JACKSON, Allan Stuart, 1934—
THE PERSPECTIVE LANDSCAPE SCENE IN THE
ENGLISH THEATRE, 1660-1682.

The Ohio State University, Ph.D., 1962
Speech-Theater

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## DIAGRAMS

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artists have been called the "Roman School" of painters. Their works directly influenced a northern group known as the Italianate Dutch. These were Cornelis Van Poelenbergh, Bartholomaeus Breenbergh, and Jan Both. Engravings of works by all these men were collected in England.

Another influence came from the Dutch painters Frans de Momper, Philip de Koninck, Jacob van Ruisdaele, and Cornelis Vroom, and from the Flemish painters Gillis Van Coninxloo, the Brueghel family, and Joos De Momper. These two styles represented by these painters will be referred to as "the northern groups." Inigo Jones seems to have been influenced about equally by the older "Italianate" painters and the Flemish.

The last major influence was from native English provincial painting. This style differed from artist to artist, a result of the fact that the men were often self taught, or taught by craftsmen who had had little foreign training. The English works typically had a feeling of freshness of approach to subject matter; that is, they lacked the sophisticated and mannered tricks of the foreign schools. They usually showed a clumsiness in handling perspective and foreshortening. Sometimes the figures and animals were gauche and wooden and the landscapes airless and static. These traits often show up in the extant works of such scene painters as Streater, Aggas, and Fuller.

The foreign and English artists mentioned in the previous paragraphs were most often in the collections of the great
English manor houses and in the Royal collection. They were therefore not only the most popular, but the most available, for young artists to study and copy. It should be noted that two of the most notable painters of the age, Rembrandt and Rubens, are not listed above. Also, the Spanish and Venetian painters did not have much effect on the English until the early eighteenth century.

In order to understand the methods used or known at this time, Henry and Margaret Ogden in English Taste in Landscape in the Seventeenth Century trace all the printed works and art treatises of the time. They find the basic sources are: Henry Peacham, The Compleat Gentleman (1622); Edward Norgate, Miniatura (1649); The Whole Art of Drawing, Etc., by Alexander Browne (1669); and William Faithorne, The Art of Graving and Etching (1662). Two anonymous works, Albert Durer Revived (n.d.) and A Drawing Book (1664), were popular. Finally, William Salmon's Polygraphice (1672) included in its four chapters on landscapes, material from all the other works mentioned.

The Ogden's analysed the latter important book as follows:

The first edition (1672) contains four chapters on landscape. Book I, Chapter xiii, is a condensed version of Peacham's chapter on landscape with two additions, probably both from Albert Durer Revived. The first addition is the direction "Make you Landskip to shoot (as it were) away, one part lower than another, making the nearest hill or place highest, and

\[1\] Ogden and Ogden, op. cit., pp. 9-12.
those that are farther off, to shoot away under that, that the Landskip may appear to be taken from the top of an hill." . . . The second addition is the familiar passage on motions which appear first in Haydocks and which was incorporated in Albert Durer Revived, as well as in Browne's Ars Pictoria . . . .

The second chapter on landscape, Book II, Chapter xxvii, constitutes the fourth printed version of Norgate's early "Miniatura" . . . .

The third chapter on landscape, Book III, Chapter ix, is entitled "Of Colours for Landskip." It consists of seven short paragraphs, telling how to mix light and dark greens, and how to color trees, woods, fires, azure skies, red skies, and night skies. Because they are so condensed, these rather inconsequential remarks are difficult to trace to a source, but apparently they are not borrowed from any of the texts already discussed. This is the shortest and least significant chapter on landscape in Polygraphice.

The fourth chapter on landscape, Book III, Chapter xxiii, is also entitled "Of Colours for Landskip," and its opening paragraph likewise deals with the problem of obtaining satisfactory greens for landscape painting. The next six paragraphs consist of a close rendering of the sections in Albert Durer Revived on coloring landscapes, buildings, and skies. This is their fourth appearance since the publication of that work in 1652. Thus Salmon must be given credit for including in his book all the main texts on landscape which were readily available in rival publications.

This passage gives some indication of the importance of landscape painting in England by 1672. Edward Norgate, whose Miniatura was widely circulated, said landscape painting was "an Art soe new in England, and soe lately come a shore, as all the language within our fower seas cannot find it a name, but a borrowed one, and that from a people that are noe great Lenders but upon good securitie, the Dutch." Norgate mentions Brill,

2Ibid., p. 78.
Elshimer, Momper, Bruegel, and Coningeloo as the best painters of landscapes. Charles I had a great many paintings by these men; and he brought Alexander Keirincx and Cornelis van Poelenburgh to England. They imported the Italianate style of romantic landscape to the British artists. Heretofore, art histories have confined themselves to British portraits of this time, but there is evidence that landscapes were also important. The reason for the neglect is that most landscapes were painted by non-English artists working in a foreign style.

There were three groups of artists active in England in the late Commonwealth and during the reign of Charles II. The first was the foreign artists who were imported to do special commissions. Rubens and a group of French artists were of this type. They had little impact on the art in England. The second group was a large number of Italian-trained Dutch artists of the "Roman School" who made their homes in London. The English government encouraged Dutch immigration to England in the 1670's, but many of these men had come earlier than that. These artists had a great influence on taste and painter's style of this period.  

Before moving to the Restoration painters, it is interesting to see how much Inigo Jones had been influenced in his scene designs by foreign artists. The two Figures 51 and 52 (which are also compared in Simpson and Bell's catalogue of

4These men were: Landscapists: Alexander Keirincx, Cornelis van Poelenburgh, Hendrick Dankerts, Jan Siberechts, Steenwyck, Jan Wyck, Dirck van den Bergen, Gerard Soest; Sea painters: the two van de Veldes; and Sporting scenes: Francis Barlow.
Jones' work) show that while the two scenes differ in that Jones' is a sketch and the Parigi set is an engraving, they are identical scenes. In Figure 31 is the painter's elevation by Jones for a shutter for Davenant's *Luminalia* (1638), scene i, "night." Figure 30 is for the whole set with tree wings. Notice that the shutter is almost an exact copy of the right side of Adam Elsheimer's "The Flight into Egypt" (Fig. 32). Evidently the scenes of Jones' were for the most part copies of famous easel paintings or scene designs; they can be traced to their sources by a little comparative detection work.

There is every reason to suspect that the Restoration artists were also prone to use composition and ideas from famous, fashionable artists of the "Flemish School" and the "Roman School." The native English painters who were influenced by the foreign artists were Robert Walker, Richard Greenburgh, Gilbert Jackson, Edward Bower, John Eycke, and the scene painters Robert Aggas, both Robert Streater the elder and
Robert the younger, Isaac Fuller, Thomas Stevenson, and perhaps John Greenhill, a painter of theatrical figures. These men were most influenced by the "Roman School" of Brill, Elsheimer, Claude, and Poussin, and by the older northern, "Flemish School." Their work looks like combinations of these styles. Their back scenes for the theatre must have resembled rather provincial copies of Claude's paintings, with Flemish style trees on the wings.

The conclusion of the Ogdens' book on English landscapes of the seventeenth century clarifies this foreign influence.

It is clear that the heroic and pastoral landscapes of Titian, Claude, Poussin, Gaspar, and Salvator Rosa were the most highly regarded during the last four decades of the century, in spite of the fact that the works of these painters were not widely owned in England. There is a parallel between their vogue and that of Lankrinck, who enjoyed the highest
reputation of any landscapist working in England largely because he painted in the manner of the great Italians and in spite of the fact that he was not a prolific painter. As a matter of fact, the highest regard was reserved for those whose works were least common. The prestige of the great Italian painters reflected in the connoisseur treatises was to be seen still more clearly in the vogue for their followers of Northern birth: van Poelenburg, Breenbergh, Asselyn, Both, and Berchem, to name only the more important ones. Corresponding to their vogue was that of the Italianate painters working in England: van Diest, Hennin, Jacques Rousseau, and the rest...

The assumption of the inherent superiority of the Italian tradition in landscape did not, however, preclude a widespread liking for Flemish and Dutch landscape, whether it was for the mountains of Joos de Momper, the variegated scenes of Jan Brueghel, the Dutch scenery of Melyn, van Goyen, or Jacob van Ruisdael, the Rhine-valley scenes of Saftlaven, the views of Norway and the Alps by van Everdingen, or the farms of Bloemaert and Brouwer. These painters failed to win the eulogies in the connoisseur treatises bestowed on Titian and Claude, but their pictures were purchased by Englishmen, an index of taste as important as the remarks of writers. In a general way, the works of these painters were paralleled by the landscapes of artists working in England: Loten, Edema, Griffer, Siberechts, and Leonard Knyff. But the parallel between the continental painters of the Northern tradition and their "English" disciples is less complete than that between the continental painters of the Italianate tradition and their followers in England. So far as is known, none of the "English" landscapists worked in the manner of van Goyen or Jacob van Ruisdael, and certainly none devoted himself to painting characteristically Dutch scenery. No artist active in England painted Dutch farm scenery in the manner of Bloemaert and Brouwer...

The English patron and the "English" artist were more independent in their judgments of Northern painting than of Italianate painting. They admired Italianate landscape and desired to reproduce it in England as well as to import it. They admired Northern landscape of all schools sufficiently to import it, but they preferred that the Northern
artist active in England avoid characteristically Dutch scenery and depict more variegated North European scenery. Moreover, they were disposed to admire English scenery, and to some extent the ideal landscapes of "English" artists represent views and scenery characteristic of English terrain. But the influence of the Dutch school of landscape was by no means negligible in the seventeenth century in England. It is apparent even in the kind of Italianate landscape admired, as in the landscapes of Berchem, Mommers, Begeyn, and van der Bergen. And while English taste was more preoccupied with Italianate landscape than it had been in the first half of the century, it had not yet reached the exclusive attitude of the eighteenth century, when the vogue of Italianate landscape reached its height.5

B. The Schools of Painting

Each of the popular schools of painting, at this period, had a specific look of its own. It is important for the purposes of this study to describe the outstanding characteristics of each of the major schools. These styles will be examined in turn in the following section.

In order to lay a background for this examination it is important to understand what the contemporary English art lover expected to see in paintings of the seventeenth-century. Edward Norgate's Miniatura, a treatise on art, was widely circulated and probably gives the best description of popular taste at the time. Below are quoted three sections from Norgate which list the popular painters; the methods of using color in landscape painting; the methods of creating depth and perspective in landscapes; and a way of painting realistic sky.

5Ogden and Ogden, op. cit., pp. 128-129.
In respect to colors, Norgate recommends the traditional division into three "grounds." The foreground, he advises, "must bee euer of the Coloure of earth, a darke and yellowish browne greene." The middle ground "must be somthing of a blewish sea-greene, and as yow drawe neare your first ground, lett them decline sometymes into a reddish, otherwhiles into a poppingay greene." Norgate's direction for the far distance reveals his assumption that landscapes usually show remote mountains. "Lett your remote and farr off mountaynes appeare sweete and misty," he says, "indiscernable and allmost indistinguishable, mixing with the cloudes and lost in the ayre." These rules constitute his main directions for coloring the terrain in a landscape . . .

The last of the directions for color shows Norgate's attitude toward the handling of atmosphere and "lost on the ayre." In a subsequent rule he treats the handling of atmosphere more explicitly: "Only remember that both in your leaves of trees, rivers, and farr distante mountaynes you affect to expresse a certayne aerall Morbidezza, as Paolo Brill caules it, or dilicatt softenes, which is the next remarquable grace and ornament to your works." Herein lies one of the significant differences between Peacham's and Norgate's taste. Peacham liked distant objects to be represented without distortion and without softening or blurring of outline. This was an effect which Adam Elsheimer and Paul Brill experimented with and achieved, and which later Italianate painters, especially Claude Lorraine, exploited so successfully. "Aereall Morbidezza" was a significant aspect of Norgate's taste.6

Norgate also explains the preferred method for painting sky:

The best and most pleasing kind of Landscape are those that represent the morning or the evening. For a rising or setting sun affoard such varietie and beauty of colours, by reason of those Blushing reflexions upon the nearer clouds that it is observed of Rowland Savery (a very good Master in this kind) he never made peece but in faire weather, for all of his that ever I saw gave their sun shine,

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6Ibid., p. 10.
the same Sr Peter Rubens expressed usually in those, especially in his Aurora afore mentioned. For cloudy skies and melancholly weather take up as much time as the other, yet are nothing soe pleasant. The lowest part of your skie nearest the earth is exprest by masticot (a yellow pigment) and white with a little fine yellow oker, and the next is those reddish and purple clouds, that fly betweene the yellow and the blew, which are made with faire Lake and White, and are to be faintly made, and gently to be wrought into the yellow, for these two Colours are soe closely to meete that the partition be not distinguisht; besides, you must bee carefull to interpose your purple or reddish cloudes between the yellowish and the blew skie, which if they should meet or touch would instantly turn greene, which never was or ever wilbe Sky colour . . . .

Norgate is most interested in wild rough mountains typical of Flemish work, and says, "There is greate arte in making cataracts and terrable faules of water such as you see at Tivoli near Rome and on the Alpes." He goes on to point out that the landscape should be balanced and the prospect should have objects of constantly diminishing size going to a single horizon. Some northern landscapes like those of Durer had multiple horizons; this Norgate does not care for. He then explains that Brill's method of getting distance in the painting is alternate light and dark areas with the strongest color and contrasts in the foreground. The contrasts then weaken as the view recedes into the distance.

The landscapes from the 1620's to the time of Charles' death in 1685 had certain characteristic types. These fit into

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7Ibid., p. 13.
8Ibid.
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Chronology of the London Theatres of the Restoration Period
the theatrical scene categories which form the breakdown of
scene directions in Appendix A. The breakdown is as follows:

Type 1. Aquatic.
   A. Harbor and sea coast scene.
   B. River or canal scenes.

Type 4. Castle.
   A. Prospects of English castles.

Type 8. Domestic.
   A. Farm yard scenes.
   B. Village life scenes.

Type 10. Garden or Park.
   A. Hunting and sporting scenes.
   B. Prospects and vistas.

Type 12. Landscape, Wood, and Mountain.
   A. Forests.
   B. Mountain scenes:
      1. Italianate "Roman School" views.
      2. Alpine "Northern School," Flemish
         and Dutch types.
   C. The waterfall.
   D. Ruin pieces.

Type 19. Roadway.
   A. Village street.
   B. London city streets.

In examining these types of views it is important to
remember that there are three basic varieties of painting style
which may apply to any of the above scenes. The Flemish style,
shown in Plate I, was popular through the 1670's. It is
characterized by panoramic prospects of high mountains, dark
forests, craggy rocks, and prospects seen through trees and
leading into rough distant landscapes. The treatment is often
PLATE I

THE FLEMISH SCHOOL OF PAINTING

1. Peter Paul Rubens. "Odysseus and Nausicaa."
romantic and picturesque. The chief exponents of this school were van Coninxloo, Keirinco, the Breughels, and Jan Siberechts, all of whom were well known in England. Rubens' landscapes were of this school although his influence in England was not strong. The Flemish style was enlarged at about the time of the Restoration by the addition of elements of the "Roman School."

The "Roman School" was the attempt of artists of many nationalities to depict the "Italian legend."

[The] "Italian legend" may be said to have four main components: the climate and scenery of Italy, the ruins and buildings, the contemporary inhabitants, and classical literature. They were, of course, combined in landscapes in intricate and various ways, and an analysis such as this inevitably obscures the complexity and subtlety of the moods and of the landscapes with which we are concerned.9

The artists composed landscapes of elements they had sketched while they were in Italy. They rearranged these to suit their conception of the "ideal." They included the Roman ruins and monuments they had seen; in some cases, they reconstructed the ruins to bring in a classical feeling. The idea behind this style was based on the emphasis on classical literature, mythology, and architecture which permeated Renaissance thinking. Another quality of the "Roman School," as shown by the pictures in Plate II, is the use of blue sky, sunshine, warmth, and relaxation. It was an attempt to interpret an epic pastoral life in paint. The strong contrast between the

9Ibid., p. 147.
PLATE II

THE ROMAN SCHOOL OF PAINTING

1. Adam Elsheimer. "Landscape with the Temple of Vesta in Tivoli."

2. Claude Lorrain. "Landscape with a Mill, or Wedding of Isaac and Rebecca," 1648.


foreground masses and the light water and mountain backgrounds as in Plate II,2 shows this Mediterranean type of sharp warm light.

The most popular painters of this school were Brill, Elsheimer, Claude, and Poussin. In England the works of these men were well known. Study of the few paintings of the English scene painters Streater and his son, Aggas and his pupil Thomas Stevenson, and Isaac Fuller, show that they all had strong Italianate qualities in respect to composition. If they courted popularity their scene designs must have been very much of the "Roman School" so fashionable in art, literature, and architecture.

The third type of landscape, which became popular after the Glorious Revolution in 1688, was that of the Dutch. There were examples of it in English collections long before the Restoration. Many of the painters who did the decorative work on the walls of the great English homes and the Royal residences were Dutch. Sea scenes, animal and sporting scenes, and flower painting all were strongly influenced by the Dutch School. However, the Italianate style had such a strong hold on the general public that the quiet Dutch scene did not gain much popularity until the time of William of Orange. Examples of the best known Dutch painters in England are shown on Plate III. Notice the tranquil well-being and the vast distances shown, so different from the excitement of the "Flemish School" and the sharp contrasts of light and dark of the "Roman School" (see Plates I and II). There was probably little Dutch influence in
PLATE III

THE DUTCH SCHOOL OF PAINTING

2. Jacob van Ruisdael. "A Path and a Landscape."
6. Jacob van Ruisdael. "Landscape with Ruined Fortifications and a Distant Church."
the scenes created for the theatre. This is because of the popularity of the Roman School of the fact that the Dutch painting did not have enough contrast to show up well in the dim mellow light of the theatres, and that the scene painters were trained more generally in the Italian feeling (which would project to the audience because of its sharp contrasts of light and shade). The painting of scenes which would be both visible and effective was vastly affected by the lights of the theatre. The basic source for illumination in the English theatre during the first part of the Restoration was the rings of candles suspended above the fore-stage. These, plus the branches in the wings and the foot lights, filled the entire theatre with a warm mellow light which must have created an effect something like that shown in Hogarth's view of a "Masked Ball at the Wanstead Assembly" (Fig. 33). Notice how the wall murals tend to dim out into the background and that the shadows are extremely dim. Everything has a mellow blend and there is actually more contrast in the moonlight of the window than there is in the hall. The Restoration stage must have looked like this scene by Hogarth.


11 There is an amusing description of the effects on the modern mind of a production seen by candle light in Edward Gordon Craig, Books and Theatres (New York: E. P. Dutton Co., pp. 139-144.)
INTRODUCTION

The physical conditions of the early seventeenth-century public theatre developed simultaneously with that certain kind of swift flowing poetical drama we know today as the "Elizabethan." Likewise, the physical properties of the Restoration Theatre largely affect the nature of the drama of the late seventeenth century. The primary difference between the two types of theatre buildings was the use of scenic perspectives painted on flats and set up around the acting area of the Restoration stage.

Where did this scenic tendency come from? What did the scenery look like? The first of these questions has been the backbone of scholarship on late-seventeenth-century theatre for sixty years. With the information discovered that question has been generally answered. Little or no work has been done about the appearance of the scenery. Allardyce Nicoll says, in the latest edition of his book on the Restoration Theatre (1952):

What exactly these scenes looked like we can hardly tell now. In the majority of cases they must have been crude enough, featuring background rather than anything else.¹

This is the general opinion held by most modern scholars of the Restoration theatre. It is the purpose of this study to

C. Types of Scenes in Landscapes

Each of the basic scene types found in landscape painting of this period will be examined. As far as possible, the types of landscapes to be discussed below will be compared with their counterparts in the theatre. It should be kept in mind that the pictures shown here are easel paintings by the best exponents of the particular type being discussed. Whenever possible, paintings by artists known in England between 1640 and 1680 will be used as examples.

The method of discussion is not meant to imply that the work done for the theatre could have been of as high a quality as the easel paintings. They were not, and it is quite reasonable that they were not. There are several reasons for making this statement. First, the artists who worked for the theatre were not completely assimilated to the Italianate style they were trying to use. No doubt some of the slightly clumsy
provincial feeling their own paintings show was also evident in their theatrical work. Second, the landscape and architectural painting which was required for the theatres had to fit the wing and shutter pattern; and details were considerably affected by the placing of the candles and the distance of the audience. Those details which could appear in a wall painting and which could be examined at close range would certainly blur out on the stage. The stage pictures were probably less detailed and, to make them effective, painted in a more garish and heavy hand. Colors were probably similar to those of the Italian and Flemish painters when viewed from a distance, but much stronger close up.

1. The Harbor and Seacoast

As can be seen in this typical scene by van Valckenborgh (Fig. 34), harbor and seacoast paintings usually show as much land as water. Mountains, cliffs, buildings, and ruins

![Figure 34](image)
share the viewer's interest with the ships and sea. Generally the land parts are used by the artist to frame the harbor and emphasize it. Most of these ideal scenes were of the "Roman School," although the English artist Hollar did some book illustrations which had the wild rough look of the Flemish style. The scene of Figure 34 has the Flemish feeling, while Figure 60 shows a similar scene done in the "Roman" manner.

Compare the Siege of Rhodes harbor (Fig. 4) with the view by van Valckenborgh. The Siege of Rhodes design by Webb certainly has the rounded hills and the low round fretted turrets so often found in the paintings of Claude and Poussin (examine Plate II,4 by Poussin as an example). Webb was probably working from actual prints of Rhodes, but, as in the case of the painters of the "Roman School," the pictorial details could be arranged to fit the composition. The towers and battlements may have been good copies of the real thing. The hills and shore could be arranged to set off the composition to its best advantage. Certainly the bird's-eye-view was a convention of the artists of the "Roman School." Webb was not the first to use this kind of view for the stage, as Ogden points out in the case of Inigo Jones borrowing scenes from Paul Brill:

Brill's harbor scenes were certainly known to Inigo Jones, whose harbor setting for Aurelian Townshend's Tempe Restored (1631) shows a close relation to Brill's pictures both in subject matter and structure. The sketch depicts a small harbor surrounded by rocky hills and Italianate buildings, with a narrow channel leading out to the sea. In the foreground the
sides of the picture are heavily framed by a tree and a massive building on the left, and by a rocky cliff with some foliage on the right. There is the round tower of the kind so common in Brill's harbor pieces. The spectator's point of view is much higher than is usual in Brill's pictures, with the result that he looks down upon the harbor, which is far enough off so that the boats seem quite small. Also, the expanse of sea visible is much greater. But aside from the high point of view, the sketch is similar to Brill's harbor pieces.  

2. River or Canal Scenes

River and canal scenes were painted primarily by Dutch artists and so were not likely to be similar to theatrical scenes. However, many of the Roman School views have a bit of river or a pool of water as part of the foreground. This helped the perspective and feeling of distance; also, it gave the artist a change to show his virtuosity in handling water and the play of light on it. No doubt some of the pleasant country scenes required by stage directions in section 12, Appendix A, had a look similar to that in Figure 35 which is of the Dutch style, and to those in Plate III, 3, 4, and 6.

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12 Ogden and Ogden, op. cit., p. 42.
Figure 35


3. The Farm or Village

Ogden states that before the Restoration the Flemish were the chief exponents of the farm or village scene. However, after 1660 it became a popular subject of the Dutch. The Italianate painters did not take much interest in these views because they had no connection with classical antiquity. In 1671 Streater did a scene with a "Wind mill" in it for the Queen's Masque at the Hall Theatre. This scene may well have been a farm or village view, such as in Figure 36. This figure depicts a typical Dutch rural scene, showing more landscape than mill. If Streater went to foreign works for examples, as he seems to have done in his more Italianate works, this kind of picture may well have been his inspiration for the scene in Queen's Masque. In the typical village view the center of the

13 Ibid., p. 138.
picture is usually a path, road, or stream. This forms a diagonal line often emphasized by a row of trees which cuts across the landscape to the vanishing point. The drawings of English towns and fields by Hollar are the best British examples of this type of landscape. (This kind of scene also falls sometimes under category 19, Roadway, and will be discussed further in that section [see Fig. 50].)

4. The Castle

It was stated in Chapter II that Streater was considered a "History Painter." A "History Painter" was one who did topographical scenes of actual countryside, views of castles and manors, ideal views of battles and famous events, and scenes of exotic foreign places such as Rome or the Bosphorus. This kind of work was in demand because it gratified local pride, made a permanent record of contemporary events (though much
idealized for the sake of artistic composition), and satisfied the curiosity of the untravelled. There were certain rules for these works set down in France and utilized by European artists. First, there was a very soft atmospheric distance in which natural features were falsified for the sake of composition. Second, there was a meticulously accurate rendering of the building in the middle distance. Third, there were freely rendered groups of riders, coaches, dogs, huntsmen, and other living figures in the foreground which was steeply and artificially raised in order to justify the high bird's-eye-view from which the scene was drawn.\footnote{Ogden and Ogden, op. cit., p. 271.} In addition to the view of Boscobel House by Streater (Fig. 11), three other typical examples of this type are presented below. Notice how closely they follow the three rules.

The scene designations listed in Appendix A, section 4, indicate that the Alhambra was required for a scene in \textit{The Conquest of Granada} (T.R. in B. St., 1670). Some of the scenes in the play are interiors, but others which took place in the camp could easily have had the Albayzin in a "History Painting," like the view of Pontefract Castle shown in Figure 39. Many other times, when a view of "Seville," "under the Walls of Coriolis," "Jerusalem," or "Rome" was required, it is quite possible that due to the popularity of the "History Painting" these cities, or others which could be taken for them, were reproduced for the stage.
5. The Garden or Park

Evidently the exotic palace garden or the garden behind a house so often required for Restoration plays was completely the province of the theatre. There are examples of such palatial scenes in the designs of Carlo Vigerani in Paris, and L. O. Burnacini in Vienna. Later, in the 1680's, Jean Berain
in Paris was probably the finest designer of this type of work ever produced by the theatre (see Fig. 28).\textsuperscript{16}

An idea of the nature of these sets can be discovered from the fact that particular favorite haunts, such as the "Mulberry Garden" and "St. James' Park" are required. No doubt these were copied on the spot by Streater and Aggas and reproduced in the same manner as topographical or "History Pictures" of cities and castles. Below, "Clandon Park" (Fig. 40) and "London and Westminster from Lambeth" (Fig. 41) are drawings which exemplify this popular style. Note the similarity of these works to "History Paintings."

As for the more citified gardens required for some plays, they may have looked similar to such drawings by Hollar as the

\begin{itemize}
  \item Jan Siberechts. "Bothwell Castle," English Topographical View.
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{16} The total number of these scenes listed in Appendix A, section 10, shows that next to the landscape and the simple chamber interior this was the most popular on the English stage.
one in Figure 42. The garden in Figure 43 shows a Flemish
domestic view of this type.

Figure 42

W. Hollar. "The Courtyard
of Arundel House," English
Topographical View.

Figure 43

Peter Paul Rubens. "The Artist's
Garden," in the Flemish Style.

6. The Forest

The principal paintings of forest scenes known in
England were those by the Flemish Van Coninxloo and the Romanish
Brill. In England the most famous seventeenth-century artists
were the portrait painters. These men, Van Dyck, Lely, and
Kneller, had factories which turned out pictures of the
nobility by the hundreds. To give atmosphere to the portraits,
an assistant added architectural objects and forests or prospect
views as background for the pictures. These backgrounds show
influence from two different usages of the forest theme.

The first influence came from the earlier period just
prior to the Restoration.
examine the question of the "look" of the scenery of this period from its earlier use in 1656 to the union of the primary London theatrical companies in 1682. This paper will be divided into two basic sections. The first will examine evidence from English and continental theatrical sources and scholarship. The other will treat with English and continental art and perspective landscape painting of the mid-seventeenth century.

A. The Source Materials

Several types of materials serve as sources for study of the theatre of the Restoration. These are: comments in contemporary diaries and journals; internal evidence from play scripts; public documents; and pictures.

1. Comments by Contemporary Playgoers in Diaries and Journals

The chief examples of playgoers who wrote about what they saw and the dates of their writings are: Samuel Pepys (1659-69); John Evelyn (1640-1706); Gerard Langbaine (1691); Anthony Wood (1691-2); John Aubrey (c. 1697); Colley Cibber (1740); Richard Flecknoe (1664); Richard Wright (1699); and John Downes (1708).

There were travelers from the continent who left impressions of their English tours. These were: Lorenzo Magalotti (1669); Samuel Chappuzeau (1667); Samuel de Sorbierès (1663); Balthazar de Monconys (1666); and Henri Mission (1698). Most of what we learn from these accounts is by implication,
In these pictures the spectator is placed within the forest, immediately in front of large-limbed heavy-foliaged trees. His viewpoint is relatively low; he does not look down upon the scene, but straight ahead at the tree trunks and up at the leaves. The upper portion of such pictures is usually filled with foliage, with only scattered glimpses of the sky.\textsuperscript{17}

Notice how well Inigo Jones' scene for a forest and a Giant's Castle indicate the above characteristics, which appear to reveal Flemish artistic influences on Jones' work.

Figure 44

Inigo Jones. "A Forest and a Giant's Castle," in the Flemish Style.

Another type which comes under the heading of Park is the sporting and hunting scene. For the most part these were influenced by the Flemish painters. However, Ogden says that it is in this type of painting that the most typically English landscapes are most likely to be found. It is quite possible that a theatrical set for St. James' Park may have looked a lot like the view in Figure 45.

After the Restoration the Dutch School of forest picture became popular. Its chief exponent was Jacob van

\textsuperscript{17}Ogden and Ogden, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 42.
Ruisdael. This school differs from the Flemish in that there is a tendency to show the edge of the forest rather than the interior, more sky is visible, and the trees are not as thick nor as large. Finally, there is a decrease in the emphasis on a long vista which contrasted with the frame of the forest and which went to the horizon. Compare the Flemish forest in Plate I,2 with that in Figure 46 from the Dutch School.

Both of these types lend themselves to theatrical interpretation. Inigo Jones' glade for Chloridia (1631) is a good example (see Fig. 47). The trees form a frame around the edge of the stage which leads to a vista or prospect in the distance. No doubt Restoration scenes which required the "Dark" wood or "Deep" wood were rendered in the manner of the northern schools rather than in the Italianate way because the

\[18\] Ibid., p. 41.

sense of mystery of the Flemish type would add to the theatrical effect of the play. Most of Jones' designs for trees and rocks definitely show the northern influence.

Inigo Jones. Chloridia, 1631, scene i, in the Flemish Style.

7. The Mountain

There are two types of mountain scene, the Flemish and the Roman. In the former (see Plate I, 3) the craggy alpine rock
in the foreground always framed a view down a sweeping valley between cliffs in the middle of the view. The feeling was wild, rough, and formidable. Mountain scenes of the "Roman School" always contained rounded and smooth hills. Plate II,3 to 5 demonstrates this as does the background for Webb's Siege of Rhodes (Figs. 4, 5, and 7). No doubt the Italianate rounded form was the most popular for theatrical scenery after the Restoration because it was more up-to-date and fashionable. Certainly the sketches for the Masques, like Florimène (1641), by Jones show the rounded forms of the Mediterranean type. Florimène was his last production. Perhaps strong "Roman" influence was replacing Jones' typically Flemish touch in his landscapes.

8. The Waterfall

In most of the "Northern" paintings there was some interest in water. A stream or a cascade often dominated the view. It would be surrounded by great rocks, trees, a mill, and a prospect of mountain country. There are no Restoration theatrical instructions which call for this type of scene. It does not appear as a typical part of the drama until the Gothic Revival, in the eighteenth century, when the northern influences, particularly from Germany, became important. A few Flemish pictures of this nature were in English collections, but they seem to have had little impact on the more fashionable southern landscape. This is not to negate the importance of water in the typical scene, however; notice that a majority of the easel
paintings in this chapter have a stream or pool placed in such a way that it reflects the sky and brightens the light in the lower central area. This was one of the methods by which the artists secured contrast between the horizontal ground and the vertical of the mountains and trees. Very good examples of this technique are found in Plate II, 1 and 2, and Plate III, 3.

9. The Ruin and Prospect

Ruins and distant views of cities were very common in most landscapes after the Restoration and in the "Roman School" well before 1660. In the distant views of cities in Hollar's drawings of London and in those of Jones' masque scenery the foreground was an empty field or a river leading slightly down, while in the distance the city was on a slight rise with a few hills to the rear to form a low horizon, above which was a great expanse of partly cloudy sky (see Fig. 22, Oxford c. 1680). Jones' scene for London in Britannia Triumphant (Fig. 20) is very much like Hollar's drawings for the same scene after the Restoration.

Often in the foreground of these city views were some ruins. These were common features of the "Roman School" and were extremely popular because of the Italian or "Classical" tone they gave the painting. The artists went to the sketch pads they had kept while traveling abroad and used actual architectural objects they had drawn. However, this does not mean the scenes were realistic. Ogden points out:

... in the many ... ruin landscapes the artist was concerned with an esthetic
interpretation as much as with making a record... such pictures could have topographical interest only for the few persons who had actually seen the ruins, or who were learned enough in classical archaeology to bring to the pictures a non-esthetic interest. 19

More likely the scene painter used the ruin in an idealized way and made it an invariable, but minor, part of every exterior scene. In the Italianate scene there was almost without exception either a classical ruin or a reconstructed classical building. Usually they did not dominate; rather they were there to give class and tone to an ordinary Italian scene.

Examine the ruins in Plates II and III. Notice that even the Dutch artists were apt to scatter some old stone work in a

19 Ibid., p. 161.
picture, as in Plate III,6; and Rubens certainly shows influence of the "Southern" style in his picture of a Flemish ruin (Fig. 49).

![Figure 49](image)

**Peter Paul Rubens. "A Ruin," in the Flemish Style.**

There was a vogue for ruins in the Gothic and Romantic scene designs of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The seventeenth-century ruin was usually of Roman architecture placed in a landscape that had a Mediterranean or Southern look. The Romantic scenes, on the other hand, were Alpine or Northern, and had gothic or monolithic druid-like stone work for their ruins. In the gothic the sky and mood was one of horror and mystery, clouds and storms, rather than the tranquil, warm pastoral feeling of the seventeenth-century scene.

In keeping with the ruin vogue, there is little doubt that the English scene designer followed the trend to paint broken statues and pedestals, urns with exotic spice bushes in
them, stumps of fluted columns and obelisks inter-twined with vines and saplings on exterior-scene wings. Also, because the fashionable "Roman School" usually painted either a distant city of rounded towers and battlements or a classical ruin in their pictures, these would also be found on the back shutters for the English stage.

10. The Roadway or City Street

In this final type of exterior scene, the roadway or city street, the Dutch and English artists excelled. The village road was a subject used almost exclusively by the Dutch artists. It usually contained a diagonal line of trees and buildings crossing the picture to the vanishing point (see Fig. 50).

Figure 50


This type of picture does not seem to have been a theatrical scene in the plays before 1680. However, sentimental tragedy of the Cibber period in the eighteenth century certainly had such scenes.
The city street, on the other hand, is very important to the Restoration theatre. Many scenes in Appendix A, section 19, call for "The Street" or "in front of Sir _____'s House." The English artists who drew city views at this time were Venceslaus Hollar and the Knyff family. They were very accurate and their pictures were considered topographical and often used like maps (see Plate IV). There is no reason to suspect that when a scene in a play called for some place in the city of London—such as "The New Exchange" (Plate IV,2), "Covent Garden Plaza" (Plate IV,3), or "Lincoln's Inn Fields" (Plate IV,4)—that the scene artist did not give a fairly accurate painting of the view required. Such views were in many of the plays, as Appendix A, section 19, shows. The artists were not only capable of such copy work but they were accustomed to the practice of showing other topographical scenes of castles and cities. These are probably as close to photographic realism as the scene designers ever came. No doubt the views were idealised a good deal for the sake of composition and decorum. However, they were undoubtedly recognizable and when the scene direction called for "the corner of Toledo Street," as in Tarugo's Wiles (LIF., 1667), the scene man may well have given the theatre a back shutter which contained familiar elements of that street, which is not to say that the theatre would not use this set as a stock scene for different streets in other plays.


or, by detailing what they do not say, a kind of negative evidence. Also there are allusions from prologues, epilogues, prefaces and other contemporary writings of the poets of the time.

2. Evidence from the Plays of the Restoration

These sources consist of prompters' notes or authors' directions which crept into contemporary editions of plays, and of action implied by lines of dialogue in the plays. Often this evidence is misleading because it is impossible to tell if the internal evidence or prompt directions refer to the date of the original production or revised copy for later publication, or, merely the author's preference with no reference to actual playhouse practice. Also, as any theater person knows, the printed script and the actual prompt copy are often quite different. However, many editions of the more successful plays which were printed soon after the first performance seem to have been made up from the playhouse manuscript, and, therefore, represent its final production form.

3. Public Documents

The third type of evidence comes from such public documents as court records, deeds, works accounts, law suits and miscellaneous letters. This sort of information is often quite detailed (except for dates) and tells us much about the personnel of the theatrical world, and their actions and relations with the citizenry. Measurements of plots of ground and other
11. Mood and Time in Scenes

One further way the landscape paintings were affected by style was in mood and time. That is, any view could be seen by sunrise, mid-day, afternoon, sunset, or moonlight. This also was varied by the season and weather. It could be any one of the four seasons in good, bad, or indifferent weather. Presented below are five views showing the treatment of a storm (Plate V,1), moonlight (Plate V,2), winter (Plate V,3), sunrise (Plate V,4), and sunset (Plate V,5). Variety of mood in these pictures is achieved by the use of light and color in the sky. This same use of color is probably the way the painter did the sky in the back scenes for the "Moon Light Gardens," listed in section 10, and the storm for The Tempest, section 1 of Appendix A.

Both the lightning and other sky effects could have been achieved by transparent sections in the back scene with lights behind. This was a well-known theatrical usage by the Restoration. A Lord Chamberlain's warrant for November 16, 1674, demands that Streater "... make a Temple in the Cloudes with scenes of Varnished silk & places for lights for ye same. ..." Just several years earlier, Burnacini was using similar transparent sections in Il Pomo D'Oro (Vienna, 1667)

20 Boswell, op. cit., p. 236. In relation to this reference, Richard Southern, Changeable Scenery (London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1952), p. 207, mistakes the warrant's meaning that this device was for the Cockpit Theatre. The masque for which the "Temple" was required was staged at the Hall Theatre which had been opened by 1665. Evidently the Cockpit was no longer used for theatricals after the Hall Theatre opened.
PLATE V

METHODS OF SHOWING MOOD AND ATMOSPHERE IN PAINTING

5. Claude Lorrain. "A Sea Port at Sunset."
for the glory in the epilogue. No doubt the whole idea goes back to stained or painted glass windows.

By 1676 a fad for sash windows filled with varnished silk and painted scenes in oil colors had become popular enough to rate a section in John Smith's *The Art of Painting in Oil* (London, 1676). There is no reason to suppose the theatre did not take advantage of such a device for spectacle even as early as Jones' court Masques in the 1630's.

Of course, the wings and back scenes which were particularly designed to be moonlight gardens or woods would have had special silvery highlights and deep shadows painted upon them to emphasize the moonlight quality. There is some indication that in *Tyrannic Love* (T.R. in B. St., 1669) a sunset effect was created with lighting. The stage directions for Act IV in the 1670 edition reads: "Indian Cave," "[the] sun is down and the element is red." Certainly varnished silk screens or bottles of colored water had been put before the lights behind the wings to turn the light on the stage red. Possibly for the moonlight scenes a blue or green "element" was used. Until firmer proof is discovered it is difficult to say whether the mood effects required were achieved by colored light, by means of the painting, or by a combination of the two. The latter seems the most likely choice.

This use of mood scenes shows that at least the most dramatic elements of the Flemish style of painting were

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assimilated by the English scene artists and were not completely superceded by the Italianate, general "mid-day" feeling, which was the regular thing in the "Roman School" paintings. Aggas' sunset in Figure 18, which is in most ways Italianate in composition, certainly is Flemish in the fact that he shows the prospect by sunset. Inigo Jones' four seasonal designs for *Florimène* (1635) also indicate this trend.

**D. Conclusion**

In conclusion, the results of the comparison of the styles prevalent in art in England and Europe to the surviving works of known scene painters and the stage directions in early editions of the plays of the Restoration period seem to show:

1. The English scene painters active from 1660 to 1682 had been strongly influenced in their style of work by the Flemish and the "Roman School," and to a lesser degree by the Dutch school of painting.

2. The English scene painter probably painted pictures in the fashionable Italianate or "Roman" style with overtones of the other popular schools and some of his own provincial qualities. The scenes he did in this style could range from "ideal" Italian landscapes to actual London street scenes and prospects of exotic foreign places.

3. The elements of the pictures which made them unique in comparison with the later eighteenth-century interest in the Gothic was the ever-present classical ruin and the use of classical architecture for buildings and cities.

4. The mood and tone of the scenes were most likely to have been a sunny Mediterranean kind of light and a pastel palette capable of strong contrasts in the foliage which was painted on
the wings in a Flemish manner and which framed the pale and distant "Roman" prospects on the back scene.

5. The easel pictures which most look like the landscapes on the stage scenery would be those of Claude and Poussin of the "Roman School" and the painters who did work in the Flemish style, such as Coninxloo, Momper, and Keirincx (Plates I and II).

6. The city and topographical scenes must have looked a great deal like the drawings of Hollar and Knyff (Plate IV).

The above conclusions show the receptiveness of the seventeenth-century English society to the continental influences. First in time was the northern Flemish influence, from the age of Charles I and the Commonwealth. Then the Italianate influence was brought into the country after the Restoration of Charles II in 1660 and is clearly revealed by the vogue for classical and Italian views. The English artists could not completely throw off the Flemish style, so their work was not entirely Italianate. However, in supplying the most fashionable scenes the views for the theatre must have gradually taken on the look of the "Roman School" painters, particularly in the use of palette, classical forms in the architectural scenes, ruins, statues and other decorative garden objects, and the typical rounded hill scenery of the Roman country side.

As the Ogdens point out, the beginnings of purely English taste in landscapes, that is, views of English countryside rather than "ideal" Italian scenes, came during the time of the Stuarts. It was characterized by the increasing interest

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22 Ogden and Ogden, op. cit., pp. 163-164.
in the landscape as a pure form rather than a background for
the portrait or other type of picture; and by the fact that
Hollar and other artists, who spent their lives working in
England rather than traveling around the continent, did
topographical views of English houses and cities which began
to create a demand for the English scene for its own sake.
This trend steadily advanced through the eighteenth century
and became the basis for the tastes which created Constable,
Turner, and the Romantic School.
CHAPTER IV

CONTINENTAL SCENE DESIGN PRACTICE

A. Comparison of Seventeenth-Century Continental and English Scene Designs

In the preceding chapters the influences of continental schools of art upon the English artist and scene painter have been detailed. However, no comparison of English and continental scene designs has been made. Based upon the practices of the English artists, there is little doubt that during the first twenty years of the Restoration period English designs looked different from the ones seen in French and Italian theatres. Evidently sometime in the 1680's the fad for continental opera tended to bring a more French or Italian flavor into the theatre. This was no doubt accompanied by scene designs which looked like those of the famous designers of the time, Vigarani, Berain, Torelli, and others. By 1697 the designs of the prior decade began to look old-fashioned in the same way that the scenes of 1670 looked old-fashioned to the opera fans of 1685. Elkanah Settle remarked in his prologue to The World in the Moon (DG, 1697), that he was glad that the theatre was able to "throw away all our old French lumber, our clouds of clouts, and set Theatrical painting at a much fairer light." It is known that Betterton bought expensive machines 137
in Paris for the ill-fated _Albion and Albanius_ (DG., June, 1685), which failed after six nights because of Charles II's death and the Monmouth rebellion.¹ A final piece of evidence suggests that French influence in scenic art became strong about 1685. Jacques Rousseau, Lully's chief scene painter in Paris, is supposed to have settled in London about this time.² The English stage was not as spectacular or well equipped as the French and it is difficult to believe that Rousseau could have been enticed to London unless he had quarrelled with Lully or was a Huguenot. The persecution of these unfortunate people had begun again at about this time. The English company was very poor during the 1680's and it is unlikely that they could have scraped enough money together to lure Rousseau to London unless he had to leave Paris.³

The perspectives on the English scenery between 1660 and 1682 seem to have differed from the continental scenes in two ways. First, the styles in art which prevailed in London tended to be a mixture of the "Flemish School," the early "Roman School" and provincial English techniques. On the other hand, the French and Italian scene designs show a very strong tendency toward the fashionable later "Roman School" with its —

¹Nicoll, _op. cit._, p. 158.
physical details of the theatres have become available from this type of source.

4. **Pictorial Sources**

   The fourth kind of evidence is the few pictures of seventeenth-century English theatres and scenery. There is so little of this type of information that one of the basic inferences which has been drawn about the theatre is that the look of the general stock scene was so commonplace that nobody thought to record it. Therefore, when a lengthy scene description comes in a play script it indicates something quite out of the ordinary which needed detailing to make it clear to the theatre technicians. So, pictorial evidence must be used with care when generalizations about the theatre as a whole are to be made.

   The discovered designs which represent Restoration scenery and theaters are these:

   1. John Webb's six designs for the Siege of Rhodes at Rutland House (1656).
   2. Webb's four designs for Mustapha at the Hall theater at Court (1665).
   4. The frontispiece for Ariane at Drury Lane (1674).
   5. The frontispiece for Eccle's Theater Music (published in 1699).
   6. Ogilvy and Morgan's Map of London (1677); Newcourt's Map of London (1658); Hollar's Map of London (1660); Morden and Lea's Map of London (1682); and Stryp's Stowe Survey of London (1720).
classical ruins and Italian looking "ideal" landscapes. Second, the continental scene painter had a tendency to emphasize architectural elements rather than landscapes. Even when greenery was required, French and Italian scene designers drew the branches and trees in such a way that they took on an architectural feeling. In the light of this, Count Maglotti's statement in Chapter II may take on a special significance. He remarked that the theatrical scenery in England had "beautiful landscapes" painted upon it. He may have emphasized this point because to his eyes the more natural feeling of the "Flemish-English" painting technique used by the English painters made the perspectives look more like actual natural scenes than did the stiff and formal renderings of landscapes typical of the continental designers. To show this difference between the perspectives painted for the theatres a series of English and continental designs are presented below (Figs. 51-59). They illustrate an evolution in styles from the Parigi family in the 1630's to that of Jean Berain at the end of the seventeenth century. The figures to the left are the continental designs and the ones to the right are the English.

The first pair of scenes (Figs. 51 and 52) are pre-Commonwealth sets. The one by Parigi shows the "Northern" feeling which was popular in the earlier Italian scene designs. The rocks and trees have an alpine look similar to "Flemish" painting of the period. Jones' drawing is, of course, a direct copy of Parigi's design. This further illustrates Jones' debt
to continental artists. The "Flemish" feeling of the picture is only one of the styles Jones copied (remember that Jones' scene shown in Figure 30 was copied from a painting by Brill, who was one of the painters of the early "Roman School"). It should be noted that the beginning of the next development in Italian scene design is creeping into Figures 51 and 52; that is, a tendency to turn landscapes into architectural designs. The slightly unnatural lines of the cliffs exemplify this.

Figure 51

Alfonso Parigi the younger. Nozze degli Dei, Florence, 1637.

Figure 52

Inigo Jones. Salmacida Spolia, 1640.

Two of the next three scenes (Figs. 53 to 55) are from the period just after the Restoration. The Torelli design (Fig. 53) from before the Commonwealth, reveals how far Torelli had taken the technique of turning greenery into architecture. The "garden of the King" for Venus Jalousie is not really an exterior at all even though it is supposed to be one. It looks like a room with flat walls painted to resemble boscage. Remember that Streater had decorated the back stage walls of
the Hall Theatre in a similar manner. Figure 55 is not as extreme in this treatment as the Torelli design. It is a typical baroque formal garden by Burnacini; and it is similar to many other garden settings painted for court theatres in France and Italy. The mid-seventeenth-century feeling that the
verdure is carved in stone, or somehow part of a static architectural wall is present. About as close to this feeling as an English artist seems to have come is shown in the next design by John Webb (Fig. 54). Notice that the scene in Webb's design (Fig. 54) has a "Roman School" prospect of a palace and garden as seen through a pavilion. As has been observed before, Webb was an architect, not a painter, and his work always stresses the architectural objects more than the natural ones. However, this was not normal for most scenic artists working in England at this time and therefore is more likely atypical.

Because there seem to be no extant English scene designs from the 1670's which show landscapes, a substitute is required which fits the artistic styles of the English painters and the staging practices of the time. An admirable drawing by Inigo Jones almost exactly fits this situation. Figure 57 shows a "Roman School" prospect of a city and countryside surrounded by tree wings painted in a "Northern School" or Flemish style. The atmosphere of the design is light and airy in the prospect, and mysterious and romantic in the wood. This appears to be just about the combination of styles used by Streater, Aggas, and Fuller.

On the other hand, Figure 56, which represents typical continental practice from the 1660's, shows the regimentation of the trees and the architectural feeling which prevailed, although not to the degree represented by Figures 53 and 55. Jones' work, and probably that of the Restoration scene painters,
shows a free and more literal or natural look, while the continental designs represent an extremely mannered style.

The next pair of designs (Figs. 58 and 59) reveals a change from the earlier handling both in the continental and the English scenery. They also indicate that the designs and styles had merged a good deal. Figure 58 is a later work of Jean Berain. His earlier designs look like those of Burnacini and Carlo Vigarani (see Fig. 28). However, this one shows a more literal and delicate rendering of natural objects. The architectural feeling is confined to the stone work, and the trees and vegetation are not as stiff as those of the earlier artists. The set by Sir James Thornhill shows an English design which has come around to the continental look, in comparison with the Jones design (Fig. 57). In the Arisincs design, the boscage is forced into architectural shapes and the prospect to the rear is mannered and stiff. The prospect
also looks more like the "ideal" view of the "Roman School" than a topographical scene typical of the earlier part of the Restoration period. No doubt this is similar to the change which came into English scene designs in the 1680's after the Italian and French operatic style of production had gotten a firm hold in London.

Figure 58


Figure 59


The qualities of the design in Figure 59 show a direct relationship of style to that in Figure 58, indicating that the look of scenery in London and Paris was probably very similar by 1700. The fact that Eccles' edition of *Theater Music* (mentioned in Chapter I) used a pirated plate from Berain's design for a Parisian opera, seems to indicate that the French scenic style was not foreign to the English opera fan by 1699.

The "Northern" style of treatment of landscapes evidently abandoned in the 1680's comes back into popularity in England with the arrival of the Gothic Revival and German Romanticism in the late eighteenth century. Perhaps the reason
that many of the scenic conventions which were used by the early Restoration theatre (such as ground rows, etc.) are attributed to DeLoutherbourg after 1771 is that he brought back into style an energetic "Northern" feeling of design which lends itself more readily to romantic, rough, and wild landscapes than do the smooth dignified architectural southern scenes painted by the French and Italianate artists for opera. The staging conventions of cut shutters, ground rows, and relieve scenes do not lend themselves to the "Roman School" view, and they probably began to die out around 1685, only to be revived in the 1770's. Therefore, to the generation of the last half of the eighteenth century they were an innovation.

A final point relating to the "look" of Restoration scenery is that some of the antique sets at Drottningholm Theatre may resemble late seventeenth-century scenery. Some of the sets resemble designs in the Royal Library print collection in Stockholm which houses specimens dated from about 1690 on. This collection contained scene designs by Berain, Servandoni, and other French scene painters. When the stock sets for the little Court Theatre were painted in 1766, there were not enough scene designers of merit in Sweden; for this reason many of the designs for the scenery seem to have been taken from the old print collection. A comparison of the scene designs of Berain and the Drottningholm sets easily shows a similarity. The painters in Sweden were somewhat clumsy and provincial; the flats for the scenes were small and simple
(much like the size and arrangement of those in the early Restoration theatre). It is pleasant to speculate that in the two forest scenes from Drottningholm, painted about 1766, (Fig. 60), we have a throwback in style and general appearance to the scenes of the Restoration theatre in England. 4

Figure 60

Two Forest Wing and Prospect Settings for the Theater at Drottningholm.

B. Conclusion

The purpose of this study has been to try to discover something about the perspective landscape scenes used in the English theatre between 1660 and 1682. This has been done by examining several types of evidence. The first kind is internal

material from first editions of Restoration plays. From pro-
logues and epilogues, stage and scene directions, and other
parts of the scripts, an outline of the basic stock scenes
required to produce the plays in the London theatres during
this period has been formulated.

The second type of evidence examined is that found in
contemporary journals and diaries. This information gives some
indication of the feeling toward the theatre and the use of
scenery at this time. These accounts also prove helpful in
dating the first notices of the use of movable scenery in the
London theatres, and scenery's effect on the audiences and
drama of the period.

The third kind of evidence treated comes from bio-
ographical data and an examination of the extant paintings of
artists who painted theatrical scenery. These works are com-
pared with several major styles of painting prevalent in the
seventeenth century. They show that the artists involved
generally worked in the "Flemish" and "Roman" schools of
painting. There are elements of the combination of these two
styles in the work of the pre-Commonwealth theatrical designer
Inigo Jones. There are so few extant Restoration scene designs
that some other pictorial source is required to give an idea
of the "look" of the sets of this time. The apparent parallel
of the artistic styles of Jones and the Restoration scenery
painters gives some material of this nature because there are
quite a number of Jones' designs available.
The tastes of the Restoration audiences were those of the Court. Under the auspices of Charles I and, later, Charles II, a group of artists and craftsmen chiefly from the Netherlands was imported to England. These men had a style which was a combination of the "Roman School" and the older northern, Dutch and Flemish. They influenced the native English artists who then painted in a very similar manner.

These English artists were employed by the public theatres to decorate the new Italian flat wings and shutters which had been introduced by Sir William Davenant. The artists naturally used the style of painting which was familiar to them and which they used in their own landscape paintings. This created a combination of the older Flemish and "northern" look with elements of the new "Roman School." Biographical evidence and a study of his extant work shows Jones had learned the "Northern Style" of design as a young man; he then traveled in Italy where he picked up elements of the newer baroque schools. This latter element gave his work a flavor which was far in advance of that of the native English artists. These artists did not catch up to the style of Jones for a number of decades. So, by the time of the Restoration, the scene painters were doing landscapes which looked like Jones' in 1640. There is no evidence to show that they were copying Jones or, for that matter, were aware of the existence of any of his old masque designs. The truth is that the fashionable artistic methods had caught up to the style Jones had been using twenty years before.
7. Wren's drawings for theaters in the Worcester College Library at Oxford (c. 1674).

It will be shown in a later chapter that the drawings of Inigo Jones add a great deal to this material. Also, some inferences may be drawn from book illustrations to plays published in the early eighteenth century. However, there are only fifteen different scene designs represented in this list for over forty-four years of theatrical enterprise. It is this very lack of visual evidence which makes a study of the "look" of the scenery valuable.

B. The Story of Restoration Studies

There was no real attempt to write a history of English Theatre until the nineteenth century; even when the beginnings were made, scholarship was unreliable. Documented facts were very few and much information was hearsay or legend from the loosely written memoirs of actors and other theatrical figures. The Restoration Theatre had been viewed with distaste by the public of the eighteenth century because of the crudeness of some of the comedy and the natural prejudice against any given style of theatrical production after it has gone out of fashion. Most writers wrote about drama, as opposed to theater in the sense of the visual aspects of the productions. Most writers glossed over the theater of the Restoration in very few words.

Attempts at describing the staging, scenery, theaters and personnel of the Restoration period began in earnest with John Genest's Some Account of the English Stage from the
The final part of this dissertation offers an intensive comparison of seventeenth-century continental scene designs with English designs which seem to represent the styles of painting used during the first half of the Restoration period. This examination tends to show that the continental perspective scene had different qualities from those in the English views. The continental landscape tended to emphasize an architectural feeling, while the English pictures (as exemplified by Jones' work) seem to give a more natural feeling to prospects of the countryside.

There is a body of evidence to show that in the 1680's continental theatrical practice in scene painting replaced those styles which had been in use in London from the time of Jones. After the merger of the two Royal Companies in 1682, and after the fad for "French" and "Italian type" opera became so pervasive in the English theatre, the perspective scenes evidently were painted in a conscious effort to copy continental spectacle and luxury. Therefore, the theatrical scenery looked similar to that which could be seen in leading Parisian and Italian opera houses.
APPENDIX A

A SYSTEMATIZED STUDY OF PRINTED SCENE DIRECTIONS

The section of the Ohio State University Theatre Collection Handbook\(^1\) referring to scene designs is reproduced here. This method is used to categorize the scene direction found in printed editions of the plays. This list is taken only from the earliest editions available from the seventeenth century. Therefore, it is by no means a complete list of all scenes in Restoration plays from 1660 to 1682. Many printed editions of this period have no scene descriptions at all; others are so vague that any exterior or interior scene would do. The few printed directions which did manage to creep into the early editions are valuable because many of the earliest editions were made up from the playhouse copy (sometimes even the prompt book), or, from the author's copy. They, therefore, tend to indicate contemporary practice in reference to scenery; and, in a few cases actually describe the perspectives required.

S. Scene Design

S. Scene Design deals only with the pictorial effect of the scene from the viewpoint of the audience and is distinct from M. STAGING, a technical category, which deals with the physical equipment, construction methods and materials of the stage.

\(^1\)Jack W. Hunter, Philip A. Macomber, and John H. McDowell, The OSU Theatre Collection Handbook, Second Edition (Revised), (Columbus, Ohio, 1959), pp. 22a-22e.
Explanation of items

1. **Aquatic or Shipboard**—All areas dominated by sea, lake or river.

   Examples: Lighthouse or tower dominated by a seascape, shipboard scenes, riverboat, wharf, harbor, nearly all forms of water transport, Mississippi river scenes, Little Eva on the ice.

   Disqualification: Showboat or gambling ship (PLACE OF ENTERTAINMENT). A formal procession of boats (PROCESSION OR PARADE).

2. **Air or Land Transportation**—buildings, vehicles, equipment and service areas associated with air or land transportation.

   Examples: airplanes, balloons, trains, taxis, automobiles, busses, stations and terminals, ticket offices, loading platforms, rail switching yards, baggage rooms, space ships, etc.

3. **Business or Trade**—an area or building devoted to gainful association. A business, establishment, organization, or group whose main purpose is financial gain. Gain may be in terms of goods or in terms of personal service. Personal service refers to the purchase of services required by the individual in one form or another.

   Examples: store, shop, craft shop, business office, restaurant, filling station. Service areas are: photography studio, barber shop, beauty parlor, turkish bath, cobbler's shop, dry cleaning place, etc. Also, a hotel room, suite or penthouse when not a permanent residence. Storage and warehouse (while not in active business, they are associated with business enterprise), livery stable, blacksmith shop.

   Disqualifications: professional services associated with hospitals and with activities of the legal, medical, ecclesiastical, or educational fraternities are more than merely gainful activities and are classified under PROFESSIONAL OR EDUCATIONAL. Roman bathhouses were operated by the state (CIVIC, etc.). Period designs of bathhouses are usually neo-classical structures and consequently also are put under (CIVIC). Also: commercial, public or private areas and/or equipment.
associated with (AIR OR LAND TRANSPORTATION). Some businesses are engaged in providing entertainment facilities as differentiated from the sale of material commodities and personal services. All of these should be classified under (PLACE OF ENTERTAINMENT).

4. Castle or Fortification—large, barren structures, usually of stone or other sturdy material. Castle interiors often have no or few windows or narrow slits for windows. Little decoration. Definitely not a palatial structure.

Examples: fort, drawbridge, blockhouse, powder magazine, walls of a city, castle with adjoining courtyard or tiltyard. Interior of fort, castle, stockade, etc.

Disqualifications: lavish decorations with large windows (PALACE).

5. Church or Temple—religious structure or edifice devoted to religious exercises. Religious edifices often have tombs, sarcophagi or burial urns.

Examples: church, temple, mosque, chapel, monastery, convent, cloister, refectory, monk's cell, edifice with adjoining yard, etc. Revival meeting, camp meeting, Salvation Army headquarters, etc.

Disqualification: if dominated by burial urns (PLACE OF BURIAL).

6. Civic or Governmental—area or building with service association. Primarily city, state, or national governmental agencies provided as a service to the public. Area or building associated with Armed Services. A place with humanitarian purpose. An area of imposed human confinement.

Examples: courtroom, firehouse, post office, internal revenue office, city hall, police station, recruiting office, license bureau, welfare agency, state employment office, union hiring hall, city playground. Also, insane asylum, prison or jail, dungeon, barred cell, barred cave, jailyard. Army barracks or bunk house, army camp or P.X. Period designs of prisons
have instruments of torture, hanging lamps, grills, stone columns with rings and chains, catwalks for guards, etc. Roman baths. Neo-classical designs of baths.

Disqualification: if army camp is dominated by tents. (TENT).

7. **Cloud or Celestial**—Banks of clouds. Floating palaces, flying figures, and pageant cars may appear in the clouds. Cross-reference these items when applicable. Glories.

8. **Domestic**—Permanent living area. Places to eat, sleep, and work in a private domicile.

Examples: living room, dining room, parlor, kitchen, bed room. Laundry or furnace room, hobby room. A rented house or a permanently rented room, suite, or penthouse in a hotel have permanent domestic associations, private garage, barn or stable, private swimming pools and baths.

Disqualification: A CASTLE or a PALACE has more than just a living association and therefore is classified elsewhere. A hotel room or suite where permanent living association (penthouse, etc.) is not definitely established (BUSINESS OR TRADE), teepees a nomad tents (TENT).

9. **Factory or Heavy Industry**—area where something is made or produced on a large scale.

Examples: mill, foundry, power plant, mine tipple, refinery.

10. **Garden or Park**—

Examples: Park benches and lamp posts. Period designs have statues, balustrades, terraces, fountains, long flights of steps, niches with "gods," trees, potted plants and arbors.

Disqualification: dominant masses of trees (LANDSCAPE).

11. **Hell**—subterranean or terrestrial area dominated by demons, griffins, fire effects, distorted figures, animals, and masked devils. Medieval designs have hell mouths with smoke, fire, torture wheels, and scaly monsters. May include distorted cliffs, grotto-like areas, etc.
Disqualification: cliffs, etc., without fire, demons, etc. (LANDSCAPE). Grottos without fire (SUBTERRANEAN).

12. **Landscape, Wood or Mountain**—a landscape is an undecorated outdoor place dominated by open vistas. May include a river or lake as part of a landscape, if they do not dominate. Often panoramic views. A wood is made up of masses of trees and foliage. Mountains and landscapes often include rock formations.

Examples: pastoral scenes, open vistas with hills and sometimes an incidental bridge. Forest, wood, wood with open place, trees with a small pergola. Hilltop, gorge, cliff, precipice, mountain top, rocks and boulders.

Disqualification: if dominated by lake (AQUATIC); if dominated by building (put under building); if dominated by cave or cavern (SUBTERRANEAN); if dominated by fire, demons (HELL). If dominated by a bridge (PUBLIC SQUARE, STREET OR ROADWAY).

13. **Non-Localized Scenic Units**—Setting composed of scenic units indicating no specific locale. NEVER used if the locale is recognizable. Used only when other Column 4 items do not apply.

Examples: non-localized curtain, drop, screen, ramp, step, platform, skeletal structure, etc. Forestage with curtain backing, etc. Expressionistic backdrops, design "studies," etc.

A caption LOCALIZES ANY DESIGN, and the design is then carded to the locale only.

Examples: platform units with no identification may be labeled as "parapet to a castle" by the designer. Card should be catalogued as (CASTLE OR FORTIFICATION).

14. **Palace**—large, ornate buildings, usually the formal residence of a state figure or other noble or powerful personage.

Examples: interior details include ornate columns, lavish drapery, elegant ornamentation, massive furniture (often painted on wings or drops), high mirrors, etc. Banquet halls, ballrooms, presence chamber, royal courts,
private rooms or closets, hallways, stairs, and corridors. Exterior of palace with yard, court or terrace. Porch of a palace is an atrium.

15. **Place of Burial**—

Examples: churchyard (if the edifice does not dominate), cemetery, burying ground, vault, sepulchre, tomb, mausoleum, catafalque.

16. **Place of Entertainment**—an area or building established for the primary purpose of entertaining. (ALL Mountebank and Fair Theatre Stages should be cross-indexed to T. THEATRE.)

Examples: a theatre (represented on the stage), arena, stadium, grandstand, tournament, joust, athletic event, game, night club, carnival, amusement park, carousel, county or country fair, street fair, mountebank stage at a fair or in a public square or along a roadside, gambling casino, bowling alley, swimming pool, golf course or lockers, etc. Fireworks display in a public square or in a garden. Fountain display in a garden. Showboat.

Disqualification: bar (similar to restaurant)—(BUSINESS OR TRADE); any establishment where the primary purpose is not entertainment.

17. **Procession or Parade**—

Examples: funeral, wedding, coronation, triumphal entry, horse ballet, religious procession, circus parade, minstrel parade, etc. Inauguration procession of pageant boats or royal barges, etc. (Cross-index to AQUATIC OR SHIPBOARD.)

18. **Professional or Educational**—area or building for professional or educational service. Professional service refers to activities connected with medical, legal and ecclesiastical groups. Educational service refers to activities connected with all school groups.

Examples: office or study or other area of a professional person (doctor, lawyer, or clergyman). Same areas for educational person (teacher, professor, researcher, etc.). Hospital emergency room, hospital room or ward, psychiatric ward, rest home or sanitorium.
Rooms in a university, college, private, professional, trade or business school. A library, museum, school playground or parish house. Pre-school, primary or secondary school.

19. **Public Square, Street or Roadway**—A square is a large open place, often flanked with buildings, usually a large rectangular city square. A street shows one or two sides of the street and often leads to a distant perspective. A triumphal arch. Public thoroughfares and roads. Includes bridges.

Examples: piazza, forum, marketplace, street running in front of a house, street in front of a viaduct, street corner with lamp post, village green, town square, etc. Arches included in designs for triumphal entries, progresses, street shows, etc. Festival books often have elaborately decorated arches. Bridges, overpasses, viaducts, etc.

Disqualification: Street dominated by a specific type of building. (If the street is significant, it should be cross-indexed.)

20. **Subterranean**—natural or man-made underground areas.

Examples: caves, caverns, grottos, tunnels, mine tunnels, sewers, subways, catacombs. Period designs often have a series of concentric wings with connected borders. High rock formations at sides and overhead with open vista in the rear. Long vistas within a grotto. Sometimes a grotto is located upstage with rocks, etc., in foreground.

Disqualification: devils and fire effects (HELL); under water (AQUATIC).

21. **Tent**—

Examples: circus, battle, carnival, desert nomad's, military, etc. Especially in the Baroque, tents are very elaborate.

(Note: Tents with a living association, i.e., teepees, nomad tents, indian tents and teepees, etc., should be cross-indexed to DOMESTIC.)
Following is a break-down of the scene descriptions found in first or early editions of Restoration plays which were produced at the four major theatres during or after 1661. This list is organized in the following manner:

1. (Major category, e.g., ll. **Hell**.).
   A. (The Theatre, e.g., THEATER ROYAL IN BRIDGES STREET).
      1. (The first play studied for this theater with a stage direction which applies to the first category, along with author's last name, and the approximate date of the first production of the play.) (The stage direction is in brackets under the title).
      2. (The second play, etc.).

The stage directions in round brackets (--) are quoted in the words used in the printed script. Those in square brackets [ ] have been shortened or clarified by referring the direction in question to the dialogue in the scene. Single words in square brackets have been added by the author to make statements clearer.

The dates for the theatre buildings noted in this appendix are listed here for ease of reference:

- The Theater Royal Bridges Street
  (May 7, 1663 to Jan. 25, 1672 when it burned)

- Lisle's Tennis Court Lincoln's Inn Fields
  (Temporarily used, Feb. 26, 1672 to Mar. 25, 1674)

- The King's Co.

- The Theater Royal Drury Lane
  (Mar. 26, 1674 and thereafter)
Lisle's Tennis Court Lincoln's Inn Fields  
(June 30, 1661 to Nov. 7, 1671)

The Duke's Co.  

The Duke's Theater Dorset Garden  
(Nov. 8, 1671 to Nov. 16, 1682 when the companies united).

1. Aquatic or Shipboard--(including seashore and riverbank).

A. THEATER ROYAL IN BRIDGES STREET

   (Island of Cithera [sea shore?]).
   (Seen through a rock a navy riding at anchor) &  
   (... in a carrack).

B. LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS--(Temporary use by King's Co.,  
   Feb. 26, 1672-Mar. 1674)

1. Amboyna, Dryden--May, 1673.  
   (Castle by the sea).

C. HALL THEATER WHITEHALL--(April 20, 1665 to 1698)

   (Somerset House and the Thames).

D. DORSET GARDEN

   (Harbor).
2. The Tempest, Shadwell--April, 1674.  
   (Cloudy sky, angry sea, [rock wings]) &.  
   (A beautiful part of the island).
   [Sea shore].
4. The Libertine, Shadwell--June, 1675.  
   [On the deck of a ship].
5. Circe, C. Davenant--May, 1677.  
   (The Grecian fleet and the sea).
6. The Young King, Behn--c. Sept., 1679.  
   [The sea shore].

2. (None).

3. Business or Trade
Restoration in 1660 to 1832. Many of Genest's sources were unreliable as to dates, details of staging and the use of scenery. On top of this, scholarship had not yet become systematized so the sources remained undocumented. Genest did a remarkable job considering the little positive material with which he had to work. Following Genest's lead were Edmund Malone, Percy Fitzgerald, G. Thorn Drury, A. W. Ward, and others, who were primarily interested in the literary aspects of the theater. In these studies some incidental comment on staging was occasionally included.

The first serious attempt at describing the Restoration stage came in Robert W. Lowe's *Life of Thomas Betterton* (1891). Lowe had the advantage of having just edited Cibber's *Apology for the Life of Mr. Colley Cibber*, 1740, London (1891), 2 vols. This study gave Lowe a fresh approach and brought to light some new material to use in an attempt at describing what a Restoration production looked like. Some of his conclusions have subsequently proved inaccurate; his description of staging is too general for the serious student today. However, some of his speculation has now been documented.

In 1913, just before the discovery of the first actual iconographical materials from the Restoration, W. J. Lawrence published a chapter called "The Origin of the English Picture-Stage" in *The Elizabethan Playhouse and other Studies, Second Series*. Generally this book summed up the materials available on the subject (most of which are even today the basis for
A. THEATER ROYAL IN BRIDGES STREET

   (At the Devil [Half Moon] Tavern).
2. The Wild Gallant, Dryden—Feb. 5, 1663 (revised 1669).
   (A tavern or a gaming house).
   (Chatolins [French Tavern]).

B. LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS—(Temporary)

1. Marriage A-La-Mode, Dryden—April, 1672.
   [An Eating House].

C. DRURY LANE THEATER

1. The Fool Turn'd Critick, D'Urfey—Nov. 1676.
   [A tavern].
2. Wits Led by the Nose, Chamberlayne—c. July 1677.
   [A tavern].

D. LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS—(Duke's Co., June 30, 1661 to Nov. 8, 1671)

   [A tavern].
2. Elvira, Digby—1662-65?
   (Room in the inn).
   (A public room).
4. She Wou'd if She Cou'd, Etheredge—Feb. 6, 1668.
   (The Bear [tavern]).

E. DORSET GARDEN

   (The French House [Chatolins?]).
   (Public room).
   (A coffee house).

4. Castle or Fortification—(also see: No. 6 for prisons,
   No. 14 for palaces)

A. THEATER ROYAL IN BRIDGES STREET

   (The Albayzin . . . the bars are opened . . .
   the Viverambla).
   (Same as above).

B. LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS--(temporary)

1. Amboynæ, Dryden--May 1673. 
   (Castle by the sea).

C. DRURY LANE THEATER

1. The Siege of Memphis, D'Urfey--Sept. 1676. 
   (Turret besieged, ... appearing on the walls).
2. The Destruction of Jerusalem, part 1, Crowne--Jan. 1677. 
   (Room in the Tower) &. (... the gates).
   (... a high rocky mount [fortified]) &. (... a town)?
4. Wits Led by the Nose, Chamberlayne--July 1677. 
   (... as on the walls [of Sicilia]).
5. The Ingratitude of the Commonwealth, Tate--c. Dec. 1681. 
   (The walls of Coriolus).

D. DORSET GARDEN

1. Antony and Cleopatra, Sedley--Feb. 1676. 
   (A castle).

5. Church or Temple--(also see: No. 15 for tombs in temples)

A. THEATER ROYAL IN BRIDGES STREET.

1. The Indian Queen, Dryden--Jan. 1664. 
   (A temple).
2. The Indian Emperour, Dryden--April 1665. 
   (Same as above).
3. The Change of Crowns Ed. Howard--April 15, 1665. 
   (A Monastery Quire [deep]).
   (A chappel).

B. DRURY LANE THEATER

1. Sophonisba, Lee--April 1675. 
   (Bellona's Temple, altar with arm'd figure lying on it).
2. The Destruction of Jerusalem, part 1, Crowne--Jan. 1676. 
   (Brazen Gates of the temple ... gates open [interior of temple], interior opens shows sanctum sanctorium).
   (Same as above) & ( . . . opens, shows temple burning . . . ).
4. Wits Led by the Nose, Chamberlayne—July 1677.
   [The temple].
   ( . . . body of the church).
   (Temple of Isis).
   ( . . . enter the temple of the Sun . . . inner part with altar).
8. Titus Andronicus, Ravenscroft—1678.
   (Temple opens . . . glorious tomb discovered).
   [Temple gates and interior].

6. Civic or Governmental—(also see: No. 14 for palaces)

A. THEATER ROYAL IN BRIDGES STREET

   ( . . . in the senate).
2. The Indian Queen, Dryden—April 1665.
   (A prison).
3. The Indian Emperor, Dryden—April 1665.
   (A prison).
   (Throne room) & (State Chamber . . . a red canopy chamber) & (Out side ye court).
5. The Island Princess, Fletcher (revised by ?)—Jan. 1669.
   (A prison).
   (A prison & wheel).
   [Throne room].

B. LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS—(temporary)

1. Amboyna, Dryden—May 1673.
   ( . . . opens shows Dutch torturing English [a prison]).

C. DRURY LANE THEATER

1. The Tragedy of Nero, Lee—May 1674.
   (The Court).
2. Love in the Dark, Fane—May 1675.
   (Council chamber in the senate house Venice).
5. Wits Led by the Nose, Chamberlayne—July 1677. (The court).
6. Titus Andronicus, Ravenscroft—c. 1678. (Senators in front of the capital, Rome).
11. The Ingratitude of the Commonwealth, Tate—c. Dec. 1681. (Senate in capital).

D. LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS


E. DORSET GARDEN

2. The Siege of Constantinople, Payne—1674. (Council chamber).
6. The Destruction of Troy, Banks—Nov. 1678. (Council chamber).
(Council chamber).
(Room in the Tower).
10. The Revenge, Betterton-Behn?—c. 1680.  
(Newgate prison [exterior and interior]).
11. King Lear, Tate—Mar. 1681.  
(A prison).
(A council chamber).

7. Cloud or Celestial

A. THEATER ROYAL IN BRIDGES STREET

(Two scenes of cloud appear one within the other [a machine]).
(Scene of a paradise is discovered).
3. The Dumb Lady, Lacy—? 1669.

B. DRURY LANE THEATER

1. Sophonisba, Lee—April 1675.  
( . . . discovers a heaven of blood [red], two suns, spirits in battle).

C. HALL THEATER WHITEHALL

[A glory on the upper stage].

D. DORSET GARDEN

(Prospect of a clouded sky with a rainbow).
[Cloud scene].
3. Circe, C. Davenant—May 1677.  
[Cloud scene].

8. Domestic—(including all chambers, hallways, rooms, parlours, kitchens, etc.; also see No. 14 for palace chambers)¹

A. THEATER ROYAL IN BRIDGES STREET

¹Note: Because the domestic room was probably the most plentiful type of scene during this period only a representative list is given here.
   [Four different rooms].
2. The English Monsieur, James Howard—July 1663.
   [Two chambers].
3. The Carnival, Porter—c. 1663.
   (A parlour).
   (Captain's cabin) &. (Chamber).
5. Ormasdes, Wm. Killigrew—1664 ?
   (Chamber).
   (Dining room).
   (... house).

B. DRURY LANE THEATER

1. The Mall, Dover—Jan. 1674 ?
   (Chamber).
   (Chamber).
   [Three rooms].
4. The Mistaken Husband, unknown—1675.
   [Room].
5. The Fool Turn'd Critick, D'Urfey—Nov. 1676.
   [Two chambers and a hall].

C. LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS

1. The Villain, Porter—c. 1662.
   [Rooms].
2. The Comical Revenge, Etheredge—April 27, 1664.
   [Five chambers].
   [At least seven chambers] &. (A laboratory with a
   fountain, stills, shelves covered with containers,
   etc., the room paved with black and white squares,
   with a prospect through pillars of a moonlit garden
   of orange trees).
   (A chamber).
5. She Wou'd if She Cou'd, Etheredge—Feb. 6, 1668.
   (Dining room).
   (Chambers).
   (Chambers).
   (In the cellar).
   (Chambers).
    (Chambers).

D. DORSET GARDEN

1. Guzman, Boyle—April 1669.
   (New black scene with chimney in it).
2. The Citizen Turn'd Gentleman, Ravenscroft—July 1672.
   (A dining room).
3. The Dutch Lover, Behn—Feb. 6, 1673.
   (Five chambers and a dark hall).
   (A dining room).
5. The Triumphant Widow, Cavendish—Nov. 1674.
   (A kitchen, dining room, and a hall).
6. The Libertine, Shadwell—June 1675.
   (Dining room).
   (Dining room).
   (A room hung with black).
   (Dining room and chambers).
10. The Revenge, Betterton—Behn ?—c. 1680.
    (Four rooms).
    (Chambers).

9. (None)

10. Garden or Park—(also see No. 12 Landscape, No. 1 Aquatic
    and No. 19 Street).

A. THEATER ROYAL IN BRIDGES STREET

   ([Moonlight] garden . . . climbs into a tree).
   (Lincoln's Inn Walk).
   (A garden).
4. Ormaesdes, Wm. Killagrew—1664?
   (In the garden).
   (The walks near Court).
   [Garden with a grotto].
7. The Mulberry Garden, Sedley—May 18, 1668.
   [The Mulberry Garden with two cut arbours].
   (The dining room standing in the garden).
   (A garden with an arbour . . . garden door opens).
   (St. James Park at night).
    (The garden . . . a fountain).

B. LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS—(temporary)
1. Marriage A-La-Mode, Dryden—April 1672.  
   (Walks near court).

C. DRURY LANE THEATER
   (Palace garden and bower of Gloriana).
   (The Bower of Semiramis).
3. Fool Turn'd Critick, D'Urfey—Nov. 1676.  
   (Mulberry Garden).
4. The Destruction of Jerusalem, part 1, Crowne— 
   Jan. 1677.  
   (A garden).
   (The palace garden).
   (St. James Park).
   (The Spring Garden).

D. LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS
1. The Villain, Porter—Oct. 1662.  
   (The garden).
2. The Stepmother, Staypelton—c. 1662.  
   (Moonlight . . . in a garden with arbour . . . on 
   either side two pedistals with cupids standing on 
   them).
   (A garden . . . [cut] arbours).
   (In a palace garden).
5. Elvira, Bristol—c. 1662-65.  
   (A fine garden with orange trees and fountains,  
   . . . under a palm tree).
6. Romeo and Juliet, James Howard—before 1665.  
   (A garden).
   (The Mulberry Garden).
   (The garden).
9. She Wou'd if She Cou'd, Etheredge—Feb. 6, 1668.
(Mulberry Garden) & (New Spring Garden).

(A room standing in a garden).

(A garden).

(Arcadia).

(In a garden . . . looking over the wall).

(The gardens at one end of the palace).

15. The Assignation, Dryden—Nov. 1672.
(Night piece of a garden).

E. DORSET GARDEN

1. The History of Charles the VIII of France, Crowne--
Dec. 1671.
(Garden with [cut] arbour).

2. Mr. Anthony, Boyle--Mar 1672.
(A garden).

(A garden).

4. The Morning Ramble, Payne--Nov. 1672.
(Hyde Park).

5. The Dutch Lover, Behn--Feb. 1673.
(A garden . . . fine arbour . . . into the garden
from among the trees).

6. The Triumphant Widow, Cavendish--Nov. 1674.
(The garden).

(Stately garden . . . great walk is bounded on either
side with statues of gold standing upon pedestals
with small figures of gold sitting at their feet;
and in large vases of silver are orange, lemon,
citron, pomegranate [bushes], behind them myrtle,
jasmine and other trees. Beyond [the wings] a
noble arbour through which is seen a less[er]
walk all of cypress trees which leads to another
arbour at a great distance).

8. The Virtuoso, Shadwell--May 1676.
(Garden and arbour).

9. The Rover, part 1, Behn--Mar. 1677.
(Garden and arbour).

10. Circe, C. Davenant--May 1677.
(Circe's enchanted palace with a beautiful garden
in the middle [of which] is seen the hill parnasses
[practical?] on which is . . . playing a lute,
and . . . sleeping in a bed of flowers. Puts him
in an arbour. [Later] . . . bower opens).
   (Garden).
12. Friendship in Fashion, Otway—April 1678.
   (Late at night in the garden).
   (Garden).
   (Garden).
15. The Feign’d Curtezans, Behn—Mar. 1679.
   (Gardens of the Villa Medici [deep] . . . climbs tree).
   (Bank of the Tiber . . . they throw the body over the wall into the river).
   (Walled garden).
18. The Rover, part 2, Behn—April 1681.
   (Garden and arbour).
   (The bower).
   (Garden).
21. The False Count, Behn—Nov. 1681.
   (Garden).

11. Hell—(also see No. 20 Subterranean for grottos and caves)

A. COCKPIT (THE PHOENIX) IN DRURY LANE
   1. The Descent of Orphius into Hell, ?—Autumn 1661.
      [Hell].

B. LINCOLN’S INN FIELDS
      (Vulcan’s Court).

C. DORSET GARDEN
      [Hell].

12. Landscape, Wood or Mountain

A. THEATER ROYAL IN BRIDGES STREET
   1. The Carnival, Porter—c. 1663.
      (The country).
   2. The Indian Queen, Dryden—Jan. 1664.
      (A pleasant Indian country).
      (A wood . . . bound to a tree . . . steps behind trees).
studies of late seventeenth-century theatre). This chapter contains descriptions of the pre-Commonwealth scenic devices used in the masques at court and in private theaters. The patent given to Davenant by Charles I in the spring of 1639 to build an Italian type opera house is examined; and the scene descriptions for the Rutland House Siege of Rhodes and for the Phoenix or Cockpit in Drury Lane productions of The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru and Sir Francis Drake are discussed. Pepy's Diary (covering 1659-69) and Evelyn's Diary (covering the whole period) are brought in as sources, though not with the completeness of the book by Helen MacAfee in 1916.

Lawrence also quoted James Wright's Historia Histrionica (1699) as a basic source and used some scenic descriptions from the plays of the time. Settle's Empress of Morocco plates are mentioned and the frontispiece from Ariane (1674) is reproduced. Lawrence also tried to draw in the influences from abroad which he believed affected the theatre. Generally, he felt the foreign influences were these:

1. The French public theatres were built in re-fitted tennis-courts. The English followed precedent and did the same, with the exception that benches were placed in the pit instead of using the standing room procedure of the French.
4. The Indian Emperour, Dryden—April 1665.
   [Same as Indian Queen].
5. The Island Princess, Fletcher etc.—Jan. 7, 1669.
   (View of the Town on Fire).
   1670.
   [A wood or country].
   (A wood).

B. LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS—(temporary)

1. Amboyna, Dryden—May 1673.
   (A wood).

C. DRURY LANE THEATER

1. The Tragedy of Nero, Lee—May 1674.
   (The country).
2. Ariane, Perrin—summer 1674.
   (A desert or wilderness).
   (City of Certa).
4. The Destruction of Jerusalem, part 2, Crowne—
   Jan. 1677.
   [A battle on a rocky mountain].
5. Wits Led by the Nose, Chamberlayne—July 1677.
   (The planes) &. (A wood) &. (A town of fire).
   (A grove).

D. LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS

1. The Stepmother, Staypleton—c. 1662.
   (A wood and grove with a lawrell and three poplars
   . . . lawrell opens).
   (Pastoral country near Naples).
   (A field).
   (In a wood . . . enter out of a bush).
5. Elvira, Bristol—c. 1662-65.
   (Prospect of Valencia).
   (Bosworth field).
   (A wood [by night] . . . a grove [by day]).
   (A grove).
E. DORSET GARDEN

   (A heath and Burnam Wood).
2. The Dutch Lover, Behn—Feb. 6, 1673.
   (A deep grove) &. (A flat wood).
3. The Tempest, Shadwell—April 1674.
   (A beautiful part of the Island).
4. The Triumphant Widow, Cavendish—Nov. 1674.
   (A country lane or path).
   (Wood).
   (Grove).
7. The Libertine, Shadwell—June 1675.
   (Grove).
   (Grove).
   (Orange grove).
    (A grove).
    (A wood).
    (A grove).
    (A dark grove).
14. The Young King, Behn—Sept. 1679.
    (A flat wood).

13. (None)

14. Palace

A. THEATER ROYAL IN BRIDGES STREET

1. The Indian Queen, Dryden—Jan. 1664.
   (Chamber royal).
2. The Rival Ladies, Dryden—June 1664.
   (Great room in the house).
3. The Indian Emperour, Dryden—April 1664.
   (Chamber royal, same as Indian Queen).
   (The court) &. (The Queen's apartment).
   (Magnificent palace) &. [Three chambers within it].
   (The Alhambra, [a deep gallery in the viverambula with seats around it and a scaffold center]).
B. DRURY LANE THEATER

1. Sophonisba, Lee—April 1675.
   (The palace).
   (Palace of Augustus Caesar) & (Palace of Marcellus).
3. The Siege of Memphis, D'Urfey—Sept. 1676.
   (Palace).
   (The palace).
   (Apartment in the Louvre).
   (Chamber royal).

C. LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS

   (Chamber royal).
   (The Queen of Hungary's Chamber in the Palace at Buda).
   (Chamber).
   (Chamber royal).
5. Guzman, Boyle—April 1669.
   (Queen of Hungary's Chamber as in Mustapha).
   (Chamber).
   (Chamber royal).

D. DORSET GARDEN

   (Palace).
2. The Empress of Morocco, Settle—July 1673.
   (Palace).
   (Palace).
   (Palace).
   (Palace).
   (Clarendon House).
7. The Destruction of Troy, Banks—Nov. 1678.
   ([Palace] sitting in state).

15. Place of Burial

A. THEATER ROYAL IN BRIDGES STREET


B. DRURY LANE THEATER

1. Titus Andronicus, Ravenscroft—c. 1678. (The temple opens and a glorious tomb is discovered . . . in the vault).

C. DORSET GARDEN

1. The Constant Nymph, ?--c. 1677. (The vault).
2. The Destruction of Troy, Banks--c. Nov. 1678. (Temple with a tomb).

16. (There are scenes of this type but no painted scenery seem to have been made for them)

17. (Most tableaux used in the Restoration theatre are of triumphs, battles, murders, or revels. The triumphs would normally come in this category. There is only one with scene description, so it is under No. 19 Street where it also fits)

18. (None with scene descriptions)

19. Street

A. THEATER ROYAL IN BRIDGES STREET

1. The Adventures of Five Hours, Tuke--Jan. 8, 1663. (City of Sevil).
3. The Rival Ladies, Dryden--June 1664. (Street by twilight discovered).
4. The Mulberry Garden, Sedley--May 18, 1668. (A street).

B. DRURY LANE THEATER

1. Love in the Dark, Fane—May 1675. (Street [deep]).
3. The Fool Turn'd Critick, D'Urfey—Nov. 1676. (Covent Garden).
4. The Destruction of Jerusalem, part 2, Crowne—Jan. 1677. (Changes to a town [street]).
7. The Female Prelate, Settle—c. Sept. 1679. ([The Street], a stake and faggots).

C. LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS

1. The Slighted Maid, Staypleton—Feb. 23, 1663. (Naples [a street]).
7. She Wou'd if She Cou'd, Etheredge—Feb. 6, 1668. (The New Exchange . . . shops).
8. Guzman, Boyle—April 1669. (Piazza with walks of trees and houses around it).

D. DORSET GARDEN

2. The Dutch Lover, Behn—Feb. 6, 1673. (The street).
   (The Mall).
   (Covent Garden).
   (Covent Garden).
7. The Rover, part 1, Behn—Mar. 1677.
   (A long street).
8. Circe, C. Davenant—May 1677.
   (A public place of the city . . . the city is suddenly on fire).
   (A long street).
10. Friendship in Fashion, Otway—April 1678.
    (Pall Mall).
    [The Corso, a wide street or plaza with a well in it, backed by garden walls of the houses around it].
    (Covent garden plaza [flat]) &. (Pall Mall).
13. The Revenge, Betterton-Behn—c. 1680.
    (A street . . . shop door).

20. Subterranea—(also see No. 11 Hell).

A. THEATER ROYAL IN BRIDGES STREET

1. The Rival Ladies, Dryden—June 1664.
   (Through a rock [grotto] is seen a harbour with a navy at anchor).
2. The Indian Queen, Dryden—April 1665.
   (Cave).
3. The Indian Emperour, Dryden—April 1665.
   (The Magician's Cave [same as above]) &. (A pleasant grotto with a fountain in it).
   (The Indian Cave [same as above]).

B. DRURY LANE THEATER

1. Sophonisba, Lee—April 1675.
   ( . . . discovers a pleasant grotto . . . sitting on a bank).

C. LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS

1. The Stepmother, Staypleton—1662.
   (The Bard's Cave is discovered).
   (The Cave).
   (A hollow rock in a grove) &. (A grotto).
D. DORSET GARDEN

   (A cave [which sinks on a trap]).
2. The Triumphant Widow, Cavendish--Nov. 1674.
   (Robber's Cave).
3. Love and Revenge, Settle--Nov. 1674.
   [The cave].
   (Circe's Cave [exterior and later inward parts]).

21. Tent

A. THEATER ROYAL IN BRIDGES STREET

1. The Indian Queen, Dryden--Jan. 1664.
   (A camp).
2. The Indian Emperour, Dryden--April 1665.
   [Same as above].
3. The Siege of Urbin, Wm. Killigrew--c. 1665.
   (A camp). &. (In a great tent).
   (A camp, Pavil lion Royal).
5. Tyrannic Love, Dryden--June 1669.
   (A camp or pavilion royal, ... under the walls of Aquileia).
   (... points to the tents of the camp [on the banks of the Tiber]).
   (The camp).

B. DRURY LANE THEATER

1. Sophonisba, Lee--April 1675.
   (... in a tent) &. (The Roman camp).
2. The Siege of Memphis, D'Urfey--Sept. 1676.
   (Tent royal).
   (Titus in a tent) &. (The Roman tents) &. (The Queen's tent).
4. The Ingratitude of the Commonwealth, Tate--
   c. Dec. 1681.
   (The camp).
C. LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS

1. Mustapha, Boyle—April 1665.
   [Four different pavilions in Solyman's camp].
   [The Prince's, Richmond's and The King's quarters
   in the field].
   (Pavilion . . . field covered with tents).

D. DORSET GARDEN

   (Philip's Tent).
2. The Young King, Behn—c. Sept. 1679.
   (. . . The camp) &. (Between the camps).
APPENDIX B

THEORIES OF SCENE SHIFTING TECHNIQUES

There is some controversy over the exact arrangement of the wing and shutter positions in the four Restoration theatres. Richard Southern in Changeable Scenery puts forward the theory that there were shutter grooves just behind each of the four wing positions as shown in drawing Z on the next page. To show how this would work, Southern describes the scene sequence in Sir Patient Fancy by Aphra Behn (DG., Jan. 1678).

Using the drawings A to D on Diagram 3 the sequence is as follows:

Act III

Scene I . . . as going to a dance[A street ?].

Scene II Lady Knowell's Chamber. Type B.

III A Garden. Type A forward groove.

IV Lady Fancy's Chamber. Type A rear groove.

V A Garden. Type B.

VI Lady Fancy's Anti-Chamber. Type B.

VII Lady Fancy's Bedchamber. Type C₁.

VIII ? Lady Fancy's Anti-Chamber. Type B.

IX Garden. Type C₁.

X Long Street. Type D.

Southern thinks that there were at least two grooves at each of the positions just behind the wings. These had shutters in them which could close off the stage at the 1st,
DIAGRAM 1

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY THEATRE GROUND PLANS

V. English Theatres from Langhans.  W. Palais Royal (1671).

X. Salle de Machines (1662).

Y. Burnacini's Theatre Vienna (1667).

Z. English Theatres from Southern.

Shutter position. ———

Wing position. ———
2. The Chambre à Quatre Portes used by the Italian comedians in France was probably used before the Commonwealth and for a time after the Restoration. (His illustration of this is included here because of the scarcity of Lawrence's book.)

3. The sliding flat scenes were thought of as an Italian system and it was brought to the English Theatre by Davenant. Because of space limitations Davenant could not do the extravagant staging the Venetians had been doing since 1637 in their public theatres. This caused him to paint live figures in action on the flat scenes. This may have been done occasionally by the French but rarely by the Italians, and started a strictly English tradition.

Lawrence thought the Elizabethan influences which were retained when the public theatres opened in 1660 were:

1. The platform stage surrounded on three sides by galleries and at least in front by the pit.

2. The use of proscenium or façade doors (although they changed position to some degree) with balconies above them.

3. The first Restoration theatres had the tapestry or "hangings" over a central opening rather than scenes. This was later replaced by the scenic area (at Bridges St. Dorset Garden, Lincoln's Inn Fields, and Drury Lane).

Modern scholars began the definitive exploration of the Restoration period with the publishing of the then newly redis-
DIAGRAM 2

THE PLAN OF THE HALL THEATRE RECONSTRUCTED BY BOSWELL FROM WEBB'S GROUND PLAN FOR MUSTAPHA (1665)
RESTORATION SCENE CHANGE SEQUENCE FROM SOUTHERN

Type A (Flat Scene).

Type B (Mid Scene).

Type C₁ (Back-Shutter).

Type C₂ (Cut Arbour).

Type C₃ (Cut Wood).

Type D (Deep Scene).
2nd, 3rd, and 4th grooves and deep at the rear of the set.
Langhans does not agree with this theory which is accepted by Martin's dissertation and by Nicoll. Langhans' theory is based on the idea that the ground plans for the Theatre Royal Bridges Street, Drury Lane, and the Duke's Theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields (drawing V, Diagram 1), had ground plans similar to the other theatres of the seventeenth-century such as the Palais Royal, The Imperial Theatre in Vienna, and The Salle de Machines, W, X, and Y on Diagram 1, and The Restoration Court Theatre at Whitehall (Diagram 2). Then Langhans describes the scene sequence in The Change of Crowns to illustrate his theory. Using the drawings E, F, and G on Diagram 4 to show the scheme of the ground plan V on Diagram 1 the production of The Change of Crowns, (Howard, T. R. in B. St., April 1667) was as follows:

**Act I**
1. Outside ye Court. Type E, forward groove.
2. State Scene no. 1. Type E, rear groove.

**Act II**
1. Outside ye Court. Type E, ft.
2. Outside ye Court. Type E, ft.
3. State Chamber no. 1 (same as I,2) Type E, rear.

**Act III**
1. State Chamber no. 1(same as I,2) Type E, ft.
2. Outside ye Court. Type E, ft.
3. A Nunnery. Type F.
   the back scene opens to the quire,
   then closes. Type G.
4. A Nunnery (continues). Type F.
Act IV

1. Scene of a presence Chamber no. 2  Type E, rear.
2. Outside ye Court.  Type E, ft.
3. A Camp, Pavilion Royal.  Type F.

Act V

1. Outside ye Court.  Type E, ft.
2. A Red Canopy Chamber.  Type E, rear.
3. Outside ye Court.  Type E, ft.
4. State scene no. 1.  Type E, rear.

A scene change sequence works when there is no time that two scenes in a row come in the same groove at the same shutter position. Notice the above sequence by this standard works nicely. Langhans then shows that all but one play he discusses will work as well in this type of plan rather than in that of Southern. Southern's plan is typical of late eighteenth century practice, but there seem to be no seventeenth century theatres which have the equipment or space for it.

Langhans seems to clinch his argument with what is probably the best proof of all. None of the first three scenically equipped Restoration Theatres had enough space between the side walls of the building and the on stage edge of the first three wings to get a half shutter into the end of the groove. That is a shutter which could close off the stage would be too wide (even though it divided down the center) to be pulled off stage and out of sight behind its masking wing. At Dorset Garden which was a larger theatre there may have been room for one more forward shutter. This would not be typical of seventeenth century practice; however, it may have been done there.¹

¹Langhans, op. cit., pp. 131-147.
RESTORATION SCENE CHANGE SEQUENCE FROM LANGHANS

Type E (Flat Scene).

Type F (Mid Scene).

Type G (Deep Scene).
APPENDIX C

CATALOGUES OF PAINTINGS

A good way to determine the taste of a period is to see a list of the paintings available to the public or to the leading artists of the period. The artists would collect that which they admired and no doubt practice techniques they could study from fashionable foreign works. Here are two lists of the paintings in the collections of two of the leading painters in England. The first is from the group owned by the two sergeant painters Robert Streater the elder and the younger (sold in 1711). The second is from the sale of Sir Peter Lely's paintings in 1682.

Notice that landscapes and portraits make up a major portion of each list and that the foreign artists who are most represented are the "Roman school" painters and other followers of Titian; the Flemish and the Dutch.

Sergeant Streater's Sale of Pictures, 1711¹

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Artist</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>A Young Lady, 3 qrs.</td>
<td>Streeter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Lacy, the Player</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>A Woman's Head</td>
<td>Streeter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>A Hen, and Chickens</td>
<td>Remé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1d. Bartlett, small Life</td>
<td>Heniman</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6 A Man's head Streeter
7 A Boy's Head Zoust
8 Faith Streeter
9 A Holy Family, a Sketch in black and white Sr. P. Lely
10 Fruit Vanzoon
11 An old man's head Rembrandt
12 Herodias, after Guido Old Remé
13 A Woman's Head Streeter
14 A Man on horseback, a sketch Vandyck
15 Two Landscapes Lanckrinck
16 An Eagle Streeter
17 A large Flower piece Verbruggen
18 A man on horseback, a Sketch Van Dyck
19 Flowers, Large Vanzoon
20 A Landskip, with Fowls Streeter
21 A large Landskip after Sal. Rosa
22 A Landscape Old Sebright
23 A curious Landskip Lanckrinck
24 A Large Flowerpiece Verbruggen
25 Saint Sebastian, big as the Life Vandyke
26 A Landschape, & Figures Bott
27 A Compartment of Fruit with the marriage of St. Catharine Quillen
28 Ditto by Old Vanzoon
29 A Landskip and Figs Hondius
30 Still Life Gisbrect
31 Indian Fruit, and Still Life Van Zoon
32 A Lady, half Length Sr. P. Lely Streeter
33 A Bunch of Grapes A. Brower
34 A Landskip, & Figs. Breembergh
35 The Samaritan Woman Ron Savery
36 A Curious Landskip, & Figs. Stenwick
37 St. Peter in prison, Capital Van Zoon
38 Flowers
39 A Man's Head, 3 qrs. Sr. P. Lely
40 A Compartment of Flowers Vanzoon
41 Fruit and Flowers Ditto
42 Eight Curious pieces in the frame Val. Breughel
43 A Limning
44 A Small Conversation Brower
45 The King's arms, in distemper; for a pattern Streeter
46 Venus and Adonis Vandyke
47 Hercules and Dejaneira, big as Life Genaro
48 A Large Landskip
49 An Ecce Homo, after Titian Old Remé
50 Isaac and Rebecca Streeter
51 Two pieces of Fruit Ditto
52 St. Francis F. Mola
53 Fruit Vanzoon
54 Flowers Ditto
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Artist</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Abraham sacrificing Isaac</td>
<td>Old Streeter</td>
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<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Flowers in Compartment--Van Thelen-- and a Holy Family</td>
<td>Quillen</td>
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<td>57</td>
<td>A Landschape</td>
<td>Hondius</td>
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<td>58</td>
<td>The Nativity, large as Life</td>
<td>Old Sergeant Streeter</td>
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<td>59</td>
<td>A Large Flower piece</td>
<td>Van Zoon</td>
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<td>60</td>
<td>Jacob's Vision, big as Life</td>
<td>Old Sergt Streeter</td>
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<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Indian Plants</td>
<td>Van Zoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>A Landskip &amp; Figs.</td>
<td>Old Sebright</td>
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<td>63</td>
<td>Flowers, large</td>
<td>VanZoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>Venus and Cupid</td>
<td>Italian</td>
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<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>Boys and Flowers</td>
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<td>66</td>
<td>Inside of a Church</td>
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<td>67</td>
<td>A round piece of Flowers</td>
<td>Van Zoon</td>
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<td>68</td>
<td>A Landschape</td>
<td>Van Zoon</td>
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<td>69</td>
<td>A dead Bittern</td>
<td>Fr. Hals</td>
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<td>70</td>
<td>A Woman with a Jug</td>
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<td>71</td>
<td>A Compartment of Flowers</td>
<td>Van Zoon</td>
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<td>72</td>
<td>A Beer Baiting</td>
<td>Hondius</td>
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<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>Cherries and Currants</td>
<td>Van Zoon</td>
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<td>74</td>
<td>A Landskip, Figs. and Cattle</td>
<td>Streeter</td>
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<td>75</td>
<td>Grapes</td>
<td>VanZoon</td>
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<td>76</td>
<td>A large Landskip, with Figs.</td>
<td>Old Sebright</td>
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<td>77</td>
<td>A Sea-port</td>
<td>Percellus</td>
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<td>78</td>
<td>View of Windsor Castle</td>
<td>Wyke</td>
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<td>79</td>
<td>Another View</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
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<td>80</td>
<td>A Long Slip of Fruit</td>
<td>Streeter</td>
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<td>81</td>
<td>Flowers, large</td>
<td>Van Zoon</td>
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<td>82</td>
<td>A Man's Head, 3 qrs.</td>
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<td>83</td>
<td>St. Mary Magdalen</td>
<td>Old Streeter</td>
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<td>84</td>
<td>Still Life</td>
<td>VanZoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>Fruit</td>
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<td>88</td>
<td>Fish</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
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<td>Grapes and Still Life</td>
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<td>90</td>
<td>The Last Judgment, manner of</td>
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<td>A Woman's Head</td>
<td>M. Ang. Carravagio</td>
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<td>Old Streeter</td>
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<td>93</td>
<td>A Lobster, and Still Life</td>
<td>VanZoon</td>
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<td>94</td>
<td>A Battle on a bridge</td>
<td>Titian</td>
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<td>95</td>
<td>Fruit</td>
<td>Italian</td>
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<td>96</td>
<td>A Landscape with Building &amp; Fowls</td>
<td>Sachtleven</td>
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<td>97</td>
<td>Ditto--with Fruit &amp; Fowls</td>
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<td>Fruit</td>
<td>Old Van Zoon</td>
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<td>Building and Figures</td>
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<td>Indian Plants, large</td>
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<td>101</td>
<td>The Holy Family</td>
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<td>102</td>
<td>A History, manner of</td>
<td>P. Veronese</td>
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<td>Masters' Names</td>
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<td>Paolo Veronese</td>
<td>The Blessed Virgin, The Child Jesus, Joseph and St. Catherine, as big as the life</td>
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<td>The Judgment of Solomon upon the Child</td>
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<td>The Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, with the Twelve Apostles, in an Oval</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Death of Our Saviour, with Angels and other figures</td>
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The Sale of Sir Peter Lely's Collection of Paintings April 18, 1682²

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Artist</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paolo Veronese</td>
<td>St. Jerome, a whole figure, with a Landscape</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Blessed Virgin, Our Saviour, Joseph, etc.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A Picture after the life, with both Hands</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Four Evangelists and a Duke of Venice</td>
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<tr>
<td>Titian</td>
<td>Venus and Adonis, as big as the life, in the manner of a Schieze</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tantalus, a whole figure</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paris Bourdon</td>
<td>Venus and Cupid; whole figures in a Landscape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pietro Cortona</td>
<td>A St. Stephen</td>
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<td></td>
<td>The Building of Noah's Ark</td>
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<td>The Entry into it</td>
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<td>The Deluge</td>
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<td></td>
<td>The going out of it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacomo Bassano</td>
<td>A Fortune-teller and other figures</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A Head of a Piper</td>
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<tr>
<td>Giorgione del Castel Franco</td>
<td>Venus and Adonis, with many figures at a distance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Another Head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrea Schiavone</td>
<td>Our Saviour before Pilate, big as the life, with other figures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palma Vecchio</td>
<td>A St. Jerome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacomo Palma</td>
<td>A Satyr with a naked Nymph, big as the life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Venus, Vulcan, and Cupid, big as the life, on a Bed</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tintoretto</td>
<td>A Picture after the life, with both Hands</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Another after the life, with a Book</td>
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<tr>
<td>Carlo Venetiano</td>
<td>The Blessed Virgin and Twelve Apostles in a Church</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A Youth taking a Thorn from his Foot; done from the Antique</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pordenone</td>
<td>A Picture after the life, with both Hands</td>
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<td>Carotfelli</td>
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<td>[Caroselli]?</td>
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<td>Guido Rheni</td>
<td>St. Peter's Head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guercino del Cento</td>
<td>Paul Bril's Picture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Barbieri]</td>
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THE PERSPECTIVE LANDSCAPE SCENE
IN THE ENGLISH THEATRE.
1660-1682

DISSERTATION
Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By
ALLAN STUART JACKSON, B.A., M.A.

****

The Ohio State University
1962

Approved by

[Signature]
Adviser
Department of Speech
covered Wren theatre drawings found at Oxford in 1913 by Hamilton Bell; and, the discovery by W. G. Keith in 1914 of Inigo Jones' and John Webb's drawings at Chatsworth in the Duke of Devonshire's collection. The revelation of these designs gave a new impetus to scholars working in seventeenth-century studies.

In the 1913 Architectural Record Hamilton Bell examined designs attributed to Inigo Jones in the Worcester College Library, Oxford. The one of primary interest was the elevation and plan for a Palladian theatre in a square building. Bell gave measurements he took from the plan and compared it with the Teatro Olimpico, and the Elizabethan theatre. He then tried to identify the plan with the Inigo Jones Masquing House, Whitehall, or an Elizabethan public theatre. (This plan has since been identified with the Cockpit at court.)

In the same volume Bell sketched what was then known about the Duke's Theatre, Dorset Garden, and called attention to the Ogilvy and Morgen, the Morden and Lea Maps of London and the Empress of Morocco plates as sources. He then examined four plans for theatres in Christopher Wren's designs at the Library of All Souls College, Oxford. The plan numbered "80" he speculated was an academic theatre such as the "Sheldonian" at Oxford. Plates "81" and "82" are described. Finally, the section on "81" is identified as a sketch for the Drury Lane Theatre of 1674. In this same article he published the old river view of the Dorset Garden Theatre and the frontispiece
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Artist/Artist</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ribera Spagnoletto</td>
<td>A Prometheus, big as the life A Head of a Philosopher</td>
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<tr>
<td>Drost</td>
<td>A Head, with one Hand</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lovis Penthiel</td>
<td>A Head</td>
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<tr>
<td>Moran</td>
<td>The Resurrection</td>
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<tr>
<td>Feti</td>
<td>The History of Tobit</td>
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<tr>
<td>Michael del Campidoglio</td>
<td>A Picture with Grapes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>The Triumphal Arch of Constantine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hans Beaucar</td>
<td>Fruits and Herbs with many Figures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claude Lorraine</td>
<td>A Morning Piece with Figures A Mid-day with Figures The Sun setting, a Temple, Shepherds, etc. A Landscape. The History of Erno and Ermine A Grotto with Figures, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bambots</td>
<td>A Grotto and Hunters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Bamboccio or Peter Van Laer]</td>
<td>An Oval with Women An Oval, a man on Horseback</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Vroom</td>
<td>A Landscape</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bott [Both?]</td>
<td>The Sun setting, a Landscape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rubens</td>
<td>A Landscape The Last Judgment Mercury carrying Psyche to the Gods The History of Hero and Leander Rubens's wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Everdingen</td>
<td>Rocks and a Cascade A Landscape</td>
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<tr>
<td>Savery</td>
<td>A Landscape, the Temptation of St. Anthony</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wouters</td>
<td>A Landscape with Figures A Landscape</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lancrinck [Lankrink]</td>
<td>A Landscape with Rocks</td>
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<tr>
<td>Labrador</td>
<td>A Piece of Fruit</td>
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<tr>
<td>Flechier [Flesshier]</td>
<td>A Piece of Fruit</td>
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<tr>
<td>Artist</td>
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<tr>
<td>Poelemburg</td>
<td>A Landscape with Figures</td>
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<tr>
<td>De Heem</td>
<td>A Piece of Fruit</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lucas Lucasse</td>
<td>A Piece of Fruit</td>
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<tr>
<td>Roostrat ?</td>
<td>A Vanity</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sarcleeven [Saftleven ?]</td>
<td>Several Peasants</td>
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<tr>
<td>Steewick [Stenwijck ?]</td>
<td>A Prison with Figures</td>
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<tr>
<td>Elsheimer</td>
<td>A curious Piece, History of Philemon and Baucis</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sotte Clef [Zotte Cleef ?]</td>
<td>A Bacchanal, The Marriage of Cana</td>
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<tr>
<td>Swanevelt</td>
<td>A Landscape</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wouberman</td>
<td>A Stable with Horses</td>
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<td></td>
<td>A Landscape and Horses</td>
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<tr>
<td>Old Brueghel</td>
<td>Four Landscapes in a round hall</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tho. Wyck</td>
<td>Small Figures</td>
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<tr>
<td>Brouwer</td>
<td>A man singing</td>
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<tr>
<td>Van Aelst</td>
<td>A Piece of Flowers</td>
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<td>A Piece of Flowers</td>
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<tr>
<td>De Luste</td>
<td>A Piece of Flowers</td>
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<tr>
<td>Willebourts</td>
<td>The Blessed Virgin, Jesus, and Joseph</td>
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<td>Hanneman</td>
<td>A Lutanist</td>
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<td>La Ris</td>
<td>The Golden Age</td>
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<tr>
<td>Francis Hals</td>
<td>A Youth's Head</td>
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<td>La Silliere</td>
<td>Dead Fowl</td>
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<tr>
<td>Scorel (?) Van Leyden</td>
<td>The Judgment of Solomon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Van Goor [Van Goyen ?]</td>
<td>A Landscape</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Pourbus  
An Emblematic Piece

Martin de Vos  
A Satyr and a Nymph

Verscheur  
Dido and Eneas

Mabuse  
Hercules and Deianira

Dow  
The Blessed Virgin and Our Saviour

His own Picture

His Wife

A Duke of Holstein

A Man with his Dog

A Jeweller

A Man with Gold Chain and his Dog

A Woman

His own Picture in an Oval

A Crucifix with Angels

The Family of Endymion Porter

Another Family of Seven Figures

The Earl of Strafford and Two Sisters

Lady Thimbleby and Sister with a Cupid

Mrs. Kirk, a whole length

Duchess of Richmond, a whole length

The Countess of Middlesex, a whole length

The Countess of Carlisle and a Child

The Countess of Sunderland

Tho. Killegrew with a Mastiff

Mr. Mallory

Sir Walter Pye

The Lady Pye

Mr. Taverner

The Countess of Carnarvon

The Countess of Newport

Sir Arthur Hopkins in an Oval

Lady Hopton

Lady Tufton

Countess of Newport

King Charles the First

Marquis of Huntley

Blessed Virgin and Our Saviour

A Scieze of the Procession of the Knights of the Garter

Thirty-seven Pictures in Grisaile, done by Van Dyck after the life, of the most eminent men in his time, from which the plates were graven.

An Apollo, an entire figure, antique

Francesco Fiamingo  
A Cupid as big as the life, in white marble

Cavalier Bernini  
The Head of Busto of Mr. Baker
APPENDIX D

A DESCRIPTION OF SHADWELL'S PSYCHE (DL., 1674)
from Montague Summers' The Restoration Theatre

The first scene "is a very deep Walk in the midst of a mighty Wood, through which, is seen a Prospect of a very pleasant Country." The Second Act opens upon a most elaborate spectacle: "The Scene is the Temple of Apollo Delphicus, with Columns of the Dorick Order, inrich'd with Gold, in the middle a stately Cupolo, on the top of it the Figure of the Sun; some distance before it an Altar lin'd with Brass; under it a large Image of Apollo, before which stands the Tripod." This scene changes "to a Rocky Desert full of dreadful Caves, Cliffs, and Precipices, with a high Rock looking down into the Sea." One of the chief scenic effects was reserved for Act III, the Palace of Cupid "Compos'd of wreath'd Columns of the Corinthian Order; the Wreathing is adorn'd with Roses, and the Columns have several little Cupids flying about 'em, and a single Cupid standing upon every Capital. At a good distance are seen Three Arches, which divide the first Court from the other part of the Building: The middle Arch is noble and high, beautified with Cupids and Festoons, and supported with Columns of the foresaid Order. Through these Arches is seen another Court, that leads to the Main Building, which is at a mighty distance. All the Cupids, Capitals and Inrichments of the whole Palace are of Gold. Here the Cyclopes are at work at a Forge, forging great Vases of Silver. The Musick strikes up, they dance, hammering the Vases upon Anvils."

A little later, in Act IV, when at the instigation of her two sisters Psyche is imprudent enough to ask her lover his name, and he declares himself to be the God of Love, the punishment of her untoward curiosity swiftly follows his disappearance. "The Garden and Palace vanish, and Psyche is left alone in a vast Desert, upon the brink of a River in Marsh, full of Willows, Flags, Bullrushes, and Water-flowers; beyond which, is seen a great open Desert." Agalura and Cidippe who have arrived at the place mock her despair

1Pp. 230-231.
and when with bitter taunts they have left her, "She offers to throw her self into the River. The God of the River arises upon a seat of Bullrushes and Reeds, leaning upon an Urn. The Naiades round him sing." In his analysis of Psyche Professor Dent well observes: "One of the most effective moments is the appearance of the river-god. Molière shows us the river-god reclining on his urn throughout the scene, and his remonstrance to Psyche is spoken. Shadwell causes him to rise from the river just at the moment when she is about to throw herself in, and heightens the effect enormously by making him sing, with the nymphs to echo his words. The music gives a much greater impressiveness to his entry, and adds a touch of mystery and solemnity to his prediction of her immortality."

In due course the angry Venus dispatches Psyche to Hades in order to procure from Proserpine the mysterious box of beauty. Furies rise, and then descend with Psyche. Act V opens with the mythological concept of the fabled underworld. "The Scene represents Hell, consisting of many burning Ruines of Buildings on each side: In the foremost Pieces are the Figures of Prometheus and Sisyphus, Ixion and Tantalus. Beyond those are a great number of Furies and Devils, tormenting the damned. In the middle arises the Throne of Pluto, consisting of Pillars of Fire; with him Proserpina; at their feet sit Minos, Aeacus, and Rhadamanthus. With the Throne of Pluto arise a great number of Devils and Furies, coming up at every rising about the House. Through the Pillars of Pluto's Throne, at a great distance is seen the Gate of Hell, through which a Lake of Fire is seen; and at a huge distance, on the farther side of that Lake, are vast Crowds of the Dead, waiting for Charon's Boat." After a return "to the Marish which was in the former Act," we have a grand finale. "The SCENE changes to a Heav'n. In the highest part is the Palace of Jupiter; the Columns and all the Ornaments of it of Gold. The lower part is all fill'd with Angels and Cupids, with a round open Temple in the midst of it. This Temple is just before the Sun, whose Beams break fiercely through it in divers places: Below the Heav'ns, several Semi-circular Clouds, of the breadth of the whole House, descend. In these Clouds sit the Musicians, richly Habited. On the front-Cloud sits Apollo alone. While the Musicians are descending they play a Symphony till Apollo begins, and sings." (The width of the Dorset Garden stage was about thirty feet, so these semi-circular clouds were of no mean dimensions.) A most
elaborate concerted piece with a chorus and various symphonies of pipes, hautboys, and recorders follows. "Then Jupiter descends in a Machine, with Cupid on one side, and Psyche on the other. Then a Dance of six Elizian Princes, gloriously habited." After a song by Mars and a lively catch by Bacchus with appropriate music and refrains, there is a general chorus whilst the dancers mingle with the singers. "Six Attendants to the Elizian Princes bring in Portico's of Arbours, adorn'd with Festoons and Garlands, through which the Princes and they dance; the Attendants still placing them in several Figures." Jupiter speaks six lines of rhyming platitudes and the opera ends.
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Kroon, Jolm. The Court Theaters of Drottningholm and Gripsholm. Maland: 1933. Figure 60.


Laver, James. Drama Its Costume and Décor. London: Studio Publications, 1951. Figure 54.

Lawrence, W. J. The Elizabethan Playhouse and Other Studies, Second Series, Stratford-Upon-Avon, 1913. Figure 1.


Ogden, Henry V. S. and Margaret S. Ogden. English Taste in Landscapes in the Seventeenth Century. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1955. Figure 44.

Perrin, Pierre. Ariane. London, 1674. Figure 19.


... The Great Centuries of Painting, The Eighteenth Century. Geneva: 1952. Figure 33.

Smith, William C. *A Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by John Walsh.* Oxford University Press, 1948. Figure 29.

Zucker, Paul. *Die Theater Dekoration Des Barock.* Berlin: 1925. Figure 53.

The Ohio State University Theatre Collection Print File, F.S.E. 12.5.3. Figure 56.

The Ohio State University Theatre Collection. Microfilm No. 1567. Figure 59.

B. Books and Periodicals


for Ariane. All of these pictures are available in Nicoll's Development of the Theatre.

In 1914 the scene designs for Davenant's Siege of Rhodes were discovered by W. G. Keith, who described the scenery for that production as the first movable scenery on the English public stage. However, there are several stage directions from pre-Commonwealth days which seem to indicate movable scenery in a public theatre. Examples of these references from Lawrence are: (1) Nabbes' masque of Microcosmus (Salisbury Court, 1637); (2) The Duke of Newcastle's The Country Captain (Blackfriars, c. April-May, 1640); (3) William Habbington's The Queen of Arragon (At Court, April 9, 1640; and afterwards at Blackfriars).

John Aubrey in his Brief Lives, published about 1680, also states that there was scenery, of a type that could be changed, used in Sir John Suckling's tragi-comedy Aglaura which was produced at Blackfriars for Christmas of 1637. The Court Masques, such as Florimène (Hall Theatre, Court, 1635) and Salmacida Spolia (Masquing House, Court, 1640), definitely used scenery as is shown in the ground plans. However, these private shows were not available to the general theatre going public.

W. G. Keith reproduced the Webb scenes for The Siege of Rhodes, Part I, as it was done at Rutland House. Lawrence said

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Odell, George C. D. Shakespeare from Betterton to Irving. New York: Scribners' Sons, 1920.


Rosenfeld, Sybil, (ed.). *Theatre Notebook*. Vols. 1-. London: 1946-.


Smith, William C. *A Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by John Walsh During the Years 1695 to 1720*. London: Oxford University Press, 1948.


I, Allan Stuart Jackson, was born in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, April 24, 1934. I received my secondary-school education in the public schools of Grandview Heights, Ohio, and my undergraduate training at the University of Colorado, which granted me the Bachelor of Arts degree in 1956. From The Ohio State University I received the Master of Arts degree in 1959. While in residence there, I was a graduate assistant to Professor Roy H. Bowen of the Speech Department. I continued in this capacity for three years while completing the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy degree.
of the scenes, before Keith's discovery, "Scenery of an unobtrusive kind had been provided by John Webbe . . . "This seems to be rather an understatement in light of the designs which are quite pictorial and eye-catching.

A new advance in scholarly use of Restoration materials came when Helen McAfee brought out her study, *Pepys on the Restoration Stage* in 1916, which tried to index all theatrical information from the Diary. Some of the more oblique references were overlooked and some notes have proved erroneous, but the book has been a great help to later researchers.

In 1917 Joseph Quincy Adams correlated sources on the early English theatres in his study, *Shakespearean Playhouses*. In this book, the theatres standing at the Restoration but dating from earlier times were examined and their tangled histories were for the most part straightened out.

In 1920 the question of the interpretation of the Wren drawings reproduced by Bell plus the use of internal evidence from the plays of the Restoration led to a spirited set of articles in *The Modern Language Review*. The first was by Allardyce Nicoll, the second by W. J. Lawrence, and a third in 1921 by Montague Summers. All of these had as their subject the use and number of proscenium doors and the use and placing of the main drape on the Restoration Stage. Published in the 1920 *Anglia Zeitschrift Für Englische Philologie* was an article which became the basis for the chapter on Restoration staging in *A History of English Drama* by Nicoll. A summation of all the
sources on staging in the Restoration theatre was published by G. C. D. Odell in Volume I of *Shakespeare from Betterton to Irving* (1920). In this work Odell again described the Siege of Rhodes as W. J. Lawrence had in 1913, and as J. W. Tupper had done in his edition of *The Siege of Rhodes* in 1909. He also brought together the scattered reports of foreign visitors to the English theatre. Odell was the first person since Lowe in 1891 to try to reconstruct the staging techniques of the Restoration theatres.

Lily B. Campbell published *Scenes and Machines on the English Stage During the Renaissance* in 1923, which for the first time integrated the Shakespearean scholarship of Odell, Chambers, Adams, and Reynolds with that of Keith, Bell, and Lawrence. She also brought the French and Italian treatises on perspective and studies of Vitruvius into play. The conclusion drawn by this book was that:

Scenery became an accepted part of dramatic production during the Renaissance from classical authority. This led to studies in fifteenth and sixteenth-century France and Italy which built up a body of theories as to the use, construction and placement of scenes and other spectacular devices of the theatre. These theories found their way to England before the Restoration and culminated . . . in the excessive and detailed formalism of the late seventeenth century in the so-called period of classicism.  

This was the first time the foreign theatrical materials had been examined in light of the effect of continental practice on the English theatre.

In 1925 in the *Architectural Review*, W. G. Keith followed up his earlier discoveries of the John Webb designs at Chatsworth. He discussed the plans and scenes for *Mustapha* and re-examined the information and iconography available on the Cockpit Theatre at Whitehall. These articles by Keith, plus the catalogue issued by the Walpole Society, *Designs by Inigo Jones for Masques and Plays at Court*, by Percy Simpson and C. F. Bell (1924), form the body of information known about Jones and Webb up to the present time.

Hazelton Spencer brought out his valuable volume, *Shakespeare Improved*, in 1927. This work studied the Restoration and eighteenth-century changes in Shakespearean scripts, and in doing so studied, in greater detail than any before, the companies and actors of the times. Basically, Lawrence, Odell, and the 1923 edition of Nicoll's volume on the Restoration Theatre supplied the sources for Spencer's discussion on staging and the theatres.

In 1928 two works of importance were published. The first was *The Foundation of English Opera* by Edward J. Dent, in which the basic information on Jones, Webb, and the Masques, and the Davenant productions was compiled from standard sources.

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To the above work Dent added some information on the French operatic productions of Louis XIV's period. Before this most of the material was not available in English, although W. J. Lawrence had done pioneering work as had L. B. Campbell. In the same year as Dent's study was published Leslie Hotson's The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage. This book for the first time brought out the importance of public records, works accounts, deeds, law suits, and a thorough study of old maps for research in the period. This book added a significant amount of new material to the body of sources which had been going through much re-hashing in the first quarter of the century, and is the only work dealing in detail with theatrical production during the Commonwealth (1640-60).

Following the methods used by Hotson, Eleanore Boswell published the Restoration Court Stage in 1932. This book clears up many mysteries having to do with theatrical production in the various theatres at Whitehall. In addition, it has much new information about construction of scenery, costs, costuming, production, and the dates of plays. The true importance of this material is even today largely overlooked.

In 1934 and 1935 Montague Summers, who had been best known for his editions of many of the Restoration dramatists, put together his vast storehouse of notes, gathered for the most part from internal evidence in the plays, in the two volumes The Restoration Theatre and The Playhouse of Pepys. The material in these two books is so strangely organized that in order to make
it useful it is necessary to reorganize the information. However, there is a great deal of important internal evidence from plays in these volumes which is not available in other books about this era.

Two works of importance to researchers came out before World War II. These were Nicoll's *Stuart Masks and the Renaissance Stage* and *The Restoration Theatre 1660-1700*. In the first of these there is much pictorial and factual evidence about the pre-Commonwealth stage practices which formed a foundation for late-seventeenth-century usages.

In relation to the latter book, it had become increasingly obvious that the greatest problem to scholars working in this period was the chronology of play productions. This was because so many of the sources of information about staging depend upon internal evidence from the plays. As early as the 1923 edition of *The Restoration Theatre*, Nicoll provided a list of plays and dates. However, the additions and corrections came so fast that the early list was soon out of date. In 1928 and 1940 (and later in 1952) this work was revised; today this book forms the basis for any study of the Restoration period. The best available lists of plays are the one in Nicoll's book (which is arranged by authors) and one published in *The Research Studies*, State College of Washington, Vol. XIII (1945), "A Tentative Calendar of Daily Theatrical Performance 1660-1700" by Emmett L. Avery (which is arranged by date). These two studies will be supplanted when the first volume of the *London Stage* is published.
Several periodical notes by William Van Lennep and John H. Wilson in *Theatre Notebook* and *Notes & Queries* have added recent information on Restoration play dates.

Since the War most of the new material discovered has been in the form of maps and documents, references in contemporary diaries, such as those of Sir Edward Browne, Narcissus Luttrel, and Hooke. There have been new studies on actors' and actress' lives such as J. H. Wilson's *All the King's Ladies*. The new discoveries are for the most part in *Notes & Queries*, *Theatre Notebook* and the various Shakespearean publications.

Several works relating to pre- or post-Restoration theatre have a bearing on the period. Examples of these are: Alfred Harbage's *Annals of English Drama* (1940); Gerald E. Bentley's *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, vols. 1 & 2 (1941) and vols. 3 & 4 (1956).

There are three major unpublished doctoral dissertations treating somewhat neglected areas in this period. The first is Elizabeth G. Scanlan's "Tennis Court Theatres and the Duke's Playhouse 1661-1671," (Columbia University, 1952). This examines continental tennis-courts and their use as theatres, then attempts to reconstruct the Duke's playhouse in Lincoln's Inn Fields. There are two later articles by her in *Theatre Notebook* covering the same subjects. The second study is "Staging Practices in the Restoration Theatres 1660-1682," (Yale University, 1955) by Edward A. Langhans. This reports his study of the Theatre Royal in Bridges Street, the King's Theatre in the
Vere Street Tennis Court, Drury Lane, and Dorset Garden, with more pictorial detail than in any previous works. The tentative ground plans for the theatres which Langhans offers are a major contribution. The third paper is titled "The Action Within the Scene on the Restoration Stage" by Lee Jackson Martin (Stanford University, 1956). This describes the importance and use of the scenic area of the Restoration stage platform as distinguished from the projecting forestage. The results seem to indicate that the scenic area was used as an acting area a good deal more than had been supposed before.

Most recently new contributions to theatre history by the studies of Sybil Rosenfeld, and Alfred Loewenberg's studies of provincial companies, fair companies and foreign actors in England have added a few facts. Finally, the best works available to the researcher at the present time are Nicoll's Restoration Stage, Southern's Changeable Scenery, and the Oxford Companion to the Theatre edited by Phyllis Hartnoll. These summarize the scholarly thinking about Restoration theatre up to the present time.

This brief introduction brings the state of Restoration scholarship down to the present in relation to the subject of staging and the physical properties of the theatres. No attempt has been made to mention the many volumes on the literary aspects of the plays, editions of plays, actors' lives, costuming, acting methods or histories of the companies. The studies in these areas are not within the scope of this paper.
C. The General Plan of This Paper

As can be seen from the above information much research has been done with the materials pertaining to the Restoration Theatre. However, even barring the discovery of new pictures, play scripts, or prompt books, there are other areas in which studies are needed in order to round out our knowledge of the time. The Vere Street and Bridges Street Theatres are largely unknown; actors' lives require a more systematic treatment; study of the relation between the printed edition and the performance of the play is needed to be done; production methods and the evolution of conventions necessitate a more systematic and chronological approach; and the relation between pre- and post-Restoration production requires clarification. Finally, the Continental practices in art and theatre and their relation to the English techniques needs to be studied. It is the purpose of this dissertation to examine one phase of this last problem. This is the look of the "perspective" or landscape which was painted on the flats and wings of the English stage from 1656 to 1682.

The general plan of this investigation is as follows: first, to give a basic description of the flat scenery and scene-shifting techniques by means of a general summary of the body of scholarly material already cited. The enigma and controversy concerning Restoration Staging has been handled in Langhan's thesis at Yale. The aesthetic and artistic practices

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6 Appendix B diagrams the various methods of scene change sequence the scholars have devised.
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of the painter in seventeenth-century Europe will be examined in so far as they apply to the theatre. In this part brief biographies of the known scene painters will be given. Also, the classes of scenes required for the productions will be assembled from play scripts and broken down into workable categories based on the system of the Ohio State University Theatre Collection (see Appendix B). Third, the scenes and scene painters of Europe who may have been represented on the English stage will be examined by means of illustrations; and, some speculation as to their impact on English painters will be made. Finally, general conclusions about the "look" of the perspective scenes used on the Restoration stage will be drawn.  

D. Glossary and Abbreviations

For the sake of convenience and readability, a certain number of abbreviations have been adopted here. The principal theatres will be noted as: Theatre Royal Vere Street (T.R. in V. st.); Theatre Royal in Bridges Street (T.R. in B. st.); Drury Lane (DL.); Duke's Theatre, Lincoln's Inn Fields (LIF.); The Royal Opera House, Dorset Garden (DG.).

Play titles will be followed when possible with the theatre and date of first performance in brackets. This production information is taken from the play lists mentioned before.

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7Chart I, page 22, indicates the chronology of the various buildings used as theatres during the Restoration Period.
Certain terms relating to the physical properties of the Restoration theatre may be vague to the general reader; as a consequence a diagram based on the reconstruction of Wren’s Drury Lane Theatre (1674) will be labeled with the terms used in this paper. Terms in brackets are modern words not used in the seventeenth century; those standing alone are Restoration words. Because of a lack of space three important terms are not on the diagram. These are defined here for the sake of clarity:

1. **Relieve scene**—This scene was a series of cut-out profiles, standing in a space behind the last shutter, and corresponding to the modern ground row. This series of cut-outs formed a more three-dimensional effect than flat painting. Trees, mountains, city walls and other scenes were done this way; they were backed by a sky cloth which might have more scene painted upon it, or could be merely blue sky and clouds.

2. **Flying Machine**—Any device for flying figures or scenic units in the air. This was usually a set of ropes or wires and pulleys. (For pictures of these devices see the *Encyclopedia Della Spectaculo*.)

3. **The Frontispiece (False Proscenium)**—This was an architectural frame painted on flats and stood just to the rear of the main curtain line. This device was an artificial convention of the theater used to show off the virtuosity of the scene painter in his ability to paint stone, cloth, and other decorative objects on flat surfaces in a way that they would look three-dimensional. It finished off the sides of the stage where the scenes joined the permanent architectural part of the proscenium arch. This device was not always used. An example of it is the first stage direction in Shadwell’s *The Tempest* (DG. 1674), "... The curtain rises, and discovers a new Frontispiece . . ."
Drury Lane, 1674, reconstructed by Richard Leacroft.
Chart 1

CHRONOLOGY OF THE LONDON THEATRES OF THE RESTORATION PERIOD

1660 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 cont.

The Red Bull----------------------(1605(B)..........(T)
Salisbury Court-------------------(1629)(B)............(F)
The Phoenix (Cockpit Drury Lane)-(1617)(B)............(C)?
Rutland House--------------------(1655)(A)....(C)
The Nursery (Hatton Garden)-----(1667)(O)...
The Nursery (Barbicon Street)----(1671)(B)...
The Great Hall, Whitehall--------(1604)(A)............(A)........................................
The Cockpit, Whitehall------------(1570)(B)............(C)
York House----------------------(c.1630)(B).............(A)...(T)
Gibbon's Tennis Court------------(1634)(B)...(O)....(C)
Lisle's Tennis Court-------------(1657)(B)...(O).............(C),(O)...(C)
The Theatre Royal Bridges Street-(1663)(B)... (B).................(F)
The Duke's Theatre Dorset Garden-(1671)(B)... (B).............
The King's Theatre Drury Lane----(1674)(B)...(B).....

Legend

(B) Built. (F) Burned.
(A) Altered to a theatre. (C) Closed as a theatre.
(T) Torn down. (O) Opened as a theatre.
CHAPTER I

SCENIC CONVENTIONS IN THE RESTORATION THEATRE

A. Background of Restoration Theatre

The Restoration Stage had aspects which were unique and distinct from the Caroline and eighteenth-century stage. These differences can be seen most clearly by a brief description of the stages of each of the three periods. The Elizabethan stage was a platform backed by a façade which had a door with a window above it on each side of the platform. In a central position of the façade was an inner stage, which was a room with the wall toward the audience removed. This area was hung with curtains against the three walls and across the opening. Above the inner stage, on a level with the balcony windows, was an upper stage. The whole effect was much like the facade of a house on a street with parts of the walls removed so that the interior was visible. The auditorium was usually circular in form, and surrounded by two or three tiers of galleries. In the so-called "public" theatres the center of the building was unroofed above a pit or yard where the "meanest" people stood. In the indoor or so-called "private" theatres the auditorium was more rectangular and had benches in the pit.
The eighteenth-century playhouse was more like today's movie theatre than the "Elizabethan." There was a stage with a medium-sized apron or fore stage. To the rear of this stage was a rather thick proscenium arch with one or two doors in it on each side. At the rear of the proscenium arch hung the main curtain and just behind it sometimes there was a false proscenium. (The false proscenium may have had a door in it.) Beyond the proscenium was the area where the wings stood in grooves, and at the very back stood the shutter or back scene. The front two-thirds of the stage was raked and trapped. Borders hung in the flies, one or more at each groove position. The auditorium was fan-shaped, and had two galleries above the pit. At the front of the apron was the orchestra pit.

The Restoration stage was a compromise between the Elizabethan façade and platform and the eighteenth-century scenic stages. The first playhouses used façade-and-platform stages similar to the Elizabethan. There is some evidence that these buildings were altered to the chambre à quatre portes form (Figure 1) used by the Italian comedians soon after the Restoration. This was a permanent set containing a "Serlian wing" with a door and window in it on each side of the stage, and behind this a house with doors and windows, or, perhaps, a curtained inner stage. (More research needs to be done on Salisbury Court, the King's Theatre Vere Street and The Phoenix (or Cockpit) in Drury Lane, which were the buildings which seem to have had stages of this type.)
The Restoration theatre (as exemplified by Lincoln's Inn Fields, Theatre Royal Bridges Street, Dorset Garden, and Drury Lane) was a building designed to use the Italian system of scenery. In this type a large apron or fore stage projected from a proscenium opening thick enough to have in it two or three doors with balconies above them on each side. This proscenium and fore stage, together, formed an area like a hall or street with doors on each side. At the rear of this proscenium was hung the green main curtain. Behind that was the scenic area (see Figure 2). The scene area was flanked by a series of screens (called wings, spaced three or four feet apart) parallel to the proscenium opening. These were supported by lower grooves, strips of wood on the stage floor) and upper grooves (racks hung in the flies above the top edge of the wings). The wings slid freely in the upper and lower grooves and could be pushed on or off stage or removed, turned around, and exchanged with ease. Southern says that his evidence shows there were always four sets of grooves in Restoration theatres. A "set" is an upper and lower groove rack on each side of the stage and in the same plane in relation to the proscenium opening.

To the rear of this scenic space was an area capable of utilizing four types of scenic units. The first and simplest of these was the shutter, which was merely two large flats sliding in a long set of grooves which ran across the width of the stage. These flats slid on from each side and automatically
clamped together in the center. This single surface would have a perspective scene painted on it. When it was used at the rear of the wings it was called the back-shutter.¹

The second scenic device at the rear of the stage in the area behind the back shutter was a number of ground rows, or scenes of relieve standing in front of a sky back-cloth which was at the deepest position possible on the stage. These relieves were profiled or cut on the top edge and painted to represent landscapes, trees, city walls and gates, castles, or water. The third device was the back cloth visible through the openings cut above or through the relieve flats. It sometimes had a landscape or scene painted on it as well.

The fourth type of unit used at the rear of the stage was three-dimensional. Scaffoldings could be set between the relieve flats so heights such as hill tops and castle walls could be represented. These were usually employed in siege and battle scenes. Other three-dimensional objects which would be used to the rear of the set did not necessarily come behind the back shutter. These would be defined better as "set props," and consisted of torture racks, platforms for executions, low

¹Edward A. Langhans, "Staging Practices in the Restoration Theatres 1660-1682," (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, Yale University, 1955) states that this device may have been used just behind each of the groove positions at Dorset Garden and could represent a deep scene, a mid-stage scene (in two positions) and a shallow scene; or, four different depths just as there were four sets of wings. However, at the other three theatres this was not done. It seems that when the shutter was slid on in the downstage position or when it was not cut out in any way there was a tendency to call it a "flat scene." (e.g., "a flat scene of a wood," in The Young King (DG., c. 1679). Further explanation of this problem is in Appendix B.
galleries for senate and council chamber scenes, thrones on levels, canopy thrones and beds, long tables for conference scenes, and other types of heavy furniture. The scenes which required heavy set pieces were almost always "discovered" by having a shutter drawn open to reveal the setting. The flat scene was a device to give the stage hands time to position set props without delaying the performance.

Studies of the practices of this period show that the main curtain was raised at the beginning of the performance and was not lowered until the entire play was over. The flats and wings were changed in full view of the audience, except for those used in scenes which were "discovered." Lighter furniture was moved on and off in full view of the audience by liveried servants. Usually it was the complex sets requiring heavy set props that were done as "discovery scenes."

The use of the relieve scene area and the discovery scene with heavy props seems to have died out soon after 1700. The latter was, however, again "in style" in the pantomimes of the nineteenth century. The scaffolds and cut flats of the relieve scenes again came into use on a much grander scale and in more forward positions in the nineteenth-century opera houses.

There were also upper scenic devices. These consisted of cloud borders which were cut in an arched curve and extended across the stage above each set of wings. There were sets of borders for sky, woods, palaces, and chambers. At the rear of the tunnel roof effect of these borders, above the back shutter,
there was an upper area which was used for several purposes. In the Hall Theatre at court the orchestra was normally in this area except when masques were presented which used the upper stage for a glory. At such a time the orchestra was moved to a side box in one of the galleries. The orchestra was probably in the upper area back stage in Drury Lane and Dorset Garden. In front of this upper area could be some small shutters painted like clouds. For special scenes of gods in glories, large descending machines and Torelli-like grottos or upper battlements, the cloud shutters could be opened to reveal cut-out or profiled relieve sets. Little is known about the use of this area, and it seems to have gone out of style by the early-eighteenth century.

B. Why Scenic Conventions Evolved

The fixed façade of the Elizabethan theatre allowed the playwright a great freedom of locale. He could shift the action of a play from the battlefields of France to the English Court in one or two lines. The audience accepted the theatre façade as representing whatever the playwright had a character say it was. The tradition of rapid changes of locale and swift flowing action was carried on by the Restoration playwright. The public demand for the fashionable scenery of the French and Italian stage, coupled with the traditional rapid pace of the English play, caused a need for a method of set changing capable of many swift shifts of scene. In the slower paced French and
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Italian plays and operas the whole scene changed, that is to say, the wings, shutter, and borders and machines. It seems that at Dorset Garden after 1671 the English stage may have evolved a shallow shutter placement. By means of this down-stage shutter, short chamber scenes (and any other situation where locale could be vague or was unimportant) could be staged, with a saving of much money, time and effort. Fewer wings and borders were required. The time saved by using the shallow set could be used to set up spectacular scenes in the rear areas (this method may not have been used until the time of the spectacular operas of the 1680's). This is not to say that woods, chambers, and gardens had to be shallow scenes. It all depended on the requirements of the particular play. When a series of chambers, ante-rooms, and domestic scenes came, they all might be done in the forward sets of shutter grooves. No doubt this is the reason that in many comedies in which this scene sequence is required the printed editions give no scene directions at all. The author allowed the players to decide the scenic requirements because they would have no effect on the drama; the players better knew the inventory of scenery available. At Dorset Garden when the scenes were set in the shallow grooves, only one set of wings was needed to change, and might be undisturbed. The first border, the only one in sight, might be left the same throughout all interior scenes. This allowed the English swift action and change of locale, curtailed the number of sets of wings and borders needed for
the permanent stock of the theatre, and gave the carpenters
time to arrange the more complicated sets to the rear. This
was necessary at Dorset Garden (after 1674) where spectacular
opera was the rule. The other theatres evidently did not
follow this practice between 1660 and 1682.

C. Stock Wings and Borders

Assuming that the theatres, which were always in
financial trouble, would economize in every way they could,
then they must have used stock sets of wings and borders whenever possible. Based on the kinds of scenes found in the stage
directions of plays (see Appendix A), a list of stock wings and
borders which might be found in each of the theatres would read
as follows:

1. A set of profiled rock and boscage wings.
2. A set of tree and landscape wings of a wild and
rough nature.
3. A set of tree wings representing an orderly
park with statues, urns, and fountains.
4. A set of profiled and cut out arbours for a
garden. (There may have been a special cut out
shutter with this set.)
5. A set of rough stone wings for castles, prisons,
and towers.
6. Several sets of architectural wings consisting
of columns and statues in niches, for palaces,
tombs, and temples.
7. Domestic interiors representing different
stations of society, such as a set of rustic
wings for farm and tavern, a set of middle
class domestic, and several upper class
domestic sets of a richer sort than the first
two.
8. A set of exteriors of houses and shops for
street scenes.
9. There may have been a set of palace exterior wings, although trees, parks, or rough stone would do.

10. There was a set of tent wings for pavilions and camp sets.

For the well-stocked scene room, then, there must have been at least between ten and fifteen sets of wings. Each set would have eight wings in it, as there were four for each side of the stage. (At Dorset Garden some of the interiors which were always used with shallow scenes might have had less total wings to a set, perhaps only two or four.) Even at lowest count this would mean that the theater which had been running a few years and had acquired a good permanent set of side wings probably had more than eighty wing flats in stock. There is some indication wing and shutter flats were faced and perspective painted on both sides. This would help keep down the total number.²

The borders could have been a much simpler proposition. They were harder to rig; and because it would be impossible to change them during the play only a few different ones could be hung at each groove position. A well-equipped theatre might be expected to have at least the following minimum number of sets of borders in stock (a set is four, one at each groove position).

1. A profiled sky and clouds for exteriors.
2. A rich interior for large halls and palaces.
3. Rustic stone arches for prisons.
4. A domestic interior of beams and plaster.
5. Perhaps a set of foliage borders for deep woods scenes.

²Ibid., pp. 204-206. Langhans notes the following direction from D'Urfey's The Injured Princess (DG., Mar., 1682) Act V scene iii, "Palace backward."
6. One border with an architectural entablature to hang just behind the main curtain.

There are two special views which should be mentioned. The number of times cloud wings would be required is not very large. When an elysium was painted by Fuller for Tyrannick Love in April and June of 1669, he may have made a set of wings to match as he charged £335 and it took him six weeks. The area of a shutter at the Theatre Royal Bridges Street was probably not more than 392 sq. ft. or 28 ft. wide by about 14 ft. high. This is an estimate based on the size of the proscenium opening at the later Drury Lane Theatre. They both covered the same plot of ground. Fuller was ill at the time he painted this scene and it is difficult to estimate his work capacity.

The second type of special scenic unit was the "front piece." In order to save time, money and effort, it is possible the first wing on each side and the first border were specially painted architectural units which formed a kind of false proscenium. These first pieces would remain constant from scene to scene and from play to play, only being re-painted every year or so. They would do for the first wings and borders of any interior, and would be an unobtrusive convention in exterior scenes. This would cut down by almost one-fourth the number of stock wing flats and borders required and would be a labor-saving and money-saving convention. The frame around the scene

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on the frontispiece of *Ariane* (DL., 1674) may well be this permanent set of two wings and a matching border (see Fig. 19).

It should be noted that the Hall Theatre at Whitehall did not have the downstage shutter groove positions (see Appendix B). This small theatre was probably very similar in plan to the public stage but differed in that there were no proscenium doors. Use of the continental practice of having the entire scene change shown by the ground plan for the Wall Theatre would be logical in light of the fact that the court tended to ape the continental fashions and had more money to spend on special details than did the public stage.

D. Stock Scenes Painted on Shutters

Appendix A of this paper presents a method of categorizing scene descriptions from seventeenth-century editions of the plays, plus a list of these printed requirements taken from the plays and arranged by type, date, theatre, and play. This list includes only plays which were first performed between 1661 and 1682. From this list a general summary of the holdings of the scene docks at the four major theatres may be made. Some care must be exercised when using the list because it does have limitations. First, there were many revivals of pre-Restoration plays. These were performed with scenery, and many sets may have been painted especially for these plays. Second, there is no sure way of knowing when new or re-painted sets of wings and shutters were made to replace stock scenes which became dirty and worn or old-fashioned. Generally,
however, the indications are that during the twenty-one years
in question each theatre had a basic set of scenes useful for
nearly all settings in any show. These stock sets were imple­
mented by occasional additions of special scenes of an unusual
nature for which the scripts called.

Tastes did not change to any significant degree between
1661 and 1674, so the plays produced were all similar and their
scenic requirements the same. Also, the companies operated by
means of a repertory system which kept ten or more plays con­
stantly available. This led to the use of interchangeable or
"stock" scenery. To illustrate this point examine Appendix A.
It shows that stock exteriors at the Theatre Royal Bridges
Street soon after it opened, or by 1665 were:

1. A seashore dominated by a view of the ocean.
2. A field with a few trees and a distant city
   on a hill.
3. A garden with arbours, bowers, and fountains;
   (also, a cut arbour shutter).
4. A country landscape with a mountain.
5. A deep wood of trees.
6. A grotto or cave surrounded with trees and
   rocks. (This was cut so the cave would be
   practical. It was backed by any other
   landscape or rock.)
7. A landscape of fields and hills dominated in
   the foreground by a camp of tents.
8. A street of houses and shops (probably
   representing Covent Garden plaza).
9. The exterior of a magnificent palace, or temple.

The required interior scenes included:

10. A timber and plaster interior for taverns,
    coffee houses, kitchens, and rustic rooms.
11. An interior of heavy stone work and barred
    gates for castles, prisons, vaults, tombs,
    tower rooms, and churches.
12. The interior of an exotic or classical temple.
13-16. At least four different domestic interiors for bed chambers, anterooms, halls and other contemporary scenes set in London.
17-18. A small ornate royal chamber, and a large palace hall.
19. The interior of a pavilion or tent.

This was the basic stock set of shutters used, with different combinations of the wings listed in the last section. After the basic set of scenes was painted from time to time some special sets were painted for particular shows. These then became part of the standard equipment. Some of these special sets were:

20. A view of the Mulberry Garden (1668).
22. A view of a town, possibly with transparent sections used to simulate a fire. This was seen by Pepys in the Island Princess (1669).
23. A scene of the Albayzin, in the Alhambra.
24. A scene of the Viverambula, also in the Alhambra.

With the above set of twenty-five shutters and the before-mentioned wings and borders, all the plays presented at the Theatre Royal could have been performed. These sets were burned in the fire of January 25, 1672. The King's company had to commission an entirely new stock of scenes for the temporary theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields and later for their new theatre, Drury Lane.

Examination of the scenes for Drury Lane in Appendix A shows there was no significant change in the needs of the plays
from 1674 to 1682. These scenes are very similar to the first list as shown by the following list of exteriors:

1. A castle by the sea shore.
2. A palace garden.
3. The Mulberry Garden (which would also do for Spring Garden and Saint James Park).
4. A landscape of hills and a distant city.
5. A desert or wilderness.
6. A rocky mountain.
7. A deep wood or grove.
8. A grotto or cave.
9. Covent Garden plaza, and a street scene.
10. A camp on a battle field.
11. The exterior of a palace or temple showing the gates.

The interiors were:

12. A tavern.
13. The rough stone scene for prisons, vaults, etc.
15-16. A large and a small palace room.
17-20. At least four contemporary domestic interiors.
21. The interior of a pavilion or tent.

The Duke's Company began producing scenic productions at Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre two years before the King's Company. The King's Theatre in the Vere Street Tennis Court was not equipped with the Italian type of sliding flats, although it may have had some kind of permanent set similar to that at the Hotel de Bourgogne in Paris (see Fig. 1). From the beginning in 1661, the poets at Lincoln's Inn Fields relied on Davenant's new spectacular approach to attract audiences. However, the theatre was small and the scenes were almost exactly of the same nature as those at the new Theatre Royal, Bridges Street, two years later in 1663. Another list at this point would be tedious as it would be almost identical to those
already quoted. A few different sets used at the Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre which are of unusual enough nature to be of interest are described here: (1) Staypleton's play The Stepmother (c. 1662) has a scene of a garden by moonlight. (Paintings of landscapes by moonlight were common in the seventeenth century; this will be discussed in the third chapter.) (2) Bristol's Elvira (1662-65) has:

... a curious scene of a labarytory in perspective, with a fountain in it. Some stills and many shelves with pots of porcelane and glass, with pictures above them. The room paved with black and white marble, with a prospect through the pillars, at the end discovering a full moon, and by its light a perspective of orange trees. . . .

(3) Etheredge's She Would if She Could (1668) requires a scene of the plaza and arcade of the New Exchange with seemingly practical sidewalk stalls and shops set up in front of the perspective on the shutter. (4) So many different tent interiors are required for Mustapha (1665) that there may have been as many as four different pavilion or tent scenes available.

When the Duke's Company moved to their new, deeper stage at Dorset Garden Theatre they were fortunate in having all their old scenes as well as new ones which were made from French designs for Psyche. The King's Company had lost everything in the fire, and may have borrowed, from the Duke's Company, the scenes which were designed for the Duke's Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre. The King's Company took up temporary residence there from 1671 to 1674. In any case the stock scenes at Dorset
Garden no doubt made up of some of the old Lincoln's Inn Fields scenery, in addition to the new scenes painted for the new opera. The stock sets were, therefore, rather similar to the Drury Lane list already cited, as a perusal of Appendix A will show.

The unusual scenes used on the larger and deeper Dorset Garden stage were: (1) a rainbow and cloudy sky (1673); (2) an angry sea and sinking ship (a relieve scene) (1674); (3) Chatolin's French Tavern (1672); (4) Newgate Prison, exterior and interior (c. 1680); (5) a black scene with a practical chimney (1669); (6) an orange grove (1676); (7) Clarendon House (1678); (8) Pall Mall (1676); (9) and the glorious garden for Shadwell's Psyche (1675).

When the two companies united at Drury Lane in 1682 the stock comedies and dramas were produced at Drury Lane and the spectacular operatic shows at Dorset Garden. This meant that the scenery of the two companies was combined and no doubt the best of each was used. These sets may have been interchangeable provided the groove heights were the same at each of the buildings.

4 The stage direction for this scene in Psyche reads as follows:

A stately garden belonging to a magnificent palace . . . Great walk is bounded on either side with great statues of gold standing upon pedestals with small figures of gold sitting at their feet, and on (in) large vases of silver are orange, lemon, citron pomegranate; and behind murtle, jasemin and other trees. Beyond this a noble arbour through which is seen a less walk, all of cypress trees which leads to another arbour at a great distance.
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A small point of interest here is the indication of the use of shutters and wings with openings in them. There are descriptions applying to the scenes at all four scenic theatres which require arbours (which were arches of lath and foliage) painted on a flat and cut out in the center so actors could pass through them (see Fig. 29). They also appear to have used a ground-row-like garden wall with a practical gate in it. There may have been a shutter which was painted to represent a wood with the spaces between the trees cut open. Some of the wings may have been similar because a number of times actors were required to climb a tree, or be tied to a tree. In several plays a high wall either was scaled by soldiers, was peeped over by a scallywag, or had a body thrown over it into a river. These set props and ground rows are examined in some detail in Martin's "The Action Within the Scene on the Restoration Stage." Further research on such material is not required for the purposes of this study.
CHAPTER II
RESTORATION SCENE PAINTERS AND THEIR WORK

A. Contemporary Views of English Scenery

In order to begin a study of the "look" of the scenery for the period under consideration some examination of the contemporary comments on the subject is helpful. These accounts are taken from both English and foreign visitors to the theatres. There are not many of these contemporary statements and by this very fact it is apparent that these playgoers thought that scenery was an important adjunct to their theatrical experiences, but not one which needed exact description. This means they knew that most people had a very good idea what the scenes looked like; further explanation was superfluous. Also, there is much indication from the scripts of the plays themselves that the shutters of chambers, woods, landscapes, prisons, etc., all had a certain sameness about them. Only when an extra spectacular scene appeared in the Dorset Garden Company's operas (such as Psyche or The Tempest) did it deserve mention.

The first of the accounts comes from A Short Discourse of the English Stage, To His Excellency, the Lord Marquess of Newcastle, attached to Richard Flecknoe's Love's Kingdom (printed in 1664 and perhaps acted at LIF.):

Scenes and Machines . . . are no new Invention, our Masks and some of our Playes in former times
(though not so ordinary) having had as good, or rather better than any we have now.

Of this curious Art the Italians (this latter age) are the greatest masters, the French good proficients, and we in England only Schollars and Learners yet, having proceeded no further then to bare Painting . . . especially not knowing yet how to place our Lights, for the more advantage and illuminating of the Scenes.

This passage has been examined by many scholars. The general opinion of its significance has been that the English scenes by 1664 were mere flat surfaces with the wall of a room or a simple landscape in perspective painted upon it as if it were a picture hanging on a wall behind the actor. The comment about the lights has been taken to mean that the English had no lighting controls or foot lights at this time. The famous frontispiece of The Witts (1662) certainly disproves the latter because it shows footlights (it is not known what theatre this picture represents).

In his diary, covering the years from 1640 to 1706, John Evelyn occasionally mentions the theatre. The following

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are his statements referring to scenery:

(May 5, 1659) I went to visit my brother in London and next day to see a new opera after the Italian way in recitative music and scenes much inferior to the Italian composure and magnificence ... (The production he saw was one or both parts of The Siege of Rhodes.)

(Feb. 5, 1664) ... saw the Indian Queen acted, a tragedie so beautiful with rich scenes, as the like had never been seen here, or hapy (except rarely) elsewhere on a mercenary theater.

(Feb. 9, 1671) ... famous play call'd The Siege of Granada ... there were indeede very glorious scenes and perspectives, the worke of Mr. Streeter, who well understands it.

Notice that by 1664 Evelyn indicates that the English scenes had become the equal to what he remembered of the Italian opera scenes he saw on his trip to Venice in 1645.

Lawrence states the Venetian opera Evelyn saw was Ercole in Lidia. Evelyn said the scene changed thirteen times; however, there were only eight different sets in Ercole in Lidia: in Act I (1) Giardino di Rose, (2) Palazzo, (3) Campagne; in Act II (4) Piazza, (5) Giardino di cedri, and in Act III (6) Cortile Regio, (7) Cortile delle Prigioni, (8) Sala del Consiglio. It was Torelli's last production before going to Paris and probably was made up of sets used in his earlier productions. The fact that Evelyn who had seen the spectacular Venetian production was willing to say an English production was as fine may mean that the scenery early in the Restoration

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period had a definite similarity of operation to that of Giacomo Torelli.

Samuel Pepys, who kept his famous diary from 1659 to 1669, was a more active playgoer than Evelyn. However, Pepys says only the following about the scenery:

(July 2, 1661) The scene opened; which is indeed very fine and magnificent. [The Seige of Rhodes part II at Lile's Tennis Court LIF.]

(Aug. 15, 1661) To . . . The Witts, never acted yet with scenes . . . admirable scenes.

(Aug. 24, 1661) Hamlet Prince of Denmark, done with scenes very well.

(June 13, 1663) To the Royall Theater . . . saw The Faithful Sheepheardesse a most simple thing, and yet much thronged after, and often shown, but it is only for the scene's sake, which is very fine and worth seeing.

(Jan. 27, 1664) . . . The Indian Queen, which for show they say exceeds Henry the Eighth.

(Mar. 19, 1666) To the King's Playhouse, all in dirt, they being altering of the stage . . . The Machines are fine, and the paintings very pretty.

(Oct. 19, 1667) At the King's House . . . forced to go into one of the upper boxes . . . from this place the scenes do appear very fine indeed, and much better than in the pit.

(Dec. 19, 1668) A fine scene of the Senate, and of a fight that I ever saw in my life.

(Jan. 7, 1669) To the King's playhouse and saw there The Island Princesse . . . and a good scene of a town on fire.4

John Downes, the prompter at the Duke's Playhouse from 1662 to 1706, published his memories under the title of Roscius

4Helen McAfee, op. cit., pp. 312-316.
Anglicanus, or, an Historical Review of the Stage (London, 1708). Downes had a rather poor memory for exact dates, and sometimes names and other facts are incorrectly stated. However, his general knowledge of the important concepts of the theatre of his time seems firmly founded. Here is what he remembered about the scenery, writing in 1708:

(p. 20) . . . and in the spring 1662, Open'd his House with the said Plays, [Seige of Rhodes I & II and The Witts] having new scenes and Decorations, being the first that e're were introduced in England.

(p. 24) Henry VIII . . . new scenes; . . . new scenes.

(p. 26) Mustapha . . . with new scenes.

(p. 33) Macbeth . . . new scenes, Machines, as flyings for the Witches.

(p. 34) The Tempest . . . having all new in it; as Scenes, Machines; particularly one Scene Painted with Myriads of Ariel Spirits; and another flying away, with a table furnish'd out with fruits, Sweetmeats and all sorts of Viands; just when Duke Trinculo and his companions, were going to dinner;

(p. 35) Psyche . . . new Scenes, new Machines . . . This Opera was splendidly set out, especially in Scenes . . .

(p. 42) King Arthur . . . it was Excellently Adorn'd with Scenes and Machines.

(p. 42) The Prophetess . . . being set out with costly scenes . . .

(p. 42) The Fairy Queen: This in Ornaments was Superior to the other two; especially in . . . scenes . . .

There were several foreign visitors to London theatres during the Restoration who wrote about their experiences. The

first was Monsieur de Monconys who described the Theatre Royal Bridges Street which he saw on May 22, 1663. He said, "Les changements de theatre et les machines sont fort genieusement inventees et executees." He also went to the Duke's Theatre Lincoln's Inn Fields on June 5, 1663, and said of it, "Les changemens de scene me plurent beaucoup." 6

Another visitor from abroad to describe his theatrical experiences in England was Samuel de Sorbiere. He described the scenery at the Theatre Royal Bridges Street, which he visited in 1663, as "... la scene y est toute libre, avec beaucoup de changemens, et des perspectives." 7

In 1667 Samuel Chappuzeau traveled in England. At one point in his account of this visit the following statement occurs:

La troupe de Monsieur ... dans la place de Lincolne, qui reussit admirablement dans la machine, et qui ya maintenant du pair avec les Italiens ... 8

In 1669 Prince Cosimo III of Tuscany twice visited the Theatre Royal Bridges Street. His official diarist, Count Lorenzo Magalotti said, "The scenery is very light, capable of a great many changes, and embellished with beautiful landscapes." 9

The agreement of these accounts is fairly clear. The English system was light and manageable compared with the French.

6 Nicoll, op. cit., p. 34.
7 Ibid.
8 Ibid. Also see the following for a discussion of these comments by foreign visitors: W. J. Lawrence, op. cit., pp. 141-142; and Montague Summers, The Restoration Theatre (New York: Macmillian, 1934), pp. 30-32, 65, 133, and 188.
and Italian systems which were dominated by full changes of scene, and great cloud machines and glories. The most notable part of the perspectives in the English theatre was the "beautiful landscapes." The Italian scenes were dominated by architectural views. Eighteenth-century English landscapes have always been admired as a particularly British contribution to art. This skill seems to have been developing in the theatre somewhat earlier. The above brief statements are useful in creating a background network of clues which help later in discovering pertinent information in the art and styles which may have been used by Restoration scene painters. This will be developed further in Chapters III and IV.

B. Restoration Scene Painters

Information about the Restoration scene painters is scanty. Partly this is because that when the stock set of scenes had been painted there was no need to keep a painter of importance on the theatre's staff. This is supported by the fact that there are no known painters on the lists in the public records office of the personnel in the two companies. No doubt there was a carpenter or other person, perhaps one of the actors, who touched up the scenes, kept them in repair, and built occasional set props or units when needed. We do know something about seven artists who did scenes for the stage during this age. A thumbnail biography of each is given here. From this information some definite trends and conclusions about these men can be drawn.
The first is John Webb, "Inigo Jones' man" (as Evelyn styled him). John Webb (1611-72) was Inigo Jones' apprentice and had been trained by Jones to be his successor in the job of Surveyor to the King. Webb had carried out his apprenticeship during the years before the civil war. In 1642 Jones retired. He was then about seventy, and although he lived to 1652 his active years were over and when the Royal government fell Jones left London. Webb rendered good service to Charles I at various times during the revolution and was in the Royal party during Charles' imprisonment.

During the years just before the war Webb had done much of the detailed drawing for Jones' scenes in the court masques. Webb was quite aware of the continental theatre practices. As a result, when Davenant began his opera at Rutland house he turned to Webb to set up the scenes and machinery of the stage.

The story of Webb's disappointment after the Restoration is told by W. G. Keith. Webb expected to gain the position of Architect and Surveyor to the King, the job for which he had spent his life training. Charles, however, had so many favors to pay back to the men who had rendered great service to the Royalist causes during the Commonwealth that he had to by-pass Webb and give the position to Sir John Denham. Webb, then, retired to his country place in Somerset until 1663. At that time he was appointed Surveyor Assistant at Greenwich.

10Keith, loc. cit.
In 1665 the Great Hall in Whitehall Palace was turned into the principal court theatre. This hall was set up on the continental fashion with a proscenium and sliding wings and shutters without the English-type proscenium doors. For this stage Webb designed a series of scenes for Orrery's play Mustapha. These have been identified at Chatsworth along with an elevation and section of the Hall Theatre. (The ground plan for this theatre and Mustapha is Diagram 2 in Appendix B). The Mustapha designs and those for The Siege of Rhodes, give some idea of what English theatrical scenes were like up to 1665.

Keith's analysis and evaluation of Webb's contribution and influence is quoted here:

Webb manifestly considered his knowledge of the theatre to be an important part of his training as an architect, and emphasizes this fact in the brief supporting his petition to Charles II, when he states, "That he was brought up by his uncle Inigo Jones upon his late Majestie comand in the study of Architecture, as well that which relates to building as for masques, Tryumphs, and the like." And in petitioning the King for the second time for the surveyorship, a post he was fated never to fill—Wren being preferred to the office—he again refers to his work in the theatre in supporting his claim to consideration; making the highly interesting statement that "At Whitehall hee made yor Theater, and thereby discovered much of the Scenicall Art, wch to others then himselfe was before much unknowne; yet . . . he never received any reward." It may be perhaps, unwise to accept this claim to scenic "discovery" in too literal a sense, yet Webb would scarcely have put matters so strongly to such an amateur of the theatre as Charles II had he not good reason for his assertion.\(^\text{12}\)

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\(^{12}\)Keith, loc. cit.
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A drawing which was found at Worcester College Library, Oxford, represents a design for the Cockpit Theatre at Court and has been identified as the work of Webb. In relation to that identification, W. G. Keith explains how the drawings of Webb can be distinguished from those of Inigo Jones:

It may be said at the outset that the drawing itself forms a typical example of Webb's careful and workmanlike, if somewhat uninspired, draughtsmanship. Difficult as it admittedly is, in certain of their line architectural drawings, always to distinguish between the work of master and assistant, where any figure drawing is involved a mistake can hardly be made. The swift and bold manner in which Inigo Jones drew the figure is one of the most distinguishing features of his work. In many of his architectural drawings, too, it is evident that he did not like the restraint imposed by ruler and set-square, and following a preliminary settingout of the main lines of the drawing by a series of lines drawn with a point, he inked in the sheet largely in freehand. His characteristic use of the brush in rendering the shadows is a noticeable feature of his architectural drawings. Webb's manner finishing, on the other hand, was entirely different, and his drawings, which are mostly executed in the style of the design now being considered, bear evidence of his slower and ruler-guided pen. The method of rendering the shadows by a system of hatched lines, employed in this example, is typical of Webb's work, and though he sometimes adopted his master's method of heightening the drawing with an ink wash, he more usually drew with the pen, and did not readily use the brush. In the sculpture forming part of the decoration of the stage background in the present drawing, his lack of confidence in handling the figure, and he never attained a mastery of it, is manifest. 13

Figures 3 to 10 are Webb's designs. Notice that they are drawn as if they had been engraved. The shadows are cross-hatched lines penned with great care. In Figure 3, the rock

13 Ibid., p. 54.
John Webb's Frontpiece and Wings for *The Siege of Rhodes*, 1656.
John Webb's Design for The Siege of Rhodes, Act I, Scene i.
John Webb's Design for The Siege of Rhodes, Act II, Scene i.
John Webb's Design for *The Siege of Rhodes*, Act III, Scene i.
John Webb's Design for The Siege of Rhodes, Act IV, Scene i.
John Webb's Design for *The Siege of Rhodes*, Act V, Scene i.
wings are tall and out of proportion with nature. This is because their shape is governed by the inherent rectangle of a side wing flat. This is typical of this type of wing as is shown by similar ones in Figures 19 and 20. The painted proscenium (front piece), in Figure 3, is typical of this painter’s device for showing his ability. It is a combination of rough stone, cloth, carved shields, flags and arms which gave the painter a chance to do many types of textures in paint on a flat surface.

Notice that the four landscapes and the tent in Figures 4 to 8 are all drawn from a "bird's-eye-view," as if the artist were suspended in mid air. No tower, wall or hillside from which he could be drawing is indicated. (This "bird's-eye-view" is typical of Flemish-English topographical landscapes of the seventeenth century, as will be discussed in the next chapter.) Another device typical of the English artist was depiction of clashing armies, moving siege engines and ships (see Figures 4, 5, 7, and 8). As early as Serlio's Second Book of Architecture (1545), this practice was decried because "... they [the humans] show no movement."  

In Book One of Nicola Sabbattini's Pratica di Fabricar (1638) the practice was again called poor because "These take away from the impression of reality."

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The Figures 9 and 10 for Mustapha show no significant differences from the Siege of Rhodes designs. They are a little sketchier, and not squared as painter's elevations. But as before, the shadows are done with carefully cross-hatched lines. Note those which arch above the tent in Figure 10. The view, in these two scenes, is again from a bird's-eye-position.

Webb probably took the scenes in the landscapes for the Siege of Rhodes from contemporary book illustrations of Rhodes which were available to him in Daniel Meisner's Thesaurus Philo-Politicus (1625) and G. F. Camotti's Rodi Citta (published in Venice in 1571). The importance of the using of actual views is that it follows the contemporary trend for the topographical view. Briefly, the elements of this type of painting were these: The artist created "ideal" views of actual places. He took a sketch of the architectural elements of the scene he was to paint. Then he added a landscape which was almost purely imaginary and which set off and complimented the architecture much more than in the actual situation. This prospect was invariably seen from a high point or a bird's-eye-view. If exotic foreign elements were included they had no particular realism. That is, if the scene was supposed to be in Turkey the costumes of the figures could be any eastern dress from any age and country, as long as they were spectacular. This idealization should not be confused with any form of realism even though there might be actual scenic elements included in the work.

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16 Keith, op. cit., p. 51.
Figure 9

John Webb's Design for Mustapha, Scene 3.

Figure 10

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Before leaving Webb, a statement of his true contribution is necessary. It has been established that he was the first scene designer and stage machinist in England after the Restoration. He designed the scenes and the staging devices for the Siege of Rhodes at Rutland House in 1656. This means his designs for that play may have been used at the Cockpit in Drury Lane and in Davenant's new theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields. He also designed and supervised the construction of the King's new court stage in the Great Hall at Whitehall, in 1665. After this time there is no further evidence he did any theatrical work. He may have been too involved with the re-building of London after the fire of 1666. As for his scene designs, they certainly look like the drawings of a draftsman rather than an artist (see Fig. 6). Also, there is no evidence that Webb ever did any painting himself. His other work all points to the conclusion that he was, and thought of himself, as primarily an architect, not a painter. Therefore, when other artists came along who could design landscapes and paint scenes he was probably only too glad to turn that part of the theatrical work over to them. The man to whom it would be natural to turn was the painter most closely associated with the official artistic functions of the court, Robert Streater.

Robert Streater (1624-1679) and his son Robert ( ? -c. 1711) both held the post of Serjeant-Painter to the King from 1660 to 1709. The elder Streater was active until his death in 1679 and the younger to his retirement about 1709.
An interesting catalogue of the works in the Streater collection sold after the son's death in 1711 is reproduced in Appendix D. This list gives an indication of the taste of the two men in relation to the types of pictures they had painted themselves, and the types of paintings and the painters which they had collected. The older Streater is supposed to have studied abroad, perhaps under an artist of the Flemish School, as some of his paintings show this influence; it was the most popular form in England before the Restoration.

The biographical information about Streater, the elder, which is in the English translation of Roger de Piles' *Abrege de la Vie des Peintres* (1706) gives an idea of the nature of the talents necessary in the artist of the seventeenth century:

Being a Person of great industry, as well as Capacity, he arriv'd to a very eminent degree in divers Branches of his Art, especially in History, Architecture and Perspective, wherein he excel'd all of his time in England, and shew'd himself a great master by the Truth of his Outlines and the Learning of Fore-shortning his Figures, as may be seen by his Works. He was also excellent in Landskip, having a mighty Freedom of Pencilling with equal Invention and was moreover remarkable for Still-Life, insomuch that there are some Fruit of his Painting yet to be seen, which are of the highest Italian Gusto, both for Pencilling, Judgment and Composition. To do him but common Justice, he was the greatest, and most Universal Painter that ever England bred, which we owe, in some measure, to his Reading, he being reported a very good Historian, which no doubt contributed not a little to his Perfection in that way of Painting. He had also a very good Collection of Italian Books, Drawings and Prints after the best Masters, was always very vigilant in Drawing in the Academy and this even in his
latter days for the Encouragement of Youth, and, in a word, he may well be esteem'd the Compleatest Draftsman of his Time. 17

Both the diarists Evelyn and Pepys were most interested in the fine arts. Both admired the elder Streater as did many of the court. Pepys visited Streater's studio on Feb. 1, 1669, after having been to that of Dankers. He found Christopher Wren and several others admiring the pictures being painted for Oxford. Pepys thought the work for the Sheldonian Theatre "look as if they would be very fine, and the rest think better than Rubens in the Banqueting-house at Whitehall, but I do not fully think so." Pepys then tells the following about the painter himself: "... I am mightily pleased to have the fortune to see this man and his work, which is very famous; and he is a very civil little man, and lame, but lives very handsomely." In 1675 Evelyn visited Streater to encourage him to be operated on for the same affliction Pepys had had, "the stone." Charles thought enough of the artist to send to France for a surgeon, and Streater survived for four years to 1679.

Pepys called Streater a "History Painter." The significance of this will be discussed in the next section of this chapter. Some examination of Streater's painting technique and its background is found in M. H. Grant, The Old English Landscape Painters (1925). He examines the work as quoted here:

Streater was, in fact, a jack of all the pictorial trades—History, Divinity, Allegory,

Landscape, Still Life, Birds and Heraldry—and, if a complete master in none, was not despicable in any. In Landscape, at any rate, his talent in that barren age was not unworthy of the applause bestowed upon it, far as it fell below that of his contemporary Aggas. The large prospect numbered 818 at Hampton Court—View of Boscobel House [see Fig. 11], depicting the search for Prince Charles after the Battle of Worcester [is an example of his work].

Figure 11


[The derivation of this painting] is not far to seek. That wide, receding view, embracing half a county, the low horizon giving ample space for a great field of sky and cumulus cloud, the elaborate foreground, the careful delineation of the manor house of Boscobel and its companion "White Ladies," the enjoyment of simple perspective, as shown by receding and diagonal parallels of park roads, planted trees, marching squadron, mansion walls and enclosures, above all, in the purely realistic character of the countryside, all these appear to be inspired by none other than Rubens, and it is tempting to surmise, by the great Autumn or Chateau de Stein. [Plate I, 5] Rubens' masterpiece, painted in 1636, was not to appear in
England for a hundred and sixty-six years to come, and to have seen it it was necessary for Streater to have visited Genoa, where it hung with its noble companions in the palace of the Balbi. But this the rich and fashionable Court painter may well have done. His knowledge of Italian, a rare accomplishment then as now, is proved by the large number of books in that language sold at his son's death in 1711, and his love for the art of Italy by the disposal in the above-mentioned sale of many paintings, drawings, and prints by and after Italian Masters. At any rate, if Streater had not studied Rubens' Landscape work at first hand, he would assuredly have done so from the beautiful series of such subjects, thirty-seven in number, engraved after the Master by Scheltius a Bolswert (1586-1659).

The chief merit of this work, then like that of Rubens himself . . . lies in its early appreciation of simple, unarranged Nature. It is the first landscape ever painted in England devoid of all painter's conventions. . . . The subject itself was naturally a favourite theme with many contemporary painters, notably with Isaac Fuller (1606-1672), who "let himself go" in the five colossal canvases "which cost a great sum, but were little esteemed" (Walpole) and are still preserved by the noble family of Roden. As one of the most romantic events in English History, one then vivid in the memories of all men, . . . . But Streater, a true child of Landscape, has almost forgotten the human drama in its beautiful scenery. The hunted Charles himself in his oak tree is as totally invisible to the spectator of the picture as to the Puritan pursuers, and they, riding far below in orderly array, appear no more than as mannikins in the extensive scene. So far from being "figures in a landscape," this is scarcely a "landscape with figures"; in other words, it is a very remarkable innovation in an epoch when Nature was nothing and kings everything in the hegemony of human interests. In actual technique the work is as surprisingly successful as in motif. Both composition and chiaroscuro, though apparently unstudied, are too learned to be the result of a happy accident in Streater's choice of his point of observation . . . . In mere draughtsmanship his work is immaculate. Difficulties of perspective are even sought, and effectually dealt with. Streater, amongst his numerous accomplishments, was a trained
architect; but it would puzzle many of his craft to "project" as accurately as he the foreshortening of White Ladies House and its outbuildings. And Rubens himself would certainly have smiled indulgently at his follower's success with one of his specialities—trees seen from a height. The manipulation of the details has something of the tightness inseparable from a hand attempting to portray too much. Whilst the eye is the eye of Rubens, far-ranging, missing nothing of the happenings over thirty miles of countryside, there is little of that delightful generalisation, that rapid but not impatient summariness with the unessential which renders the Chateau de Stein not only one of the finest landscapes, but one of the finest works of Art in the world. Here everything is faithfully, too faithfully, made out; and though the general result is, as usual, rather a miracle of industry than of Art, it is impossible to help warming to old Streater for his loving and, in itself, infinitely skilful analysis of every bush and branch within his vision.

The surviving paintings by Streater give an idea of his style. From them an estimate may be drawn of the scenery he did for the Hall Theatre and the other theatres of the King's Company. Figure 12 shows the ceiling of the Sheldonian Theatre, Oxford. It was the rendering for this which Pepys had admired in 1669. The writer in the *Oxford History of English Art* states that this "Triumph of Truth and the Arts" is the most ambitious baroque composition which had been attempted by an Englishman. In it putti roll back a bronze-colored curtain which has been laid on golden cords. This was supposed to represent the awning hung over Roman theatres. The Sheldonian was designed by Wren in imitation of a Roman Theatre. The sky of clouds, in the circular form of a theatrical glory, is surrounded by figures which look up at the vision of Truth.

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According to the *Oxford History* the execution is reasonably competent but the whole is cold in color, and there is no real ability to convey unified movement. The steep perspective of the figures seated on the clouds is fairly well realized but the foreshortening of the elements of their bodies "is largely misunderstood." 19

Streater did a glory for *Callisto* in February of 1674 which may have looked a great deal like that shown in Figure 12. In place of Truth there was a Temple of Fame. Also in that same season he did "a view of Denmark House, and a relieve scene of Somerset house and the Thames." Many of Hollar's "history" drawings, or, topographical views, of the Thames show this same view (see Figures 21 and 22, and the discussion of the History painting in the next section).

Other scenes Streater painted for the Hall Theatre were: the views of "Buda Beleaguered," "Solyman's Pavilion," and "The Queen of Hungary's Tent," all of which Webb designed for Orrery's *Mustapha* in 1665 (see Figures 9 and 10); a garden with "boscage," wings and a backscene of a "mill with a practical door" in 1671; and in 1673 a back cloth of "rustic stone work," two "rock pieces," two pedistals "like stone," and later a conversion of the stone work backcloth to "a sky and sea." Along with the shutter of Denmark House and the glory in 1674, he did an

"arbour" and a "Temple of Fame, in the clouds," and covered the walls of the building, backstage, with "boscage."  

Figure 12


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20 The various scenes painted for the Hall Theatre are given in: Boswell, op. cit., pp. 235-272, et. passum.
Figure 13
Robert Streater.
Etching, Landscape and
Self Portrait.

Figure 14
Illustration for Juvenal
by Hollar after a Design
by Streater.

Figure 15
Illustration for
Juvenal by Hollar
after a Design by
Streater.

Figure 16
Illustration for
Juvenal by Hollar
after a Design by
Streater.
The stone work mentioned above may have looked like the first plate in Settle's *Empress of Morocco*, also done in 1673-74 (Fig. 23). The landscapes and the architectural scenes Streater did for the theatre may well have looked like the scenes he designed for an edition of Juvenal (Figs. 13 to 18) which were engraved by W. Hollar. Notice how much the ruins and classical architecture of Figures 14, 15, and 16 look like the scenes painted by the "Roman School" (Plate II). They are typical "ideal" Italian landscapes with classical ruins. It is interesting to see that these look very little like Torelli's work (an example of which is shown in Figure 53 for comparison). They seem to resemble more the work of Filippo Juvarra, who worked in Rome after 1700, and the illustrations in Rowe's *Shakespeare* in 1709. The combination of styles used by Streater may indicate that by following the Flemish school of landscape and the Roman school's subject matter (the painting of classical ruins and architecture) the English scenery and art in general was unlike the contemporary work of Vigarani in Paris which still retained much of the Torelli-like Venetian architectural feeling.

Another production we are certain was designed by Streater was the *Conquest of Granada* for the Hall Theatre, seen there by Evelyn February 9, 1671, who said of it: "There were indeed very glorious scenes and perspectives, the work of Mr. Streater who well understands it." The sets required were "The Alhambra" (interior of a throne room), "The Albayzin" (the fortress part of the palace), "a wood," "a camp," and finally
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"The vivarambla" (a court filled with spectators around a scaffolding hung with black). These scenes could have been drawn from contemporary topographical views of the Alhambra and therefore fit the category of "History Painting" which was typical of Streater's work. If these and other scenes by Streater were used in the Theatre Royal, Bridges Street, and brought to court for productions in the Hall Theatre, they were among the stock of scenes destroyed by the fire of Jan. 25, 1672.

The next painter who worked for the theatre is Isaac Fuller (1606-1672), who was noted by Grant as having "let himself go." He was a "History painter," etcher and scene painter. Based upon the six pictures attributed to him, his favorite subject was the life of Charles II. The first five, including the one of the Royal Oak at Boscobel House (similar to Fig. 11), are the property of the Earl of Roden and are described by George Vertue. The sixth picture is shown here (Fig. 17). It is the triumphant entry of Charles II into London on his birthday, May 29, 1660. It is a "History Painting" and a bird's-eye-topographical view, which shows that Fuller's work was similar to Streater's in these qualities.

A very interesting law suit between Fuller and the chief members of the King's Company at the Theatre Royal in Bridges Street is recorded by Hotson. Fuller had been

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21H. M. Grant, op. cit., p. 15.
23Hotson, op. cit., pp. 348-55.
commissioned to do the "Paradise" for Dryden's *Tyrannic Love* which was performed in June of 1669. The important information in this document is that "[Fuller] who sometimes did apply himselfe for painting of Scaenes . . . [agreed to] paint the said scene of such largenes as should fitt the stage . . . and that he should paint the same so well as other Scaenes belonging to the said Theatre were usually painted by other painters . . . ." By the tone of this, Fuller must have worked in the past for the Duke's Company rather than the King's Company since "by other painters" seems to indicate that others, probably Streater and Webb, did the work for the King's Company. The Company's counter suit claimed that Fuller's scene was finished too late and caused the company to lose money; further, the scene was no good anyway, and they meant to not pay him for it. Fuller countered by saying the company came to him when he was ill, that he finished the scene in six weeks, and that Mr. Streater himself stated that Fuller had a
quicker hand at painting than any other, "And if he Pformed the Said Worke in Six weekes time it was very fayre And did also acknowledge that the Said worke was excellently well done." Fuller asked £295:10s and the cost of the suit, and evidently won. The paradise mentioned in these suits was no doubt among the scenes destroyed in the fire of 1672. Whether Fuller ever worked for the parsimonious King's Company again is not known. After the scandalous way he was treated it is doubtful. He died in 1672 and little else is known about his work. It is possible that some of the scenery at the Duke's Theatre was his work.

The Dictionary of National Biography gives some additional information about his life and says among other things that he was an eccentric and very fond of the "Tavern"; there is evidence, from a portrait of him now at the Bodleian showing him in a curious head-dress of eastern character, that he was Jewish. The fact he did a series of Jewish costumes for a book about Palestine in 1650 seems to bear this out. He died July 17, 1672, in London. Virtue, in his notebooks, says Fuller decorated the walls of the Mitre Tavern with mythological scenes.

Buckeridge in The Art of Painting and the Lives of the Painters (1706) said that Fuller studied in France with a painter named Perrier. This would indicate he had a definite continental style. Evelyn's description of his "Last Judgment"

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in the Chapel of All Soul's College at Oxford indicates the painting was a typical baroque wall decoration full of naked figures. Evelyn also said it was the largest wall painting in England at that time and that it was not a true fresco because it was painted in "oil of Turpentine."

Probably one of the reasons that few of the paintings of the Streaters and Fuller have come down to us is because their output of easel paintings was fairly small. They spent most of their time doing the short-lived theatrical scenery.

The next scene painter we know about is Robert Aggas (c. 1619-f. 1682). He was the son or grandson of Ralph Aggas who drew the famous maps of London, Oxford, Cambridge, and other cities during the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. Ralph Aggas was from the village of Stoke-by-Nayland in Suffolk, an area that inspired the famous landscape artists Gainsborough and Constable. Certainly this kind of atmosphere must have had an influence on young Robert Aggas. The only known example of his work shows an influence of the "Flemish" type of twilight. The composition of it is in the "Roman School" (Fig. 18). Its atmosphere is more "Northern" or Flemish, as can be seen by comparing it with plates I and II illustrating the two schools. Because it is impossible to obtain a reproduction in color of the "Sunset" by Aggas, which is dated 1679, the description of the colors of the painting come from H. M. Grant:

Here is a scene drawn straight from the heart of the country, none the less because it is treated with that deference to the painter's art to which we owe some of the noblest land-
scapes ever wrought. Lofty trees, elegantly but strongly outlined, stand dusky and motionless on either side of a placid lakelet, over whose farthest steep and woody bank peeps a solitary hill. An old building protrudes dimly into the water from the right. The moment chosen is that fleeting instant of an autumn day when the sun in the very act of declension gilds with one last brief kiss all objects high enough to receive it. The summit of the distant hill takes fire a moment at that final caress; its very shape, by a device which was to be one of Richard Wiston's most treasured effects, is outlined and drawn not with its own dark but with the saffron of its illumination. The tops of the burning trees grow warm, both reflecting the glow and transmitting it through their ruddy depth. The end of the lake nearest the low sun, and shaded from it by the high bank, is already in the deep shadow of night, from which glimmers the pallid sail of a half-discerned boat.
other end, more open to the sky, still catches something of the shimmer above, and very skilful and tender is the gradation from drowsy water to that already asleep. Over all is a wonderful sunset sky, flecked, nearest the sun again, with cloudlets whose undersides flash back the ruddy salute of the declining orb, but cooling as it recedes from the source of light into that steely pallor, part blue, part gray, part green, which is the herald of oncoming night. Another moment, and the chilly breath will bedim the whole heavens when the fiery cirrus, the russet glow of the tree-tops, the flaming peak of the hill will blacken suddenly and all together.\(^5\)

The basic source on Robert Aggas is The Art of Painting and the Lives of the Painters (1706) by B. Buckeridge:

\[\text{[Aggas]} \text{ was a good English Landskip-Painter, both in Oyl and Distemper. He was also Skilful in Architecture, in which kind he painted many Scenes for the Play-House in Covent-Garden. There are not many of his Pictures extant among us; of those that are, the most considerable is a Piece of Landskip presented by him to the company of Painter-Stainers, (whereof he was a Member) and which now hangs in their Hall. He is reckon'd among the best of our English Landskip-Painters, and became eminent not so much by his Labour and Industry, as thro' the bent of his natural Genius. He died in London, on the year 1679, and about the Sixtieth of his Age.}\]

The continued miserliness of the King's Company led it into legal actions which gives more evidence that Aggas did theatrical scenery. There were two suits against the King's Company dated Aug. 8, 1677, and Dec. 2, 1682, for money due Robert Aggas and Samuel Towers.\(^7\) Crowne's Destruction of

\(^5\) Grant, op. cit., p. 12.
\(^7\) Nicoll, op. cit., p. 42.
Jerusalem (a show with spectacular scenes of a temple exterior and interior) may have used the scene for which the petition was made in 1677. It is difficult to say what the petition of 1682 was for because the companies had united by December and the debt might have been for either group; or, it might have dated from the far past because the affairs of the companies had been in a very confused state for some time. Other than this, little is known about Robert Aggas. Even the date of his death is now in question. Grant, quoting Buckeridge, puts it at 1679, the year of the painting of the sunset. This is shown to be incorrect by the 1682 petition.

Nothing whatever is known of Samuel Towers except that he worked with Robert Aggas and his name is attached to the two law suits listed above.

Another landscape and scene painter who may have been a student of Robert Aggas was Thomas Stevenson. The only reference to him is in the preface to the 1675 edition of Shadwell's Psyche (DG. Feb. 1675), in which Shadwell says: "The scenes were painted by the Ingenious artist Mr. Stevenson." There is little doubt that the set designs for these were inspired by the continental scenes which Betterton saw in France when he was there in 1671. At that time he saw Molière's Psyche.

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28 Grant, op. cit., p. 16.
29 The Background of Psyche is discussed by D. M. Walmsley, "Influence of Foreign Opera on English Operatic Plays of the Restoration Period," Anglia, vol. 52, (1928), pp. 37-50. There he says Shadwell states that he only borrowed "several things concerning the Decoration of the play" and the design of only two scenes. [The latter may mean design of the plot or story, not design of the sets.]
and it was this production which inspired the play by Shadwell.\(^30\)

The sets painted by Stevenson may have looked very much like those of Carlo Vigarani for the Salle des Machines in the Tulleries Palace. (Montague Summers' description of *Psyche* is included in Appendix D.) The copying of continental designs is very unusual and this may be one of the few cases of it during the first twenty-two years of the Restoration. After 1682 it may have become a more regular practice (see Chapter IV).

There is only one other painter of scenery of whom there is any knowledge and who can be said to be a seventeenth-century English artist. He was Robert Robinson (1675-1732). He had a contract with Settle to do the sets for *The Virgin Prophetess* (DL, 1701). Robinson was a painter of *chinoiserie* long before that style completely invaded interior decoration. Robinson does not truly come within the time period of this paper.\(^31\)

The artists about whom we have some knowledge are few. There are only eight names. John Webb, who carried the masque tradition from the Commonwealth period to the Restoration, was

\(^30\) W. J. Lawrence, *op. cit.*, pp. 203-227. In 1671 Moliere and Corneille were commanded by Louis XIV to produce a show using Carlo Vigarani's inferno scene painted for *Ercole Amante* (Salle De Machines, Feb. 7, 1662). A scene model of the second tableau of the second act after Carlo Vigarani's original design was shown at the Paris Exposition of 1878. Lawrence says it is now "in the National Archives."

an architect and designer and there is no evidence he actually did any painting. He was active from 1656 to 1665 and then seems to have become inactive. Robert Streater and his son Robert were the favorite painters to the court and did the scenery used at Whitehall from 1665 to 1679 when the Elder Streater died. His son may have continued theatrical work to about 1700. Both these men may have done scenery for the King's Company at Bridges Street and later at Drury Lane. Isaac Fuller, an eccentric Jewish painter of murals and tavern walls, may have worked for the Duke's Company from 1661 to 1669. He did the paradise for the Theatre Royal production of Dryden's Tyrannic Love in 1669, but it is doubtful if he worked for them again. Robert Aggas, a fine landscape artist, and his assistant Samuel Towers were employed by the King's Company in 1677 and 1682 and probably at intermediate times. Nothing else is known about Towers. Thomas Stevenson was the painter at the Duke's House during the same period and is known to have painted the sets for Shadwell's Psyche in 1675, which may have been influenced by Carlo Vigarani's designs in Paris in 1671. Finally, there is Robert Robinson; however, his work belongs to the first part of the eighteenth century along with that of Sir James Thornhill.

C. Late Seventeenth Century Scenery

As already mentioned there are only a few printed scenes dating from the Restoration. One of these is the
frontispiece for the opera Ariane performed at Court and at Drury Lane in 1674. The set for Ariane represents the prologue (Fig. 19). In this picture is shown the frontispiece formed by the two front wings and the first border. Behind them are representations of "Paladian" facades painted on the four wings. This is a deep scene and instead of the shutter there are water ground rows or the spiral cranks used for that effect. On the rear-most backcloth is a topographical view down the Thames looking from Westminster somewhere near Whitehall. Out of the river is rising a machine consisting of shells and water spirits. Figure 20 is from Inigo Jones' Britannia Triumphant (1638). It shows a like arrangement of architectural side wings and a rear scene of London from Bankside. Notice the similarity between these and the topographical views of London by Wenceslaus Hollar done about 1666 (Figures 21 and 22). This demonstrates the scene designer's tendency toward the

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32 H. C. De Lafontaine, ed., The King's Music, (London, 1900), pp. 269-270. It is interesting to note that the scenes at Court and at Drury Lane must have been interchangeable, as indicated in the following Lord Chamberlain's Accounts references to Ariane:

1674, March 27.
Warrant to deliver to Monsieur Grabu, or to such as he shall appoynt, such of the scenes remayning in the theatre at Whitehall as shall be useful for the French opera at the theatre in Bridges Street, and the said Monsieur Grabu to return them again safely after 14 days' tyme, to the theatre at Whitehall.

1674, April 27.
Warrant to deliver to Sir Christopher Wren, His Majesty's surveyor generall of the works, the scenes belonging to His Majesty's Theatre at Whitehall, which were formerly delivered to Mr. Grabu for the use of the French opera in Bridges Street.
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topographical or "History Painting," which was a Flemish trait and popular with artists working in England beginning with the 1630's.

Figure 19

Inigo Jones. Britannica Triumphant, 1638.

The Frontispiece to Ariane, 1674.

Figure 20

W. Hollar. London from the Top of Arundel House.

Figure 21

W. Hollar. The North Side of London with Old St. Paul's.
The similarity between Figures 19 and 20, which are thirty-six years apart chronologically and for two different theatres, re-inforces the idea that the designs of Inigo Jones were well in advance of their time artistically as well as in the use of machines. His scenes may well be almost exactly the same in the "look" of the perspectives as those of the first twenty years after the Restoration. (The artistic qualities introduced here will be examined with more detail in the next chapter.)

The next designs are the familiar scenes included in the first edition of Settle's *Empress of Morocco* (produced at the theatre of the Duke's Company, Dorset Garden, in 1673). The *Ariane* engraving may have been an attempt to capitalize on the popularity of the 1673 edition of Settle's play, in which five scenes were illustrated (see Figures 23 to 27). The first of these (Fig. 23), the setting for Act I and Act III, scene ii, well exemplifies the prison type design discussed in Chapter I and in Appendix B. The second setting, for Act II, scene i, shows a river or harbor with a navy at anchor (Fig. 24). The third is for the torture chamber, Act V, scene ii (Fig. 25). The last two (Figs. 26 and 27) are different from the other two in that they are supposed to represent the "play within a play" idea. Figure 26 is called a "Moorish Masque." It shows a large free-standing palm tree and some dancers in exotic costumes but no painted scenery. It is for Act II, scene ii. The last of this series is for Act IV (Fig. 27). It is another
masque. In it the set looks like those in Inigo Jones' productions before 1640. For this reason it looks "paintey" and theatrical and not much like the straight edge architectural scenes which characterize the other plates. Little can be drawn from this particular set except that it is what the Restoration audience thought a Jones court masque looked like. There are no illustrations for the scenes which were undoubtedly stock sets for this show. They were "A Palace," "the Queen's Bed Chamber," and a "Tent Scene," all for Act III.

There is little of spectacular nature about the prison and harbor, which are fairly regular scenes in plays by 1673, as Appendix A shows. There is one interesting side light to the prison scene. In March of 1673 Robert Streater re-painted the back cloth of the Hall Theatre at Whitehall to "rustic stonework" and made arched cross pieces to match.\(^{33}\) This prison set may have been for a Court performance of the Empress of Morocco or for Settle's Cambyses (LIF., 1671) which also had a prison scene and was performed for the King at court as the Lord Chamberlain warrant for Jan. 10, 1671, shows.\(^{34}\) It is difficult to identify which play the prison was painted for because Streater painted over the "rustic stonework" a month later in May 1673. At that time he changed it to a sky and sea, with two long boards of sea, and pedestals of stone.\(^{35}\)


\(^{35}\) Boswell, loc. cit.
Figure 23
William Dolle. The Empress of Morocco, 1673, a Prison.

Figure 24
William Dolle. The Empress of Morocco, 1673, a Harbor.

Figure 25
William Dolle. The Empress of Morocco, 1673, a Torture Chamber.
Figure 26

William Dolle. The Empress of Morocco, 1673, a Moorish Masque.

Figure 27

William Dolle. The Empress of Morocco, 1673, a Court Masque.
This sounds like the harbor set for the *Empress of Morocco* (Fig. 24). It may be that Boswell has created a confusing situation by stating that the back cloth was the piece of scenery painted in both cases. It may be that two different shutters were painted and that they both were for Settle's play. Their description certainly corresponds with the illustrations of the prison and the harbor.

The final picture relating to the scenery of the Restoration is the garden and arbor set from the frontispiece to a book published in 1699 by the printer John Walsh, called *Theater Music*[^36] (Fig. 29). Much of the music in that work was by John Eccles (1650-1735), who became the most prolific composer for the theatre of his time. In *Theater Music* is included the music by Eccles for John Dennis' *Rinaldo and Armida* (LIF., c. Nov. 1699). In Act III is the scene "The Enchanted Wilderness." Half way through the scene is the stage direction to Rinaldo "Tears off his Ghirlands." Figure 29 seems to represent Rinaldo's action. The head dress or "Ghirlands" are just behind the figure in the right foreground.

Palace garden and arbor scenes painted between 1660 and 1682 may have been less complex than the two shown below. However, the garden scene described in Appendix V for Shadwell's *Psyche* (DG., 1674) sounds much like Figure 28.

[^36]: William C. Smith, *A Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by John Walsh During the Years 1695-1720.* (London: Oxford University Press, 1948), number 20A.
It is most interesting to discover that this plate for *Theater Music* is a pirated design from the 1685 edition of J. B. Lully's opera *Roland*. The scene was by the famous French theatrical designer Jean Berain. In several scholarly examinations of the setting shown in Figure 29, the question has always been: why is there a curved proscenium arch shown when no English theatre seemed to have had such a thing? The answer is now obvious. The English engraver merely copied the proscenium arch of the Palais Royal Opera House shown in the French design (Fig. 28). The design did not fit the page size so the sky and the fancy crest of the French design are cut off and an English crest is substituted; the banner, "The Theatre Royal," creates the impression that the design is an English one. Even the little "Viuitor Ingenio," which is known to have
been the motto over Rich's Drury Lane proscenium, is inserted back under the arbor. This is, of course, all wrong for *Rinaldo* and *Armida*, because it was done at Lincoln's Inn Fields. In effect, the engraver of Figure 29 has given us a French design cut down by one-third, with a new crest and motto to represent, in general, an opera in the style of 1699. The Berain design may have borne a resemblance to a scene in Dennis' opera, which would at least partially explain the piracy. This, then, may not be at all representative of an English scene at this time. It certainly is much fancier than the Thornhill designs from 1705 (an example of which is given in Fig. 59).

In conclusion, this chapter has shown that the visitors to the theatre thought the scenery of the English stage was light and easily changed, in contrast to that of the continental theatre. They also thought the most striking element was the use of "beautiful landscapes," probably in comparison with the continental scenes of Torelli or Vigarani which were more architectural in nature.

The known scene painters have been brought to light and their styles and some of their painting have been examined. The general conclusions drawn are that the designers were typical of the artists in England during their period. They painted pictures which show a blend of the Flemish and the more baroque "Roman School" with some purely English touches, such as topographical views of London and other actual English views.
Finally, the plate for *Ariane* and those for the Empress of Morocco are a good deal like the scenes of Inigo Jones from the 1630's which may well indicate that the scenery in the first half of the Restoration resembled the type of thing Jones was doing thirty years before.
CHAPTER III

SCHOOLS OF PAINTING IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

A. Fine Art in England

This chapter is concerned with the fine arts in England from Inigo Jones to the death of Charles II in 1685. In examining the trends during this period it becomes obvious that there are four main forces at work which influenced the tastes of the Englishman.

The first of these factors is based upon the most admired painter of the time—Titian. From Charles I down to the man on the street Titian was considered the greatest painter of all. Therefore, it was a school of painters whose technique came closest to Titian's which most influenced native English artists. Charles I had the largest collection of Titian's work in Europe. This collection, plus engravings of other works by this artist, had a deep primary influence both on the English portrait painters and on the tastes of the collectors of art.

Foreign artists who used the color and techniques of Titian were a second kind of influence. They were the so-called Italianate painters. The older members of this group were Paul Brill and Adam Elshimer. The younger members included, among others, Claude Loraine and Nicholas Poussin. These