

Rudolf Rasch

The Thirty-One Works of Francesco Geminiani

Work Nineteen: The Enchanted Forest (1754/1761)

Please refer to this document in the following way:

Rudolf Rasch, The Thirty-One Works of Francesco Geminiani: Work Nineteen: The Enchanted Forest (1754/1761), <https://geminiani.sites.uu.nl>

For remarks, suggestions, additions and corrections: r.a.rasch@uu.nl

© Rudolf Rasch, Utrecht/Houten, 2022

11 February 2022

WORK NINETEEN
THE ENCHANTED FOREST (1754/1761.2)

CONTENTS

The Enchanted Forest	3
Giovanni Niccolò Servandoni	4
<i>La forêt enchantée</i>	7
The First Libretto: <i>La forest enchantée</i> (Paris, 1754).....	9
The Second Libretto: The <i>Lettre de M. *** à Madame de ***</i>	16
<i>La forêt enchantée</i> : dramatis personæ	20
<i>La forêt enchantée</i> : Performance Dates.....	21
Further Descriptions of <i>La forêt enchantée</i>	22
<i>La forêt enchantée</i> : Critical Reception.....	27
The British Performance of <i>The Enchanted Forest</i>	30
The Autograph Manuscript Score of “ <i>La selva incantata</i> ”	32
James Mathias (c.1710-1782).....	38
The Edition of <i>The Inchanted Forrest</i>	41
The Notation of the Horn and Trumpet Parts	49
The Music of <i>The Enchanted Forest</i>	52
Bassoons in <i>La selva incantata</i>	64
Flutes in <i>La selva incantata</i>	66
Horns and Trumpet in <i>The Inchanted Forrest</i>	70
The Music and the Programme.....	71
Reception.....	79
Facsimile Edition.....	82
Modern Editions	82
Modern Arrangement	83
Recordings.....	83
Conclusion.....	84

THE ENCHANTED FOREST

Twice in his career as a composer Francesco Geminiani was involved in theatre productions. The first time was when he directed, in London in 1745, the pasticcio opera *L'inconstanza delusa*, for which he used some concertos of his own composition as opening or entr'acte music. He did not compose any new music for it. The second step into the world of the theatre he took in Paris in 1754, when he composed the music for Giovanni Niccolò Servandoni's pantomime spectacle *La forêt enchantée*, premiered in the Grand Théâtre of the Tuilleries Palace on 31 March 1754.¹ This is the reason why chronologically Geminiani's music for *La forêt enchantée* has its place between Work 19, *The Art of Playing on the Violin*, published in 1751, and Work 21, the first part of *The Art of Accompaniment*, first published in Paris 1754. Since the music for *La forêt enchantée* was definitely completed before 31 March 1754—the date of the première of the spectacle—it has been placed—under the English title *The Enchanted Forest*—as Work 20 before *The Art of Accompaniment* (Work 21) in the order of Geminiani's Works. The music was published probably only seven years later, in 1761, in London, under the title *The Incharnted Forrest*.

I have already quoted the French title of the work, *La forêt enchantée*, connected with the theatrical production of 1754 in Paris, and the title of the English publication of 1761, *The Incharnted Forrest*. There is in fact a third title, an Italian one, *La selva incantata*, found as title of the autograph manuscript score of the work probably written and later corrected in the late 1750s or around 1760 and now found in the library of the Royal College of Music in London. The horn partbook of the publication uses another Italian title above the music on page 2: *La foresta incantata*. The regular English spelling *The Enchanted Forest* will be used in this text when the work is discussed from a general point of view. The French title will be used in relation to the theatre production in Paris in 1754, the Italian title in relation to the autograph manuscript and the variant English title of the 1761 London edition when discussing this publication.

Because of the theatrical connection, the structure of the discussion of *The Enchanted Forest* in this text will differ from that of the discussions of Geminiani's other works. After this introduction, some words will be said about Giovanni Niccolò Servandoni, designer of the theatrical part of *La forêt enchantée*. Then attention will be paid to the programme of the spectacle. It may be said here already that the programme is derived from excerpts of Torquato Tasso's poem *La Gerusalemme liberata*. Performance dates of *La forêt enchantée* and its resonances in the French press of the time will be dealt with next.

The story of *The Enchanted Forest* has a British part too. On 15 April 1761 the music was performed in London during a concert and was published in the same city a few months later. One may assume there is a relation between the two events. In addition there is the autograph score entitled *La selva incantata*, written on British paper and therefore probably written in Britain, probably at some point around 1760. All these elements of the British part of the story of *The Enchanted Forest* are discussed in a small series of sections that deal with the concert, the manuscript and the edition respectively.

After these historical sections the music of *The Enchanted Forest* will be discussed. This discussion is complemented by a discussion of the relation between the music as preserved today and the programme of the spectacle *La forêt enchantée*. There is a constant *caveat* in all these discussions: the spectacle is known through

¹ Jenkins (1967) calls the spectacle a “pantomime-ballet” (p. 169) or a “ballet-pantomime” (p. 178), a slip of the pen since no source mentions any dancing in relation to it. Careri (1989, p. 241) speaks of “musica [che deve] accompagnare i movimenti degli attori-ballerini”, making a similar mistake. Also Zaslav (2013, p. 50) inadvertently speaks of the “ballet-pantomimes” of Servandoni.

descriptions of the French performances of 1754, the music only from British sources of 1761, so that there is no guarantee that music and spectacle as we know them today constitute a real match.

Facsimile and modern editions and recordings of *The Enchanted Forest* will also be briefly described.

The Enchanted Forest has had the attention of several earlier commentators. Friedrich Niecks, in his study *Programme Music in the Last Four Centuries*, published in 1906, was the first to spend a few words on this remarkable work.² The American conductor and musicologist Newell Jenkins (1915-1996) performed it for the first time since the eighteenth century, first in Italy (Siena, 1 September 1967), then in the United States (27 February 1968), and published an article about it in *Chigiana* (1967).³ Enrico Careri devoted a comprehensive article in *Studi Musicali* to the work (1989) and repeated this discussion in his 1993 monograph on Geminiani.⁴ He edited the music for the publishing house Libreria Musicale Italiana in Lucca (1996). There is a rather comprehensive discussion of the music for *La forêt enchantée* in Michel Philipp's 1997 Münster dissertation *Läppische Schildereyen? Untersuchungen zur Konzeption von Programmmusik im 18. Jahrhundert* (1998).⁵ *La forêt enchantée* as pantomime spectacle by Servandoni is discussed by Christel Heybrock and Clare Hornsby in their respective dissertations about Servandoni (1970, 1989) and by the latter in her article about Geminiani and Servandoni in *Geminiani Studies* (2013).⁶ Additional information about the performances of *La forêt enchantée* in Paris was provided by Neal Zaslaw in an article in *Geminiani Studies* (2013).⁷ Several recordings were released, first on LP, then on CD.

Therefore, many things said in this text have already been said before.

GIOVANNI NICCOLÒ SERVANDONI

Giovanni Niccolò Servandoni was born in Florence in 1695.⁸ It is said generally that he received his instructions as a painter of architectural scenes and theatrical decorations in Rome from Gianpaolo Panini (1691-1765), but this seems at least questionable, Panini being only four years older than Servandoni.⁹ Nevertheless the two may have been associated for some time. It is said that in 1719 Servandoni went with an opera troupe to Lisbon; certainly he arrived with this troupe on London in 1721.¹⁰ Around 1725 he went to Paris, where he enjoyed his first successes as designer of stage decorations. From 1728 to 1744 he was "Premier peintre décorateur" of the Académie Royale de Musique. Productions to which he contributed with decors are:

1726 *Pyrame et Thisbé* (music by Rebel and Francœur)

² Friedrich Niecks, *Programme Music in the Last Four Centuries* (London: Novello, 1906), pp. 62-64.

³ Jenkins 1967.

⁴ Careri 1989; Careri 1993, Chapter 7, pp. 113-135, 1999, Capitolo 7, pp. 135-160.

⁵ Philipp 1998, pp. 225-256.

⁶ Heybrock 1970, pp. 199-216; Hornsby 1989, 2013.

⁷ Zaslaw 2013.

⁸ About Servandoni see Heybrock 1970, Jérôme de La Gorce, "Un grand décorateur à l'Opéra de Paris au temps de Rameau: Giovanni Niccolò Servandoni," in: *Jean-Philippe Rameau: Colloque international organisé par la Société Rameau (Dijon, 21-24 septembre 1983)*, Actes réunis par Jérôme de La Gorce (Paris: Slatkine, 1987), p. 579-594. Also: Marc Olivier, "Jean-Nicolas Servandoni's Spectacles of Nature and Technology," *French Forum* 30/2 (Spring 2005), pp. 31-47, and Jérôme de La Gorce, "Une initiative originale d'un artiste au XVIIIe siècle: Les spectacles de Servandoni dans la salle des machines des Tuileries," in: *Les artistes étrangers à Paris: De la fin du Moyen Âge aux années 1920: Actes des journées d'études organisées par le Centre André Chastel les 15 et 16 décembre 2005*, Marie-Claude Chaudonneret (ed.) (Bern: Peter Lang, 2007), pp. 121-135.

⁹ About Pannini see Hornsby 2013; Ferdinando Arisi, *Gian Paolo Panini* (Piacenza 1961; Bergamo 1992); Michael Kiene, *Giovanni Paolo Panini* (Paris 1993).

¹⁰ Hornsby 2013, p. 90.

- 1727 *Proserpine* (Lully)
1728 *Orion* (La Coste), *Tancredi* (Campra)
1729 *Thésée* (Lully)
1730 *Alcione* (Marais), *Pyrrhus* (Royer), *Phaëton* (Lully)
1734 *Jephté* (Montclair), *Les éléments* (Destouches), *Philomèle* (La Coste)
1735 *Les Indes galantes* (Rameau), *Scanderberg* (Rebel and Francœur)
1741 *Issé* (Destouches)

In 1732 Servandoni won the competition issued for the design of the facade of the Église Saint Sulpice in Paris, for which he was made, in 1733, Knight in the papal Order of Saint John Lateran. In 1743 he became Knight in the Military Order of Christ of the King of Portugal, another papal order, of higher rank, because of his work for the Cathedral in Sens. After this he is often styled “Chevalier Servandoni”.

Halfway his period in Paris, in 1738, Servandoni started to produce spectacles without words, of his own design. These spectacles were shown during the weeks before Easter, in March and April, when the regular theatres were closed. They were given in the Grand Théâtre (Salle des Machines) in the Palais des Tuilleries. The following five spectacles can be mentioned:

- 1738 *La représentation de l'Église de Saint Pierre de Rome*
1739 *Pandore*
1740 *La descente d'Enée aux enfers*
1741 *Les travaux d'Ulysse*
1742 *Léandre et Héro*

In contemporary sources these spectacles are called “représentations”. Knowledge about them come first of all from the librettos issued in relation to them, little pamphlets in-octavo published by the Widow of Noël Pissot. They seem not to have been written by Servandoni himself, who is always mentioned in the third person in them. The first of these spectacles, *La représentation de l'Église de Saint Pierre de Rome* (1738), consisted of only one “tableau”: the interior of the Saint Peter in Rome, reconstructed in the Theatre of the Tuilleries.¹¹ In *Pandore* (1739) three new elements were introduced: a succession of tableaux or scenes, the addition of sound and light effects, and the collaboration of pantomime actors.¹² Whereas the successive scenes are not formally separated in the libretto of in *Pandore*, they are so in the librettos of *La descente d'Enée aux enfers* (1740) and *Les travaux d'Ulysse* (1741). In both cases they are numbered I to VII. *Léandre et Héro* (1742) consists of three successive scenes. Music seems to have played a role only in *Pandore*: although its libretto does not mention it, the libretto of *La descente d'Enée aux enfers* speaks in relation to *Pandore* of “d’y joindre même des Concerts”. No further specification is given.

¹¹ *Description abrégée de l'église de Saint Pierre de Rome, et de la représentation de l'intérieur de cette église, donnée à Paris dans la Salle des Machines des Thuilleries aux mois de Mars & d'Avril de l'année 1738, par le Sieur Servandoni* (Paris: Widow Pissot, 1738). “De l'imprimerie de la veuve Paulus-Du-Mesnil.” With an engraving par Blondel. According to Antoine-Alexandre Barbier, *Dictionnaire des anonymes et pseudonymes*, written by Pierre-Jean Mariette (1694-1774). Copies: F-Pn, GD-24578, K-16261, VP-19341, Z FONTANIEU- 87 (13). Also as “Description de l'église de Saint Pierre de Rome”, duodecimo, pp. 117-141 in “Choix des Mercures et autres journaux”, Tôme 66, Extrait du “Glaneur littéraire”. Copy: F-Pn, K- 16342

¹² *Description du spectacle de Pandore, inventé et exécuté par le chevalier Servandoni, ... Cette représentation se donnera depuis le 15 de mars 1739 jusqu'au 6 d'avril, dans la Salle des machines au Palais des Thuilleries* (Paris: Widow Pissot, 1739). 14 pp. Copies: F-Pa, GD- 23048; F-Pn, YF-11655; 8-YTH-4705; 8-RT-11876 (1).

As already said, all the spectacles of the period 1738-1742 were given in the Grand Théâtre or Salle des Machines of the Palais des Tuilleries.¹³ Built in 1661 under the supervision of Gaspare Vigarani this theatre was one of the largest of Europe, if not the largest. The space for the public measured 16,5 m (depth) by 15,3 m (width), the stage 42 m (depth) by 19 m (width) by 16 m (height). Before Servandoni hired it in 1738 it had been used only sparingly. In 1661 it had hosted the premiere of Francesco Cavalli's *Ercole amante*, in 1671 that of Jean-Baptiste Lully's *Psyché*. A few ballet and theatre performances took place in the theatre in the period 1715-1721. Its size was the cause of unwieldy reverberation in the hall and this made it fundamentally unsuitable for theatre performances. After Servandoni, who used the theatre until 1758, it was used as little as before until it was totally rebuilt. The depth of the space, however, made the theatre perfectly suitable for Servandoni's spectacles.

After this "First Parisian Period" Servandoni went back to London, where he stayed from 1747 to 1751. In this period he worked as a stage designer for Covent Garden Theatre, collaborating with Handel, among others.¹⁴

Servandoni returned to Paris in 1751. From 1754 to 1758 he designed and produced a new series of spectacles without words, performed during the weeks before Easter and on a number of occasions after Easter. Like the earlier ones these spectacles were performed in the Grand Théâtre of the Tuilleries Palace. Now they all made use of newly composed or arranged music from beginning to end, the composer of which is mentioned in the librettos. Five spectacles were produced in this way:

1754 *La forêt enchantée* (Music: Geminiani)

1755 *Le triomphe de l'amour conjugal* (Music: Charles-Guillaume Alexandre, lost)

1756 *La conquête du Mogol* (Music: Charles-Guillaume Alexandre, lost)

1757 *La constance couronnée* (Music: Carlo Sodi, lost)

1758 *La chute des anges rebelles* (Music: Egidio Romoaldo Duni, lost)

It is certainly significant that Geminiani had the honour to compose the music for the first of these pantomimes, although it is unknown what exactly this significance entails. Geminiani was certainly still in Paris when Servandoni produced his next spectacle, *Le triomphe de l'amour conjugal*, premiered 16 March 1755. But the music for this spectacle was composed by Charles-Guillaume Alexandre (c.1735-1787/88), still a very young composer in 1755.¹⁵ It is well possible that Geminiani's music was considered too old-fashioned for the theatre—although his concerti grossi were still performed frequently at the Concerts spirituels. Servandoni may have wanted music that was more in line with the style and taste of the time, which was, after all, the time of the *Guerre des Bouffons*. Alexandre would always remain a minor composer; he was best known for his opéra-comique *Le tonnelier* (1765).

Alexandre also composed the music for *La conquête du Mogol* (1756). For the two next spectacles Servandoni turned to Italian composers then active in Paris: Carlo Sodi for *La constance couronnée* (1757)

¹³ At the time often spelled "Thuilleries".

¹⁴ Hornsby 2013, p. 94.

¹⁵ Jean-Benjamin de La Borde, in his *Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne, Tome troisième* (Paris; Ph.-D. Pierre & Eugène Onfroy, 1780), p. 375, says that Alexandre is the composer of the music for Servandoni's spectacle *Godefroy de Bouillon*. With such a title little else can be meant than *La forêt enchantée*, but Geminiani's authorship of the music for this spectacle seems more than confirmed. La Borde writes: "Il [=Alexandre] est l'Auteur de la musique qu'on exécutait pendant la représentation de *Godefroy de Bouillon*, spectacle à machines, inventée par le célèbre *Servandoni*, sur le Théâtre des Tuilleries." Perhaps—but this is a speculation—Alexandre played the violin at the performances of *La forêt enchantée*.

and Egidio Romoaldo Duni for *La chute des anges rebelles* (1758). Carlo Sodi (c. 1715-1788) was in Paris from ca. 1749 and had become well-known through his music for the opéra-bouffon *Baiocco et Serpilla* (1753). Egidio Romoaldo Duni (1708-1775) arrived in Paris in 1757 after first having become an established composer of Italian operas in his homeland. In France he would become the composer of a long series of highly successful opéras-comiques, of which *Le peintre amoureux de son modèle* (1757) was the first. According to the libretto of *La chute des anges rebelles* no fewer than 300 musicians performed in Servandoni's spectacle *La chute des anges rebelles*, which were divided over several orchestras at various positions in the theatre.

Like the earlier ones, Servandoni's spectacles of 1754-1758 are known by the descriptions found in a series of printed librettos. The addition of music is not the only change compared with the spectacles of 1738-1742. Now the spectacles are divided into a succession of acts, five in the case of the spectacles of 1754-1757, three in the case of the last spectacle, *La chute des anges rebelles* (1758). In the spectacles of 1754-1757 the acts include a number of scenes but these are not formally separated. The three acts of *La chute des anges rebelles* are each formally divided into three scenes.

In the beginning Servandoni certainly was successful with his pantomime spectacles. But over the years two objections were voiced more and more often. First, that they were old-fashioned in their emphasis on visual effects and their highly improbable plots and events involving ancient gods, witchcraft and wonders. And second that they were too expensive, leading to unpaid debts. Therefore Servandoni's "Second Parisian Period" came to an end at some point in the late 1750s, when Servandoni left the French capital. For a short period of time, he worked at the court of Württemberg, where his now retrospective style was less of a problem. In 1765 he returned to Paris, where he died in 1766 in poverty.

Unfortunately, there is no extant iconographic material concerning the pantomime spectacles staged by Servandoni in Paris. The only pictures of any of his stage designs seems to be the scenes before the wall of a besieged city which were designed probably for Dresden.¹⁶

It is unknown if Servandoni and Geminiani have met with one another before they collaborated in the production of *La forêt enchantée* in 1754. It certainly is astonishing to see how many opportunities they had to meet, considering their international careers, which covered several European countries and regions. They both were in Rome around 1710, in England in the early 1720s, in France for several stretches of time in the 1730s and early 1740s. Servandoni was in England in the late 1740s, when Geminiani was there too. They both were in Paris from 1751 onwards. Actually, they both moved from Paris to London at some point in 1747 and from London to Paris at some point in 1751. It must be emphasized, however, that there is not a single thread of evidence for any meeting between the two before the preparations for *La forêt enchantée* begun late 1753 or early 1754.

LA FORÊT ENCHANTÉE

La forêt enchantée has been characterized by Clare Hornsby (2013) as a multimedia production and this may be a correct classification, because it is a spectacle that involves scenery, live action (be it without words) and music. Here, first the plot of *La forêt enchantée* as performed in Paris in 1754 will be discussed, which includes two of the three media elements mentioned, which can hardly be separated: the scenery and the action. A discussion of the music will be postponed to a later section because the music is only known from English sources from around 1760.

¹⁶ Hornsby 2013, p.105.

Before discussing the plot of *La forêt enchantée* some words must be said about its source, which is the epic poem *La Gerusalemme liberata* by Torquato Tasso (1544-1595), one of the major literary achievements of the later Italian Renaissance, first published in 1581. The poem basically describes the siege and the capture of Jerusalem under the commandship of Godefroy of Bouillon at the end of the First Crusade, in 1099. This story is told in in twenty Canti, each of them consisting of a large number of stanzas in *ottave rime*.¹⁷ In his poem Tasso processed elements from historical accounts and from epic poetry from Homer to Ariosti. The historical context is filled in by a large number of fictitious personages and the basic story is enriched with several secondary plots, most often love stories or supernatural events. Servandoni's *La forêt enchantée* tells the story of the entire Canto XIII and the beginning of Canto XVIII of Tasso's poem, be it with considerable freedom. These two Canti describe the enchantment of a forest near Jerusalem by the Muslim magician Ismeno and its disenchantment by the Christian hero Rinaldo respectively.

A fairly detailed knowledge of the plot of Servandoni's *La forêt enchantée* is possible, first of all because of the availability of several published texts that describe the spectacle in one way or another. Two publication formats can be distinguished: separately published pamphlets in octavo format with 16 or 24 pages, and short articles in periodical publications of different nature. As to the contents three different types may be distinguished: librettos, reports and reviews. When the plot is being described from the point of view of the production, this will be called a "libretto". Contemporary sources use the term "programme" to denote the libretto.¹⁸ When a description is written down by some who assisted at a performance, it is a "report"; and finally, when critical remarks about the spectacle are being made, one can speak of a "review". Some texts combine two of these three types. The following overview of these texts can now be given.

There appear to be two different librettos, which present descriptions of the spectacle that are to a certain extent different from one another. For the moment we will call them the "first libretto" and the "second libretto" respectively. Each of them is known through two different issues or editions:

- (1) *La forest enchantée* (Paris: Ballard, 1754; first libretto, 24-page edition).
- (2) *La forest enchantée* (Paris: Ballard, 1754; first libretto, 16-page edition).
- (3) *Lettre de M. *** à Madame de **** (Paris: Ballard, 1754; second libretto).
- (4) *Description du nouveau spectacle* (Paris: Ballard, 1754; another issue of the second libretto).

Then there are several descriptions mixed or not with critical remarks that appeared in the periodical press of the time or in serial works:

- (5) *Affiches, Annonces et Avis Divers* (edition in-quarto), 10 April 1754.
- (6) Friedrich Melchior Grimm, "Correspondance littéraire", 15 April 1754 (first published 1813).
- (7) Pierre Rousseau, "Correspondance littéraire", 15 April 1754 (first published 1992).
- (8) Élie Fréron, *L'année littéraire, Tome II* ([Paris], 1754), pp. 141-144, 18 April 1754.
- (9) *Mercure de France*, May 1754, pp. 187-190.
- (10) *Les spectacles de Paris, Quatrième partie* (Paris, 1755), pp. 114-115.
- (11) Claude Parfaict, *Dictionnaire des théâtres de Paris, Tome cinquième* (Paris, 1756), pp. 135-139.
- (12) Antoine de Lérís, *Dictionnaire portatif* (Paris, 2/1763), p. xvj.

¹⁷ An *ottava rima* has eight lines that are iambic pentameters, with a rhyming scheme abababcc.

¹⁸ *Mercure de France* (May 1754), p. 188, Claude Parfaict, *Dictionnaire des théâtres de Paris, Tome cinquième* (Paris 1756), p. 135.

And, finally, there is a “satirical review” in the form of an open letter, published separately:

(13) *Lettre critique de M. le Marquis *** à M. de Servandony* ([Paris], 1754)

which was, in its turn, reviewed in

(14) Élie Fréron, *L'année littéraire, Tome II* ([Paris], 1754), pp. 349-353, 18 May 1754.

The two librettos will be discussed first and then the other sources as far they contain descriptions of the spectacle. These sources will be used to “reconstruct” the spectacle as it was performed in the Grand Théâtre of the Tuilleries Palace. After this reconstruction of the plot a list of dramatis personae and visual elements of the spectacle will be presented. It will be tried to compile a list of performance dates. Then the various reports about the spectacles in newspapers and other publications will be reviewed. Finally, the critical remarks contained in the various texts mentioned will be dealt with.

Facsimiles and transcriptions of the various text are included in the APPENDICES to WORK TWENTY: *THE ENCHANTED FOREST*. A comparison of the various texts as far as they are related to the same scene is given in Table 20.1. The relations between the various texts are depicted in a diagram, which is Table 20.2.

THE FIRST LIBRETTO: *LA FOREST ENCHANTÉE* (PARIS, 1754)

Of foremost importance for knowing the plot of the spectacle *La forêt enchantée* is, of course, the “official” libretto, a booklet that was printed and published only a few day before the first performance and was probably sold to the public when it arrived at the theatre. It was published twice, once in an edition consisting of 24 in-octavo pages and once in an edition consisting of 16 in-octavo pages.¹⁹ The two editions have exactly the same title:

| LA FOREST | ENCHANTÉE, | *Représentation tirée du Poème Italien | de la Jérusalem délivrée.* |
SPECTACLE | Orné de Machines, animé d'Acteurs Panto|mimes & accompagné d'un Musique |
(de la Composition de M. GEMINIANI,) | qui en exprime les différens actions; exécuté sur le grand
Théâtre du Palais | des Thuilleries pour la première fois le | Dimanche 31 Mars 1754. | *Le prix est de*
10 sols. | DE L'IMPRIMERIE | De BALLARD, seul Imprimeur du Roi pour la Musique, | & Noteur
de la Chapelle de Sa Majesté, rue Saint-Jean-|de-Beauvais à Sainte Cécile. | M. DCC. LIV. |

The spelling of “FOREST” with “es” instead of “ê”, with *accent circonflexe*, is remarkable. This spelling is repeated in the header lines of the publication, which are in capitals as well, but is not found elsewhere in the libretto editions nor in any other contemporary source. The normal spelling of the time clearly is “forêt”. Therefore, one may assume that the spelling “forest” was chosen only because the printer did not have a capital E with *accent circonflexe* at his disposal. For us, this deviant spelling has an advantage: when referring to the spectacle in general, its title will be spelled *La forêt enchantée*, when referring to the libretto, the title will be spelled *La forest enchantée*.

The title of the libretto calls the piece first a “représentation”, then a “spectacle, orné de machines, animé d'Acteurs Pantomimes & accompagné d'un Musique”. (Note the order “machines — actors — music.”) It is interesting to see that the composer’s name—Geminiani—is mentioned on the title page. The printer is Christophe-Jean-François Ballard (c. 1701-1765), from the famous Ballard dynasty of music printers of Paris,

¹⁹ For a facsimile of the 24-page edition see Appendix, No. 1.

whose business was protected by their exclusive privileges for printing music by letterpress methods since the sixteenth century.²⁰ Ballard's activities as music printer were marginal in the 1750s.

What follows here first, concerns the 24-page edition of the libretto, which may be believed to have been printed first. (The reasons for this supposition will be explained when the 16-page edition is being discussed.) The texts of the two issues are completely identical, but the typography differs. The author of the spectacle—Servandoni—is only mentioned in a note on the *verso* of the title page:

Ce Spectacle est de l'invention du Sieur Servandoni, Chevalier de l'ordre Militaire du Christ en Portugal, Peintre & Architect ordinaire du Roi, & de son Académie Royale.

This is rather remarkable: in all other librettos of Servandoni's spectacles of the 1750s his name is given on the title page, while the composer is mentioned on the reverse of the title page.

Returning to *La forest enchantée*: on the *verso* of the title page follow the approbation of the text, dated 28 March 1754, and given by Prosper Jolyot de Crébillon (1674-1772), royal censor of books from 1735 to 1759, and the permission to print, dated 29 March 1754 and given by Nicolas-René Berryer, Comte de La Ferrière (1703-1762), *lieutenant-général de police* in Paris from 1747 to 1757.

The proper description of the spectacle is preceded by two pages of preface, a text that is not without interest.²¹ It is headed by a quotation from Horace: "Mentis gratissimus error" (This most welcome error of the mind). These words are from the poet's *Epistulae* II, 2 (*Epistula ad Florum*), 140, but they are also common as an independent quotation. They refer to the pleasure an illusion can give. In the text here this applies to the illusion of reality produced by a competently executed painted stage scenery. Such painting, the author continues, requires intimate knowledge of architecture and perspective and may be helped by mechanical means, that is, stage machines. Then a rhetorical question is posed: if a good poem can exist without music and painting, why can't painting do without its sister arts music and action? For an answer the author refers to Servandoni's spectacle, with the implicit connotation that the spectacle shows how visual images can be given more meaning by adding music and action to them.

After the introduction follow descriptions of the scenery of each act of *La forêt enchantée* and summaries of the actions of each act. The spectacle is neatly divided into five acts, the description of each of which starts on a new page. Each description of an act has its own heading ("Acte I", "Acte II", etc.) and begins with a brief paragraph in italics that describes where the action takes place. The acts are not formally divided in scenes, but it is useful to apply such a division to each act, especially for the sake of more precise references. Therefore, in what follows each act is divided into a number of scenes. The divisions often follow without much effort from the descriptions in the libretto, sometimes a subjective element could not be avoided.

The description of Act I begins with an introduction explaining that the subject of the spectacle is taken from Tasso's poem, more in particular from its French translation by Jean-Baptiste de Mirabeau (1675-1760). This translation was first published in 1724 as *La Jérusalem délivrée* (Paris: F. Barois, 12mo). New editions appeared in 1735 (J. Barois fils) and 1752 (Barois). Mirabeau's translation is in prose and no effort is done to maintain the internal structure of the Canti that is given by the series of stanzas. Mirabeau's text is organised in paragraphs, but these paragraphs normally contain several consecutive stanzas, and a new paragraph may begin where Tasso was just in the middle of a stanza. In addition, Mirabeau's translation is a rather free translation. The names of the *dramatis personae* are given in French translation: "Ismen" for "Ismeno",

²⁰ Devriès & Lesure 1979, pp. 26-27.

²¹ For a transcription and an English translation of the first libretto see Appendix, No. 1.

“Godefroy de Bouillon” for “Goffredo di Buglione”, “Renaud” for “Rinaldo”, and so on. Passages from Mirabeau’s translation will be cited here with the number of the stanza in Tasso’s Canto on which they are based, supplemented by a page numbers, taken from the 1724 edition (although it is well possible that the author of the libretto used the 1752 or the 1735 edition). A note at the beginning of the actual description of Act I (after the introductory paragraphs) refers explicitly to “Chant XIII” of Tasso’s poem, one at the beginning of Act V to “Chant XVIII”.

The introduction of the description of Act I continues with telling what happened just before the part of the story that was included in the spectacle: the Muslims had burnt down the siege machines of the Christians so that the latter could not successfully continue the siege of Jerusalem.

Before discussing the scenery and action of each act, first some general statement concerning the five acts will be given. The locations where the acts take place can be briefly described as follows:

Act I: A forest.

Act II: A mosque in Jerusalem.

Act III: The same forest as Act I.

Act IV: The camp of Godefroy of Bouillon.

Act V: The same forest as Acts I and III.

The actions in these five acts can be summarized as follows:

Act I: The Muslim magician Ismen casts a spell on the forest.

Act II: Aladin, Ruler of Jerusalem, is advised by his ministers.

Act III: Christian workers, soldiers and Alcaste try in vain to enter the forest.

Act IV: Godefroy of Bouillon worries, the hermit Pierre brings him Renaud.

Act V: Renaud breaks the spell of the forest.

Regarding time, the following overview can be given:

Act I: At night.

Act II: Later on in the same night.

Act III: Early in the morning.

Act IV: Later the same day.

Act V: Next morning?

A remarkable symmetrical plot, in which Acts I and V (enchantment versus disenchantment of the forest) are opposites, as are Acts II and IV (the Mosque of the Muslims versus the Camp of the Christians). There is also symmetry between Act III and V: in Act III evil forces defeat the Christians, in Act V Renaud prevails over the evil forces. Whereas in Tasso’s poem there is a considerable stretch of time between the enchantment and the disenchantment of the forest, in Servandoni’s spectacle all the action takes place in less than 48 hours of time.

Let us now have a look at the plot at a more detailed level. The description of Act I falls apart in four successive paragraphs and these can be taken to be scenes. They can be summarized as follows:

- I/i The forest is described as being situated in a lonely valley, with very thick foliage, so that sunlight can hardly penetrate through it. It inspires awe and horror. It is night now.
- I/ii It is the place where witches convene with demons.

- I/iii Ismen appears, performs some magic actions and invokes the Demons to come to his help. Each one must protect a tree and avoid that the Christians cut it down. First the Demons do not obey to Ismen's appeal. This part of the scene contains a fairly long passage of direct speech. Ismen continues with stronger words, the moon becomes pale and now the Demons appear. Also this part of the scene contains direct speech.
- I/iv The witches appear and accompany Ismen on his way to Jerusalem.

Act II describes a convening of Aladin, ruler of Jerusalem, with his advisers, in a mosque. The act can be summarized as follows:

- II/i Aladin receives his advisers. A first advisor suggests relying on the protection of Mahomet. The second one suggests that one should also repair the breaches and fortify the city. The third one, the Chief of the Ministers of Mahomet, suggests that one prays to God.
- II/ii He is interrupted by Argand who wants to challenge Godfroy in a duel, which he is certain to win.
- II/iii Then Ismen enters and tells about his success in enchanting the forest so that the Christians cannot build new machines.
- II/iv Aladin thanks Mahomet for his help.

Act III brings us back to the forest, now shown in early daylight. The description is printed as a single paragraph, in which the following sequence of scenes can be distinguished:

- III/i The forest is shown in early daylight. Workers arrive in good spirits.
- III/ii They are, however, opposed by spectres and phantoms.
- III/iii Godefroy sends Alcaste and a number of soldiers to help the workers.
- III/iv Alcaste and the soldiers are terrorized by uncanny sounds, a wall of fire and fire-breathing demons. The soldiers, the workers and Alcaste have to leave the forest.

Act IV brings us to the camp of Godefroy. Again, the text describing the act is a single paragraph. The act seems to present the following sequence of scenes:

- IV/i The camp of the Christians is shown, with Godefroy in deep sorrow. The soldiers suffer from the heat and the draught.
- IV/ii The hermit Pierre arrives and brings Renaud, who had been found by two warriors, to Godefroy. Renaud offers to break the spell of the enchanted forest and receives permission to do so.
- IV/v The hermit prays to God for rain and his prayer is answered: a refreshing rain falls.

The appearance of Renaud needs some explication. Renaud is one of the warriors of the Christian army but due to a mistake he had killed another Christian warrior. Subsequently he fled from the Christian army and was taken away by Armide, a witch on the Muslim side, who had fallen in love with him. Armide succeeded in keeping him as her prisoner and in diminishing his male forces. In Tasso's story Godefroy was told by God that Renaud was the only of his warriors who could defeat the Demons and break the Spell. Then Godefroy sent out two warriors to find him and bring him back, which they did. Therefore, although incorporating many elements from Tasso's poem, Act IV of *La forêt enchantée* rearranges them as it were and compresses them into the time of a single day.

The description of Act IV is followed by a little note explaining that the efforts of Tancredi to fight the Demons and to enter the Forest is left out because it would bring to much repetition. This is indeed true after Alcaste's idle efforts. Only, one would expect that such a note would have been placed at the end of Act III. It seems mistakenly placed at the end of Act IV.

Act V is apparently the longest act of the spectacle, considering the comprehensiveness of its description. It shows the Forest again, now in ever more daylight. Little articulation is applied to its four-page description in the libretto. Described is the following sequence of events:

- V/i Renaud approaches the Forest which appears to him as a friendly and sweet place. Trees have fresh foliage, nightingales sing, and he hears musical instruments.
- V/ii There is a river he must cross to enter the Forest but fortunately there is a bridge. After passing the bridge the river changes into a wild and dangerous stream.
- V/iii In the Forest there is an open place with a large and beautiful myrtle tree in its middle. From all the trees around him appear beautiful nymphs, with musical instruments such as lyres and sistrams. From the large myrtle tree, a nymph arises with the appearance of Armide. Renaud is not surprised, nor tempted, nor frightened. He decides to cut the myrtle tree down.
- V/iv At that moment the fake Armide changes into a Giant; the other nymphs, into Cyclopes. Nevertheless, Renaud succeeds in cutting down the myrtle tree and now the spell is broken. The monsters disappear.
- V/v Several squadrons of Christian troupes arrive and place Renaud at their head. The workers arrive and cut down the entire forest.

The way in which we have summarized the actions in the successive acts and scenes of *La forêt enchantée* suggests that the text of the libretto is a single ongoing story. This is, however, not the case. Apart from the descriptions of the scenery in italics that are heading the description of every act, there seem to be at least two layers in the text of the libretto. The descriptions in italics of the scenery of every act are formulated in the present tense and clearly refer directly to Servandoni's stage designs. The descriptions of the actions of the acts appear to have been formulated in two fundamentally different ways. In many passages they describe the actions as events that happened in the past. Often the descriptions use verbs in the form of the *passé défini*, the tense employed to describe *actions* in the past, sometimes in the form of the *imparfait*, the tense employed to describe *situations* of the past. Using past tenses seems highly unusual and unpractical for the description of what is going to happen on a stage.

Many of the passages in the past tense appear to be directly derived from Mirabeau's translation—actually as acknowledged in the libretto, right at the beginning of the description of Act I. The dependence on Mirabeau's translation differs from act to act. The description of Act I—except the last scene—is almost completely copied from Mirabeau's translation, with only occasional minor changes. Act I covers the subject matter of stanzas 1-10 of Canto XIII, but not all of it: some passages have been skipped. The last scene, with the witches accompanying Ismen on his way to the King, is not found in Mirabeau's translation, and, for that matter, not in Tasso's poem. This scene is described in the present tense, whereas the preceding text, copied from Mirabeau, exclusively used the past tense.

In the description of Act II only the first sentence, about Ismen's coming to the king, is borrowed from Mirabeau's translation and it stands there more or less lost, because Ismen enters the scene only at the end of the act. Act II is in fact an addition to the story from Servandoni's side. This is more or less implicated in the phrase that introduces the description: "L'Auteur du Spectacle suppose ici que ...". In Tasso's story there is no

gathering of the King of Jerusalem with his advisors. It is telling that the description of this act is—apart from the first sentence—entirely in the present tense.

Act III is again dependent on Mirabeau's translation, but not so completely as Act I. There are a number of changes. Also the plot has changed. In Tasso's poem and Mirabeau's translation Godefroy first sends a number of soldiers to help the workers. Only after this appeared not to be enough, he sends Alcaste. In *La forêt enchantée* Alcaste is immediately sent with the soldiers. Like Act I Act III ends with an added scene, that is, a scene that has no counterpart in Tasso's poem. This scene is written in the present tense, whereas the preceding scenes, dependent on Mirabeau's translation, were formulated in the past tense.

Act IV has no direct counterparts in Mirabeau's translation, although it uses elements from the story of the poem. In Tasso's poem one finds a description of the heat and the draught and their devastating consequences for the moral condition of the army. The hermit announces to Goffredo (Godefroy) that Heaven has chosen someone to break the spell of the Forest who still has to be found. And in Tasso's poem the rain then falls, as the answer of a pious prayer of Goffredo. The rain is at the end of Canto XIII. Canto XIV to Canto XVII describe the search for Rinaldo (Renaud), who is in the spell of Armida (Armide), how is brought back. Only at the beginning of Canto XVIII Rinaldo appears before Goffredo. Servandoni has considerably shortened the plot. In his Act IV he makes the hermit appear with Renaud before Godefroy immediately. Renaud is pardoned and given the task of breaking the spell, while the hermit prays for rain and receives it. Not being dependent on Mirabeau's translation, one would expect the description of Act IV to be written in the present tense. That is, however, not the case. It is written in the past tense, in the same style as the descriptions that are completely or largely borrowed from Mirabeau's translation.

Act V is, like Acts I and III, based on Mirabeau's translation. The text of Act V is derived from a number of stanzas in the first half of Canto XVIII, not all of them adjacent. The text borrowed from Mirabeau are in the past tense, as those for Act I and III. And, also like Acts I and III, there is an added final scene that has no counterpart in Tasso's story or Mirabeau's translation: the arrival of the troupes who put Renaud at their head and the cutting down of the Forest. This last scene is described with text in the present tense.

The strong dependence of several parts of the description of the spectacle *La forêt enchantée* on Mirabeau's translation has two consequences that may not have been foreseen by the author of the description. The first is the use of past tenses which is fundamentally unsuited for a libretto: the action described still has still to be realised or is being realised at best. It is at least inappropriate to describe the events of a theatre piece in the past tense. And a second problematic consequence is that an epic poem is not by definition a programme for drama. In an epic poem may occur passages that are ideas or considerations rather than actions. In the case of *La forêt enchantée* this holds for the descriptions of the Forest at the beginnings of Acts I, III and V. There it is, however, not so much of a problem, since these descriptions can be seen as an extension of the description of the scenes that precedes them on the one hand, or be used as some kind of prelude for the scene to follow. The remark, however, in the description of Act I that the Forest is a place where Witches convene with Demons was, however, certainly not meant in Tasso's poem as an action; rather it is a characterisation of the Forest.

Another consequence of the dependence on Mirabeau's translation is that sometimes stylistic figures are copied that seem inappropriate in a libretto. When Ismen prepares his casting of a spell on the Forest he bows three times to the East and three times to the West. This is described as "Ensuite il se tourne trois fois du côté de l'Orient, & autant de fois du côté où le Soleil se couche," which is not in the style of the average libretto. A little later the libretto tells us that "À ces paroles le Magicien en ajouta quelques autres qu'on ne peut sans impiété répéter après lui." It is not clear how such an instruction must be interpreted for a pantomime spectacle.

Finally, the literal borrowing of an epic text may bring with it a number of elements that one would not like to have in a pantomime spectacle. Taking Mirabeau's translation literally would also imply, for example, including the direct speech of Ismen's spell in the performance of a pantomime. The description of Act V includes singing and playing musical instruments at two occasions. One wonders if this was meant to be realized in the performances.

From this perusal of the text of the first libretto, *La forest enchantée*, two conclusions can be drawn. The first is that parts of the text—more specifically Acts I, III and V except the last scenes of these acts—are borrowed *verbatim* or largely *verbatim* from Mirabeau's translation of Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata*. These parts run therefore in past tenses. Act IV is newly written with elements of Tasso's story and runs like the directly borrowed parts in past tenses. Act II and the final scenes of Acts I, III and V are newly written independent of Tasso's story and are described in the present tense.

A second conclusion is that the plot of *La forêt enchantée* follows in principle Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata*, but at the same time introduces a number of changes and additions in comparison with Tasso's story.

Now it may be time to think about the author of the first libretto. Servandoni is referred to as "Sieur Servandoni" or "L'auteur du Spectacle", but this does not have to preclude his authorship. In the librettos of his other spectacles he is always referred to in the third person, while it is difficult not to assume he is the author of these text. In the case of *La forest enchantée* there, however, another element. Servandoni's name is lacking on the title page; instead, Geminiani is mentioned as the composer of the music. *La forest enchantée* is the only case of a libretto of a spectacle by Servandoni where the composer is mentioned on the title page and not Servandoni, who is only mentioned on the reverse of the title page. This makes one think of Geminiani as author of *La forest enchantée*, but it must be admitted: so far this is a thought, a speculation.

As already mentioned there exist two editions of the text published under the title *La forest enchantée*, one of 24 pages (consisting of one gathering with 8 folios and one with 4 folios) and one of 16 pages (one gathering of 8 folios).²² The two issues are word by word identical, only the number of pages differs and therefore the division of the text over the pages. The title pages of the two editions are completely identical but printed from different compositions. That means that the 16-page edition has the same price printed on the title page as the 24-page edition: 12 sols. The reference to Servandoni on the reverse of the title page and the Approbation and Permission are also identical in both editions. The smaller number of pages in the 16-page edition was achieved simply by using the available space on the paper more efficient. The 24-page edition has a French title followed by a blank page, there are ornaments on top of the pages where the description of an act begins, and every description of an act starts on a new page. The 16-page edition has no French title, there is no blank page, the larger ornament is used only before the description of Act I and the text continues on the same page after the end of the description of an act (if there is space for it). In addition, line spacing is narrower in the 16-page edition than in the 24-page edition, with 26 to 32 lines on a full-text page of the 24-page edition instead of 21 to 25 lines on a full-text page of the 16-page edition.²³ Nevertheless, the lines have the same width in the two editions and the division of the text into lines is also completely equal.²⁴ It seems possible that the composition

²² For a facsimile of the 16-page edition, see Appendix, No. 2.

²³ It is interesting to note that in both editions the last pages contain more lines of text than the earlier pages. In the case of the 24-page edition full-text pages have 21 to 23 lines normally (pages 9-11, 14, 17), but page 22 has 24 lines and pages 23 and 24 have 25 lines. In the case of the 16-page edition the normal number of lines is 29 (page 7; pages 8 and 10 have 28 and 26 lines respectively but these pages conclude a section), but pages 15 and 16 have 32 and 33 lines respectively. This increase was certainly applied to fit the text on 24 and 16 pages respectively.

²⁴ I noted only one instance where the division of the text over the lines was different in the two editions, notably lines 2-5 of the description of Act I.

of the 24-page edition was reorganized at least partly for the 16-page edition. If not, the new typesetting was done on purpose in such a way to make it indistinguishable from the earlier one.

The contents of the two editions can be compared in the following way:

	24-page edition	16-page edition
French title	[1]	
Blank page	[2]	
Title	[3]	[1]
Colophon page	[4]	[2]
Preface	[5]-6	[3]-4
Acte I	[7]-8-12	[5]-6-8
Acte II	[13]-14-15	9-10
Acte III	[16]-17-18	11-12
Acte IV	[19]-20	12-13
Acte V	[21]-22-24	14-16

The question now arises which of the two editions came first and which one later. Considering the more luxurious layout and appearance of the 24-page edition, I would be tempted to say that this was the first edition, brought out at the date of the first performance, 31 March 1754. The 16-page edition must be a reprint, produced at a later date when the 24-page edition had run out of print. In other words: the 16-page edition is a second edition.

THE SECOND LIBRETTO: THE *LETTRE DE M. *** À MADAME DE ****

The second libretto of *La forêt enchantée* was published as *Lettre de M. *** à Madame de ****.²⁵ It has the form of an “open letter”, according to the publication written by an anonymous gentleman and addressed to an equally anonymous lady. Its full title reads:

| LETTRE | DE M. ***, | A MADAME DE ***. | *Sur le nouveau Spectacle donné sur le grand |
Théâtre du Palais des Thuilleries, le | Dimanche 31 Mars 1754. | Par le Sieur SERVANDONI,*
Chevalier de l'Ordre Militaire de Christ, Peintre & Architecte | ordinaire du Roi, & de son Académie
Royale. | Prix 12 s. | [vignette] | A PARIS, | De l'Imprimerie de Ballard, Seul Imprimeur du Roy |
pour la Musique; & Noteur de la Chapelle de sa | Majesté, Rue S. Jean de Beauvais, à Ste. Cécile. |
M. DCC. LIV. | *Avec Approbation & Permission.* |

The 16-page pamphlet in *octavo* format was printed in the same shop as where the first libretto was printed: that of Christophe-Jean-François Ballard in the rue de Saint-Jean de Beauvais. Approbation and Permission are analogous to those of the libretto, now both dated 29 March 1754. (The Approbation of the first libretto was dated 28 March.) Now, Servandoni is mentioned on the title page as author of the Spectacle. No mention is made of Geminiani at all, nor of the presence of music.

²⁵ For a facsimile and English translation of the *Lettre de M. *** à Madame de ****, see Appendix, No. 3. The name of the addressee, “Madame de ***” has the prefix “de”, the name of the writer not. One wonders if this difference was introduced on purpose, to characterize the addressee as belonging to a higher social than the writer.

In its general structure the text of the second libretto runs parallel to that of the first libretto: it begins with introductory section and then follow the descriptions of the five acts. The letter as a whole is—like the preface of the first libretto—preceded by a quotation from Horace, now three lines from his *Ars poetica* (361-363):

*Ut Pictura Poësis erit quæ si propius stes;
Te capiat magis, & quædam si longius obstes;
Hæc amat obscurum, volet hæc sub luce videri.*

Just like painting, there will be poetry that pleases more from nearby;
It catches you better, and other poetry when you stand far from it.
Some poetry likes the dark, other wants to be seen in light.

The quotation is used by the author of the *Lettre* to suggest that for Horace painting was a higher art than poetry because it was put as an example for poetry. Visual images, he continues, seem to belong more to painting than to poetry. But in the case of Servandoni's *La forêt enchantée* the painter has borrowed from poetry, by taking Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata* as the model for his spectacle. After these opening remarks follows a short summary of what went before in the story of the spectacle. Canti XIII and XVIII of Tasso's poem are referred to and the introductory part ends with the sentence (often quoted by recent commentators) that Servandoni "a déployé tout ce que l'Art de la Peinture, de la Perspective, & des Mechanique peut fournir de plus noble & de plus surprenant pour l'exécution de son projet."

After this brief introduction follow the descriptions of the five acts of the spectacle. Missing are the one-sentence descriptions of the scenery that precede in the first libretto the descriptions of the events of every act. The descriptions in the second libretto are in a style different from that of the first libretto. The text is entirely written in the present tense, as to be expected for a libretto. Sometimes the descriptions are shorter than those in the first libretto, sometimes they are longer. The second libretto seems to have been written independently from the first.

The descriptions contained in the second libretto describe in principle the same sequences of scenes as described in first, but at the same time there are important differences between the two librettos. In several cases the two librettos describe the same scenes but in different ways, with different words. In other cases, the two librettos deviate in content. Either the second leaves out elements found in the first, or it adds elements not found in the first. Regarding several scenes of Act I, there are notable differences between the two librettos:

- I/i The second libretto adds to the description of the Forest that its silence is sometimes interrupted "par les chants funèbres des Oiseaux de mauvais augure". In the first libretto the convening of witches is mentioned as a characterisation of the Forest, in the second a real convention that takes place. The witches go away when Ismen arrives.
- I/ii The description of how Ismen casts a spell on the Forest is much shorter in the second libretto than in the first. All details are left out and so is the speech that Ismen delivers in the first libretto.

In Act II, in the description of the council in scene II/ii, the three separate actions of the ministers are left out. Only the presence of the "Muphti ou Chef de la Loi" is mentioned. The last scene of this act consists in the first libretto only of Aladin thanking Mahomet, in the second libretto there are some ceremonies to thank Mahomet.

Act III is fairly parallel in the two librettos, but the second libretto is certainly more verbose than the first.

Act IV is more or less identical in the two librettos as far as content is concerned, but the second libretto uses entirely different words and is also longer than the first. One element has been added in the second libretto. Alcaste, defeated by the Demons and the Monsters in Act III, shows up towards the end of the first scene of this act but he does not want to answer questions. In the first libretto this element is completely missing. Alcaste's appearance before Godefroy is borrowed from Tasso's poem (Canto XIII/xxix).

After the descriptions of Acts I-IV the description of Act V in the second libretto comes as a surprise. At first one may think that the description of this act was copied from the first libretto and slightly adapted, because the text is clearly derived from Mirabeau's translation of Tasso's poem. But at a closer look one discovers that the additions to Mirabeau's translation that are found in the first libretto are missing in the second libretto, while, on the other hand, the second libretto contains phrases from Mirabeau's translation that are missing in the first. The only conclusion possible therefore is that the author of the second libretto used Mirabeau's translation himself for his description of Act V, independently from the author of the first libretto. There are several differences in the way the text in the second libretto is derived from Mirabeau's translation. First of all, the borrowing is less *verbatim* in the second libretto than it was in the first libretto. Phrases derived from the translation alternate with phrases that are independent from it. In several cases words from the translation are used but put together in such a way that they form a different sentence. And all the past tenses of Mirabeau's translation have been changed into present tenses. Where Mirabeau's translation is used, the text is clearly adapted to the style of the descriptions of the preceding acts.

In the last scene—which is not derived from Mirabeau's translation—the second libretto brings in a new element: horses.²⁶ In the first libretto the troupes appear all together and make a triumphal march, with Renaud as leader. At the same time the workers cut down the forest. In the second libretto, first a few soldiers appear, followed by workers with hatches. A page presents a richly decorated horse to Renaud, which he mounts. Then three cavalry companies with several generals appear who bring Renaud back to Godefroy's camp. When they leave the scene, the forest is cut down entirely and the theatre is filled with chips as a result of the cutting.

The differences between the two librettos are perplexing. They both pretend to describe the scenery and the action of the spectacle *La forêt enchantée*, but in many details the descriptions deviate from one another and this in such a way that they cannot describe the same performance of the spectacle. Considering the dates of their Approbations and Permissions, both descriptions must have been written before the first public performance on 31 March 1754. This means that they were both written during the time of the rehearsals so that it is possible that the two descriptions represent different stages in the development of the spectacle during the rehearsal period.

The chronological relation that is implied in the designations "first libretto" and "second libretto" is first of all based on the dates of their Approbations—28 March 1754 for the first libretto, 29 March for the second—but is confirmed by the observation that some of the new elements of the second libretto were certainly included in the actual performances. The horses in the last scene of Act V are the most important of them. But including horses in the show cannot have been a last-minute decision. Actually, the text of the first libretto looks like a version that was written much longer before the start of the performances than the second libretto. Perhaps the first libretto must be considered rather as a summary of the spectacle compiled before the rehearsals and the further preparations begun. This would not be contradicted by the different stylistic levels of the text.

²⁶ Albert Babeau, in "Le théâtre des Tuileries sous Louis XIV, Louis XV et Louis XVI", *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris* 22 (1895), pp. 130-188, p. 148, mentions that the floor of the stage was expressly renewed and made stronger by Servandoni for this purpose.

Remarkably enough the text of the second libretto is also available in another issue printed from the same character composition, but with a different title page.²⁷ The title now reads:

| DESCRIPTION | DU NOUVEAU | SPECTACLE, | *Donné sur le grand Théâtre du Palais des |
| Thuilleries, le Dimanche 31 Mars 1754. | Par le Sieur SERVANDONI, Chevalier de l'Ordre Militaire
| de Christ, Peintre & Architecte | ordinaire du Roi, & de son Académie Royale. | Prix 12 s. | [vignette]
| A PARIS, | De l'Imprimerie de Ballard, Seul Imprimeur du Roy | pour la Musique; & Noteur de la
| Chapelle de sa | Majesté, Rue S. Jean de Beauvais, à Ste. Cécile. | M. DCC. LIV. | Avec Approbation
| & Permission. |*

The five first lines, from “Description” to “1754”, differ from the title of the *Lettre de M. *** and Madame de ****; what follows was simply copied from the title page of the *Lettre*. In the text of the second issue there are two more differences: the heading on p. 3 has been shortened to “A | MADAME DE ***.” and the Approbation and Permission at the end have been left out. The rest of the text of this booklet is printed from the same composition as the *Lettre de M. *** and Madame de ****, or it was recomposed in such a way that it was completely undistinguishable from the first composition.

It seems that the issue with the title *Description du nouveau spectacle* appeared later than the *Lettre de M. *** and Madame de ****. Two observations support this hypothesis. First, whereas on the title page of the *Description* the nature of the text as a letter is not mentioned, the text still has some characteristics of a letter, such as a heading (“A Madame de ***”) and an address formula (“Madame, ...”) at the beginning and a rudimentary valediction phrase (“J’ai l’honneur d’être, &c.”) at the end. These characteristics would be strange for a text that was prepared under the title “Description”. And secondly the *Description* lacks the Approbation and Permission that the *Lettre de M. *** à Madame de **** has. It seems more probable that these items were removed for a re-issue than they were introduced in a re-issue. The re-issue as *Description* must, by the way, have been produced immediately or at least not long after the first issue if at least the composition was not newly set. Typographical composition was rarely kept for later use.

To the question why this re-issue with a different title was produced it is difficult to give an answer. It seems possible that the first issue, as *Lettre de M. *** à Madame de ****, had run out of print. But why was the title changed? Or was it sold in the theatre to replace the first libretto, because the description of the spectacle was more accurate in this second libretto? But, if this was the case, why was the first libretto reprinted as well? As yet there is no evidence available for definitive answers to these questions.

Even the question why there were two librettos and not a single one is not so easy to answer. The best answer is to consider the first libretto as some kind of “official” libretto, to be sold in the theatre to the audience. The second libretto is then an “unofficial” libretto, produced to be disseminated among literary circles in Paris. But these distinctions are hypotheses: there is no evidence for them, neither direct nor circumstantial.

Whatever the case, the double libretto of *La forêt enchantée* is not a unique case. One of Servandoni’s earlier spectacles, *Les travaux d’Ulysse* (1741), is also described both in an official libretto and an anonymous letter addressed to an equally anonymous person printed under the title *Lettre au sujet du spectacle des Aventures d’Ulysse* (Paris: Prault fils, 1741).²⁸ The latter publication is dated 27 February 1740, which is before

²⁷ For a facsimile of the *Description du nouveau spectacle*, see Appendix, No. 4.

²⁸ *Lettre au sujet du spectacle des Aventures d’Ulysse à son retour du siège de Troie, jusqu’à son arrivée en Ithaque. Tiré de l’Odyssée d’Homère; ouvert au palais des Tuileries, dans la salle des machines, au mois de mars 1741, inventé par le chevalier Servandoni* (Paris : Prault fils, 1741) 16 pages. Copies F-Pa, GD-24956; F-Pn, YF-9901; F-Pn, YF-11656.

the official premiere, so that also here it looks as if this *Lettre* was written by someone who has attended the rehearsals. The description deviates in many details from the official libretto. The double libretto publication may have served the same aims as that in the case of *La forêt enchantée*.

Also for one of Servandoni's spectacles produced after *La forêt enchantée* does exist a printed text in the format of an open letter that provides a parallel description of the spectacle. For *La chute des anges rebelles* (1758) there is the *Lettre de M. *** à M. *** au sujet du spectacle de la revolte et de la chute des anges rebelles* (Paris, 1758). Like the *Description du spectacle de la chute des anges rebelles* the *Lettre* is a 16-page booklet. Both "librettos" were produced by the same printing shop. The *Lettre* is dated 28 February 1758, its Printing Permission 7 March 1758. The Printing Permission of the *Description* is of the same date, 7 March 1758, so that both librettos were probably printed simultaneously or practically so.

LA FORÊT ENCHANTÉE: DRAMATIS PERSONÆ

After the description of Servandoni's spectacle, it may be interesting to give an overview of the *dramatis personæ* of *La forêt enchantée*, as well as of the elements of the decorations and of the visual, auditory and special effects applied in the spectacle. The *dramatis personæ* can be divided in various categories. First there are the human personages with a name, in order of their appearance:

Ismen (I/iii-iv, II/iii)
Aladin, King of Jerusalem (II)
Argand (II/ii)
Alcaste (III/iii-iv, in the *Lettre* also IV/i)
Godefroy de Bouillon (IV)
Pierre, the hermit (IV/iii-iv)
Renaud (IV/iii, V)

Then there are human personages without a name:

Le premier Chef d'Aladin (II/i, not in *Lettre*)
Le second Chef (II/i, not in *Lettre*)
Le troisième Chef, le Chef des Ministres de Mahomet (II/i), le Ministre de la Religion (II/v; = Le Muphti ou Chef de la Loi, in *Lettre*)
A page (V/v, only in *Lettre*)

Finally, there are human beings that appear in groups:

Workers (*travailleurs*) sent to cut down the forest (III, V/v)
Soldiers (*soldats*) to help and to protect the workers (III/iii-iv)
Cavalry squadrons (V/v)

Even animals play a role in it:

Horses (only in the *Lettre*: V/v)

Several personages can be characterised as supernatural beings, either individual:

A beautiful girl with the traits of Armide (*belle fille*; V/iii) who changes into
A giant (*géant*; V/iv)

or, more often, in groups:

Witches (*magiciennes, streghe*; I/ii, iv)
Demons (*démons*; I/iii, III/iv)
Spectres (*spectres*, III/ii-iii)
Phantoms (*fantômes*; III/ii)
Nymphs (*filles, nymphes*; V/iii) who change into
Cyclopes (*cyclopes, monstres*; V/iv)

Elements of the scenery are

A forest with trees (Acts I, III, V)
The interior of a mosque, with columns (Act II)
An army camp, with tents (Act IV)
The tent of Godefroy of Bouillon (Act IV)
A river, either calm or wild (Act V)
A myrtle tree (Act V)

Then there are a number of special effects, which can be distinguished into visual effects:

Darkness (I)
A moon that changes colour (I)
Sunrise (III/i, V/i)
A wall of fire (III/iv, realised visually)

and sound effects:

Thunder (III/iv, V/iv)
Loud sounds as the roaring of lions (III/iv, V/iv)
The hissing of snakes (III/iv)
Musical sounds (V/i, iii)
Rain (IV/iii, realised by sound)

An earthquake is mentioned for Scene V/iv.

LA FORÊT ENCHANTÉE: PERFORMANCE DATES

The performance dates of Servandoni's pantomime spectacles—both the earlier ones of 1738-1742 and the later ones of 1754-1758—followed a rather particular pattern.²⁹ The first performances took place daily during the two or three weeks preceding Easter when theatre performances were not allowed. After Easter followed a number of reprises on Sundays and some selected holidays, with possibly the last performances on First and Second Pentecost Days. This means that also after Easter Servandoni had his spectacles performed on days that the regular theatres were closed.

The performances of *La forêt enchantée* followed this standard pattern. The first performance took place on Sunday 31 March 1754, as for example the librettos confirm. 14 April was Easter so that the spectacle will

²⁹ See Heybrock 1970, where she discusses the spectacles.

have been repeated daily until and including Second Easter Day, that is 15 April. No direct evidence is available for the dates of the first reprises after this period, but an advertisement in the octavo edition of the *Affiches, Annonces et Avis Divers* (the “Affiches de Paris”) of 9 May announces that the performances will be from now on Saturday:

Le SPECTACLE de la *Forêt Enchantée* continuera tous les Samedis jusqu’aux Fêtes de la Pentecôte, pendant lesquelles on le donnera encore.

This strongly suggests that the performances were continued until that date on Saturday, on a weekly basis, that is on 20 and 27 April and 4 May. The advertisement of 9 May suggests that the next performance was on 11 May. An advertisement in the *Affiches, Annonces et Avis Divers* of 16 May (p. 303) confirms the performance on Saturday 18 May:

A Samedi 18. le Spectacle de la *Forêt Enchantée*.

one of 23 May (p. 319) a performance on the same day Thursday 23 May:

On donnera aujourd’hui Jeudi 23. de ce moi, le Spectacle de la *Forêt Enchantée*. Il commencera à 5 heures précises, à cause du Concert Spirituel.

Tuesday 23 May was Ascension Day. Since there was a concert spirituel that night, the performance of *La forêt enchantée* started on 5 o’clock in the afternoon. It is not clear if this performance was in the place of the regular one on Saturday, in this case 25 May. The last two performances are announced in the *Affiches, Annonces et Avis Divers* of 30 May (p. 335):

On donnera le Spectacle de la *Forêt Enchantée* le Dimanche 2. Juin, & le Lundi 3. pour la dernière fois. On commencera le Dimanche à 5 heures précises, à cause du Concert Spirituel, & Lundi à 6 heures.

The performance dates 2 and 3 June are First and Second Pentecost Day.

The overview given presents evidence for performances daily from 31 to 15 April and then on 20 and 27 April, 4, 11, 18 and 23 May, possibly 25 May, and certainly 2 and 3 June. This makes 24 or 25 performances in total.

FURTHER DESCRIPTIONS OF *LA FORÊT ENCHANTÉE*

Seven descriptions of Servandoni’s spectacle *La forêt enchantée* are known that were written during the time that the performances were given, that is, April and May 1754, after the premiere on 31 March. They were published in various periodicals and other publications of the time or somewhat later. The first one to discuss is the description that was published in the *Affiches, Annonces et Avis Divers* of 10 April 1754.³⁰ The *Affiches, Annonces et Avis Divers* is a newspaper that appeared in two series. One is in-octavo and appeared every Monday and Thursday, the so-called “Affiches de Paris”. The other one is in-quarto and appeared on Wednesday: the “Affiches de Province”. The in-quarto issue of Wednesday 10 April 1754 contains a 770-word description of the spectacle. After mentioning the most important general information about the spectacle

³⁰ For a facsimile, a transcription and an English translation of the text in the *Affiches, Annonces et Avis Divers* of 10 April 1754, pp. 59-60, see Appendix No. 5.

(author, place, date, name, origin, composer) the spectacle is briefly described from beginning to end. Introductory words and description appear to be an extract from the second libretto, the *Lettre de M. *** à Madame de ****: they bring virtually no text that is not included in the *Lettre*. Only at the end there is a detail not copied from the *Lettre*: that the horses of the cavalry troupes were “de vrai chevaux bardés à l’Antique”: real horses armoured the old way. For the rest it adds nothing to our knowledge of the spectacle. One wonders of the one who put this note in the newspaper had seen the spectacle himself.

The next description to discuss brings more information than the previous: it is a letter dated 15 April 1754 that is included in the so-called *Correspondance littéraire*, a kind of periodical publication with reviews and reports about French publications as well as theatre performances, written by several authors in Paris during the years 1753-1813, with two issues each month (on the 1st and the 15th), and sent in the form of manuscript copies to several courts in Germany, Scandinavia and Russia.³¹ The main author for the first period was Friedrich Melchior Grimm (1723-1807), a German literate living in Paris and writing in French. Later Jacob Heinrich Meister (1744-1826) took over Grimm’s work.

The first subscribers to Grimm’s project were, in 1753, the three younger brothers of King Frederick the Great of Prussia in Berlin, the princes August Wilhelm (1722-1758), Heinrich (1726-1802) and August Ferdinand of Prussia (1730-1813). Luise Dorothea of Saxe Meiningen (1710-1767), Duchess of Saxe-Gotha by her marriage in 1729 with Frederick III Duke of Saxe Gotha, and Carolina of the Palatinate Zweibrücken Birkenfeld (1721-1774), *Landgräfin* of Hesse Darmstadt by her marriage in 1741 with Ludwig IX Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, followed in 1754.³² Later subscribers include Queen Luise Ulrike of Sweden, Frederick the Great himself, Empress Catherine II of Russia and a fair number of rulers or their wives of various duchies and other territories in the Roman Empire.³³

Servandoni’s spectacle *La forêt enchantée* is described and reviewed in Grimm’s letter of 15 April.³⁴ The manuscript copies sent to the three Prussian princes in Berlin and the Duchess of Gotha are still extant in the archives of the two courts.

Smaller and larger portions of the *Correspondance littéraire* were published several times in the nineteenth century and later.³⁵ The first substantial publication, covering the period from 1753 to 1790, took place in Paris in 1812-1813, as *Correspondance littéraire, philosophique et critique à un souverain d’Allemagne*, in three series (“parties”), each series with quite a few volumes (“tomes”).³⁶ Editors were Joseph-François Michaud and François Chéron, publishers were Longchamps and F. Buisson in Paris.³⁷ This edition is usually referred to as the “Buisson edition”. The *Première partie*, in itself in six volumes, covers the period from 1753 to 1769. The letter of 15 April 1754, in which *La forêt enchantée* is discussed, is included in the *Tome premier*, which covers the period from the beginning in May 1753 until and including February 1756.³⁸ The editors made use of a manuscript in the possession of Jean-Auguste Caperonnier, administrator of the Bibliothèque Nationale, the present location of which is unknown. It may have been Grimm’s own copy, but this is not completely certain. Comparison with later editions of the letter with the description and review of Servandoni’s spectacle

³¹ Kölving & Carriat 1984, Vol. 1, pp. xv-xl; Kölving 2006, pp. xxi-lxx.

³² Kölving & Carriat 1984, Vol. 1, pp. xviii; Kölving 2006, p. xxvii.

³³ Kölving 2006, pp. xxxvii-xxxiv.

³⁴ For a transcription and an English translation of Grimm’s review of 10 April 1754, see Appendix No. 6.

³⁵ Kölving & Carriat 1984, Vol. 1, pp. lxxxvi-cxx; Kölving 2006, pp. xxxix-l.

³⁶ *Correspondance littéraire, philosophique et critique à un souverain d’Allemagne depuis 1753 jusqu’en 1769, par le Baron de Grimm et par Diderot, Première-Troisième partie* (Paris: Longchamps & F. Buisson, 1812-1813). The *Seconde partie* appeared first, in 1812, the *Première partie* and *Troisième partie* in 1813.

³⁷ Kölving & Carriat 1984, Vol. 1, pp. lxxxvi-c; Kölving 2006, pp. xxxix-xliii.

³⁸ *Correspondance littéraire, [...], Première partie, Tome premier* (Paris 1813), pp. 156-160.

makes clear that the editors left out the portion of the letter that describes the spectacle. They added a footnote to Grimm's comment that the marvel of the tragedy is usually badly represented in French opera: opera proceeds to slow for the emotions of the tragedy, citing *Les Horaces* by Antonio Salieri, premiered in Paris in 1786, as an example, where the words "qu'il mourût" were repeated sixty times.

In 1829 Jules Taschereau edited a new edition, entitled *Correspondance littéraire, philosophique et critique de Grimm et Diderot*, in fifteen volumes, published by Furne and Ladrangé in Paris.³⁹ The edition is based on the first and distinguishes itself from it mainly by the addition of notes and commentaries.⁴⁰ The letter describing an reviewing Servandoni's spectacle is in the *Tome premier*.⁴¹ It reproduces the text of the first edition, but leaves out the added footnote.

The third nineteenth-century edition of the *Correspondance littéraire* was edited by Maurice Tourneux and published in sixteen volumes in the years 1877-1882 as *Correspondance littéraire, philosophique et critique de Grimm, Diderot, Raynal, Meister, etc.* by Garnier Frères in Paris.⁴² Tourneux used original copies of the letters preserved in the archives of Gotha and the Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal in Paris.⁴³ The letter of 15 April 1754 is included in *Tome deuxième*, which covers the period from May 1753 until and including March 1755.⁴⁴ This edition presents the review of *La forêt enchantée* in its complete form.

Recently a beginning was made with a new complete critical edition of the *Correspondance littéraire*, edited by Ulla Kölving, entitled simply *Correspondance littéraire*. Until now only one volume (Tome 1) has appeared (2006), covering the years 1753-1754 so that it this happily contains the letter of 15 April 1754, with the review of *La forêt enchantée*.⁴⁵

Grimm's letter is for the larger part a critical review of a performance of *La forêt enchantée*, but it includes a description as well, which is the reason why it is already discussed here. The description is a summary of 470 words and its wording makes clear that it is derived from the text of the first libretto, published as *La forest enchantée*. In some elements it deviates from its example. The Muslim magician is called "Isménor", instead of "Ismen". The variant is probably taken from the libretto of André Campra's tragédie lyrique *Tancredi* (1702, also based on Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata*), where the sorcerer of the muslims is called "Isménor".⁴⁶ When this man arrives at the stage in Act I, he is said to be "à la tête d'un troupe de magiciens". The librettos do not mention such an escort. The end of Act II is described as "Après bien des promenades, toute cette troupe quitte la mosquée." This must be a reference to the final scene of this act as described in the second libretto; according to first there was only Aladin who thanked Mahomet for his help. Similarly, the end of Act V includes the sentence "Une troupe des croisés arrive à cheval." In the first libretto there is no reference to horses, but the second describes this scene with the participation of horses. The latter remarks must mean that

³⁹ *Correspondance littéraire, philosophique et critique, adressée de Grimm et de Diderot, depuis 1753 jusqu'en 1790, Nouvelle édition, Tome Premier*, Revue et mise dans un meilleur ordre, avec des notes et des éclaircissements, et ou se trouvent rétablies pour la première fois les phrases supprimées par la censure impériale, *Tome premier-quinzième* (Paris: Furne & Ladrangé, 1829).

⁴⁰ Kölving & Carriat 1984, Vol. 1, pp. cvii-cx; Kölving 2006, pp. xlv-xlvi.

⁴¹ *Correspondance littéraire, [...] Nouvelle édition, Tome premier* (Paris 1829), pp. 138-142.

⁴² *Correspondance littéraire, philosophique et critique par Grimm, Diderot, Raynal, Meister, etc.* Revue sur les textes originaux comprenant outre ce qui a été publié à diverses époques les fragment supprimés en 1813 par la censure, les partie inédites, conservée à la Bibliothèque de Gotha et à l' Arsenal de Paris. Notice, notes, table générale par Maurice Tourneux, *Tome premier-seizième* (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1877-1882).

⁴³ Kölving & Carriat 1984, Vol. 1, pp. cxiv-cxx; Kölving 2006, pp. xlvi-l.

⁴⁴ *Correspondance littéraire, [...], Tome deuxième* (Paris 1877), pp. 343-347.

⁴⁵ Kölving 2006, pp. 176-180.

⁴⁶ Another sorcerer with the name Isménor occurs in Jean-Philippe Rameau's tragédie lyrique *Dardanus* (1739). The nineteenth-century editions transcribe the name of the sorcerer as "Ismenar".

Grimm wrote his letter with a copy of the first libretto at his disposal, but after having seen a performance, he added some details that are missing in it. The critical remarks in Grimm's letter, by far the larger portion of the text, will be dealt with later.

Several of Servandoni's later spectacles were reviewed in later letters of the *Correspondance littéraire: Le triomphe de l'amour conjugal* in the letter of 1 April 1755, *La constance couronnée* in the letter of 1 May 1757 and *La chute des anges rebelles* in the letter of 15 June 1758.

Grimm's letter about *La forêt enchantée* is discussed by several recent commentators, among them Heybrock (1970, pp. 209-212) and Careri (1993, pp. 115).

The French journalist and writer Pierre Rousseau (1716-1785) kept a correspondence with the Elector Palatine in Mannheim, Karl Theodor, similar to that of Grimm with the German courts.⁴⁷ In the first letter of this correspondence, dated 15 April 1754, there is a report about spectacle *La forêt enchantée*.⁴⁸ Rousseau repeats almost *verbatim* the text about the spectacle in the *Affiches, Annonces et Avis Divers* of 10 April 1754. At the end he adds a sentence about the cutting down of the forest:

Les travailleurs abattent les arbres de la forêt qui tombent avec impétuosité sur le sol, et qui auraient dû s'enflammer pour finir comme il faut.

The latter remarks should not be taken seriously, as a matter of fact. He continues, however, reporting some problems with the stage machinery during the first performances, due to the fact Servandoni could not hire the right people to manage it:

Dans les premières représentations, le spectacle avait déplu parce que le service des machines était retardé, ce qui faisait mauvais effet. L'entrepreneur n'avait eu pour ce service que des gens sans expérience, les autres attachés aux spectacles lui ayant refusé leur secours.

A third author to voice his ideas about French literature and theatre in a series of letters was the journalist and critic Élie-Catherine Fréron (1713-1776). These letters were published in *L'année littéraire*, a serial publication with two volumes each year. The letter that discusses *La forêt enchantée* is found in Tome II, which covers the first half of the year 1754:⁴⁹

L'ANNEE | LITTÉRAIRE | ANNÉE M. DCC. LIV. | OU | SUITE DES Lettres sur quelques | *Ecrits de ce Temps*. | Par M. FRERON des Académies d'Angers, de Montauban & de Nancy. | *Parcere personis, dicere de vitiis*. MARTIAL. | Tome II. | A AMSTERDAM. | Et se trouve à Paris, | Chez MICHEL LAMBERT, Libraire, | rue & à côté de la Comédie Française, | au Parnasse. |

The review of *La forêt enchantée* is the second item in a letter dated 18 April 1754.⁵⁰ It mixes description and criticism. The descriptions of the five acts vary in length, those of the first and second acts are very short, those of the later acts are longer. The wording of the descriptions makes clear that they are derived from the *Lettre de M. *** à Madame de ****. Occasionally there are details that are lacking in the *Lettre*: Fréron tells

⁴⁷ See Pierre Rousseau et auteur(s) anonyme(s), *Correspondance littéraire de Mannheim 1754-1756*, Textes édités par Jochen Schlobach (Paris-Genève: Champion-Slatkine, 1992 = Correspondances littéraires érudites, philosophiques, privées ou secrètes II, 2).

⁴⁸ Rousseau 1992, pp. 57-59. For a transcription and an English translation of Rousseau's letter see Appendix, No. 7.

⁴⁹ The motto "Parcere personis, dicere de vitiis" (spare people, talk about vices) is from Martial's *Epigrammata X*, 33, 10.

⁵⁰ For a facsimile, a transcription and a translation of Fréron's review, see Appendix, No. 8.

us, for example, that the Cyclopes that occur in Act V are armed with clubs. Fréron's criticism will be dealt with in the next section of this text.

The well-known periodical *Mercure de France* devoted an article to Servandoni's spectacle in the May 1754 issue.⁵¹ After some words of praise the descriptions of the scenery are reproduced that in the first libretto precede the descriptions of the five acts. Then follow two pages of critical remarks that will be discussed in the next section of this text.

The *Dictionnaire des théâtres de Paris* by the two brothers François Parfaict (1698-1753) and Claude Parfaict (1705-1777) was published in seven volumes in 1756. The description of *La forêt enchantée* in the article about Servandoni, in the *Tome cinquième*, pp. 133-139, must have been written by the younger brother, the elder having died before the spectacle was staged.⁵² This description forms the larger part of the article and apparently it was written in April or May 1754, because the spectacle is described as an ongoing event. It is preceded by a brief biographical sketch of Servandoni and a list of his earlier opera decorations and pantomime spectacles. The description of *La forêt enchantée* is rather comprehensive and is derived from both librettos as explicitly stated: "tiré également des deux programmes imprimés de ce Spectacle."

The "Quatrième partie, Pour l'année 1755" of *Les spectacles de Paris, ou Calendrier historique et chronologique des théâtres* (Paris: Duchesne, 1755) contains an overview of the theatrical performances that took place in Paris in 1754, ordered by theatre. A description of *La forêt enchantée*, "Au spectacle en décorations", is given on pp. 114-115.⁵³ It appears to be a reproduction of the Fréron's text in *L'année littéraire*, with the critical remarks left out.

Finally, there is the *Dictionnaire portatif historique et littéraire des théâtres* by Antoine de Lérès (1723-1795), of which the first edition appeared in 1754 (Paris: C. A. Jombert). A reference to Servandoni's *Forêt enchantée* is found in the second edition, published in 1763 (same publisher). On page xvj there is a short history of the Grand Théâtre of the Tuilleries Palace, consisting mainly of a listing of Servandoni's spectacles presented there in the years 1738-1742 and 1754-1758.⁵⁴ Lérès is quite favourable about Servandoni's spectacles, and especially about one:

Quelques-uns de ces sujets ont été avec tant de grandeur & un Spectacle si surprenant (1), qu'on ne peut se lasser d'applaudir à ce genre Pantomime noble, & où le génie de l'Artiste & du Mécanicien trouvent moyen de se développer avec tant de grandeur, d'intérêt & de vérité.

This appears to be *La forêt enchantée*. The footnote comments upon the use of horses of the final scene of *La forêt enchantée*:

(1) Dans la Forêt enchantée, beaucoup de Chevaliers du camp de Godefroy de Bouillon paroissoient sur le Théâtre armés de toutes pièces & à cheval, ce qui faisoit un très-bel effet. C'est la première fois qu'on a vu des chevaux sur le Théâtre en France, car cela est assez ordinaire dans les Opéra d'Italie, où cependant on n'en a jamais employé en aussi gran nombre.

⁵¹ *Mercure de France, Dédié au Roi, Mai 1754* (Paris: Chaubert, Jean de Nully, Pissot & Duchesne, 1754), pp. 187-190. For a facsimile, a transcription and an English translation, see Appendix, No. 9.

⁵² François and Claude Parfaict, *Dictionnaire des théâtres de Paris, Tome cinquième* (Paris: Lambert, 1756), pp. 135-139. For a facsimile, a transcription and an English translation of Parfaict's review, see Appendix, No. 10.

⁵³ For a facsimile, a transcription and an English translation of the description in *Les spectacles de Paris*, see Appendix, No. 11.

⁵⁴ For a facsimile, a transcription and an English translation of the description in the *Dictionnaire portatif*, see Appendix, No. 12.

LA FORÊT ENCHANTÉE: CRITICAL RECEPTION

Were the performances of *La forêt enchantée* a success? To answer this question three kinds of success will be distinguished: commercial success, critical success and public success. Commercial success can be measured from the number of performances and from remarks in the press about numbers of audience. Critical success, or the success in critical reviews, can be judged from reviews in the press. Public success has to do with the the response of the public. About the latter aspect nothing is known. But some comments about commercial and critical success ca certainly be made.

The number of performances—24 or 25 over a two-month period—shows that *La forêt enchantée* was certainly not a commercial failure. Two of the reviews confirm that there was much public. Grimm, in his letter of 15 April 1754, calls *La forêt enchantée* a “spectacle qui attire assez de monde” and Claude Parfaict, in his *Dictionnaire des théâtres de Paris, Tome cinquième* (Paris 1756), p. 135, says that the spectacle is one “qui fait actuellement la nouvelle de Paris”.

Critical success (or failure) can be deduced from the texts discussed or mentioned above that contain critical remarks about the performances of *La forêt enchantée*. Three of them—Élie Fréron’s, the article in the *Mercur de France* and Pierre Rousseau’s—are quite positive about the spectacle. Élie Fréron, in his *L’année littéraire* (Tome II, pp. 141-144), praises the imitation of nature in the scenery of Act I (“La Nature ne s’sauroit être rendue avec plus de vérité; l’illusion est parfaite.”) and the grandeur of the mosque in Act II (“Que cette Mosquée est belle, Monsieur: Quelle grandeur! Quelle élégance! Quelles proportions! Les yeux les plus vulgaires en sont frappés.”). He ends his review with general praise for the subject and its elaboration into a spectacle:

Rien n’est plus admirable, selon moi, que l’art avec lequel M. Servandoni a sçu s’approprier ce sujet, le disposer, le resserrer, pour en faire un Poëme régulier, qui a son exposition, son nœud & son dénouement. Non seulement l’Action est une, mais elle est grande & sublime; & cette espèce de Tragédie muette est certainement préférable à plusieurs de celles où l’on parle. L’illustre Artiste y a déployé tout ce que la Peinture, l’Architecture & la Mécanique peuvent offrir de plus noble & de surprenant.

(The final sentence is copied from the second libretto, where it is the last sentence of the introduction.)

The author of the review in the *Mercur de France* is equally positive. He begins with comparing Servandoni’s stage machinery and the dimensions of the theatre with the Greek colossi. He praises the choice of the subject:

Le sujet ne pouvoit être mieux choisi: il fournit le merveilleux & le contraste que peut désirer un décorateur: enfin son art est autorisé pour transporter le spectateur dans le conseil des Musulmans, ou dans le camp des Chrétiens, également intéressés aux événemens de la Forêt.

In the last two pages of the article various remarks are made. The author compares the pantomime actors with the figures painted by landscape painters in their canvases, and excuses Servandoni—as private person—for the mediocrity of the pantomime actors: one cannot expect the same outlay from a private person as from a prince. On the other hand, he praises the appearance of the horses in the last act and defends Servandoni against critics who had remarked that the Greek columns should not belong in the scenery of a mosque:

according to him it was quite normal that after the demolition of a monument materials from it were used for later buildings.⁵⁵

Pierre Rousseau mentions the “bel effet” of the mosque but does not give further comments (apart from the remark about the problems with the stage machinery).

On the contrary, Grimm’s letter of 15 April 1754 in the *Correspondance littéraire* is highly critical about the piece and its performance. In fact, most of his text is a sequence of negative statements about nearly all aspects of the performance. He sees problems on all levels. Epic subjects that include a lot of supernatural phenomena are unsuitable for both painting and theatre. The supernatural can only take place in poetry where imagination is able to interpret it. Neither painting nor theatre can handle supernatural phenomena, since these cannot be executed in reality. A line from Horace’s *Ars poetica* (188) is quoted: “*Quodcumque ostendis mihi sic, incredulus odi*” (Everything you present me that way, must be hated in disbelief.) Grimm finds the topic of the piece unsatisfactory because it implies three acts in the Forest, which is boring. It is difficult to set up a good troupe of pantomime players and the heroes of Tasso are beyond the capabilities of French theatre actors. Nothing else is said about the music than that it is bad music: “*accompagné d’une mauvaise musique de la composition de M. Geminiani.*” The scenery is criticized as well. The mosque of Act II is ill-formed, without proportions and confused, on a stage that is too small. It mixes Greek and Arab architecture. There is a reference to Marc-Antoine Laugier (1713-1769) as author of the *Essai sur l’architecture* (Paris, 1753), who would be as little pleased by this temple as Grimm. The trees of the forest are simply canvases on both sides (left and right) of the stage, with too little space between them. The rain at the end of Act IV is suggested only by sound, but the tents remain completely dry. This performance, Grimm concludes, is only good for beginners who have an occasion to develop ideas and points of view.

The *Lettre critique de M. le Marquis de *** à M. de Servandony* was, like the librettos, published as an in-octave pamphlet.⁵⁶ No author or publisher is mentioned. Its title reads:

| LETTRE | CRITIQUE | DE M. LE MARQUIS DE *** | A M. DE SERVANDONY, | *Chevalier de l’Ordre du Christ, Peintre & Architecte du Roi & de son Académie Royale.* | Au sujet du Spectacle qu’il donne | au Palais des Thuilleries. | [vignette] | M. DCC. LIV. |

Antoine-Alexandre Barbier, in his *Dictionnaire des ouvrages anonymes et pseudonymes, Seconde édition, Tome Second*, [F-O], (Paris: Barrois L’Ainé, 1823), no. 9474, p. 232, ascribes the pamphlet to Pierre-Jean Le Corvaisier (1719-1758), without giving any evidence for this ascription.⁵⁷ Le Corvaisier certainly was no marquis, but this does not have to stand in the way of his authorship of the *Lettre critique*. At first sight the *Lettre critique* looks, after Grimm, like another major critical review of *La forêt enchantée*. Who ever was the author, he confesses to be deeply disappointed and criticizes nearly all aspect of the performance. He understood the audience, who were indifferent about it. The imitation of ordinary things like light and darkness, thunder and lightning, a stream, and so on, he finds quite superfluous. In general, the author of the *Lettre critique* finds Servandoni’s spectacle too predictable. At several instances he proposes to include unconventional and unusual elements that are not described in Tasso’s poem.

⁵⁵ Grimm made critical remarks about the presence of Greek architecture in the mosque, but it is unknown of the author of the article in the *Mercur de France* had access to Grimm’s review. Others may have said the same.

⁵⁶ For a facsimile, a transcription and an English translation of the *Lettre critique*, see Appendix, No. 13.

⁵⁷ Le Corvaisier is also the alleged author of the anonymous pamphlet *L’esclavage rompu, ou La Société des Franc-Péteurs* (Pordé-Polis [=Paris], A l’enseigne du Zéphire-Artillerie [= Augustin-Martin Morin], 1756).

Reading through the *Lettre critique*, however, one finds it progressively more and more difficult to take the author serious. For Act V he advises that Renaud does not go on foot through the forest, but in a carriage, for example in a “diable”. Other carriages, such as “cabriolets” and “désobligeantes” are proposed in the last paragraph, as well as pieces of furniture such as “des sofas” and “des paresseuses”. With this kind of things one really could surprise the public! The scene with the false Armide should have been worked as a love scene. More than anything else in the text these proposals make clear that the letter must be read as irony: criticism is pushed here *ad absurdum* and therefore is no criticism, which is probably exactly what the author aimed at.

In spite of the irony the author also reveals amidst his criticism some interesting details about the performance. Where both librettos speak only of witches (*magiciennes*) in Act I, the *Lettre critique* mentions “l’assemblée de Magiciens et Magiciennes”, an assembly of sorcerers and witches. When Ismen retires from the scene at the end of Act I, the *Lettre critique* says that “il passe au bord du Théâtre devant une toile qui peint exactement la lisière d’une belle forêt”. Apparently Ismen remains visible for the audience without interruption between Acts I and II, in front of the curtain behind which the mosque of Act II was prepared. Here one may be reminded of the sentence with which the description of Act II in the first libretto begun. This sentence repeats from Act I that Ismen is hurrying to the King of Jerusalem. In Act III the *Lettre critique* describes one monster bigger than the other who lifts one of the workers high in the air. In Act V the *Lettre critique* includes several deviations from the action as described in the librettos: the stream the Renaud has to pass is already wild from the start and in the last scene all the horses go over the bridge over this stream. The woodmen appear after the cavalry and start their work after the cavalry has retired from the scene. The length in time of the spectacle is also mentioned: “une heure de représentation”.

Remarkably so, there exists a critical review of the *Lettre critique*, written by Élie Fréron in the form of a letter dated 18 May 1754 and included in his *L’année littéraire, Tome second* (1754), pp. 349-353.⁵⁸ The review confirms the ironic character of the *Lettre critique*: “C’est un ironie soutenue avec enjouement, sous prétexte de relever les prétendus défauts du Spectacle de M. de Servandoni.” He cites several passages from the *Lettre critique* and ends with a remark where it could be bought: “Cette petite brochure agréable se vend au Palais Royal & à la porte du Grand théâtre des Thuilleries.” The date of this review suggests that the *Lettre critique* was published during the first half of May 1754.

Surveying now the various critical reviews of *La forêt enchantée* that of Grimm remains as the only one that is sincerely negative. One may be reminded here that Grimm after his arrival in Paris first supported the “modern” Rameau party against the “ancient” Lully party and then took part in the *querelle des bouffons* as a partisan of the Italian opera buffa, against French opera and its champion Rameau. In all respects Servandoni’s spectacle is old-fashioned and belongs also by its theme to the world of the tragédie lyrique and the opera seria, that is, the past in Grimm’s eyes. From these points of view his criticism is easy to understand. Grimm’s reviews of later spectacles by Servandoni are equally hostile. Grimm’s remark about the poor quality of Geminiani’s music must therefore also be viewed within this perspective. The *Lettre critique* is critical only in an ironic way and may rather be understood as implicit support for Servandoni’s undertaking. Élie Fréron and Pierre Rousseau were writing as individuals, and they were both positive about the spectacle. So is the *Mercure de France*, but here the status of periodical may have attenuated possible negative criticism. But all in all, I believe, it may be said that as a spectacle *La forêt enchantée* certainly was not the failure that was

⁵⁸ For a facsimile, a transcription and an English translation of Fréron’s review of the *Lettre critique* in his *Année littéraire*, see Appendix, No. 14.

earlier supposed on the basis of Grimm review and the *Lettre critique* alone.⁵⁹ Rather the opposite: the full run of performances, the public attention and the critical reviews are indications of an at least reasonable success.

THE BRITISH PERFORMANCE OF *THE ENCHANTED FOREST*

As numerous as the sources are for our knowledge of the spectacle *La forêt enchantée*, as performed in Paris in 1754 with Geminiani's music especially composed for it, as little we know about the English performance of *The Enchanted Forest* in London in 1761. All that is known is a series of advertisements in the *Public Advertiser* of 3 to 15 April 1761, announcing a performance of Geminiani's composition on 15 April in London, in the Great Concert Room in Dean Street, Soho. This was a concert performance; there is no hint at any theatrical element in the advertisement.

The concert was a benefit concert for "Signora Gambarini", to whom Geminiani had lent his "Excellent Composition" for this occasion. Before discussing the details of the concert, it is useful to say a few words about Signora Gambarini. She is Elisabetta Gambarini (1730-1765), the daughter of Carlo (later also Charles) Gambarini (died 1754), an Italian nobleman from Lucca, who had come to England in 1726 and was "librarian, antiquarian and counsellor" to the Landgrave of Hesse Kassel. Her mother was Giovanna Paula Stradiotti, a Dalmatian noble lady (died 1774).⁶⁰ Carlo Gambarini published in 1731 *A Description of the Earl of Pembroke's Pictures*. Elisabetta or Elizabeth Gambarini (also: De Gambarini) was trained as a singer and as a keyboard player. Already at an early age she sung in various oratorios of Handel, among them *An Occasional Oratorio* (1746-1747), *Judas Maccabaeus* (1747), *Joseph and his Brethren* (1747), *Samson* (dates unknown) and *The Messiah* (dates unknown). She was a composer as well and published three volumes with keyboard pieces and songs: *Six Sets of Lessons for the Harpsichord* (London: Author, 1748; RISM G 310; GB-Lbl, R.M. 15.h.17.), *Lessons for the Harpsichord Intermix'd with Italian and English Songs, Opera 2da* (London: Author, 1748; RISM G 311; GB-Lbl, e.9, R.M. 15.h.18.),⁶¹ and *XII English & Italian Songs, for a German Flute & Thorough Bass ... Opera III* (London, 1750?; RISM G 312; GB-Lbl, H. 1398.) The first two volumes have long lists of subscribers. Geminiani was one of the subscribers of the *Six Sets of Lessons*, but not of the *Lessons for the Harpsichord*. Elisabetta gave various concerts as singer and keyboard player in the years 1747-1750. Nothing is heard of her as a musician between 1750 and 1760. In 1760 she appeared again on the stage, when she performed in a number of benefit concerts. In 1764 she married Étienne de Chazal. She died soon after her marriage, in 1765, only 35 years old. In the mean time a daughter, Giovanna Giorgiana, was born.

It is said sometimes that Elisabetta Gambarini was a pupil of Geminiani, and this may well have been true. This could have been during the years 1747-1750 or perhaps already during the years 1743-1746. But there is no firm evidence for a teacher-pupil relationship. Nevertheless, it would explain why Geminiani lent a score of *The Enchanted Forest* to her for her benefit concert of 15 April 1761. Geminiani did not play any other role in the concert apart from the fact that it was directed by another pupil of his: John Worgan.

⁵⁹ For example, Careri 1993.

⁶⁰ See Anthony Noble, article "Gambarini" in the online *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, based on his Ph.D. Thesis *A contextual study of the life and published keyboard works of Elisabetta de Gambarini, together with a recording, facsimile of the music, and commentary* (University of Winchester, 2000). Elisabetta was born on 7 September 1730 and baptised 1 November 1730. Also: P. Mathiesen, "Elisabetta de Gambarini: The Vocal Option," *Continuo: The Magazine of Old Music* 16/2 (1992), pp. 2-5 (not consulted).

⁶¹ This publication goes with an engraving after a portrait painted by Nathaniel Hone (1718-1784) which gives the wrong birth date 7 September 1731.

Announcements in the *Public Advertiser* from the period from 3 to 15 April 1761 give various details about the concert of 15 April. The first announcement was published on 3 April 1761:

For the Benefit of Signora GAMBARINI. At the great Concert Room in Dean street, Soho, Wednesday, April 15, will be performed a grand new Piece of Music, called The INCHANTED FOREST. Composed by Signor Geminiani, who being lately returned to England, hath generously lent the abovementioned excellent Composition in favour of this Benefit.— The whole to be intermixed with several new Songs, and other Pieces, all composed by Signora Gamberini. ☞ Tickets at Half a Guinea each for the Pit, and Five Shillings the Gallery; to be had at her House, the Corner of James-Street, Golden-square; at Mr. Deard's Toy-shop, the Corner of Dover-Street, Picadilly; and at Mr. Harrachies, Jeweller, Pall-mall.

The announcement was repeated on 10 April, with one detail changed. It provides the following information. The concert was to take place on Wednesday 15 April, in the Great Concert Room in Dean Street, Soho. The main piece would be Geminiani's "Inchanted Forest", kindly put available by the composer for this concert. The composition is called "a grand new Piece of Music." The concert would be "intermixed with several new songs and other pieces, all composed by Signora Gambarini." Prices would be half a guinea (£ 0:10:6) for the pit, £ 0:5 for the gallery. Tickets could be had at Signor Gambarini's place at the corner of James Street and Golden Square (3 April), at Mr. Henslow's, in "The Star", in New Bond Street (10 April),⁶² at Mr. [William] Deard's toy shop at the corner of Dover Street and Piccadilly (both dates), and at Mr. [Thomas] Harrache's, a jeweller in Pall-Mall (both dates).⁶³

Especially the phrase "intermixed with several new songs and other pieces" is remarkable, for several reasons. The first is that both Parte I and II of *The Inchanted Forrest* as we know it have a duration of almost fifteen to twenty minutes and this may well have been too much of the same genre (if not of the same piece) without interruption. Without the theatrical counterpart the music may have been too abstract to be enjoyed for such long stretches of time. One must be reminded of the fact that eighteenth-century concert programmes usually do not have consecutive pieces in the same genre. The forty minutes of music may also have been too short in time for an entire concert. Interrupting the music for the performance of songs or keyboard pieces may therefore be a good solution. And secondly the word "intermixed" reminds one of the title of Signora Gambarini's Opus 2: "*Lessons for the Harpsichord Intermix'd with Italian and English Songs.*" Apparently, she has a history of mixing several genres to create more variation.

The announcement of 11 April changes the programme:

For the Benefit of Signora GAMBARINI. [...] Also a new Ode, 'the Argument Britannia rising from the Waves like the Morning Sun, pointing out her young Monarch, and predict the Glory and Felicity of his Reign' The Music composed by Signora Gamberini. First Violin, Signor Pinto; German Flute, Mr. Tacett; Hautboy, Mr. Simpson; Violoncello, Mr. Cervetto and Son. [...]

No longer the songs and other compositions "intermixed" in *The Inchanted Forst* are mentioned. Instead, a new piece is mentioned, which is simply performed after Geminiani's piece, "a new Ode", on the argument "Britannia rising from the waves like the Morning-Sun, pointing her young Monarch the glory and felicity of

⁶² In later advertisements Mr. Henslow is called a milliner, which is a hatter or hat-maker.

⁶³ For the Christian names of Deard and Harrache see Ambrose Heal, *The London Goldsmiths 1200-1800* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1972).

his reign.” This is, of course, a reference to King George III (1738-1820), 23 years old in 1761, and who had been King of England and Ireland since 25 October 1760. Nothing is known about this composition, but all of Signora Gambarini’s earlier vocal music consisted of continuo songs so that it may be assumed that also the “Ode of Britannia rising from the sea” was basically for voice and figured bass.

Interesting are the names of the musicians mentioned in the announcement of 11 April: Pinto (violin), Tacett (German flute), Simpson (oboe), Cervetto Senior and Junior (violoncello). The violinist is, of course, Thomas Pinto (1727-1782 or 1783); the flautist, Joseph Tacet (dates unknown);⁶⁴ the oboist, Redmond Simpson (1730?-1787);⁶⁵ and the two cellists are Giacomo Basevi Cervetto (died 1783) and his son James Cervetto (1748-1837). Equally interesting is it to note what kinds of musicians are *not* mentioned. No trumpet or horn players are listed, while these instruments occur in the set of parts published by John Johnson. Comments on this point will be given later.

The issues of the *Public Advertiser* of 13, 14 and 15 April repeat the advertisement of 11 April, but leave out the names of the musicians. Instead, they mention the person who conducted the performance: “The whole performance to be conducted by Mr. Worgan.” This is John Worgan (1724-1790), a pupil of Thomas Roseingrave and Geminiani, organist of various churches in London and composer of oratorios, hymns, songs, keyboard works and a few orchestral pieces.

No reports about the concert itself are known.

As far as known, no further concert performances of *The Enchanted Forest* were given in England.

Coincidence or not, the year 1761 marked the beginning of a Tasso renaissance in England, a renewed interest in his literary work. In that year appeared in Dublin a translation of *La Gerusalemme liberata* by Philip Doyne (1733-1765), in blank verse, as *The Delivery of Jerusalem*.⁶⁶ This was followed two years later, in 1763, by a new translation by John Hoole (1727-1803), in pairwise rhyming lines, as *Jerusalem Delivered*.⁶⁷ This translation reached in seventh edition in 1792, further editions followed until 1821.

THE AUTOGRAPH MANUSCRIPT SCORE OF “LA SELVA INCANTATA”

The Enchanted Forest is the only one of Geminiani’s Thirty-Three Works of which an autograph manuscript has survived. It is a twenty-page score followed by an unused folio of music paper, now an item in MS 822 of the library of the Royal College of Music in London, a large collection of all kinds of musical manuscripts. There is an original pagination in ink on the upper right corners of the recto sides of the folios, from page 3, 5, etc. to page 17, 19. (There may once have been a page number 1, now no longer visible.) The unused final folio does not have a pagination. A modern foliation in pencil runs from folio 158 to folio 168 (thus including the unused final folio), as part of the foliation of the entire volume.

The size of the folios is approximately 31 x 25 cm. At present all the folios are pasted separately on strips that are fastened to the binding, for the sake of the conservation of the manuscript; the original bifolios are now all single folios. The original structure of bifolios can be derived from the watermarks that are visible.

⁶⁴ Joseph Tacet is the composer of *Six Solos for a German-Flute or Violin, with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Violoncello* (London, [1767]) and a few other collections of pieces for flute and figured bass or for two flutes.

⁶⁵ Redmond Simpson married in 1753 Elisabeth Dubourg, a daughter of Geminiani’s pupil Matthew Dubourg. See Hogwood 2013, p. 470.

⁶⁶ *The Delivery of Jerusalem, An Heroick Poem by Torquato Tasso in Twenty Books, Translated into English Blank Verse by Philip Doyne* (Dublin: G. & A. Ewing, 1761). Vols. I-II, 359 + 317 pages.

⁶⁷ *Jerusalem Delivered, An Heroic Poem, Translated from the Italian of Torquato Tasso by John Hoole* (London: R. & J. Dodsley et al., 1763). Vols. I-II, 400 + 368 pages.

The manuscript probably consisted of two bifolios 158-159 and 160-161, a single folio 162, and three bifolios 163-164, 165-166 and 167-168. Folio 162 will originally have been the first folio of a bifolio. The second folio was not used when the manuscript was being written, because fol. 162v has the end of Parte I and for the beginning of Parte II a new bifolio (now folios 163-164) was taken. Parte II equally ended on the verso of the first folio of a bifolio, but here the second folio was retained.

Fol. 164 has been pasted upside-down and recto-verso-reversed to the binding strip. The pagination and foliation were carried out when the folio was still in the correct position.

Chain lines are horizontal, 26 mm apart. The watermark is STRASBOURG BEND 3, with a Fleur-de-lis on top and the letters LVG immediately underneath it. The mark is symmetrical between two chain lines, and it may be assumed that the paper is from the firm of the Dutch papermaker Lubbertus van Gerrevinck. Upper or lower halves of the watermark are found in the middle of the inner edges of the folios. Direction of the chain lines and position of the watermarks point—in combination with the sizes of the folios—to the use of bifolios derived from Royal Paper, with full sheets of approximately 51 x 63.5 cm. There are no folios in the manuscript with a countermark, which probably consisted of the letters “IV”. This probably means that the bifolios were created by cutting into two halves a pile of full sheets with identical positioning of water- and countermark and producing the music paper by using just one of the two piles of half-sheets.

Each page of MS 822, fols. 158-168, has sixteen staves, divided into four systems of four staves by somewhat larger spaces between systems 4-5, 8-9 and 12-13 (12-13 mm) than between the other staves (8-9 mm). Rastrolgy shows that systems have been drawn with a single rastrum, with the definition 0—8, 16.5—24.5, 44—41 and 50—58 mm.⁶⁸ Systems are 58 mm high, and staves are approximately 200 mm wide. Left and right margins are approximately 25 mm. The distances between the systems are, from above to below, 13, 12 and 12.5 mm, *on all pages*, and this must mean that some kind of template was used for positioning the systems on the pages. The distance between the highest line of the highest stave of a page and the lowest line of the lowest stave is 270 mm. The pattern as described applies to folios 158-161 and 163-164 when measurements are taken downward from the highest line of the highest stave, to folios 162 and 165-168 when upward from the lowest line of the lowest stave. These two orientations correspond exactly with the two positions of the watermarks in the folios, slightly above or below the middle of the spine side of the paper. That means that the paper still had a uniform orientation when the music staves were drawn. For the user the pages are up-down symmetrical, with upper and lower margins of 18 mm, so that the bifolios could be used in both orientations.

The score of “La selva incantata” in MS 822, fols. 158-168, is a four-stave score. On most pages all four systems of a page have been used. Only the first pages of the *Parte I* and *II* of the composition, pages 1 and 11, let the music begin on the second system of the page. The first systems of these pages are left without music notation, to have space for the title. On page 1 the following title has been written, by Geminiani:

| La Selua Incantata del Tasso | Composizione Istrumentale | da F. G. | Parte 1^a |

The main title, “La selva incantata”, is a correct Italian translation of the French title “La forêt enchantée”, but in Tasso’s poem the forest is always indicated as “foresta”. That may mean that Geminiani did not have Tasso’s text at hand, but just choose the normal Italian translation of the French title. The specification of the work, or, rather, the non-specification of the work as “Composizione Istrumentale”, is significant: it does not

⁶⁸ The figures represent the positions of the highest and lowest lines of the four staves when measured downward from the highest line of the highest staves, in mm.

belong to any of the standard genres of the time. In a way there are two compositions in the manuscript. The first one, headed “Parte I^a”, is written on pages 1-10 and begins and ends with sections in D minor. The second one does not have an autograph heading in the manuscript. It is written on page 11-20 and begins and ends with sections in D major. These compositions are entitled “Parte I” and “Parte II” in the edition to be discussed below, but in anticipation of this discussion the two compositions will be called “Parte I” and “Parte II” in this section of the text as well. Both Parte I and II appear to be divided in a number of consecutive sections, of greatly varying length, each with their own tempo marking and time signature. Some have a clearly definable key; others appear to be modulating. It will be shown later that many sections are connected with one another by various means, such as half closes and final chords that are the beginning chords of the next section. Table 20.3 is a table of contents of the manuscript, with a listing of the various sections. All sections receive ordinal numbers there, which, it should be stressed, do not occur in the manuscript. Nevertheless, references to the music in the manuscript will often make use of the numbering of the sections.

The manuscript GB-Lcm, MS 822, fols. 158-167, is undoubtedly autograph. The handwriting of the verbal text in it can be compared with the signatures that Geminiani placed on copies of several editions first published in 1757 and the autograph corrections that occur in copies of, for example, the Trios from Opus 1, also first published in 1757. The corrections applied in the manuscript—in the same hand as the original writing—also testify to its status as an autograph.

The music in the manuscript is written down as a four-stave score. In the indentation of the first system of Section 1 of Parte I the respective instruments of the four staves are listed:

- V. 1^o. Conc^{no}. e Rip^{no}. | e Bassone [= Violino Primo Concertino e Ripieno e Bassone]
- V. 2^o. Conc^{no}. e Rip^{no}. | e Bassone [= Violino Secondo Concertino e Ripieno e Bassone]
- Alto Conc^{no}. e Rip^{no}. [= Alto Concertino e Ripieno]
- Violoncello, Basso R^o. | e Bassone [= Violoncello, Basso Ripieno e Bassone]

The first lines of these designations are hardly surprising, nor is the mentioning of a “Bassone” for the bass line. But the mentioning of a “Bassone” for the First and Second Violin parts is remarkable, if not perplexing! At first sight it may look like a mistake, but this is rather difficult to accept in an autograph, especially as the marking occurs twice, and, if it was a mistake, why was that not noticed and were the words not crossed out? When discussing the music in a later section, it will be shown that the addition of the “Bassone” to the two violin parts was indeed not a mistake.

Before Section 2 of the Parte I, some space has been left open to write down instrumental specifications again, but here only the first staff of the score is provided with one:

- V. 1^o. Conc^{no}. e Rip^{no}. | Con Flauto [= Violino Primo Concertino e Ripieno con Flauto]

The second, third and fourth staves do not have designations. The designation seems to mean that the “Bassoni” disappear and that instead flutes appear. The change from “bassoons” to “flutes”, however, does not make things easier. Which instruments are meant? Transverse flutes are called “Flauto traversiere” on the title pages of the Concertos Opus 2 and 7 (1732, 1748), “Traversa” in the parts of Opus 7 and “German Flutes” on the title page of the *Rules for Playing in a True Taste* (1748) and in *A Treatise of Good Taste* (1749). Could “Flauti” in relation to *La selva incantata* mean “recorders” or is it simply a short form for “Flauti Traversieri”? The question of how to understand the “Flauti” will be dealt with in greater detail below.

Parte II starts on p. 11 (fol. 163r). Also here, the first system of the music paper is not used, to leave space for a title. But nothing was written there, at least not by Geminiani. A later hand, probably that of James

Mathias (see below), wrote here “Second part.”. In the indentation before the first system with music the following instrumental specifications are given, by Geminiani:

V. 1^o. Conc^{no}. e Rip^{no}. | con Basson e Flauti [= Violino Primo Concertino e Ripieno con Basson[e] e Flauti]

V. 2^o. Conc^{no}. e Rip^{no}. [= Violino Secondo Concertino e Ripieno]

Alto Conc^{no}. e Rip^{no}. [= Alto Concertino e Ripieno]

Bassi Tutti [= Bassi Tutti]

Remarkable is the mentioning again of a “Basson” [= “Bassone”?] with the Violino Primo. As already said, the role of the bassoon here will be commented upon later. No further specifications of the instruments to be used follow after the first section of Parte II. The bassoon was not used in the other sections.

Let us now summarize the various characteristics of Geminiani’s score. Both parts begin with double barlines through the staves only. Further barlines, single and double, are always drawn through the entire system. Simple accolades precede each system and no barline is provided there. Many sections—but not all—are separated by double barlines. The end of Parte I has little ornaments in the four staves after the final barline in the style of what is customary in music editions of the time. For Parte II this is not relevant because it ends with two bars indicating the Da Capo of the one but last section. Repeats of parts of sections are indicated by two dots in the middle spaces of the staves, as still customary today. There are many first and second endings, indicated by slurs over the first endings.

Clefs and key signatures are only given at the beginning of sections where there is a change of key signature. That is the case for Sections 1 (flat, used for D minor, F major, B-flat major), 6 (no key signature, used for C major), 7 (1 flat, used for D minor, F major, C minor), 12 (two sharps, used for D major, B minor), 15 (no key signature, used for G major, C major, A minor), 20 (two sharps, used for D major, B minor) and 23 (two naturals on F and C, used for D minor). No clefs or key signatures are given at the beginnings of systems, with except where Parte I and II parte begin.

The four staves of the score are basically intended for the Violino Primo, the Violino Secondo, the Viola (“Alto”) and the Violoncello, with treble (violin) clef, treble (violin) clef, alto clef and bass clef respectively, everything as normal as can be. When a section has Concertino and Ripieno instruments, the Concertino and Ripieno parts of the same instrument share their staves. Ripieno instruments must be silent where the marking “Soli” occurs and must play again at the marking “Tut” (= Tutti). If the beginning or ending of a Concertino section requires notes of different lengths in the Concertino and Ripieno parts, there is “double notation”: one part with upward stems and one part with downward stems. The notation of Concertino passages is nearly always unambiguous.

Ten sections have Concertino passages that include all four instruments (Sections 2, 4, 6, 9, 11, 13, 14, 18, 21, 22), while three sections have only a separate Violino Primo Concertino (Sections 5, 7 and 8). The other sections do have no concertino-ripieno writing at all or just very occasionally, in one or a few bars.

In many passages, especially in fast sections, the Violino Primo and Secondo parts run in unison. For a number of them Geminiani has saved himself the trouble of notating the same part twice and wrote down a kind of *custos* to indicate that the Violino Secondo could copy the Violino Primo part. This *colla parte* notation occurs on the following places:

Section 6 (Allegro moderato): bars 145-170 and 179-191.

Section 7 (Allegro): bars 200-204, 220-223 and 235-247.

Section 11 (Allegro moderato): bars 345-351, 381-387, 397-403 and 417-423.

Section 22 (Allegro): bars 286-294 and 334-335.



The autograph score of *La selva incantata* does not contain separate flute parts. Instead, the flute parts can be derived from the violin parts with the help of indications of various kinds. First it must be decided which sections may have a flute part or parts. For Section 1 stringed instruments and bassoons are explicitly indicated so that this section will not need a flute part. The Violino Primo stave of Section 2 is marked “Con Flauti” and this suggests a flute part or parts for this section. Section 12, the first of Parte II, also has the marking “Con Flauti” at the beginning of the Violino Primo stave. After Sections 2 (Parte I) and 12 (Parte II) many sections have at the beginning a marking that reads either “Tutti” or “Sensa flauti”, always in alternation. Of course, the indication “Tutti” does not *per se* mean “con Flauti”, but the systematic alternation with “Sensa Flauti” strongly suggests that in this case “Tutti” does mean “con Flauti”, as opposed to “Sensa Flauti”. In addition, if we interpret “Tutti” as meaning “Con flauti” there is a near perfect match—with only one exception—with the application of flute parts in the edition of *The In enchanted Forrest*. So the “Tutti” markings in the autograph score will be understood as to mean “con Flauto”.

The markings “Con Flauti” or “Tutti” occur at the beginning of Sections 2, 4, 6, 9, 11, 12, 14, 18, 20 and 22. The marking “Sensa Flauti” is found at the beginning of Sections 3, 5, 8, 10, 13, 16 and 19. That means that flutes may be applied in Sections 2, 4, 6-7, 9 and 11 of Parte I, and Sections 12, 14-15, 18, 20 and 22-23 of Parte II. The respective violin parts are, however, as they are notated, not always entirely suitable to be played on a flute. Several adaptations have to be made and these are suggested in the score either by verbal indications or by double notation. Verbal markings consist of the abbreviations “V.” and “Fl.”; these markings indicate where the violin continues on his own without the flutes (“V.”) and where the flutes join him again (“Fl.”). These abbreviations are found in Sections 2, 6, 7, 14, 18 and 22, always in the Violino Primo part. Another way to accommodate the flute is the use of two-part notation, that is, simultaneous notation of flute and violin parts on one stave, the notes with upward stems for the flute part, and those with downward stem for the violin part. Such notation is found in the Violino Primo part of Sections 2, 4, 9 and 14. No verbal indications nor double notations are found in the Violino Primo parts of Sections 11, 12, 15, 20 and 23, which are all supposed to have flute parts. In these sections the Violino Primo parts can indeed be played on a transverse flute without any adaptation.

What about the Violino Secondo parts, which could provide the basis for a Flauto Secondo part, if the principle is accepted that the remarks about the flute parts point to the creation of two flute parts? In the autograph score only in one section there is a reference that a Violino Secondo part should be a flute part as well: Section 14, where one reads at the beginning of the Violino Secondo part “V. e Fl. 2^o.” In bar 12 there is the marking “V.”, suggesting that the flute is silent here for a while; indeed, the violin plays notes here that are too low for the flute. In no other section there is any indication or marking that suggests that the Violino

Secondo part may be played by a flute. In general, these parts are only partly suitable to be played by a flute: they go frequently under *d'* and if they are above *d'* they move mostly in the lowest octave of the flute, often in the lower half of this octave, not in the more brilliant second octave. Exceptions are the Violino Secondo parts of Sections 15 and 20, which could be played on a flute without further adaptation. Conclusion must be, for the moment, that the autograph manuscript of *La selva incantata* defines single flute parts for ten out of the thirteen sections that are marked “Con Flauti” or “Tutti” and allows for a second flute part explicitly only in one section (Section 14). Sections 15 and 20 could be played with a second flute part that doubles the Violino Secondo, but there are no markings that suggest such a procedure.

A question that was skipped so far is whether the flute parts are based on the Concertino variant of the Violino Primo or the Ripieno variant. The occurrence of verbal indications for the flute parts in Concertino passages indicate that they must be derived from the Concertino parts. This is in line with the use of the flutes in the Concertos Opus 7 (see below).

A closer look at the notation of the manuscript makes clear that it is rather heavily corrected manuscript. At many places the original notation was erased, and new notes were written down. This is especially clear from the staves, which were drawn anew in ink, usually in not very straight lines. These stand apart clearly from the original lines of the staves which are perfectly straight and of a lighter colour than the music notation and the newly drawn staff fragments. In some cases, the alterations may of course have been corrections of errors and mistakes, but in general it looks more probable that they are revisions of the musical composition. There are corrections and alterations on nearly every page of the manuscript, sometimes in just one part, sometimes in two or three or all four, sometimes for a single bar, sometimes for several bars one after the other. Table 20.9 list the passages where corrections or alterations were applied. One example are the last bars of Section 6 (Allegro; p. 5, third system), where the alterations are clearly visible by the darker ink:



The manuscript also has a few bars that are crossed through. They seem to be the result of second thoughts, not the corrections of mistakes, and may have been carried out at the same time as the other corrections. In Section 16 two bars were crossed out:





In Section 18 one bar:



The reason for these cuts are not clear, but Geminiani must have considered the crossed-out bars to be superfluous.

The manuscript score as known today is therefore a revision, a second state.

A probably much later hand has added a marking “No. 2” and the beginning of Section 11 and “No. 3 at the beginning of Parte II (Section 12); the meaning of these markings is unclear.

The question when the manuscript was written is difficult to answer with absolute certainty and the best one can do is to provide an educated guess. The paper is Dutch, but certainly used in England. That makes it improbable that it is the manuscript that Geminiani wrote in 1754 as the basis for the performances in Paris. Rather it seems that it is a copy written after his return to England in 1756 of his original, “archival” autograph manuscript. It may have been written before Geminiani left London at some point in 1759, but there is no way of knowing it. The watermark of the manuscript also occurs in the paper of a non-autograph manuscript copy of the *Harmonical Miscellany* (GB-Chogwood), which cannot have been written before 1759 or at the very end of 1758 at the earliest.

JAMES MATHIAS (c.1710-1782)

On top of the first page is written, probably by Geminiani himself:

A Gift of S^r. Francesco Geminiani the Author to James Mathias | 7 Dec 1761

The happy receiver of the manuscript was James Mathias (c.1710-1782), a successful and rich merchant and an amateur singer, member and director of the Academy of Ancient Musick.⁶⁹ A painting by Gawen Hamilton (c.1697-1737), now in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, depicting “A Musical Party: The Mathias Family,” shows five male and two female members of the family behind two tables, among whom

⁶⁹ See Timothy Eggington, *The Advancement of Music in Enlightenment England: Benjamin Cooke and the Academy of Ancient Music* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2014), pp. 82-83; Weber 1992, pp. 72-73; Talbot 2013, p. 226.

one with a cello, one with a bassoon and one with a violin. The painting must have made in the 1730s and must therefore depict James Mathias with his brothers, sisters and parents.⁷⁰ Before the table is sitting a violin player, with clothing and haircut that is distinctly different from the other ones: it would not be impossible that Geminiani is being depicted here. A speculative conclusion could then be that James Mathias was a pupil of Geminiani at that time.

Mathias's professional career was in business, especially the trade on Hamburg. He became director of the London Assurance Company. He was a fervent musical amateur, especially as a bass singer. He is reported to have been, in 1775, a visitor of the weekly private concert in the premises Johann Friedrich Carl von Alvensleben (1714-1795), Hanoveran ambassador since 1771.⁷¹

A glee party at Mathias's house is described by an anonymous author as a "Musical Recollection" in *The London Literary Gazette, and Journal of Belles Lettres, Arts, Sciences, &c.*, No. 367, of 31 January 1824:⁷²

The late Earl of Mornington.⁷³— This most amiable nobleman was, amongst other high attainments, far-famed as a *savant* and elegant composer of catches and glees. His beautiful glee, "Here in cool grot," will remain a laurel of eternal verdure.

Finding myself, some forty years since, at the ancient Crown and Anchor concert, good old Mr. Mathias, a Hambro' merchant, of Warnford Court, a fine Handelian bass and manly voice, did me the very high honour of an introduction to Earl Mornington, and at the same time invited me at his house to meet his Lordship the next evening to a select glee party, where I found the late Dr. Cook,⁷⁴ Bartleman,⁷⁵ then a boy, young Harrison,⁷⁶ and one or two more vocalists. Soon after, Earl Mornington and his *two* sons were announced,—fine, noble and most prepossessing youths,⁷⁷ appearing to be Westminster or Eton scholars. But I little thought *then* what they *would be* hereafter.

Surely never was passed a more ambrosial evening of the gods, and so congenial to musical souls. The placid and benignant countenance of the noble father inspiring ease and good feeling to this harmonious circle, while his *sons*, the present Marquis Wellesley and his illustrious brother, the Duke of Wellington, stood most attentive and polite auditors. All were wrapped up in Elysium with the vocal effects of the ancient and modern madrigals and glees. Supper being at last announced, our worthy host, though bordering on eighty, conducted his noble guests with all the frankness and gentlemanlike ease of a true English merchant. I never, through the whole course of my professional career, enjoyed a more congenial evening:

"Thus the blest gods their social hours prolong."

Earl Mornington and his two accomplished sons left the party with a lasting impression on our minds of their condescending urbanity and politeness.

⁷⁰ James Mathias had two brothers, Vincent (c. 1711-1782) and Gabriel. Vincent was the father of Thomas James Mathias (1754-1835), a well known satyrist and Italian scholar. See the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* article on Thomas James Mathias.

⁷¹ Weber 1992, p. 72, n. 171.

⁷² The existence of this description was mentioned by Michael Talbot (Liverpool) to Harry Johnstone (Oxford), who communicated it to Colin Coleman (Cambridge) with cc to Christopher Hogwood (Cambridge).

⁷³ Garret Colley Westley, First Earl of Mornington (1735–1781).

⁷⁴ Probably Benjamin Cooke Junior (1734-1793).

⁷⁵ James Bartleman (1769-1821).

⁷⁶ Samuel Harrison (1760-1812).

⁷⁷ Richard, Viscount Wellesley, later First Marquess Wellesley, Second Earl of Mornington (1760-1842), and Arthur Wellesley (1769–1852), later First Duke of Wellington, the famous military and statesman.

His Lordship was a compact and neat made man, with a countenance of placidity and philosophy indicative of all that inspires the human breast with innate goodness of heart. Our venerable host, on our breaking up, expressed himself thus, in a most cordial tone: “I take it very kind of his Lordship in honouring me thus incog, without bringing a parcel of d—d greasy servants to eat one out of house and home.”

Another musical recollection is told by Richard John Samuel Stevens (1757-1837), Charterhouse organist in London. He describes a dinner on the occasion of a parish council that took place on Ascension Day 1782, a few days before Mathias’s death:⁷⁸

I took my station at the bottom of the table, opposite the Parish Clerk, the Vestry Clerk sat above me. The Alderman of the Ward, the Common Council, Church Wardens, Overseers, and most of the Elders Parish attended. There were three old Gentlemen present, who were said to be worth a million Sterling. Two of these, Mr. Tennant and Mr. Walton, were parishioners; the third, Mr. James Matthias, having been a Parishioner, was regularly invited to dine with the Parish on this particular day, and he regularly made a point of attending. Doctor Finch, and Doctor Griffith, the Rector, and Afternoon Lecturer of the Parish, attended in their Robes. In fact, it was a respectable, and solemn Parish meeting. Mr. Matthias, who had formerly been Treasurer of the Academy of Ancient Music, was, I think, at this time nearly eighty years of age. He desired the Waiter to tell me to come to him, at the top of the table, (where of course he sat:) When I went to him he enquired particularly after Mr. Savage and his family.⁷⁹ Afterward he asked me “if I could sing?” and being answered in the affirmative, he said he would sing a Duetto with me, which he did immediately: *Old Chiron this preach’d to his pupil Achilles*.⁸⁰ I was astonished to find with what firmness he sang the Bass part. Our singing pleased all the Company. At seven o’clock we had Coffee and Tea, after which all the party departed with great ceremony.

The *Gentleman’s Magazine* (1782, p. 311) published the following obituary:

10. [June 1782] In Warnford-county. Throgmorton-street, aged 72, James Mathias, Esq; Hamburg merchant. 42 year secretary to the Scots Equivalent Company. His benevolence distributed his well-acquired and ample fortune in the most liberal manner both in his life and by his will. His brother Vincent, aged 71, treasurer to Queen Anne’s Bounty, died five days after him in the same house. “The placid, the benevolent, the lively, sensible James Mathias was not more distinguished for his conviviality, than his readiness to succour the distressed on the noble principles of Christian charity. And does not this eclipse the lustre of heraldry, the fame of beauty, or the powers of wealth or elocution? He acted the part of one of the best of citizens, and the best of friends. Though deficient as a subject in being a single man, his paternal regard to his numerous relations, and universal philanthropy appear to have been the more extended. His large experience and sound judgement enabled him to act, in all commercial disputes, as an arbitrator; and in that capacity he was continually appealed to. The same tongue which so often uttered melodious sounds, and advanced the empire of harmony, prevented discord and the calamities of vexatious suits. Often have I heard him mentioned

⁷⁸ *Recollections of R. J. S. Stevens, an Organist in Georgian London*, Edited by Mark Argent (Carbondale IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1992), pp. 44-45.

⁷⁹ William Savage (1720-1789), Stevens’s teacher, himself a pupil of Geminiani.

⁸⁰ The duetto is by Michael Wise.

with the praise I know he deserved: Never did I hear the sounds of reproach. A man who passes through life in such a manner, filling up the measure of the short span by reaching seventy-two years, has a title to some record in the annals of virtue and public love. If private affection had no share in directing my pen, the love of my country demands this tribute. Although no marble trophies would be raised to his fame, his virtues ought to be registered in the hearts of the virtuous, which is an illustrious monument. JONAS HANWAY.”

Mathias was also a collector of musical manuscripts. Apart from the manuscript of Geminiani’s “La selva incantata” the following manuscripts can be mentioned among the ones that were in his possession:

B-Bc, MS 685	Madrigals by Stradella.
GB-Lbl, Add. MS 31466	Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century English and Italian music.
GB-Lbl, Add. MS 5036-5059	A series of manuscripts copied by Henry Needler for the Academy of Ancient Musick, donated by Needler’s widow to Mathias, and bequeathed by Mathias to the British Museum.
GB-Lcm, MS 863	A Mass in G minor by Fux.

Geminiani donated the manuscript of “La selva incantata” to James Mathias on 7 December 1761. What happened with the manuscript after Mathias’s death in 1782? First it came in the hands of Benjamin Cooke Junior (1734-1793), a minor composer but a major figure in London musical life of the second half of the eighteenth century, son of the music publisher Benjamin Cooke [Senior].⁸¹ Cooke Junior was for many years musical director of the Academy of Ancient Musick and was also a collector of early music manuscripts. After Cooke’s death in 1793, his collection became the possession of his four surviving children before it was sold in 1845 to the Sacred Harmonic Society. Within the Society’s library, the manuscript of “La selva incantata” had a place in No. 1933, Volume (letter) I, for the majority a collection of manuscript glees, anthems, and songs, and was described as:⁸²

“La Selva Incantata,” Concerto (in autograph) ... *Geminiani*.

The Society ceased to exist in 1875; a few years later, in 1883, its collection, including Geminiani’s autograph manuscript of *La selva incantata*, was bought by the Royal College of Music in London. The Society’s No. 1933, Volume (letter) I, was bound, but the items appear in the binding in an order that deviates considerably from the description in the Society’s catalogue of 1872, which means that the volume as in the possession of the Society probably was a portfolio or box. In the RCM binding the manuscripts were ordered by genre. An index was added at the end.

THE EDITION OF *THE INCHANTED FORREST*

Geminiani’s music of *The Enchanted Forest* was published by John Johnson with the following title:

⁸¹ Eggington 2014, p. 264.

⁸² William Husk, *Catalogue of the Library of the Sacred Harmonic Society* (London: Sacred Harmonic Society, 1872), p. 248: No. 1933, Vol. I (I is capital i here, not Roman 1). The presence of a Geminiani autograph in the Society’s library is expressly mentioned in the Preface.

THE | Inchanted Forrest | an | Instrumental Composition | Expressive of the same Ideas | AS THE |
POEM of TASSO | of that Title | BY | F. Geminiani | Phillips sc. | ——— | LONDON Printed by
John Johnson opposite Bow Church in Cheapside | of whom may be had, all the Author's Works.

The edition differs in several respects from Johnson's other editions of Geminiani's works. It is the only edition of Geminiani's works in which the instrumental forces of the composition are not mentioned on the title page. The expression "An Instrumental Composition" is hardly helpful in this respect. It is possible that the descriptive nature of the title—quite unique among Geminiani's works as well—made it appear less important to specify the instruments required to perform the composition. On the title page one reads "Phillips sc. [=sculpsit]", which refers to John Phillips as engraver of the title page.

The imprint brings a new surprise, not by what is said there but by what is *not* said. In the imprints of nearly all of Johnson's editions of Geminiani's works until 1760 the words "Printed by John Johnson" are followed by the phrase "for the Author", but in this case, the edition of *The Inchanted Forrest*, these words are missing. This can hardly be an accident. At all probability it means that Geminiani was not involved in the edition.

The edition is in nine partbooks, according to the header lines above the music:

Violino Primo
Violino Primo Ripieno
Violino Secondo
Violino Second Ripieno
Viola 1^a. e 2^a.
Violoncello
Basso Ripieno
Flauto 1^o. et 2^o.
Corno Primo / Corno Secondo / Tromba

The overview shows that separate partbooks were printed for the Concertino and Ripieno parts of the Violino Primo, the Violino Secondo and the Basso parts but not of the Viola. Therefore, there is one string partbook less than Geminiani's other concerto publications from 1743 onwards, the Concertos from Opus 4, the Concertos Opus 7 and the Revised Versions of the Concertos Opus 2 and 3. In the Concertino partbooks the word "Concertino" is not used in the header lines. The Concertino and Ripieno parts of the viola are presented in a single part in a single partbook, with header lines "Viola Prima e Seconda".

The edition of *The Inchanted Forrest* contains two partbooks that are not found in any other publication by Geminiani, one with the Flauto Primo and Secondo parts, and one with the parts for Corno Primo, Corno Secondo and Tromba. The Corni-Tromba partbook does not have a title page of its own, a fairly normal feature of horn and trumpet partbooks of the period: these partbooks often have very few pages only and publishers will have tried to save a few prints of the title page (which was needed in six to eight times more copies than the music pages).

The title page does not mention a year of publication, but fortunately an advertisement in the *Public Advertiser* of 2 June 1761 is available:⁸³

NEW MUSICK. *Just published.* Composed by F. GEMINIANI, The Inchanted Forest, an instrumental Composition, expressive of the same Ideas as the Poem of Tasso of that Title; to be

⁸³ This advertisement was brought to my attention by Michael Talbot (Liverpool).

performed by Violins, German Flutes, Tenor, and Bases, Trumpets and French Horns ad Libitum. Also just published, composed by the same Author. Two Concertos, to be performed by the first and second Violins in Unison; the Tenors in Unison; with the Violoncello and other Bases, and particularly by Harpsichord. Printed for J. Johnson at the Harp and Crown, opposite Bow Church, Cheapside.

This means that the editions appeared a few months after the concert.⁸⁴

In interesting and important question now is if the edition of *The Inchanted Forrest* was based on the autograph manuscript score of *La selva incantata*. The correspondence between manuscript and edition is quite close and the musical text of the edition includes the corrections of the manuscript. Articulation and ornamentation of the edition basically follow that of the manuscript.⁸⁵ A direct or indirect dependence of the 1761 edition upon *La selva incantata* is at least suggested by the markings “Violini” in bar 12 of the Violino Primo and Secondo of Section 1 that have been maintained in the edition. In the manuscript these markings mean that the bassoon must be silent for a couple of bars, but such a marking does not make sense in the edition, where there is no mention of the doubling of the violin parts by bassoons. But there are also numerous differences in detail between the manuscript and the edition, concerning both the notes and the secondary elements as articulation, dynamics and ornamentation.

In most cases the deviations from *La selva incantata* occur both in the Concertino and Ripieno parts of a pair. This observation suggests strongly that the parts of *The Inchanted Forrest* are based on a score where Concertino and Ripieno parts are written on a single staff, which is in fact the case both in the manuscript of *La selva incantata* and in the score editions of Geminiani’s Concertos Opus 2 and 3 published in 1757. (It would have been impossible for the Concertos after Opus 4 of 1743 and the Concertos Opus 7 of 1747.) If, however, deviations from *La selva incantata* occur in the corresponding Concertino and Ripieno parts of *The Inchanted Forrest*, one must assume they occur also in the score from which the parts were copied: it would be quite complicated to introduce a great number of variants in exactly the same way when engraving different parts from a score. This means that the score from which the parts of *The Inchanted Forrest* was derived was not the preserved autograph score known as *La selva incantata*, but a score that was a copy of that score. Another indication that the score on which the edition was based is not the one now known as *La selva incantata* is the title *La foresta incantata* that is given to the horns-trumpet partbook: had the manuscript of *La selva inantata* been available for the edition, surely its title would have been chosen for the horns-trumpet partbook.

The most significant deviation from *La selva incantata* found in *The Inchanted Forrest* is the Violino Secondo in bars 71-72 of Section 14. Compare these bars of *La selva incantata*:

⁸⁴ The dating proposals by Charles Burney (1789, IV, p. 643: “about 1756”) and John Hawkins (1776, V, p. 423: “around the same time [=1755]”) may be discarded, of course.

⁸⁵ There is one deviating tempo marking: Section 16 is marked Allegro Assai in the manuscript, Allegro in the edition.

Rudolf Rasch: The Thirty-One Works of Francesco Geminiani
Work Nineteen: The Enchanted Forest (1754/1761)

with the corresponding bars of *The Inchanted Forrest*:

Other deviations have to do with octave leaps at the end of phrases and the writing of double or triple stops where *La selva incantata* does not have them.

A question that now has to be answered is the following: Are the deviations from *La selva incantata* that are found in the score that was used for the edition variants from the hands of Geminiani or someone else's? The nature of the deviations seems to point to Geminiani: they are no necessary corrections but rather randomly placed minor alterations. One could reason that someone else than Geminiani would not see any reason to apply these changes, while it is known that Geminiani revised his composition at every instanc possible.

If we assume that the new readings of the score on which the 1761 edition was based go back to Geminiani it is an almost necessary conclusion that this score was an autograph, in Geminiani's hand. Several speculations are now possible.

This first speculation is that the scoe used for the edition was the score that was prepared by Geminiani for the concert performance of *The Enchanted Forest* by Miss Gambarini in April 1761. From this score parts will have been copied and these parts could have been used by the engraver. The many differences concerning details between the Concertino and Ripieno parts of the edition suggest that it seems they were not engraved after the same examples. But so far this is specuation.

The second speculation is that this intermediate score, perhaps even with its parts, is the autograph score of the work that is listed in the auction catalogue of the collection of the singer and collector James Bartleman (1769-1821; mentioned above in relation to James Matthias), *A Catalogue of the Very Valuable and Celebrated*

Library of Music Books, Late the Property of James Bartleman Esq. [London, 1822]. Items Nos. 67-68 (sold 20 February 1822) are described as follows:⁸⁶

67 [Geminiani's] Enchanted Forest, a Composition in imitation of Tasso for Instruments, and the score in his own MS.

68 ——— Ditto, in parts, 7 books in a case [D 15]

It seems that the score mentioned in No. 67 does not refer to the GB-Lcm manuscript of “La selva incantata”. The title given deviates too far from the title of the GB-Lcm manuscript (although the catalogue at times gives summary descriptions rather than exact titles) and secondly it seems improbable that Bartleman’s manuscript would have been bought either by the sons of Benjamin Cooke Junior or by the Sacred Harmonic Society, via whose possession ended up where it is now. At the same time, it does not seem to refer to the 1761 edition, because that edition was in parts. The only remaining option then is that No. 67 was the manuscript score that was be used for the edition and—according to the first speculation—also for the concert of 15 April 1761. The “and” in the description of item No. 67, however, is confusion. Does it mean there were two items together, a set of parts and a score? Or does it refer rather to two *properties* of a single item (which is “a Composition in imitation of Tasso for Instruments” and “the score in his own MS.” at the same time) than to two separate *items*? Item No. 67 could then simply be an autograph score prepared by Geminiani on the basis of the preserved manuscript of “La selva incantata” which was subsequently given to Signora Gambarini for her benefit of 15 April. Note that the subtitle of the “Bartleman manuscript” seem to represent some intermediate stage between the subtitles of *La selva incantata* and *The In enchanted Forrest*:

La selva incantata del Tasso: Composizione Istrumentale

“Enchanted Forest: A Composition in Imitation of Tasso for Instruments”

The In enchanted Forrest: An Instrumental Composition Expressive of the Same Ideas as the Poem of Tasso of That Title

There is one slightly disturbing element in this order of titles: the words “composizione istrumentale” of the first title recurs in the third in direct translation, “an instrumental composition”, whereas in the second they are phrased differently: “a Composition ... for Instruments”. It is difficult if not impossible to say if this is strong enough a reason to reject the hypothesis that the manuscript referred to in the Bartleman catalogue is the intermediate source between the manuscript “La selva incantata” and the edition “The Enchanted Forrest”.

Whatever the case, the manuscript used for the concert could have remained in the hands of John Worgan who made it available to John Johnson for his edition. It may have remained in Worgan’s possession until his death in 1790 and then passed to James Bartleman. It must be stressed, however, that this is a *possible* course of affairs, and such a status does not even mean it was a *probable* course of affairs, let alone historical fact.

The next item of the Bartleman sale, No. 68, is described as “Ditto, in parts, 7 books in a case”. If we take this literally this item should consist of seven autograph parts. Actually, not an impossibility in view of the hypothesis of the last paragraph. The original version may have been in seven parts, for example: Violino Primo and Secondo (Concertino and Ripieno in one partbook), Alto (ditto), Violoncello, Basso Ripieno, Flutes, Horns. Other variants are not to be excluded beforehand, for example with the Violoncello and Basso Ripieno parts in one partbook and a separate Violino Primo Concertino partbook, or the seven string parts as in the

⁸⁶ Items 65-71 are works by Geminiani, 1335-1337 treatises.

edition and no flute and horn parts. The addition “in a case” adds some prestige to the item, which could have to do with its autograph or manuscript character. A set of printed partbooks would less often be stored in a box. But nothing, of course, speaks directly against the supposition that item No. 68 simply included the seven string partbooks of the edition. There is not enough information for definitive statements.

It seems, however, rather safe to assume that there was another score in between the autograph manuscript known as “La selva incantata” and the edition known as *The In enchanted Forrest*. It was already suggested that the engraver worked from parts derived from such a score. Actually, there is an observation that seems to confirm that the engraver worked from parts rather than from a score. The engraver of the partbooks of *The Enchanted Forrest* had the habit of writing out in full (in engraved form, of course) a number of repeated periods, in order to avoid empty staves at the lower end of the right-hand pages. (This practice is rather extensively visible in the engraving of the Sonatas for two Violins and Bass of 1757.) It is remarkable how often these repeated periods are found on the left-hand pages of two-page openings, often on the first occasion such a writing-out was possible. That means that at the moment an engraver started his work he knew already that he would have some left-over space at the lower end of the right-hand page if he would not write out a repeat. And this makes it very probable that he worked from separate parts. When working from a score it is very difficult to foresee that after a number of later sections one will have to leave open a few staves to avoid a page turn in the middle of a section. In itself this is not a remarkable conclusion: when both a score and parts are available and one is engraving parts, it is much easier to do this from the available parts. The overall conclusion then is that the engraver of the edition of *The In enchanted Forrest* was working from a set of parts, which were written out from a score which was in itself a copy of the the autograph score preserved in the library of the Royal College of Music.

Let us return to the 1761 edition. Its main title, “The In enchanted Forrest”, is an English translation of the Italian title of the manuscript, “La selva incantata”. In English text of around 1760, however, “in enchanted” was a less current spelling than “enchanted”; “forrest” was rare in comparison to “forest”. The first words of the subtitle, “An Instrumental Composition”, looks directly derived from the subtitle of the manuscript, “Composizione Istrumentale”, but may also be a rephrasing of the words “Composition ... for Instruments” of the manuscript of the Bartleman sale. What follows, the phrase “Expressive of the same Ideas as the Poem of Tasso of that Title”, looks like an attempt to provide a more concrete explanation of the simple phrase “in Imitation of Tasso” in the Bartleman manuscript title. Actually, strictly spoken there is no poem by Tasso with the title “The In enchanted Forrest”.

Was the edition an authorized or “authentic one”, that is, an edition published in agreement with and during the production overseen by the composer? Here, I believe, the answer is “no”. The first indication against Geminiani’s involvement in the edition is that the phrase “for the Author” is missing in the imprint, which says simply “printed by John Johnson”. The advertisement of 2 June 1761 says that the edition was “printed for John Johnson”. But there are more features of the edition that deviate from the editions that are described in their imprints as “printed by John Johnson for the author”. The viola partbook of the edition of *The In enchanted Forrest* is headed “Viola 1a. e 2a.”, whereas the autograph manuscript writes “Alto”, as do the editions of the revised versions of the Concertos Opus 2 and 3 published by John Johnson “for the author” in 1757. The Violino Primo and Secondo Concertino partbooks lack the designation “Concertino” in the header lines above the pages, whereas in all authorized editions the designation “Concertino” is found there.

Whether or not Geminiani knew about the edition before it was published, and whether or not he agreed with such a publication, is impossible to know.

As already remarked, it was John Phillips who engraved the title page. The engraving of the music is, however, certainly not done by him, as appears from the upright lettering of header lines, titles and dynamic markings, and in particular from the shapes of the alto and bass clefs. The engraving of the music rather seems the work of John Caulfield, who signed his engraving work for the Basso Ripieno partbook of the Sonatas from Opus 1, Nos. I-VI, published in 1757, and whose hand is also recognizable in the editions of *The Harmonical Miscellany* (1758) and *The Second Collection of Pieces for the Harpsichord* (1762). The Violino Primo Concertino part of the new edition of the Concertos Opus 3 (1757) must also be in Caulfield's hand (the remainder being engraved by Mme Vendome) and perhaps also pp. 36-37 of *The Art of Playing on the Violin* (1751; the remainder being engraved by Phillips). It may be assumed that Caulfield was affiliated to Phillips's shop in one way or another.

For both the title and the music of *The In enchanted Forrest* "small plates", of 26 x 19 cm, were used. Parte I and II are treated as two compositions, with the respective titles in the indentations of the first stave. All sections of the two compositions are engraved continuously, beginning on a new stave only if the previous section ended near or at the end of the previous stave. The "principle of sonata or concerto partbook engraving" could not be applied here: the two compositions are too long to have as a principle the separate parts of each of them fit on two opposing pages. Instead, in most cases the string parts of the two compositions are engraved on four pages, the Ripieno violin parts and the Violoncello part of Parte II on three pages. Where pages have to be turned within Parte I or II, there is a marking "Segue subito".

All string partbooks except the Basso Ripieno have Sections 1-6 of Parte I on the first two-page opening (that is, pages 2-3) and Sections 7-11 on the second (pages 4-5). The division of the sections of Parte II over the various openings is variable. The first opening (pages 6-7) has a number of sections from Section 12 onwards. The second opening (pages 8-9) may begin with Section 19 (Va), 21 (V1, V2) or 22 (V1R, V2R, Vcl). These differences may be explained as follows. The Viola part has far fewer notes than the other parts, which is compensated by a rather spacious engraving, by which the Parte II is engraved on four pages or two openings. The Violino Primo and Secondo part have the greatest numbers of notes. They have also been engraved over four pages, with two openings covering Sections 12-20 (pages 6-7) and 21-23 (pages 8-9) respectively. The Violino Primo and Secondo Ripieno parts and the Violoncello part have fewer notes. Now the first opening (pages 6-7) covers Sections 12-21. The remaining Sections 22-23 are engraved on page 8 only.

The Basso Ripieno, Flauto Primo-Secondo and Corni-Tromba parts are divided over the pages in accordance with the length of the sections, meaning that it was not tried to synchronise the Parte I and II with full openings. The engraver worked on until the pages were filled and then begun on the next page.

The concert took place on 15 April 1761, the edition was announced on 2 June 1761. Was this time interval large enough to prepare and to produce the edition? Probably it was. The edition comprises 59 pages of engraved music plus the title page. In relation to an earlier case, the reprints of the Corelli Concertos in 1626 and 1629, it was argued that engraving a page from a complete example (such as an existing edition or a written-out separate part) took about half a day. Sixty engravings therefore ask for thirty working days, or five weeks. From 15 April to 2 June is 47 days or almost seven weeks.

The edition was printed using the single-folio method. The paper of the folios has vertical chain lines, 26 mm apart, and a watermark depicting a fleur-de-lis that is symmetrical around a chain line. The countermark is "IV". The dimensions of the extant copies, from 30 to 35 cm high and from 22 to 25 cm wide, show that the folios were derived from sheets in the usual Short Demy format.

It is now time to look at the notation of the music in the various partbooks. Occasionally tempo markings vary among the partbooks:

Section	Tempo marking	Deviating tempo markings
Section 6	Allegro	V1C-R, V2C-R: Allegro moderato
Section 7	Allegro spiritoso	Corni: Allegro moderato
Section 8	Adagio	V1R: Andante
Section 18	Affettuoso	Viola, Flauto: Andante
Section 22	Allegro	Corni: Allegro assai

In the Violino Primo, Violino Secondo and Viola Prima-Seconda partbooks the concertino passages are marked “Soli”; they end at the markings “tutti”. In the Violoncello partbook these markings are rare. Further markings are like those in the manuscript score, with articulation including slurs, staccato strokes and slurred dots for portato, “P” and “F” as dynamic indications, and trills (*tr*), trills with turns (♯), mordents (*//*) and swells (♮) as ornamentation. The Violoncello and Basso Ripieno partbooks lack any markings of dynamics, articulation or ornamentation. Beginning and ending of the repeat of the second period of a binary section are often marked by double oblique slashes above and below the double barlines.

The two wind partbooks each combine two parts in them. In the Flauto Primo and Secondo partbook the two parts are engraved on a single staff where they completely coincide, on two staves in score where there are two real parts. There are, of course, several sections without flute parts. The flute parts have ranges from *d'* to *d'''* and they are certainly meant to be played on transverse flutes. They are notated with the treble (violin) clef. The flute parts have the same dynamic, articulation and ornamentation marking as the violin and viola parts. *Colla parte* notation is applied for the Flauto Secondo in Section 9, bars 311-315.

The horns/trumpet partbook is entirely in two-part score. In the partbook Parte I is headed “*La Foresta Incantata | PARTE PRIMA con Corni*”. The parts are marked Corno Primo and Corno Secondo and are notated on sounding pitch with a mezzo soprano clef. The Corno Primo has a range from *c'* to *c''* and includes the notes *c', f', g', a', b'* and *c''*, which are notes 6, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12 in the harmonic series of the instrument. The Corno Secondo has a range from *c* to *a'*, with the notes *c, f, a, c', f', g'* and *a'*, which are notes 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9 and 10 in the harmonic series.

In the horns/trumpet part Parte II is headed “*Parte Seconda con Tromba, e Corni*”. There are two instrumental parts in score, the first is marked “Tromba e Corno 1^o.”, the second, “Corno 2^{do}.”. Both parts are written in D major with a key signature of two sharps, with a treble (violin) clef. The trumpet part is certainly meant to be played on notated pitch; the horn parts will have been played at the lower octave. The first part has an unusually large range, from *a* to *d'''*, and includes the notes *a, d', f'-sharp, a', d'', e'', f'-sharp, g'', a'', b''* and *d'''*, which are harmonics 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 and 16. There is one passage (Section 22, bars 309-313) marked “Tromba sola”, which ends with the marking “Tutti”. The second part has a more restricted range, from *a* to *f'-sharp*, and includes the notes *a, d', f'-sharp, a', d'', e''* and *f'-sharp*, which are harmonics 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10 of the harmonic series, the same series of harmonics as used for the Corno Secondo part for the Parte I. The notation of the horn and trumpet parts will be dealt with in a separate section.

The edition of *The In enchanted Forrest* is listed in Johnson's catalogues of 1764 and 1770, in the category "For Concerts", simply as "Inchanted Forest", for the price of £ 0:10:6, which is half a guinea.⁸⁷ As far as known never a new impression was produced by Johnson or his widow after the first one. By the end of the 1770s the edition passed with all of Johnson's Geminiani editions into the hands of Robert Bremner. In Bremner's *Additional Catalogue*, which lists his acquisitions from the Johnson and Welcker firms, the work is listed in the category "For Concerts" as "Concertos, called the Inchanted Forrest".⁸⁸ The price was reduced to £ 0:7:6. In 1790 Bremner's stock of plates and printed copies came into the hands of the firm of Preston and Son. In their *Additional Catalogue* of 1790 *The In enchanted Forrest* is listed in the category "Concertos for a full Band", as "Geminiani, Enchanted Forest".⁸⁹ The price is—remarkably enough—restored to the original price of £ 0:10:6. None of the later possessors of the work seems to have produced new copies of the edition. Preston's listing of 1790 is, as far as known, the end of *The In enchanted Forrest* in the English music trade.

Not very many copies of Johnson's edition of *The In enchanted Forrest* are extant, which probably means it was not a very successful edition in its own time. Five are in British or American Libraries. The copy now in the library of the Royal Academy of Music (London) comes from the collection of Charterhouse organist Richard John Samuel Stevens (1757-1837), the copy in the Library of Congress (Washington D.C.) from the collection of Alfred Moffat (1863-1940). The latter copy has an early signature of Thomas Armstrong. One copy is on the Continent, in Statens Musikbiblioteket in Stockholm; it comes from the collection of the Swedish amateur violoncello player Johan Mazer (1790-1847). The copy of the André Meyer Collection (Paris) was sold by auction by Sotheby's (London) in 2012. Its present whereabouts are unknown.

THE NOTATION OF THE HORN AND TRUMPET PARTS

The notation of the horn parts of Parte I with a mezzo soprano clef looks a bit arbitrary at first sight. But it appears to follow one of the three ways to notate horn parts in England in the middle years of the eighteenth century. Thomas Arne's *Eight Overtures in 8 Parts, Four for Violins, Hoboys or German Flutes, and Four for Violins, French Horns, &c. with a Bass for the Violoncello & Harpsichord* (London: John Walsh, [1751]) give a number of interesting examples for the notation of horn parts in this time. Three of the overtures, No. III in G major, No. IV in F major and No. V in D major, have two horn parts. These parts are notated with the baritone clef, mezzo soprano clef and alto clef respectively and all of them have their proper key signatures. The choice of clef appears to follow a quite definite scheme. The central part of the range of notes played by a horn includes Harmonics 8-12, as a diatonic scale over the range of a fifth. This range is usually expanded

⁸⁷ *A Catalogue of Vocal and Instrumental Music, 1764, Printed and Sold by John Johnson, at the Harp and Crown in Cheapside, London, and A Catalogue of Vocal and Instrumental Music, 1770, Printed and Sold by John Johnson, at the Harp and Crown in Cheapside, London.* See WORK 9: THE VIOLIN SONATAS OF 1739: APPENDICES, Appendices 1B and 1C.

⁸⁸ *Additional Catalogue*, with the introductory sentence "The following, among which many valuable and classical Works, were formerly the Property of the late Mrs. Johnson of Cheapside, Mrs. Welcker, of Gerrard-street, Soho, and others, and are now to be had at Mr. Bremner's, he having purchased the Plates and Copies." It is an appendix to Bremner's catalogue of 1778.

⁸⁹ 1790. *An Additional Catalogue of Instrumental and Vocal Music, Printed and Sold by Preston and Son, Manufacturers of Musical Instruments, Music Printers and Publishers, at their Wholesale Warehouses, No. 97, Strand, and Exeter Change, London: late the Property of that Eminent Dealer, Mr. Robert Bremner, Containing Compositions of the most Celebrated Authors, Alphabetically Arranged*, p. 6. Geminiani's works are first listed in the various genre categories. At the end of the catalogue (p. 11) they are listed again in a separate category, headed "The delicate Composition of Geminiani, being much dispersed over the Catalogue, they are here placed together."

downward with Harmonics 5 and 6, and upwards with Harmonic 13. Point of departure of the notation must have been the notation of these harmonics in the key of C major:



When these harmonics are played on a horn in C they sound one octave lower than the notation. The rule for the notation of horn parts in Arne's *Overtures* using horns on other pitches is that for each harmonic the position of the note on the staff remains unaltered, while the change in sounding pitch is indicated by using a different clef. The pitch may be an octave below or above the pitch as suggested by the clef. For G major this principle results in the use of baritone clef:



as in Arne's Overture III, with the notes sounding one octave above the notation.

For F major a mezzo-soprano clef is very apt to write down the horn part:



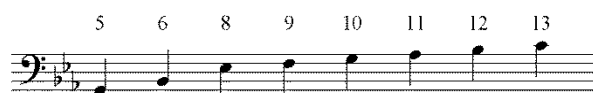
as in Arne's Overture IV, with the notes on sounding pitch.

For D major the use of an alto clef is the solution:



as in Arne's Overture V, with the notes on sounding pitch. Another example of this notation for horn parts in D major is found in Baldassare Galuppi's Overture (VI) to *Penelope* (premiered London, 1741), as published in *Six Overtures in Seven Parts [...] by [...] Hasse, Vinci, Galuppi & Porpora* (Walsh, [1748]).

In E flat major the horn notes can be notated according to this system with a bass clef:

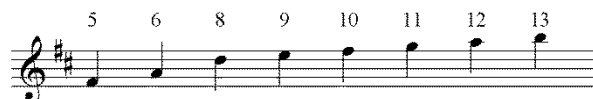


They sound one octave above the notation. This notation is found in Sammartini's Concerto VI as published in *Six Concertos in 8 Parts [...] by Sigr. Gio: Bat: St. Martini of Milan. and Sgr. Hasse* (Walsh, [1751]).

The notation as applied in the above given examples will be called the "non-transposing notation of horn parts based on C major".

The two sections of Parte I of Geminiani's *Inchanted Forrest* that have horn parts are in F major. As already said, the horn parts of these sections are notated with a mezzo-soprano clef with a key signature of one flat, a notation in complete accordance with the notation of the horn parts in F major in the non-transposing notation of horn parts based on C major as exemplified in Arne's Overture IV in his *Eight Overtures* (1751).

The notation of the horn parts of Parte II of Geminiani's *Inchanted Forrest* follows a different principle. The key of the movements with horn parts, always D major, would indicate, when the non-transposing notation based on C major would have been used, the use of an alto clef, with the notation on sounding pitch, as in Arne's Overture V cited above. However, in Geminiani's Parte II a different systems for the notation of horn parts is used, a system that can be called "non-transposing notation of horn parts based on D major". D major is the key that is in the middle years of the eighteenth-century nearly the only choice for trumpet parts. Such parts are always notated with a violin clef with a key signature of two sharps, on sounding pitch. Such a notation can also be applied to horns in D, but then sound is an octave below notation. Both for trumpet and horn the harmonics have the following notation:



Horn parts notated this way are found, for example, in in Baldassare Galuppi's Overture (I) to *Enrico* (premiered London, 1743) and Nicola Porpora's Overture (V) to *Arianna in Naxos* (premiered in London, 1733), both as published in *Six Overtures in Seven Parts [...] by [...] Hasse, Vinci, Galuppi & Porpora* (Walsh, [1748]), and in Arne's Overture VII, in his *Eight Overtures in 8 Parts* (1751). All these works are in D major.

In the non-transposing notation of horn parts based on D major the eighth harmonic is on the second line of the staff. This principle has also been applied to notate the horn part in Galuppi's Overture (VI) to *Scipione* (premiered in London, 1746), as published in *Six Overtures in Seven Parts [...] by [...] Hasse, Vinci, Galuppi & Porpora* (Walsh, [1748]). The Overture is in G major and the horn part is notated with a mezzo-soprano clef with a key signature of two sharps:⁹⁰



Horn parts sound one octave below the notation.

The two horn parts of Parte II of *The Inchanted Forrest*, of which the first is a trumpet part at the same time, follow the non-transposing notation of horn parts based on D major. Since all sections where it is applied are in D major, a violin clef is used with a key signature of two sharps. This notation is on sounding pitch for the trumpet, but an octave above sounding pitch for the horn.

The third system applied to horn notation in England round the middle of the eighteenth century is the still current transposing notation in C major, with horn parts always in C major and an indication of the transposition to be applied by the choice of a different horn. Early applications are found in Francesco Barsanti's *Concerti grossi [...] Opera terza* (Edinburgh, [1742]; for Concertos I-II in F major and Concertos III-V in D major), the Overture No. II (*Meraspe*, pasticcio, premiered London c. 1742) and Overture No. III (Porpora, *Polifemo*, premiered London 1735) as published in *Six Overtures in Seven Parts [...] by [...] Hasse, Vinci, Galuppi & Porpora* (Walsh, [1748]), Overtures I-V in *Six Concertos in 8 Parts [...] by Sigr. Gio: Bat: St. Martini of Milan and Sgr. Hasse* (Walsh, [1751]), Giuseppe Sammartini's *Eight Overtures in Eight Parts [...] and Six Grand Concertos for Violins &c.* (Opp. 7 and 8; Walsh 1752; S&H 1318), William Boyce's

⁹⁰ By mistake the clef is an alto clef, but the key signature and the notes make clear they must be read as if the part is written with the mezzo-soprano clef.

Symphony V in *Eight Symphonys in Eight Parts [...] Opera seconda* (Walsh, [1760]), Carl Friedrich Abel's *Six Overtures in Eight Parts [...] Opera prima* (Amsterdam: Johann Julius Hummel, [1759], reprinted in London by John Johnson, [c. 1760]), and Johann Christian Bach's *Six Simphonies [...] Œuvre III* (London: author, Welcker, 1763).

Reviewing the examples cited of the three ways to notate horn part in the middle years of the eighteenth century one can only conclude that the application of the two non-transposing systems in the edition Geminiani's *Inchanted Forrest* represents a traditional if not archaic and obsolete approach for 1761. I have seen no other instance of non-transposing notation of horn parts from after 1751. From the examples given it is clear that the transposing notation of horn parts was already well known in London around 1750 and would become the standard way soon after 1750. In fact, it makes it probable that it was Geminiani himself who added the horn and trumpet parts to his score originally for strings only with occasional flute and bassoon parts. Horn parts could be added in general to pieces, movements and sections in all common major keys, trumpet parts practically only to pieces in D major. One must assume that the keys found in the various sections of *The Inchanted Forrest* were already established before the addition of horn and trumpet parts was at issue. The addition of the horn and trumpet parts must therefore be seen as simply using the opportunities provided by the keys of the various section. To the two sections in a major key of the Parte I, both in F major, only horns could be added. For their notation the non-transposing notation based on C major was chosen, a choice that leads to the use of a mezzo-soprano clef with a key signature of one flat. The Parte II has a number of sections in D major, allowing the addition of both horns and trumpets. Here it was more efficient to use the non-transposing notation based on D major, with violin clef with a key signature of two sharp, because it accommodates the horn and the trumpet at the same time.

In fact, Thomas Arne's *Eight Overtures* of 1751 may well have been Geminiani's example for the notation of the horn and trumpet parts of *The Inchanted Forrest*. The notation of the horn parts in F major of Sections 4 and 7 is found in Arne's Overture IV, that of the horn parts in D major in Arne's Overture VII.

The horn parts of *The Inchanted Forrest* have only a few markings regarding dynamics, articulation or ornamentation. A single pair of "Pia:" and "For:" markings occurs in Section 14. Articulation is limited to a single slur both in Section 4 and 22 and a few staccato markis in Section 7. Ornamentation consists of a number of trill signs in Sections 4, 14 and 20 and 22 and a single appoggiatura in Section 7.

THE MUSIC OF *THE ENCHANTED FOREST*

Within the whole of Geminiani's Thirty-Three Works *The Enchanted Forest* is not only unique by its background as accompanying music for a theatrical performance, the music itself also differs in style and genre from all other Works. It must be said already here that the music of *The Enchanted Forest* has undergone, during the time interval from 1754 to 1761, several revisions so that in the end six different versions may be distinguished:

The First Version, the Parisian version of 1754, as accompanying music for Servandoni's *La forêt enchantée*. As title one would expect "La forêt enchantée".

The Second Version, the first British version, as found in the autograph manuscript before the corrections were carried out. The title now is "La selva incantata".

The Third Version, the second British version, including the corrections found in the autograph manuscript and the indications for a flute part.

The Fourth Version, probably prepared as a manuscript for Signora Gambarini's benefit concert of 15 April 1761, now with the title *The In enchanted Forest*, certainly with flute parts and perhaps also with horn and trumpet parts.

The Fifth Version, the written-out separate parts for the concert.

And the Sixth Version, the version published by John Johnson, in the same year, 1761, with the added flute and horn parts, as *The In enchanted Forrest*.

Two of these versions are preserved in complete form, one in incomplete form. The once existence of the other versions is therefore hypothetical if not speculative, derived by induction from the preserved versions. The First Version, composed in Paris assumedly in 1754, is completely unknown, unless one considers the descriptions of the programme of *La forêt enchantée* to constitute some indirect knowledge of the musical composition that was to accompany the performances of the spectacle. However, about the music nothing is known in any concrete sense. It is possible that it was identical to the Second Version, but perhaps it was not. It is simply not known.

The Second Version is known from the autograph manuscript score except for the passages where corrections were carried out later. This version consists of two separate compositions, the first one headed "Parte 1^a", the second one in the manuscript without heading. In what follows these two compositions will be referred to as Parte I and II respectively. Each *Parte* has a duration of 15 to 20 minutes, and each *Parte* consists of a number of sections (not: movements). The scoring is for strings and figured bass, with Concertino parts for all four string parts, but not in all sections. The notation is on four staves, with each staff having the Concertino and Ripieno versions of the respective part.

The Third Version is the first one that is complete known today: its reading is found in the autograph manuscript score in its present state, which includes a number of corrections compared with the Second Version. The notation is still on four staves, but there are indications in the Violino Primo Concertino parts of how to construct a flute part out of it, and for one section (Section 14) there is an indication for a Flauto Secondo part.

The Fourth Version is unknown today. One may conjecture that it was based on the Third Version, but with better defined flute parts and perhaps with added horn and trumpet parts. It certainly existed as a score.

The Fifth Version consists of the parts written from the Fourth Version. If the Fourth Version was the score used for the concert, this Fifth Version must have been created just to make possible the performance.

At this point a topic must be discussed that was left aside before: the fact that the instruments mentioned in relation to the concert of 15 April 1761 do neither match the preserved Third Version nor the preserved Sixth Version. The announcements of the concert mention the participation of a flautist and an oboe player but not that of horn or trumpet players. This discrepancy, however, need hardly bother us. Even if Geminiani delivered a score with two flute parts, two horn parts and a trumpet parts, this was not any guarantee that the performance would employ just these instruments. In the advertisement of the edition the brass parts are described as "ad libitum" and the flute and oboe players may just have divided among one another the flute parts. In many orchestral works of the period there are parts for flute or oboe and often these instruments were played by the same performers.

The Sixth Version is the publication of the work as *The In enchanted Forrest*. This version is known in full. It reproduces—if our hypotheses are correct—the Fourth-Fifth Version, which means that it is indirectly based on the Third Version. It writes out completely the flute parts indicated in the manuscript and adds a second flute part, as well as horn and trumpet parts. This version must be considered to be non-authentic or non-authorized in itself but probably is a rather good copy of previous authentic or authorized scores or parts.

Here, first the characteristics of the music of *The Enchanted Forest* will be discussed that apply to the extant versions, the Third and the Sixth. These characteristics have to do with the overall style of the work, the form of the work and its sections, and the texture of the sections, including the Concertino-Ripieno writing. Then, some words will be said about the bassoon parts as implied in the Third Version and the flute parts as implied and indicated in the Third Version. Finally, the fully spelled out flute parts, as well as the horn and trumpet parts as they appear in the Fifth Version, will be discussed.

Making general stylistic statements is always very difficult. But it should be remarked that in judging style and quality of the music of *The Enchanted Forest* two contextual conditions may never be forgotten: first, that the music was written for a French audience, and secondly, that the music was written to accompany a theatre performance without words. The first condition makes one expect elements of French style. It is difficult to define French style, but nevertheless I believe that Geminiani's music for *The Enchanted Forest* sounded familiar for a French audience. Geminiani apparently had no intention to publish the music in France. The second condition certainly explains the relative "lightness" of the music within the whole of Geminiani's oeuvre, with its tendency to melody-bass writing, its melodic phrases of four or eight bars and its relatively simple harmonic progressions. These elements pay tribute to the Galant style in the world around Geminiani, but do not prevent that the basis of his idiom is still that of the first quarter of the eighteenth century.⁹¹

As already said, at least from the Second Version onwards *The Enchanted Forest* consists of two separate compositions designated as Parte I and II. Parte I has initial and final sections in D minor and can therefore be said to be in that key. But many sections between the initial and final ones are in other keys, notably F major. Parte II can be said to be in D major from a similar reasoning and with the same reservation: the first and last sections are in D major, but in between several other keys are employed, notably B minor.

At first sight Parte I and II look, with their Concertino-Ripieno writing, in the second version for strings and continuo only, like "oversized" concerti grossi: it takes almost twenty minutes to perform each of them. At a closer look, however, they appear to be structured differently from ordinary concerti grossi. Normally, Geminiani's concerti grossi consist of a number of clearly separated movements, usually three or four. Neither Parte I nor Parte II of *The Enchanted Forest* allows for such a simple description. They can be better described as consisting of a series of sections that have to follow one another without significant interruptions. The continuity of the sections can be concluded from various observations. Nowhere in the score a new section begins on a new system (let alone a new page) when there is still space on the previous system after the end of the preceding section. In several cases the music of one section is continued in the next section without any kind of break. Many sections end with a half close, thereby implying an "attacca" beginning of the next section. In other cases, the seconda volta of the final chord of a section is also the first chord of the next section. And where sections end with a full close at the bottom of a right-hand page in the edition, there is nearly always the remark "segue subito", meaning that the next section must follow as quick as possible. Therefore, Parte I and II can be described each as compositions consisting of a number of successive sections. Some sections (Sections 2, 10) have a bar with a *Generalpause* after the final chord, thereby creating a gap between the section and the next one. But such a bar makes sense only if an immediate continuation would be expected without the empty bar.

Jenkins (1967) described Parte I as consisting of eleven sections and Careri (1989, 1993) followed suit. Such a division seems indeed beyond discussion. The division of Parte II into sections is less unambiguous.

⁹¹ Some commentators call the writing style of *The Enchanted Forest* "homophonic" *tout court* save exceptions (Careri 1993, p. 120; Philipp 1998, p. 247), but this is certainly not true. The three- or four-voice writing of most sections is as thoroughly polyphonic as that of Geminiani's concerti grossi.

Jenkins (1967) again distinguished eleven sections. Careri (1993), who proposed a single numbering for Parte I and II together, took Jenkins's Sections 4–9 of Parte II as one section (his Section 15) and he counted the Da-Capo-part and the middle part of Jenkins's final section as separate sections (his Sections 17 and 18). This way he has seven sections for Parte II.⁹²

Although strictly speaking the sections of Parte II should be numbered again from 1 upwards, through-numbering provides an easier system for reference and in this text the sections will—following Careri in this respect—also be through-numbered. Sections may be defined as portions of the composition with the same time signature and tempo marking or, approached from a different angle, every new tempo marking or new time signature marks the beginning of a new section. Only two exceptions must be made to this rule. Two very brief Adagio passages—only one or two bars—may better considered not to be separate sections but rather the final cadential bars of the previous sections (Sections 5 and 17).

The list of sections adopted in this text (see Table 20.4) largely follows Jenkins's and Careri's listings. It differs from Jenkins's listing in considering the Affettuoso in 3/4 metre at the end as a separate section (Section 23), be it followed by a Da Capo of Section 22. It differs from Careri's 1993 listing by considering the subsections of his Section 15 to be sections of their own right.⁹³

The Enchanted Forest is not Geminiani's first sectional concerto. Concerto Opus 7 no. VI has a sectional structure as well, of nearly the same character as *The Enchanted Forest*. There are fourteen sections, together 363 bars. The two Parti of *The Enchanted Forest* consist of eleven and thirteen sections respectively, together 437 and 492 bars. If not exactly equal figures, certainly in the same order of magnitude. The two so-called "Unison Concerts" (WORK TWENTY-TWO)—published along with *The Inchaned Forrest* in 1761—are also sectional concertos, be it of considerably smaller size.

Sections in *The Enchanted Forest* are of different nature. Several basic types and sub-types can be distinguished. A number of sections can be called "binary sections". This term will be used for the sections that begin and end in the same key and have a double bar in the middle with repeat dots indicating the repetition of both periods. Often the theme of the beginning of the section reappears in the course of the second period as a kind of reprise and this procedure creates a form that can be described as |: A :|: B A' :|. Most of these movements are in a fast, or at least a moderately fast tempo. Only two of them have a more moderate tempo characterised as Affettuoso. The description "binary section" applies to Sections 2 (Allegro, 3/8, D minor, 32 + 30 = 62 bars), 6 (Allegro, 6/8, C major, 16 + 34 = 50 bars), 7 (Andante spiritoso, 2/4, F major, 30 + 42 = 72 bars) and 9 (Allegro, 2/4, D minor, 24 + 34 = 58 bars) in Parte I, and Sections 12 (Andante Affettuoso, 3/8, D major, 8 + 18 = 26 bars), 14 (Allegro, C , D major, 12 + 28 = 40 bars), 20 (Allegro moderato, C , D major, 8 + 12 = 20 bars) and 23 (Affettuoso, 3/4, D minor, 8 + 16 = 24 bars) in Parte II. The second period of Section 2 does not have to be repeated. Section 4 (Allegro moderato, 6/8, F major) is similar to these binary sections but has a third repeated period of eight bars; it can be described as consisting of 8 + 20 + 8 = 36. It is striking how many of the numbers of bars of the periods of these sections are multiples or sums of 4, 8 or 16.

Section 11, the last section of Parte I (Allegro Moderato, 2/3, D minor), is a movement in a form that is related to a rondeau. It can be described as a succession of four-, eight- or twelve-bar phrases: AA, BB, A, C, A, BB, A, C, A, coda, in which A is eight bars long (in D minor), B four bars (F major), C twelve bars (A minor) and the coda four bars (D minor). Repeats of phrases are sometimes slightly altered. Two sections do not have a clearly delineated form but nevertheless end with the same tonic with which they began. This

⁹² Philipp (1998, pp. 243-247) accepts Careri's division into sections without further discussion.

⁹³ Careri (1993, p. 118) describes bar 137 as a separate subsection (15d), but this bar is nothing else than the final cadence of the Section 17 (Careri 15c), considering the preceding dominant pedal and secondary dominant.

description applies to Section 18, an *Affettuoso* of 24 bars (♩, A minor) and the last section of Parte II (Section 22, repeated after Section 23 as Section 24), a lengthy *Allegro* of 112 bars (2/4, D major). These sections will be called “closed simple sections”.

Other sections can be described as “open simple sections” because they do not end with the tonic of the starting key. They always end with a half close, often in a key different from the one in which they started. The half close serves as an introduction to the next section. These sections do not have a clearly delineated internal structure of some kind. One of them has no tempo marking, the three other ones are *Andante*. Sections 1 (*Andante*, 3/2, D minor, 23 bars, ends with a half close in D minor), 3 (*Andante*, ♩, B-flat major, 12 bars, ends with half close in F), 13 ([*Allegro?*], 6/8, B minor, 30 bars, ends with half close in B minor) and 21 (*Andante*, 3/2, B minor, 58 bars, ends with a half close in B minor) are “open simple sections”.

Finally, there are sections that perhaps are “passages” rather than sections: they are short and have no clearly visible structure. There are two types of them. “Introductory sections” are in a slow to *moderato* tempo, begin in a certain key, but modulate to a half close in a different key that introduces the binary section that follows. Sections 5 (*Andante*, 3/2, F major, 10 bars, end with a half close in C major), 8 (*Adagio*, 3/2, F major, 9 bars, end with a half close in D minor) and 10 (*Grave*, ♩, C minor, 5 bars, end with a half close in D minor) can be described this way. Below, it will be proposed that the Sections 5, 8 and 10 introduce Acts II, III and IV of the spectacle *La forêt enchantée*.

Some sections in Parte II can be described as “descriptive sections”. Below, it will be proposed that they “describe” or “illustrate musically” certain scenes of *La forêt enchantée*. Their key is often not very stable, they are constantly modulating, and most often end with a half close. This applies to Sections 15 (*Allegro moderato*, 3/8, 14 bars, begins in G major, ends with a half close in C major), 16 (*Allegro assai*, ♩, 17 bars, Begins in C major, ends with a half close in F major), 17 (*Andante*, ♩, 9 bars, begins in F major, ends with a half close in A minor) and 19 (*Allegro*, begins in E minor, ends with a full close in D major).⁹⁴

Geminiani has employed various textures in the sections of his *Enchanted Forest*. The main axe of variation is between polyphonic sections—where the four parts move in their own way in four-part counterpoint—and “homophonic” sections—where the writing is determined by a melody-bass combination with the other parts either doubling or filling in. There is a second axe and is the difference between writing for tutti and writing for concertino parts only. Concertino writing occurs both in polyphonic and homophonic sections, so that the two axes are for the larger part independent of one another. Table 20.6 is a listing of the solo and tutti passages of *The Enchanted Forest*.

Polyphonic writing is a fairly common procedure. The beginning of Section 1 may be quoted here as an example:

⁹⁴ Sections 15-19 are taken here as separate sections but taking them together as a single section with several subdivisions, as Careri (1993) does, is certainly not an impossible decision. It seems better, however, to consider Section 20, a “closed binary section” as a separate section and not as the conclusion of the “supersection” begun with Sections 15-19, as Careri (1993) does.

Andante

All sections that were qualified as “open simple sections”—that is, Sections 1, 3, 13, 18, 21 and 23—can be characterised as polyphonic sections. All these sections feature a four-voice polyphony.

Other sections can be described as homophonic: they are based on a melody-bass setting, often with phrases of two, four, six, eight or twelve bars. The middle parts are most often constructed contrapuntally, with their own rhythmic patterns. As an example follows here the beginning of Section 7, a six-bar phrase followed by a two-bar phrase:

Andante spiritoso

The six-bar phrase can be divided into a four-bar basic phrase of which the final two bars are repeated *piano* and one octave lower. The middle voices partially fill up the harmony as implied in the figured bass, partially have their own rhythmic appearances. Violino Primo and Basso together could easily be a movement in a sonata for violin and figured bass.

Another example of this fairly normal four-part “polyphonic homophony” is provided by the first bars of Section 20, an eight-bar repeated phrase:

Allegro moderato

Four-part tutti writing of this kind occurs in all “non-polyphonic” sections, that is the binary sections—with the exception of Section 6, which is written in three-voice homophony—the “rondeaux” section (Section 10), the Da Capo section (Section 22) and the descriptive sections.

In the discussions that follow a distinction will be made between “part” and “voice”. “Part” refers to an instrumental part, “voice” to a line in a homophonic or polyphonic passage. A “voice” can be played by more than one “part” (while a “part” can never play more than one “voice”). This terminology allows us to describe several varieties of tutti writing in the non polyphonic sections.

A four-voice tutti can be enriched by making the Violino Primo Concertino play its own part, as in Section 22:

Bars 327-328 are basically a solo passage. The Violino Primo Concertino continues its solo role in the tutti passage that follows (bars 329-331).

A completely chordal four-part writing occurs in several descriptive sections, in cadential phrases of other sections and as chordal interruption between other types of writing. A chordal cadential phrase occurs at the end of Section 5:

Rudolf Rasch: The Thirty-One Works of Francesco Geminiani
 Work Nineteen: The Enchanted Forest (1754/1761)

141 Adagio

V1 *p* *f* *p*

V2 *p* *f* *p*

A *p* *f* *p*

B *p* *f* *p*

6 5 4 3 4 6 6 5 3

Phrases with chordal interruptions occur in Sections 18 and 22. From the latter section the following example:

301 [Soli] [Tutti] [Soli] [Tutti]

VIC [Soli] [Tutti] [Soli] [Tutti]

VIR [Soli] [Tutti] [Soli] [Tutti]

V2C [Soli] [Tutti] [Soli] [Tutti]

V2R [Soli] [Tutti] [Soli] [Tutti]

AC [Soli] [Tutti] [Soli] [Tutti]

AR [Soli] [Tutti] [Soli] [Tutti]

Vcl BR [Soli] [Tutti] [Soli] [Tutti]

7 7

In several sections four-voice writing has been given up for three-voice writing, be it still with all the instrumental parts playing. This can be done in a simple way, by making two parts double one another. Basically, there are two ways to create a three-voice tutti passage. The first is doubling the Violino Primo and the Violino Secondo with one another. This is done in Sections 6, 7, 11 and 22. From Section 6:

144 Allegro moderato

V1 *tr*

V2 *tr*

A

B

5 5 6 6 6 6 7 7 5 5 6 3 3

The three-voice writing is maintained throughout the section and has been applied even to the single solo passage in the section (bars 171-177). In the other sections mentioned the three-voice writing has been limited to certain portions of the sections. Most of these passages have *colla parte* notation for the Violino Secondo part in the autograph score, with a marking that the Violino Primo part is to be played there.

Section 11 has a kind of rondeau theme that is a three-voice tutti, with the Violino Secondo doubling the Violino Primo. Often this texture is enriched by a solistic role of the Violoncello, while the Basso Ripieno plays a simple bass line. The following example comes from the last presentation of the rondeau theme:

The second way to create a three-voice tutti is to have the Alto and the Basso parts doubling one another. In Section 22 both the Violoncello and the Basso Ripieno double the Alto parts:

In Section 4 (bars 126-129) the Alto parts are doubled by the Violoncello only, the Basso Ripieno being silent.

Two passages in Section 2 (bars 30-38 and 49-54) are written as a two-voice tutti, with Violino Primo and Violino Secondo only. The Violino Secondo plays a continuo line below the Violino Primo:

Finally, there are one-voice tutti passages, which are of course nothing else than a unison passages. This is a rare procedure in *The Enchanted Forest*. Some brief examples can be found in Section 18:

Rudolf Rasch: The Thirty-One Works of Francesco Geminiani
 Work Nineteen: The Enchanted Forest (1754/1761)

The first unison bar (bar 143) is followed by a short two-part solo passage (first half of bar 144) and two tutti chords (second half of bar 144), the second unison bar (bar 145) by a longer four-voice solo passage (bar 146 and following).

The occurrence of the various types of tutti passages in the various sections of *The Enchanted Forest* is listed in Table 20.8.

Solo passages occur in most sections of *The Enchanted Forest*. The concertino may take different forms of appearance. The most common type of Concertino is the one consisting of all four string parts: Violino Primo Concertino, Violino Secondo Concertino, Alto Concertino and Violoncello. All sections that have concertino writing (except one, Section 6) have at least one such passage with a four-part concertino. As an example, the opening bars of Section 13:

Three-part solo passages are created when one of the concertino instruments is left out. This is possible in three ways, by omitting the Violoncello, the Alto Concertino or the Violino Secondo Concertino.

The first variant, a Concertino without Violoncello, is found in a few bars in Section 11 (bars 360-362 and 424-426) and in Section 18 (bars 148-151 and 156). From the latter section the following example:

Rudolf Rasch: The Thirty-One Works of Francesco Geminiani
Work Nineteen: The Enchanted Forest (1754/1761)

A Concertino without Alto Concertino is rather rare. Just a few very brief passages (Section 18, bar 147, Section 21, bars 201-204) can be described this way.

A Concertino passage without Violino Secondo Concertino can be found in Section 6:

Concertino passages with two parts only occur in several formats. The first is with the two concertino violins: Violino Primo Concertino and Violino Secondo Concertino. Brief passages where the two violins play some kind of duet occur in Sections 4 (bars 115-118), 9 (bars 283-285) and 22 (bar 259). In Section 11 there are several passages where the Violino Secondo Concertino plays a bass line below the Violino Primo Concertino (bars 337-343, 372-379 and 409-416). The following example presents the first of these passages:

Rudolf Rasch: The Thirty-One Works of Francesco Geminiani
 Work Nineteen: The Enchanted Forest (1754/1761)

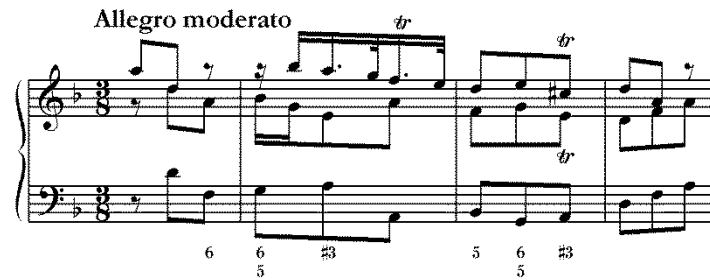
In some very short fragments, the Violino Primo Concertino is supported by “bass notes” in the Alto Concertino (Sections 11, bars 353, 361-362, 365-366 and 369-370, and 18, bars 152-153) or in the Violoncello (Section 21, bars 244-245). The latter type (Violino Primo Concertino plus Violoncello) was fairly common both in the Concertos from Opus 4 and the Concertos Opus 7.

Solo passages for the Violino Primo are fairly common and occur in several sections (Section 2, 9, 11, 18 and 22). The most substantial is the little solo in Section 22:

The introductory sections in Parte I (Sections 5, 8 and 10) have the Violino Primo Concertino as a solo violin that is accompanied by a four-part tutti:

The occurrence of the various types of soli passages in the various sections of *The Enchanted Forest* is listed in Table 20.7.

One final remark should be made concerning the music of *The Enchanted Forest*. Listening to this music there is definitely a certain likeness in style and atmosphere to Geminiani’s Concertos Opus 7, his last work in concerto grosso format before *The Enchanted Forest*, published in 1748. There are at least two motivic relationships between the two works. The head motif of Section 2 of *The Enchanted Forest*:



seems clearly related to that of the Allegro in the last movement of Concerto Opus 7 no. IV:



And the main motif of Section 11 of *The Enchanted Forest*:



has an unmistakable resemblance to the main motif (not the opening motif) of the opening Andante of the same concerto:



Another “connection” between *The Enchanted Forest* and the Concertos Opus 7 is the use of flutes and bassoon in some parts of the scores. The role of these instruments in *The Enchanted Forest* will be dealt with in two separate sections that follow now.

BASSOONS IN *LA SELVA INCANTATA*

It has already been noticed—in the description of the autograph manuscript score—that the two violin parts of the first section of Parte I (Section 1) are also marked for “Bassone” and that the first section of Parte II (Section 12) mentions a “Basson” along with the Violino Primo. Since these markings are autograph and occur more than once it seems highly unlikely that they are mistakes. There is little alternative for the interpretation that these parts should indeed be doubled by bassoons. This is confirmed by the marking “Violini” in bar 14 for the Violino Primo part and “Violini soli” in the Violino Secondo part. In bar 16 the marking “Tut.” restores the doubling by the bassoons in both parts. Were the markings in bar 14 meant to restrict the violins to the Concertino violins, there would have been “soli”, as everywhere in the editions of Geminiani’s work from 1726 onwards and everywhere else in the manuscript of *La selva incantata*.

However, how should the doubling of the violin parts by instruments called “Bassone” be understood? Doubling by ordinary bassoons on the written pitch is not a realistic option but the doubling could be done when the bassoons play the lower octave of the notation. Note that the range of the Violino Primo of Section 1 apart from bars 14-15—where the Bassone is silent—is from d' to d'' , that of the Violino Secondo part from

c'-sharp to *d''*. This is quite restricted for a violin part but could have to do with the doubling of the violin parts in the lower octave by bassoons.

A “Basson” is mentioned again as an instrument that doubles the Violino Primo part of the first section of Parte II (Section 12). This part has the same restricted pitch range as the Section 1 of Parte I, from *d'* to *d''*. There is even more. Section 12 is an arrangement of a section of the last movement of the Violin Sonata Opus 5 No. VI. This sonata is in D minor and so is its last movement, an Allegro in 3/8 metre, in rondeau form with two episodes. The second episode (bars 85-110) is in D major and in 3/4 metre, with the tempo marking “Non tanto”. This episode consists of two repeated periods of 8 and 18 bars respectively, with the structure |: A :||: B A' :|, where A (bars 85-92) ends on the dominant, B (bars 93-102) has brief modulations to G major and A major and A' (bars 103-110) repeats A, but with an ending on the tonic. It is this episode that is used for Section 12 of *La selva incantata*. The violin and bass parts could have been easily copied entirely without change because everything could remain in same key, D major. Bars 1-8 and 13-24 of the episode have indeed been copied with any change of importance. However, bars 9-12 have been transposed down a fourth in *La selva incantata*, and there cannot have been another reason to do this than to bring down the top of the range of the violin part from *g''* to *d''* in order to accommodate the “Basson” specified for the section. This transposition of the middle bars of the section actually sacrifices the logical modulations to G major and A major by substituting a continuation of D major and a modulation to E major for them, not an impossible change, but certainly not an improvement either.

Normally a bassoon part would be marked “Fagotto” in a score that uses Italian terminology for the instrumental designations throughout. Why “Bassone” here? Actually, “Bassone” is a rare, if not extremely rare Italian equivalent for “Fagotto”, apparently related to the French word “basson” and the English word “bassoon”. The French designation “basson” is often described as having its origin in the Italian words “Bassone”, an augmentative form of “Basso”, but this is very unlikely because the word “bassone” is non-existing in Italian musical sources. The French word “basson” should be rather seen as a diminutive of “basse”, in the same way as the French “violon” is a diminutive of “viole”. And “Bassone” should be considered an Italian form for “basson”, not the other way around.⁹⁵

As just said, the use of “Bassone” for bassoon is extremely rare. It was used in musical manuscripts produced at the Dresden court in the eighteenth century and now in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek in Dresden, for compositions by Arcangelo Califano, Johann Friedrich Fasch, Antonio Vivaldi (Concerto RV 576) and possibly other composers. The only other application I could find was by Geminiani, at two different occasions. The first is the edition of the Concertos Opus 7, published in 1748. The title adds to listing of the instruments for which the concertos were written the phrase “a quali vi sono annessi due Flauti Traversieri e Bassone”. The Bassone plays only in Concerto VI, where the Violoncello del Concertino part has the marking “Violoncello e Bassone”. Sometimes the Bassone plays the same notes as the Violoncello, sometimes it has its own part. Where it plays with the Violoncello there may be passages where the Bassone has to be silent. The beginnings of these passages are marked “Viol^o. Solo”, “V. Solo” or simply “Solo”; where the Bassone plays again there is the marking “Tutti”. (Note that this usage corresponds with the indications “Violini soli” and “Tutti” in the violin parts of Section 1 of *La selva incantata*.) Where, in Geminiani’s Concerto Opus 7 No. VI, the Bassone has its own part there is either a separate staff for it or there is “two-part notation” on a single

⁹⁵ The word “Bassone” appears frequently in 18th- and 19th-century dictionaries as Italian equivalent of the French word “Basson”, but it seems to be missing in actual language use.

staff, always with the higher part for the Bassone. The range of the Bassone part is from *C* to *f'* but notes below *F* and above *d'* are infrequent. There is no doubt the “Bassone” refers to the standard bassoon of the time.

The second occasion where Geminiani used the designation “Bassone” for bassoon is in the manuscript of *La selva incantata*. As already said, Geminiani mentions the “Bassone” as instrument for the two violin parts and the bass part of Section 1 of *La selva incantata* and, as “Basson” for the Violino Primo part of Section 12. In the case of the violin parts the bassoon must play the notes one octave lower, in the case of the bass part the bassoon can simply play the notes at written pitch. Actually, playing notes one octave lower is not an exceptional practice when parts go together in unison. In general, if, in the eighteenth century, unison passages are notated with a treble clef, the bass instruments play the passage in the lower octave. (And, vice versa, if a unison passage is notated with a bass clef, the treble instruments play the passage one octave higher.)

That at the Dresden court the designation “Bassone” was used, is understandable: it was chosen as Italian translation for “basson”. But why Geminiani used this term is less clear. Was it because of his visits to France? He had been several times in France during the years 1740-1747 and this may have induced his choice of “Bassone” instead of “Fagotto” for the Concertos Opus 7, published in 1748. In the case of *La selva incantata* the use of “Bassone” is easier to understand: the first version of the Work was written in Paris in 1754 and the first score may well have had the designation “Basson”, which was then copied in the second, British score as “Bassone”. In fact, for Section 12 the instrument is still designated “Basson”.

FLUTES IN *LA SELVA INCANTATA*

The bassoon is not the only wind instrument mentioned in the autograph manuscript score of *La selva incantata*. The third version of the score has indications for the use of a flute or of two flutes. Before considering this matter into more detail, it may be useful to have a look at flute parts in earlier Works of Geminiani.

The first time that flute parts are mentioned for any of Geminiani’s Works is in the title of the Concertos Opus 2, first published in 1732. After a title that follows the standard pattern of titles of concerto grosso publications there is an additional remark stating that “il IV. V. e VI. [concerto] si potranno suonare con due Flauti Traversieri, o due Violini, con Violoncello.” “The [Concertos] IV, V and VI can also be played with two transverse flutes, or two violins, and violoncello.” In the parts themselves there are no indications in this direction. Often the remark on the title page seems to have been interpreted as meaning that the concertino violins can be replaced (or doubled) by transverse flutes, but actually the phrase says that the works in question can also be performed with two flutes or two violins and violoncello, that is, as trio sonatas for two melodic instruments and figured bass. Indeed, when looking at the respective parts, one sees that the two Violino Concertino parts of the Concerti IV-VI are entirely within the range from *d'* to *d''* and contain only occasional double stops or chords, which can be easily replaced by their highest note if played by a flute. The Violoncello part provides the figuring for a complete performance.

Select Concerto No. III, published separately in 1734 and then included in *Select Harmony, Third Collection* the next year as Concerto No. IV, has a Violino Primo Concertino marked “Traversa e Violino Primo Concertino”. The range of the part and its character absolutely allow for a performance on a transverse flute, but it is not made explicit of the transverse flute should replace the violin or simply double it. The Violino Secondo Concertino of this concerto can equally well be played on a transverse flute but lacks a marking in that direction. Actually, considering that the publications of this concerto was not supervised by Geminiani, as far as known at least, so that it is unclear whether or not the marking “Traversa e Violino” is authentic.

Transverse flutes appear again in the Concertos Opus 7, published in 1748. Just as in the case of Opus 2 they are mentioned in the title following the listing of the stringed instruments necessary to perform the concertos: “à quali vi sono annessi due Flauti Traversieri e Bassone”, a phrase already cited in connection with the bassoon parts of *La selva incantata*. Flutes are mentioned in the respective partbooks as possible instruments for doubling the Violino Primo Concertino and Violino Secondo Concertino of the second movement of Concerto III (the “Inglese” movement of the “Concerto [...] Composto di tre stili differenti: Francese, Inglese e Italiano”), the entire Concerto IV and the last movement of Concerto V. In the partbooks the movements or concerto are marked “Violino Primo (Secondo) e Traversa” (Concertos III, IV) or “Con Traversa” (Concerto V). In the second movement of Concerto III the flute skips the initial and final ritornellos, in the last movement of Concerto V the flutes skip the initial “Soli” passage, and probably also the later “Soli” passages of the movement. The editor of this work in the Critical Edition, Richard Maunder, advises that the flutes be considered as *alternatives* for violins in the Concertino part, not as instruments doubling the Concertino violins, which means in practice that they play “Soli” in the Concertino sections and double the Ripieno parts in the Tutti sections.⁹⁶ The indication “Violino Primo (Secondo) e Traversa”, however, confirms the suggestion of the title page that the flutes are simply added to the string ensemble, so that they double the Violino Concertino parts. One may be reminded here that the Bassone part of Concerto VI is not a part to replace the Violoncello part, but one that could be added to it. Nevertheless, the flute parts definitely have an *ad libitum* character: nothing is missed if the concertos with flute parts are performed without flutes.

Finally, flutes are applied in the four variation cycles included in *Rules for Playing in a True Taste* (1748) and in the four “Songs” included in *A Treatise of Good Taste in the Art of Musick* (1749). Flutes are not mentioned with the variation cycles of the *Rules for Playing in a True Taste* themselves, but both the title page and “The Preface” count the “German Flute” among the instruments with which ones one could perform these compositions. For occasional notes below *dl* a rest or an alternative note one octave higher has been given. The songs in *A Treatise of Good Taste* are scored for a voice “accompany’d by two Violins, German Flutes, Tenor and Thorough Bass.” They consist of an instrumental introductory section notated in four-part score, for two violins, viola and violoncello/continuo, and a vocal section equally notated in four-part score. In the vocal section the voice and the first violin/flute share the same stave, while occasionally there are passages where the voice and the instrument play different notes. The three other parts do not have text and are purely instrumental. The first violin/flute part nearly completely moves in the range from *d’* to *d’’*; only occasionally there are lower notes. The second violin/flute part, however, frequently has notes or passages that use the range from *g* to *c’-sharp*. When the notes are too low for the flute, this problem is solved in different ways. If it is just one or a few notes, a rest may be notated above the note or notes to indicate that the flute may skip the note or notes; or the notes are marked “8th”, meaning that the flute can play the note or notes one octave higher. If there are longer passages with low notes these may be marked “Viol.^o”, meaning that the flute may skip them and join the ensemble where it is marked “Fl.”. Although these solutions make it indeed possible to play parts on a transverse flute that were certainly written with the violin in mind, they do not seem to be very satisfactory from a musical or aesthetic point of view, at least not to modern ears.

From this little overview the following principles can be drawn concerning the use of flute parts by Geminiani in his works prior to 1754:

- (1) There are no independent flute parts, that is, flute parts that are not violin parts as well.

⁹⁶ Richard Maunder, in Critical edition, p. xv.

- (2) Flute parts are optional; the composition can also be performed without flutes.
- (3) All flute parts are for transverse flutes, not for recorders.
- (4) Transverse flutes are normally applied in pairs.
- (5) Transverse flutes double in performance the Concertino violins (Opus 7, Rules, Treatise).
- (6) Parts marked as flute parts may have been written with the transverse flute in mind, that is, with the range from *d'* to *d'''* (Opus 2, Opus 7), or may have been written first for the violin and then later be adapted to be suitable for a flute (*Rules; Treatise*).

What do these conclusions mean if they are applied to the flute parts in the autograph manuscript score of *La selva incantata* and the edition of *The Enchanted Forest*? First of all, it must be said that the position of the flute parts in the autograph manuscript version is different from that in the 1761 edition.

In the autograph manuscript score, or *La selva incantata*, there are no separate flute parts. The participation of flutes is indicated by general indications (such as “Con Flauto” and “Tutti”, as opposed to “Sensa Flauto”) above the score as a whole, by verbal instructions in the Violino Primo and Secondo parts (in the Violino Secondo part only in one section), and by occasional two-part notations for flute and violin in the Violino Primo (Concertino) part. These “instructions” for how to construct a flute part out of the Violino Primo part and, in one case, out of the Violino Secondo part, have been discussed in the section of this text on the autograph manuscript score. If we check the conclusions drawn there against the six principles listed above, the following statements may be made:

- (1) The flute parts implied in the autograph manuscript score are indeed violin parts adapted to be played by a flute.
- (2) There is, in the autograph manuscript score no explicit suggestion that the flute parts are optional, which means that in principle they are obligatory. Nevertheless, nowhere they bring musical substance that is not found in the corresponding violin part. A performance without flutes is certainly possible and, in fact, the first and second versions of the work must have presented the work without the participation of flutes.
- (3) The flute parts of *La selva incantata* seem to be meant for transverse flutes.
- (4) Only in one case (Section 14) there is a Flauto Secondo in addition to the Flauto Primo. In all other cases where there is a flute part, there is only one. In this respect *La selva incantata* differs from the earlier works with flute parts.
- (5) The analogy with the Concertos Opus 7 suggests that, when flutes are used in a performance, they should double the violins of the Concertino, not replace them. There is one passage in Section 6 (bars 32-34) where the Violino Primo Concertino cannot be left out if the flute part is indeed being performed.
- (6) The flute parts of *La selva incantata* are clearly from the second type as described above: not written with the flute in mind from the start but as violin parts first and then adapted to be playable by flutes.

The comments concerning the role of the flute in the Third Version of *The Enchanted Forest*, that is, *La selva incantata*, can be summarized in the following statements. Single flute parts are available for a number of sections, two flute parts only for Section 14. These flute parts are adaptations of the Violino Primo Concertino part (and for Section 14 also of the Violino Secondo Concertino part). The flute parts are added for the Third Version. Although not marked as such, they may be considered to be *ad libitum* parts. If they are played, they double the respective Violino Primo Concertino and Violino Secondo Concertino parts save

occasional deviations. This is in line with the use of the flutes in the Concertos Opus 7 (1748) and to a certain extent with that in *A Treatise of Good Taste* (1749).

The role of the flutes in the edition of *The In enchanted Forrest* is more marked than that in the manuscript score. The edition has a separate flute partbook, with the header line “Flauto 1^o. e 2^o.” at the top of each page. It has single flute parts for Sections 2, 3, 6, 12, 18 and 23, and two flute parts, in score, marked “Flauto 1” and “Flauto 2” respectively, for Sections 4, 8, 9, 11, 14, 15, 20 and 22. In general there is a close corresponding to the application of flute parts in *La selva incantata*, the only substantial difference being the flute part of Section 3. This section is marked in *La selva incantata* as “Sensa Flauti” and therefore the flute part for this section in *The In enchanted Forrest* may well be a mistake.

It is not entirely clear from the flute partbook of *The In enchanted Forrest* whether or not the single flute parts are meant to be played by one or by two flutes. The single flute part of Section 12 (the first of Parte II) is headed “Flauto 1 e 2”, suggesting performance by two flutes. The way of printing the single flute part of Section 23 also suggests that both flutes play this part: the two-part score of the two flute parts of Section 22 is continued until the end of Section 23 but the second stave is left empty after the beginning of the second bar of Section 23, where there is a sign that the second flute part now is identical to the first. This at least suggests that the second flute continues to play during the entire Section 23, doubling the first flute part. That a unison between two flutes is not avoided is also clear from the frequent passages with such a unison in sections which have two distinct flute parts. Therefore, the conclusion seems to be that whether there are one or two separate flute parts, always two flutes may or must be used. The generic header line of the partbook, “Flauto 1^o. e 2^o.”, points in the same direction.

The single flute parts of *The In enchanted Forrest* and the Flauto Primo parts where there are two flute parts very closely follow the Violino Primo Concertino parts and include the variants suggested by the various markings that can be found in the combined Violino Primo and Flauto part of the manuscript score of *La selva incantata*. These variants most often concern the omission or transposition of notes that are too low for the flute. In Section 6 the flute part doubles the Violino Primo Concertino part and retains the marking “Solo” in bar 171 and “Tutti” in bar 178.

Where there is a separate Flauto Secondo part the relationship with the other parts of the section are much quite varied. Actually, three types of Flauto Secondo parts can be distinguished.

In three sections (Sections 14, 15 and 20) the Flauto Secondo part is practically identical to the Violino Secondo Concertino part. In Section 15 there is no Concertino-Ripieno writing so that the Flauto Secondo doubles both the Concertino and the Ripieno part (as does the Flauto Primo). In Sections 14 and 20 there is very limited Concertino-Ripieno writing. Where it occurs the Flauto Secondo follows the Violino Secondo Concertino part, in Section 14 explicitly marked by “Soli” and “Tutti”.

In three sections (Sections 4, 11 and 22) the Flauto Secondo mostly follows the Violino Secondo Concertino part, but occasionally deviates from it, either by leaving out notes or by doubling small fragments from other parts, such as the Violino Primo (Concertino or Ripieno) or the Flauto Primo.

In the two remaining sections with a separate Flauto Secondo (Sections 6 and 9) this part is a sequence of fragments that may have their origin in nearly every other part of the section. The Violino Secondo is certainly present in a prominent way, but there are also bars that refer to the Violino Primo Ripieno, the Viola or even the Violoncello. Fragments from these parts have been chosen even where an arrangement based on the Violino Secondo was not impossible. Occasionally a fragment

of these Flauto Secondo parts is not based directly or indirectly on any other part of the composition and is in fact newly composed.

Especially in view of the “third kind” of Flauto Secondo parts it seems that one must see Geminiani himself as the composer of these parts. One would expect that any other arranger would stick more closely to the Violino Secondo part. Actually, the way the Flauto Secondo (and the Flauto Primo) parts have been constructed reminds one rather strongly of the procedures followed in the Ripieno parts added to the *Sonatas for two Violins and Thorough-Bass from the Six First Solos of His Opera Prima* (Work 29). These parts equally are a sequence of fragments of ever differing origin.

Now the following statements may be made as responses to the principles given above:

- (1) Also in the edition of *The In enchanted Forrest*, the flute parts are not independent parts. The Flauto Primo part is, as in the manuscript version, a variant of the Violino Primo Concertino part. The Flauto Secondo part is in principle derived from the Violino Secondo Concertino part but shows substantial deviations from this part in several sections: it may double the Flauto Primo part, it may take phrases from the Viola part and even from the Violoncello part, it may introduce or leave out figuration in comparison with the part from which it is derived. In some passages the Flauto secondo is silent where the Violino Secondo Concertino does have notes. Several sections (Sections 2, 6, 12, 18, 23) have no separate Flauto secondo part. In these cases, the Violino Secondo part apparently gave too little basis for the construction of a flute part at all.
- (2) Nowhere there is an indication in the edition that the flute parts are optional or *ad libitum*.
- (3) It seems safe to consider the flutes parts of the edition as parts for transverse flutes.
- (4) The edition as *The In enchanted Forrest* has indeed two flute parts, but not two different parts in all cases: for a number of sections the two flute parts are equal, marked as “Flauto 1° e 2°”.
- (5) No indication is given that could be interpreted as meaning that the flutes should be used as alternatives for the violins instead of playing along with them.

These comments can be summarized by saying that the edition of *The In enchanted Forrest* has parts for two flutes for a good many sections; in some sections the two flutes play in unison. There are no indications that the flute parts may be *ad libitum* or that they may replace the respective violin parts rather than doubling them. That makes them obligatory elements in every performance.

In a previous section it was argued that the edition of *The In enchanted Forrest* was not an authorized edition, but nevertheless based on an autograph score, which is an authorized source. This probably means that Geminiani must be considered the author of the two flute parts in the edition.

HORNS AND TRUMPET IN *THE INCHANTED FORREST*

The horn parts of the edition of *The In enchanted Forrest* are added to all movement-like sections in major keys: in Parte I to the sections in F major, in Parte II to those in D major. The notation of the horn parts of Parte I is, as already discussed, on sounding pitch with a mezzo-soprano clef, as usual for horn parts in F major in editions that appeared in the 1740s. In Parte II the Corno primo is also marked Tromba. Both horn parts are now notated as trumpet parts, that is on pitches that are sounding pitches on a trumpet, but one octave above the notes of the horns. One wonders if not both parts were intended for trumpets. If the horn parts of the Parte II were notated with the same method as those of the Parte I, they would have been notated on sounding pitch with an alto clef.

Authentic or not, the horn and trumpet parts are competently written. They pick notes out of the violin parts that can be played on these instruments. These notes are supplemented by notes from the harmony. Frequently there are rests of several bars, most often when there is solo writing for the Concertino. In Section 22 there is one passage marked “Tromba sola” (bars 309-313). One wonders if this means “no Corno Primo” or “no Corno Secondo”. The Corno Secondo has two bars of rest but plays again two bars before the Tromba/Corno Primo has “Tutti”, so that the suggestion is that the Corno Primo has to be silent in bars 64-68. This indirectly suggests that this part was meant to be played by trumpet and horn simultaneously.

THE MUSIC AND THE PROGRAMME

The In enchanted Forrest is Geminiani’s only Work with a programme, that is, an explanation in words of what the music is meant to express or to illustrate. This is especially clear from the title page of the first libretto of the Parisian performances, where it is stated that the music is “une musique qui en [= du Spectacle] exprime les différentes actions”, and from the title page of the London edition, where it is said that the music is “an Instrumental Composition Expressive of the same Ideas as the Poem of Tasso of that Title [=The In enchanted Forrest]”. There is one important difference between these two statements. The Parisian libretto speaks of “actions” that are expressed, the London edition of “ideas”. This difference is certainly significant. In Paris the music was to accompany action on stage so that the libretto simply made a connection between the music and what was visible on stage. In London there was no theatrical component so that if the title was to have some meaning it should be connected with the text of Tasso’s poem, whence the phrase “the same ideas”.

Strictly spoken there is no separately identifiable poem by Tasso with the title “The In enchanted Forrest”. It must have required a certain amount of literacy to realise that the words “the poem by Tasso” just refer to Canto XIII and the beginning of Canto XVIII of Tasso’s *Gerusalemme liberata*—or *Jerusalem deliver’d*, as it was known in England. (That the two Canti of Tasso’s *Gerusalemme* that are at issue here are not adjacent must have been an additional problem in the identification of what the music refers to.) And even when one would realize that Geminiani’s music was referring to these parts of the poem, it would not be easy to connect the various sections of the music with specific stanzas. In Paris, this had not been a problem: while the music sounded, the action was visible on the stage. The action was also described in the librettos, with direct references to Canti XIII and XVIII of Tasso’s poem.

The first modern commentator discussing Geminiani’s *The Enchanted Forest* as programme music was Friedrich Maternus Niecks (1845-1924), a musician and musicologist of German extraction who settled in Edinburgh. In 1906 he published his book *Programme Music in the Last Four Centuries*. From the titles of the manuscript and the edition he accepted the programmatic quality of the music but could of course not point to any concrete connection with a programme:⁹⁷

Apart from the title there are no programmatic indications either in the way of preface or superscriptions. The music is fresh and pleasing as music; and if the title were not there to suggest a programme, few would guess that the composer had one in mind. Nevertheless, it would be impossible not to be struck by the expressive qualities of the composition; and here and there—by a more than usual amount of modulation, of dramatic touches, by passages where thought rather than

⁹⁷ Niecks 1906, p. 64.

sweetness seems to be aimed at—the attentive reader or hearer would be led to the conviction that the master is wrestling with expression.

Newell Jenkins, writing in 1967, knew that the music was written to accompany stages performance in Paris in 1754 but was apparently unaware of the nature or the programme of the spectacle and even of Servandoni’s role in its production (although he quotes the full subtitle from the title page of the first libretto).⁹⁸ No further references to Servandoni’s programme or Tasso’s poem are found in Jenkins’s article.

Enrico Careri (1989, 1993, pp. 116-133) studied Servandoni’s libretto thoroughly as well as a few other text sources that have to do with the Parisian performances, in particular Grimm’s letter in the “Correspondance littéraire” and the *Lettre critique*. He connected Servandoni’s programme with the music as preserved in the later British sources. Nevertheless, he refused to call Geminiani’s music “genuine programme music” (“musica a programma”; 1989, p. 245, 1993, p. 116); he preferred the expression “an autonomous composition adapted to a programme” (“musica adattata a un programma”). The distinction between the two characterizations seems subtle, perhaps even too subtle to be useful. His division of the composition into successive portions, however, each of which is linked to an act of Servandoni’s spectacle, in fact implies a reading of the music as programme music. What Careri wanted to stress, however, is the fact that in most sections of the composition there is no direct influence of the programme on the music. Only for some sections that can be related to Act V of the spectacle, he speaks of a direct relation between music and programme.

Other commentators, among them Zaslav (2013, p. 53), disagree with Careri’s position and do consider Geminiani’s *Inchanted Forrest* as programme music.

To solve the question whether or not Geminiani’s music extant in manuscript as *La selva incantata* and published as *The Inchanted Forrest* can be characterized as programme music it may be useful to look at some definitions of the concept. The article “Programmusk” in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Sachteil*, 7 (1997) gives several definitions of which the first reads as follows:⁹⁹

Als Programmmusik wird [...] jede Art von selbständiger Instrumentalmusik bezeichnet, die ein «außermusikalisch» Sujet zugrunde liegt, auf das der Komponist in der Regel selbst hinweist.

According to this definition the programmatic character of Geminiani’s *Inchanted Forrest* is beyond any doubt. The relevant sections of the Tasso’s poem are the “extra-musical subject” and Geminiani points to this subject himself. The application of the rule in the sentence that follows is less self-evident:

Entscheidend ist das Kriterium, dass das Sujet die musikalische Konzeption bestimmt oder zu mindestens beeinflusst hat.

In fact, the two descriptions lead to two different definitions of programme music. One is programme music in a wider sense: all music than claims to be connected with extra-musical content. The other is programme music in a narrower sense: music of which the composition is directly influenced by the programme. This applies, as Careri has already made sufficiently clear, only to some sections of the composition.

⁹⁸ Jenkins 1967, p. 178.

⁹⁹ Deltlef Altenburg, “Programmusk”, in: *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Sachteil* 7 (1997), cols. 1821-1844: col. 1822.

The New Grove Encyclopaedia of Music and Musicians, Second Edition (2001) gives the following description of the concept “programme music”:¹⁰⁰

Programme music: Music of a narrative or descriptive kind; the term is often extended to all music that attempts to represent extra-musical concepts without resort to sung words.

Also in this description, one can recognize the two possible definitions of programme music. The wider definition is reflected in the phrase “attempts to represent extra-musical concepts”, the narrower in the words “music of a narrative or descriptive kind”. Applying these descriptions to the music of *The Enchanted Forest* leads to the same conclusion as the definition in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* did.

Newell Jenkins (1967) analysed the structure of *The Incharnted Forrest* from a purely musical point of view. Nowhere references are made to one of the published librettos of *La forêt enchantée* or of other descriptions, the contents of which he even does not mention at all. Enrico Careri (1989), on the other hand, divided the score of *The Incharnted Forrest* into five successive portions each of which was matched with one of the five acts of *La forêt enchantée*. Subsequently the various sections of the score were confronted with passages from the programme as presented in the first libretto and with the portions of Tasso’s text that lie behind the libretto. This is as much as recognizing that the “musical conception of the work is determined or at least influenced by the subject”, to quote the sentence following the definition of programme music in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. Wherever relevant Careri identified narrative and descriptive elements in the music and the programme. By this procedure it is implicitly acknowledged that the music of *The Incharnted Forrest* is at least partially “of a narrative or descriptive kind”, to quote the strict definition of *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. From these observations it may be concluded that Careri’s analysis rather confirms the programmatic character of the music of *The Incharnted Forrest* than denies it.

Michael Philipp, in his dissertation about eighteenth-century programme music (1998), does not provide a strict definition of the genre. Instead, he points out that the modern concept of programme was developed only in the 1850s, by, among others, the musicologist August Wilhelm Ambros and the composer Franz Liszt.¹⁰¹ Eighteenth-century programme music was at its own time rather analysed as a kind of imitation, within the greater frameworks of the aesthetics of musical expression.

Neal Zaslaw (2013) already disagreed with Careri’s point of view that *The Incharnted Forrest* was no programma music.¹⁰² In his 2013 article he presents formal matches between the various sections of the composition and the various scenes of the programme.¹⁰³ Nevertheless, a definition of programme music valid for the eighteenth century is given following Carl Dahlhaus’s thoughts about the subject, as expressed in the latter’s “Thesen über Programm Musik” (1975):¹⁰⁴

Doch handelt es sich bei der Entscheidung, den Terminus ‘Programm Musik’ auf das 18. Jahrhundert zu beziehen, nicht um eine Verlegenheitslösung. Unabhängig von verschiedenen kontroversen Definitionen von Programm Musik scheint ein Minimalkonsens möglich:

¹⁰⁰ Roger Scruton, “Programme Music”, in: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, Second Edition, Volume 20* (2001), pp. 396-400: p. 396.

¹⁰¹ Philipp 1997, p. 4.

¹⁰² Zaslaw 2013, p. 53.

¹⁰³ Zaslaw 2013, pp. 54-55.

¹⁰⁴ Carl Dahlhaus, “Thesen über Programm Musik,” in: *Musikalische Hermeneutik*, Herausgegeben von Carl Dahlhaus (Regensburg: Bosse, 1975), pp. 187-204. The quotation is from Philipp 1998, p. 5. Philipp refers to p. 188 of Dahlhaus’s publication.

1. Programmmusik schildert Abläufe, nicht Zustände.
2. Es handelt sich um Orchestermusik, und nicht um solistische Musik von der Art der betitelten französischen Pièces de clavecin.
3. Außerdem liegt ein “individualisiertes Sujet”, also kein Topos vor.

The three conditions can be applied without any constraints to Geminiani’s *Enchanted Forest*. (The second condition seems too strict for general application, because it excludes, for example, Johann Kuhnau’s *Biblische Historien*.)

Careri (1993, p. 116) connected one more consequence to his division of the music of *The Incharnted Forrest* into five portions corresponding to as many acts, namely that of considering these five portions to define five normal concerti grossi. This seems to be an unhappy position: there is too much that speaks against it. First of all, in several cases the music for one act is connected directly with the music of the next act. It is at least unusual for a concerto grosso not to have its own ending but to be connected with another concerto grosso without interruption. Secondly, in several cases the concerti grossi as defined by the various acts have their first movements in a different key from the last movement, again an unusual procedure. And thirdly, often the instrumental forces are different between the first and further movements, in the sense that most often the concertino instruments (and in the edition the wind instruments) are added to the ripieno strings in later movements only, again a highly unlikely procedure. None of these anomalies is ever found in compositions marked as concerti grossi by Geminiani himself, such as the Concertos from Opus 4, published in 1743, and the Concertos Opus 7, published in 1748. Since nothing is gained with characterising the music corresponding to the various acts as concerti grossi, it seems better not to use such an identification.

There is one caveat that must not be forgotten when looking at the relation between the programme of *La forêt enchantée* and the music of *The Incharnted Forrest*: the programme refers to the performance of Servandoni’s spectacle and Geminiani’s music in Paris in 1754, the music as we know it was written down in England around 1760 or published in London in 1761. It is unknown if Geminiani has revised the music in the time between these two *termini*. The only thing that one can say is that Geminiani did not have any reason to revise the music, since the performance in London in 1761 was without theatrical counterpart so that the music could not come into conflict with what would happen on the stage. Therefore, in what follows below it will be assumed that the music as we know it may also be considered as the music that was performed in 1754, with the possible exception of details of instrumentation. After all, also the autograph manuscript score and the published parts differ in their instrumental ensemble.

When investigating whether or not it is justified to call a musical composition programme music it may be useful to be aware of what can be expected from the music. With the exception of direct sound imitation (the sound of a cuckoo, a clock, the thunder, etc.) there is rarely a one-to-one correspondence between a programmatic description and the music that is supposed to represent this description. Even the musical representation of the sound of rain or of the sea is not a one-to-one matter, in the sense that these representations can also be used to express other non-musical elements or no non-musical elements at all. In other words: when listening to programme music without knowing the programme it is usually very difficult to guess what the programme is, even to know if there is a programme. There are some general axes such as that of positive feelings (of all kinds) versus negative feelings (of all kinds), in music represented by faster versus slower tempos or major versus minor modes. Things having to do with speed or intensity can be represented musically also by faster or slower tempos. Complicated or unhappy feelings may be represented by chromaticism or complex harmony or counterpoint, but these compositional techniques do not necessarily point to these feelings. Often there is an asymmetric relationship between programme and music. The music can be

understood as programme music of one knows the programme, but the programme cannot be derived from the music if it is unknown, and certainly not if it is unknown if there is a programme.

Considering the complexities of the concept of programme music there is very little in the music of *The In enchanted Forrest* that directly points to a programmatic background of the music. As Careri (1989, p. 242, 1993, p. 116) already remarked, almost only the rapid succession of passages of different character in Parte II can be seen as a feature showing that one has to do with programme music here. Sections 15 and 16 seem to illustrate Renaud's passing the stream, depicting the stream first in its quiet state (Section 15):

97 **Andante**

Fingering for Vcl BR:
 --- 6 5 --- #7 5 6 6 5 5 7
 --- 4 3 --- 5 3 5 4 #3 5

then as a wild torrent (Section 16):

111 **Allegro assai**

Fingering for Vcl BR:
 6 6
 2 2

In the music of Section 15 one easily recognizes the topos of the friendly murmuring stream, as well known, for example, from Antonio Vivaldi's *La primavera*:

Scorrono i fonti

Michael Philipp (1998, p. 244) connects Section 16 with the traditional topos of the *tempesta*, the musical representation of a storm.

Section 17 then illustrates musically Renaud's careful entering of the forest. Here there is no directly depictive element in the music; the section is just a possible musical representation of the scene on stage:

Andante
129
VIC
VIR
Soli
Tutti
V2C
V2R
Soli
Tutti
AC
AR
Soli
Tutti
Vcl
BR
Soli
Tutti
6/5

The same holds for Section 18, which must accompany the appearance of the nymphs and Armide's attempt to tempt Renaud into a love story. The music, *Affettuoso*, is certainly suited to such a scene, but can have easy application also outside this setting.

The next section, Section 19, on the contrary, seems to exist only to illustrate the battle between Renaud and Armide who has changed into a giant now:

Allegro
162
VIC
VIR
V2C
V2R
AC
AR
Vcl
BR
6/5

Section 20 is a binary section with a definitely festive character—especially with the trumpets and horns—and seems particularly fit to illustrate Renaud's victory, but here—as in Section 18—there are no directly depictive elements which immediately makes this section open for multiple interpretation.

Section 21 is, with its minor mode (B minor) and the chromatically falling fourth motive, an excellent candidate for a lamento:

Rudolf Rasch: The Thirty-One Works of Francesco Geminiani
Work Nineteen: The Enchanted Forest (1754/1761)

The image shows a musical score for 'The Enchanted Forest' by Rudolf Rasch. The score is for five instruments: Violin I (VIC), Violin II (VIR), Violin II (V2C), Viola (V2R), and Cello/Double Bass (Vcl BR). The music is in 3/4 time, marked 'Andante', and is in the key of D major. The score is divided into two sections: 'Soli' and 'Tutti'. The 'Soli' section is marked with a '188' above the first measure. The 'Tutti' section begins in the fourth measure. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamics. Below the double bass line, there are fingering numbers: 4 #, 4 # 5, 5 # 6, 5 3 6, 5 4 3 - 6, 5 4 #3 6 4 - 2.

Wherever this subject appears it is played by both concertino and ripieno instruments, also in solo passages. Unfortunately, the librettos of *La forêt enchantée* do not have any scene here that could be interpreted that way.

This all leaves only Sections 15, 16 and 19 with directly depictive elements by which they can be connected with specific scenes of the spectacle. The sections around it can be connected, via their general mood and atmosphere, with the scenes that precede or follow them, but here the relationship is much less direct. Seen from point of view of programme music as depictive music only little of the music of *The Enchanted Forest* passes as programme music. Seen from the point of view of programme music as music related to an extra-musical programme, the complete composition certainly qualifies as programme music.

But it is also possible to view the matter from a different angle. There are a number of examples of early eighteenth-century instrumental compositions that are universally or nearly so accepted as programme music. One must think of John Kuhnau's Biblical Sonatas, François Couperin's Apotheoses for Lully and Corelli and Antonio Vivaldi's Four Seasons. In all these cases a programme is available that is divided in a number of sentences or phrases each of which can be connected with a section of the composition. In all cases mentioned the relation is further reinforced by that the text of the programma has been printed alongside the music. In addition, in many cases the phrase or sentence of the programme has determined the musical realisation of the section in question. For this reason, all these programmatic compositions have a typical sectional structure. Vivaldi's Four Seasons are violin concertos in three movements with the fast movements in a Ritornello form; nevertheless, all movements consist of sections of different characters that are determined by the programme and not by purely musical considerations. Contrast is a means often used to give the sections an individual and hopefully an unambiguous character in accordance with the programme.

The Enchanted Forest clearly shares the sectional structure with the programmatic compositions mentioned in the previous paragraph and it also follows the principle that contrast may help to make the programmatic details easier to grasp. An analysis in terms of ordinary concerti grossi and movements would not bring us any further in understanding the different parts of the composition. The formal structure of *The Enchanted Forest* points to its composition as programme music.

As said before, Careri has identified the various sections of *The Enchanted Forest* with the various acts of the spectacle *La forêt enchantée*, while the music itself does not give any indication or how these correspondence should be understood. In what follows it will also be tried to present a matching of the programme with the music. The process described was carried out independently of Careri's result, just to see if it would produce the same outcome.

The first steps in the identification of programme and music is to establish where in the spectacle the music of Parte II begins. Since the spectacle consists of five acts, it seems logical to divide the spectacle as a whole in two parts of more or less equal length. Since Act V is considerably more complex than the other acts, the first choice is that Acts I-III go with Parte I, Acts IV-V with Parte II. This presents however a problem. The first section of Parte II, Section 12, is a brief binary section, and Andante in 3/8 time, in D major and with a very friendly character. "The second part opens with a pastorale in 3/8 of ineffable lightness," writes Jenkins (1967, p. 173). Careri (1993, p. 128) also calls it a "pastorale". This seems impossible for what happens at the beginning of Act IV: the stage depicts the camp of the Christian Army, and it shows Godefroy of Bouillon in a state of the deepest distress. In fact, Section 12 does very well as a musical illustration of the beginning of Act V, which shows the forest in the light of the sun, with fresh leaves at the trees and pleasant shadows. Therefore, it seems better to consider Parte I as providing the music for Acts I-IV, Parte II the music for Act V.

In fact, a division of Parte I in four portions, each of which corresponds with an act, is not at all difficult. Earlier in this text Sections 5, 8 and 10 were considered to be suitable as introductory passages. Perhaps they must be seen as transitory passages, which may well be entr'acte sections between Acts I, II, III and IV. Then there is a scheme consisting of four acts each of which follows a section of a clearly transitory character, followed by one or more sections that are binary and resemble more or less ordinary concerto (da camera) movements. The transitory sections are for strings only, without Concertino or just a Violino Primo Concertino, the sections that follow introduce concertinos with two or four instruments.

Sections 1-4 are the accompanying music for Act I. Section 1 may have accompanied just the view of the stage, with the Forest in a very dark situation (Scene i). Section 2 may represent the assembly of the witches (Scene ii), Section 3 Ismen's spell (Scene iii), Section 4 the celebration of Ismen's success by the witches (Scene iv). Section 4 has a coda that without interruption to Section 5, the transitory section between Act I and Act II (in my interpretation). This coda may have been used to accompany Ismen leaving the main stage and going to the front, before the curtain, and waiting there until the curtain was lifted again to show the stage for Act II, with the Mosque. In Act II Ismen goes to Aladin, who is heading a council in the Mosque.

Section 5 may have accompanied the presentation of the stage of Act II, the Mosque, and Aladin's council (Scenes i-ii), Section 6 Ismen entering the Mosque and telling Aladdin about the success of his mission (Scene iii), and Section 7 the ceremony to thank Mahomet for Ismen's success (Scene iv).

The music for Acts III and IV seems to be analogously organized. There are brief transitory sections, Sections 8 and 10 respectively, that will have been played while the curtain was down, for the change of scenery between Act II (the Mosque) and Act III (the Forest), and between Acts III and IV (the Camp of the Christians) respectively. Then follow longer sections, Section 9 and 11, which must have covered the actions of these acts, in Act III the unsuccessful attempts of the Christian workers and soldiers to enter the forest, in Act IV, the Hermit's presentation of Renaud to Godefroy, Renaud receiving his sword and the Hermit praying for rain and receiving it.

Act V has a lot of action, of different kind, and the music of Parte II comprises thirteen sections of various character and of varying length, so it does not seem an impossible task to match the sections of Parte II with the successive episodes of Act V. Section 12 accompanies the view of the Forest when it appears to the public for the third time, now in a very friendly setting (Scene i). The meaning of Section 13, a simple section in B minor in 6/8 metre without tempo marking, most often interpreted as a fast movement, is not clear. The minor mode and the somewhat restless movement give it an unhappy atmosphere, for which the librettos do not contain a suitable match. Section 14, a binary movement in D major with a very cheerful atmosphere, may

have accompanied Renaud's appearance on the stage (continuation of Scene i). Then come the sections of Parte II that were described earlier in this text as "descriptive sections". Indeed, Section 15, an Andante in 3/8 metre with many sixteenths slurred in pairs may illustrate the stream in its calm and friendly state (beginning of Scene ii), Section 16, an Allegro with triads, scales and repeated notes the stream in its wild state (continuation of Scene ii), Section 17, an Andante with long notes in triads and descending scales with suspensions, Renaud penetrating the Forest and reaching the open spot with the myrtle tree (beginning of Scene iii). Section 18, an Affettuoso in A minor, seems very fit to accompany the movements of the nymphes that try to catch Renaud and bring him under their spell (continuation of Section iii). Section 19, Allegro again, with triads, scales and repeated notes, seems to represent Renaud's fight, although it is very short (beginning of Section iv). Section 20, a binary section in D major, of a march-like character, may represent Renaud's victory (continuation of Section iv). Section 21, an Andante in B minor, seems not to have a direct counterpart in the librettos, but the minor mode and especially the chromatically falling scale from tonic to dominant makes the section eminently fit to depict the sorrow of those who lost the battle. Many pieces depicting battles have such a section. Then come Sections 22 and 23, followed by the Da Capo of Section 22. Section 22 is in D major and has a march-like character. Section 23, on the contrary, is an Affettuoso in D minor. Here it also is not completely clear how to put these sections in the context of Act V. According to the first libretto Section 22 could signify the arrival of the Christian troupes, Section 23 Renaud taking the lead and the repeat of Section 22 the cutting down of the wood (Scene vi). The second libretto suggest a slightly different course of affairs, in which Section 23 may have accompanied Renaud mounting his horse and the repeat of Section 22 accompanying the Cavalry Companies that march over the stage.

Although developed independently, the presented matching of programme and music coincides by and large with Careri's proposal. The only serious difference is that here Act V begins with Parte II, which means a different organisation for Act IV—in Careri's proposal Sections 12-14 in Parte II, here Section 11 in Parte I—and the beginning of Act V: in Careri's proposal Act V begins with Section 15, here with Section 12.

One should be fully aware of the fact that the proposed matching of programme and music is nothing but a proposal. In general, it is very difficult, in the case of programme music, to derive the programme from the music. There are few conventions in music that can be linked with extra-musical thought in a totally unambiguous way. The best one can do usually is to check whether the music has qualities that seem fit to illustrate the content of the programme. In the case of *The Enchanted Forest*, two printed programmes are available. What is not known is how Geminiani has understood these programmes and especially one would like to have additional information about the duration of the various scenes described. The sections of the music for *The Enchanted Forest* differ considerably in length and one would like very much to know how much time should be reserved for each element of action. What is known today are the durations of the various sections, but it is unknown how these durations were filled with actions on the stage.

Therefore, the matching of music and programme as presented here, is nothing more than a proposal.

RECEPTION

Considering the relatively small number of extant copies of the edition of *The Inchanté Forrest*, Geminiani's music for *The Inchanté Music* cannot have been very well known. It is interesting to see that one section of the music, the Affettuoso at the end of the piece (Section 23), was used as the third movement of a pasticcio

sonata for violin and figured bass which is extant in a manuscript now in the Cathedral Library of Durham.¹⁰⁵ The first movement is the opening movement of Arcangelo Corelli's Sonata Opus 5 No. 7, in D minor, and the second movement, in D major, is the second movement of the Sonata in E major by Giuseppe Tartini, published as Sonata XI in the *Sonate a violino e violoncello o cimbalo [...] Opera prima* (Amsterdam: Michel-Charles Le Cène, No. 576, [1728], RISM T 241, reprinted Paris: Leclerc, Leclerc, Boivin, [1744], RISM T 245), transposed down a major second.¹⁰⁶ What the three movements have in common is that they begin with a motif based on the minor of major triad of D:



It is unknown who has put together these three movements.

Both John Hawkins and Charles Burney discuss *The Enchanted Forest* in their overviews of Geminiani's works as contained in their histories of music. Both were unaware of the fact that the music had been written for performances of Servandoni's spectacle *La forêt enchantée* in Paris, but they understood that with "the Poem of Tasso with that Title [=The Enchanted Forrest]" was meant Canto XIII of Tasso's *Jerusalem deliver'd*. They missed, although understandably so and fully forgivably, Canto XVIII. In fact, this Canto deals with the disenchantment of the Forest rather than with its enchantment.

John Hawkins, in his *General History of the Science and Practice of Music, Volume the Fifth* (London, 1776), describes the music of *The Enchanted Forest* with the following remarkable words:¹⁰⁷

About the same time [= c. 1755] he [= Geminiani] published what he called the Enchanted Forest, an instrumental composition, grounded on a very singular notion which he had long entertained, namely, that between music and the discursive faculty there is a near and natural resemblance*; and this he was used to illustrate by a comparison between those musical compositions in which a certain point is assumed in one part, and answered in the other with frequent iterations, and the form and manner of oral conversation. With a view to reduce this notion to practice, Geminiani has endeavoured to represent to the imagination of his hearers the succession of events in that beautiful episode, contained in the thirteenth canto of Tasso's Jerusalem, where, by the arts of Ismeno, a pagan magician, a forest is enchanted, and each tree informed with a living spirit, to prevent its being cut

¹⁰⁵ GB-DR, Music MS E11a, pp. 340-347.

¹⁰⁶ I wish to thank Candida Felici (Milan) for her help in identifying this movement. The sonata is Sonata E5 in Paul Brainard, *Die Violinsonaten Giuseppe Tartinis* (Dissertation Göttingen, 1959) and *Le sonate per violino di Giuseppe Tartini: Catalogo tematico* (Padova, 1975).

¹⁰⁷ John Hawkins, *General History of the Science and Practice of Music, Volume the Fifth* (London, 1776), pp. 423-424.

down for the purpose of making battering-rams and other engines for carrying on the siege of Jerusalem.

Curious to consider the composition of *The Enchanted Forest* in the light of the parallels between a conversation and a musical composition! Hawkins supports his statements by two quotations added in a footnote. The first is from Francis Bacon's *Sylva Sylvarum, or A Naturall History* (London, 1627):¹⁰⁸

Lord Bacon means somewhat to this purpose in the following passages: 'There be in music certain figures or tropes, almost agreeing with the figures of rhetoric.*** The reports and fugues have an agreement with the figures in rhetoric of repetition and traduction.' Nat. Hist. Cent. II. Sect. 113.

the other from the more recent *Lettere familiari e critiche* by Vincenzo Martinelli (London, 1758):¹⁰⁹

Upon this sentiment Martinelli had raised a fanciful hypothesis, which seems to have been the motive with Geminiani to this undertaking, and is here given in his own words: 'Le sonate d'ogni strumento non fanno che imitare un discorso, rappresentante qualche passione. Il sonatore giudizioso procura sempre di scegliere quei tuoni che sono più grati all'orecchio di chi ascolta. Quei tuoni delle voci della infanzia acerbi striduli e disgustevoli sono questi, i quali devono maggiormente evitarsi, e i bambini ne i loro vagiti non rappresentano che espressioni di quel dolore, al quale quella tenera età o per le percussioni troppo violenti dell'aria, o per qualche altro accidente gli tiene continuamente soggetti. I sonatori specialmente di violino, se avessero in vista questa considerazione, si guarderebbono con molta cura da quei sopracuti de i quali per le loro ingrate e insignificanti bravure continuamente si servono. Per le cose allegre l'età della gioventù è la più propria, che vale a dire il moderato soprano e il contralto, siccome per la amoroze, le quali convengono anco al tenore, ma con più moderazione. Un discorso serio si fa ordinariamente dalle persone più adulte, e questo il tenore, il baritone e il basso la possono esprimere propriamente. In un concerto dove si figura che tutte le voci concorrano in un medesimo discorso, gli acuti che figurano le voci più giovani, devono entrar più di rado, siccome rappresentanti persone, alle quali è dalla modestia permesso di parlar più di rado. Di questa filosofia pare che Corelli più d'ogni altro si sia servito per guida ne' suoi componimenti, avendo fatto suo maggior negozio delle voci di mezzo, e quindi usati i bassi come regolatori della sinfonia, a sia del suo discorso musicale. Lettere familiare [sic] e critiche di Vincenzo Martinello, Londra, 1758, pag. 379.

Charles Burney, in his *General History of Music*, may be responding to Hawkins's analysis of the programmatic character of *The Enchanted Forest*. He rejects the claim implicit in the title of the edition that the music could express the ideas of Tasso's poem:¹¹⁰

His composition called the *Enchanted Forest*, in which he endeavoured by mere sound to represent to the imagination of an audience all the events in the episode of the thirteenth book of Tasso's Jerusalem, was published about 1756; but Music has never had the power, without vocal articulation,

¹⁰⁸ Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam, *Sylva sylvarum, or A Naturall History in Ten Centuries* (London: William Lee, 1627), Century II, Section 113, p. 38. The two sentences come from the same paragraph but are not consecutive.

¹⁰⁹ Vincenzo Martinelli, *Lettere familiari e critiche* (London: William Nourse, 1758), pp. 379-380.

¹¹⁰ Burney, iv, p. 643.

to narrate, or instruct; it can excite, paint, and soothe our passions; but is utterly incapable of reasoning, or conversing, to any reasonable purpose.

In a footnote to this passage, he directly addresses the parallel between music and conversational speech, according to him an impossibility:¹¹¹

(k) That truly great musician, Emanuel Bach, some years ago, attempted, in a duet, to carry on a disputation between two persons of different principles; but with all his power of invention, melody, and modulation, the opinions of the disputants remained as obscure and unintelligible, as the warbling of larks and linnets.

The quotation probably refers to Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's Sonata in C Minor for Two Violins and Bass, Wq 161/1, also known as "Gespräch zwischen einem Sanguineus und Melancholicus".

FACSIMILE EDITION

A facsimile edition was published by King's Music (later: Early Music Company) c. 1985. It provides all the partbooks, some of them in multiple copies: the Violoncello partbook twice (both marked in ink on the outside front cover in the right upper corner "Cello / Harpsichord I"), the Basso Ripieno partbook four times (all marked "Cello / D. Bass / Bassoon / Harpsichord II"), the Flauto Primo e Secondo partbook twice (both marked "Flutes"), the brass instruments' partbook three times (twice marked "Horn I + II", once "Trumpet"). It is not mentioned which original copy was used.

MODERN EDITIONS

To date there exists one modern edition of *The In enchanted Forrest*, edited by Enrico Careri for Libreria Musicale Italiana in Lucca, published in 1996.¹¹² The publication is in score; parts were available, but are not any longer. The edition uses both the autograph manuscript and the Johnson edition as sources for the musical text. Sections are numbered in accordance with Careri's earlier publications (1989, 1993). The string parts of the score are most often on four staves, with Concertino and Ripieno parts on the same stave. Only Sections 9 and 18 have separate staves for the Concertino Violins. Flute, horn and trumpets parts are reproduced as they are found in the Johnson edition. For the horn parts in Parte I the original mezzo soprano clefs have been retained. The edition has a preface in Italian and English translation that briefly explains the source situation and the history of the work, but there is no Critical Commentary.

In 2016 appeared a critical edition of *The Enchanted Forest*, edited by Enrico Careri, as Volume 9 of the Francesco Geminiani Opera Omnia. This edition contains full scores of both versions of the work, separately titled as "La selva incantata" and "The In enchanted Forrest". A Critical Commentary describes the sources. The most important textual sources concerning the performances in Paris in 1754 are included in the Appendix, in their original French wordings followed by an English translation. The Appendix also includes a facsimile of the Geminiani's autograph of "La selva in conatata" in GB-Lcn, MS 822, fols. 158-167.

¹¹¹ Burney, iv, p. 643.

¹¹² Francesco Geminiani, *The In enchanted Forrest*, A cura di Enrico Careri (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1996, ISBN 88-7096-142-7 = Le delizie musicali, 1).

MODERN ARRANGEMENT

An arrangement of Geminiani's Enchanted forest for keyboard was made by Laura Cerutti and published as *Le foresta incantata*. Für Tasteninstrumente übertragen und herausgegeben von Laura Cerutti (Stuttgart: Cornetto Verlag, CP1161, no date).

RECORDINGS

Newell Jenkins (1915-1996), who first since historic times performed the music of *The Enchanted Forest* in 1967, also recorded the music on LP brought out in 1967 as *The Enchanted Forest*.¹¹³ He conducted the Angelicum Orchestra of Milan; on the LP Pietro Antonio Locatelli's *Pianto d'Arianna* Opus 7 No. 6 was added. A few years later, in 1970, a second LP with the work was released, by the ensemble I Solisti Veneti, conducted by Claudio Scimone, on the Musical Heritage Society label.¹¹⁴ The trumpet part was played by famous trumpet player Maurice André. The work was recorded a second time for the same label in 1988 by the CBC Vancouver Orchestra conducted by John Eliot Gardiner, now with the Concerto for two violins in D major RV 513 by Antonio Vivaldi.¹¹⁵ This recording was rereleased on CD.

In more recent times four CD recordings were released.

The recording by the Orchestra Barocca Italiana, under the leadership of Ryo Terakado, recorded in 1994, was brought out only in 2002, on the Stradivarius label.¹¹⁶ In the booklet—in Italian and English—the work is divided into five acts, mostly in accordance with the proposal of Enrico Careri, who also wrote the text of the booklet. However, the first sections of Acts II and III (as defined in this text) are classified as the last ones of Acts I and II respectively, perhaps under the influence of Jenkins's 1967 article, where these sections are connected with the preceding ones instead of introducing what follows. As far as the music is concerned it may be assumed that the facsimile of the 1761 edition was followed. Flute parts are played throughout, in Parte I two horns are used, in Parte II two trumpets, no horns. The continuo (Basso Ripieno) part is reinforced by double bass and bassoon. *The Enchanted Forest* is not long enough for an entire CD; therefore the CD also contains Geminiani's two Unison Concertos (Work 32).

A second CD recording was made by the ensemble Cosarara conducted by Giuseppe Camerlingo, on the basis of Careri's 1996 edition. The music was recorded in the Chiesa di Santa Maria Incoronata in Martinengo (Bergamo) on 2-4 June 2002 and the CD was brought out by Amadeus in 2003.¹¹⁷ Added to *The Enchanted Forest* were the Sinfonia and two recitativo-aria pairs from the opera *Armide* by Tommaso Traetta. Flute parts are played throughout, in the second part there are one trumpet and two horns. Continuo is played by harpsichord, violoncello, double bass and bassoon. Tracks follow the division of the music in sections as presented by Careri in his 1993 book. The music is divided in four parts plus an epilogue. Part 1 consists of Sections 1-7, which are connected with Acts I-II; Part 2, of Sections 8-11, with Act III; Sections 12-14, with

¹¹³ Francesco Geminiani, *The Enchanted Forest*. Angelicum Orchestra of Milan, Newell Jenkins. LP Nonesuch, H-71151, 1967.

¹¹⁴ Francesco Geminiani, *The Enchanted Forest*. I Solisti Veneti, Claudio Scimone. LP Musical Heritage Society, MHS, 1118, 1970. Programme notes by Harry Halbreich.

¹¹⁵ Francesco Geminiani, *The Enchanted Forest*. CBC Vancouver Orchestra, John Eliot Gardiner. LP Musical Heritage Society, MHS, 512137, 1970.

¹¹⁶ Francesco Geminiani, *The Inchantet Forreest*. Orchestra Barocca Italiana, Ryo Terakado. Stradivarius, STR 33630, 2002, reissued as STR 11014, 2006. Booklet by Enrico Careri.

¹¹⁷ Francesco Geminiani, *La foresta incantata*. Cosarara, Giuseppe Camerlingo. Amadeus, AM 159-2 DP. 2003. Booklet text in Italian by Cesare Fertonani. Cover picture from Francesco Hayez (1791-1881), *Rinaldo e Armida* (1813; Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia)

Act IV; Section 15 (our Sections 15-20), with Act V; Sections 16-18 (our Sections 21-23), with an Epilogue. The booklet (by Cesare Fertonani) contains some unusual additions concerning the relation between programme and music. For the larger part the interpretation of the programme Careri's 1993 proposal is followed. But for Section 13 a "preghiera di Goffredo" is proposed, which is indeed in Tasso's text (Canto XIII, Stanza 71), but replaced by a prayer by the hermit in both librettos. Section 21 is described as a lamento by Armide, found further on in Tasso's text, but without a reference in the libretto. The same holds for the Affettuoso of Section 23 which is described as a reconciliation between Renaud and Armide. Also this is found in Tasso's text, but not hinted at in either one of the two librettos.

A third CD recording was made by the ensemble La Stagione Frankfurt, under the direction of Michael Schneider.¹¹⁸ The recording took place in 2003, the record was released in 2004 on the Capriccio label. In the booklet the composition is divided into Parte prima (Sections 1-11), Parte seconda (Sections 12-21) and Finale (Sections 22-23-22). The programme is told in the booklet, but no explicit connection is made between the programme and the music. Probably the 1761 parts were used for the performance, but the GB-Lcm manuscript must have been consulted too: in Sections 1 both violin parts are doubled in the lower octave by bassoons and in Section 12 the Violino Primo part is treated the same way. The brass parts of Part II are played on trumpet and two horns. Flutes are used wherever there is a flute part in the 1761 edition; in a number of cases the concertino parts are played by flutes alone. Tempi and therefore durations of sections are in many cases equal to those of the Stradivarius recordings, somewhat faster/shorter in other cases, rarely slower/longer. On this CD two concertos from Opus VII, Concertos IV and VI, have been added to *The Enchanted Forest*.

A fourth complete recording on CD was played by the ensemble Les Passions de l'Âme (Orchester für alte Musik Bern) under the direction of Mereth Lüthi and released by Sony Music Entertainment Switzerland under the title *Bewitched* (LC 00761, 2014). The CD also contains the Concerto XII (La Follia) from Geminiani's concerto arrangements of Corelli's Sonatas Op. 5 and Handel's cantata "Armida abbandonato" («Dietro l'orme fugaci»), which are placed before and between the two parts of *The Enchanted Forest* respectively. Booklet text in German by Cristina Urchuguía. English translation by Daniel Dubach, French translation by Irène Minder-Jeanneret, Japanese translation.

The CD *Il furibondo ou les tribulations d'un italien à Londres*, played by the ensemble Escadron volant de la reine, and issued by B-Records.fr (LBM 007) in 2016 contains Sections 11 (track 28), 15, 16 and 17 (track 9).

CONCLUSION

The story of *The Enchanted Forest* perhaps is not more complicated than some of the other stories of Works by Geminiani. But it certainly is unique in its structure. No other Work is connected to a theatrical performance, a pantomime, which is a rare event in any situation. It is the only Work for which an autograph manuscript score is available. Successive versions of a composition are not rare, but here the First Version is missing, the Second Version is known incompletely, the Third Version completely, the Fourth and Fifth Versions not at all and the Sixth Version completely again. The Sixth Version, the edition published under the title *The In enchanted*

¹¹⁸ Francesco Geminiani, *Der Zauberwald*. La Stagione Frankfurt, Michael Schneider. Capriccio, 67 081, 2004. Booklet by Michael Schneider. The *Prima parte* was reissued as tracks 6-15 after the *Symphonie fantastique* by Hector Berlioz played by the Berliner Philharmoniker (conductor Rudolf Kempe; tracks 1-5) on the CD *Hexensabbat* (Profil, PH11054, 2012).

Forrest, completely known, is not an authorized one. The source situation leads to discussions that differ from all other discussions of this kind.

Considering the several versions of *The Enchanted Forest*, there are as many performance variants possible. The simplest way to perform the work is with Concertino string parts plus continuo according to the Violoncello part. These parts include all the musical substance. With the Ripieno parts added a complete string version comes into existence. Now the continuo is played from the Basso Ripieno. Such a version corresponds to the Second Version of the Work, as in the autograph manuscript score before the application of the corrections. This version suggests doubling some violin parts by bassoons (in the lower octave) in Section 1 and 12. The next alternative is to add a flute to the ensemble (and a second flute in Section 14), using the instructions for a flute part found in the autograph manuscript score, which is as much as the Third Version. Finally, one can add the two flute parts of the edition of *The Incharnted Forrest* as well as the horns and trumpet parts found there. This is the Sixth Version.

Despite the availability of an adequate number of musical and extra-musical sources there are still many questions to answer. What is the exact description of Servandoni's spectacle, given that the two extant librettos give descriptions that differ in various important respects? What did the music look like in the First, Parisian Version? Was the autograph manuscript indeed written around 1760? And what did the autograph manuscript from Bartleman's collection look like? Is the edition of 1761 indeed unauthorized and, if so, who acted as its editor? But the most burning unanswered question is probably: what is the exact relation between the music and the programme?
