, slowly descending the staircase with a bloodied dagger in her hand (Table 4.1). In comparison to Ida's first scene where there is little to no detail on her physical appearance, here Bassi provides a clear visual image for the audience and reader of the libretto, indicating Ida's mental state. Although it is a clear adaptation of Scott's original events, with most actions and descriptions omitted, the gory details are retained. Rather than waiting to be found in the bridal apartment, cowering and gibbering in a corner like Lucy, Ida instead steps over the threshold of her own accord. While Lucy is able to articulate few words, other than the iconic 'So, you have ta'en up your bonny bridegroom', Bassi gives Ida an articulate voice here and in the following pages with long solo sections of text.[31]

Overall, in writing Ida's mad scene, Bassi manipulates Italian operatic formal conventions by blurring structural boundaries with alternating declamatory and lyrical sections (distinguished by their *versi sciolti* and *lirici*). Bassi commences Ida's mad scene with a long scena from her entry in Act III, scene 5, which is entirely comprised of recitative and interaction with surrounding characters (see Table 4.1).[32] On Edgardo's entry in the final scene, the pair interact, before Ida begins the lyrical passage 'Non sai tu, che il ciel placato' (see Table 4.2).

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[31] Bassi, *La fidanzata,* pp. 55-59. Bassi clearly does this for practical staging reasons and to reduce Scott's equivalent details of the events, by bringing the drama and events onto the stage for the audience to witness.
[32] This is, however, conventional of an operatic finale. See Scott L. Balthazar, ed., 'The Forms of Set Pieces', in *The Cambridge Companion to Verdi* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 49-68 (pp. 62-3).

IDA: Non sai tu, che il ciel placato	IDA: You do not know that the placid
Ti ritorna all'amor mio;	heaven returns you to my love;
Che percosso fu l'ingrato	Who was struck by the ungrateful
Dalla folgore d'un Dio:	Lightning bolt of God:
Di quel Dio che al pianto nostro	Of that God who is moved
Con amor s'inteneri.	by our tears with tender love.
Spento giace il vile il mostro	Dead lies the vile (or cowardly) monster
Che al tuo core mi rapi.	who steals me from your heart.

Following the chorus' horrified cry of 'Giusto Dio!', Ida then embarks on her cavatina 'Al fonte scorgere', which, unlike the previous text, is clearly indicated by its conventional lyric verse and structure (see Table 4.3).[34]

Table 4.3: Ida's conventional cavatina 'Al fonte scorgere'.[35]

	(*Ida rimane tranquilla un momento; indi sovvenendosi d'un pensiero, ella prende Edgardo e conducendolo sul davanti gli dice con vezzo e semplicità.*)		(*Ida remains quiet for a moment; then remembering a thought, she takes Edgardo and leading him to the front says to him with charm and simplicity.*)
IDA:	Al fonte scorgere	IDA:	At the fountain
	Ti vò, mio bene,		I want to see you, my darling,
	Che ancor è memore		Which is still mindful
	Di tante pene,		Of so many pains,
	Che a te funesto		Each thought
	Pensavi ognor.		Which is fatal to you.
	Ed ivi chiedere		And therein I ask
	A te vogl'io:		To you I want:
	A te, sol arbitro		To you, only arbiter
	Del viver mio,		Of my life,
	Se farti mesto		If the fountain
	Può il fonte ancor,		Can still make you sad,
	Che arrise provvido		That smiled prudently
	Al nostro amor.		On our love.

After her cavatina, Ida's reverie is promptly interrupted by the chorus's verse 'Ah! per la misera' (Ah! The poor girl). In the *tempo di mezzo*, there is then a long interaction between Ida, Edgardo and Guglielmo – from 'Ma tutti muti, tutti freddi state' – which is again comprised of *versi sciolti* and *lirici*, with Ida adopting entirely lyric verse from 'Non appressarti… io te'l difendo' (Do not approach, I will defend it/him).[36] The lyric verses from 'Ah no!... padre! Ah no! perdono…' and 'Se umano hai cor, dimentica', therefore indicate that Ida has commenced her cabaletta (see Table 4.4).

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[33] Bassi, *La fidanzata,* p. 56.

[34] Ibid., p. 57. This cavatina is a clear precursor to Lucia's 'Ardon gl'incensi' in Donizetti's *Lucia di Lammermoor* (1835). See Gaetano Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, opera score (Milan: Ricordi, 2004), pp. 436-42.

[35] Bassi, *La fidanzata,* p. 57.

[36] Ibid., pp. 58-59.

Table 4.4: Ida's final cabaletta.[37]

IDA:	Ah no!... padre!... ah no! perdono!... Reo fu il labbro… e il cor non l'è.	IDA:	Ah no!... father!... ah no! forgive me!... Cruel was the lip… and the heart is not.
	Se umano hai cor, dimentica Siccome io venni estinta; Scorda la colpa, o misero, A che m'ha il duol sospinta. Più che il velen, mi straziano Onta, rimorso, orror…		If you have a human heart, forget As I was extinguished Forget the guilt, oh miserable one, To what the grief has pushed me to. More than poison, they torment me Shame, remorse, horror…
	E tu che chiedi un'anima (*ad Edg.*) D'ogni virtù capace, Chiedi dal ciel!... deh chiedimi! Pietà, perdono, e pace… Vien la mia tomba spargere Di lagrime e di fior. È questa, è questa l'ultima Preghiera dell'amor.		And you who ask for a soul (*to Edg.*) Of every capable virtue. Ask from heaven!... Ah, ask for me! Mercy, forgiveness, and peace… Come to my grave to scatter Tears and flowers. This is, this is the final Prayer of love.
CORO:	Qual è quel cor sì barbaro Che regga al suo dolor.	CHORUS:	What is that barbaric heart That endures his pain.

The finale then ends with dialogue between Ida, Edgardo and Guglielmo, before the shocked reaction of the surrounding characters at Ida's death.[38] By incorporating Ida's solo cabaletta near the end of the scene, however, Bassi deviates slightly from finale conventions, by excluding a full ensemble movement. In doing so, Bassi's mad scene thus becomes comparable with other antecedent mad scenes and *gran scena*, such as Carafa's Act II mad scene in *Le nozze di Lammermoor,* and Donizetti's Act II finale in *Anna Bolena* (1830).[39]

Although Bassi understandably keeps Ida's violent act unseen (as with Lucy), he visibly suggests Ida's actions in her appearance, and the terrified outcries and identifying statements made by other onstage characters (see Table 4.1). With this approach, Bassi gives the chorus of wedding guests the opportunity to observe and provide judgement on the unfolding events.[40] In doing this, however, Bassi makes another distinct departure: Ida, in her attack on Bucklaw, does not only injure him (as Lucy does), she kills him.

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[37] Ibid., pp. 59-60.

[38] See Balthazar, pp. 62-63, who outlines that the finale conventionally concludes with dialogue and an event, such as a death and the reaction.

[39] See Gaetano Donizetti, *Anna Bolena: tragedia lyrica in due atti,* libretto by Felice Romani, vocal score, critical edn, ed. by Paolo Fabbro, 2 vols (Milan: Ricordi and Foundazione Donizetti di Bergamo, 2017), II, pp. 431-61 [nkoda].

[40] The majority of Scott's wedding guests instead remain in the hall.

Ida, The Murderess

<div style="text-align:center">Guglielmo: Spento è Bucklaw!   [Guglielmo: Bucklaw is dead!][41]</div>

Following Ida's emergence from the bridal apartment, she deliriously informs her father that she has 'struck' Bucklaw, and that, in doing so, he has fallen like a flower in a hailstorm.[42] Her father, desperate to check whether Bucklaw has survived, approaches the apartment, and returns to declare that he is dead.[43] Bassi's Ida is no longer just an attacker, like Lucy, she is a murderer. In society, women who committed such crimes in the nineteenth century fascinated the European reading public and print media, which detailed their sensational acts and prosecutions, judging such women and brandishing them murderesses.[44] By comparatively analysing Bassi's libretto alongside near contemporary British journalistic accounts and framing it within its European social context, we can investigate how the social and cultural representations of violence informed one another.[45]

In general, nineteenth-century sensational journalism varied in sensitivity towards murderous women, depending on their age, class, morals or circumstances, and mostly questioned the state of mind or spirits of the accused – whether the act was an act of insanity, committed out of desperation, or intentionally malicious.[46] Both accounts discussed below, for instance, acknowledge how one committed murder, then suicide after being 'subject to fits of low spirits', while the other was motivated to kill her previous lover after being 'driven to a desperation and frenzy' (see Figures 4.1 and 4.2).

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[41] Bassi, *La fidanzata,* p. 55.

[42] Ibid., pp. 54-55.

[43] Ibid.

[44] The term murderess was commonly used to describe women who murdered in nineteenth-century journalism. See 'Dreadful Murder at Llantrisant, and Suicide of the Murderess', *The Times*, 5 September 1842, p. 6, in *The Times Digital Archive* <https://go.gale.com/ps/i.do?p=TTDA&sw=w&u=ucw_itc&v=2.1&pg=BasicSearch&it=static&sid=bookmark-TTDA> [accessed 3rd November 2020]; 'The Bristol Murderess', *The Times*, 13 April 1849, p. 6, in *The Times Digital Archive*. The French had a similar fascination with the acts of murderous women. See Lisa Downing, 'Murder in the Feminine: Marie Lafarge and the Sexualization of the Nineteenth Century Criminal Woman', *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 18/1 (2009), 121-37.

[45] This analysis of journalism has been influenced by Andrew Mangham, *Violent Women in Sensation Fiction: Crime, Medicine and Victorian Popular Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 12, who focusses on the Victorian period and compares journalistic descriptions to sensation fiction.

[46] For a comparison of the treatment of female murder in print media, see 'Dreadful Murder at Llantrisant, and Suicide of the Murderess'; 'Murder In Jersey', *The Times*, 3 March 1846, p. 8, in *The Times Digital Archive*. The first portrays a desperate mother, who kills her son and herself, and the latter depicts a menacing image of a woman who stabbed a local police officer.

Figure 4.1: Excerpt from a letter to the Editor, titled 'The case of Annette Meyers' as featured in *The Times* in 1848.[47]

> A young soldier [named Henry Ducker] had gained her affections, and ardently did she love him, as expressed it in one of her letters. […] The correspondence, also, shows that he promised her marriage, and that after having drained her of her hard-earned wages, this wretched man, and […] after having treated her with coldness, proposes that she shall pawn her clothes, and prostitute her person, to raise money for him; and in the event of her not doing this he threatens to abandon the poor girl […] It would appear quite clear from the case that after the poor girl parted from this man she was driven to a desperation and frenzy which led her on and precipitated her into the commission of the fatal act for which her life is forfeited.

Figure 4.2: An excerpt from the article 'Dreadful Murder at Llantrisant', printed in *The Times* (1842).[48]

> His wife having of late been subject to fits of low spirits, he became greatly alarmed […] When the husband saw the body [of his wife, hanging from the ceiling] he had no idea of the death of his son […] it can scarcely be imagined how perfectly horror-struck he must have been when on proceeding to the parlour he discovered the body of his son lying in a pool of blood, his throat cut dreadfully […] When we saw the body of the poor child it had been removed to a table, but the room remained in the same state as when the murder was discovered. In a pool of gore lay a razor with which the murder was committed, and from the blood marks which were all over the room, it was evident that the poor child must have struggled violently. […] although Mrs. Evans hands and arms were covered with blood to the elbows, yet not a trace of blood was found in the room where she hung herself.

In general, the European woman murderer, the husband-killer especially, was considered one of the 'most deviant' members of society.[49] Murderous women were the antitheses of feminine ideals of women as angels in the home, and were seen to be imbued with 'a ghastly, destructive energy [that was] lurking beneath female spaces and feminine graces'.[50] In contrast, while discussion of gender, class and sexuality was often prevalent in the journalistic portrayal of male criminals and murderers, their sanity was not as habitually or immediately questioned: one such case instead pointedly labels the male murderer as 'quite sane'.[51]

This style of writing and language was intentional in order to appeal to the general public, and designed to either generate or diminish public sympathy. Public sympathy is important to gauge in this argument because it equally appears on the operatic stage, as represented by the reactions of the operatic chorus. Susan McClary posits that the chorus are 'an anonymous group that mediates for the audience, reacting to the soprano's ravings with

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[47] H. R. D., 'The Case of Annette Meyers', *The Times*, 7 March 1848, p. 8, in *The Times Digital Archive*.

[48] 'Dreadful Murder at Llantrisant, and Suicide of the Murderess'.

[49] Downing, pp. 121-22, 125. See also Lucia Zedner, 'Women, Crime, and Penal Responses: A Historical Account', *Crime and Justice*, 14 (1991), 307-62 (pp. 308, 311-12).

[50] Mangham, pp. 9-12; Coventry Patmore, *The Angel in the House, Book 1: The Betrothal* (London: John W. Parker and Son, 1854).

[51] Downing, p. 122; 'Horrid Murder at Quadring', *Illustrated London News*, 10 September 1842, p. 282, in *The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003* <https://link-gale-com.abc.cardiff.ac.uk/apps/doc/HN3100005098/ILN?u=ucw_itc&sid=ILN&xid=65f64640> [accessed 21st July 2022]. See Downing, p. 125-27 for an interesting comparison on the media and medical treatment of murderers Marie Lufarge and Lacenaire.

measured expressions of sympathy and alarm'.[52] This chorus reaction not only mediates the reaction of the theatrical audience therefore, but also teaches and informs social behaviours. Without the operatic chorus then, how would the audience in the theatre react and who would they look to to provide judgement? By examining cases which attracted a large amount of public and press attention, we can gauge typical audience reactions of the period, for those murders both on and off stage.

One such murder case which attracted tremendous public sympathy was that committed by French woman Annette Meyers: on 4th February 1848, Meyers confronted her past love Ducker in a premeditated attack, and shot him dead (as aforementioned in Figure 4.1).[53] Although English courts at the time maintained strict convictions and penalties for women who committed such crimes, relatively few cases were prosecuted and the proportion of convictions remained low.[54] After originally receiving the death penalty, Meyers's sentence was lessened to a twenty-one year prison sentence following a public campaign for her release in *The Times*.[55] Where cases attracted a large amount of public sympathy, juries and courts avoided giving a harsh penalty, instead giving lesser sentences or assigning them to closed institutions.[56]

So perhaps Ida may have received some sympathy (and a lesser penalty) from her audience, despite both her act and that of Meyers being interpreted as acts of 'desperation and frenzy'.[57] At the time in Britain, few were legally able to submit a plea of 'insanity', despite

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[52] See Susan McClary, *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender and Sexuality* (London and Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), pp. 98-99; Mary Ann Smart, 'The Silencing of Lucia', *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 4/2 (1995), 119-41 (p. 120).

[53] 'Broadside on the "Examination and committal of Annette Meyers"', in *British Library* <https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/broadside-examination-and-committal-of-annette-mayers> [accessed 3rd November 2020]; H. R. D., 'The Case of Annette Meyers'.

[54] Men who killed their wives were given more lenient punishments and sentences. See Judith Knelman, *Twisting in the Wind: The Murderess and the English Press* (Toronto, ON; Buffalo, NY and London: University of Toronto Press, 1998), pp. 87-88, 94; Kathy Callahan, 'Women Who Kill: An Analysis of Cases in Late Eighteenth- and Early Nineteenth-Century London', *Journal of Social History*, 46/4 (2013), 1012-38 (pp. 1020-21, 1024); Sir Leon Radzinowicz, *A History of English Criminal Law and Its Administration from 1750*, 1 (London, 1948), 209-13, referenced in Ibid.

[55] She was then transported to Van Diemens Land (Australia). 'Broadside on the "Examination and committal of Annette Meyers"'; 'Annette Meyers b. 1822 (Life Archive ID obpdef1-826-18480228', in *The Digital Panopticon* <https://www.digitalpanopticon.org> [accessed 20th January 2021].

[56] Women who committed infanticide in England and Ireland in the nineteenth century, were especially given the insanity verdict, or confined to an asylum. Women who had killed their husbands, however, were often perceived to have more responsibility for their actions, and thus received stricter penalties. See Pauline M. Prior, 'Murder and Madness: Gender and the Insanity Defense in Nineteenth-century Ireland', *New Hibernia Review*, 9/4 (2005), 19-36; Mary Beth Wasserlein Emmerichs, 'Trials of Women for Homicide in Nineteenth-Century England', *Women and Criminal Justice*, 5/1 (1993), 99-110 (p. 108). Edward Berenson similarly notes the power of the French media over trials and convictions. See Edward Berenson, *The Trial of Madame Caillaux* (Berkeley; Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1992), p. 15.

[57] H. R. D., 'The Case of Annette Meyers'. Both could be interpreted as acts of revenge: Meyers's revenge was not only for draining her finances and abandoning her, but for the unnecessary heartache she had experienced,

its common use in print media; therefore, women were instead only acquitted or given lesser sentences due to 'lack of evidence' or 'extenuating circumstances'.[58] In France, on the other hand, cases and defences of *crime passionnel* were relatively common: some years later, on 16th March 1914, Henriette Caillaux shot dead Gaston Calmette, the editor of *Le Figaro*, following a smear campaign on her politician husband, Joseph.[59] Her case and subsequent prosecution attracted mass media attention, and her eventual sentencing, following her defence of 'extenuating circumstances', concluded that it was a crime of passion (not premeditated), and she was acquitted of all charges.[60]

As with Meyers and Ida, the general conceptions surrounding Caillaux's sex dramatically impacted upon the understanding of the motivation for her crimes: at the time, the French courts and their juries (predominantly comprised of men) believed that such women were delicate, feminine creatures who must have been consumed by a 'temporary insanity' to commit such crimes of passion, and were therefore not criminally responsible.[61] By the end of the eighteenth century in Europe, women who committed such violent murders, most likely faced acquittal or a not guilty verdict: out of 531 verdicts given to women at the appellate court of the Parlement Grand Criminel of Paris (the most powerful and important of the French judicial courts) between 1700 and 1790, 311 were not convicted or given a not guilty verdict (58.6 percent), 111 received a guilty verdict for a lesser offence (20.9 percent), and only 84 were given a guilty verdict (15.8 percent).[62] The dissemination of such cases and their outcomes in print media would, therefore, have been shared amongst the European reading public and operatic audiences.

Both Meyers' and Caillaux's cases received a large amount of public attention and sympathy, and Bassi's chorus similarly provide a string of interjections throughout Act III,

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and for the cruelty with which she had been treated. Ida's revenge would have instead been against Bucklaw and her own father, for forcing her into an arranged marriage. Ida's recollections of her dream in Act I, scene 5 imply that her murder is premeditated, albeit unconsciously.

[58] Callahan, pp. 1020-21, 1024.

[59] Berenson, pp. 1-4.

[60] Ibid., pp. 4-6, 15-17, 240-42.

[61] Henriette Caillaux's court was noted to have an 'overwhelmingly male composition'. Berenson, p. 9. Nigel Walker, *Crime and Insanity in England, vol 1: The Historical Perspective* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1968), 124-30, referenced in Emmerichs, p. 101; Knelman, pp. 87-88, 94, 110. Knelman, p. 110, notes that such views were not shared in England, where only men were excused for crimes of passion ('crime passionnel' in France). This is, however, debatable considering my own aforementioned examples.

[62] In London, out of 206 verdicts given at the Old Bailey, 130 women were not convicted (63.1 percent), 31 (15 percent) received a lesser sentence/verdict, and only 44 (21.4 percent) were given a guilty verdict. Anna Clare Jenkin, *Perceptions of the Murderess in London and Paris, 1674-1789* (PhD thesis, University of Sheffield, 2015), pp. 39-45. Jenkin's analysis is based on Catalogue 450 of the Archives Nationales, which recorded 'all cases treated in the appellate court of the Parisian *Parlement Grand Criminel* chamber, known as *la Tournelle*, from 1700 to 1790', which included cases from Paris and a large area of northern France. The total numbers of cases also exclude infanticide. See Jenkin, pp. 39-40.

scenes 5 and 6 (ultima), in order to narrate the scene and provide surrogate judgement for the audience in the theatre (see Figure 4.3).

Figure 4.3: Edited selection of chorus and whole ensemble reactions from Act III, scenes 5 and 6.[63]

ALL:	Ida! (*with horrified surprise*) […]
CHORUS:	Fatal delirium! […]
IDA:	The sweetest, who advances to me
	After the cloud that passed.
THE OTHERS:	Just God! With what power
	Your hand burdened her.
	[…]
CHORUS:	Ah! There is no more
	Hope for the poor girl.
	The terrible wrath
	Of a God presses her
	The days passed
	For her in love.
	Mortal anguish
	Oppresses her heart.
	[…]
CHORUS:	Poor girl! […]
ALL:	(*On confirmation of Ida's death,*
	offering the last word and observation)
	Ah! what terror!!

They initially interject with 'horror', highlighting her 'delirium' to the in-theatre audience, before growing more sympathetic towards Ida's disposition and fate. Unlike the sympathetic outpouring for Meyers, however, they cannot salvage her from her self-declared death sentence (see Figure 4.4).[64]

Figure 4.4: Ida's premonition from the end of her duet with her father, having been persuaded to separate with Edgardo in Act II, scene 2.[65]

IDA:	I have poured the entire
	bitter (or poison) chalice of suffering.
	Death, only death remains for me
	I have lived and suffered enough.
	This miserable heart
	Was born to eternal tears.
	But let the flood of pain
	Come to extinguish it. (*THEY PART*)

Yet Ida's deadly knife attack on Bucklaw was an uncommon method of homicide for European women of the time, as poison was instead seen as a more popular and discrete weapon of choice.[66] In late eighteenth-century Italy, widow (and rumoured witch) Giovanna

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[63] Bassi, *La fidanzata,* pp. 54, 57-58, 60.

[64] Ibid.*,* pp. 58-60.

[65] Ibid., p. 37.

[66] In the first half of the nineteenth century, women who committed murder commonly chose poison as their weapon: murderess Sarah Westwood murdered her husband by poisoning 'him with arsenic in gruel', after twenty years of marriage. See 'Execution of Murderess', *The Times*, 16 January 1844, p. 6, in *The Times Digital Archive*; 'Constabulary Force for England and Wales', *The Carlisle Journal*, 27 April 1839; 'The Murder Of

Bonnano was prosecuted for selling a prepared concoction to local women of Palermo who wanted to murder their husbands in an effort to escape their unhappy marriages or flee with a lover.[67] In nineteenth-century France, author Marie Lafarge also poisoned her husband, and was subsequently 'sentenced to life imprisonment'.[68] As in Ida's case, however, there were rare cases where women committed physically violent murders in the home, yet these were often committed in desperation (as in Figure 4.2).

Despite the fascination for graphic, sensational journalism in Britain,[69] the homicide rates in Italy were considerably higher throughout the first half of the nineteenth century: between 1800 and 1824, the homicide rate was 18 per 100,000 population, while it was 1.5 per 100,000 in England.[70] Between 1825 and 1850, however, the homicide rate for Italy fell to 15 per 100,000 population, while it slightly increased to 1.7 per 100,000 in England.[71] Although homicide rates varied across Europe at the time, only a relatively small proportion would have been heard or even indicted in court.[72] Out of this small number, a high proportion of women were prosecuted: overall, 40 percent of murder prosecutions were of women in nineteenth century Europe and America (but mainly for cases of infanticide, the 'murdering mother' or caregiver being the antithesis of feminine virtues).[73]

The specific sensational imagery of the razor in the 'pool of gore' in Llantrisant (see Figure 4.2) is thus reminiscent of both Lucy's and Ida's acts, and hypothetically portrays the horrific scene witnessed by Guglielmo on entering the bridal apartment to search for Bucklaw.[74] Nevertheless, such journalistic descriptions would have informed the perception

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Mr. Gilmour In Renfrew', *The Times*, 14 Sept 1843, p. 6, in *The Times Digital Archive*. For more on poisoning, see Knelman, pp. 86-87, 95-96.

[67] This was especially the case if their lovers promised financial security. See Giovanna Fiume, 'Cursing, Poisoning and Feminine Mortality: The Case of the 'Vinegar Hag' in Late Eighteenth-Century Palermo', *Social Anthropology*, 4/1 (1996), 117-32.

[68] Lafarge's prosecution gained mass media attention throughout the 1840s and she subsequently became a case study for future studies on female criminality and criminology, such as Cesare Lombroso's late nineteenth-century theories, where hysteria was often linked to such behaviour. Downing, pp. 121, 127-28, 131, 133.

[69] Although I have confirmed that the British and French reading public were fascinated with sensational journalism, I have been unable to determine whether there was a similar trend of sensationalised print culture in Italy.

[70] Furthermore, in the second half of the eighteenth century, the homicide rate in Italy was 9 per 100,000 of the population, while it was much lower at 1.4 per 100,000 in England. Manuel Eisner does, however, acknowledge that there are significant gaps in Italian data and 'the lack of continuous data over longer periods makes definitive conclusions impossible'. Manuel Eisner, 'Modernization, Self-Control and Lethal Violence: The Long-term Dynamics of European Homicide Rates in Theoretical Perspective', *The British Journal of Criminology*, 41/4 (2001), 618-38 (pp. 627-29) <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23654286> [accessed 4th November 2020].

[71] Ibid, p. 629.

[72] Callahan, p. 1016; Clive Elmsley, *Crime and Society in England, 1750-1900*, 4th edn (London and New York: Routledge, 2013), pp. 42-45.

[73] Zedner, p. 319; Elmsley, p. 104.

[74] Bassi, *La fidanzata*, pp. 54-55; 'Dreadful Murder at Llantrisant', p. 6.

and reception of the unseen events, graphically filling in the detail of the struggle and violence involved.

Ida, The Insane

Thus, we return again to the principal questions: how was the term insanity generally defined and the condition diagnosed in the nineteenth century? How do descriptions of behaviours in medical literature compare to Bassi's representation of Ida's madness? And how do such comparisons suggest a connection between fiction and reality, albeit exaggerated and sensationalised?

In 1793, Italian professor of medicine, Vincenzo Chiarugi generally defined madness ('pazzia') as an umbrella term that encompassed a number of different conditions (or *species*, as they were more commonly described).[75] He generally interpreted madness as a chronic and permanent delusion, which was mostly characterised by delirium (affecting memory, imagination and judgement), an attack on the senses and no obvious fever.[76] By 1827, the general medical interpretation of madness remained similar: in *Della alienazione mentale,* Luigi Calvetti – based on the ideas of French psychiatrist Jean-Étienne-Dominique Esquirol – outlined that madness, or mental alienation, was characterised by an alteration of the faculty of thinking and subversion of moral affections.[77] By 1845, E. K. Hunt, in his edited English translation of Esquirol's later treatise *Des maladies mentales* (1838), defined insanity as 'a cerebral affection, ordinarily chronic, and without fever; characterized by disorders of sensibility, understanding, intelligence, and will'.[78]

A comparison of such medical literature and Bassi's libretto allows for observation of some of the specific characteristics of Ida's insanity. The delirium produced which tormented the insane with sensory (at least both audible and visual) illusions and caused changes in

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[75] Vincenzo Chiarugi, *Della pazzia in genere, e in specie: trattato medico-analitico*, 3 vols (Florence: Presso Luigi Carlieri, 1793), I, pp. 1-2, 11.

[76] Ibid.

[77] Madness and mental alienation ('alienazione mentale') were the same, and the two terms were used interchangeably. Luigi Calvetti and Jean-Étienne-Dominique Esquirol, *Della alienazione mentale o Della pazzia in genere e in specie* (Milan: Coi tipi di Felice Rusconi, 1827), p. 4. Jean-Etienne-Dominique Esquirol (1772-1840) was a notable French physician of this time, and one of the frontrunners in the newly established psychiatric discipline in France. Esquirol studied under Philippe Pinel, whom he succeeded as the 'physician in chief at the Salpêtrière Hospital in Paris', where he 'further develop[ed] Pinel's diagnostic techniques' and sought to find a 'more humane treatment' for mentally ill patients. *Des maladies mentales, considérées sous les rapports 189onoman, hygiénique, et 189onoma-légal*, published in 1838, is said to be the 'first modern' psychiatric work of its kind. See 'Jean-Etienne-Dominique Esquirol', in *Encyclopædia Britannica* <https://www.britannica.com> [accessed 21st July 2022].

[78] Jean-Étienne-Dominique Esquirol, *Mental Maladies*, trans. with additions by E. K. Hunt (Philadelphia, PA: Lea and Blanchard, 1845), p. 21. In his English translation, Hunt elaborated on Esquirol's ideas, and provided a general definition of insanity within the footnotes.

behaviour, is identified by the chorus (as seen in Table 4.1).[79] Ida's scena from Act III, scene 5, with its varying *versi sciolti* and *lirici*, textually embodies and structures Ida's delirium, in particular her fast changing and contrasting moods (see Figure 4.5).

Figure 4.5: Excerpt of Ida's scena: she imagines a fictitious reality and exhibits a happy ignorance to her own actions; then she becomes distressed once she cannot find the token of her oath to Edgardo.[80]

IDA:	(*to Alina*) You are crying?
	And why are you crying? Don't you know that
	Edgardo will be my husband?
	Keep still and gird me
	with a beautiful garland of roses;
	And if the rose is an image of love,
	this is the dreamiest flower
	that I can adorn myself with!.. He still loves me:
	He, that in this pledge… oh!... […]
	(*wanting to show Alina the pledge of faith she gave to Edg.*)
	Alina… I have lost it!...
	Tell me: have you seen it?
	It was the only object, so that I could endure
	Life, oppressed and tormented by so many evils
	The search… the search… (*crying to Alina*)

Ida imagines a fictitious reality: she exhibits both confusion and a happy ignorance of her situation, wishing to be adorned with roses, so that she is well presented for Edgardo; equally, she becomes distressed once she cannot find her pledge of faith, the broken coin, which was removed by Guglielmo in Act III, scene 2 (see Figure 4.5 above).[81]

Although Ida's madness, as in most cases of insanity, is portrayed as a sudden and temporary affliction, it drastically alters her behaviour, disposition and ultimately her life.[82] Although seemingly undetectable in previous scenes, Ida's madness and subsequent violent behaviour are suddenly triggered: a

> source of excitement – fear, apprehension, or mental disturbance of some sort – [did] so operate upon the mind, through the medium of its diseased organ in the brain, as to lead the person so afflicted, now to the commission of suicide; now to homicide, or other acts of a grossly immoral and highly criminal character.[83]

A person of sane and healthy mind with reason intact was believed to not knowingly commit such a heinous crime.[84] On the other hand, sick individuals who displayed deviant behaviours

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[79] Chiarugi, pp. 1-2, 11; Esquirol, *Mental Maladies* p. 23; Calvetti and Esquirol, p. 4. The illusions could cause patients to mistake those closest to them for strangers or enemies.
[80] Bassi, *La fidanzata* pp. 55-57.
[81] Ida's behaviour specifically resembles Esquirol's description: 'Among the insane, some are stricken with terror, believe themselves ruined, tremble lest they shall become the victims of a conspiracy, fear death. Others are happy and gay'. Bassi, *La fidanzata,* p. 49 ; Esquirol, *Mental Maladies*, p. 25.
[82] Esquirol, *Mental Maladies*, p. 21; Bassi, *La fidanzata,* pp. 54-57.
[83] Esquirol, *Mental Maladies*, p. 22.
[84] James Cowles Prichard, *A Treatise on Insanity, and Other Disorders Affecting the Mind* (London: Sherwood, Gilbert and Piper, 1835), pp. 18, 397.

acted against all natural and human laws and were medically identified to have either partially or wholly lost their reason.[85]

Although Mangham focuses on a slightly later period, his *Violent Women in Sensation Fiction* discusses and compares similar cultural images of such murderous women who suddenly go insane.[86] The character Blanche from Mary Fortune's *The White Maniac* (1863) is specifically compared with a description of murderess Miss Scholes, from *The Annual Register* record 'Double Murder by an Insane Sister' (1860). Both instances, like that of Ida, depict a young woman 'destroying her family with a sudden and unpredictable burst of insane violence' (see Table 4.5 for comparison).[87]

Table 4.5: 'Double Murder by an Insane Sister an Insane Sister' (1860) from *The Annual Register* on the left, compared with an excerpt from Mary Fortune's *The White Maniac (*1863) on the right.[88]

It appeared that Joseph Scholes, a journeyman printer, who lived in the same cottage with his father, a brother, and a sister […] He could hear throughout the night his sister making a peculiar noise, to which he was accustomed, the unfortunate woman being subject to fits and considered deranged. The next morning […] Joseph Scholes became alarmed, and broke open the door of his sister's room. The sister was sitting in a chair, the father and son were lying on the floor together, quite dead. They had been strangled by the insane woman, neither, owing to physical infirmity, having been able to offer much resistance […] she had turned upon them with a maniac's strength and fury, and strangled both with her hands.	It was many long weeks ere I was able to listen to the Duke as he told the fearful tale of the dead girl's disease. The first intimation her wretched relatives had of the horrible thing was upon the morning of her eighteenth year. They went to her room to congratulate her, and found her lying upon the dead body of her younger sister, who occupied the same chamber; she had literally torn her throat with her teeth, and was sucking the hot blood as she was discovered. No words could describe the horror of the wretched parents. […] I never asked how Blanche had died, […] but I guessed that force had been obliged to be used in dragging her teeth from my throat, and the necessary force was sufficient to destroy her.

While Blanche's insanity is ignited by her eighteenth birthday, Ida's own insanity is triggered in Act III by her betrayal of her oath to Edgardo and her own 'transition into womanhood', her marriage to Bucklaw.[89]

Both these and Bassi's representations of madness, however, specifically relate to an individual species of insanity: *homicidal monomania*. Between 1827 and 1838, not only did Esquirol and other doctors continue to separate insanity into different species (mania, monomania, dementia, melancholy) as had been done for centuries, they sought to further

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[85] This violence in-turn becomes a medically identifiable, diagnostic feature. Chiarugi, pp. 7, 35.

[86] Mangham, p. 12; 'Double Murder by an Insane Sister', *Annual Register* (1860).

[87] Mangham, p. 12.

[88] 'Double Murder by an Insane Sister', *The Annual Register, or A View of The History and Politics of the Year 1860* (London: Printed for J. and F. H. Rivington et al., 1861)*,* p. 48; Mary Fortune (Waif Wander), *The White Maniac: A Doctor's Tale*, e-book (Australia: Project Gutenberg, 2018), in *Project Gutenberg Australia* <http://gutenberg.net.au> [accessed 22nd January 2021]. Both are also compared in Mangham, pp. 9-14.

[89] The eighteenth birthday was 'the day that Victorians would have recognised as heralding her move into womanhood'. Mangham, pp. 12, 14; Bassi, *La fidanzata*, pp. 20, 37, 43-54.

define the term monomania.[90] As a result, the term and condition homicidal monomania was established in Europe and became broadly recognised as a partial delirium, with the violent impulse to murder.[91] Homicidal monomania was specifically defined and diagnosed where:

> [t]he insane attempt to take the lives of their fellow-beings […] in a fit of anger, [they] smite, and slay those who resist them, or by whom they think themselves opposed. They destroy persons whom they regard, either rightfully or otherwise, as their enemies; from whom they deem it necessary to defend themselves, or on whom they must take vengeance. Others, deceived by the illusions of the senses […] obey the impulse of their delirium.[92]

Although Ida exhibits such homicidal maniacal tendencies, it cannot be determined whether she is entirely conscious of her actions and thus chooses to 'obey the impulse of [her] delirium'.[93] While some homicidal monomaniacs were wholly conscious of their harmful acts, wilfully choosing to act upon their delirium and rejoicing in their act, others were driven by an 'involuntary, and instinctive impulse' that spontaneously prompted them to kill, and left them impassive to their victim.[94] If we consider that Ida has acted upon an involuntary impulse, her described dream and vivid imagery of her bridegroom's blood on her face (in Act I, scene 5) suggest what Esquirol diagnosed as an earlier, unconscious desire for 'homicide, in order to shed blood'.[95] In doing so, this perhaps evidences the early signs of Ida's madness. Ida clearly presents an unconscious 'internal struggle between the impulse to murder, and the […] motives that dissuade [her] from it', as experienced by other homicidal monomaniacs.[96] In addition, Ida's marriage to Bucklaw – the historically conceived cure for hysteria – does nothing to help 'modify this horrible instinct', but rather precipitates her violent act and delirium.[97]

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[90] Esquirol published the short work *Note sur la 192onomania homicide* in 1827, and most of these ideas then fed into and were developed in his 1838 treatise. See Jean-Étienne-Dominique Esquirol, *Note sur la monomanie homicide* (Paris and London : Chez J-B. Baillere, Libraire-Éditeur, Même Maison, 1827) ; Esquirol, *Mental Maladies*, pp. 362-67.

[91] Esquirol, *Note sur la monomanie homicide*, p. 5. Prichard also acknowledges the French term homicide 192onomania, and its use by French authors in his treatise. Based on his dedication at the start of his work, and his acknowledgements throughout his work, Prichard was clearly influenced by the work of Esquirol. See Prichard, p. 397.

[92] Esquirol, *Mental Maladies*, p. 362.

[93] Ibid.

[94] Those that were led by blind instinct may have not previously evidenced such malicious tendencies or criminal behaviour. Esquirol, *Note sur la 192onomania homicide*, pp. 3, 5-6; Esquirol, *Mental Maladies*, p. 362; Prichard, pp. 385, 397.

[95] Esquirol, *Mental Maladies*, pp. 365-67, describes such a case of a young woman whose behaviour had always been 'very irregular and disorderly', having displayed 'a relish, from early life, for blood', and had always felt irresistibly inclined to homicide, in order to shed blood'. Bassi, *La fidanzata*, pp. 14-15.

[96] Esquirol, *Mental Maladies*, p. 366.

[97] Ibid., pp. 365, 367. This returns to ancient ideas discussed in Chapter 1. Homicidal monomania in women was believed to be caused by 'excitement' induced by hormones at certain points in the menstrual cycle, which could lead a woman to commit such a menacing act. Prichard, p. 386.

Although Ida exhibits an awareness of her own actions, proudly describing to Edgardo what she has done and remaining impassive towards Bucklaw, in her delirium she is not conscious of their implications and reality.[98] Moreover, while Ida celebrates her actions, her lyrical passage from 'Non sai tu, che il ciel placato' and the conventionality of her cavatina 'Al fonte scorgere' – when she imagines that she is soon to marry Edgardo, and leads him to the fountain as though to make her vows – further exhibits her delirium, her lack of consciousness to her situation, and that she has acted on blind instinct (see Figure 4.6).[99]

Figure 4.6: A translated excerpt of Bassi's libretto for Ida's lyrical passage 'Non sai tu, che il ciel placato' and her cavatina 'Al fonte scorgere', evidencing Ida's delirium following her violent act.[100]

IDA:	Dead lies the vile (or cowardly) monster
	who steals me from your heart
EDG:	Heavens! What are you saying?
IDA:	I myself, I myself
	I struck him and he bled to death. […]
	He was dead; And I have raised
	The soul oppressed by anguish;
	That is the only hope
	I have to be happy:
	The sweetest, who advances to me
	After the cloud that passed. […]
	(Ida remains quiet for a moment; then remembering a thought, she takes Edgardo and leading him to the front says to him with charm and simplicity.)
	At the fountain
	I want to see you, my darling,
	Which is still mindful
	Of so many pains,
	Each thought
	Which is fatal to you.
	And therein I ask
	To you I want:
	To you, only arbiter
	Of my life,
	If the fountain
	Can still make you sad,
	That smiled prudently
	On our love.

Following Ida's serenade to Edgardo, however, her delirium continues: in the tempo di mezzo from 'Ma tutti muti, tutti freddi state', Ida is confused that the others around her remain silently stunned, and that she can hear crying (see Figure 4.7). It is only as Edgardo

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[98] Bassi, *La fidanzata*, pp. 54-57.
[99] Esquirol, *Note sur la monomanie homicide*, pp. 3, 5-6 ; Esquirol, *Mental Maladies*, p. 362 ; Prichard, pp. 385, 397.
[100] Bassi, *La fidanzata*, pp. 55-57.

begins to reason with her that she finally begins to understand what she has done and becomes aware of the reality of her actions.

Figure 4.7: Ida's delirium continues. Edgardo and Guglielmo confront her about her behaviour and the murder, and she realises what she has done. [101]

IDA:	But all mute, all cold are you To my joy? - A prolonged sound I hear of crying! For what? (*she focuses*)
CHORUS:	Poor woman!
IDA:	It is true: I was… I am - eternally it is given That Ida is. (*as above, starting to know her situation*).
EDG:	You see, cruel woman: This is your work.
GUG:	Silence: My soul Is deeply torn.
EDG:	She will live Defamed for you.
IDA:	Who ever! Who ever (*shaking*) Speaks of infamy here? All will fall on the head Of him who pushed me to make such a horrendous mistake.
GUG:	Daughter…
IDA:	Do not approach… I will defend it to you. I am stained with a crime For which nature trembles.

Ida is at first unable to provide an explanation for her actions and like real homicidal maniacal patients, lacks remorse and appears relieved of a 'state of agitation and anguish'. [102] Ida, like other young women in the same position, 'experienced a violent inclination to commit homicide, for which she could not [consciously or articulately] assign any motive'. [103] However, as her situation is revealed to her by the other characters, Ida, becomes increasingly horrified and ashamed: in her final cabaletta 'Ah no!... padre! Ah no! perdono…', she begs to be forgiven (see Figure 4.8). In the following interaction and final dialogue with the surrounding characters, she pleads for peace between Edgardo and her father, and finally succumbs to her fate. [104]

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[101] Bassi, *La fidanzata*, pp. 58-60.
[102] Esquirol, *Mental Maladies*, pp. 366-67.
[103] Prichard, p. 386.
[104] Others could not be convinced of their error: 'ils donnent des explications très-raisonnables et justifient leurs actions par des motifs très-plausibles. […] Convaincus que ce qu'ils sentent est vrai, que ce qu'ils veulent est juste et raisonnable, on ne peut les convaincre d'erreur ; leur conviction est quelquefois plus forte que leur jugement. « Vous avez raison, me disait un aliéné ; mais vous ne pouvez me convaincre : Néanmoins, quelques-uns sentent le désordre de leurs idées, de leurs affections, de leurs actions ; ils en gémissent, ils en ont honte et même horreur ; mais leur volonté est impuissante, ils ne peuvent la maîtriser'. Esquirol, *Note sur la monomanie homicide*, pp. 3-4.

Figure 4.8: Ida, horrified of her actions begs to be pardoned in her cabaletta, and succumbs to her fate in the following dialogue.[105]

IDA:	Ah no!... father!... ah no! forgive me!...
	Cruel was the lip… and the heart is not.
	If you have a human heart, forget
	As I was extinguished
	Forget the guilt, oh miserable one,
	To what the grief has pushed me to.
	More than poison, they torment me
	Shame, remorse, horror…
	And you who ask for a soul (*to Edg.*)
	Of every capable virtue.
	Ask from heaven!... Ah, ask for me!
	Mercy, forgiveness, and peace…
	Come to my grave to scatter
	Tears and flowers.
	This is, this is the final
	Prayer of love.
CHORUS:	What is that barbaric heart
	That endures his pain. […]
IDA:	But… I no longer see… Oh god!
	Edgardo!... My father….
	Peace among you! […]
	Dying I beg you… […]
	Ah!... I am… Happy… again…
	Edgardo… I am… dy-… ing…

Hoping for redemption (and thus avoiding sentencing from her crime), Ida takes a poison, and commits suicide, fulfilling her own premonition of death from her duet with Guglielmo in Act II (see Figure 4.9).[106]

Figure 4.9: Ida tells Edgardo and her father, Guglielmo that she has taken a poison.[107]

IDA:	I have poison in my chest. […]
	And late and in vain
	Every potion will be to me
EDG:	It was the thought… cruel…insane!
IDA:	He wanted it…
GUG:	Oh, my daughter!

Like Lucia in Carafa's *Le nozze di Lammermoor*, Ida's suicide by poison is portrayed as noble act, similar to the voluntary deaths of Ancient Greek philosophers and Christian martyrs, and again escapes the moral perception of suicide as a sinful and criminal act. Ironically, Ida's suicide, following her delirium and homicidal monomania, also reinforces

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[105] Ibid., pp. 58-60.
[106] Towards the end of her duet with her father in Act II, scene 2, Ida has the line: 'Death, only death remains for me' ('Morte, sol morte restami'). Bassi, *La fidanzata*, p. 37.
[107] Ibid., pp. 58-60.

the nineteenth-century connection between suicide and insanity.[108] In taking poison, Ida's death (like Lucia's) is romanticised and performative as she dies slowly, which in turn enables her to pray for her redemption, ask for forgiveness for her crimes, and bid farewell to her father and Edgardo (see Figure 4.8).[109] In doing so, Ida's feminised and slow suicide jarringly contrasts with the spontaneous, masculine and violent suicide of Lucy's next lyrical counterpart Malvina.

4.3: 'Io vò morte': The Representation of Violent Suicide in Beltrame's *La fidanzata di Lammermoor* (1834)

MALVINA: Teco io vò morte…	MALVINA: I want to die with you…
(*strappa rapidamente il pugnale ad Ernesto e se traffige*)	(*she quickly snatches the dagger from Ernesto and stabs herself*)[110]

Despite only appearing three years after Rieschi and Bassi's opera, Mazzucato and Beltrame's mad scene for *La fidanzata di Lammermoor* was much shorter, and radically differed in terms of setting and circumstances.[111] Prior to Malvina's mad scene in Act III, scene 4 *(ultima)*, Ernesto (Bucklaw's equivalent) discovers that Edoardo's boat has been engulfed by waves in the storm (while awaiting their confrontation), and he has drowned.[112] In doing so, Beltrame creates a spectacle, which is loosely reminiscent of Lucie and Edgard's watery death in Ducange's *La fiancée de Lammermoor* and thus adheres to the tendencies of nineteenth-century melodrama.[113] Malvina promptly rushes out of the castle followed by Guglielmo, Adele and the Guards, and is horrified by the events, as she desperately questions whether it is true that Edoardo is dead.[114] On learning the truth, Malvina suddenly becomes delirious, forgetting her surroundings. Malvina's madness thus does not stem from a violent attack on her husband, but from the death of her love.[115]

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[108] See Philippe Pinel, *A Treatise on Insanity*, trans. by D. D. Davis (Sheffield: W. Todd, Cadell and Davies, 1806), p. 231. Philippe Pinel associated suicide with insanity and melancholy, and referenced common motives of such as 'the loss of honour or fortune'. See Ibid. p. 145.

[109] See Section 3.3. Suicidal characters in opera often experience a delay 'between the fatal act and their ensuing death', in which they extensively explain their motivations. Graeme Feggetter, 'Suicide in Opera', *British Journal of Psychiatry*, 136/6 (1980), 552-57 (p. 553).

[110] Pietro Beltrame, *La fidanzata di Lammermoor* (Padua: Per il Fratelli Penada, e li figli del fa Giuseppe Penada, 1834), p. 32.

[111] Beltrame's equivalent mad scene lasted only two pages. There is an assumption, prior to consulting the text, that Beltrame's libretto for the mad scene would share similarities with Bassi's libretto, however, this is not the case. Beltrame, pp. 31-32.

[112] This build up occurs from Act II, scene 5, as the pair plan to duel, and Edoardo is drowned in Act III, scene 1. The chorus of fishermen provide a narrative for the unfolding events. See Beltrame, pp. 29-31. Mitchell, pp. 160-61, has been a hugely helpful in clarifying these events.

[113] Victor Ducange, *La fiancée de Lammermoor : drame en trois actes* (Paris : E. Duverger, 1828), p. 29.

[114] Beltrame, p. 31.

[115] Ibid., pp. 31-32.

As with Ida, Malvina's words and Beltrame's use of punctuation suggest her delirium following the death of Edoardo. Unlike Bassi's libretto – which is comprised of *versi sciolti* and *lirici* – Beltrame's mad scene for Malvina is mostly written in rhymed, lyric verse, making it difficult to distinguish its formal boundaries and structure. As with her predecessors, Malvina's mad scene begins with a scena (from her entry at 'Spento Edoardo?'), in which Malvina is confused and questions her surroundings. In the following cavatina 'Al fonte al fonte ov'arsero', Malvina (like Ida) imagines she is with Edoardo and recounts their betrothal at the fountain (see Table 4.6). Although it is impossible to conclusively define the following formal boundaries without consulting Mazzucato's musical manuscript, it is possible to approximate the structure. The chorus's entry at 'Frena infelice I gemiti' potentially signals the tempo di mezzo, as its position is distinguishable from Malvina's cavatina (see Table 4.6). Malvina's finale cabaletta thus commences at either the verse 'Ov'ei giace ancora estinto', or 'Ah!... lo vedete?.. Angelico', when she is in the excess of her delirium (see Table 4.7).

Table 4.6: Malvina's cavatina 'Al fonte al fonte ov'arsero' in Act III, scene 4.[116]

| MALVINA: | Al fonte al fonte ov'arsero
D'affetto i nostri cuori,
Dove il piangete salice
Protesse i nostri amori
O parte di quest'anima
Scorgi la tua fedel.
Che?... Mi respinge!... In lugubre
Aspetto ei mi sorride…
Dio! Qual sorriso… ferrea
Destra da me il divide…
Ahi!... l'han trafitto!... O barbari
Mi scende agli occhi un vel.
(s'abbandona sopra Adele). | MAL: | At the fountain, at the fountain where
Our hearts burned with affection,
Where the weeping willow
Protected our love
Or part of this soul
You see your faithful one.
What? He rejects me! .. With a
mournful look, he smiles at me…
God! What iron smile
Divides me from him…
Ah!... They stabbed him!... Oh barbarians,[117] a veil falls to my eyes.
(she abandons herself on Adele) |
| TUTTI: | *(confortandola.)*
Frena infelice i gemiti
Calma lo spirto anelo:
Vieni dolente ed esuli
Fuggiam sott'altro cielo.
Scorda quest'aura infausta
Che sì fatal ti fù. | ALL: | *(comforting her)*
The yearning spirit
Calms the unhappy moans:
Come sorrowful exiles
Let us flee under another heaven.
Forget this fatal aura
That was so fatal to you. |

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[116] Ibid., pp. 31-32.
[117] Or barbarous.

MAL:	(*nell'eccesso del delirio*)	MAL:	(*in the excess of delirium*)
	Ov'ei giace ancora estinto.		Leave me where he
	Mi lasciate… io vò recarmi…		Still lies extinct… I will go …
	Del suo sangue ancora tinto.		With his blood still stained.
	Chi da lui m'allontanò?...		Who separated me from him? ..
	(*rinvenendo*)		(*recovering*)
	Empio trema!... Ah che diss'io!		Impious trembling! .. Ah what did I say!
	Io potea di lui lagnarmi?..		Could I complain about him?
	Deh! Perdona o padre mio		Oh! Forgive my father
	A un amor che omai spirò.		For a love that has now died.
GUG:	Figlia diletta… Ah! calmati…	GUG:	Beloved daughter… Ah! Calm down…
ERN:	In te ritorna o cara…	ERN:	In you it returns, oh dear…
MAL:	(*in delirio*)	MAL:	(*in delirium*)
	Ah… lo vedete? Angelico		Ah… do you see him? He prepares
	Soggiorno ei mi prepara…		Me for an angelic place
	Teco Edoardo accoglimi		Edoardo welcomes me…
	Teco io vò morte…		I want to die with you…
	(*strappa rapidamente il pugnale ad Ernesto e se traffigge*)		(*she quickly snatches the dagger from Ernesto and stabs herself*)
TUTTI:	(*con grido d'orrore*) Ah !... nò !...	ALL:	(*with a cry of horror*) Ah!... no ! ...

Not only does this sudden madness adhere to cultural conventions, moreover, it embodies tropes described in nineteenth-century medical literature:

> According to Zimmerman, the passion of love makes girls go mad; […]
> The former passion, that of love, has been a fruitful source of insanity in all ages […] Amongst the emotions which lead to insanity, some may be so intense, as to derange the mind immediately upon their application; such as the emotions of terror, and anger or grief, […] at the death of a beloved object.[119]

In nineteenth-century Italy, love and death were often culturally and socially perceived to be interconnected: the weekly magazine *Corriere delle dame,* wrote in 1855 that 'whoever knows how to love knows how to die'.[120] With this and the endings of her operatic and theatrical predecessors in mind, Malvina's own end was inevitable. Malvina's madness is thus not only identifiable in her libretto throughout the mad scene, but also in her death, her wish to die and be reunited with Edoardo, as she violently kills herself.

In early nineteenth-century Italian society, suicidal deaths were isolated occurrences, yet the pellagra – a disease 'marked by dermatitis, [and] gastrointestinal disorders' and associated

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[118] Beltrame, p. 32.

[119] Alexander Morison, *Outlines of Lectures on the Nature, Causes and Treatment of Insanity* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1848), pp. 314-15.

[120] 'L'idea dell'amore', *Corriere delle dame*, 6 November 1855, LIII/45, pp. 356-58, referenced in Susan Rutherford, *Verdi, Opera, Women* (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 2013), p. 178.

with insanity – caused numerous suicides (mostly in northern Italy).[121] Italy's suicide rate

relative to the population remained one of the lowest amongst the European nations;

however, elsewhere the suicide rate varied dramatically.[122] In France, for instance, the

number of suicides relative to the local population was especially high: Esquirol found that

there was 1 suicide per 20,740 inhabitants of France, while others narrowed down these

statistics further, stating that there were 49 suicides per 2,040 Parisian inhabitants (compared

to 20 per 5,000 population in London).[123]

While suicide was most frequent amongst those between the ages of twenty and

thirty-five (the age range most likely to experience disappointment in love), by 1881 the life

expectancy for Italian women in general was a mere thirty-four years.[124] Both Esquirol and

Enrico Morselli noted that although women were thought to be physically weaker and more

susceptible to mental illness, they were less likely to commit suicide than men.[125] Between

1864 and 1866 in Italy, over four times more men committed suicide than women, with 1,537

male suicides and 375 female suicides.[126] Elsewhere in Europe statistical data varied, and the

general suicide ratio was 1: 3 (women: men), although a higher proportion of Spanish women

committed suicide.[127] Women therefore had a significantly lower tendency to commit suicide

than men.[128] This was often attributed to the perception that women were better at coping

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[121] Rutherford, p. 186; 'Pellagra', in *Merriam-Webster Dictionary* <https://www.merriam-webster.com>
[accessed 20th July 2022]; Esquirol, *Mental Maladies*, p. 281; Enrico Morselli, *Suicide: An Essay on
Comparative Moral Statistics* (New York: D. Appleton and company, 1882), p. 201. Morselli's work was
originally published as Enrico Morselli, *Il suicidio: saggio di statistica morale comparata* (Milan: Fratelli
Dumolard, 1879).

[122] Italy's statistical data on suicide, however, remained inconsistent throughout the nineteenth century.
Esquirol, *Mental Maladies*, p. 316; Morselli, *Suicide*; Emil Durkheim, *Suicide: A Study in Sociology*, ed. and
trans. by Spaulding and Simpson (New York: The Free Press, 1951), pp. xlvii-xlix, originally published as *Le
Suicide : Étude de sociologie (1897)*; Saxby A. Pridmore, and others 'Four Centuries of Suicide in Opera', *The
Medical Journal of Australia*, 199/11 (2013), 783-86 (p. 783)
<https://www.mja.com.au/journal/2013/199/11/four-centuries-suicide-opera> [accessed 27th January 2021].

[123] Esquirol, *Mental Maladies*, p. 316. However, Morselli, *Suicide*, p. 9, importantly notes that 'statisticians
confess the impossibility of getting precise data', so results could be unreliable.

[124] The strains of childbearing and childrearing naturally claimed most lives. Michela De Giorgio, *Le Italiane
dall'Unità a oggi* (Rome: Laterza, 1992), pp. 39-40; Rutherford, p. 178; Esquirol, *Mental Maladies*, p. 277.

[125] There were, however, speculated 'epidemics of suicide, which [were] confined to women'. Esquirol, *Mental
Maladies*, p. 278; Morselli, *Suicide,* p. 189. Morselli's essay considers the impact of diet, climate, sex, urban
and country living on suicide statistical data, yet does not discuss the psychiatric causes for suicide and its
potential connection with madness, as Esquirol had done.

[126] Morselli, *Suicide*, p. 190. Diego De Leo, Donatella Conforti and Giovanni Carollo specifically note the
male/female ratio at the end of the nineteenth century as 3.09. In Italy, however, statistical data on suicide was
only officially collected from 1887 (although Morselli's aforementioned figures precede this date). See Diego
De Leo, Donatella Conforti and Giovanni Carollo, 'A Century of Suicide in Italy: A Comparison between the
Old and the Young', *Suicide and Life-Threatening Behaviour*, 27/3 (1997), 239-49 (pp. 239, 242).

[127] See Morselli, *Suicide*, p. 189, 191-93. Yet in European society (and in Italy in particular) at that time, there
was a gender imbalance in the general population, with a higher proportion of women than men, with 1125
women to 1000 men. Ibid., p. 195.

[128] Ibid., p. 195.

with their personal situations and circumstances than men, in sacrificing their own desires over the men in their lives, who were seemingly more ambitious.[129]

Although Malvina's suicide is somewhat in keeping with this social context – in that she does not organise a specific type of death, and instead chooses the method and instrument readily available by snatching the dagger – her circumstances are abnormal.[130] Women of the time did not usually have access to such harmful weapons, which were more commonly associated with male activities and professions.[131] Instead, the small proportion of women who committed suicide, more commonly died through drowning, suffocation or hanging (or by taking poison, as discussed in Chapter 3).[132] Out of a total of 205 women in Esquirol's published report, 49 died through 'suspension or strangulation', and 31 from 'Immersion', while only 18 died through the use of 'Cutting instruments' and 2 from the use of 'Fire arms'.[133] By employing a dagger while surrounded by onlookers, Malvina takes her life in a quasi-ceremonial fashion.[134] Malvina's death is therefore performative, as she creates her own spectacle and outpouring of grief from those around her (Guglielmo, Ernesto, *Tutti*) as she declares that she will be united with Edoardo.[135]

The decriminalisation of suicide, and change in associated legal and social attitudes, across Europe throughout the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries no doubt spurred the increased cultural and romanticised representation of the act.[136] In general, violent suicide was culturally represented as inherently male and masculine in the Romantic period, and was associated with the disappointment of love, having been shaped by Romantic poets (such as Thomas Chatterton and John Keats), the works of Shakespeare and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's archetypal portrayal of male suicide in *Die Leiden des jungen Werther* (1774).[137]

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[129] Ibid., p. 197.
[130] Esquirol, *Mental Maladies,* p. 285.
[131] Ibid.
[132] Ibid., pp. 283, 285.
[133] Ibid., p. 285.
[134] Ibid., p. 291.
[135] Rutherford, p. 180. Death was perceived as performative and ritualistic in society, which those who were dying organised for themselves, 'involving expressions of grief, the pardoning of others, prayer, and absolution'. See Linda Hutcheon and Michael Hutcheon, *Opera: The Art of Dying* (London and Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), pp. 2, 26.
[136] From the end of the eighteenth century and throughout the nineteenth century, suicide was gradually decriminalised in France and Europe. See Chapter 3; Róisín Healy, 'Suicide in Early Modern Europe', *The Historical Journal*, 49/3 (2006), pp. 903-19 (p. 913). Helen Small, *Love's Madness: Medicine, the Novel, and Female Insanity*, 1800-1865 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p. 14, exemplifies Sarah Fletcher, who hung herself in 1799 following a nervous breakdown, caused by the betrayal and abandonment of her husband, and later received the lunacy verdict. See also Morselli, *Suicide*, p. 15; Pridmore, and others, p. 783.
[137] A. Alvarez, *The Savage God: A Study of Suicide* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1971), pp. 223-24, 228; Lisa Lieberman, 'Romanticism and the Culture of Suicide in Nineteenth-Century France', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 33/3 (1991), 611-29 (p. 611); Jeffrey R. Watt, ed., 'Introduction: Toward a History of

Launching the Romantic movement, this latter novel provided a graphic portrayal of male suicide by pistol.[138] Philippe Pinel in his *Treatise on Insanity,* similarly discussed the high propensity of suicide in 'literary' gentlemen.[139]

Violent suicides were relatively rare for women in opera in the first half of the nineteenth century, as death itself was only just emerging as a prominent feature in Romantic opera.[140] As was broadly observed in Chapter 3, nineteenth-century operatic heroines most often died quietly and offstage, for their own redemption, to be united with their love in death, or they died a 'violent death' at the hand of another – rarely their own.[141] Prior to the nineteenth century, themes of suicide featured in over a third of operas: of a sample of 55 Western operas written and performed between 1607 and 1806, only 7 (13 percent) featured cases of fatal suicide, while 17 (31 percent) featured cases of 'non-fatal suicide or suicidal thoughts'.[142] Yet works such as Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte* (1791) included references to suicide: in a more satirical vein, Papageno threatens to hang himself in Act II, on worrying that he will never meet his love Papagena, before being prevented from doing so by the Three Boys.[143] More relevant to this argument, however, is Pamina's consideration of suicide (also in Act II), where she takes and addresses a dagger, on believing that she has lost her love, Tamino.[144] The Three Boys equally interrupt and observe Pamina here, defining madness ('Wahnsinn') as the motivation for her suicide ('Selbstmord').[145]

The evolved tastes of Romantic opera and more favoured 'tragic' endings by the end of the nineteenth century meant that the earlier proportions of suicide in opera reversed: of 141 operas written between 1807 and 1906, 40 (28 percent) featured cases of fatal suicide (most of which occurred amongst female operatic heroines) and 19 (13 percent) featured cases of 'non-fatal suicide or suicidal thoughts'.[146] Overall, men in opera more commonly

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Suicide in Early Modern Europe', in *From Sin to Insanity: Suicide in Early Modern Europe* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004), pp. 1-8 (p. 2); Healy, p. 911. See also Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *The Sorrows of Werter,* trans. by Daniel Malthus (Oxford and New York: Woodstock Books, 1991), pp. 213-19; Feggetter, p. 554.

[138] Werther, on shooting himself over his unrequited love for Charlotte, is discovered (still alive) the next morning, 'stretched on the floor, weltering in his blood'. Werther died the next day, hours after committing his fatal act. See Goethe, pp. 213-19.

[139] Pinel, *A Treatise on Insanity*, p. 232.

[140] At the time, women were more commonly killed on stage 'through murder, [or] execution'. Death became a prominent theme from the 1820s. Rutherford, pp. 178, 186; Pridmore, and others, p. 784.

[141] Rutherford*,* p. 186.

[142] Pridmore, and others, p. 784.

[143] Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Die Zauberflöte: Oper in 2 Akten*, Edition Peters (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, [n.d.]), pp. 189-99.

[144] Ibid.*,* pp. 166-68.

[145] Ibid.

[146] Emilio Sala, 'Women Crazed by Love: An Aspect of Romantic Opera', trans. by William Ashbrook, *The Opera Quarterly*, 10/3 (1994), 19-41 (pp. 24-26); Lorenzo Lorusso, Antonia Francesca Franchini and

harmed or stabbed themselves, with over half of the aforementioned 'non-fatal acts' occurring amongst men.[147]

Malvina's sudden, violent and dramatic suicide is thus more fitting of masculine suicide, and jarringly contrasts with the heroic suicides of previous operatic heroines (including Lucia and Ida in *Le nozze di Lammermoor* and *La fidanzata di Lammermoor,* 1831). Malvina's madness and suicide was then perhaps instead been shaped by other familiar representations of suicidal women, such as Lady Macbeth's sleepwalking episode and alleged suicide in Shakespeare's *Macbeth* (1606).[148] In Act V, scene 5 of *Macbeth*, Seyton enters to inform Macbeth that his wife, Lady Macbeth has died.[149] While the audience only see fragments of Lady Macbeth's eventual demise, and do not witness her death, the nature of her death is alluded to by Malcolm in Act V, scene 7 (see Figure 4.10).

Figure 4.10: Malcolm's comment on Lady Macbeth's death.[150]

MALCOLM:	Of this dead butcher, and his fiend-like queen,
	Who, as 'tis thought, by self and violent hands
	Took off her life
	(*Macbeth*, V. 7. 99-101)

This scene in turn shares characteristics with descriptions of female suicide from ancient history, such as that of Lucretia. In 509 B.C., Lucretia dramatically committed suicide following her rape by Roman nobleman, and son of the Roman king Tarquinius Superbus, Sextus Tarquin (or Tarquinius), who confronted her alone in her bedroom.[151] Following the event, Lucretia renounced her sin – although she was free of any guilt or penalty (for adultery), due to the circumstances – but insisted that she suffer the penalty.[152] She stated, 'although I acquit myself of the sin, I do not free myself from the penalty; no unchaste woman shall henceforth live and plead Lucretia's example'.[153] She then plunged a hidden dagger into her heart and died, her death causing a revolution in the Roman kingdom.[154]

The myth became especially popular during the early modern period and was subsequently adapted into various cultural forms: it became a particular fascination for

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Alessandro Porro, 'Opera and neuroscience', *Progress in Brain Research*, 216 (2015), 389-409 (p. 398); Pridmore, and others, p. 784.

[147] Pridmore, and others, p. 784.

[148] William Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, ed. by Nicholas Brooke (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).

[149] Ibid., V, 5, pp. 203-04.

[150] Ibid., p. 211.

[151] Ian Donaldson, *The Rapes of Lucretia: A Myth and its Transformations* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), pp. 3-5. Esquirol, *Mental Maladies*, p. 254, notes that key ancient figures 'justified [suicide] by their example'. Morselli, *Suicide*, p. 2, additionally notes that some 'representative men' in ancient history committed suicide.

[152] Titius Livius (Livy), *The History of Rome*, book 1, ed. and trans. by Rev. Canon Roberts (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1912), in *Perseus Digital Library* <www.perseus.tufts.edu> [accessed 7th Jan 2021].

[153] Ibid.

[154] Ibid.

Shakespeare, who produced his own extended poetic adaptation *The Rape of Lucrece* (1593-4), and made reference to Tarquin in Macbeth's soliloquy from Act II, scene 1.[155] In addition, the myth was adapted by English dramatist Thomas Heywood into the tragic drama *The Rape of Lucrece* (1606-08).[156] Equally, the story became a popular theme amongst visual artists, who sought to represent her suicide, such as Albrecht Dürer's *The Suicide of Lucretia* (1518) and Rembrandt's *Lucretia* (1664; see Image 4.1).

Image 4.1: Rembrandt's *Lucretia* (1664).[157]

In the nineteenth century, Esquirol was concerned that art and literature portrayed suicide 'not merely as an indifferent act, but as one indicative of courage' exposing public audiences to a false ideal of suicide and allowing them to become 'more disposed' to and imitative of such acts.[158] Esquirol had real reasons for concern: Werther's iconic suicide by pistol in Goethe's *Die Leiden des jungen Werther* (1774) is known to have encouraged an epidemic of imitative suicides across Europe following its publication and well into the 1830s.[159] To the European reading public, Werther was not just a fictional character, but a

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[155] William Shakespeare, *The Rape of Lucrece* (London: Printed by J. G. for John Stafford, 1655); 'Chronology of Shakespeare's Works', *Shakespeare Study Guide* <http://shakespearestudyguide.com/Chronology.html> [accessed 7th January 2021]; 'Timeline of Shakespeare's Plays', *RSC* <www.rsc.org.uk> [accessed 7th January 2021]; Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, II, 1, pp. 123-25.

[156] Paulina Kewes, 'Roman History and Early Stuart Drama: Thomas Heywood's *The Rape of Lucrece*', *English Literary Renaissance*, 32/2 (2002), 239-67 (p. 241).

[157] Rembrandt von Rijn, *Lucretia*, 1664, oil on canvas, 120 x 101 cm, National Gallery of Art <https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.83.html> [accessed 16th December 2020].

[158] Esquirol, *Mental Maladies*, p. 314.

[159] See Goethe, pp. 216-17; Healy, p. 911; Zilla Gabrielle Cahn, *Suicide in French Thought from Montesquieu to Cioran* (New York: P. Lang, 1998), p. 142; Jeffrey Merrick, 'Suicide in Paris, 1775', in *From Sin to Insanity: Suicide in Early Modern Europe,* ed. by Watt, pp. 158-74 (p. 158); Lieberman, p. 627; Feggetter, p. 554; Alvarez, pp. 228-33. Esquirol made broad generalisations about women in medical literature, claiming that

'model for the living'.[160] The novel was first translated into English in 1779, and the British press criticised its 'favourable' description of Werther's suicide and worried that the work would encourage readers to similar action.[161] The suicide of Miss Glover in November 1784 was one such direct imitative suicide, as the novel was found underneath her pillow.[162] Nineteenth-century moralists therefore called for the print media to be careful in selecting such stories to publish, and instead asked that publishers produce a satirical version of events, in order to deter people from committing imitative suicides.[163]

Following the cultural trope, mere love in women was commonly and widely thought to be able to provoke both 'insanity and suicide'.[164] Erotomania, the medically defined term for love-madness, usually arose from the 'melancholy of disappointed love', caused delirium, as suggested in Malvina's behaviour, and could eventually lead to suicide.[165] When women committed suicide, it was often thought to be caused by hysteria (the umbrella term used for most nervous diseases experienced by women) and was considered a rare, last resort following the 'fatigue of womanhood'.[166] In Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, suicide was not always deemed to be caused by madness or mental illness (and vice versa), but could instead occur for a variety of different reasons and motives.[167] Some were seen to commit suicide in order to preserve their own self-image and redeem themselves (as Ida does).[168] In categorising the varied and prominent causes of suicide amongst

women's delicate nature, their tender disposition and active imaginations made them vulnerable to 'maladies opposed to suicide': 'They suffer from the vapors [hysteria] and other nervous diseases, and become insane. They take their own lives […] and it is usually love, or lypemania, that urges them to the commission of this act'. Esquirol, *Mental Maladies*, p. 278.

[160] Alvarez, p. 230.

[161] Catherine Waltraud Proescholdt-Obermann, *Goethe and his British Critics: The Reception of Goethe's Works in British Periodicals, 1779 to 1855* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1992), pp. 47-51. Before the end of the eighteenth century, Goethe's work was translated six times in French (1775-78), once in English (1779) and in Italian (1781). See Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, 'Introduction', *The Sorrows of Young Werther,* ed. and trans. by Stanley Appelbaum (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2013), n. p.

[162] Sylvanus Urban, *Gentleman's Magazine*, 54 (London: Printed by John Nichols, for D. Henry, 1784), 964-65; Proescholdt-Obermann, p. 52.

[163] Henri Blanchard specifically recommended that descriptions of suicide should be described as cowards, and deserters 'of the sacred duties of man'. Lieberman, p. 627; Henri Blanchard, *De la mort volontaire, ou considérations politiques et législatives sur le suicide* (Paris: Morris and Compagnie, 1855), pp. 45-46.

[164] Alexander Morison, *Outlines of Lectures on Mental Diseases*, 2nd edn (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown & Green and S. Highley, 1826), p. 115; Esquirol, *Mental Maladies*, p. 278.

[165] Morison, *Outlines of Lectures* (1826), p. 49.

[166] Janet Oppenheim, *'Shattered Nerves': Doctors, Patients, and Depression in Victorian England* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 181, 189.

[167] Prichard, p. 399; Esquirol, *Mental Maladies*, p.254, 301. The term suicide was first officially established by Pinel, having increased in popularity into the early nineteenth century. In previous centuries there was no specific term to describe the act, 'by which man terminates his existence', other than 'self-murder'. See Esquirol, *Mental Maladies*, p. 254; Michael MacDonald, *Mystical Bedlam* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 132-37.

[168] Just as Lucia (in Carafa's *Le nozze di Lammermoor*) and Ida (in Rieschi's *La fidanzata di Lammermoor*) die for their own redemption.

European cases, however, Italian 'suicidologist' Enrico Morselli attributed most suicides committed by Italian women to mental illness: of 899 cases between 1866 and 1871, 408 were diagnosed with 'Mental disorders' (mostly monomania), 96 suicides were attributed to 'Passions' and 76 to 'Afflictions, domestic troubles' (see Table 4.8).[169]

Table 4.8: Reproduction of the values for Italy (1866-1871) from Enrico Morselli's table, 'Presumed causes of suicide in several states of Europe, Proportions per 1,000 of the Two Sexes'.[170]

Determining causes of suicide in Women	Italy (1866-1871)
Number of cases:	*899*
1. Mental disorders	408
2. Physical diseases	101
3. Weariness of life	12
4. Passions	96
5. Vices	2
6. Afflictions, domestic troubles	76
7. Financial disorders	19
8. Misery	39
9. Remorse, shame, fear of condemnation	21
10. Despair – unknown and diverse	226

While numerous European physicians disagreed whether suicide was a result of madness, Esquirol clearly argued that it was principally madness (specifically monomania) which led its sufferers to homicide and suicide.[171]

In general, suicide was mostly perceived to be caused by excess passions (or extreme emotions), a loss of self-consciousness and, as in Malvina's case above, was often a result of delirium.[172] Malvina's behaviour implies this spontaneous suicidal 'impulse' following her illusory and acute delirious behaviour.[173] This psychological impulse, as with other forms of madness, could be triggered by passions, such as 'jealousy, ambition, shame', or as in Malvina's case, love and heartbreak.[174] While some allowed themselves to be executed by others, suicidal patients most often violently injured themselves.[175] As with Malvina's sudden and stark change in behaviour and mood, most acts of suicide were 'preceded by a morbid change of character', where they would have previously lived a joyful existence.[176] On closer inspection, Malvina's suicide can be read as what Esquirol defined as a more frequent 'acute

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[169] Morselli, *Suicide*, pp. 278-80, additionally details the presumed causes of suicide with proportions per 1000.
[170] Ibid., pp. 278-79.
[171] Prichard, pp. 399-401; Esquirol, *Mental Maladies*, pp. 22, 301.
[172] Esquirol, *Mental Maladies*, pp. 254, 256-57; Morselli, *Suicide*, p. 7.
[173] Morison, *Outlines of Lectures on Mental Diseases* (1826), p. 52.
[174] Morselli, *Suicide*, pp. 8, 300-01.
[175] Esquirol, *Mental Maladies*, p. 256.
[176] Prichard, p. 401.

suicide'.[177] This is where the act could be instigated by a 'sudden and unexpected trial, love betrayed, ambition disappointed', thus depriving the victim of reason and agency, making them forget their own instinctive beliefs and causing a 'temporary delirium'.[178] Although this is partially similar to the motivations for Lucia's suicide in *Le nozze di Lammermoor*,[179] and Ida's suicide in *La fidanzata di Lammermoor* (1831), Lucia mostly commits suicide out of desperation, to escape her mother, and Ida out of shame and redemption for her violent crimes. However, Malvina instead suddenly kills herself as a direct, unconscious result of her madness (without time for clear thought or reason).

The same mental mechanism and monomaniacal tendencies therefore motivate people to commit homicide (as in section 4.2) or suicide, as Malvina (in delirium) similarly displays a sudden and unconscious impulse for violent action – without the time for self-restraint – albeit in committing harm against herself.[180] In fact, of all mental disorders, monomania was most frequently (and specifically) diagnosed in cases of suicide: out of Brièrre de Boisment's 4,595 cited cases of suicide in France, of which 14 percent (652 cases) were caused by prevalent forms of madness, around 20 percent of these (131 out of 652 cases) were specifically identified as cases of homicidal and suicidal monomania.[181] Although Italy generally had lower cases of suicide, the proportion of cases of monomania in particular was thought to be 'five times more frequent' amongst Morselli's examined suicide statistics (than amongst 'the mad').[182] Therefore, while both Ida and Malvina commit separate acts of impulsive and fatal violence, both heroines evidence clear tendencies of monomania.

While Lucia's, Ida's and Malvina's respective suicides all result from their separate species of insanity and delirium, and each heroine creates their own spectacle in their choice of death, each suicide is treated differently within its context. Lucia's and Ida's slow method of suicide by poison in *Le nozze di Lammermoor* and *La fidanzata di Lammermoor* (1831)

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[177] As opposed to the chronic or hereditary versions of suicidal behaviour, which were characterised by a general melancholy attitude, an 'utter weariness of life', which could appear recurrently over a number of years, and caused a voluntary death. Esquirol, *Mental Maladies*, pp. 254, 257.

[178] Esquirol, *Mental Maladies*, pp. 256-57. Morselli, *Suicide*, p. 272, believed that it was this delirious display, such as that portrayed by Malvina, that disguised the thought of suicide.

[179] Esquirol's definition is also similar to Robert Burton's outlined causes of suicide. See Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, 11th edn, 2 vols (London: Messrs, Vernor, Hood and Sharpe, 1806), I, p. 319.

[180] See Esquirol, *Note sur la monomanie homicide*, pp. 3, 5-6; Esquirol, *Mental Maladies*, pp. 360-62, 365-67, 283; Prichard, p. 400. Suicide was considered connected to homicidal monomania by a number of nineteenth-century European physicians.

[181] Cases of suicidal and homicidal monomania are thus combined. Morselli, *Suicide*, pp. 270, 280-81; A. Brierre de Boisment, *Du suicide et de la folie suicide* (Paris: Germer Baillière, 1856), pp. 100-01, 139. Brière (or Brierre) de Boisment was another famous French physician working in Europe in the nineteenth century, and published the treatise *Du suicide et de la folie suicide* in 1856. 3,421 of these cases were Parisian residents.

[182] Morselli, *Suicide*, p. 280.

are heroic and feminised, more akin to the noble and voluntary deaths of Christian martyrs, and thus portrayed as rational escapes from their situations – from Lucia's mother, and Ida's crimes.[183] Malvina's suicide by dagger, however, is a completely spontaneous and violent method of suicide, more akin to masculine and Romantic portrayals of suicide, and therefore her act (for a woman) appears completely shocking and irrational. Lucia's, Ida's and Malvina's spectacular suicides would nevertheless vastly contrast with the narrated, off-stage and seemingly natural death of Lucy's next lyrical counterpart.

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[183] This idea is further supported by Carafa's incorporation of traditional musical structures within the mad scene, and Lucia's likeness to the vengeful heroines of Classical opera seria.

Chapter 5
Lucia di Lammermoor (1835): The Evolution of Donizetti's Mad Scene and the Shaping of Medical Ideas

Following the premiere of *Lucia di Lammermoor* in 1835, Gaetano Donizetti's opera would eclipse its predecessors in success and popularity, and has since remained fixed within the global operatic repertoire. Nevertheless, Donizetti had spent years refining his own compositional technique in creating mad scenes for *Gabriella di Vergy* (1826), *L'esule di Roma* (1828) and *I pazzi per progetto* (1830), before his prominent mad scenes in *Anna Bolena* (1830) and *Lucia di Lammermoor* (1835). During this time, Vincenzo Bellini was also creating his own operatic mad scenes, and his rivalry and jealousy of Donizetti reciprocally stimulated, perhaps unwittingly, each composer's creation of Romantic mad scenes. This chapter will thus first consider the historical background and context of these works, of Donizetti's circumstances and motivations at the time of composition, in order to frame the creation of his aforementioned mad scenes within their performance contexts.[1]

Section 5.2 will then track the modelling of Donizetti's mad scene and his manipulation of formal conventions prior to *Lucia di Lammermoor*, by completing detailed analyses of his earlier mad scenes, and their revised versions, for *Gabriella di Vergy* and *Anna Bolena*.[2] Both this and the aforementioned section will also offer brief analyses and acknowledgements of the notable similarities and differences between these mad scenes, and Donizetti's scenes for *L'esule di Roma*, albeit written for a man, and *I pazzi per progetto,* written parodically. In doing so, it will demonstrate how Donizetti adopted more Romantic and melodramatic tendencies, and adapted his own musical style over time, as well as Italian operatic formal conventions in order to create effective drama. This section will further compare Felice Romani's libretto and Donizetti's musical score for *Anna Bolena*'s mad scene, to medical descriptions of mania with delirium in Philippe Pinel's *Treatise on Insanity* (1806) in order to determine to what extent the pair propagated early nineteenth-century medical ideas in their operatic mad scene.

As mentioned in the introduction of this thesis, although Donizetti and his librettists (including Salvadore Cammarano) potentially propagated early nineteenth-century medical ideas on female madness, the continued performance and popularity of their operas over the

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[1] In outlining historical context, I will rely on William Ashbrook, *Donizetti and his Operas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982) due to his detail and expertise.

[2] *Gabriella di Vergy* and *L'esule di Roma* are both within the Foyle Opera Rara Collection at the Royal Welsh College of Music and Drama. I am extremely grateful to the librarians at the RWCMD for their assistance, and for allowing me to consult these scores during the coronavirus pandemic.

course of the nineteenth century could feasibly have re-introduced and circulated older notions of madness in wider society, popular culture and medicine into the late nineteenth century. This in turn potentially shaped the idealised representation of madness within medical literature and photographic iconographies – such as the *Iconographie photographique de la Salpêtrière* (1877-1880) by Jean-Martin Charcot, Désiré Bourneville and Paul Regnard – for a society and medical discipline that had become increasingly more concerned and fascinated with the visual depictions of medical conditions and madness in the forms of engravings and photography. As shall be explored, Charcot was widely acknowledged to have been influenced by cultural depictions of madness in producing his own medical theories. His published works thus provide appropriate examples of how late nineteenth-century medical professionals evoked and referenced older, more familiar examples of madness within culture, to disseminate ideas and understand hysteria within society.

Section 5.3 will therefore begin by first addressing the nineteenth-century medical and performance contexts, including the reception of *Lucia* (first in Italy following its premiere and then in Paris throughout the nineteenth century). It subsequently aims to determine to what extent Lucia's mad scene in Gaetano Donizetti and Salvadore Cammarano's *Lucia di Lammermoor* assisted in shaping medical ideas on madness in the late nineteenth century, and how far Charcot was influenced by the representation of female madness within art, theatre, opera and popular culture in developing his own medical theories.[3] It will comparatively analyse the stage directions and text of Cammarano's libretto and Donizetti's musical score of Lucia's mad scene eories from Charcot's lectures and photographs of hysterical patients from the *Iconographie photographique de la Salpêtrière*.[4] In general, this analysis intends to determine to what extent Donizetti and his librettists elaborated on the increasingly performative nature of madness (in nineteenth-century society) through a combination of physical, textual and musical representation.

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[3] This follows Elaine Showalter's claim that the portrayal of female madness on stage influenced medical theories on female madness in the nineteenth century. Elaine Showalter, 'Ophelia, Gender and Madness', *British Library*, 15 March 2016 <https://www.bl.uk/shakespeare/articles/ophelia-gender-and-madness> [accessed 8th July 2022]; Elaine Showalter, 'Representing Ophelia: Women, Madness, and the Responsibilities of Feminist Criticism', in *Shakespeare and the Question of Theory,* ed. by Patricia Parker and Geoffrey Hartman (London: Methuen and Co, 1985), pp. 77-94 (pp. 77-78).

[4] This has briefly been attempted before by Romana Margherita Pugliese, who compares Lucia's madness to Charcot's description of a hysterical attack in *Les Démoniaques dans l'art*. See Romana Margherita Pugliese, 'The Origins of *Lucia di Lammermoor*'s Cadenza', *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 16/1 (2004), 23-42 (pp. 35-36).

5.1: Historical Context on Donizetti and Cammarano

By 1826, Gaetano Donizetti (1797-1848) was still in the early days of his career as an operatic composer, and had achieved little success.[5] He had first publicly established himself as an operatic composer eight years previously with *Enrico di Borgogna* (14th November 1818, Teatro San Luca, Venice).[6] Following the end of his formal musical training in Bologna, he was commissioned to write his second opera, the one-act farce *Una follia* with libretto by Bartolomeo Merelli (premiered on 15th December 1818).[7] In the following years, he composed a total of fourteen operas, with *L'ajo nell'imbarazzo* (1824) being his first and only real success.[8]

In a letter to his mentor Simone Mayr on 15th June 1826, Donizetti revealed that he had started composing his own version of *Gabriella di Vergy* for pleasure, using the original libretto by Andrea Leone Tottola.[9] Michele Carafa was the first to set Tottola's libretto and premiered his opera of the same name at the Real Teatro del Fondo di Separazione, Naples, in the summer of 1816.[10] The libretto was based on the five-act *tragédie*, *Gabrielle de Vergy* (1773) by Pierre Laurent de Belloy (itself based on the two medieval French legends, *Le Chatelain de Coucy et la Dame de Fayel* and *Roman de la Chastelaine de Vergy*),[11] and set in the thirteenth century in the Castle of Autrei in Burgundy.[12] The subject material was again revisited in Saverio Mercadante's *Gabriella di Vergy* (1828) and even Camille Saint-Saëns's lyric drama of the same name (c. 1884), for which he wrote his own text and music.[13]

[5] Don White, 'Donizetti and the Three Gabriellas', liner notes to Gaetano Donizetti, *Gabriella di Vergy*, CD, Opera Rara and Peter Moores Foundation, ORC 3 (1999), pp. 8-39 (p. 9).

[6] Ashbrook, *Donizetti and His Operas*, pp. 16-17. *Enrico di Borgogna* was Donizetti's 'first full-length opera, and his first to be publicly performed'. See Ibid., pp. 283-84.

[7] Although the title *Una follia* is indicative of madness, the libretto has been lost since its premiere (after Zancla bought the score), and this cannot be confirmed. See Ashbrook, *Donizetti and His Operas,* pp. 17-19, 284; Gherardo Casaglia, '15 Dicembre 1818, Martedì', in *L'Almanacco di Gherardo Casaglia* <https://almanac-gherardo-casaglia.com> [accessed 7th February 2022].

[8] White, p. 9.

[9] Guido Zavadini, *Donizetti: Vita – Musiche – Epistolario* (Bergamo: Istituto italiano d'arti grafiche, 1948), no. 27, pp. 246-47.

[10] Rossinian singer Isabella Colbran performed the role of Gabriella. Andrea Leone Tottola, *Gabriella di Vergi* (Naples: Tipografia Flautina, 1816). For premiere date, see Stanford Libraries, 'Gabriella di Vergy', in *Opening Night!: Opera and Oratorio Premieres* <https://exhibits.stanford.edu/operadata> [accessed 29th June 2022].

[11] White, p. 10; William Ashbrook, 'Gabriella di Vergy', in *Grove Music Online* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com> [accessed 8th July 2022]; Pierre Laurent de Belloy, *Gabrielle de Vergy* (Paris: Vueve Duchesne, 1770).

[12] White, p. 10.

[13] Hugh Macdonald, *Saint-Saëns and the Stage: Operas, Plays, Pageants, a Ballet and a Film* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), p. 161. For the libretto, see Saint-Saëns, *Gabriella di Vergy: drama lirico,* (Paris: Imprimerie de la Publicité, 1883), in *Gallica* <https://gallica.bnf.fr/> [accessed 3rd May 2022].

In turning to *Gabriella di Vergy* in 1826, however, Donizetti had signalled a change of direction in his own compositional technique.[14] By including his first tragic ending, Donizetti had begun to actively step beyond the boundaries of the traditional *lieto fine* ending and embrace the emerging trends of the Romantic *melodramma*.[15] Similar to Scott's *The Bride of Lammermoor*, the heroine Gabriella is deceived by her father and made to marry another (Fayel), believing that her lover (Raoul) is dead.[16] Fayel, on discovering that Raoul is still alive, challenges and kills him in a duel. The opera's tragic ending sees Fayel present Raoul's heart to Gabriella, causing her to go mad and die on stage.[17] Within a month of beginning his composition, however, Donizetti became ill, as he experienced fevers and periods of low mood (as detailed in his letters), and believed that his career was over.[18] He would fall ill again before 1830, experiencing further depression and convulsive episodes.[19]

The project was cast aside, and despite revising the opera again in 1838, it remained unperformed until after Donizetti's death. Donizetti instead used the music from his 1826 score in composing *Otto mesi in due ore* (1827), *L'esule di Roma* (1828), *Il paria* (1829) and *Anna Bolena* (1830).[20] Yet on being commissioned to compose a new opera by Domenico Barbaja for the Teatro San Carlo in 1838, Donizetti returned to *Gabriella di Vergy*.[21] Between February and May, Donizetti began effectively rewriting his original composition, and borrowed music from his operas *Ugo, conte di Parigi* (1832), *Rosmunda d'Inghilterra* (1834) and *Maria de Rudenz* (1838).[22] The identity of the librettist for Donizetti's 1838 *Gabriella* has always remained unclear, but a letter to Barbaja of 16th June 1838, suggests that initially it could have been Salvadore Cammarano.[23] By mid-May, however, the opera had once again been sidelined, and replaced by Donizetti's new composition *Poliuto* (which itself would be thwarted with censorship problems and eventually prohibited).[24] As time was

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[14] This observation is also made by Ashbrook, *Donizetti and His Operas*, p. 39.

[15] See Ashbrook, *Donizetti and His Operas,* p. 39; Julian Budden, 'Carafa (de Colobrano), Michele', in *Grove Music Online*; Ashbrook, 'Gabriella di Vergy', in *Grove Music Online*.

[16] A similar synopsis is provided by White, pp. 10, 12.

[17] Saint-Saëns's Gabriella instead stabs herself with a poniard on stage. Saint-Saëns, *Gabriella di Vergy*, p. 10.

[18] *Studi donizettiani*, 1 (1862) [published in Bergamo], no. 10, undated fragment assigned to August 1826, p. 9, referenced in Ashbrook, *Donizetti and His Operas*, p. 40.

[19] It would later be established from these symptoms that he had in fact contracted syphilis prior to his marriage to Virginia Vasselli in 1828, which would infect his new wife and ultimately cause the death of their first child. Ashbrook, *Donizetti and His Operas*, pp. 51-57

[20] White, p. 14.

[21] Ibid., p. 22.

[22] Ibid., pp. 22, 27.

[23] Cammarano tells Barbaja that his libretto could have already been completed, but Adolphe Nourrit was then contracted to perform the small tenor role of Raoul, and he had to find new subject material. Ibid., p. 27.

[24] This was potentially because the contracted singer Adolphe Nourrit, was intended to make his debut with the work as Raoul ('the least important of the three main characters'). Ibid., pp. 22-24.

running out before the opening of the season in September, Donizetti seemingly revisited and completed *Gabriella* between July and August (with an unknown librettist).[25] The opera was, however, repeatedly prohibited by the censors due to its tragic ending and remained unperformed.[26]

Following Donizetti's initial attempt at *Gabriella di Vergy* in 1826, *L'esule di Roma, ossia Il proscritto* (1st January 1828; Teatro San Carlo, Naples) would be the next of Donizetti's operas to include a mad scene, but this time written for a man.[27] The *melodramma eroico, L'esule di Roma* was set to a libretto by Domenico Gilardoni, which was based on Luigi Marchionni's *Il proscritto romano* (itself based on *Androclès ou Le lion reconnaissant* by Louis Charles Caigniez and Debotière) and set in Ancient Rome.[28] In Act II, scenes 1 and 2, Senator Murena goes mad over his own shame and remorse for sentencing Settimio to death.[29] The score was revised by Donizetti in 1840 for a special, honorary performance in Bergamo.[30] In creating his 1828 mad scene and the 1840 revised version for Murena, however, Donizetti used the same text of Gilardoni, and retained a traditional formula: both versions follow the conventional aria structure, with a scena ('Al mio diletto'), aria ('Entra nel circo'), tempo di mezzo ('Dal fremere cessate' in 1828 and 'Qui! Diè perdono' in 1840) and cabaletta ('Di stige il flutto ancor'), followed by a coda.[31]

The conventional nature of the 1840 mad scene, in particular, thus starkly contrasts with Donizetti's manipulation and deviation from *solita forma* in his Romantic mad scenes for women. Although *L'esule di Roma* and Donizetti's other operas at this time were still perceived as successful, their inclusion of more traditional operatic conventions and *lieto fine* endings, appeared old fashioned next to the Romantic *melodramma*s emerging from Milan, such as Bellini's *Il pirata*, with libretto by Felice Romani (premiered 27th October 1827,

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[25] Cammarano was busy trying to complete *Poliuto*'s revision (by this point renamed as *I Guebri*). There are clues that the libretto was either completed by one of the inhouse librettists at Teatro San Carlo, or by Giuseppe Bardari and Pietro Salatino (who had written libretti for *Maria Stuarda* and *Buondelmonte*). Ibid., pp. 24-30.

[26] Ironically, Saverio Mercadente was permitted to stage his own composition of *Gabriella di Vergy*, with its tragic ending, in the same season. Ibid., pp. 24-30.

[27] By the late 1820s, Donizetti was growing more impatient to experiment with his subject material, while still fulfilling his contracted position in Naples for impresario Domenico Barbaja. Ashbrook, *Donizetti and His Operas*, pp. 44-56.

[28] William Ashbrook, 'Esule di Roma, ossia Il proscritto, L'', in *Grove Music Online*.

[29] For more detail see Ibid.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Gaetano Donizetti, *L'esule di Roma*, Act II, autograph manuscript (Naples: 1829), Cardiff, Foyle Opera Rara Collection, RWCMD Library, n.p.; Gaetano Donizetti, *L'esule di Roma: melodramma eroico in due atti,* vocal score by Graeme Young (London: Donizetti Editions, 1981), Cardiff, Foyle Opera Rara Collection, RWCMD Library, pp. 163-180.

Teatro alla Scala, Milan).[32] This perhaps explains *L'esule di Roma*'s declining popularity in the nineteenth century, and why it is now so little known, as audiences favoured the mad scenes of *Lucia* and *Anna Bolena* from the 1830s onwards.[33] While I have completed my own analyses of these scenes from *L'esule di Roma*, it is for these reasons alone that I will not be including them within this thesis.[34]

In 1830, Donizetti premiered the one-act farce *I pazzi per progetto* (6th February 1830; Teatro San Carlo, Naples), which he set in an asylum.[35] The work was set to Gilardoni's text, based on Giovanni Carlo di Cosensa's play, which itself was based on Scribe and C. G. Delestre-Poirson's vaudevillian comedy, *Une visite à Bedlam*.[36] As the title suggests, Donizetti's mad scene for the opera was based on feigned madness: husband and wife, Blinval (bass-baritone) and Norina (soprano) act mad in order to deceive one another, and determine whether they love one another. In a letter to his father Andrea Donizetti, on 13th February 1830, Donizetti reported that the work was a brilliant success ('e riuscì brillantissima').[37] It proved popular with audiences and was repeatedly staged in Italy over the following seasons.[38] Nevertheless, in creating the parodic mad scene for Norina in *I pazzi per progetto*, Donizetti appropriated the tendencies of *commedia dell'arte* and of comic and semi-serious operas of the Baroque and Classical periods.[39]

Yet, Donizetti would adopt similar techniques in creating his next Romantic mad scene for *Anna Bolena*, which also evidenced the stark but gradual compositional changes he had made, in order to establish his career.[40] Whilst still rehearsing *Imelda de' Lambertazzi* in Naples in 1830, Donizetti had been commissioned to write a new opera by the Teatro Carcano, Milan, for the opening night of their carnival season.[41] This was a huge feat for Donizetti, who had been trying to firmly establish himself in Milan and flee Naples for his

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[32] Ashbrook, *Donizetti and His Operas*, pp. 44-6; Simon Maguire and Elizabeth Forbes, 'Pirata, Il', in *Grove Music Online*.

[33] Ashbrook, 'L'Esule di Roma, ossia Il Proscritto', in *Grove Music Online*.

[34] Donizetti, *L'esule di Roma*, 1981.

[35] Mary Ann Smart and Julian Budden, 'Donizetti, (Domenico) Gaetano (Maria)', in *Grove Music Online*; Ashbrook, *Donizetti and His Operas*, p. 58.

[36] Ashbrook, *Donizetti and His Operas,* p. 58; Eugène Scribe and Charles-Gaspard Delestre-Poirson, *Une visite à Bedlam, comédie en un acte, mêlée de vaudevilles,* 2nd edn (Paris: Ladvocat, 1818).

[37] Zavadini, no. 53, p. 272.

[38] Ashbrook, *Donizetti and His Operas*, pp. 58-9.

[39] In the same year, Donizetti composed the tragic *melodramma*, *Imelda de' Lambertazzi,* with libretto by Tottola (premiered 6th September 1830 at the Teatro San Carlo, Naples). While the serious work did not include a mad scene, it clearly showed Donizetti moving towards Romantic subject material, and serves as a precursor to *Lucia di Lammermoor*: the plot, similar to that of *Romeo and Juliet*, also featured a family feud, which would inevitably cause the deaths of the two young lovers. Ashbrook, *Donizetti and His Operas*, p. 59.

[40] Ashbrook, *Donizetti and His Operas*, pp. 46-8, 65.

[41] Ibid., p. 62.

entire career.[42] *Anna Bolena* was set to a libretto by Felice Romani (completed on 10th November 1830), and again showed Donizetti use English history as the subject for his opera, with *Elisabetta al castello di Kenilworth* (6th July 1829; Teatro San Carlo, Naples) being his first attempt.[43] The opera was composed between Milan and Lake Como in the villa of Giuditta Pasta, the principal soprano, and subsequently premiered at the Teatro Carcano, Milan on 26th December 1830.[44] As opposed to Donizetti's feigned mad scene in *I pazzi per progetto*, *Anna Bolena* instead featured a 'genuine' mad scene, with Anna going mad after being betrayed by both Enrico VIII and Giovanna Seymour.

Anna Bolena would receive acclaim from Italian audiences, and firmly established Donizetti's career as an opera composer, allowing him to compose for theatres beyond Naples.[45] Francesco Pezzi, in writing for the *Gazzetta di Milano*, for instance, praised Donizetti, the opera and its performers, describing the music of Act II as 'beautiful and grandiose [in] structure'.[46] The work would eventually make its way across Europe, being performed at the King's Theatre, London on 8th July 1831 and, after further success, at the Théâtre-Italien, Paris on 1st September 1831.[47] *The Times* praised Donizetti's work, comparing it to Bellini's *Il pirata*, and specific praise was given to Pasta's portrayal of Anna, which was comparable to her appearances in *Semiramide* and *Nina*.[48] *Anna* achieved further success following its Parisian premiere, with *Le Figaro* suggesting that all of Paris would

[42] Ibid.

[43] Ashbrook, *Donizetti and His Operas,* pp. 62-63; Smart and Budden, 'Donizetti, (Domenico) Gaetano (Maria)'. Donizetti based *Elisabetta* on Gaetano Barbieri's adaptation of the same name, which was based on Scott's original novel *Kenilworth* (1821) and Scribe's libretto for *Leicester ou Le Château de Kenilworth* (1823). Barbieri's play was adapted from 'Scribe's libretto for Auber's [unsuccessful] opera, *Leicester ou Le Chateau de Kenilworth*' (1823), which itself was based on Victor Hugo's *Amy Robsart*. See Ashbrook, *Donizetti and His Operas*, p. 55.

[44] Ashbrook, *Donizetti and His Operas,* pp. 62-63; Smart and Budden, 'Donizetti, (Domenico) Gaetano (Maria)'. Donizetti had returned to Milan before 10th December 1830 with a partially complete score, in order to begin rehearsals. Ashbrook, *Donizetti and His Operas*, p. 63.

[45] Ibid., pp. 63-69.

[46] *Gazzetta di Milano*, 27 December 1830, translated in Ashbrook, *Donizetti and His Operas*, pp. 63-66.

[47] Ashbrook, *Donizetti and His Operas* p. 66, also cites these dates. *The Times*, 2 August 1831, p. 2, announced that 'The Theatre Royal Italian will re-open on the 1st of September […] The season will commence with Donizetti's new *opera-seria*, entitled *Anna Bolena*, which has just met with a most triumphant reception in London. The characters will be filled here as in the British capital, by Pasta, Lablache, and Rubini'. While audiences in both locations had heard showcased arias from Donizetti's operas in previous performances, *Anna Bolena* was the first full opera of Donizetti's to be received in either location. In March 1829, for instance, Donizetti's music would feature in a constructed opera/pastiche, *I Messicani*, at the King's Theatre, London (alongside music by Rossini, Pacini and Beethoven). Singers included Pisaroni, Castelli, and Donzelli, with subsequent performances of ballets *La sonnambule*, and *Masaniello*, based on *La muette de Portici*. See *The Times*, 16 March 1829, p. 4. *The Times*, 8th July 1831, p. 3, announced the first performance of 'Anna Boleyn' at the King's Theatre, London, establishing it as the first of Donizetti's operas to be performed in Britain; Francois-Joseph Fétis, *Revue Musicale* (Paris: 1831) p. 249, notes that *Anna Bolena* was the first work of Donizetti's to be performed in Paris.

[48] *The Times*, 9 July 1831, p. 3.

want to see the beautifully tragic, first-class opera.[49] The opera's final scene, in particular, enabled Pasta to provide the audience with a heart-breaking performance of Anna's delirium, her recollections of her love for Percy and acceptance of death.[50]

The premiere of *Anna Bolena* raised the reputation of Donizetti as a composer which (unbeknown to Donizetti) irritated Bellini, who was simultaneously premiering *I Capuleti e I Montecchi* in Milan.[51] While Bellini and Donizetti had become frontrunners in the creation of the Romantic mad scene, and were simultaneously composing operas for the same theatres and cities, they had also become rivals (at least as far as Bellini was concerned).[52] Like Donizetti, Bellini had been fascinated with incorporating Romantic subject material and the theme of madness in his operas, including mad scenes in *Il pirata* (1827)*,* and later into *La sonnambula* (1831) and *I puritani* (1835). Bellini's own creative choices in shaping Carlo Pepoli's libretto for *I puritani* (premiered 24th January 1835), would perhaps influence Donizetti's Romantic composition style for *Lucia*: Bellini had intended to evoke 'the sentimental pastoral tone of Paisiello's *Nina*', to ultimately create a Gothic, historical setting similar to that of Walter Scott's novels.[53] The untimely death (due to poor medical practices) of the thirty-three year old Bellini on 23rd September 1835, however, deeply affected the European public and musical world.[54] Bellini's legacy, in creating his Romantic mad scenes for *Il pirata* and *I puritani*, would live on, and significantly influence Donizetti's next landmark opera.[55]

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[49] 'Tout Paris voudra voir Anna Bolena; c'est non seulement un opéra du premier ordre chanté avec charme et perfection, mais une belle tragédie jouée avec ensemble, sentiment et dignité.' *Le Figaro*, 2 September 1831, p. 3.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Ashbrook, *Donizetti and His Operas,* p. 63; John Rosselli, *The Life of Bellini* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 64.

[52] Ashbrook, *Donizetti and His Operas,* pp. 48-49. This was fed mostly by Bellini's own paranoia and hostility, as he consciously chose not to trust or befriend Donizetti. See Rosselli, *The Life of Bellini,* p. 64. The rivalry first began in the spring of 1828, as both Bellini and Donizetti were premiering new works in the gala season for the new Teatro Carlo Felice, Genoa. Donizetti was set to premiere *Alina, regina di Golconda* (with libretto by Romani), and Bellini, *Bianca e Fernando.* See Ashbrook, *Donizetti and His Operas,* pp. 48-49.

[53] Mary Ann Smart, 'Last works (1831-5)', in 'Vincenzo Bellini', in *Grove Music Online*. In 1834, Donizetti and Bellini would compete again, this time at the Théâtre-Italien, Paris: while Donizetti's *Marin Faliero* (12th March 1835) received some success, Bellini's *I puritani* (24th January 1835), with its operatic mad scene and Romantic subject material, was hugely successful. The composers both received similar offers from Rossini to compose for the Théâtre-Italien, Paris (much to Bellini's annoyance and apprehension). Singers Giulia Grisi (as Elvira), Tamburini (as Arturo), Rubini (as Valton) and Luigi Lablache (as Riccardo) would take some of the principal roles in *I puritani*. Ashbrook, *Donizetti and His Operas*, pp. 90-91.

[54] His death was caused by 'recurring dysentery caused by amoebic infection'. Rosselli, *The Life of Bellini,* p. 3.

[55] Stephen A. Willier, 'Madness, the Gothic, and Bellini's *Il pirata*', *The Opera Quarterly*, 6/4 (1989), 7-23, argues that Donizetti's mad scene in *Lucia di Lammermoor* was hugely influenced by Bellini's own mad scene in *Il pirata*. He further references 'Ferdinand Hillier's Impressions of Bellini and His Music', in Herbert Weinstock, *Vincenzo Bellini: His Life and His Operas* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971), p. 413, who states that *Lucia* would not have existed without Bellini's *Il pirata*.

On 9th November 1834, Donizetti was commissioned to write three new operas for the Teatro San Carlo, Naples, the first being *Lucia di Lammermoor*.[56] In order to begin his composition and decide on a subject for his new opera, Donizetti travelled to Naples in April 1835.[57] Before arriving, however, Donizetti faced new restrictions imposed by the Neapolitan theatres, and was struggling to find an acceptable source for his new opera which was to be staged in July 1835.[58] Since the previous year, Italian librettist Salvadore Cammarano had undertaken the roles of contracted librettist and stage director of the Royal Theatres in Naples, and first achieved success in 1835 with his libretto for Giuseppe Persiani's *Ines de castro* (premiered on 28th January at the Teatro San Carlo, Naples).[59]

In a letter dated 18th May 1835, Donizetti finally revealed that the subject for his new opera would be Scott's *The Bride of Lammermoor*, but complained of the delays incurred by the librettist.[60] Cammarano, however, was still completing his synopsis, and the blame for the delays (unknown to Donizetti) instead lay with the management of the theatre, due to the commissioners' inability to settle on a suitable librettist or subject matter.[61] A frustrated Donizetti then wrote to the commission on 29th May, urging them to accept the subject material, and Cammarano as librettist, so that he could complete and stage the opera.[62]

By the end of May, Cammarano had completed his synopsis and, upon approval from the censors, quickly created the libretto.[63] Despite the delays, Donizetti set Cammarano's text to music and completed *Lucia* ahead of his own August deadline, on 6th July 1835. In his rush to stage the opera, Donizetti completed his musical score long before the libretto was officially approved by the theatre, defying conventional practice.[64] The libretto was only

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[56] Ashbrook, *Donizetti and his Operas*, p. 93.

[57] Ibid., pp. 92-93.

[58] Due to the censorship issues Donizetti had experienced with *Maria Stuarda* in the previous year, he wanted his subject to be approved by the theatre a minimum of four months prior to completing any composition. Ibid., pp. 94-95.

[59] At least by 1834, Cammarano was listed as the 'librettist and stage manager' – specifically in the roles of *poeti concertatori* and *poeta drammatico e concertatore* – of the Royal Theatres in Naples. John Black, *The Italian Romantic Libretto: A Study of Salvadore Cammarano* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1984) pp. 15-16; John Black, 'Cammarano, Salvadore', in *Grove Music Online*; Marvin Tartak, '*Ines de castro* (ii)', in *Grove Music Online*.

[60] Zavadini, no. 165, p. 373.

[61] Ashbrook, *Donizetti and His Operas*, p. 94-95; Black, *The Italian Romantic Libretto,* pp. 27-28; Zavadini, no. 166, pp. 373-74.

[62] Donizetti was aware that he had other scheduled appointments. Zavadini, no. 166, pp. 373-74. This is also translated in Ashbrook, *Donizetti and His Operas,* pp. 95-96.

[63] Ashbrook, *Donizetti and His Operas,* p. 95; Black, *The Italian Operatic Libretto*, p. 29. Black also notes that the titles *Lucia Ashton* and *Sposa di Lammermoor* had also been considered.

[64] The libretto was usually approved by the theatre before being set to music. Black, *The Italian Operatic Libretto*, p. 29.

approved (without requests for changes) on 12th September,[65] and the premiere of *Lucia di Lammermoor* was given on 26th September 1835 (the opening night of the season) at the Teatro San Carlo, Naples.[66]

5.2: The Evolution of Donizetti's Mad Scene and the Musical Construction of Madness
Gabriella di Vergy

Before embarking on my analysis of *Gabriella di Vergy*, it is important to note that, while I will briefly analyse Donizetti's original 1826 manuscript, my own analysis will primarily rely on Opera Rara's edition of Donizetti's 1838 three-act revision, as discovered by Don White and Patric Shmid towards the end of the twentieth century.[67] This is for a number of reasons, the first being that Donizetti significantly revised the score in 1838 at the height of his success as a Romantic composer. In doing so, he also borrowed a proportion of his own music from operas which preceded *Lucia,* and which had not yet been performed in Naples, such as *Ugo, conte di Parigi* (1832), *Rosmunda d'Inghilterra* (1834), and *Maria de Rudenz* (1838).[68] The score is thus of Donizetti's own work, unlike the *rifacimento* (an adaptation or reworking) of the opera assembled by Giuseppe Puzone and Paulo Serrao for a posthumous performance at the Teatro San Carlo, Naples in 1869.[69]

Secondly, Opera Rara's edition of Donizetti's 1838 manuscript is the clearest and most legible score. The original 1826 manuscript, on the other hand, is incomplete and not of good written quality, being Donizetti's passion project and in his own untidy handwriting.[70]

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[65] Black, *The Italian Operatic Libretto*, pp. 29-30.

[66] Ashbrook, *Donizetti and His Operas*, p. 97. This would have occurred simultaneously to the revival of Mazzucato's *La fidanzata di Lammermoor* (1834) in autumn 1835 at the Teatro Carcano, Milan. Angelo Rusconi, 'MAZZUCATO, Alberto', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol 72, in *Treccani* <https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/> [accessed 28th September 2020]; Pietro Beltrame, *La fidanzata di Lammermoor* (Milan: Dalla Stamperia Dova, 1835).

[67] Don White and Patric Schmid of Opera Rara discovered the manuscript score of Donizetti's 1838 revision in the Sterling Library, London. To ready the opera for performance, Schmid also incorporated music from *Adelia* and *Maria de Rudenz* to fill gaps in the score, but the pair seemingly did not revise or edit the score significantly, in order to retain and publish Donizetti's original composition. The 1838 work would thus not receive its first concert and staged performances until 9th November 1978 (Queen's University, Belfast) and 31st August 1985 (Dorset Opera). Gaetano Donizetti, *Gabriella di Vergy* (London: Opera Rara, 1978), Cardiff, Foyle Opera Rara Collection, RWCMD Library, C5; White.

[68] White, pp. 22, 27.

[69] See Ibid., p. 8; Ashbrook, *Donizetti and His Operas*, p. 39; Budden, 'Carafa (de Colobrano), Michele', in *Grove Music Online*; Ashbrook, 'Gabriella di Vergy'. Puzone and Serrao used music from both of Donizetti's previous versions of the opera, as well as from Donizetti's other operas. The negative reception of their work easily prevented it from being performed again. White, pp. 8, 16, 36.

[70] See Gaetano Donizetti, *Gabriella di Vergy,* autograph manuscript, 1826, Bergamo, Archivio del Museo Donizettiani, BG0385, MUSMU MS 2 <www.internetculturale.it> [accessed 22nd July 2021]. It is incomplete, as a number of arias are missing, perhaps because Donizetti used the music from his 1826 score in composing *Otto mesi in due ore* (1827), *L'esule di Roma* (1828), *Il paria* (1829) and *Anna Bolena* (1830). Gabriella's final scena and aria of Act II were transferred from Donizetti's 1826 version to Puzone and Serrao's 1869

Gabriella's original Act II, scene 3, scena and cavatina 'Ah! Fermate… Raoul!' and the Act II finale, however, can be identified within Donizetti's original 1826 manuscript.[71] The lack of recordings available of the opera, coupled with Donizetti's sometimes illegible score, make for a difficult analysis. Yet Opera Rara, in creating a full audio recording of Donizetti's 1838 opera at the end of the twentieth century, additionally recorded Gabriella's original 1826 scena and cavatina 'Ah! Fermate… Raoul!'.[72] However, this only features the first half of her mad scene, and excludes Raoul revealing the death of Fayel, and Gabriella's madness. Thus, the remainder of Donizetti's 1826 mad scene has seemingly remained unrecorded.

Donizetti's choice of tragic subject material in writing *Gabriella di Vergy* in 1826 showed his emerging interest in Romantic themes and trends, as Gabriella, shocked to learn of the death of her beloved Raoul, goes mad and dies.[73] While Carafa's 1816 mad scene for his own Gabriella ('Ah! Fermate… Raoul!') is Rossinian in form,[74] Donizetti's equivalent 1826 mad scene and finale are also quite traditional (see Table 5.1).[75]

Table 5.1: Internal structure of Gabriella's final scene in *Gabriella di Vergy* (1826).

Section	Corresponding libretto	Description and synopsis
Scena	'Ah! Fermate… Raoul!'	Long orchestral introduction, and brief scena from Gabriella (with lyrical and recitative phrases). Gabriella is asleep in the dungeon and imagines Fayel and Raoul duelling. She awakes and realises it was just a dream.
Cavatina	'Perchè non chiusi ai di'	Conventional two-verse (repeated) cavatina, with opening cor anglais solo, which Gabriella mimics on her entry. Short transition between first verse and repeated verse, and short coda. Gabriella is reflective: she asks why she has not yet closed her eyes to the light of day, and why love makes her suffer.
Tempo di mezzo	'Oh come lento scorre'	Long tempo di mezzo, with dialogue between Gabriella and Fayel. Gabriella ponders on what has become of Fayel and Raoul in a long declamatory passage. Fayel enters with a chorus of courtiers, and after sharing several exchanges with Gabriella, reveals that Raoul is dead.

rifacimento. See White, pp. 8-37; Gaetano Donizetti, *Gabriella di Vergy*, manuscript by Giuseppe Puzone, 2 vols (Naples: 1870), musica manoscritta, Naples, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica S. Pietro a Majella, IT-NA0059, MSM\0157990 <www.internetculturale.it> [accessed 22nd July 2021].

[71] Gaetano Donizetti, *Gabriella di Vergy*, 1826, pp. 375-442; Tottola, *Gabriella di Vergi*, pp. 28-32. This was transferred to Puzone and Serrao's 1869 *rifacimento*. See White, pp. 41, 43; Gaetano Donizetti, *Gabriella di Vergy* (1870).

[72] Gaetano Donizetti, *Gabriella di Vergy*, Opera Rara, Royal Philharmonic Orchestra, cond. by Alun Francis, CD Opera Rara ORC 3 (1999).

[73] Gaetano Donizetti, *Gabriella di Vergy* (London: Opera Rara, 1978), pp. 140-54.

[74] I have made this observation based on Opera Rara's recording, and have thus not analysed the musical score due to its more traditional style. See Michele Carafa, *Gabriella di Vergy*, Act 2: 'Ah! Fermate… Raoul!', performed by Yvonne Kenny, *19th-Century Heroines*, CD, Opera Rara ORR201 (1994). For the musical score, see Michele Carafa, *Gabriella di Vergi*, autograph manuscript copy, Foyle Opera Rara Collection, Cardiff, Royal Welsh College of Music and Drama, scores 3383-3390, B0160-0167, loc. Box. Car 2.

[75] Donizetti, *Gabriella di Vergy,* 1826, pp. 375-442; Tottola, *Gabriella di Vergi*, pp. 28-32.

Cabaletta	'Se alfin sull'innocente'	Clearly defined, virtuosic cabaletta with *allegro* tempo and coloratura vocal line. Gabriella sings of her hatred of Fayel, and dies of her heartbreak over the death of Raoul, which the chorus observe and narrate.
Finale	'Che ascoltai! Quale orror!'	*Allegro* transitional statement, and conventional coda from the chorus and surrounding characters who narrate the tragic circumstances of the day.

Gabriella's scena is relatively brief preceding her cavatina, contrasting with the extensive and varied scenas of the mad scenes in *Anna Bolena* and *Lucia*, as will be discussed shortly.[76] In addition, Gabriella's cavatina 'Perchè non chiusi ai di' maintains defining cadence points and structural boundaries, and follows the conventional two-verse aria structure.[77] Donizetti also incorporates interjections from Fayel and the chorus of courtiers, after their entrance, following operatic finale conventions.[78]

Donizetti begins Gabriella's mad scene with a long orchestral introduction, the first part of which would later be transferred to the opening of *Anna Bolena*'s mad scene (see Musical Examples 5.1 and 5.2).[79]

Musical Example 5.1: A reduced transcription of the strings in the opening of the *Gabriella di Vergy* 1826 mad scene.[80]

Musical Example 5.2: The opening of the mad scene in *Anna Bolena*, prior to 'Piangete voi?', exhibiting the same material in the strings.[81]

Donizetti's use of the string melody in *Gabriella*'s scene, and his self-borrowing in general, demonstrate a compositional continuity in the creation of his mad scenes. However, the dark timbre created by the strings, as Gabriella subsequently imagines Fayel and Raoul duelling in her sleep ('Ah! Fermate… Raoul!'), evokes a Romantic aesthetic by reflecting her bleak surroundings of the dungeon and foreshadowing the scene's tragic outcome.[82] The opening plaintive cor anglais solo of Gabriella's cavatina 'Perchè non chiusi ai di' is characteristic of the woodwind soli in mad scenes by Donizetti and others of the time (see Musical Example 5.3).[83]

Musical Example 5.3: A reduction of Donizetti's manuscript score, showing the opening of Gabriella's cavatina 'Perchè non chiusi ai di'.[84]

Following her scena and cavatina, Gabriella ponders on what has become of Fayel and Raoul in a long declamatory section from 'Oh come lento scorre', before hearing the sound of people approaching.[85] Although Gabriella is seemingly sane here, her question about people approaching ('Chi a me si appressa?') is dramatically comparable to Anna's 'Qual mesto suon', where she deliriously questions the sound of the guards and prisoners

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[81] Bars 104-11 in Gaetano Donizetti, *Anna Bolena: tragedia lyrica in due atti,* libretto by Felice Romani, vocal score, critical edn, ed. by Paolo Fabbro, 2 vols (Milan: Ricordi and Foundazione Donizetti di Bergamo, 2017), II, pp. 431 [nkoda]; bars 1-8 in Gaetano Donizetti, *Anna Bolena,* opera score (Milan: Ricordi, [n.d.]), p. 783.

[82] Donizetti, *Gabriella di Vergy*, Opera Rara, CD; Donizetti, *Gabriella di Vergy*, 1826, pp. 376-80; Tottola, *Gabriella di Vergi*, p. 28.

[83] Donizetti, *Gabriella di Vergy,* 1826, p. 385-86; Donizetti, *Gabriella di Vergy*, Opera Rara, CD.

[84] Donizetti, *Gabriella di Vergy,* 1826, p. 385.

[85] Ibid., p. 396; Tottola, *Gabriella di Vergi*, p. 29.

approaching.[86] Fayel enters with a chorus of courtiers, and after sharing several exchanges with Gabriella, reveals that Raoul is dead.[87] Gabriella's clearly defined and virtuosic cabaletta at 'Se alfin sull'innocente', then portrays her absolute fury and hatred of Fayel, as emphasised by the *allegro* tempo and decorative coloratura vocal line.[88]

Overall, however, Gabriella's cabaletta is more representative of extreme anger, rather than madness, and thus adheres to Classical conventions. In doing so, it remains comparable to cabalettas of *opera seria*, such as those of Mozart's vengeful heroines Donna Anna and Donna Elvira in *Don Giovanni*.[89] Although Tottola's printed libretto indicates Gabriella's delirium with the stage direction 'nel delirio' (in delirium) and the courtiers narrative statement 'Geme ne' suoi deliri!' (She moans in her delirium!), Donizetti seemingly did not transfer these observations or directions to the musical score.[90] Unlike his later mad scenes in *Lucia* and *Anna Bolena*, Donizetti does not provide any on-stage judgement or indications of Gabriella's madness for the in-theatre audience to observe.[91] Gabriella also does not exhibit any further symptoms of madness in the remainder of the scene: on realising that Raoul's heart is in the urn presented to her by Fayel, she merely succumbs slowly to her death.[92] In doing so, Donizetti omits Tottola's large section of Gabriella's *versi lirici* from 'Tu!... che'… terrible mostro' (presumably initially intended as the final cabaletta), and instead gives her a few short statements.

Donizetti thus silences Gabriella, as she simply dies from heartbreak (rather than madness).[93] Her death is signified in the score by her gradually weakening speech – as emphasised by her ellipses and simpler, more sporadic vocal writing ('Ah… Raoul…') – and last statement 'Raoul', on which the orchestra falls silent.[94] The chorus narrate her death, observing that she dies from heartache.[95] The opera ends with a finale scene (from 'Che ascoltai! Quale orror!'), which is comprised of an *allegro* transitional statement, and

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[86] Donizetti, *Gabriella di Vergy*, 1826, p. 396; Tottola, *Gabriella di Vergi*, p. 29; Gaetano Donizetti, *Anna Bolena,* vocal score, pp. 441-51.

[87] Tottola, *Gabriella di Vergi*, 1826, pp. 29-30.

[88] The manuscript for this section is particularly untidy, evidencing Donizetti's own indecision over the characterisation of Gabriella's extreme anger. Donizetti, *Gabriella di Vergy*, 1826, pp. 411-22; Tottola, *Gabriella di Vergi*, p. 30.

[89] This is also mentioned of Lucia in Chapter 3.

[90] Tottola, *Gabriella di Vergi*, p. 30.

[91] In Donizetti's later mad scenes, and other scenes analysed within this thesis, the chorus usually provide narration and judgement of the heroine's madness, for the in-theatre audience to observe and understand.

[92] Donizetti, *Gabriella di Vergy*, 1826, pp. 428-31.

[93] All of Gabriella's text from 'Tu!.. che!.. terribile mostro!' onwards in Tottola's libretto is omitted. Instead, Gabriella makes short statements, such as 'ah… Raoul…'. Donizetti, *Gabriella di Vergy*, 1826, pp. 428-31; Tottola, *Gabriella di Vergi*, pp. 30-31.

[94] Donizetti, *Gabriella di Vergy*, 1826, pp. 428-31.

[95] Ibid., p. 430; Tottola, *Gabriella di Vergi*, p. 31.

conventional coda from the chorus and surrounding characters, who comment on the tragic circumstances of the day.[96]

In 1838, Donizetti reinvented the opera's final scene, to create a Romantic and melodramatic mad scene for his heroine. Although Gabriella's extended and diverse scena of 1838 ('Quale orror mi circonda!') retains principal plot moves – as Gabriella is imprisoned in a dungeon, contemplating her dire circumstances and praying to God – it contrasts with the relatively short scena of 1826 ('Ah! Fermate… Raoul!').[97] The scena begins with a long orchestral introduction, as in Donizetti's 1826 score and the opening of Imogene's Act II mad scene in Bellini's *Il pirata* (1827).[98] The 1838 Gabriella – like her 1826 counterpart and Anna's 'Qual mesto suon?' and 'Suon festivo?' – hears a distant ceremonious sound ('un suono parmi udir lontano…'), which is embodied by a *lento* and lamenting melody from an offstage band, and unknowingly (to Gabriella) indicates Raoul's death in the duel.[99] The scena is thus comprised of contrasting subsections, each defined by their varying lyrical or declamatory vocal writing and tempi, to portray Gabriella's diverse range of thoughts and emotions, as she first considers the outcome of Fayel's and Raoul's duel, hopes for Raoul's safe return, and later realises that Raoul is dead (see Table 5.2).[100]

Table 5.2: Internal structure of Gabriella's mad scene in *Gabriella di Vergy* (1838).[101]

Section	Corresponding libretto	Description and synopsis	Bars
Scena	'Quale orror mi circonda'	Extended and diverse scena comprised of contrasting lyrical and declamatory sections. Long *andante* orchestral introduction, dominated by horns and underpinned by tremolos from lower strings (bars 1-24). The scena formally begins at bar 25 with *andante* recitative from Gabriella, who is imprisoned in a dungeon in the castle: she considers her horrifying surroundings and situation, and asks God to give her strength. At *lento* (bar 42), Gabriella hears a distant	1-111

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[96] Donizetti, *Gabriella di Vergy*, 1826, pp. 432-439.

[97] Gaetano Donizetti, *Gabriella di Vergy*, 1978, pp. 140-44. For comparison, see Donizetti, *Gabriella di Vergy*, Opera Rara, CD for recordings of both.

[98] Donizetti, *Gabriella di Vergy*, 1978, pp. 140-54; Donizetti, *Gabriella di Vergy*, Opera Rara, CD; Donizetti, *Gabriella di Vergy*, 1826, pp. 375-81; Vincenzo Bellini, *Il pirata: melodramma in due atti,* with libretto by Felice Romani, opera score (Milan: Ricordi, [n.d.]), pp. 663-70 [nkoda]. The long introduction to Gabriella's scene is borrowed from Act II, scene 8 (final scene) of *Ugo Conte de Parigi*. See White, p. 45; Gaetano Donizetti, *Ugo Conte di Parigi*, Opera Rara, New Philharmonia Orchestra and Geoffrey Mitchell Choir, cond. by Alun Francis, CD Opera Rara ORC1 (1977). The orchestral introduction for Anna Bolena's mad scene is comparatively shorter. See Donizetti, *Anna Bolena,* opera score, p. 783.

[99] Donizetti, *Gabriella di Vergy*, 1978, pp. 140-44; Donizetti, *Gabriella di Vergy*, Opera Rara, CD; Donizetti, *Gabriella di Vergy*, 1826, p. 396; Tottola, *Gabriella di Vergi*, p. 29; Donizetti, *Anna Bolena,* vocal score, pp. 441, 451-53.

[100] Donizetti, *Gabriella di Vergy*, 1978, pp. 140-44.

[101] This analysis was aided by the translated libretto in Don White, liner notes to Gaetano Donizetti, *Gabriella di Vergy*, CD, Opera Rara and Peter Moores Foundation, ORC 3 (1999), pp. 110-14; Donizetti, *Gabriella di Vergy*, 1978, pp. 140-54; Donizetti, *Gabriella di Vergy*, Opera Rara, CD.

		sound, which (unknown to Gabriella) indicates the death of Raoul, and ponders upon the outcome of the duel. Gabriella is thus hopeful that Raoul has survived and will imminently return (bar 65; *allegro vivo*). On Fayel's re-entry (bar 72; *allegro moderato*), Gabriella is shocked, and questions where Raoul is. During hostile exchanges between Gabriella and Fayel from bars 82 to 111, Fayel reveals that he has killed Raoul, who has paid for his crimes. Fayel calls Gabriella a perfidious woman. Gabriella in turn is overcome with grief and despair, declaring that she loved Raoul unconditionally.	
Cavatina	'L'amai… sì… come'un angelo'	*Cantabile* cavatina, where Gabriella tenderly describes and recollects her love for Raoul. She concludes that she will die, and that her soul will remain with Raoul for eternity.	112-37
Tempo di mezzo	'Ebben attendi!'	*Allegro* tempo di mezzo, where Fayel and Gabriella share further exchanges. Fayel brings an urn to Gabriella (who believes it is poison) and reveals Raoul's heart.	138-62
Cabaletta	'Ah! vanne togliti del guardo mio'	Two-verse cabaletta, which begins *moderato* and is introduced by a short woodwind solo at bars 162-65. Verse 1 appears at bars 166-89, followed by a transition and interjections from Fayel and chorus of courtiers (bars 189-210), before a decorated repeated verse (bars 210-33). Gabriella becomes frenzied after seeing Raoul's heart, and directs her anger towards Fayel, for his barbaric actions. Fayel remains furious with Gabriella, despite her apparent grief. The courtiers observe that Gabriella is overcome by (and dying from) her grief, and ask for her forgiveness.	162-233
Transition passage	'e di squallor… Ahi!'	Transition passage (first *andante* at bar 233, then *lento* at bar 237), where Gabriella gradually weakens and dies to prove her love to Raoul at bar 246. Mostly solo, excluding intermittent choral interjections of 'Ah!'. Romantic string melody and tremolos accompany Gabriella as she approaches death.	233-46
Coda	'per lei perdon' 'Oh! Ciel la misera, ah!'	Short, dramatic *allegro* coda from Fayel and surrounding chorus of courtiers who are horrified and grief stricken at Gabriella's death, having succumbed to her sorrow. End of *melodramma*.	246-56

While Gabriella's mad scene is more conventional in form than that of *Lucia* – as the scena, cavatina, tempo di mezzo and cabaletta are all clearly defined with their structural boundaries – Donizetti still adopts compositional Romantic tendencies associated with madness. The brief flute melody accompanying Gabriella in her scena is reminiscent of the solo woodwind passages that feature in *Anna Bolena* and *Lucia*, as well as those that appear in Carafa's *Le nozze* and Bellini's *Il pirata* and *I puritani* (see Musical Example 5.4).[102]

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[102] Donizetti, *Gabriella di Vergy*, 1978, p. 141; Donizetti, *Gabriella di Vergy*, Opera Rara, CD.

Musical Example 5.4: The flute melody underneath Gabriella's solo in her scene (Bars 35-38).[103]

In addition, Gabriella's vocal writing and the orchestral writing at 'Oh quale illusion' in her scena (bars 65-70), which signals her visual hallucination of her love Raoul, quotes that of her Act I love duet with Raoul.[104] Donizetti also employed reminiscence themes in his mad scene for *Lucia*, by underpinning Lucia's delirious hallucinations of Edgardo with a woodwind theme drawn from their love duet 'Ah! Verranno a te' (Act I, scene 5).[105] Gabriella's madness is also foreshadowed in her text preceding her Act I love duet with Raoul, when she asks whether she is delirious for seeing him on his entrance (having originally thought him dead).[106]

Rather than retain the more Classical, anger-fuelled cabaletta of his 1826 score, Donizetti instead ends the 1838 mad scene with a frenzied cabaletta ('Ah! vanne togliti'), featuring a decorated second verse, where Gabriella is both grief-stricken by Raoul's death and filled with rage at Fayel's brutal behaviour.[107] As in *Lucia di Lammermoor*, both Gabriella's music and text work together to indicate her madness. Thus, the introductory woodwind solo (usually appointed to the introduction of the cavatina) and jocular nature of the music of the cabaletta, having just been shown the heart of her lover, are inappropriate for

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[103] Donizetti, *Gabriella di Vergy*, 1978, p. 141; Donizetti, *Gabriella di Vergy*, Opera Rara, CD.

[104] Donizetti, *Gabriella di Vergy*, 1978, pp. 35-38, 142; Donizetti, *Gabriella di Vergy*, Opera Rara, CD.

[105] Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, opera score, pp. 136-42, 427. The use of the reminiscence theme here, and in the standardised flute cadenzas often added following Lucia's aria is also observed by Naomi Matsumoto, '"Ghost Writing": an Exploration of Presence and Absence in *Lucia di Lammermoor* (1835)', in *Silence and Absence in Literature and Music,* ed. by Werner Wolf and Walter Bernhart (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, Rodopi, 2016), pp. 63-84 (p. 78); Naomi Matsumoto, 'Manacled Freedom: Nineteenth-Century Vocal Improvisation and the Flute-Accompanied Cadenza in Gaetano Donizetti's *Lucia di Lammermoor*', in *Beyond Notes: Improvisation in Western Music of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, ed. by Rudolf Rasch (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 295-316 (p. 295). The duet, following traditional formal conventions, begins with Lucia singing the first verse, Edgardo singing the second verse, and the pair finally singing together (third verse). This pattern also appears in the love duet in *Gabriella di Vergy*.

[106] Donizetti, *Gabriella di Vergy*, 1978, p. 29.

[107] Donizetti, *Gabriella di Vergy*, 1978, pp. 147-54; White, pp. 113-14. The final cabaletta is similar in construction to that of *Maria de Rudenz*. See White, p. 45; Gaetano Donizetti, *Maria de Rudenz*, Opera Rara, Philharmonia Orchestra, cond. by David Parry, CD Opera Rara ORC16 (1998).

the situation, and ironically indicative of her losing her reason and grip on reality.[108] Her text 'funesta smania' is placed at the beginning of the second phrase, which repeats the opening melody of 'Ah! vanne togliti', placing emphasis on her 'fatal mania' (see Musical Example 5.5).[109] Her text 'paventa insano' (beware madman), within the same phrase, is further elaborated with a descending decorative vocal melisma (see Musical Example 5.6).[110]

Musical Example 5.5: Gabriella's phrase 'funesta smania' (Bars 170-71).

Musical Example 5.6: Gabriella's phrase 'paventa insano' (Bars 175-76).

When 'insano' appears again in the repeated verse (at bars 219-20), however, there is an octave leap down, the erratic nature of the large leap ironically highlighting her own frenzied insanity and giving it new significance.[111]

Yet in the 1838 version, Donizetti heightened the dramatic tension surrounding Gabriella's death, by moving it to the very end of the opera: the second verse of the cabaletta is followed by a solo transition passage, where Gabriella dies to prove her love to Raoul, and ends with a short coda (with Fayel and the chorus).[112] In doing so, Donizetti subverts audience expectations and deviates slightly from formal conventions by omitting the transitional section and full ensemble finale from his 1826 version, to create a short yet dramatic coda (see Table 5.2).[113] Nevertheless, in his 1838 opera, Donizetti gradually foreshadows the opera's tragic ending with funereal march-like rhythms, which appear in D minor in the orchestra in the prelude to Act III, and which reappear throughout Act III, anticipating Raoul and Gabriella's respective deaths (see Musical Example 5.7).[114]

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[108] Donizetti, *Gabriella di Vergy*, 1978, pp. 147-54; Donizetti, *Gabriella di Vergy*, Opera Rara, CD.
[109] Donizetti, *Gabriella di Vergy*, 1978, p. 148.
[110] Ibid., p. 148; White, p. 113.
[111] Donizetti, *Gabriella di Vergy*, 1978, p. 151.
[112] Ibid., p. 154.
[113] See Donizetti, *Gabriella di Vergy*, 1826, pp. 432-39; Donizetti, *Gabriella di Vergy*, 1978, pp. 140-154. The aria features several interjections from Fayel and the chorus, making the cabaletta closer to a duet at times. Balthazar, pp. 62-64, outlines the typical operatic finale for a serious opera (where a death occurred) by the mid-nineteenth century: the final scene was comprised of the recitative scena; the preparation, which incorporated dialogue or lyrical pieces; a slow movement with full ensemble singing; and a conclusion with the death and on-stage reaction.
[114] Donizetti, *Gabriella di Vergy*, 1978, p. 141.

Musical Example 5.7: Funereal march-like rhythms at the beginning of the Act III prelude (Bars 1-2; *andante*).[115]

Similar rhythms reappear intermittently in the orchestral accompaniment at bars 42-56 in the *lento* in Gabriella's scena, where they confirm the outcome of the duel and Raoul's death.[116] The same rhythms then appear again at bar 72, this time at *allegro moderato* tempo, emphasising that Gabriella's time is fast running out.[117]

Gabriella's impending death is also foreshadowed by a second alternating B flat to A natural tremolo at bars 5-8, which is repeated and modified throughout the scena and mad scene, and as for Lucia in Carafa's *Le nozze di Lammermoor*, evokes her death throes (see Musical Example 5.8).[118]

Musical Example 5.8: The repeated B flat to A natural melodic pattern in Bars 6-8 of Gabriella's scena.[119]

The dark and unsettling undertones of the tremolo lower strings (alternating from E flat to D) in E flat major in bars 9-10 and 19-20 of the scena also foreshadow the news of Raoul's death.[120] At the final cadence of Gabriella's cavatina, where she declares that her soul will remain with Raoul for eternity ('sarà rapita ancor'; bars 136-37), Gabriella's vocal line adopts a modification of the B flat to A motive, and thus invokes the flattened 6th on resolving to D major.[121] A similar pattern appears in Gabriella's vocal writing at the final cadence in the first verse of the cabaletta ('e di squallor'; bars 188-89), this time alternating from D flat to C and with brief resolution to F major (as the transition passage starts).[122] On the second hearing at bars 232-33, however, the melody resolves to a diminished chord, creating an unsettled feel and defining Gabriella's fast approaching death.[123] Gabriella's cries

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[115] Ibid., p. 114.
[116] Ibid., pp. 141-42.
[117] Ibid.
[118] Ibid., p. 141.
[119] Ibid., p. 140.
[120] Ibid., p. 140-41. A similar quaver tremolo appears at Bars 102-03 on Ibid., p. 144.
[121] Ibid., p. 146.
[122] Ibid., p. 149.
[123] Ibid., pp. 152-53.

of 'Ahi!' at the beginning of the final transition passage (bars 234-36), represent her last (notated) sighs before death, and are underpinned and imitated by the orchestra.[124]

The following *lento* lyrical orchestral melody dramatically heightens Gabriella's deterioration, and her stage directions illustrate that she is oppressed by sobs and loses the power to speak (refer to Table 5.2, Transition passage).[125] The setting of the expressive, lyrical melody in the strings at bars 238-41 sounds particularly Romantic, and ahead of its time. The descending melodic line, shared by the orchestra and Gabriella's vocal line at 'io manco… io moro' (from bar 242), similarly musically lead her towards her fate.[126] As Gabriella's mad scene nears its end, the strings once more repeat their tremolo melodic pattern three times at bars 244-45, in order to indicate her faltering and growing weakness.[127] On her death, the tremolo finally resolves to D minor (see Musical Example 5.9).[128]

Musical Example 5.9: The tremolo repeated pattern appears in the accompaniment as Gabriella grows weaker and resolves on her death (Bars 244-46).[129]

Gabriella's death, like that of mad heroines Imogene (*Il pirata*) and Anna (*Anna Bolena*), is immediately followed by an outburst from the chorus and principal characters which promptly and dramatically concludes the opera.[130]

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[124] Ibid., p. 153.
[125] The directions state: (*oppressa dai singhiozzi… le manca… la parola… e more*). See Ibid.
[126] Ibid.
[127] Ibid.
[128] Ibid., pp. 153-54. A similar approach would later be adopted by Giuseppe Verdi in repeating a tremolo (between B double flat and A flat), which also resolves to D minor after Violetta's collapse and tubercular death. Giuseppe Verdi, *La traviata: melodramma in tre atti*, opera score (Milan: Ricordi, 1999), pp. 422-24.
[129] Ibid., pp. 153-54.
[130] Donizetti, *Gabriella di Vergy*, 1978, p. 154.

Anna Bolena (1830)

The two-act tragic opera *Anna Bolena*, saw Donizetti again look to English history, and was based on Anne Boleyn's tragic beheading. In creating their mad scene for Anna, Romani and Donizetti retained the same basic physical characteristics of madness which had been used parodically mere months earlier in *I pazzi per progetto*. While there is no grand mad scene for Norina in *I pazzi per progetto*, Donizetti underpinned her feigned madness – her slow entrance and dishevelled appearance – with a lamenting orchestral melody (predominantly in strings) in G minor.[131] Most significantly, her 'madness' is identified and characterised by a flute solo, as she is observed by Blinval and Darlemont (see Musical Example 5.10).[132]

Musical Example 5.10: Norina enters walking slowly, underpinned by the orchestra and the flute solo.[133]

As in Norina's entry, Anna enters slowly in neglected dress, emerging from her prison in the Tower of London and is accompanied by an ascending string melody in F major (see Musical Examples 5.2 and Figure 5.1).[134] As already acknowledged, the orchestral melody at the *andante* here is transferred from *Gabriella di Vergy*'s 1826 Act II cavatina 'Oh fermate!... Raoul!' (see Musical Examples 5.1 and 5.2).[135] In addition, as in Murena's mad scene in *L'esule di Roma*, Donizetti precedes Anna's entrance with a choral movement, here incorporating a chorus of women at 'Chi può vederla'.[136]

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[131] This behaviour alone is reminiscent of the mad scenes of Bellini's *La sonnambula*, *I puritani*, and anticipates Donizetti's own later characterisation of Lucia. The darker orchestral timbre vastly contrasts with the comedic style of the previous bars, and the rest of the opera Gaetano Donizetti, *I pazzi per progetto*, vocal score (Florence: Edizioni Musicali OTOS, 1977), p. 89.

[132] Ibid., pp. 89-90. Also observed by Emilio Sala, 'Women Crazed by Love: An Aspect of Romantic Opera', trans. by William Ashbrook, *The Opera Quarterly*, 3/10 (1994), 19-41 (p. 30).

[133] Donizetti, *I pazzi per progetto*, p. 89. No bar numbers are provided in this score.

[134] Bars 104-111 in Donizetti, *Anna Bolena*, vocal score, p. 431; bars 1-8 in Donizetti, *Anna Bolena,* opera score, p. 783.

[135] Gaetano Donizetti, *Gabriella di Vergy*, Opera Rara, CD.

[136] Donizetti, *Anna Bolena*, vocal score, p. 422.

> (*Anna appears from her prison in neglected dress, and with her head uncovered: she advances slowly, absorbed in deep thought. Universal silence. Her ladies surround her in great emotion. She observes them carefully, she appears calm.*)

Despite only a two-year gap in composition, Anna's Act II mad scene (for a woman) was grander and more extensive than that of the senator Murena (a man) in *L'esule di Roma,* and instead resembles the Rossinian *gran scena*: Anna's scene includes several full cantabile sections, linked by choral interventions and recitative, and concludes with a complete cabaletta (see Table 5.3).[138] Donizetti embraces the conventional aria formula, yet stretches the boundaries and definitions of the individual sections by extending the initial scena, and integrating additional music between the cavatina and cabaletta. In creating this scene, Donizetti and Romani were undoubtedly influenced by the structure and characterisation of Imogene's Act II mad scene in Bellini and Romani's *Il pirata* (1827), which also ends the two-act opera. Both scenes share orchestral introductions accompanied by stage directions suggesting delirium,[139] and Donizetti characterises the opening with a *cantabile* flute solo, retaining the characteristic *cantabile* woodwind melody from the scena in Bellini's opera.[140]

Table 5.3: Internal structure of Anna Bolena's mad scene.[141]

Section	Corresponding libretto	Description and synopsis	Bars
Scena (i)	'Piangete voi?'	Extensive scena, comprised of differing declamatory and lyrical sections, distinguished by different tempi. *Andante* orchestral opening with prominent strings (bars 104-11). Anna emerges from her prison in disordered dress and is observed by the chorus of women. Anna's recitative begins at bar 112, becoming *a tempo*: she is delirious and believes it is the day of her wedding to the king. Anna asks to be adorned in a white robe, and a garland of roses (*allegro*; from bar 128). The flute solo at *moderato*/*cantabile* (bars 142-46) signifies her auditory hallucinations, as she then asks who speaks of Percy. Anna becomes notably distressed (underpinned by the *allegro* tempo from bar 155), and asserts that she will not see Percy, believing he is approaching. Anna	104-92

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		becomes miserable and unhappy (*andante*; bars 175-79), before becoming immensely joyful (*allegretto* at bars 180-82, then *mosso* at bars 183-92).	
Cavatina	'Al dolce guidami'	*Cantabile* two-verse cavatina with opening cor anglais solo, second decorated verse and long embellished coda. Anna sings of her past, asking to be guided back to the castle of her birth, and to her former love, Percy.	193-245
Scena (ii) (or dialogue)	'Qual mesto suon'	Transitional scena beginning *maestoso* and leading to second aria/lyrical passage, with dialogue from surrounding characters. The guards enter with Hervey, and prisoners Rochefort, Percy and Smeton from bar 246, as Anna slowly revives from her delirium (*allegro* from bar 268, then *maestoso* from bar 282). Smeton is distressed, as he has wrongly accused her of betraying the king, believing she would be spared (*allegro* from bar 298). Anna returns to her delirium, and asks Smeton why he does not play his harp, wondering whether the strings are broken (*lento* from bar 315). The chorus and surrounding characters observe as Anna returns to her delirium (*larghetto* from bar 327). Anna hallucinates, and asks everyone to listen (*stringendo a poco a poco* from bar 338). Percy and Rochefort are distressed at Anna's delirium (*lento* at bar 348).	246-348
Additional *cantabile* **lyrical passage**	'Cielo, a' miei lunghi spasimi'	Short additional lyrical passage, characterised by opening *cantabile* (*larghetto*) flute solo (bars 349-52), more indicative of a cavatina. From bar 353 Anna has her own vocal line, while Smeton, Percy and Rochefort sing in trio. Anna has returned to her delirium: she asks for mercy and for heaven to grant her respite. Smeton, Percy and Rochefort observe and pray for her soul, hoping she will be received by heaven.	349-73
Tempo di mezzo	'Chi mi sveglia?'	Conventional *allegro* tempo di mezzo. Opens with off-stage band and festival music from bar 374. Anna revives from her delirium, confused and asking about the festive sound (*stesso tempo* from bar 428). The surrounding characters inform her that people are rejoicing and accepting their new queen, Giovanna Seymour. Anna accepts that her blood must now be shed, and she will die. The surrounding characters and chorus pray for her.	374-463
Cabaletta	'Coppia iniqua'	Conventional virtuosic two-verse cabaletta, with decorated repeated verse and choral interjections. *Moderato* tempo and *con forza* style, with a dramatic coda that ends the opera. Anna swears she will not invoke vengeance against the wicked couple who betrayed her (Giovanna Seymour and Enrico), and confronts death. The chorus forgive the heroine and ask that her heart be spared. The coda sees Anna led off-stage to be executed, as the surrounding characters observe. End of the opera.	464-553

Anna's scena, starting from 'Piangete voi?', is as extensive as Imogene's scena 'Oh! S'io potessi', comprising a variety of different subsections and contrasting styles and tempi (see Table 5.3).[142] The vast majority of recitative within this opening scena is unsupported by the orchestra, as for Imogene, allowing Anna a certain freedom in her delirium.[143] Anna's question 'Piangete voi?', could either be interpreted as her observation of the distress of those around her, seeing her state, or it could be indicative of her mental state: that she alone can hear the sound of crying, like Ida in *La fidanzata di Lammermoor* (1831).[144] The portrayal of Anna, on asking to be adorned in a white robe ('Datemi tosto il mio candido ammanto'), additionally follows the archetypal physical characterisation of female madness.[145] Her further request to be adorned with a crown of roses also alludes to Ophelia's flowers, and is akin again to Ida's request to be adorned with a garland of roses in *La fidanzata di Lammermoor*.[146]

The cavatina 'Al dolce guidami' is expectedly *cantabile*, but due to its array of vocal ornamentation is distinguished from the simple lyrical aria of the past, such as Lucia's Act II romanza in Carafa's *Le nozze di Lammermoor*.[147] As in Imogene's 'Col sorriso d'innocenza', and Gabriella's 1826 cavatina 'Perchè non chiusi ai di', a bittersweet cor anglais solo introduces Anna's vocal melody for her cavatina (see Musical Examples 5.11 and 5.12).[148]

Musical Example 5.11: The cor anglais opening of 'Al dolce guidami.[149]

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[142] Donizetti, *Anna Bolena*, vocal score, pp. 431-36; Bellini, *Il pirata*, vocal score, pp. 337-44.

[143] Donizetti, *Anna Bolena*, vocal score, pp. 431-33; Bellini, *Il pirata*, vocal score pp. 340-44.

[144] This suggests that Rieschi and Bassi were potentially influenced by Donizetti in creating their mad scene. Calisto Bassi, *La fidanzata di Lammermoor: tragedia lirica in tre parti* ([n.p.]: Michele Weis, 1831), pp. 58-60.

[145] Bars 128-32 in Donizetti, *Anna Bolena*, vocal score, p. 432.

[146] See Bassi, pp. 55-57

[147] Donizetti, *Anna Bolena*, vocal score, pp. 437-40.

[148] Donizetti, *Anna Bolena*, opera score, p. 795-96. The solo melody in Imogene's aria 'Col sorriso d'innocenza' is instead for flute. Bellini, *Il pirata*, opera score, pp. 678-79. Donizetti, *Gabriella di Vergy,* 1826, p. 385-86; Donizetti, *Gabriella di Vergy*, Opera Rara, CD.

[149] Bars 90-95 in Donizetti, *Anna Bolena*, opera score, p. 795-96.

Musical Example 5.12: Anna's cavatina 'Al dolce guidami'.[150]

The cavatina is more reflective and yearning in quality than lamenting, as she sings of her past – asking to be guided to the castle of her birth – and her former love with Percy.[151] The repetition and cadenza on 'nostro amore' (our love) then underpin this.[152]

The inclusion of an additional scena (or dialogue) beginning at 'Qual mesto suon' (refer to Table 5.3), thus increases the dramatic importance of the scene.[153] Anna asks why Smeton does not play his harp (indirectly recollecting the imagery of Ophelia), and believes that the strings must be broken.[154] The haunting G minor cadence 'Ritorna a delirar' from the onstage chorus and principal characters, however, halts the flow of the music and its dramatic realism, as they identify that Anna is returning to her delirium (see Musical Example 5.13).

Musical Example 5.13: The chorus observe and identify that Anna is returning to her delirium.[155]

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[150] Bars 203-06 in Donizetti, *Anna Bolena*, vocal score, pp. 437-40.
[151] Ibid., p. 437.
[152] Ibid., p. 440.
[153] Ibid., pp. 441-51.
[154] Ibid., pp. 445-46.
[155] Bars 326-28 in Ibid., pp. 447-48.

Anna's statement 'Udite tutti!' emphasises that she is in the depths of her derangement, and wants everyone to listen to a sound (that likely only she can hear).[156] Percy and Rochefort, with their despairing statement 'Delira', thus confirm it as an auditory hallucination (see Musical Example 5.14).

Musical Example 5.14: Percy and Rochefort observe and identify Anna's delirium.[157]

Donizetti then portrays Anna's delirious condition with an additional lyrical passage, 'Cielo, a' miei lunghi spasimi', the opening of which is characterised by another *cantabile* flute solo, more indicative of a cavatina (see Musical Example 5.15).

Musical Example 5.15: The flute solo opening of Anna's additional lyrical passage, 'Cielo a' miei lunghi spasimi'.[158]

In this *cantabile* lyrical passage, where the main theme is based on Henry Bishop's song 'Home, Sweet Home!',[159] Anna asks for mercy and for heaven to grant her respite.[160] The onstage characters (Smeton, Percy, Rochefort) and chorus, while indicating that Anna is mad,

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[156] Bars 344-45 in Donizetti, *Anna Bolena*, vocal score, p. 448.
[157] Bars 346-48 in Ibid.
[158] Bars 246-53 in Donizetti, *Anna Bolena*, opera score, p. 818; bars 349-56 in Donizetti, *Anna Bolena*, vocal score, p. 449.
[159] *The Times*, 9 July 1831, p. 3.
[160] Donizetti, *Anna Bolena*, vocal score, pp. 449-51.

pray for her soul and hope that she will be received by heaven ('L'estremo suo deliro prolunga…'; see Musical Example 5.16).

Musical Example 5.16: The on-stage characters narrate Anna's delirium and pray for her.[161]

The following *allegro* (preceding Anna's statement 'Chi mi sveglia?') indicates the commencement of the true tempo di mezzo.[162] Anna questions the off-stage festive sound ('Suon festivo?'), and the tempo changes again to *stesso tempo*.[163] The sound here represents people accepting their new queen Giovanna Seymour, and Anna in turn accepts that she is to die.[164] This is similar to Imogene's 'Qual suono ferale' following her cavatina, which is a storm-like tremolando that announces that Gualtiero has been condemned (off-stage).[165] The festive sounds, however, revive Anna from her delirium and she forgets where she is, as if being awoken (see Musical Example 5.17).[166] The use of festive music off-stage here morbidly and ironically darkens the tone of the opera.

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[161] Bars 359-63 in Ibid., pp. 449-50.
[162] Ibid., pp. 452-53.
[163] Ibid., p. 453.
[164] Donizetti, *Anna Bolena*, vocal score, pp. 453-57.
[165] Bellini, *Il pirata*, vocal score, p. 347.
[166] Donizetti, *Anna Bolena*, vocal score, pp. 451-53.

Musical Example 5.17: A piano reduction of Anna's 'Suon festivo?'[167]

Anna's following cabaletta 'Coppia iniqua' is startlingly conventional (see Musical Example 5.18) with its two verses (repeated and decorated) and choral interjections.[168] Donizetti would go on to employ a similar structure, integrating a lyrical passage within the tempo di mezzo, and stunningly conventional cabaletta, in the mad scene of *Lucia di Lammermoor*.

Musical Example 5.18: The opening of Anna's cabaletta 'Coppia iniqua'.[169]

While Anna's cabaletta 'Coppia iniqua' is within the realms of Imogene's vengeful 'Sole ti vela', Anna's own confrontation of death appears more passionate and wrathful than 'mad' (as with Gabriella's 1826 cabaletta), and thus again evokes the feisty cabalettas of Classical *opera seria* heroines.[170] The chorus, however, continue to forgive the heroine and ask that her afflicted heart be spared,[171] and as in the aforementioned operas and Bellini's *Il pirata*, end the opera with a choral outburst and orchestral coda, providing final surrogate judgement and

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[167] Bars 427-30 in Ibid., p. 453.
[168] Ibid., pp. 455-61.
[169] Bars 464-68 in Ibid., p. 456.
[170] Ibid., pp. 455-61; Bellini, *Il pirata*, vocal score, pp. 350-55. Gossett also notes the similarity between 'Sole ti vella' and 'Coppia iniqua' in Gossett, Anna Bolena *and the Artistic Maturity of Gaetano Donizetti*, p. 32.
[171] Donizetti, *Anna Bolena*, vocal score, pp. 455-56.

narration.[172] In the original 1830 libretto, Romani had instructed that Anna was to faint and subsequently die on stage, as observed by the surrounding characters, therefore providing a more Romantic (and performative) depiction of death.[173] Donizetti's alternative triumphant ending of Anna's mad scene (notably her cabaletta and its following coda), as she is led offstage to be executed, wholly confirms that hers was a heroic death and sacrifice, more akin to that of Christian martyrs.

Donizetti's Madwomen and their Connection to Medical Literature

While Donizetti and Romani perhaps use the terms 'delirio' and 'delirante' generically in describing Anna throughout her mad scene, these terms allow us to make closer and more specific comparisons with pertinent medical literature of the period.[174] Philippe Pinel, in his *Treatise on Insanity* (1806), defines 'mania with delirium' thus:

> An accession of periodical mania resembles continued madness in all its characteristic properties, its duration excepted; and it is impossible to convey a clearer idea of the one, than by recording the various circumstances of the other. With respect to their predisponent causes; the varieties of their extravagance and fury; the lesions of one or more of the functions of understanding; and the prodigious number of objects, towards which their delirium may be directed, there is a perfect analogy between them. Both may be excited by intense or vehement passions; by exalted and furious enthusiasm, or by whatever strong emotions that may originate in fanaticism or chimerical delusion.[175]

Such mania (with delirium) could be either permanent, or intermittent, and aroused by 'strong nervous excitement'.[176] Its physical and external display was perceived to be marked by strong and diverse emotions, as are also exhibited by Anna.[177] On a basic level, these can be exhibited in the language used and the different musical styles, as well as the flexible structural boundaries used by Donizetti within the mad scene. The extensive and varied internal structure of the scena in particular, however, allows for a more specific portrayal of her contrasting emotions. Her extreme misery and unhappiness in the scena, for instance, are

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[172] Ibid., pp. 464-68; Bellini, *Il pirata*, vocal score, pp. 354-55.

[173] Romani provides the line of text, 'Sventurata!... ella manca… ella more!', which, as translated by Ashbrook, reads as 'Unfortunate woman! She faints… she dies'. Felice Romani, *Anna Bolena* (Milan: Antonio Fontana, 1830), p. 47; Ashbrook, *Donizetti and His Operas*, p. 618.

[174] Philippe Pinel was a leading physician at the Bicêtre and Salpêtrière hospitals in Paris from the late eighteenth, to the early nineteenth century. His medical literature would have perhaps influenced Jean-Martin Charcot, in working at the Salpêtrière towards the end of the nineteenth century, and perhaps Donizetti and Cammarano separately in composing *Lucia di Lammermoor*. The phrase 'delirante' is also used to describe Murena's madness. See Donizetti, *L'esule di Roma*, 1981, p. 164.

[175] Philippe Pinel, *A Treatise on Insanity,* trans. by D. D. Davis (Sheffield: W. Todd, Cadell and Davies, 1806), pp. 156-57.

[176] Ibid. p. 159.

[177] Ibid.

underlined by the *ritardando* from *allegro* to *andante* tempo, as well as her descending vocal melodies from 'infelice son io', and at the imperfect F minor cadence on 'miseria estrema' (see Musical Example 5.19).[178]

Musical Example 5.19: Anna's phrase from 'infelice son io', reflecting her own misery.[179]

Furthermore, the sparse *piano* string accompaniment leaves Anna alone in her misery by halting at 'estrema', which itself is accentuated by a melisma.[180] The flute melody which immediately follows over the top of 'Tu sorridi?... Oh gioia!' ('You smile? Oh joy!') as she rises out of her gloom and imagines Percy is there, instead starkly contrasts and portrays her intense joy (see Musical Example 5.20).[181]

Musical Example 5.20: Anna's phrase 'Tu sorridi?... Oh gioia!' and the flute solo underneath.[182]

This contrast resembles Pinel's described tendencies in maniacal delirium: 'Delirious insanity is sometimes distinguished by a gay and jovial humour, venting itself in lively and incoherent sallies'.[183] The 'incoherent sallies' in the musical sense of *Anna Bolena*'s mad scene could thus be interpreted as Donizetti's manipulation of *solita forma*, in order to portray Anna's own maniacal mood changes and delirium.

As would later occur in *Lucia*, however, the flute often musically signals and envoices the associated hallucinations of delirium, and disturbed behaviour of Donizetti's madwomen.

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[178] Bars 169-79 in Donizetti, *Anna Bolena*, vocal score, p. 435.
[179] Bars 174-79 in Ibid.
[180] Bar 76 in Donizetti, *Anna Bolena*, opera score, p. 793.
[181] See Bars 77-89 Ibid., pp. 793-95.
[182] Bars 77-82 in Ibid., p. 793; bars 180-85 in Donizetti, *Anna Bolena*, vocal score, p. 436.
[183] See Pinel, *A Treatise on Insanity*, p. 157.

As mentioned previously, this common trope was self-parodied in the flute solo which accompanies Norina's supposed delirious entry in *I pazzi per progetto*, supporting her dishevelled and deranged appearance.[184] The 'genuine' hallucinations experienced by Anna, however, were potentially of the sort that Pinel described as further illuminating signs of insanity and mania.[185] The *cantabile* flute solo in Anna's scena 'Piangete voi?', appearing before and following her phrase 'Oh… chi si duole?' (Who is grieving?), is illustrative of her delirium as she experiences auditory hallucinations (see Musical Example 5.21).[186]

Musical Example 5.21: The *cantabile* flute solo before 'Oh… chi si duole'.[187]

The flute solo at 'Tu sorridi?... Oh gioia!' also identifies that Anna's mood has starkly changed and highlights her deranged state (see Musical Example 5.20). The *cantabile* flute solo at the beginning of Anna's arioso passage 'Cielo, a' miei lunghi spasimi', additionally indicates that she is again transitioning into happier delirium (see Musical Example 5.15). Thus, in structurally defining and musically characterising Anna's diverse, maniacal emotions, Donizetti supports and distinguishes the different stages of her delirium. In doing so, he paved the way for his next mad operatic heroine.

5.3: 'Ha la ragion smarita':[188] Performative Madness in Society and on the Operatic Stage
Charcot's Hysterical Celebrities and Donizetti's 'Mad' Singers

Following the first performance of *Lucia di Lammermoor* in September 1835, the opera became immensely popular, and has since remained a staple in the global operatic repertoire. At the end of September, Donizetti himself boasted of the positive reception in Naples in a

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[184] Donizetti, *I pazzi per progetto*, pp. 89-90.
[185] Pinel, *A Treatise on Insanity*, pp. 24, 156-57.
[186] Donizetti, *Anna Bolena*, vocal score p. 433.
[187] Bars 37-45 in Donizetti, *Anna Bolena*, opera score, pp. 787-88; bars 140-48 in Donizetti, *Anna Bolena*, vocal score, p. 433.
[188] This translates as, 'She has lost her reason'. Gaetano Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, opera score (Milan: Ricordi, 2004), p. 447.

letter to Ricordi: he was extremely happy with the audience's response to the opera, who had shouted and vigorously applauded the composer, and had even received compliments from the king's brother, Leopoldo.[189]

Over the previous years, the same operatic singers had become known for repeatedly appearing in mad roles, creating hundreds of performances of derangement around the world. In 1829, Giuditta Pasta performed the title role in Paisiello's *Nina* at the Teatro Carcano, Milan, merely a year before premiering the role of *Anna Bolena*.[190] Following the first performance of *Anna Bolena* in London in 1831, Pasta's portrayal of Anna was commended and compared to that of her other mad roles, the critic for *The Times* writing:

> After witnessing her Medea, her Semiramide, her Desdemona, her Mary Stuart, and her Nina, it appeared hardly possible that any new scope could be afforded to her talents. In *Anna Boleyn*, all the excellencies which have distinguished her personification of those different characters are combined. The energy of Medea, the dignity of Semiramide, the tender pathos of Desdemona, the profound affliction of Mary Stuart, and that fascinating listlessness which forms the charm of her mad scene in Nina, were all displayed by turns, in situations which the author of the libretto appears to have formed expressly for her. Her vocal powers were less called into requisition than her histrionic talents.[191]

In the following spring, on 6th March 1831, Pasta additionally premiered the role of Amina in *La sonnambula* at the Teatro Carcano, Milan.[192] Between 1835 and 1836, Fanny Tacchinardi Persiani also seemingly spent entire seasons in mad roles: she performed the title role in *Ines de Castro*, before then appearing as Lucia (see Image 5.1).[193] In 1837, she would appear in both roles again, as well as performing as Amina in *La sonnambula* and Elvira in *I puritani* at Teatro La Fenice, Venice within a mere two months.[194]

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[189] Zavadini, no. 177, p. 385, translated and referenced in Ashbrook, *Donizetti and His Operas*, p. 98.
[190] Sala, p. 22.
[191] *The Times*, 9 July 1831, p. 3. It is unclear what opera *The Times* are referring to with 'Mary Stuart', as Donizetti's *Maria Stuarda* did not premiere until 1835.
[192] See Julian Budden, Elizabeth Forbes and Simon Maguire, 'Sonnambula, La', in *Grove Music Online*.
[193] Sala, p. 24.
[194] Tacchinardi Persiani would continue to reprise such roles in the years to come, performing as Amina at the Theatre Royal (Covent Garden), London on 22nd May 1849, for instance. Ibid. Giulia Grisi, who premiered the role of Elvira in Bellini's *I puritani* (24th January 1835; Théâtre-Italien, Paris), would also sing the title role in *Anna Bolena* (April 1839; Her Majesty's Theatre, London). See Ashbrook, *Donizetti and His Operas*, pp. 90-91; C. Pepoli, *I Puritani e I Cavalieri / The Puritans and The Knights, a Serious Opera in Three Acts, the Music by Bellini, as Represented at the King's Theatre, Haymarket, May 1835,* trans. by F. Doca (London: T. Brettell and King's Theatre, 1835); Weinstock, *Vincenzo Bellini*, p. 312; *Anna Bolena / Anne Boleyn, A Tragic Opera in Two Acts, the Music by Donizetti as Represented at Her Majesty's Theatre, Haymarket, April 1839* (London: T. Brettell, Her Majesty's Theatre, 1839); *The Italian Opera in 1839* (London: J. Alfred Novello, 1840).

News of *Lucia*'s 'immense success' reached France, and was reported in *Le Ménestrel* (8th November 1835) which, like other press, related the opera to Scott's original and familiar novel (rather than Carafa's *Le nozze di Lammermoor*).[196] They also stated that the principal singers, Fanny Tacchinardi Persiani (in Image 5.1), Gilbert Duprez and Domenico Cosselli, only added to the opera's success.[197] Donizetti's work was already seemingly guaranteed to please Parisian audiences.[198] *Lucia* subsequently received its first performance in Paris at the Théâtre-Italien on 12th December 1837, following which the opera received somewhat ambivalent and uncertain press, as Cammarano's libretto was criticised for its simplicity while Donizetti's elegant music was commended.[199] *La Gazette de France,* however, commented that the operatic score mostly lacked originality, and sounded similar to music

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[195] Edward Morton, *Madame Persiani in the character of Lucia in Donizetti's Opera* Lucia di Lammermoor, 1839, lithograph, 41.7 x 56.8 cm, H Beard Print Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O181566/h-beard-print-collection-print-chalon-alfred-edward/> [accessed 4th July 2022]. This lithograph is captioned with 'Lucia: E tua son io. / A' miei voti amore invoco' from Lucia's Act I duet with Edgardo.

[196] *Le Ménestrel*, 8 November 1835, p. 1. See also Rebecca Harris-Warrick, 'Lucia goes to Paris: A Tale of Three Theaters', in *Music, Theater, and Cultural Transfer: Paris, 1830-1914*, ed. by Annegret Fauser and Mark Everist (Chicago, IL and London: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 195-227 (p. 200). *L'Indépendant,* 14 December 1837, p. 2; *Le Charivari*, 15 December 1837, pp. 3-4; and *Le Siècle*, 14 December 1837, p. 1, also compare the opera to Scott's original novel in their reports on the opera's Parisian première.

[197] *Le Ménestrel*, 8 November 1835, p. 1.

[198] Harris-Warrick, p. 197, also makes this observation.

[199] Herbert Weinstock, *Donizetti and the World of Opera in Italy, Paris and Vienna in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1963), p. 349. See Harris-Warrick, pp. 200-04, who analyses and describes the Parisian press in more detail. *L'Indépendant,* 14 December 1837, p. 2, described Cammarano's libretto as simple, but well suited to Donizetti's music. They claim that this is all that can be asked of an Italian opera. *La Gazette de France* instead criticised Cammarano's libretto for not revealing the outcome for Enrico after the mad scene, yet praised Donizetti's elegant and graceful music, and its suitability for the dramatic situations. See excerpts of *La Gazette de France*, 18 December 1837, in Harris-Warrick, pp. 200-03, 217, 220.

heard elsewhere.[200] This sentiment echoes comments made about Carafa's *Le nozze di Lammermoor*, and its series of Rossinian reminiscences, a mere eight years earlier.[201]

Lucia's mad scene was recognised as vocally challenging by Parisian press, and while Fanny Tacchinardi Perisani (seen in Image 5.1) was praised for her performance, the scene did receive some criticism.[202] The Parisian reception was mostly inflected by the opera's reproduction of archetypal tropes and conventional forms of madness which, although musically and vocally brilliant, had become increasingly popular and near ubiquitous in Italian opera over the course of the previous decade.[203] *Le Temps*, for instance, observed 'the conventional visual markers of the "inevitable" stage madness: a white dress, a pale face, floating hair, and jerky movements'.[204] *Le National* also found the music to be unsuitable for the tragic circumstances.[205] The satirical journal *Le Charivari* described how in the third act Lucia goes mad, as in *Anna Bolena* and *I puritani*, and remarked how madness has long been the outcome of all Italian operatic libretti, confirming the prominence (and overuse) of its associated tropes.[206] *Le Siècle* commented that, while Lucia's mad scene was too long – like other mad scenes – the cabaletta was ornate and brilliant.[207]

By 1839, Donizetti had revised his original Italian score and the French translation, *Lucie de Lammermoor* was given at the Théâtre de la Renaissance, Paris on 6th August, firmly establishing the work within French operatic culture.[208] Following its reprise at the Paris Opéra in 1846, *Lucie de Lammermoor* then remained fixed within the theatre's repertoire until 1864. It was performed 38 times during the 1846, and even in 1856 it was given 27 times, and again 21 times in 1861.[209] Victor Coindre's engraving likely reproduces

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[200] See excerpt and discussion of *La Gazette de France*, 18 December 1837, in Harris-Warrick, pp. 203, 217.

[201] See *Le Corsaire*, 13 December 1829, p. 2; *Le Figaro*, 14 December 1829, pp. 2-3; *Gil Blas*, 15 December, 1829, p. 3. Yet, *L'Indépendant* described M. Ferri's scenery for Donizetti's *Lucia* as beautiful, and the costumes as elegant and fresh (contrasting with the reception of *Le nozze*). See *L'Indépendant,* 14 December 1837, p. 2.

[202] See Harris-Warrick, p. 203. *La Gazette de France* stated that the success of the music owed much to the singers Giovanni Battista Rubini, Antonio Tamburini, and Fanny Tacchinardi Persiani, and brought attention to their talents. See excerpt of *La Gazette de France*, 18th December 1837, in Harris-Warrick, pp. 203, 217.

[203] As noted in Chapter 3, the prominence of the mad scene and the archetypal portrayal of madness within Italian opera meant that by the 1850s, such conventions were mocked by French composers, as in Hervé's parody of Italian *opera seria*, *Gargouillada.*

[204] Harris-Warrick, pp. 203, 217.

[205] Ibid., p. 203.

[206] *Le Charivari*, 15 December 1837, pp. 3-4.

[207] *Le Siècle*, 14 December 1837, pp. 1-2. See also Harris-Warrick, pp. 203, 220, for excerpt.

[208] See Ashbrook, *Donizetti and his Operas*, p. 381. For more on the Parisian reception of *Lucia* and *Lucie* – at the Théâtre-Italien, the Théâtre de la Renaissance, and the Opéra – see Harris-Warrick, pp. 195-227.

[209] The total number of performances each year was: 19 in 1847, 13 in 1848, 6 in 1849, 14 in 1850, 6 in 1851, 6 in 1852, 16 in 1853, 9 in 1854, 14 in 1855, 27 in 1856, 8 in 1857, 16 in 1858, 18 in 1859, 16 in 1860, 21 in 1861, 7 in 1862, 7 in 1863, 9 in 1864, 0 in 1865, and 1 in 1866, with the remaining years of the nineteenth century unknown. See Mark Everist and Sarah Gutsche-Miller, 'List of Paris Music Drama Performances',

the Opéra's scenery, and potentially depicts Lucie's physical characterisation (in her confrontation with Edgardo) during this period, which adheres to the archetypal portrayal of female madness in culture (see Image 5.2).

Lucia also remained in the repertoire of the Théâtre-Italien between 1846 and 1855 (with an average of 6 performances each year), then again between 1860 to 1870 (with an average of 10 performances each year).[211] In the 1870s, Lucia appeared intermittently at the Théâtre-Italien, with 13 performances in 1874.[212]

In 1877 – the year of publication for the first volume of *Iconographie photographique de la Salpêtrière* by Jean-Martin Charcot, Désiré Bourneville and Paul Regnard – there were 19 performances of Lucia at the Théâtre-Italien, with 8 in 1878 and 4 in 1879, each coinciding with the publication of the two subsequent volumes.[213] Canadian soprano Emma Albani performed as Lucia at the Théâtre-Italien in early 1877, alongside performing as the heroine in *La sonnambula* and *I puritani*, and was heralded for her performances.[214] Lucia was labelled by *The American Register for Paris and the Continent* as Albani's best role, in

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France: Musiques, Cultures, 1789-1918 <http://www.fmc.ac.uk/collections/bibliographical-resources-and-work-in-progress/> [accessed 22nd June 2022].

[210] Victor Coindre, *Quadrille sur* Lucie de Lammermoor *de Donizetti*, engraving, 18 x 27 cm, 1850-1854, Bibliothèque nationale de France <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8438257v> [accessed 23rd June 2022].

[211] There were 3 performances in 1846, 9 in 1847, 6 in 1848, 6 in 1849, 5 in 1850, 12 in 1851, 0 in 1852, 10 in 1853, 5 in 1854 and 3 in 1855. There were no performances between 1856 and 1859, 6 in 1860, and 0 again in 1861. In 1862 there were 14 performances, 11 in 1863, 7 in 1864, 5 in 1865, 16 in 1866, 11 in 1867, 12 in 1868, 14 in 1869 and 3 in 1870. Everist and Gutsche-Miller, 'List of Paris Music Drama Performances'.

[212] There were 2 performances in 1872, and no performances of *Lucia* in 1871, 1873, 1875 and 1876. Ibid.

[213] Ibid.

[214] Emma Albani, *Forty Years of Songs* (Toronto, ON: The Copp Clark co., 1911), pp. 119-22; *The American Register for Paris and the Continent*, 3 February 1877, p. 6.

which she was able to truly display her vocal excellence, and deliver a striking performance of the mad scene, the music being of a 'higher order' than that of her other operatic heroines.[215] *The American Register* regarded *Lucia* as one of Italian opera's (and Donizetti's) finest works for expressively representing the deranged mind with its 'plaintive strains, interspersed with vocal fireworks'.[216] *Le Monde Artiste* also stated that Albani did not disappoint, her performance (including the mad scene) being one long triumph: in particular, they praised Albani's acting talents, which they believed put her at the top of her profession, and her excellent vocal skills in tackling Lucia's highly virtuosic vocalisations.[217]

These later performances in the 1870s coincided with Jean-Martin Charcot's reign at the Salpêtrière, having received the title of Professor of Pathological Anatomy in 1872.[218] As mentioned previously, the Salpêtrière hospital had become famous in the nineteenth century for housing thousands of madwomen – with over four thousand patients and staff in total by 1873 – and has since been described as a 'feminine inferno'.[219] Charcot has also since become known as the 'inventor' of hysteria, the 'director' of hysterical patients at the Salpêtrière hospital, and his works have been translated and disseminated all over the world.[220] The *Iconographie photographique de la Salpêtrière* sought to evidence the physical manifestations and appearance of hysteria: patients were presented in their delirious gestures or convulsive episodes, captioned and framed, and presented beside an explanation for their disorder.[221]

Although Charcot's theories of hysteria relied on his own observation of hysterical patients at the Salpêtrière, and thus the physical representation of the disease, it is plausible to assume that in 'directing' his own hysterical patients, Charcot was influenced by the visual representations of madness within popular culture, due to his own passion for fine art and sculpture.[222] Charcot conducted some of his most recognisable work in the years following

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[215] *The American Register for Paris and the Continent*, 3 February 1877, p. 6. *Le Monde Illustré* also highly applauded Albani's performance of the mad scene, which she tackled with rare skill, sustaining the high pitches of Lucia's vocal line with perfect accuracy and great charm. *Le Monde Illustré*, 13 January 1877, pp. 27-29.
[216] Ibid.
[217] *Le Monde Artiste: musique, théâtre, beaux-arts*, 13 January 1877, pp. 1-2.
[218] Georges Didi-Huberman, *Invention of Hysteria: Charcot and the Photographic Iconography of the Salpêtrière*, trans. by Alisa Hartz (Cambridge, MA and London: The MIT Press, 2003), pp. 4, 17.
[219] Ibid., pp. xi, 12. This source has been vital in understanding the necessary context behind the *Iconographie photographique de la Salpêtrière*.
[220] See Ibid., pp. xi, 18-19, 235.
[221] See Ibid., pp. xi, 75, 115-117.
[222] See Pugliese, p. 35; Didi-Huberman, pp. 21-22, 135. As discussed in Chapter 1, Charcot often cited the works of William Shakespeare in his theories and lectures. He referenced Lady Macbeth's behaviour in describing somnambulism, and in describing the movements of hysteria quoted, 'There is method in their madness', derived from Polonius's line in Act II, scene 2 of *Hamlet*. Christopher G. Goetz, 'Shakespeare in

Tony Robert-Fleury's painting *Pinel Freeing the Insane,* which documented Philippe Pinel's own relinquishing of the chains of the women of the Salpêtrière from the earlier part of the century (see Image 5.3).[223] Charcot was perhaps inspired by Robert-Fleury's depiction of Pinel's patients – most notably the beautiful, but overtly sexualised central woman clothed in a white dress – which embodied the archetypal portrayal of female madness in the nineteenth century (see Image 5.3, as also observed in Image 5.2). In 1887, Charcot combined his interests in art and medicine to create *Les Démoniaques dans l'art,* in which he compared the artistic representation of ecstatic states in ancient sculptures of Christian martyrs to the poses of his hysterical patients.[224] In manipulating such images for his publications, however, Charcot merely reinforced the stereotypes which he questioned, and in turn, evidenced how his own preconceptions of madness and its physical manifestation had been informed.[225]

Image 5.3: Tony Robert-Fleury's *Pinel Freeing the Insane* (1876).[226]

Charcot's Neurologic Teaching', in *Arch Neurol*, 45/8 (1988), 920-21 (p. 920); William Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, II. 2, ed. by G. R. Hibbard (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 214.

[223] The women were instead given an amount of freedom in work. Didi-Huberman, pp. 4, 6.

[224] Jean-Martin Charcot and Paul Richer, *Les Démoniaques dans l'art* (Paris: Adrien Delahate and Émile Lecrosnier, 1887); Julien Bogousslavsky and François Boller, 'Jean-Martin Charcot and Art: Relationship of the "Founder of Neurology" with Various Aspects of Art', *Progress in Brain Research*, 203 (2013), 185-99 <https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-444-62730-8.00007-4> [accessed 22nd October 2021]. Charcot intended to disprove the notion that hysteria was connected to demonic possession, and provide support for its ancient origins and existence as a nervous disease in men and women. Charcot and Richer, *Les Démoniaques dans l'art,* p. v; Bogousslavsky and Boller, p. 198.

[225] Jean-Martin Charcot, Désiré Bourneville and Paul Regnard, *Iconographie photographique de la Salpêtrière,* 3 vols (Paris: Progrès medical, 1878), II, p. 163, in *Wellcome Collection* <www.wellcomecollection.org> [accessed 13th September 2021].

[226] Tony Robert-Fleury*, Pinel Freeing the Insane from their Chains*, c. 1876, engraving, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Philippe_Pinel_à_la_Salpêtrière.jpg> [accessed 17th April 2023]. Or see Tony Robert-Fleury*, Philippe Pinel Freeing the Insane from their Chains*, c. 1876, oil painting, Wellcome Collection <www.wellcomecollection.org> [accessed 8th July 2022]. See also Sander L. Gilman, *Seeing the Insane* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), p. 212; Elaine Showalter, *The Female Malady: Women, Madness and English Culture, 1830-1980* (London: Virago Press, 1985), p. 2.

Just as Charcot's hysterical celebrities Augustine and Blanche, with their repetition of hysterical acts, seizures and gestures (both live and in photographic form), created a certain authoritative standardisation in the performance of madness in medicine and society, so the continued performance and evolving characterisation of Lucia also created a standardised performance of female madness on the operatic stage.[227] This had always relied on the singers' own interpretation of the role,[228] yet as the century wore on this tended to become more elaborate and created a renewed interest and popularity in the opera.[229] Donizetti had originally provided very simple, guiding notation in the score at the end of the cavatina 'Ardon gl'incensi', so that the original singer (Fanny Tacchinardi Persiani) and future singers, could add their own cadenza and embellishment, as was standard practice of the time.[230] By the end of the nineteenth century, however, singers in the role of Lucia had added a coloratura cadenza (with the addition of the flute), and the practice has since been standardised.[231]

The continued performance and renewed popularity of *Lucia* could therefore be attributed to a growing tolerance or fascination with madwomen both on stage and in society – Parisian audiences may have found Lucia's madness more shocking, had they not been exposed to, or perhaps even desensitised by, the hysterical patients of Charcot.[232] But with this standardisation of Lucia's characterisation, McClary has argued that the full dramatic impact has been lost: an improvisatory cadenza which would allow a singer 'to rage at will without our being able to predict her every move in advance' could more realistically portray madness on stage.[233] Had Charcot equally presented the real, involuntary movements of his hysterical patients, rather than creating an idealised photographic iconography and narration, so too would there have been a more shocking and realistic depiction of hysteria in society. Moreover, it is feasible to suggest that Charcot may have attended a performance of *Lucia di*

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[227] See Didi-Huberman, p. 175; Showalter, *The Female Malady*, pp. 147-50.

[228] Susan McClary, *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender and Sexuality* (London and Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), p. 96. As recent as the twentieth century, we have witnessed Maria Callas and Joan Sutherland create their own standardised cadenzas. See Matsumoto, 'Manacled Freedom', p. 295.

[229] Pugliese, p. 35.

[230] See Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, opera score, p. 442.

[231] See Matsumoto, 'Manacled Freedom', p. 297; Pugliese, p. 23. Teresa Brambilla was likely the first to add a flute obbligato and decorative cadenza to Lucia's mad scene (within Donizetti's lifetime). See Guglielmo Barblan, *L'opera di Donizetti nell'età romantica* (Bergamo, 1948), p. 125, referenced in Pugliese, p. 26, and Ashbrook, *Donizetti and His Operas*, p. 376. Yet, the first truly elaborate cadenza was devised by Mathilde Marchesi and flautist Paul Taffanel between 1886 and 1887, and was used by Nellie Melba in her Parisian performance at the Palais Garnier in 1889. This extensive and decorative cadenza exceeded the bounds of previous additions and no longer had anything to do with improvisation, or Donizetti, and for this reason, shall not be analysed within this thesis. Matsumoto, 'Manacled Freedom', pp. 295-96, 304, 307; Pugliese, p. 23.

[232] Pugliese, p. 36.

[233] See McClary, p. 96.

Lammermoor (or *Lucie de Lammermoor*) due to the opera's continued performance and prominence within Parisian operatic repertoire in the mid-nineteenth century, and in the 1870s in particular. For this reason, it could be suggested that Donizetti and Cammarano's portrayal of female madness in *Lucia di Lammermoor* – in both existing within and embodying the archetypes of female madness from popular culture – perhaps assisted in shaping Charcot's own idealisation of hysteria, as shall be analysed here further.

'Eccola!': Lucia's Madness and her Parallels to Charcot's Medical Theories

In creating his mad scene for *Lucia di Lammermoor*, Donizetti went beyond his previous characterisations, reflecting the increasing performativity of madness in early nineteenth-century society. While Charcot's work visually framed and contained his hysterical celebrities,[234] Donizetti first stretched and manipulated conventional musical frames (or forms) to construct Lucia's madness in 1835. The scena, for instance, is virtually free of form and difficult to distinguish from the cavatina, 'Ardon gl'incensi', as there is no break in the music and the two virtually blend into one.[235] While there is a conventional flute introduction at the beginning of the cavatina, Lucia does not remain silent, nor does she immediately embrace the flute melody at the first verse (as Anna Bolena does in her cavatina 'Al dolce guidami'). She instead has her own separate melody underneath (from bars 120 to 131), and only adopts the flute melody once the solo has ended from bar 132, for the *a tempo* and second verse 'Alfin son tua'.[236] Her cabaletta, like that in *Anna Bolena*, remains remarkably conventional with its two verse structure and choral interjections (see Table 5.4).[237]

Table 5.4: Internal structure of Lucia's mad scene in *Lucia di Lammermoor* (1835).[238]

Section	Corresponding libretto	Description and synopsis	Bars
Scena	'O giusto cielo! Par dalla tomba uscita!' / 'Il dolce suono…'	Opens with *andante* tempo and haunting C minor melody and chorus narration, as Lucia enters in a white dress, with disordered appearance. Extensive scena, virtually free of form, which is comprised of contrasting lyrical and declamatory passages, and tempi.	1-119

[234] See Showalter, *The Female Malady*, pp. 147-50.
[235] Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor,* opera score, pp. 424-36. Mary Ann Smart, 'The Silencing of Lucia', *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 4/2 (1995), 119-141 (p. 131), also notes the blur between the scena and the aria.
[236] Donizetti*, Lucia di Lammermoor*, opera score, pp. 436-37. See Smart, 'The Silencing of Lucia', pp. 131-33.
[237] See Smart, 'The Silencing of Lucia', p. 133.
[238] Analysis completed using Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, opera score, pp. 424-77; Gaetano Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, vocal score (Milan: Ricordi, 2006), pp. 222-52; Salvadore Cammarano, *Lucia di Lammermoor: dramma tragico in due parti* (Naples: Tipografia Flautina, 1835), pp. 32-37; Bard Suverkrop, 'Il dolce suono… Spargi d'amaro pianto', *IPA Source*. No bar numbers are provided in the opera and vocal scores referenced here, so the bar numbers in Table 5.4 and following captions have been provided from my own analysis, starting from bar 1 at the beginning of the mad scene. As these two scores are counterparts, the bar numbers are therefore the same for both scores.

		The flute melody narrates Lucia's delirious hallucinations throughout, as she imagines she is with an absent Edgardo and approaching the fountain, the site of their betrothal (*a tempo* at bars 26-32, then *allegretto* at bars 41-50). Lucia sees a ghost, who briefly separates her from her love (*allegro vivace* at bars 50-83), before believing that she is approaching the altar and about to marry Edgardo (*larghetto, andante*, then *allegro* at bars 88-119).	
Cavatina	'Ardon gl'incensi'	Donizetti blurs the formal boundaries between the scena and cavatina here, making the two difficult to distinguish. The cavatina opens *larghetto*, with Lucia's first verse (bars 120-31) and a flute solo (at bars 121-29). Lucia only adopts the flute melody at the second verse, 'Alfin son tua' (from bar 132 onwards). Lucia's vocal line is joyful and decorative, as she imagines that she is marrying Edgardo; she declares her love and believes they are at last united. The chorus and on-stage characters comment on Lucia's disturbing mental state (at bars 140-48 and 162).	119-64
Tempo di mezzo	'S'avanza Enrico'	Extensive tempo di mezzo, with declamatory and lyrical passages. The opening *allegro* tempo and C flat major tonality are inappropriately ceremonious (for the circumstances) in announcing Enrico's entrance. The surrounding characters tell Enrico about Lucia's state and actions. Lucia remains in a mostly delirious state throughout and experiences maniacal emotions, from joy to extreme misery (as at *meno* at bars 189-98, *allegro mosso* at bars 199-222 and bars 223-56). The chorus and surrounding characters comment on Lucia's terrifying behaviour and tragic circumstances (as at bars 237-50). The tempo di mezzo ends quietly with only string accompaniment, as Lucia hallucinates Edgardo running away (bars 251-56).	165-256
Cabaletta	'Spargi d'amaro pianto'	Strikingly conventional and virtuosic cabaletta, which begins in E flat major tonality and with *moderato* tempo. The playful opening melody (dominated by woodwind and pizzicato strings) drastically contrasts with the desolation and silence at the end of the tempo di mezzo, and does not fit the tragic circumstances (bars 257-71). The first verse appears at bars 272-317, followed by a transition with choral interjections (bars 317-35), and the highly decorated repeated verse (bars 336-81). Lucia directs her cabaletta at an absent Edgardo and anticipates her death: she tells him to sprinkle tears on her grave, and awaits his arrival in heaven, where they will be reunited. She has now wholly lost her reason, and is beyond the point of no return. The cabaletta ends with a climactic coda in *più allegro* tempo with the chorus, and Lucia's convulsive collapse (bars 381-431).	257-431

Following Lucia's murderous attack on her bridegroom Arturo, Donizetti and Cammarano clearly direct Lucia's stage entrance, with Cammarano specifically articulating his intentions for Lucia's appearance in his libretto (see Figure 5.2).

Figure 5.2: Cammarano's complete stage directions and description of Lucia's appearance.[239]

(*Lucia is in a simple and white dress: her hair is dishevelled, and her face, covered by the squalor of death, makes her look like a ghost, rather than a living creature. Her petrified gaze, convulsive motions, and even an unfortunate smile not only show a frightening dementia, but also the signs of a life, which is already drawing to a close.*)

The inappropriately triumphant E major ending of the previous full ensemble 'Oh! Qual funesto avvenimento!' (Oh! What a tragic event!) with full orchestra starkly contrasts with the following bars: the *lento* tempo, *piano* dynamic, unsettled tonality and foreboding rhythms on D natural in the strings, preceding Raimondo's unaccompanied 'Eccola!', communicate his fear and foreshadow Lucia's horrifying appearance.[240] Lucia's slow entrance and frightening behaviour are then translated and narrated in Donizetti's score by the use of *andante* tempo, and haunting C minor melody in the orchestral accompaniment (as on her entrance to sign the marriage contract in Act II), with the dark orchestral timbre representing the Gothic setting and horrifying circumstances (see Musical Example 5.22).[241]

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[239] '(*Lucia è in succinta e bianca veste: ha le chiome scarmigliate, ed il suo volto, coperto da uno squallore di morte, la rende simile ad uno spettro, anzicchè ad una creatura vivente. Il di lei sguardo impietrito, i moti convulsi, e fino un sorriso malaugurato manifestano non solo una spaventevole demenza, ma ben anco i segni di una vita, che già volge al suo termine.*)' Cammarano, *Lucia di Lammermoor,* p. 32.

[240] Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, opera score, p. 423. 'Eccola!' was also used to introduce Lady Macbeth's mad scene in Giuseppe Verdi's *Macbeth*. See Sala, p.28.

[241] Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, opera score, pp. 271, 424. As in Imogene's mad scene in *Il pirata*, the 'dark timbre of the orchestra is paramount in portraying the physical and psychological situations'. See Stephen A. Willier, 'Madness, the Gothic, and Bellini's *Il pirata*', *The Opera Quarterly*, 6/4 (1989), 7-23 (p. 17). The opera is now considered as three acts, however, Cammarano and Donizetti's original opera was in two parts (Part I, Act I; Part II, Act I and Act II).

Musical Example 5.22: The chorus' statement, 'Oh giusto cielo! Par dalla tomba uscita!', emphasising Lucia's deathly appearance at her entrance (Bars 1-5).[242]

The chorus's statement 'O giusto cielo! Par dalla tomba uscita!' emphasises their terror, and further characterises Lucia's deathly appearance, as if she has emerged from the grave (see Musical Example 5.22).[243] The orchestra's accompanying rhythms here also echo the funereal rhythms of *Gabriella di Vergy's* mad scene, anticipating the opera's and Lucia's tragic ending.[244]

While Cammarano's description of Lucia's dishevelled dress is similar to those of aforementioned madwomen, such as Nina and Norina, he firmly establishes that she is in a white dress. This imagery thus connects her with the physical representation of Ophelia in spoken theatre, and operatic madwomen of the period (such as Anna Bolena, who asks to be adorned in a white robe, and Amina in *La sonnambula*).[245] Although some may symbolically interpret this as her wedding dress, Cammarano's specification of its simple or scant nature (depending on your reading), is clearly more indicative of a nightdress.[246] Lucia's lack of

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[242] Piano reduction based on Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, opera score, p. 424; Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, vocal score, p. 222. See also bars 220-24 in Gaetano Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, vocal score, critical edn, ed. by Gabriele Dotto and Roger Parker, Opera Vocal Score Series (Milan: Ricordi, 2022), p. 252. However, please note that while the mad scene in the opera score listed here begins in C minor, Dotto and Parker's 2022 edition and vocal score begins in D minor.
[243] Ibid.
[244] Donizetti, *Gabriella di Vergy*, 1978, pp. 141-42.
[245] Donizetti, *Anna Bolena*, vocal score, p. 432.
[246] Modern productions of *Lucia di Lammermoor* continue to follow Cammarano's stage directions in costuming Lucia: in Katie Mitchell's 2016 production at the Royal Opera House, Lucia is costumed in white undergarments during her mad scene, while in Simon Stone's contemporary 2022 production for the Metropolitan Opera, Lucia is costumed in a (blood-soaked) wedding dress. Gaetano Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, dir. by Katie Mitchell and Margaret Williams, DVD, Royal Opera House and Warner Classics 0190295792053 (2016); Gaetano Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, dir. by Simon Stone, Metropolitan Opera

orchestral accompaniment in her initial delirium at 'Il dolce suono', and unaccompanied sections following 'Presso la fonte' and 'Qui ricovriamo, Edgardo', further mirror her state of undress.[247] This is further supported by the fact that the custom of wearing a white wedding dress, indicative of the bride's virginity, only began in the mid-eighteenth century and gained mass popularity only in the mid-nineteenth century, while *Lucia* was initially set in Scotland at the end of the sixteenth century.[248] There is thus an interesting paradox between the purity of the white wedding dress, and the suggestions of sexuality and madness that accompany the white nightdress.[249] Despite its sensual connotations, however, 'nudity' was similarly perceived as a medieval characteristic of male madness,[250] while loose, dishevelled hair and a disordered appearance were commonly used to characterise a rape victim and madwomen on the Elizabethan stage.[251]

This basic physical characterisation of madwomen was also later adopted by Charcot, as his hysterical celebrities Blanche and Augustine similarly appeared in revealing, white medical gowns. This physical portrayal remained consistent throughout Charcot's engravings and photography in his *Iconographie*, as well as in his popular public lectures. In such scenarios, these hysterical women remained scantily clad in front of the urban bourgeois audience.[252] Although Charcot's audience was initially restricted to male medical professionals, by the late 1870s and 1880s, his 'séances' had become a popular, public affair and spectacle. Members of the bourgeois Parisian public, potentially also opera patrons, thus frequented the lectures as a source of entertainment.[253]

Just as Lucia goes mad after the loss of her lover and realisation of her own oppressive situation, Charcot insisted that hysteria and its associated seizures usually followed a significant or traumatic life event, loss, or 'moral shock'.[254] Charcot's celebrated patient Augustine (Louise Augustine Gleizes), for instance, came to the Salpêtrière on the

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Live in HD Cinema Stream, 21ˢᵗ May 2022; Metropolitan Opera, *Lucia di Lammermoor: 'Ardon gl'incensi'*, YouTube, 22ⁿᵈ April 2022 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tBVkH0NfB6A> [accessed 14ᵗʰ July 2022].

[247] See Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, opera score, p. 426-27, 431-32.

[248] Before this time, brides used to wear dresses of other colours of their own choice, such as blue or lilac. Bridal dress very much varied depending on class. Phillis Cunnington, *Costume for Births, Marriages and Deaths* (London: A and C Black, 1972), p. 60; Cammarano, *Lucia di Lammermoor,* p. 4.

[249] And the medical gown of Charcot's women.

[250] Naomi Matsumoto, *The Operatic Mad Scene* (PhD Thesis, London, 2004), p. 79.

[251] Allan Dessen, *Elizabethan Stage Conventions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 36-38.

[252] Andrew Scull also addresses this scenario and the 'scantily clad' hysterical women presented in the weekly lectures. See Andrew Scull, *Hysteria: The Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 104-05.

[253] Scull, *Hysteria*, p. 113; Didi-Huberman, p. 235; and Pugliese, p. 36, address the changing audience and popularity of Charcot's lectures.

[254] Jean-Martin Charcot, *Lectures of the Diseases of the Nervous System*, trans. by George Sigerson, I (London: The Sydenham Society, 1877), pp. 250, 287; Didi-Huberman, p. 149.

21st October 1875 at the age of fifteen, after being raped by her stepfather Mr C., when she was thirteen.[255] As Lucia's initial gaze and convulsive motions at the beginning of her mad scene petrifies her on- and off-stage audiences, the audiences of Charcot's lectures would have similarly watched with a mixture of fascination and horror as the hysterical patients convulsed before them. Charcot maintained that women with hysteria were 'subject to special seizures', contractures and convulsions, which could be manually brought on by placing pressure on the ovaries.[256] Charcot described the behaviour and representation of such convulsions: 'The [scene] begins – a sudden shriek, extreme pallor, loss of consciousness, a fall, distortion of the features'.[257] Charcot's language in describing a convulsive episode as a 'scène', implies that Charcot himself saw hysteria to be performative in nature – he was theatricalising the disease. Although, Charcot refuted claims that his hysterical performers exhibited fictitious behaviours,[258] he also acknowledged the potential simulation and exaggeration of hysterical symptoms amongst women patients in the late 1870s.[259] While real hysterical patients thus experienced convulsions and paralysis, Lucia's phrase 'Trema ogni fibra! Vacilla il piè!' similarly identifies her trembling bodily sensations and unsteadiness on her feet to the onstage and in-theatre audiences.[260] The string tremolos, pizzicato cello and bass, and repeated notes in the flute solo underpin and emphasise her trembling (see Musical Example 5.23).[261]

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[255] Asti Hustvedt, *Medical Muses: Hysteria in Nineteenth-Century Paris* (London: Bloomsbury, 2011), pp. 151-52. For more on Augustine's tragic childhood experiences, and the remainder of her life, see Hustvedt, pp. 145-211, who provides a dedicated chapter.

[256] Charcot, *Lectures*, pp. 234, 240, 270. Contractures often caused pain or immobility in one or multiple areas of the body. See Charcot, *Lectures*, pp. 263, 266.

[257] Charcot, *Lectures,* p. 305. I have added 'scene', rather than the original 'drama' of this translation to more accurately reflect the original French. 'Dans l'attaque convulsive, la phase dite épileptique ouvre en general la scène. Tout à coup, cri, pâleur extreme, perte de connaissance, cute, dis torsion des traits de la physionomie; puis une rigidité Tonique s'empare de tous les members.' Jean-Martin Charcot, *Leçons sur les maladies du système nerveux*, ed. by Désiré Bourneville (Paris: Adrien Delahaye, 1872-1873), p. 326.

[258] Didi-Huberman, p. 29.

[259] See Section 1.5. See Charcot, *Lectures*, p. 230; Charcot, *Leçons sur les maladies du système nerveux*, p. 249.

[260] Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, opera score, p. 426.

[261] Ibid. This moment, however, often feels lost in performances and recordings due to the dramatic intensity of 'Presso la fonte' immediately afterwards.

Musical Example 5.23: Lucia's phrase 'trema ogni fibra...', identifying her own convulsions (Bars 30-33).[262]

Charcot outlines that, following an initial convulsion or seizure (like that experienced by Lucia above), hysterical patients were subject to delirium and hallucinations:[263]

> [there are] great gesticulations, having a purposive character [...] and sometimes violent contortions are made, characteristic of the most various passions, such as terror, hatred &c. At the same time paroxysmal delirium breaks out.[264]

In his lectures, Charcot also recounted the case of Geneviève (from London). Like Lucia, her mind was in a 'strange state', and in a later phase of her hysterical attack, she experienced hallucinations: 'she sees ravens and serpents; moreover, she commences a kind of dance'.[265] In Donizetti's score, the flute plays an integral role in envoicing Lucia's equivalent delirious episode by signifying her audible and (unseen) visual hallucinations, as with the opening flute solo preceding 'Il dolce suono' where Lucia reveals that she hears Edgardo's voice (see Musical Example 5.24).[266] Her phrase 'Edgardo! Io ti son resa', as she imagines she is with Edgardo, further mimics the opening flute melody and underpins their (albeit unseen) reunion (see Musical Example 5.25).[267]

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[262] Reduction based on Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, opera score, p. 426; Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, vocal score (2006), p. 224.

[263] Charcot, *Lectures*, pp. 280-81; Didi-Huberman, p. 115.

[264] Charcot, *Lectures*, p. 305.

[265] Ibid., pp. 277-78. While Lucia does not dance in a literal sense, her own audible hallucinations have an impact on her own physical and vocal movement.

[266] As already discussed, Donizetti used woodwind solos to characterise Norina's feigned madness, and Anna Bolena's delirium throughout her mad scene. See Sala, pp. 29-30, who also discusses the use of woodwind solos to characterise hallucinations and madness. These hallucinations have also been acknowledged in Pugliese, pp. 36-37.

[267] Excluding Katie Mitchell's Royal Opera House production, where she brings Edgardo and enacts Lucia's delirium on stage. See Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, dir. by Katie Mitchell and Margaret Williams.

Musical Example 5.24: The opening flute solo and Lucia's phrase, 'Il dolce suono...' (Bars 7-11).[268]

Musical Example 5.25: Lucia's phrase 'Edgardo! io ti son resa', highlighting her (unseen) reunion with Edgardo (Bars 16-20).[269]

Originally, Donizetti composed the flute's melodic line for glass harmonica, specifically for the player Domenico Pezzi, but changed the instrumentation before the first performance, due to an ongoing conflict between Pezzi and the theatre, as well as a lack of other experienced players.[270] The glass harmonica, however, shared its own associations with

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[268] Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, opera score, p. 424.

[269] Reduction based on Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, opera score, p. 425; Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, vocal score (2006), p. 223. See also bars 235-39 in Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, vocal score (2022), p. 253.

[270] See Philip Gossett, *Divas and Scholars: Performing Italian Opera* (Chicago, IL and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2006), pp. 434-35; Matsumoto, 'Manacled Freedom', p. 298.

sensuality, female sexuality, and leading women away from their 'prescribed path'.[271] Most vital to this thesis, the mesmerising sound of the harmonica was perceived as dangerous: it was believed to cause 'excess sensibility', overstimulation of the body's senses and nervous system, as well as to exacerbate the symptoms of those already suffering with 'nervous disturbance'.[272] Weaker members of society, including women and children, were deemed more susceptible to its effects.[273] The nerves of notable eighteenth-century glass harmonica player Marianne Davies, for instance, were said to have been ruined as a result of her playing.[274] The original role of the glass harmonica in *Lucia*, was thus used to reflect 'anxieties about young women's vulnerability to nervous derangement, taboo eroticism, and alienation from healthy, normal society'.[275]

Just as Donizetti evokes Lucia's delirious hallucinations with the glass harmonica/flute melody, Charcot also later discovered that delirious hallucinations could be manually provoked during hypnosis.[276] More specifically, Charcot believed that ovarian pressure in some cases of hysteria could lead to audible sensations such as a 'buzzing and whistling in the left ear', perhaps like those experienced by Lucia at 'Il dolce suono'.[277] In his *Iconographie,* Charcot further elaborated on his description of hysterical delirium, and described the period of delirium frame by frame, as demonstrated by Augustine (see Image 5.4).[278] Patient X, as she is described, begins her delirium crying in fear and pain; she becomes excited and her attitude becomes threatening.[279] Soon, her attitude changes: she half sits and sees an imaginary lover to whom she calls.[280] She goes to bed and leans on the left side, revealing the free space.[281] She closes her eyes and her facial expression indicates her

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[271] Heather Hadlock, 'Sonorous Bodies: Women and the Glass Harmonica', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 53/3 (2000), 507-42 (p. 520).
[272] Ibid., pp. 523-28.
[273] Ibid., p. 524.
[274] A. Hyatt King, 'The Musical Glasses and Glass Harmonica', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association, 72nd Session* (1945-1946), 97-122 (pp.113-14); Betty Matthews, 'The Davies Sisters, J. C. Bach and the Glass Harmonica', *Music & Letters*, 56/2 (1975), 150-69 (p. 166).
[275] Hadlock, p. 534.
[276] Didi-Huberman, pp. 187, 224-25.
[277] Charcot, *Lectures,* p. 234.
[278] Charcot, Bourneville and Regnard, II, p. 162.
[279] 'Cris d'effroi, de douleurs, pleurs, étouffés; X… s'excite, se redresse, s'accroupit sur les talons, son attitude, son physionomie expriment la menace; les PL., XVII et XVIII représentent cette phase dans deux attaques différentes.' Ibid.
[280] 'L'attitude change brusquement. X… fait […] est assise à demi, voit un amant imaginaire qu'elle appelle (PL., XIX).' Ibid.
[281] 'Il cède, X… se couche en se portant sur le côté gauche du lit et montrant la place libre qu'elle lui fait dans le lit.' Ibid.

satisfied desire, as she crosses her arms, as if pressing the lover of her dreams to her breast.[282]

Sometimes, slight rocking movements are observed; other times she squeezes the pillow.[283]
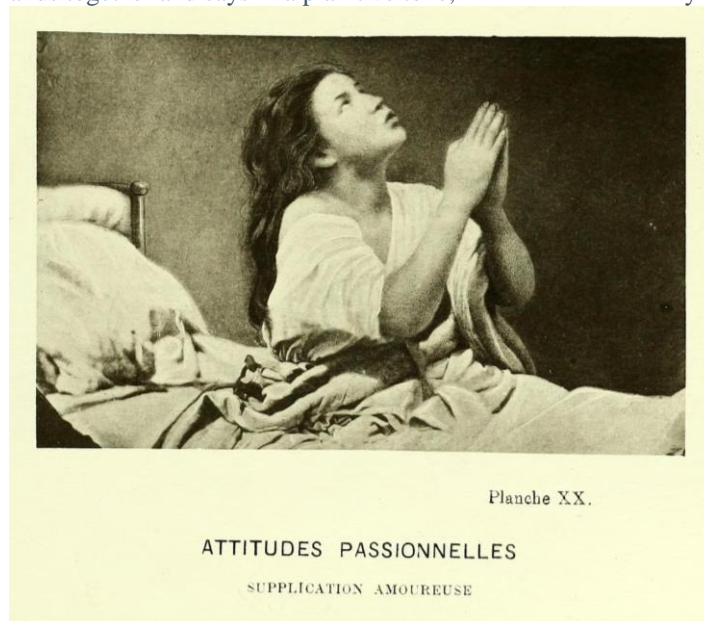
Like Augustine, Lucia similarly calls for her lover Edgardo to sit with her at the fountain and seems to actively embrace her delirium at 'Presso la fonte'. The repeat and further decoration of 'Presso la fonte' emphasises the passion, love and longing they share for one another (at the site of their betrothal), as well as underpinning Lucia's hysterical sensuality (see Musical Example 5.26).[285] Lucia's delirious hallucinations are further supported by the quotation of the love theme on flute and clarinet (see Musical Example 5.27).[286] Lucia then hallucinates and witnesses a ghost, which separates her from Edgardo, at 'Ohimè! Sorge il tremendo fantasma',[287] which equally resembles Augustine's later fear and her own horrifying visions in Charcot's *Iconographie*.[288]

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[282] 'Elle ferme les yeux, la physionomie dénote la possession, le désir assouvi; les bras sont croisés, comme si elle pressait sûr son sein l'amant de ses rêves.' Ibid.

[283] 'Quelquefois, on observe de légers mouvements de bercement; - d'autres fois, elle presse l'oreiller.' Ibid., pp. 162-63.

[284] 'Au bout d'une minute à peine – on sait que tout va vite en rève – X.. se soulève, s'asseoit, regarde en haut, joint les mains en supplian te (PL. XX) et dit d'un ton plaintif : «Tu ne veux plus ? Encore…!»'. Ibid., p. 163.

[285] Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, opera score, pp. 426-27.

[286] As previously mentioned, this quotes the principal love theme of Lucia and Edgardo's duet 'Ah! Verranno a te' in Act I, scene 5 (originally in B flat major), and it is transposed to A flat major here. Ibid. pp. 136-42, 427. The use of the reminiscence theme here, and in the standardised flute cadenzas often added following Lucia's cavatina is also observed by Matsumoto, 'Ghost Writing', p. 78; Matsumoto, 'Mannacled Freedom', p. 295.

[287] Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, opera score, pp. 428-31. Yet already in Lucia's Act I scena and cavatina 'Quella fonte mai senza tremar… Regnava nel silenzio', she has seen a vision of a woman, stabbed to death by a Ravenswood in a jealous rage. Ibid., pp. 82-87. See also Pugliese, p. 36.

[288] Charcot, Bourneville and Regnard, II, pp. 162-64.

Musical Example 5.26: Lucia's phrase 'Presso la fonte' (Bars 34-40).[289]

Musical Example 5.27: The flute and clarinet (top stave) quote the love theme from Lucia and Edgardo's Act I duet 'Ah! Verranno a te' (Bars 41-49).[290]

As Lucia's delirium continues, the flute takes on a further conversational role: the antiphonal exchanges with Lucia immediately preceding and following 'Sparsa è di rose!' envoice the hallucinatory conversation Lucia is sharing with Edgardo, as she nears the flower-covered altar (see Musical Example 5.28).[291] The interjections of the heavenly harmony ('armonia celeste') on the flute with hymn-like accompaniment (see Musical Example 5.28), and eerie wedding hymn ('l'inno suona di nozze') led by the first violins (in E flat major with an unsettling minor element), further evoke the sensory surroundings Lucia is experiencing within her delirious hallucinations (see Musical Example 5.29).[292] The repeat of this melody, with the addition of the melody in the first violins and oboe, confirms that the ceremony is prepared.[293]

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[289] Reduction based on Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, opera score, pp. 426-27; Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, vocal score (2006), p. 224. See also bars 253-59 in Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, vocal score (2022), pp. 254-55.

[290] Reduction based on Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, opera score, p. 427; Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, vocal score (2006), p. 225.

[291] Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, opera score, p. 432. This imagery of the flower covered altar, again connects Lucia to the references of flowers – along with their funereal connotations and the associations of female sexuality – by Ophelia in *Hamlet*, Lucia in *Le nozze di Lammermoor* and Anna Bolena's mad scene. See Donizetti, *Anna Bolena*, vocal score, p. 432.

[292] Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, opera score, pp. 432-35.

[293] Ibid., pp. 433-34.

Lucia's ecstasy during her hallucinations here, in believing that she is about to marry Edgardo, remains comparable to Augustine's later delirium, and specifically her *attitude extatique,* as described in the *Iconographie photographique* (see Image 5.5).[296] In recounting a new hysterical attack, Charcot describes how Augustine lies down on the left side of the bed, smiling, before getting up quickly, and beckoning her invisible lover to approach.[297]

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[294] Reduction based on Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, opera score, p. 432; Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, vocal score (2006), p. 226.

[295] Reduction based on Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, opera score, p. 433; Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor,* vocal score (2006), p. 227.

[296] Didi-Huberman, pp. 149-50, 162, suggested that this is intended to represent the female orgasm and desire.

[297] 'Elle se couche à demi sur le côté gauche du lit, les bras entre-croisés, la physionomie souriante (PL. XXI); elle se relève rapidement, fait signe à son *Invisible* de venir'. Charcot, Bourneville and Regnard, II, p. 163.

Like Lucia, Augustine soon becomes ecstatic on being united with her invisible lover, before going back to bed and resuming her erotic behaviour in *attitude de l'érotisme* (see Image 5.6),[298] in which, she embraces her invisible lover.

Image 5.5: Plate XXIII, 'Extase' from the *Iconographie photographique*.[299]

Image 5.6: Plate XXI: Attitude de l'érotisme from the *Iconographie photographique*.[300]

[298] 'puis, *attitude extatique* (PL. XXIII); bientôt, X… fait signe de venir, se recouche et reprend *l'attitude de la possession* ou de *l'érotisme*. (PL. XXI).' Ibid.
[299] Charcot, Bourneville and Regnard, II, p. 163.
[300] For plate XXI, see Charcot, Bourneville and Regnard, *Iconographie photographique de la Salpêtrière,* 3 vols (Paris: Progrès medical, 1878), II, p. 163, in *Archive.org* <https://archive.org> [accessed 25th October 2021].

Lucia's position on the operatic stage here is advantageous in being able to musically and physically display her true ecstasy.[301] Her burning love and desire for Edgardo is first seen in her Act I cabaletta 'Quando rapito in estasi', where she yearns to be reunited with her love.[302] In her mad scene, the statement 'Oh me felice! / O gioia che si sente' (Oh happy me! / Oh joy that I feel) describes Lucia's hallucinatory ecstasy and pleasure at the idea that she is about to marry Edgardo.[303] While 'Oh me felice!' is highly decorated, some decoration appears at the end of the phrase 'Oh gioia che si sente', emphasising that she (alone) is happy. The *rallentando* on Lucia's 'Oh' thus slows down the moment, allowing her to indulge and revel in her joy. The decoration and subtle chromaticism (on 'Oh' in particular), however, provides erotic undertones, and suggests that she is delving further into her delirious hallucinations, straying further from behavioural conventions and reason (see Musical Example 5.30).[304]

Musical Example 5.30: Lucia's phrase 'Oh me felice' (Bars 109-14).[305]

[301] Didi-Huberman, pp. 146-49, quotes Lucia's text 'alfin son tua, alfin sei mio', relating it to the ecstasy and intoxicating delirium described in Charcot's women. He, however, describes this imagined lover, as a 'ghost-encounter', which is 'grounded in nothing'. This sentiment alone makes the hysteria of these women all the more saddening, but the music adds to this, especially once the chorus re-enter.

[302] Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, opera score, pp. 91-110.

[303] Ibid., pp. 434-35.

[304] Ibid.

[305] Reduction based on Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, opera score, pp. 434-35; Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, vocal score (2006), pp. 227-28. See also bars 328-33 in Donizetti, Lucia di Lammermoor, vocal score (2022), pp. 258-59.

As the cavatina begins, Donizetti continues to evoke Lucia's illusions, and to extend them for the in-theatre audience: the *larghetto* glass harmonica (or flute) and clarinet melody accompanying 'Ardon gl'incensi', engulfs the audience with sound and provides a stimulating experience for the senses of Lucia's hallucinations, as she describes the burning incense and her surroundings (see Musical Example 5.31).[306] The *piano* pizzicato strings, in establishing the E flat major tonality here, further add to this by creating a serenading quality, again emphasising Lucia's love for Edgardo. While the glass harmonica/flute melody introduces the cavatina (supported by the clarinet), it is not until 'Alfin son tua' ('At last I am yours') that Lucia finally embraces the tune (see Musical Examples 5.31 and 5.32).[307] This moment signifies that Lucia is 'united' with Edgardo, as she declares her love for her invisible beloved, and envoices her hallucinatory delirium, as with the flute solos in Anna Bolena's mad scene.[308]

Musical Example 5.31: The beginning of the cavatina 'Ardon gl'incensi...' (Bars 119-23).[309]

Musical Example 5.32: Lucia finally adopts the flute melody at the second verse, 'Alfin son tua' (Bars 132-35).[310]

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[306] Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, opera score, p. 436.
[307] Ibid., p. 437. The antiphonal exchanges with the flute continue to be imitative after 'Del ciel clemente', repeating the 'Alfin son tua' melody. Ibid., p. 440.
[308] Ibid., pp. 436-37.
[309] Reduction based on Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, opera score, p. 436; Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, vocal score (2006), p. 228.
[310] Reduction based on Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, opera score, p. 437; Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, vocal score (2006), p. 229.

The *a tempo* slow waltz accompaniment is thus suggestive of Lucia's own undulating or rocking movements, or embrace of Edgardo, as aforementioned and later described by Charcot in Augustine's delirium and proclivity to dance.[311] Lucia's vocal writing becomes more decorated and chromatic from 'Ogni piacer più grato' ('Every pleasure most satisfying'), emphasising and characterising her own sensuality now that she believes she is marrying Edgardo.[312]

For the majority of Lucia's mad scene (or at least for most of the scena and cavatina), we virtually forget the presence of the chorus and other on-stage characters (in their silence), but are reminded of their defining role through their terrified observations of Lucia's disturbing state ('Ambi in sì crudo stato').[313] The dramatic setting of the on-stage characters here is reminiscent of the environment of Charcot's later lectures: while the hysterical woman raves and convulses in her own world, the surrounding audience and doctors make their observations and diagnoses (see Image 5.7).

Image 5.7: An etching of André Brouillet's painting of Charcot giving a lecture with hysteric Blanche Wittman at the Salpêtrière (1877).[314]

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[311] Sometimes, slight rocking movements are observed; other times she squeezes the pillow. See Charcot, Bourneville and Regnard, II, pp. 162-63.

[312] Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, opera score, pp. 438-39. See also McClary, pp. 92-93. Yet, at 'Del ciel clemente', as Lucia sings of heaven and makes her vows to Edgardo, her coloratura briefly becomes less chromatic and the flute mimics her vocal melody, portraying Lucia as pure and heavenly. Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, opera score, p. 440-41.

[313] Ibid., p. 438. This statement has been altered from the original libretto, which instead presents the statement 'In sì tremendo stato'. See Cammarano, p. 33.

[314] André Brouillet, *Une leçon clinique à la Salpêtrière (A Clinical Lesson at the Salpêtrièr*e), 1887, etching of original oil painting by A. Lurat, 24 x 34.8 cm, Wellcome Collection <www.wellcomecollection.org> [accessed 27th July 2022]. This image is released under the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International (CC by 4.0) license <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/> [accessed 17th April 2023].

Furthermore, like the nurse waiting patiently behind Blanche in the above image, Lucia's attendant Alisa, and the women of the chorus technically remain onstage, but are silent. Instead, it is the men that narrate and provide judgement on Lucia's behaviour here. The interjections from the male characters and chorus, thus mirror Charcot's male dominated lectures, as they implore pity for Lucia ('Di lei, signor, di lei pietà).[315]

Donizetti's onstage chorus (and audience for Lucia's madness), however, have a further authoritative role in providing surrogate judgement, where the silent reader or spectator of Charcot's patients did not: while the fear and fascination of the onstage chorus would be clear to see by the in-theatre audience, their narrative observations throughout the mad scene publicly vocalise their thoughts, and are further underpinned within the musical score. Thus the chorus, with their narration, assist in making Lucia's seduction of her invisible lover all the more shocking and saddening for the audience. The music of the male chorus and characters (Normanno and Raimondo) at 'Ambi in sì crudo stato', vastly differs from that of Lucia, the vocal lines juxtaposed to one another. While Lucia's vocal writing remains joyful and decorative from 'Alfin son tua' (having started in E flat major), the chorus's melody on their entry is sombre in timbre, as it is underpinned by the same melody in the lower register of the viola and clarinet, and modulates to E flat minor (see Musical Example 5.33).[316] As a result, the narration and judgement of the male chorus is embedded within the orchestral texture which is communicated to the in-theatre audience.

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[315] Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, opera score, pp. 438-39.
[316] Ibid., pp. 437-39.

Musical Example 5.33: The chorus' statement 'Ambi in sì crudo' (Bars 140-43).[317]

The musical structures and melodic writing here and beyond have been interpreted by McClary as framing and protecting other onstage characters from 'contagion', from going mad themselves, [318] thus creating a musical distance between Lucia and her audience which reflects the physical one of Charcot's patients and their spectators (as in Image 5.7). McClary argues that Donizetti's deviation from Italian operatic conventions – in particular the (in)appropriateness of Lucia's vocal line, her virtuosic and chromatic coloratura, and how it deviates from the meaning of the libretto – is what truly sets Lucia apart from the rest of the opera's characters, who instead conform to conventions and diatonic melodies.[319] In doing so, Donizetti embeds and emphasises Lucia's estrangement from normality, society and reason within his musical score. Lucia's musical 'retaliation' against the E flat minor tonality of the chorus, and her continuously unravelling mental state, are displayed in the somewhat harmonically distant B flat major tonality, and her increasingly decorative, chromatic vocal

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[317] Reduction based on Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, opera score, p. 438; Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, vocal score (2006), p. 230. Only Normanno and Raimondo sing the phrase (written as 'Abbi in sì crudo stato') in bars 359-61, and the chorus (of men and women) only join at bar 366, in Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, vocal score (2022), pp. 260-61.
[318] McClary, p. 81.
[319] Ibid., p. 92.

writing from 'Ogni piacer più grato'.[320] At 'Del ciel clemente', as she repeats her 'Alfin son tua' melody, she succeeds in getting her way, rejecting the minor key for a return to the original E flat major.[321]

The juxtaposition of Lucia and the chorus feels especially bizarre at the beginning of the tempo di mezzo, 'S'avanza Enrico': as the audience's focus is drawn away from Lucia to the wider scene, we are reminded that Lucia is still in her nightdress and being observed by a room of men and women.[322] Here Donizetti's music, with its *allegro* tempo and C flat major tonality, is inappropriately ceremonious in announcing Enrico's purposeful entrance (especially in consideration of the violent and tragic circumstances), creating dramatic irony (see Musical Example 5.34).[323]

Musical Example 5.34: The beginning of the tempo di mezzo, 'S'avanza Enrico' (Bars 165-68).[324]

As in the additional scena and tempo di mezzo of *Anna Bolena*, the tempo di mezzo in *Lucia* includes several interjections from principal characters: Enrico enters with the knowledge that Lucia has killed Arturo but is unaware of her mental state.[325] Despite their initial fear, however, the surrounding on-stage male and female audience defend Lucia and offer sympathy, as Enrico approaches her with anger. In doing so, both the chorus and Raimondo, with 'Ha la ragion smarita' (She has lost her reason), persuade Enrico to see the truth in both his anger and Lucia's state of mind, thus offering their judgement and diagnosis to the in-theatre audience.[326]

While it is unclear from the music whether Lucia's madness is partially interrupted by Enrico's entrance, her stage direction *sempre delirando* and confused question 'Che chiedi?'

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[320] Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, opera score, pp. 438-39.
[321] Ibid., pp. 439-40.
[322] Ibid., p. 443.
[323] Ibid., pp. 443-48.
[324] Reduction based on Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, opera score, p. 443; Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, vocal score (2006), p. 233.
[325] Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, opera score, pp. 444-46.
[326] Ibid., pp. 445-46.

(What are you asking?) suggest that she is still in the depths of her delirium.[327] Enrico's narrative statement 'Oh, qual pallor!' as he stares at Lucia, further indicates her horrifying physical and mental state to the onstage and in-theatre audiences.[328] In a lyrical passage, Lucia experiences another hallucination (labelled with *in visione*), as she witnesses Edgardo trampling on the ring ('Nell'ira sua terribile calpesta, oh dio, l'anello!'; see Musical Example 5.35).[329]

Musical Example 5.35: Lucia hallucinates Edgardo trampling on the ring (Bars 195-97).[330]

The lack of orchestral accompaniment and silences (as at 'Il dolce suono') characterise her delirium, by emphasising that she alone is witnessing such visions, and her sadness over their tragic nature is underpinned by the intermittent, *piano* quavers from the strings (see Musical Example 5.35).[331]

Like Anna Bolena, however, Lucia experiences stark contrasts in her mood, going from extreme sadness here, to sudden joy. The music again changes and brightens at 'ma, ognor t'amai, ognora, Edgardo', with G flat major tonality (itself imbued with ecstatic connotations) and *allegro mosso* tempo, proving that she has fully returned to her hallucinatory state (see Musical Example 5.36).[332]

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[327] Ibid., p. 443.
[328] Ibid., p. 447.
[329] Ibid., p. 449.
[330] Ibid.
[331] Ibid., pp. 449.
[332] Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, opera score, p. 450. See Hugh MacDonald, 'G-Flat Major Key Signature', *19th-Century Music*, 11/3 (1988), 221-37.

While her music fits in with the chorus and other characters here, as they ask God to pity her, Lucia does not connect with them mentally.[334] The foreboding melodic writing in the strings at 'Chi mi nomasti? Arturo!', is jarring against Lucia's happiness.[335] This change in tone and timbre is first suggested at the very end of Lucia's lyrical passage by a sustained mediant of G flat major (B flat) in the horn and bassoon which then modulates to an unsettled B flat major.[336] The *piano* strings with their off-beat melody, and the further unsettled transition into E flat minor (underneath Lucia's 'Chi mi nomasti? Arturo! Tu nomasti...') thus suggest that something is amiss (see Musical Example 5.37). The remainder of the tempo di mezzo still does not have a settled key and continues to briefly tonicize E flat minor throughout.

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[333] Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, opera score, p. 450.
[334] Ibid., pp. 452-54.
[335] Ibid., pp. 454-55.
[336] Ibid., pp. 453-54.

Musical Example 5.37: Lucia's phrase 'Chi mi nomasti? Arturo!' (Bars 223-26).[337]

On approaching the final stage of her delirium, Lucia asks (her hallucination of) Edgardo not to run away ('no, non fuggir… ah, perdon!'), which is underpinned by a mimetic descending melodic line and desolate lack of orchestral accompaniment.[338] The chorus and surrounding characters again offer their pity for Lucia at 'Infelice! Ah, pieta', however, their *forte* vocal writing tonally clashes against Lucia's vocal line: while Lucia hints at a B flat major chord on 'non fuggir' the chorus sing a directly contrasting C flat in unison on 'Infelice!'.[339] As in earlier operatic adaptations, they again make their own explosive and narrative comment on the terrifying night ('Qual notte di terror'), underpinned by a diminished chord.[340]

The final episode of Lucia's hysterical attack is marked by her final cabaletta, 'Spargi d'amaro pianto', which she addresses to an absent Edgardo.[341] While previously in this scene the unravelling of formal conventions signalled Lucia's madness, the striking conventionality of the cabaletta here – with its easily distinguishable beginning, repeated verse structure and virtuosic coloratura – instead signifies that she has now wholly lost her reason, and gone

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[337] Ibid., p. 453.
[338] Ibid., p. 458.
[339] Ibid., p. 456.
[340] Ibid., pp. 446-47, 450-51.
[341] See Ibid., pp. 459-77, for the full cabaletta. See also Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, vocal score (2022), pp. 273-86.

beyond the point of no return.[342] The E flat major tonality and *moderato* tempo vastly contrasts with the marked desolation at the end of the tempo di mezzo.[343] This playful music is alarmingly inappropriate for the tragic circumstances and text, and thus highlights ironically that Lucia is now beyond social bounds and reason (see Musical Example 5.38).[344]

Musical Example 5.38: Lucia's cabaletta 'Spargi d'amaro pianto' (Bars 272-79).[345]

The jocular nature of the music, however, as defined by the pizzicato strings and woodwind section,[346] is characteristically similar to the opening of *Gabriella di Vergy*'s 1838 cabaletta 'Ah vanne tagliti'.[347]

In following convention, however, Lucia becomes the centre of attention, anticipating the 'clinical gaze' later received by Charcot's hysterical celebrities.[348] Charcot stated that 'the termination of the hysterical attack is marked by sobs, tears, laughter', and Lucia's increasingly decorative vocal line in her cabaletta, her trills and roulades, could be interpreted as her own 'sobs' and 'laughter'.[349] Moreover, her vocal trills on 'ah! si' could also audibly

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[342] Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, opera score, pp. 461-77. As aforementioned, her madness (and sexuality) are reflected in her vocal excess and her 'increasingly extravagant virtuosity'. See McClary, pp. 92-93. See also Smart, 'The Silencing of Lucia', p. 133.

[343] Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, opera score, pp. 459.

[344] McClary, p. 92, similarly states that Lucia's conventional cabaletta shows that she has 'successfully moved into another realm of consciousness', and 'the discrepancy between her morbid text and her ecstatic dance music betrays how far beyond the bounds of normal reason she has fled'.

[345] Reduction based on Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, opera score, p. 459; Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, vocal score (2006), p. 241.

[346] The woodwind section is comprised of a piccolo, 2 flutes, 2 oboes and 2 clarinets. See Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, opera score, p. 459.

[347] Donizetti, *Gabriella di Vergy*, 1978, p. 148.

[348] The phrase 'clinical gaze' refers to the physicians' silent observation of patients, and deciphering of their disease. In doing so, they thus rely on the representation of the illness. This phrase is also used by Didi-Huberman, p. 23, and Michel Foucault, *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archeology of Medical Perception,* trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon Books/Random House, 1973), pp. 131-50. See also writing on the concept of the 'male gaze', whereby women become the central spectacle for male viewers. See Laura Mulvey, 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema', in *The Routledge Reader in Gender and Performance*, ed. by Lizbeth Goodman with Jane de Gay (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 270-75.

[349] Charcot, *Lectures*, p. 305; Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor,* opera score, pp. 468-72.

indicate her bodily convulsions as she nears the end of her hysterical attack.[350] At their sympathetic statement 'Più raffrenare il pianto possibile non è' (It is no longer possible to stop crying), the chorus try to tempt Lucia back to the more appropriate tragic key of C minor.[351] In doing so, they intend to guide her back to reason and reality, but their efforts are in vain.[352]

The mad scene comes to its natural end with Lucia's convulsive climax,[353] her collapse into unconsciousness evoking Charcot's later description of a hysterical seizure, which often could culminate in the 'patient suddenly [falling] to the ground, with a shrill cry', and a subsequent complete loss of consciousness.[354] As with Shakespeare's heroines Ophelia and Lady Macbeth, we do not directly witness what happens to Lucia following her seizure, but in failing to return to reason, she is silenced in her off-stage death.[355] Women who experienced the same convulsive hysteria exhibited by Lucia here were later specifically diagnosed with hystero-epilepsy – the principal diagnosed form of convulsive hysteria – and in such cases, death was a likely outcome.[356] Lucia's silent death is musically indicated, to both Edgardo and the audience in the theatre, by the tolling of the death knell in the opera's final scene.[357] Even in death, Lucia foreshadows the expected end of the patients of Charcot, who themselves remained silent, their deaths and exits merely narrated.

While Donizetti's *gran scena* in *Anna Bolena* – notably Anna's contrasting and diverse emotions – propagated Pinel's medical beliefs surrounding mania with delirium, Charcot's later physical representation of hysteria in his *Iconographie* and lectures (of active and gesturing women wearing white), was somewhat shaped by earlier cultural representations of female madness, including Lucia's mad scene in *Lucia di Lammermoor*. Furthermore, Lucia's hallucinatory exchange, reunion and embrace with her invisible lover Edgardo particularly foreshadowed Augustine's *attitude extatique* and *attitude de l'érotisme,* as

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[350] Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, opera score, pp. 461-62, 469-70; Charcot, *Lectures*, pp. 234, 240, 270.
[351] Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, opera score, pp. 464-66. McClary, p. 96, also makes this observation.
[352] Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, opera score, pp. 468-71. Since the opera's premiere, most singers would have followed standard practice, and embellished Donizetti's simple scoring of the second (repeated) verse, and the vocal line would therefore likely have become increasingly more decorative and chromatic, as Lucia strays further from reason. See Joan Sutherland's decorative and chromatic embellishment as an example: Gaetano Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, Royal Opera House, London, cond. by Richard Bonynge, Decca (1972) [Apple Music]. Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, opera score, pp. 475-76.
[353] Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, opera score, pp. 476-77.
[354] Charcot, *Lectures*, p. 270.
[355] See Smart, 'The Silencing of Lucia', p. 141.
[356] Charcot, *Lectures*, pp. 240, 270, 300-01.
[357] See Smart, 'The Silencing of Lucia', p. 141.

described in Charcot's *Iconographie.* Lucia's convulsive collapse to unconsciousness and off-stage narrated death, while comparable to the later deaths of Charcot's patients, however, estranges her from the onstage, redemptive deaths of Lucy's other lyrical counterparts and Donizetti's heroines Gabriella and Anna. Perhaps Lucia's onstage and tragic end would have been too shocking, too dramatic and too *real* for nineteenth-century audiences witnessing the climax of this wholly Romantic mad scene.

Conclusion

Donizetti and the Italian Operatic Mad Scene after *Lucia di Lammermoor*

By the end of the nineteenth century, madness continued to be associated with young, rebellious women, and was still a prominent theme within popular culture and Italian opera, despite the relatively fast abandonment of the conventional mad scene formula.[1] Following the initial success of *Lucia di Lammermoor*, Donizetti once more employed mad scenes in his operas *Maria Padilla* (1841) and *Linda di Chamounix* (1842), both set to libretto by Gaetano Rossi.[2] Don Ruiz's Act III scene in *Maria Padilla* sees the tenor go mad following the abduction of his daughter Maria by King Pedro: a scorned Ruiz then storms to court demanding answers, and receives severe punishment in return, which causes him to lose his reason.[3] His mad scene begins with an off-stage recitative and lyrical romanza ('Oh figlia!... Sento ad ogn'ora estinguersi'), which shares the archetypal woodwind introduction of Donizetti's music for his mad heroines.[4] The incorporation of flute interjections in Act III, scene 2 at 'Attendi! Eccola... senti...', as Ruiz recalls the song his daughter used to sing, highlights Ruiz's delirium and is reminiscent of the flute interjections in *Anna Bolena* and *Lucia di Lammermoor*.[5] Linda's mad scene in Act II, scene 7 ('Carlo! Carlo!... No, non è ver') instead comprises a simple recitative and two-verse cabaletta finale, where Linda goes mad after believing she has been betrayed by her lover. The playful music of the cabaletta, as

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[1] At the turn of the twentieth century, hysteria was most associated with those involved in political activism, radical feminism and women's suffrage, as women fought for access to higher education and the right to vote. See Elaine Showalter, *The Female Malady: Women, Madness and English Culture, 1830-1980* (London: Virago Press, 1985), pp. 145-47.

[2] See Stephen A. Willier, 'Mad scene', in *Grove Music Online* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com> [accessed 15th March 2022].

[3] See William Ashbrook, *Donizetti and his Operas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. 463; William Ashbrook, 'Maria Padilla', in *Grove Music Online*. Ruiz also has a scene of desperation and despair, similar to that of Senator Murena in *L'esule di Roma* (1828), which takes place in Act II, scene 2, and is comprised of a scena and cavatina ('Quale dopo tant'anni...Il sentiero di mia vita'). In Act II, scenes 1 and 2 of *L'esule di Roma*, Senator Murena goes mad over his own shame and remorse for sentencing Settimio to death. His traditional mad scene is comprised of a conventional scena, cavatina, tempo di mezzo and cabaletta. See Gaetano Donizetti, *L'esule di Roma*, Act II, autograph manuscript (Naples: 1829), Cardiff, Foyle Opera Rara Collection, RWCMD Library, n.p.; Gaetano Donizetti, *L'esule di Roma: melodramma eroico in due atti,* vocal score by Graeme Young (London: Donizetti Editions, 1981), Cardiff, Foyle Opera Rara Collection, RWCMD Library, pp. 163-80.

[4] See Gaetano Donizetti, *Maria Padilla*, Opera Rara, cond. by Alun Francis, CD, ORC6 (2006) [Naxos].

[5] See Ibid; Ashbrook, *Donizetti and His Operas*, p. 463. Ruiz's mad scene ends with a conventional tempo di mezzo and cabaletta 'Prova si tenti estrema... Uno sguardo, un detto ancora', where Ruiz becomes angry from hearing Maria's letter (that she will be queen) and Maria pleads with her father to accept her. Donizetti, *Maria Padilla*, Opera Rara, CD; Ashbrook, *Donizetti and His Operas*, p. 463.

with *Gabriella di Vergy* and *Lucia di Lammermoor*, again indicates her unravelling sanity, and thus follows the Romantic archetype of the love-mad woman.[6]

By the 1840s, however, Donizetti's health had drastically deteriorated. In his letters of 1843, he acknowledged his new illness ('un nuovo… malanno'), his ellipses suggesting its venereal nature, and noted how he constantly battled headaches and a fever.[7] His increased productivity in 1842 and 1843, perhaps indicates that he was already aware of the nature of his condition, and thus knew how quickly his health could deteriorate further.[8] His strenuous working pace, as he continued to travel between Paris, Vienna and Italy for new operatic commissions, affected his disposition causing 'lapses of memory',[9] and sudden passionate outbursts, which left him in a state of confusion.[10] By the end of December 1843, Donizetti's condition had worsened, and he was being prescribed digitalis and baths to combat his symptoms.[11]

His collapse outside the Hôtel Manchester in Paris in 1845 would ultimately see an end to his career as a composer, as he was assessed by notable doctors, including Philippe Ricord (1800-1889).[12] Due to Donizetti's declining health, it was agreed by those closest to him that his nephew, Andrea, would travel to Paris to care for and acquire treatment for the composer. After obtaining consultations with prominent Parisian doctors Juste-Louis-Florent Calmeil (1798-1895), Jean Mitvié (1796-1871) of the Salpêtrière, and Ricord, Donizetti was institutionalised at an asylum in Ivry, near Paris in the early months of 1846.[13] He received

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[6] Gaetano Donizetti, *Linda di Chamounix*: *melodramma in tre atti*, libretto by Gaetano Rossi, vocal score (Milan: Ricordi, 2006), pp. 164-71. For more detail on the plot, see William Ashbrook, 'Linda di Chamounix', in *Grove Music Online*.

[7] Guido Zavadini, *Donizetti: Vita – Musiche – Epistolario* (Bergamo: Istituto italiano d'arti grafiche, 1948), no. 470, p. 653. See Ashbrook, *Donizetti and His Operas*, p. 177; Mary Ann Smart and Julian Budden, 'Donizetti, (Domenico) Gaetano (Maria)', in *Grove Music Online,* on how the fever became an ordinary occurrence for Donizetti.

[8] This observation is made by Ashbrook, *Donizetti and His Operas*, p. 177.

[9] Ashbrook, *Donizetti and His Operas*, p. 190. *Linda di Chamounix* (19th May 1842) and *Maria di Rohan* (5th June 1843) were first performed at Kärntnertor, Vienna; *Don Pasquale* (Théâtre-Italien) and *Dom Sébastian* (Opéra) were both premiered in Paris on 3rd January and 13th November in 1843; and *Caterina Cornaro* was first performed at the Teatro di San Carlo, Naples on 18th January 1844. See Smart and Budden, 'Donizetti, (Domenico) Gaetano (Maria)'.

[10] On being asked by singer Rosine Stolz to modify Act V of *Dom Sébastian* during rehearsals, Donizetti became so passionately angry that he had to be taken home. See Léon Escudier, *Mes souvenirs*, 2nd edn (Paris: E. Dentu Libraire-Éditeur, 1863), pp. 50-51.

[11] Ashbrook, *Donizetti and His Operas*, p. 190.

[12] Ibid., 192. Ricord was a known doctor of venereal diseases, and his treatment of Donizetti confirmed the nature of his illness to those closest to him, and the rest of Parisian society. See Enid Peschel and Richard Peschel, 'Donizetti and the Music of Mental Derangement: *Anna Bolena, Lucia di Lammermoor*, and the Composer's Neurobiological Illness', in *The Yale Journal of Biology and Medicine*, 65 (1992), 189-200 (p. 191); Philippe Ricord, *Traité pratique des maladies vénériennes* (Paris: Librairie des sciences médicales, 1838); Ashbrook, *Donizetti and His Operas*, p. 192.

[13] See Doctors Calmeil, Mitivié and Ricord, letter to Andrea (28 January 1846, Paris), referenced in Herbert Weinstock, *Donizetti and the World of Opera in Italy, Paris and Vienna in the First Half of the Nineteenth*

few visits while at Ivry, having initially been disallowed visitors, and within months descended into silence and partial physical paralysis, motivating Andrea to release his uncle and return him to his birthplace of Bergamo, Italy.[14] After nearly seventeen months of confinement, Andrea secured Donizetti's release from Ivry in June 1847, and the two travelled together to Paris, where they remained for the summer (see Image 6.1).[15]

Image 6.1: A daguerreotype photograph of Andrea and Gaetano Donizetti, in a rented apartment at 6 Avenue Chateaubriand, Paris, in August 1847.[16]
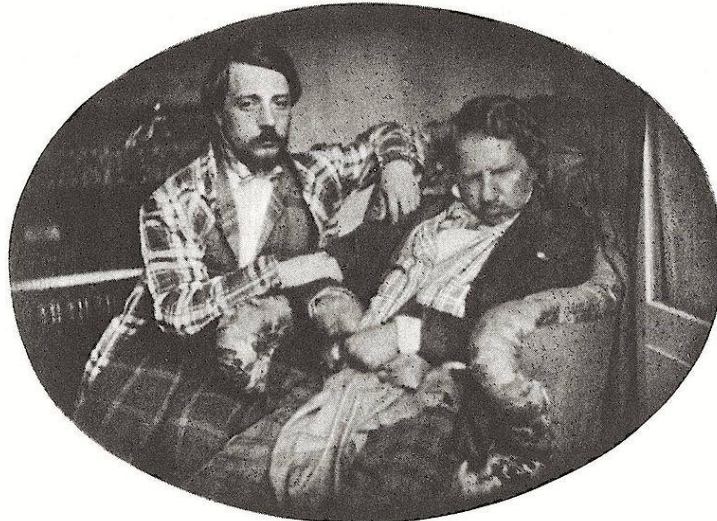
On 19th September 1847, the pair were permitted to begin the long journey to Bergamo, along with Donizetti's brother Francesco, his doctor Rendu, and Donizetti's beloved servant Pourcelot, arriving on 6th October.[17] By this time, Gaetano Donizetti was entirely incapacitated and mostly mute.[18] His illness eventually took its toll, and Donizetti died on 8th April 1848. Following his post-mortem, Donizetti's death was concluded to be a result of his 'cerebro-spinal syphilis'.[19]

Following Donizetti's reign across European operatic stages, the mad scene would continue to evolve as Italian operatic conventions and formal procedures fell out of favour for more realistic practices, with the four-movement construction becoming 'obsolete by 1875'.[20]

Century (New York: Pantheon Books, 1963), p. 246. See also Ashbrook, *Donizetti and His Operas*, pp. 193-94; Smart and Budden, 'Donizetti, (Domenico) Gaetano (Maria)'; Peschel and Peschel, p. 191. The asylum was owned by Mitvié and managed by Jacques-Joseph Moreau de Tours, a predecessor of Charcot. See Peschel and Peschel, p. 192; Weinstock, p. 247.

[14] Both Weinstock, pp. 251-52, and Ashbrook, *Donizetti and His Operas*, p. 195, note this plan.

[15] See Peschel and Peschel, p. 192; Ashbrook, *Donizetti and His Operas*, p. 198.

[16] This photograph was sent to Rosa Basoni, to warn her of Donizetti's tragic appearance before his arrival in Bergamo. See Ashbrook, *Donizetti and His Operas*, p. 199.

[17] Ashbrook, *Donizetti and His Operas*, p. 200, and Weinstock, p. 267, make similar observations.

[18] See Ashbrook, *Donizetti and His Operas*, p. 200; Weinstock, p. 261-62.

[19] Smart and Budden, 'Donizetti, (Domenico) Gaetano (Maria)'.

[20] Willier, 'Mad scene'.

Giuseppe Verdi would be the next prominent Italian operatic composer to feature the themes of madness and sleepwalking in his operas *Nabucco* (1841), with libretto by Temistocle Solera, and *Macbeth* (1847), with libretto by Francesco Maria Piave.[21] In *Macbeth*, Verdi and Piave created an Act IV sleepwalking scene 'Una macchia è qui tuttora', very much reminiscent of Shakespeare's original text, as Lady Macbeth enters sleepwalking – observed by the Doctor (Medico) and her female attendant – puts down her light and begins rubbing her hands, as if washing them.[22] Although distinctly different from Donizetti's deranged scene for *Anna Bolena*, Verdi labels his somnambulistic scene as a *gran scena*, and refrains from incorporating the conventional woodwind solo, reminiscence themes or four-movement structure.[23] Verdi instead begins the scene with a long orchestral introduction and recitative dialogue (as the Doctor and attendant observe Lady Macbeth), and characterises Lady Macbeth's somnambulism with a single, long and through-composed aria.[24] Despite the behavioural connections to the respective mad and somnambulistic scenes in *Lucia di Lammermoor* and *La sonnambula*, Verdi departs from previous operatic and musical traditions, and therefore estranges his heroine's mad scene from her operatic predecessors.

Lucy's Sisters: Further Adaptations of *The Bride of Lammermoor*

Yet, the nineteenth-century adaptation and operatic evolution of *The Bride of Lammermoor* did not end with the Italian operas studied within this thesis. The Danish opera *Bruden fra Lammermoor* (1832) by composer Ivar Frederick Bredal and librettist Hans Christian Anderson was first performed on 5th May 1832 at Det Kongelige Teater in Copenhagen.[25] No complete score of this adaptation has been published, presumably because the opera has not

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[21] At the end of Act II of *Nabucco*, the furious baritone protagonist enters after being betrayed by the Babylonians and declares himself as no longer a king, but God ('non son più re, son Dio!'). He is suddenly struck by lightning, forcing his crown from his head, and loses his reason. His mad aria, 'Chi mi toglie il regio scettro?', thus portrays Nabucco in his terrified and deranged stupor and replaces the fast conventional operatic finale. See Giuseppe Verdi, *Nabucco: opera in quattro atti,* libretto by Temistocle Solera, vocal score (Milan: Ricordi, 2007), pp. 139-55, 158-61; Roger Parker, 'Nabucco', in *Grove Music Online*.

[22] Giuseppe Verdi, *Macbeth: melodramma in quattro atti,* libretto by Francesco Maria Piave, vocal score (Milan: Ricordi, 2008), pp. 262-74.

[23] For a concise account on Verdi's deviation from musical conventions of madness and somnambulism, see Jonas Barish, 'Madness, Hallucination and Sleepwalking', in *Verdi's* Macbeth*: A Sourcebook,* ed. by Andrew Porter and David Rosen (New York and London: Norton; Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 149-55.

[24] Ibid. Music from Lady Macbeth's sleepwalking scene is first introduced in the opera's prelude. See Roger Parker, '*Macbeth* (ii)', in *Grove Music Online*; Verdi, *Macbeth*, pp. 1-3.

[25] Hans Christian Anderson, *Bruden fra Lammermoor* (Copenhagen: Trykt hos Bianco Luno & Schneider, 1832); Jerome Mitchell, 'Operatic Versions of *The Bride of Lammermoor*', *Studies in Scottish Literature*, 10/3 (1973), 145-64 (p. 157); Stanford Libraries, 'Bruden fra Lammermoor', in *Opening Night!: Opera & Oratorio Premieres* <https://exhibits.stanford.edu/operadata> [accessed 28th July 2022]. A Polish melodrama *Oblubienica z Lammermooru* by Józef Damse was also published in 1832, and is a translation of Ducange's *La fiancée de Lammermoor.* See Roger Fiske and George Biddlecombe, 'Scott, Sir Walter', in *Grove Music Online*.

been performed outside of the theatre, nor Denmark.[26] As with its Italian predecessors, the opera's Act IV finale features a melodramatic mad scene from the heroine Lucie (following a brief spell of unconsciousness), which is comprised of sung excerpts of reminiscence themes and spoken dialogue.[27] At the opera's end, Lucie learns of Ravenswood's death by quicksand (as he awaited his duel with Bucklaw), causing her to suddenly collapse and die.[28]

Henry James Byron's one-act 'operatic burlesque extravaganza', *Lucia di Lammermoor; or The Laird, the Lady and the Lover*,[29] was first performed on 25th September 1865 at the Prince of Wales Theatre, London, and saw Miss Hughes assume the role of Lucy Ashton.[30] Unlike Lucia, however, Lucy does not lose her reason or perform a mad scene in the long scene 4, due to the comic qualities of the drama – instead her brother Henry flies into a passionate rage after Lucy and Edgar flee to elope, and requests his hunting whip and pistols.[31] Unlike the previous adaptations, the work ends happily with Henry reluctantly consenting to Lucy and Edgar's union, and a cheerful musical finale of 'Rumtifoozelum'.[32]

The final theatrical adaptation of Scott's novel, at least discussed here, would be the four-act English play *Ravenswood* by Herman Merivale, with incidental music by Sir Alexander Campbell Mackenzie, which was produced by Henry Irving and performed at the Lyceum Theatre, London in September 1890.[33] The roles of Edgar and Lucy Ashton were performed by Henry Irving and Ellen Terry, a well-known actress of theatrical madwomen (such as Ophelia and Lady Macbeth).[34] However, in this adaptation, Lucy's violent madness was once again omitted, and she instead tragically dies of a broken heart at the end of the

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[26] Mitchell, p. 157, notes that while C. C. Lose published several of the individual numbers with 'piano or guitar accompaniment, there is no complete score. The orchestral score exists only in manuscript.'

[27] Lucie instead faints following Edgar's return of his ring and subsequent exit. On the re-entry of the chorus and principal characters, they question why Lucie is so pale, for her to suddenly revive and embark on her mad scene (much to the distress of those around her). See Anderson, pp. 78-80; Mitchell, p. 158.

[28] Anderson, pp. 78-80; Mitchell, p. 159.

[29] The cover of the work claims that it is based on Donizetti's opera, and is 'very unlike the Romance'. Henry J. Byron, *Lucia di Lammermoor, or, The Laird, the Lady, and the Lover: A New and Original Operatic Burlesque Extravaganza* (London: Thomas Hailes Lacy, 1867).

[30] Ibid.

[31] Ibid., pp. 4, 26, 31-32. Henry and Arthur (Bucklaw) manage to halt the pair on their journey, and they are promptly returned by soldiers. Arthur then insults Edgar and tells him that he is welcome to accept Lucy as his wife ('She will be *dear* to you, to me much *cheaper*'). Ibid., pp. 32-34.

[32] Ibid., pp. 33-35.

[33] The music featured as part of a suite performed at Norwich Festival on 15th September 1890. Duncan James Barker, *The Music of Sir Alexander Campbell Mackenzie*, 2 vols (PhD thesis, University of Durham, 1999), II, pp. 251, 294 <http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/1441/1/1441_v1.pdf?EThOS%20(BL)> [accessed 18th March 2022].

[34] Herman Merivale, *Ravenswood: a play, in four acts* (London: Lyceum Theatre, 1890) [Programme]; 'The Call Boy', *Judy: The London Serio-Comic Journal*, 46 (1890), p. 160.

play.[35] Thus with this last observation, the study of our heroine Lucy will now finally be laid to rest.

The Portrayal of Female Madness in Popular Culture and Medicine

My study focussed on a small, yet representative sample of popular medical texts and photographic iconographies published in Europe between circa 1600 and 1880, which were produced by physicians and scholars for medical professionals and as a means of educating the wider reading European public on health, illness and madness. My project therefore went beyond and, to some extent, refutes Elaine Showalter's study *The Female Malady*, to embrace literature on female madness in Europe over a 400-year period, from medieval texts on witches and witchcraft, through Enlightenment literature on the feminine condition, to late nineteenth-century psychiatry.[36] I adopted this approach in order to explore the diverse conditions and behaviours associated with female madness, and carefully suggest parallels between its representation within popular culture and medicine. Research and analyses relating Italian operatic mad scenes to modern definitions of psychiatric disorders in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* have been partially completed by psychiatrists and psychologists in recent years, yet I refrained from discussing these within my thesis to avoid amateur 'diagnosing' of Lucy's operatic counterparts.[37]

A known appreciator of Shakespeare's works and admirer of Classical fine art, Jean-Martin Charcot allowed artistic representations of madness to influence his own lectures and manipulation of images in his publications on hysteria, including *Les Démoniaques dans l'art* (1887). However, in creating his own idealised narrative of hysteria in the *Iconographie photographique de la Salpêtrière* (1877-1880) alongside Désiré Bourneville and Paul Regnard, with women appearing in white medical gowns, Charcot merely reinforced the stereotypes which he questioned. Dr Hugh Welch Diamond and Duchenne de Boulogne's direction of female patients as Shakespeare's heroines Ophelia and Lady Macbeth in their

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[35] This information was gathered from: Mus in Urbe, 'Ravenswood', *The Musical World*, 39/70 (1890), 771-72; William Winter, *Shadows of the Stage* ([n.p.]: Good Press, 2019), n.p. [Google Books]. American composer William Bergsma also published the choral work *Wishes, Wonders, Portents, Charms* for soloists, mixed voices and orchestral accompaniment in 1974. This work is listed in Fiske and Biddlecombe, 'Scott, Sir Walter', however, I have been unable to access the musical score, so do not know the clear genesis of the work.
[36] See Showalter, *The Female Malady*.
[37] See Andreas Erfurth and Paul Hoff, 'Mad Scenes in Early 19th-century Opera', *Acta Psychiatrica Scandinavica*, 102/4 (2000), 310-13; Mark Jones, 'The Psychiatry of Opera: *Lucia di Lammermoor*', *Psychiatric Bulletin*, 14/9 (1990), 556-57; American Psychiatric Association, *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*, 5th edn (Washington, DC: American Psychiatric Association, 2013). Further research in this vein could be completed on a collaborative basis with academics in the fields of psychology and psychiatry, to ensure the correct balance between psychiatric expertise and detailed musical analyses.

respective medical photographic iconographies, established clear parallels between theatrical and clinical practices, firmly blurring the boundaries between fiction and reality, and 'created' embodiments that appeared *too mad* and theatrical to acting professionals.

Indeed, my thesis has also compared the representation of Lucy and her lyrical counterparts with Shakespeare's mad heroines. While Malvina's violent suicide by dagger in *La fidanzata di Lammermoor* (1834) alludes to the imagery of Lady Macbeth's offstage and unseen suicide,[38] Lucia's feminised death by poison in *Le nozze di Lammermoor* recollects Ophelia's death by drowning in *Hamlet*.[39] Both Scott's description of Lucy playing the lute and singing, and Carafa and Balocchi's portrayal of Lucia playing the harp, surrounded by flowers, resemble Shakespeare's depiction of Ophelia.[40] Donizetti and Cammarano's Lucia is specifically costumed in a white dress, and enters with disordered appearance in her Romantic mad scene.[41] Furthermore, Ida's request to be adorned with a garland of roses in *La fidanzata di Lammermoor* also alludes to Ophelian imagery.[42] In documenting these parallels, I have somewhat demonstrated the consistency in the archetypal visual portrayal of female madness during this period, as well as Shakespeare's potential influence on Scott's characterisation of women.

Sir Walter Scott and *The 'Brides' of Lammermoor*

This project has used Sir Walter Scott's *The Bride of Lammermoor* (1819), and its lesser known theatrical and operatic adaptations as case studies, to analyse the representation of female madness, and elucidate its common tropes within popular culture and medicine between the early modern period and nineteenth century. In first analysing Scott's novel, followed by its theatrical and operatic adaptations, I have also documented their first performance and publication dates, relevant context on the creators' circumstances, and

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[38] Pietro Beltrame, *La fidanzata di Lammermoor* (Padua: Per il Fratelli Penada, e li figli del fa Giuseppe Penada, 1834), p. 32; William Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, v. 7, ed. by Nicholas Brooke (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 211. Lady Ashton's domineering behaviour in Chapter 22 of Scott's novel is also comparable to Lady Macbeth's confrontation of Macbeth in Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, i. 7., pp. 119-21; Sir Walter Scott, *The Bride of Lammermoor*, ed. by Fiona Robertson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 237-40.

[39] William Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, iv. 7, ed. by G. R. Hibbard (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987)*,* pp. 318-20; Luigi Balocchi, *Le nozze di Lammermoor* (Paris: Théâtre Royal Italien, 1829), pp. 54-56; Michele Carafa, *Le nozze di Lammermoor*, ed. by Philip Gossett (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1985), pp. 302-64.

[40] Scott, p. 39; Balocchi, pp. 37-41; Carafa, pp. 250-71; Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, iv. 5, pp. 298-300, 305-09.

[41] Salvadore Cammarano, *Lucia di Lammermoor: dramma tragico in due parti* (Naples: Tipografia Flautina, 1835), p. 32.

[42] Calisto Bassi, *La fidanzata di Lammermoor: tragedia lirica in tre parti* ([n.p.]: Michele Weis, 1831), pp. 55-57. This is similar to Anna Bolena's request to be adorned in a white robe, with a crown of roses in Gaetano Donizetti, *Anna Bolena: tragedia lirica in due atti,* libretto by Felice Romani, vocal score, critical edn, ed. by Paolo Fabbro, 2 vols (Milan: Ricordi and Foundazione Donizetti di Bergamo, 2017), ii, p. 432 [nkoda].

sometimes their immediate press reception, therefore collating their performance histories within my one combined study and in turn creating a history of the dramatic adaptation of Scott's novel. My thesis has therefore filled a gap within current academic research, and Sir Walter Scott studies in particular.

My character study (in Chapter 2) of Scott's Lucy Ashton and her behaviour has contributed significant detail and original, interdisciplinary perspectives on the novel to the field of Walter Scott studies. In doing so, I suggested that Scott's *The Bride of Lammermoor* reflected the common assumptions surrounding female madness within early modern and nineteenth-century popular culture, society and medicine. While Ailsie Gourlay's and Lady Ashton's behaviour and actions subvert feminine ideals of the time – as they are represented as socially deviant and associated with witchcraft – Lucy Ashton is instead first idealised. Scott therefore directly contrasts Lady Ashton's authoritative and outspoken nature with Lucy's silence and submission, as he initially portrays her as the epitome of feminine beauty. However, Scott subtly foreshadows Lucy's eventual insanity throughout the novel by incorporating archetypal tropes of female madness – Lucy's singing and playing of the lute mimicking Ophelia; Lucy's underlying deviance in rebellious acts – before her real deterioration into clinical madness. In paradoxically portraying Lucy as both the epitome of femininity and the violent, animalistic madwoman, Scott additionally adheres to the common juxtaposition of women characters (against one another) within nineteenth-century fiction and medical literature.

In portraying Lucy's eventual madness, her high and low moods, and convulsions, Scott mostly reflects the behaviour outlined in medical theories on love-melancholy, mania, hysteria and hysterical fits, including in Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621), Thomas Sydenham's *Epistolary Dissertation* (1682, trans 1801), William Pargeter's *Observations on Maniacal Disorders* (1792) and Thomas Laycock's *A Treatise on the Nervous Diseases of Women* (1840). Although Scott does not detail Lucy's frenzied assault on Bucklaw, his narration is sensationalised with his references to Bucklaw's cry of horror and his blood, and thus remains comparable to nineteenth-century sensational journalism and fiction. However, with her death, Lucy's criminal act is dismissed by the courts as an act of insanity, reflecting the leniency trends towards women who committed violent crimes at the time, and she is thus forgiven.

Following the publication of *The Bride of Lammermoor* on 10th June 1819, the novel received a mixed response from the British reading public, yet was almost immediately translated in France and received success, and a favourable response from French readers.

While I was unable to provide a thorough investigation of *The Bride of Lammermoor*'s reception in Italy (due to the restrictions incurred by the coronavirus pandemic), I have nevertheless consolidated the reception, translation and adaptation history of Scott's novel in Britain, France and Italy. In particular, I elaborated upon Naomi Matsumoto's work, by bringing attention to the first French translation of *The Bride of Lammermoor*, *La fiancée de Lammermoor* published by Gabriel-Henri Nicolle in August 1819, and the first Italian translation, *La promessa sposa di Lammermoor*, published by Gaetano Barbieri in 1824.[43] My thesis, therefore, complements the broader study by Murray Pittock, in his *The Reception of Sir Walter Scott in Europe* (2006), which does not include a chapter solely devoted to the reception of *The Bride of Lammermoor*.[44]

My analyses on the theatrical adaptations of *The Bride of Lammermoor* have shed light on the forgotten adaptations of Scott and have thus added vital knowledge to the field of Walter Scott (and his adaptation) studies. While John William Calcraft's five-act melodrama (1822) omitted Lucy's iconic mad scene, it gave Lucy a voice and agency in the portrayal of her character and illness for a popular, theatrical audience. Calcraft placed blame for Lucy's death on her broken engagement with Ravenswood and thus her broken heart, promoting popular medical beliefs of the time. In creating his *mélodrame, La fiancée de Lammermoor* (1828), Victor Ducange also omitted Lucy's violent madness, instead creating a melodramatic spectacle for the Act III finale, with Edgard and Lucie's reunion and death by the sea. Although Ferdinando Livini's *La promessa sposa di Lammermoor* (1828) was mostly a translation of Ducange's *mélodrame* and omitted Lucy's violent act, Livini preserved Lucy's/Lucia's frenzied high and low moods and her convulsive death, in order to create a tragic, Romantic ending.

In providing detailed textual and musical analyses of the Italian operatic adaptations of *The Bride of Lammermoor*, this thesis has also drawn attention to the neglected operatic adaptations of Scott, and has thus further elaborated on the small body of literature within Scott studies and musicology.[45] In particular, my study elaborates upon the details provided in previous studies by Jerome Mitchell and Jeremy Tambling, but greatly exceeds both

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[43] Naomi Matsumoto, '"Ghost Writing": an Exploration of Presence and Absence in *Lucia di Lammermoor* (1835)', in *Silence and Absence in Literature and Music*, ed. by Werner Wolf and Walter Bernhart (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, Rodopi, 2016), 63-84.
[44] Matsumoto also highlights that little research has previously been completed on Scott's reception in Italy. See Ibid., p. 69.
[45] By focussing on the four Italian operatic adaptations of Scott's *The Bride of Lammermoor*, however, this project does not provide a definitive conclusion that can be liberally applied to other operatic mad scenes from different genres or time periods, and these next require detailed study.

studies in its level of musical detail, and comparison to popular medical literature.[46] Yet, it is similar to and builds on research completed by Naomi Matsumoto, who also explores Lady Ashton's presence within Carafa's score and Balocchi's libretto.[47] In completing my detailed analysis and defining Lucia's mad scene within Carafa's *Le nozze de Lammermoor*, my study has surpassed earlier studies by musicologist Francesco Izzo, which erroneously claimed that no true mad scene exists within the score.[48] Furthermore, in exploring the press reception of *Le nozze di Lammermoor*, I have specifically contributed to reception studies of the composer Michele Carafa and the opera, complementing Rebecca Harris-Warrick's chapter which very briefly acknowledges the French press's poor response to the operatic premiere in Paris.[49]

While parallels between Lucia's portrayal in *Le nozze di Lammermoor* and the depiction of Ophelia in Shakespeare's text and Harriet Smithson's performance thereof exist, Carafa and Balocchi's portrayal of female madness remained rather conventionally operatic and much less naturalistic. Renowned German soprano Henriette Sontag would perform as Lucia in the Parisian premiere of *Le nozze di Lammermoor* and was commended for an admirable, skillful and moving performance in portraying Lucia's deterioration and downfall.[50] Yet, it was likely more Classical, dignified and conventional in nature, than Harriet Smithson's delirious, naturalistic and thus wholly Romantic portrayal of the mad Ophelia. [51] Carafa and Balocchi portrayed Lucia's purity and naivety in her playing of the

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[46] Jerome Mitchell discusses each of the operatic adaptations respectively, but focuses on the general details of the plot and excludes detailed musical analyses of the mad scenes. See Mitchell, 'Operatic Versions of *The Bride of Lammermoor*', 145-64; Jerome Mitchell, *The Walter Scott Operas* (Alabama: The University of Alabama Press, 1977). Jeremy Tambling's chapter in *The Reception of Sir Walter Scott in Europe* focuses on operatic adaptations of Scott, but also fails to provide any in-depth analysis. See Jeremy Tambling, 'Scott's "Heyday" in Opera', in *The Reception of Sir Walter Scott in Europe,* ed. by Murray Pittock (London: Continuum, 2006), pp. 285-92.

[47] Matsumoto, '"Ghost Writing"', pp. 69-71. By completing my analysis of Carafa's musical score for *Le nozze di Lammermoor* in November 2020 and summer 2021, I was one of the few to make use of the newly established Foyle Opera Rara Collection at the Royal Welsh College of Music and Drama, which was acquired by the college in 2018. 'Royal Welsh College Announces The Foyle Opera Rara Collection', *Royal Welsh College of Music and Drama Blog*, 21st November 2018 <https://blog.rwcmd.ac.uk/press-release/royal-welsh-college-announces-the-foyle-opera-rara-collection/> [accessed 24th January 2023]. This musical score is otherwise rare, and only held at a minimum of six other locations within the UK, including Brotherton Library (University of Leeds), The British Library (St Pancras and On Demand, West Yorkshire), University of Oxford, University of Cambridge, and the University of London Senate House Library.

[48] Francesco Izzo is one of the few musicologists who has analysed Carafa's *Le nozze di Lammermoor*, but he does not provide an in-depth analysis of Lucia's mad scene. See Francesco Izzo, 'Michele Carafa e *Le nozze di Lammermoor*: Un oscuro precedente della Lucia', in *Ottocento e Oltre: Scritti in Onore di Raoul Meloncelli,* ed. by Francesco Izzo, Johannes Streicher and Raoul Meloncelli (Rome: Editoriale Pantheon, 1993), pp. 161-93.

[49] See Rebecca Harris-Warrick, 'Lucia goes to Paris: A Tale of Three Theaters', in *Music, Theater, and Cultural Transfer: Paris, 1830-1914*, ed. by Annegret Fauser and Mark Everist (Chicago, IL and London: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 195-227 (p. 200).

[50] *Gil Blas*, 15 December 1829, pp. 3-4; *Le Constitutionnel*, 15 December 1829, p. 3.

[51] Although descriptions of Sontag's performances do not offer the same extent of detail as those of Harriet Smithson on playing Ophelia in Shakespeare's *Hamlet* in 1827, she was also known for her beauty and vocal

harp and her conventional scena and two-verse cavatina; yet they also (perhaps unknowingly) mirrored Ophelia's socially deviant behaviour and performance of disruptive mad songs in Lucia's mad aria where they suggest Lucia's madness through the manipulation of formal conventions and disjunct text. In actively directing Lucia's anger towards an absent Edgardo, they went against Ophelia's own passive, indirect madness, and made Lucia more comparable to the vengeful heroines of Classical *opera seria*.

Carafa and Balocchi's scene for the first operatic Lucia, where she goes mad following Edgardo's silence and experiences clear delirium, similarly resembles early modern and nineteenth-century medical ideas on love-madness, erotomania and hysteria to a great extent, notably from Edward Jorden's *The Suffocation of the Mother* (1603), Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621), and James Ferrand's *Erotomania* treatise (1640), as well as Alexander Morrison's *Outlines of Mental Diseases* (c.1829) and Philippe Pinel's *Nosographie philosophique* (1813).[52] Following her mad scene, her heroic suicide by poison (in its likeness to the voluntary deaths of Christian martyrs) escapes the moral frame and perception of suicide as a sinful act.[53] Lucia's slow suicide by poison enables her to extensively pardon others, explain her motives, and reflects early modern ritualistic practices of death, as she arranges her own spectacle, and encourages an outpouring of grief. However, her suicide by poison also aligns with Burton's listed reasons of suicide and Pinel's association of suicide with insanity in his *Treatise on Insanity* (1801, trans. 1806). Yet in trying to create a grand Italian opera for the Théâtre-Italien – which combined comic and serious elements, and was more akin to the emerging *grand opéra* at the Paris Opéra – Carafa and Balocchi broke the frame of audience expectations, and the opera failed to succeed amongst Parisian audiences.

My study has also provided detailed analyses of the forgotten operatic libretti for Luigi Rieschi and Calisto Bassi's *La fidanzata di Lammermoor* (1831), and Alberto Mazzucato and Pietro Beltrame's opera of the same name (1834). Although Bassi's and Beltrame's respective operatic libretti were accessible and available to view online, to my knowledge

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prowess. An admirer of Sontag, Berlioz also provided an eloquent obituary. See John Warrick, 'Sontag [Sonntag], Henriette', in *Grove Music Online*.

[52] Lucia's diverse emotions, and her clear frenzy in Act II, scene 8, following Edgardo's desertion, for instance, could alternatively be interpreted as representative of hysteria, as described in Jorden's treatise and Philippe Pinel's *Nosographie philosophique* (1813).

[53] Carafa and Balocchi, therefore, clearly demonstrate her madness in her earlier Act II mad scene, in order to ensure that their heroine is later redeemed in her death, and absolved of any posthumous responsibility for her criminal act of suicide.

they have evaded significant in-depth analysis elsewhere within the fields of nineteenth-century Italian opera and musicology.[54] Although Bassi keeps Ida's act unseen, her sensational depiction, as she descends the staircase with bloodied dagger in her hand, clearly suggests her violent madness, and retains Scott's graphic imagery.[55] Bassi's Ida acts upon a blind impulse and murders her bridegroom, thus mirroring similar behaviours of insanity and homicidal monomania described by Vincenzo Chiarugi's *Della pazzia in genere* (1793) and Jean-Étienne-Dominique Esquirol's *Mental Maladies* (1838, trans. 1845).[56] In portraying Ida's temporary homicidal madness and hallucinatory delirium, Bassi instead gives Ida an articulate voice and manipulates formal conventions, in order to portray the contrasting moods of her delirious episode, as she is initially happily ignorant of her circumstances, and next distressed that she cannot find her pledge of faith from Edgardo. In characterising Ida's act as a crime of passion or insanity, and by having his heroine die by consuming poison at the opera's finale, Bassi acquits Ida of her charges, and (like Scott) relinquishes her of any criminal responsibility.

Mazzucato and Beltrame's heroine Malvina in *La fidanzata di Lammermoor* alternatively becomes delirious immediately after the death of her lover, and commits spontaneous and violent suicide (without time for self-restraint). To a certain extent, this reflects and anticipates medical theories and statistics on suicide in Esquirol's aforementioned work and Enrico Morselli's *Suicide: An Essay on Comparative Moral Statistics* (pub. 1879, trans. 1882).[57] Beltrame similarly signals Malvina's delirium by

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[54] The operatic libretti can be accessed on *Google Books* <https://books.google.com> [accessed 28th July 2022], and *Internet Archive* <www.archive.org> [accessed 27th July 2022], for instance. I was unable to consult the musical scores for Rieschi's and Mazzucato's operas, as Rieschi's score has seemingly remained unpublished and impossible to trace, and Mazzucato's score also remained inaccessible and impossible to obtain. Although excerpts of Mazzucato's *La fidanzata* have been published within the Garland Italian Opera series, I was unable to locate this volume. See Alberto Mazzucato, *Excerpts of La fidanzata di Lammermoor*, ed. by Philip Gossett, Garland Italian Opera Series, 1810-1840, XIII (New York: Garland Publishing, [n.d.]). The musical score for Mazzucato's opera remains in manuscript form in the Archivio Storico Ricordi at the Braidense Library in Milan – a place that I have been unable to visit due to travel restrictions incurred by the coronavirus pandemic.

[55] While nineteenth-century European print media commonly questioned the mental states of such homicidal women and noted their low spirits or insanity, in order to generate or diminish public sympathy, the chorus and surrounding operatic characters similarly narrate Ida's behaviour, providing surrogate judgement for the in-theatre audience.

[56] Although Ida's earlier Act I dream sequence and jubilation in her mad scene implies an awareness of her actions, her delirium (from her cavatina) suggests that she is not conscious of reality and acted on an unconscious impulse for homicide.

[57] Although Malvina's spontaneous suicide by stabbing (where she employs the weapon readily accessible) fits within the social context, her death is abnormal for a woman, who more commonly died by drowning, suffocation or hanging according to Esquirol. Malvina's sudden suicidal impulse following the death of her love Edoardo, then resembles tendencies of erotomania and hysteria, and anticipates the prominence of mental diseases in statistics of suicide amongst Italian women in Enrico Morselli's *Suicide: An Essay on Comparative Moral Statistics* (pub. 1879, trans. 1882).

blurring the mad scene's internal structure with varying declamatory and lyrical passages, and creating a finale cabaletta showing Malvina in the excess of her delirium.

By providing detailed analyses on the representation of death and suicide within each of the aforementioned adaptations, I have elaborated upon a vast body of existing interdisciplinary literature, providing a unique study of Lucy's lyrical counterparts.[58] Yet, while Lucia's, Ida's and Malvina's respective suicides all result from their separate disorders, each heroine creates their own spectacle. Lucia's and Ida's slow method of suicide by poison are heroic and feminised, and thus portrayed as rational escapes from their situations. Malvina's suicide by dagger, however, is a sudden, spontaneous and violent method of suicide, more akin to the masculine and Romantic portrayals of suicide, such as Goethe's *The Sorrows of Young Werther* of 1774; therefore, her act (for a woman) appears completely shocking and irrational. Lucia's, Ida's and Malvina's spectacular suicides would nevertheless vastly contrast with the convulsive collapse to unconsciousness and off-stage death of Lucy's final Italian lyrical counterpart.[59]

Donizetti's Mad Operas and *Lucia di Lammermoor*

By analysing Donizetti's earlier, lesser known mad scenes in *L'esule di Roma, I pazzi per progetto, Gabriella di Vergy* and *Anna Bolena*, I have been able to contribute further knowledge to the field of nineteenth-century Italian opera, following on from William Ashbrook's *Donizetti and His Operas,* Emilio Sala's 'Women Crazed by Love' and work completed by Opera Rara.[60] Although Donizetti's choice of a tragic ending for *Gabriella di Vergy* signalled his first adoption of Romantic tendencies in 1826, his original mad scene was more traditional in form, and the final virtuosic cabaletta 'Se alfin sull'innocente' was thus more representative of extreme anger than madness. Although Donizetti's 1838 revised mad scene was still fairly conventional in form, it incorporated more Romantic woodwind solos to underpin the heroine's delirious hallucinations. Moreover, Gabriella's final frenzied cabaletta 'Ah vanne tagliti', with its playful and inappropriate music wholly indicates her insanity.[61]

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[58] See Susan Rutherford, *Verdi, Opera, Women* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 178-97; Linda Hutcheon and Michael Hutcheon, *Opera: The Art of Dying* (London and Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004).

[59] Lucia's convulsive collapse to unconsciousness and off-stage death, is also comparable to the later deaths of Jean-Martin Charcot's hystero-epileptic patients.

[60] See Ashbrook, *Donizetti and His Operas*; Emilio Sala, 'Women Crazed by Love: An Aspect of Romantic Opera', trans. by William Ashbrook, *The Opera Quarterly*, 3/10 (1994), 19-41.

[61] This is underpinned by the decoration on 'funesta smania' (fatal mania) and 'paventa insano' (beware madman).

Furthermore, Donizetti's 1830 *gran scena* in *Anna Bolena* – with its diverse internal structure and woodwind solos – distinguishes Anna's contrasting emotions (of extreme joy and misery), and embodies the 'incoherent sallies' of mania with delirium, thus propagating beliefs from Pinel's *Treatise on Insanity* (1806).

While the mad scene of Carafa's Lucia and the cabaletta of Donizetti's Anna are more passionate and wrathful than mad, their conventionality seems to indicate some semblance of a return to reason. However, the startling conventionality and jocular nature of Lucia's cabaletta in *Lucia di Lammermoor,* in contrast to the unconventionality of her scena and cavatina, are alarmingly inappropriate considering the tragic circumstances, and instead ironically portray her complete departure from social bounds and reason. Donizetti therefore frames and distinguishes Lucia's hysteria by stretching conventional musical forms and blurring structural boundaries.

In comparatively analysing Donizetti's *Lucia di Lammermoor* and the *Iconographie photographique de la Salpêtrière* by Charcot, Bourneville and Regnard, Chapter 5 provided a unique approach – on the parallels between the representation of madwomen within popular culture and the visual portrayal of female madness in medical photography – that goes beyond the feminist literature of Mary Ann Smart, Susan McClary and Catherine Clément, and the large body of existing research within Italian opera.[62] My analysis of Lucia alongside the *Iconographie photographique*, in particular, extends beyond previous work in this vein completed by Romana Margherita Pugliese, who instead compares Lucia's madness and hallucinations to Charcot's description of the third phase of an hysterical attack in *Les Démoniaques dans l'art*.[63]

Lucia's loss of reason following the loss of her lover and her bodily convulsions are also comparable to Charcot's later descriptions of hysteria, and outlined cause of hysteria as a traumatic life event in the *Iconographie photographique* and in his lectures.[64] The continued performance of *Lucia di Lammermoor* (and its French counterpart) – in both existing within and embodying the archetypes of female madness from popular culture – to an extent assisted in shaping the idealised visual representation of hysterical patients as active, gesturing

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[62] See Mary Ann Smart, 'The Silencing of Lucia', *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 4/2 (1995), 119-41 (p. 120); Susan McClary, *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender and Sexuality* (London and Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), pp. 90-99; Catherine Clément, *Opera, or the Undoing of Women*, trans. Betsy King and foreword by Susan McClary (London: Virago Press, 1989), pp. 78-90.

[63] See Romana Margherita Pugliese, 'The Origins of *Lucia di Lammermoor*'s Cadenza', *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 16/1 (2004), 23-42 (pp. 35-6).

[64] Lucia's ecstasy during her hallucinatory exchange, reunion and embrace with her invisible lover Edgardo – as signalled by the flute's melodic line – particularly evoke Charcot's framing of Augustine's delirious episodes *attitude extatique* and *attitude de l'érotisme* in the *Iconographie*

women wearing white in the *Iconographie photographique de la Salpêtrière* and Charcot's lectures.

While the onstage audiences of Lucia's (in Carafa's opera) and Malvina's respective deaths provided an outpouring of grief, Ida's and Lucia's (in Donizetti's opera) audiences provide surrogate judgement on their violent madness for the in-theatre audience, clearly suggesting the mental state of the heroines.[65] In doing so, they garner public sympathy from the in-theatre audience, creating a more favourable representation of female madness and suicide in their wake. Donizetti, however, goes one step further by embedding the physical distance between Lucia and the surrounding characters within the musical score, juxtaposing the chorus's (sombre) and Lucia's (ecstatic) vocal writing, and further demonstrating how far she has strayed from reason and reality. At the final stage of Lucia's hysterical episode, Donizetti makes Lucia the central spectacle with her decorative and virtuosic cabaletta 'Spargi d'amaro pianto', and therefore unknowingly foreshadows the later clinical gaze of Charcot's female patients.

As stated in the introduction to this thesis, culture and society are dominated by visual representations, which are shaped by our understandings about the world.[66] Visual representations in turn posit meanings which inform our understandings from childhood, and create stereotypes in different cultures, languages and societies.[67] Thus, the persistent consumption, reference and representation of the same historical, archetypal characteristics of female madness within Italian opera, popular culture and medicine, reinforces such stereotypes, and mental illness indefinitely becomes associated with women. While Lucy and her lyrical counterparts each embody tropes of female madness from popular culture, and display different tendencies of insanity (with hysteria prevailing as the most common disorder), each heroine's behavioural and visual portrayal commonly reflected, propagated, or assisted in shaping early modern and nineteenth-century assumptions on madness in popular medical literature and photography. In turn, this literature allows for Lucy's continued popularity and relatively stable representation on stage across the centuries.

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[65] As acknowledged in Chapter 4, Susan McClary posits that the chorus are 'an anonymous group that mediates for the audience, reacting to the soprano's ravings with measured expressions of sympathy and alarm'. See McClary, pp. 98-99; Smart, 'The Silencing of Lucia', p. 120.

[66] Stuart Hall, 'The Work of Representation', in *Representation*, ed. by Stuart Hall, Jessica Evans and Sean Nixon (London and Milton Keynes: SAGE and the Open University Press, 2013), 1-59 (pp. 2-3).

[67] Ibid., p. 5; Sander L. Gilman, *Difference and Pathology: Stereotypes of Sexuality, Race and Madness* (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 1985), pp. 17-19.

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Appendix: Principal characters in Scott's *The Bride of Lammermoor* and their operatic counterparts

Walter Scott's *The Bride of Lammermoor* (1819)	Carafa and Balocchi's *Le nozze di Lammermoor* (1829)	Rieschi and Bassi's *La fidanzata di Lammermoor* (1831)	Mazzucato and Beltrame's *La fidanzata di Lammermoor* (1834)	Donizetti and Cammarano's *Lucia di Lammermoor* (1835)
Lucy	Lucia	Ida	Malvina	Lucia
Edgar of Ravenswood	Edgardo	Edgardo	Edoardo, Sere di Ravenswood	Edgardo
Lady Ashton	Lady Ashton	-	-	-
Sir William Ashton	Lord William Ashton	Guglielmo Ashton	Guglielmo, Lord Ashton	-
Frank Hayston, Lord of Bucklaw	Il colonello Bucklaw	Lord Hayston di Bucklaw	Ernesto, Lord Buklaw	Lord Arturo Bucklaw
Colonel Douglas Ashton	-	-	-	-
Henry Ashton	-	-	-	Enrico Ashton
Ailsie Gourlay	-	-	-	-
Alice	-	-	-	-
Caleb Balderstone, Ravenswood's attendant	Caleb Balderston	-	-	-
Mr Bide-the-Bent, a minister	Bidebent	-	-	Raimondo Bidebent
-	Elisa (Lucia's attendant)	Alina	Adele	Alisa
-	-	Gualtiero (Guglielmo's attendant)	-	
				Normanno (leader of the Ravenswood Armigers)

Walter Scott's *The Bride of Lammermoor* (1819)	Carafa's *Le nozze di Lammermoor* (1829)	Rieschi's *La fidanzata di Lammermoor* (1831)	Mazzucato's *La fidanzata di Lammermoor* (1834)	Donizetti's *Lucia di Lammermoor* (1835)
The historical novel is set in the Lammermuir Hills, in South-East Scotland around the turn of the eighteenth century, and the Act of Union between Scotland and England in 1707.[1]	The scene is set in Scotland, in the fertile lands of East Lothian. The action takes place towards the end of the seventeenth century, pending the civil wars of Scotland.	The scene is in Scotland. The action takes place at the end of the sixteenth century.	The scene is in Scotland. The action takes place at the end of the sixteenth century.	The scene is in Scotland. The action takes place at the end of the sixteenth century.

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[1] While the first edition was based before the Act of Union between England and Scotland in 1707, the subsequent Magnus edition of 1830 was based after the Act of Union. See Fiona Robertson, ed., 'Note on the Text', in Sir Walter Scott, *The Bride of Lammermoor* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), xxx-xl (p. xxxiv).
See 'The Bride of Lammermoor (Tales Of My Landlord)', *The Walter Scott Digital Archive* <http://www.walterscott.lib.ed.ac.uk/works/novels/lammermoor.html> [accessed 5th October 2021].