

## Portrait of Giovanni as an English Anti-hero

VICENTE PÉREZ DE LEÓN  
*University of Glasgow*

“Mr. English: I like music and foreigners, though I don’t understand either of them; yet still on both I freely spend my cash.”  
- *Giovanni in London*, Act II, scene 2

A FEW MONTHS AFTER the premier of Mozart’s and Da Ponte’s opera *Don Giovanni* in 1817, a series of comic melodramas based on the Don Juan’s story were successfully performed in some of London’s most popular theatres.<sup>1</sup> The great freedom and creativity displayed in these sequels are evidence of the historical and ideological reception of the myth of Don Juan in England during this period. The ‘low cost *burlettas*’ were performed at Christmas and on other popular dates for, and in many cases by, representatives of London’s boroughs working class, showing many aspects of a proud Cockney culture (Davis 1-2). Without the need of an official patent for representing non-comic plays, these burlesque short dramas were a commercial response to the increasing popularity of operas and Royal patent plays, whose intended audience was London’s middle and high class.<sup>2</sup> In many cases, both patent and non-patent plays were competing against each other for a common audience (see, for instance, how *Giovanni in London* successfully replaced a series of Shakespeare plays being represented at *The Olympic*). Although the popularity of these *burlettas* benefitted particularly from the timely London presentation of Mozart’s operatic version, they are the consequence of a long tradition of the presence of Don Juan in England, initiated just a few decades after the success of *El burlador de Sevilla*.

Early nineteenth-century England saw a renaissance of popular culture that transformed Don Juan into an irreverent, brave and seductive Cockney working-class hero, highly celebrated by audiences. On the one hand, burlesque plays on the Don Juan topic focused on specific aspects of the myth, such as Giovanni's ability to break the glass ceiling of class mobility, by seducing bourgeois damsels and dueling decadent lady suitors. On the other hand, they offered an opportunity to emphasize the association of libertinage, romanticism and sensuality to Southern European subjects and cultures, which seemed to harmonize with the existing Cockney style and comic worldview. In fact, the humoresque essence of these plays, which mocked radically emotional Romantic opera by adapting the traditional plot of the irredeemable Spanish lover to London's popular culture, satisfied English audiences' expectations.<sup>3</sup>

These *burlettas* not only appropriated Mozart's melodies, but they were also the consequence of the presence in popular culture of different versions of Shadwell's seventeenth-century play, *The Libertine*. Several successful ballet and pantomime sequels during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries included its plot, specifically Don Juan's condemnation to Hell as punishment for his unrepentant libertinage, in their performances in the same London theatres where the Don Giovanni melodrama series were staged. The burlesque character of Giovanni, a handsome, pragmatic and promiscuous lad, is not only the result of decades of cultural influences, but its polemic reception will anticipate and very possibly influence Lord Byron's own scandalous version of Don Juan as well.

In the first part of this essay, "Don Juan, From Tragedy to Burletta," the proposed study of three major influences in the early reception of the original Spanish myth in England will contribute to contextualize London's comic melodramas of the nineteenth-century Giovanni series:

- 1.1. On the influence of Shadwell's *The Libertine* (1676).
- 1.2. Don Juan and the tradition of the harlequin pantomimes series.
- 1.3. The popular musical extravaganza genre initiated with the *Beggar's opera*, incorporating plebeian, Cockney popular cultural aspects in the fabrication of the stereotypical figure of Don Juan.

The second part of this essay, "Don Giovanni, the Undead Anti-Hero," focuses on several aspects of Don Juan's otherness, which, in addition to its presence in the original *comedia* plot, has also contributed to changes in the burlesque adaptations that were popular with audiences. These include the

perception of Giovanni as an anti-hero, a protagonist who lacks the traditional features of a hero (related to the Harlequin series), and the undead nature of the re-born Don Juan and the statue, a trope later associated with Vampire sequels. A close reading of the most significant musical cross-over versions of Don Giovanni in early nineteenth-century London will illustrate the prevalence of Don Juan's otherness in English popular culture. Plays such as the *Harlequin Libertine* pantomime, *Giovanni in London*, and *Giovanni the Vampire* show the creative paths, including the comic (d)evolution of the primitive archetype, that this myth followed in the period. Their popularity confirm the strong presence of Don Juan's otherness as an integral element of London's popular melodrama and, more broadly, its influence on culture.

#### DON JUAN, FROM TRAGEDY TO BURLETTA

This section explores the different ways the Don Juan myth evolved on English stages, alternating from serious to burlesque, from Shadwell's *Libertine* to the Giovanni *burletta* series. The subsequent study of *Harlequin Libertine*, *Giovanni in London* and *Giovanni the Vampire*, together with their related musical drama and narrative sequels, confirm a peculiar alternation in the serious/tragic vs. comic reception tradition of the Don Juan myth in nineteenth-century England. The fact that the title of one of the Giovanni *burletta* versions mentions the Spanish *olla podrida*<sup>4</sup> is relevant in regard to the eclecticism of the genre of the play,<sup>5</sup> adding a sense of confusion which was not absent in the original *comedia* either.<sup>6</sup>

The comparative principle used to approach the manifestations of the myth of Don Juan in this period will consider the classification of the different versions in terms of their authenticity, using the language-speech metaphor. According to Claude Lévi-Strauss, "meaning in mythology is not about isolated elements, but how these combine [...] each diachronic version in the history is a kind of speech that unfolds within a synchronous system which would be the language," and, "a version would not be more authentic than other, but they would simply be different parameters of name variants" (*Structural Anthropology*, ii, 217). Whether the origin of a myth, or one of its sequels, these should not be different in importance, but their disparities should contribute to the understanding of the often-contradictory creative process followed by each of the versions. The Don Juan archetype, replicated as an unrepentant killer in both mid-seventeenth century Shadwell's version and Mozart-La Ponte's *Don Giovanni*, becomes a funny and gender ambiguous outcast on early nineteenth-century London stages. But in the end, all these versions contribute to a wider transcultural dissemination of the Don

Juan story, showing a snapshot of the demand of strong, emotional characters, who can sing, dance, and be comic or tragic when needed. Although the meaning of the social criticism embedded in the burlesque plays contributed to the recuperation of Don Juan as an immortal myth in England, at the same time, paradoxically or not, they shared related social fears against the foreign, female seducer vampire archetype as well. The identification of these plays with specific anti-social menaces explains their prevalence as myths.

Criticism of young libertine aristocrats was not uncommon at the time when the original *comedia* of Don Juan was published. Their social perception, in many cases, imbued them with a certain passivity to the tyranny they exercised, sharing with their *pícaro* counterparts the social role of having an “anti-system attitude within the system they were part of.” These aristocrats, like the *pícaro*, were apparent rebels who, in the end, contributed to confirm the validity of the *status quo*.<sup>7</sup> Similarly to the protagonist in the opera, the Giovanni of the *burlettas* is depicted as anti-social, as the anti-hero who is able to oppose decadent and weak aristocrats; as it happens with the original Spanish nobleman, judging from their deeds, these *donjuanesque* types do not seem to deserve their present privileges.

The exploration of the cultural context in these Giovanni *burletta* series contributes to a better understanding of the ideological perception of the Don Juan topic in England, such as the mechanisms used to emphasize the stereotypical reception of the tradition of the Southern European myth. On the one hand, both in Shadwell’s version and in Mozart’s opera, the unrepentance act occurs after the statue episode is preceded by the bizarre actions of the narcissistic womanizer Don Giovanni. On the other hand, the Giovanni *burletta* series show that the appropriation of this Mediterranean myth is directly associated to a reaction of rejection that London privileged class had against Cockney popular culture as well. The lack of a patent to represent serious plays contributed to the commercial theatres’ fixation on comic, effective and surely profitable plays, where social discontent was not always dissimulated. These burlesque versions reverted some of the main stereotypes of the Don Juan myth as a result. In two of the sequels, for instance, Don Giovanni is represented by an actress (Miss Vestris) who mocks duels against her effeminate rivals. Don Giovanni is very self-conscious about his own fame and shows an ability to attract audiences to his bold actions on stage. An essential part of his mythical personality refers to his self-praising, thus unconsciously incrementing the possibilities of the play’s success, as a way of primitive propaganda. These popular culture Giovanni versions celebrate, and at the same time mock, Don Juan, in a mix of nationalistic and

local reactions, which make of this character's evolution in different cultures one of the more complex ones in literary history.

I.I. ON THE INFLUENCE OF SHADWELL'S *THE LIBERTINE* (1676).

Since the original *comedia El burlador de Sevilla*, attributed to Tirso de Molina, where two plots were combined into one, the story of Don Juan has endured in European literature. The first plot is about a young *caballero* who falsely promises marriage to young ladies in order to seduce them. Each time Don Juan deceives a woman, he illustrates the contradictions that enable him to manipulate the honor system. The second plot is the story of the *comendador's* statue, which returns to life to punish Don Juan for his sins. The statue invites Don Juan to a bizarre and repulsive dinner, which is the prelude to his condemnation to hell. The different versions of the Don Juan myth exemplify an appropriation process associated to the hegemonic values of the period. Several sequels were performed since the seventeenth-century iteration of the Don Juan myth. They, like the *comedia* attributed to Tirso de Molina, show a deep understanding of the role of comedy in society, as it happens in, for example, Moliere's version (Bayliss 213).

After the success of the original *comedia* in Spain, a group of Italian *commedia dell' arte* actors appropriated the plot of the *burlador* of Seville to perform in Naples the first sequel of Don Juan, Andrea Cicognini's play titled *Convitato di pietra, opera esemplare* (1630-50). From Italy, the fame of Don Juan spread to France, and then to the rest of Europe. The tradition of the original *comedia* of Don Juan in Spain emphasizes the Sacrament of Confession when the *burlador* pleads for forgiveness of his sins in order to avoid condemnation to Hell. There is a similar focus in Antonio Zamora's *No hay deuda que no se pague y el convidado de Piedra* (1714), which inspired the nineteenth-century Spanish version *Don Juan Tenorio* by José de Zorrilla. In the play by Zamora, published almost a century after the *comedia* by Tirso de Molina, the protagonist burns in Hell after a final repentance, which seems to redeem him from all his sins. This character is irreverent and quarrelsome. His dinner with the ghost recreates the most grotesque and gothic details, such as a serving of a dish of snakes and a glass of human blood. One of the original aspects of the plot is the inclusion of an attempted assassination of Don Juan by Beatriz, a disdained lover, in the fashion of the sentimental drama of the eighteenth century. Other versions in diverse cultures have explored alternative aspects of the myth. On the one hand, the sequel of the myth in *Walpurgis Night* studies the contradiction between being a rebel and a tyrant; on the other hand, works such as La Croix's *L'Inconstance punie*,

published in Paris by Jean Corrozet in 1630, focus on an aristocrat who deceives the daughters of a poor family (Carrington Lancaster 474). Erofeev also developed this conflict in his version of Don Juan (Burry 76), which Giovanni melodrama series presents in the context of a comic scene.<sup>8</sup>

The historical presence of Don Juan in England is traditionally associated with the reception of two of the legend's most influential versions: the ideologically charged drama of Shadwell's *The Libertine* and Mozart's *Don Giovanni*. Thomas Shadwell's *The Libertine*, written in 1676, initiated the theatrical tradition of Don Juan in England. Its protagonist is a cruel and ruthless character who never repents. The influence of the *commedia dell'arte* might have contributed to Shadwell's modeling of Don John as a bizarre foreigner who, by being proud and braggadocious, is easily related to the Italian archetype of the *capitano*. In fact, French authors and philosophers, such as Lucretius and Hobbes, had a strong influence on Shadwell (Hermanson 3, 7).<sup>9</sup> *The Libertine* was adapted by Gluck into a ballet and several pantomime series, which have been identified as precedents of Byron's Don Juan (Beaty 395-405 and see Worrall *Politics* and *Harlequin*).

The implicit author refers to the actual influences on *The Libertine* in the prologue of the play, according to which a Don Juan play was originally represented in Spain, and "Italian Comedians took it, and from them the French took it, and several French plays were made upon the story." The author of this introduction believes that his version will provide some originality regarding the traditional approach to the hero: "I had rather try new ways to please, than to write on the same road, as in too many do." What is new in *The Libertine*? Don Juan is a counter-exemplary character ruled by his sensual appetites. Adjectives associated to him in this play are "vicious Spaniard" and "a rash fearless Man, guilty of all Vice," among others. In his first speech, Don John not only rejects the guidance of reason, but also the rule of religion. In his own words, he is an irrational atheist: "Nature gave us our Senses, which we please / Nor does our Reason War against our Sense. / By Nature's order Sense should guide our Reason." In another scene of the play, Don Antonio intervenes to confirm why sensuality rules all of his actions: "We live the life of Sense, which Frey thing, / call'd Reason, shall controul. / D. Lope: My reason tells me I must please my Sense. / D. John.: My appetites are all I'm sure I have from Heaven, / since they are Natural, and I always will obey them." Shadwell's Don Juan is always true to his principles. His attitude is that of a villain who follows an antisocial path, alternative to the mainstream way of thinking, until he unrepentantly dies: "I could not feel the least remorse or fear / To the last instant I would dare thy power /

Here I stand firm, and all thy threats condemn;[...].” The final moral of the play relates to the punishment associated with those who defy God: “Statue: Thus perish all, / Those men, who by their words and actions dare, / Against the will and power of Heaven declares. [(Scene shuts.)].”

*The Libertine* explores the difficult harmony between desire and reason. Don John shows the bizarreness of the stereotype of an Italian *capitano* from the *commedia dell' arte* theater in his behavior. In a similar way to the original Don Juan and Zamora's, he is brave enough to accept drinking blood with ghosts when invited, but, contrary to other archetypes, he never repents before disappearing into the flames of hell. Don John, presented as an uncontrolled vicious man, lacks the original transgressive flavor of the antecedent versions. The original *comedia's* hero's actions, for instance, even though reprehensible, expose the flaws of mainstream society from which Don Juan profited. For instance, in the first scene of *El burlador de Sevilla*, Don Juan is in Isabela's room after she had allowed her lover in without her father's consent. Don Juan's lovers Tisbea and Aminta have personal ambitions and expectations, most notably the opportunity to belong to the upper class of society, when they decide to get involved with Don Juan against the will of their actual suitors. The audience finds out about the characters' personalities through their reactions to Don Juan's actions, which unveil his victims' darkest secrets. On the one hand, Don Juan's picaresque attitude reveals others' social aspirations by exposing their selfish love in public, which occurs in *El burlador de Sevilla*. On the other hand, Don John shows a different anti-social behavior which deterministically seems to push him into Hell. His role as the villain challenges audiences to see beyond his cruelty. In fact, while Don Juan makes of libertinage a hegemonic behavior to unveil the dark side of a society ruled by a depreciated honour system, Shadwell's Don John's evident sensuality is perceived as a great evil to society. Shadwell's rigid perception of the myth is confirmed by the equivalence between Don Juan and libertinage present in his play, missing the multiple possibilities of success for a seducer in a part of the society in which principles are based on a double morality.

The rule of sensuality associated with Don John, together with his unrepentant death, did not prevent the recuperation of this myth in early nineteenth-century English society. In fact, he was transformed into a comic character, emphasizing the anti-heroic aspect of the myth. Furthermore, he was appropriated by popular culture, which considered him an eternal archetype that remained in the plot of the numerous sequels that populated British stages in the period.

## 1.2. DON JUAN AND THE TRADITION OF THE HARLEQUIN PANTOMIMES SERIES

Advertisement: Giovanni and Leporello, from the delight they have afforded in every Musical Piece in which they have appeared, have become, in Opera, nearly as much looked for as Harlequin and Pierrot in Pantomime, (*Giovanni in Ireland* 4)

Montcrieff establishes a direct connection between Giovanni and Harlequin in his advertisement of *Giovanni in Ireland*, realistically emphasizing the actual presence and fame of Giovanni in English culture. The acknowledgment that the archetype, style and adventures of Harlequin were commonly appreciated by theatre audiences agree with the frequent presence of this character in pantomimes during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in England. In fact, theater, in all its subgenres, was the main way of entertainment in English urban and rural contexts, with an average of 10,000 persons daily in London only (Worrall *harlequin*, 19), particularly for middle class audiences who were able to appreciate sophisticated plots and the tradition of complex political and historical events in comic performances (Worrall *harlequin*, 22).<sup>10</sup> Victorian pantomimes required a specific way of perceiving the actions happening on stage. Attending these spectacles, which had a pre-determined view of the world, required a specific and clear ideological position by audiences about some of the topics performed on stage, especially those related to race, politics and social movements, among others (Davis 1-2). Plays represented by the *commedia dell'arte*'s character Harlequin, such as *Harlequin Doctor Faustus* (1724), *Harlequin's Opera* (1730) or *Harlequin in China* (1755), were the favorites of audiences (O'Brien 94). This archetype, widely performed in English theatres since the eighteenth century, was purely carnivalesque in Bakhtinian terms (O'Brien 58). Added to the opportunity that Mozart's opera presented for the appropriation of the character of Giovanni in comic plays, the series of Giovanni *burlettas* in early nineteenth century London illustrate a related phenomenon to their precedent Harlequin series as well. Mozart's version combines, in a burlesque way, the adventurous with the rebellious anti-social traits (Cowgill 45). In fact, in the comic tradition, the preferred role in the play was the servant, not the protagonist (Pirrota 60; see Marín on being a *burlador*, trickster, in the period 391-94); although the origins of *Don Giovanni* are associated with the comic sphere, the success of the plot of *Le nozze di Figaro* influenced *Don Giovanni* as well. Political and social events criticized in the story of the Giovanni series relate to the

same phenomena in Harlequin pantomimes, which used a folkloric theme, fable or fashionable event to create a dynamic short drama full of social criticism. In the fashion of the *commedia dell' arte*, pantomimes centered on Harlequin; the *burletta* series capitalized on the success of an archetype, Don Juan. Then, different authors creatively expanded his adventures, represented at different geographical locations on London's most popular theater stages; for instance, the Drury Lane diary discussed the difficulties of showing an Irish king on stage in *Giovanni in Ireland*, lacking an agreed opinion from the audience (Winston 41). Among the main aspects of Harlequin's sense of otherness that relate to Giovanni's are the following:

- a) Being a trickster and a foreigner (O' Brien 58).
- b) Thomas Dibdin was the author of several Harlequin sequels and the first play of the Giovanni series, *Don Giovanni; or, A Spectre on Horseback!* as well, although it was Moncrieff who mostly contributed to the imaginative Giovanni series.
- c) Among the two extant Harlequin pantomimes that incorporate the original plot of Don Juan, one of them is titled *Harlequin libertine*, and the other one, *Harlequin or the Feast of Statue*. The first one was very influential in the context of the Giovanni *burletta* series:

By 1787, long before the initiation of melodrama as a distinctive generic description for some types of contemporary performance, the Royalty theatre had successfully adapted Thomas Shadwell's *The Libertine*, a Tragedy (1676) as *Don Juan; or, The Libertine Destroy'd* a dance pantomime [...] orchestrated with new songs by the prolific theatrical composer William Reeve, but mainly comprised of "The Music composed by Mr. Gluck' from his *Don Juan* (1761) [...]. (Worall *Romantic* 32-3)

*Harlequin Libertine* was the paradigmatic play which inspired the first of the Don Juan *burletta* series. *Giovanni, A Spectre in a Horseback!* was part of the successful tradition of Harlequin pantomimes, too (Worall *Romantic* 33). On Dec. 16, 1817, Lord Chamberlain granted permission for *Harlequin Libertine* to be performed at the Drury Lane Theater, as it states on the first page of the extant manuscript of the play (Worall *Harlequin* 3). Its main characters included Don Juan, Leporello, Don Pedro, Elvira, Leonora and Octavio. Similarly to *Giovanni in London*, the play starts with Don Juan pretending to leave Hell, after the Ghost of his father is presented in the "Council Chambers of Pluto" (6), where furriers are summoned as "Chil-

dren of fire" (8); when asked about why he is in Hell, the ghost responds that he claims "by my son whom yet I love." Meanwhile, Don Juan had seduced Proserpine, who does not hide her love for him: "Juan is mine and mine shall be / Not Pluto's power shall set him free / Return swift-winged Mercury." She asks Mercury for help in order to facilitate Don Juan's escape from Hell using the god's wings. Don Juan and Leporello are taken to the palace of Don Pedro, where Leonora is being promised to Don Octavio. Then, Don Juan is surprised by Leonora and Pedro, right before he tries to seduce Elvira. The presence of Harlequin and Columbina with their associated *lazzi* in the following scenes contribute to additional confusion. In another episode, Don Juan and Leporello board a ship, and from there they jump and swim until they arrive to a fisherman's cottage, where they find two fishermen's wives and Elvira. The Ghost enters and locks the door, then Harlequin and Pantomime create more confusion, so that Don Juan can escape. The next scene takes place in a masquerade in Seville, during a wedding, with Don Juan and Leporello present. After Harlequin enters, he steals Leporello's list and waves his hand with the Ghost on his back.

In the next scene, at a magnificent hall, Harlequin, Columbine and Elvira appear on stage and create confusion again, right before Harlequin changes the scene to a beautiful garden. The Ghost scares Leporello and additional confusion follows. Then, Harlequin moves to scene ten, where he is at a nobleman's house. After some chaotic scenes, a gold ship is set on stage, with Harlequin navigating fearlessly in the middle of a gale; scene fourteen ends with Harlequin and Columbine waving their hands. Then, in scene fifteen, there is a grand saloon and a banquet with Don Juan, Leporello and some ladies, including Elvira. Finally, in a scene at the Styx river, Juan and Leporello travel to the palace of pleasure with Venus, under azure skies. Minerva, Diana, Neptune and Aphrodite, Bacchus, and Apollo descend from the Olympus mountain, while the Goddess of love looks victorious. In sum, the creativity displayed in the Don Giovanni *burletta* series had the successful Harlequin pantomime sequels as a precedent, sharing, among other characteristics, a common metatheatrical inclination. The Don Giovanni play starts and concludes in Hell, where Don Juan is rescued. This pattern is necessarily present in most of the Don Giovanni sequels. Harlequin and Columbine have a strong role by intervening in the change of scenes with their *lazzi*, contributing to interrupting the action with their comic interludes and stealing the protagonist roles from Don Juan and Leporello.

1.3. THE POPULAR MUSICAL EXTRAVAGANZA GENRE INITIATED WITH THE BEGGAR'S OPERA, INCORPORATING PLEBEIAN, COCKNEY POPULAR CULTURAL ASPECTS IN THE FABRICATION OF DON JUAN'S STEREOTYPICAL FIGURE.

The series of melodramas performed as a reaction to the performance of *Don Giovanni* by Mozart in London at the beginning of the nineteenth century include several titles such as *Giovanni in London*, *Giovanni in the Country*, *Giovanni in Paris*, *Giovanni the Vampire* and *Giovanni in Botany* (...bay, Sydney, Australia). The success of these *burlettas* is due to a mix of originality and spontaneity that can satisfy the expectations of a public that wants new adventures by the offending and politically incorrect hero. The legendary fame of the protagonist is emphasized by his irreverent and cheerful look, distancing himself from the exemplary ending of the libertine who had been punished for his sins in Shadwell's version.

The early nineteenth-century *Giovanni burlettas* were written by popular musical theatre authors such as Dibdin, Planché and H.M. Milner. But W.T. Moncrieff, considered "one of the most talented writers for the minor theatres" (Worall *Artisan*, 216), was the writer with the most number of successful comic versions of Don Giovanni.<sup>11</sup> His work anticipated Lord Byron's own version of Don Juan; Lord Byron's *Beppo in London* also highlights Moncrieff's use of Giovanni's social mobility in a subversive way (Worrall *Artisan*, 218, 220). Byron, avoiding the original comic play prospect, focused on the tragic presence of the hero, blaming social order instead (Wilson 248).

Moncrieff's plays contain numerous cross-references and allusions to popular culture, enhanced by dozens of tunes and songs that foster the multiple possibilities for improvisation in this musical genre. Both the use of several melodies from Mozart's opera, and the presence of the evocative and romantic character of Constantia Quixotte in *Don Giovanni in London*, denote the aim to address a musical and literary canon recognized by the audience. These *burlettas* are part of the genre tradition of ballads, very popular in early eighteenth century. These plays were theatricalized in Gay's and Pepusch's *The Beggar's Opera* in 1728,<sup>12</sup> which was originally a satire against Walpole's government (Rubsamen 551). *The Beggar's Opera* had "undertones of resentment against Italian opera" (Rubsamen 557-58), as is also the case with the *Giovanni burletta* series. In fact, this melodramatic genre, associated with local, underprivileged audiences, was reactionary to foreign, sophisticated and hard to understand entertainment. Humour is simple and based on confusing situations enhanced by fast music and the most ingenious songs.

The *burletta* genre in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has been described as “non-royal patent theatre melodrama and artisan radical culture in the Drury Lane vicinity,” representing cultural manifestations of a strong raising social class (Worrall *Artisan*, 213, 14). Cockney drama in London included the participation of non-professional actors in plays, which became a popular trend associated with a local cultural reaction (Worrall *Artisan*, 135-37). The most successful of all *burlettas* in the series was *Giovanni in London* or *The Libertine Reclaimed*, by W. T. Moncrieff, which premiered on December 26, 1817 at the Olympic Theatre. The main characters include Don Giovanni and his servant Leporello, several she-devils with their respective husbands, and mythological figures such as Pluto, Caronthe and Mercury. In the first scene, Don Giovanni, who has paid for his sins, is the object of the wrath of several demons such as Firedrake. He had mitigated his suffering in Hell by seducing other fallen she-devils. One of the Succubus is still in love with Don Giovanni, who has been approached by the beautiful Queen of Hell, jealous Proserpine, as well. Don Giovanni finally escapes with Succubus, but Pluto is angry with Giovanni after the fact, for his seduction of his own partner Proserpine. Giovanni returns to Earth through the Stygian Lake with three she-devils, in a scene that might remind readers of the three ‘anti Graces’ female vampires at the opening Bram Stoker’s *Dracula*.

The familiar tunes of this melodrama probably make it possible for the audience to anticipate the plot of the story. For instance, before leaving Hell, Don Juan boasts about his achievements: “I’ve kissed and I’ve prattled with fifty She-devils....” Charonte, familiarly called Cary and Merky (Mercury), in Cockney style, transport the returnees. The hero, along with the group of exiles, tricks Charonte by not paying him, then flying with the wings of Mercury back to Earth. In a different scene, Giovanni, his servant Leporello, and the three she-devils, watch as the husbands of the she-devils enjoy their lives as widowers, living for “Old England and Liberty.” While Leporello praises his master to the three attentive husbands, Don Giovanni suddenly appears with the wives of these men, who look angrily at them. Giovanni misses Fanny, an Arminta-like peasant he had deceived in front of her husband and on her wedding day in his previous life; then, he asks “But where’s the charming bride I ran away with?” Fanny tells her story about how Giovanni deceived her suitor in La Mancha’s plains. That night, at a costume ball, Giovanni and his servant meet Constance, a beautiful romantic Quixotesque character woman who possesses 30,000 pounds. Leporello then realizes that, as Giovanni is still married, he could be considered polygamous if he promises himself to another wife. Nevertheless, Giovanni attempts to kidnap Con-

stance, but he fails. A deputy, the father of Constance, with the symbolic name of “English,” is then introduced to Don Giovanni. The plot of *The Libertine* enters the story when the deputy plans to reform Don Giovanni, while the trickster tries to seduce his daughter, who is receptive to him because she thinks that “a reformed rake makes a good husband always.” Finally, Leporello appears disguised as a commander, but Giovanni rejects him saying: “Goodbye old Stoney.” The servant has a strong interest in an old rich Lady, who is no other than his own wife disguised. He tricks Giovanni by telling him that the statue has informed him that he must either be reformed or immediately return to Hell; then, everyone is forgiven in a grand finale.

*Giovanni in London* is a melodrama featuring Don Juan as a character with a dark past, but who, in the end, has a second chance to redeem himself, and is then praised by all. This attractive *burletta* has multiple songs, arias and references to known places in the city of London. The Don Juan story is set within Cockney culture, contextualizing the present time of the play with references to past adventures of the myth. Although Don Giovanni needs to be morally reformed, he is nothing like the ruthless murderer in Shadwell’s play and the cruel repentant sinner in Zamora’s story. Like Harlequin, the fact that he is foreign is not a negative, but this trait makes him wittier, and even more successful when seducing female characters, which the English Deputy observes when he praises Don Giovanni: “I like music and foreigners, though I don’t understand either of them.” The light-hearted version of *Giovanni in London* presents a mocking and sympathetic hero, whose subversive tone adds to his attractive sensuality and exoticism. The moral lessons of the Don Giovanni series illustrate that love is more valuable than money, heaven and hell exist as mythical travel destinations, and social rules should be more flexible for the common good.

*Giovanni in London* and its *burletta* sequels, following Levi Strauss’s model for the study of myths, provide a different manifestation of speech that displays the evolution of Don Juan over time and within different circumstances (e.g. Cockney culture in nineteenth-century England); in addition, this speech imagines language, which is the elementary and abstract idea of Don Juan’s story. The relevance of these low cost *burlettas* should be considered for their valuable contribution to the comparative literature canon, as they illustrate the multiple possibilities that the original Don Juan plot produced. In this case, after being appropriated, distorted and repackaged, the most irreverent and transgressive aspects of the myth remain.

The second part of this essay, *Don Giovanni, the Undead Anti-hero*, expands on two aspects of Don Juan’s myth present in both the original *come-*

*dia* plot and the burlesque plays, which may have contributed to their successful reception on London's stages. First, it is the expansion of the portrait of Giovanni as an anti-hero, and second, the interpretation of the presence of the *comendador's* statue, and the need to resuscitate Don Juan in most of its sequels. Among the numerous versions of Don Juan, some of them like *Giovanni the Vampire* reflect upon the nature of the actual reception of the myth in England during this period. This confirms the free, but entropically-driven appropriative process, which in the circulation of this literary archetype followed.

## 2. DON GIOVANNI, THE UNDEAD ANTI-HERO

Giovanni, like Don Juan in the original *comedia* and opera, is portrayed as masculine, brave and braggadocious in the *burletta* series. This character was performed, however, by a famous cross-dressed actress, Miss Vestris, on two occasions. This confusing transgeneriness adds to other comic features associated with the hero, such as his celebration of libertinage and sensuality, all of which can be interpreted as the result of the influence of the first English version of the myth, Shadwell's *The Libertine*, where don Juan is precisely condemned for being as sensual as irredeemable.

Defying and misbehaving aristocrats who creatively take advantage of the honour system have been associated with Golden Age *pícaros* (see Ruán and Canfield 48). Their unique ability to manipulate emotions and be able not to face the evidence of their offensive acts depict these characters as anti-heroes who go 'against the grain' in their own society, and, thus, reacting against Spanish wealthy class. Similarly, the Cockney culture reaction to bourgeoisie/aristocratic society includes both a parallel social organization lead by a resuscitated Giovanni and his acolytes, together with a weak bourgeoisie universe against which to oppose. The anti-hero Giovanni is able to denounce the marginalization of his proud Cockney culture by overemphasizing it in each aspect of the play: costumes, places, accent and expressions, among others.

While in the case of the original Don Juan *comedia*, in which the counter-culture hero ends up not being able to defy God, Giovanni, the *burletta* anti-hero, demonstrates that his Cockney culture is prevalent, at least in love relationships, as demonstrated by his success in attracting ladies of all classes and condition, and finally being able to meet his "true" love. Its picaresque eagerness to ascend in the social ladder is a reactive anti-heroic proposition which contributes to overemphasize the hegemony of these Cockney heroes in society (see, for instance, Kelly's reference to picaresque influence in the

*Tom and Jerry* series). Self- and class-consciousness are common to the aristocratic and libertine Don Juan character, which relates him to the Spanish *pícaro* character as well. In both cases, they are aware of the possibilities of social mobility through their subsequent female seductions, taking advantage of a social system based on an established set of rules, most notably, an honour code, which they choose to use in their favour.

The original archetype of Don Juan benefited from an existing social debate about the attitude of the *pícaro*. Documented Don-Juanesque protagonists were present in the exemplary novels of Zayas and Cervantes, among others. For instance, the author of *Don Quixote* explored these characters in exemplary novels such as *The Jealous Extremaduran* and *The Gypsy Girl*. Cervantes expanded the cosmovision created around these aristocratic libertines in his portrait of the main characters of *The Illustrious Kitchen Maid* and Fernando in the story of Cardenio in *Don Quixote* as well. Social prejudices against this kind of aristocrat-*pícaro* character naturally relates to the origin and reception of the Don Juan-burlador myth, which is frequently associated with debauchery as well.<sup>13</sup>

Giovanni's *burlettas*, which originated from a musical genre based on ballads that include stories of criminals, have an anti-heroic flavor. They are culturally and thematically related to Spanish Golden Age picaresque short dramas about criminals or *jácaras*. In these interludes, bandits or *jaques*, like the famous Escarramán, were presented and treated as celebrities in their plots. In fact, similarly to *jácaras*, the story of Don Juan focuses on the main character's anti-social behavior in a carnivalesque atmosphere as well. Don Juan frequently self-reflects about his actions in the melodramatic burlesque genre, informing the audience about his feats, and in its sequels. Self-reflection was a typical feature of *jácaras* but also Spanish *comedias de enredo* (Borrego 39). Mandrell has emphasized the importance of Don Juan as a known character to audiences in his different versions, and particularly in Zorrilla's (27, 29). In fact, Don Juan, in his sequels, resembles Don Quixote in Part II, when readers share the opportunity to experience the different dimensions of a character who is aware of his own fame.

Self- and cross-references are frequent in most of Don Juan sequels, thus contributing to elevate the metatheatrical flavour of his plays. For instance, at least one of the costumes of *Giovanni in London* had appeared in Mozart's opera (Cowgill 56), and there are several self-references in the celebrative songs of the Giovanni myth in *Giovanni the Vampire* as well: "Finale, tune / Of Don Giovanni, O! / Surely now the freaks are past, / [...] Can still revive him for an hour [...] Vampire Giovanni, O!" (*Giovanni the Vampire* 15).

In *Giovanni in the Country*, several allusions are made to Giovanni being 'stray again': "Mrs. English: Dear Constantia, is it true, / Does Giovanni stray again? / [...] Mrs. Giovanni: Yes, though, 'tis yet the honey-moon, / Giovanni's at his tricks; / But with your help, I hope, friends soon / The fickle Don to fix" (10). In this same play, there is a hyperbolic allusion to the fame associated with Giovanni and Leporello, and another reference to the protagonist's fame in Europe in the advertisement section of *Giovanni in Ireland*:

In Italy, Germany, England and Spain / In the Holyhead packet  
again and again

At Giovy's conquering name would melt, / Och! Cusbla-ma-  
chree, we'll presently see, / The loving boy, the ladies' joy: / Nimble  
footed, black eyed, rosy cheek'd

Sweet voiced, clean limb'd Don Giovanni! (6)

In *Giovanni in Paris*, there is a reference to the fame of Giovanni in his previous London performances:

The history of the gay profligate Don Giovanni, (or Juan) is universally known, as it is likewise the disagreeable termination of his adventures, by a trip to the regions below. From that warm residence, he was kindly rescued by the ingenious author of Giovanni in London, by whom he was led through a second series of amorous pranks in our great town, concluding with marriage and repentance. But as an excursion to Paris is considered essential to the accomplishment of every modern beau, the DON is, in this piece, conducted to that gay city, wife, and all, where he goes through a succession of amorous adventures, which it is hoped will be found as entertaining as any of his former exploits. (Paris ad, *Giovanni in Paris*, East London theatre Milner, Nov. 1820)

The ending of this play emphasizes the celebrity status of the Spanish myth: "In Spain, below stairs and in London / Very many ladies he has undone; / To virtue now his wife has won one / Who will never stray again" (Milner 16).

In sum, metatheatrical, including self- and cross-references, combined with the existing self-celebratory comic tone of the Giovanni *burletta* series, contributes to remind or inform audiences about Giovanni's past, emphasizing the foreign, libertine and irreverent aspects of the myth and usually conclud-

ing with the reformation of the hero through true love. The main protagonist's awareness of himself as an unrepentant libertine is entrenched within his feeling of class awareness. Self-praising fame, or better said, infamy, of being adulterous and libertine, enhances the comic version of the myth, like it did with *jaques* (criminals) and *pícaros* (tricksters) in the Spanish Golden Age. As each new *burletta* version claimed to tell something different about the original story, allusions to previous versions are very present and necessary.

In a similar period of creativity, oriented to create anti-hero archetypes, *jácaras*, picaresque drama and narratives were very fertile in inspiring sequels about the feats of criminals and *pícaros*, such as in the Escarramán series, which will end up with the most celebrated Spanish Baroque actor-archetype, Juan Rana, who originated several interlude versions of his imaginary feats. The celebration of anti-social characters in musical short drama denotes the need to respond to a neglected view of the world of those who are marginalized by mainstream society. This relates to a similar phenomenon perceived in aristocratic donjuanesque counter-culture characters in the Spanish Golden Age who, like Don Juan, attacks the core of the honour system by seducing insecure ladies.

In order to call attention to this fact, aesthetic resources common in both Spanish Golden Age and nineteenth-century England include self-praising and the frequent rebirth of antiheroes in new and most imaginative versions of the same old stories. Most of these aspects are present in the proposed case study of *Giovanni the Vampire*. This musical short play illustrates how metatheatre developed as an essential part of the Giovanni series. The first scene starts at the actual room of the manager of the Adelphi Theatre, who has a vision:

The Curtain rises, and discovers the Apartment of the Manager of the Adelphi Theatre.—Theatrical Properties are scattered about; in the centre of the Stage is a Lumber Chest. P.S. Bustle, Esq. the Manager, is asleep in his arm chair—The Scene draws, and the GENIUS of IMAGINATION appears.

SOLO.- Imagination.- Tune, from the Vampire.

Spirit!—Spirit of Burlesque!

Hear and heed my speel of power,

Hasten in thy shape grotesque,

Hither from thy laughing bow'r

Chorus: Appear! Appear! (3)

The audience finds out about the origin of the plot of the story in the following song:

(Music) The spirit of Burlesque descends and advances  
 Imagination [...]  
 This morning a new piece an author brought him, [...]  
 Imagination. The author rose!  
 Indignant at the solo on the nose,  
 That met his ear—and vow'd, as up he started,  
 A Vampire should revenge him—and departed.  
 Burlesque. A vampire say'st thou?  
 Imagination. Aye, Burlesque!—that many!  
 Liv'd Livertne! That monster!—Don Giovanni:  
 At every house in turn he rears his head;  
 In vain, alas! You think him damn'd and dead.  
 When first the Opera Italian burn'd him,  
 Into a pantomime some author turn'd him (4)

Giovanni's fame in his different sequels is then celebrated:

Song Miss Bustle Tune Coleen  
 Although the Adelphi no more I should see,  
 Yet wherever thou art, is Adelphi to me;  
 Thy bosom, Giovanni, shall still be my home,  
 In London, in Dublin, at Paris, or Rome!  
 To the freezing North Pole, and its ice-cover'd main,  
 Where no cruel father can shoot thee again;  
 I'll fly with Giovanni, and think the red snow  
 As warm as the fire in the green room below.- (12)

In the first act of the play, three authors and a manager dialogue in their songs about potential additions for the success of the plot of the new story of Don Giovanni: "Giovanni tir's of London town / Had travelled to the country down / From stage to stage he runs about" (10). Then, Don Giovanni shows up and sings a song from the original pantomime of Don Juan: "My name's well known to all the town / In the Drury Lane bills you'll find [...]" (11). Afterwards, Miss Bustle invites Giovanni into her room, after celebrat-

ing his fame “[...] In London, in Dublin, at Paris or Rome, / To the freezing North Pole [...]” (12). Ms. Bustler then tries to catch Don Giovanni’s attention back when Leporello summarizes the traditional plot of Don Giovanni: “Here will stalk a commandant who killed in a duel was / There will walk his daughter, to whom my master cruel was.../ Drawn by Europe, Asia, Africa, America / In the Finale, Gentles, we’ve got rid at last Of Don Giovanni O!”

*Giovanni the Vampire*, one of the last *burlettas* in the series, shows an effort to summarize the actual legacy accumulated by Don Giovanni through the sequels, reflecting upon the difficulties to be original “once again,” just by adding new content to the myth, and then choosing the use of metatheatre and infamous self-praising widely, to create one of the most original and self-conscious versions.

Don Giovanni is usually presented both as a myth and a human being who is born again in each new *burletta* of the series, celebrated as such in the introduction to the plays by himself, other characters and even the actual author of the drama. For instance, the ballet version used the original story, transforming the myth into a tragedy.<sup>14</sup> In fact, Angiolini focused on the serious aspects of the original plot, keeping the fight with the *comendador* in the new version (Russell 23). The traditional evolution of the Don Juan myth is characterized by the conflict associated with the bizarre acts of the main character, which are combined with the story of the undead statue and the devil: “[...] pienso que el demonio / en él tomó forma humana [...]” (Tirso de Molina).

The long tradition of talking statues and other objects of art originating in the Romantic period started with *The Castle of Otranto* by Walpole (Ziolkowski 952, 962-3). This spectacular aspect of the myth is confirmed in Zorrilla’s version, and it is associated with the *comedias de magia* as well (Peña, Don Juan Tenorio 218, cit. en Gies 14). Don Juan’s versions show the limits of the human condition; in the end, honour and truth usually prevail when unsuccessfully trying to change their universal rules, using human values (Fernández-Turiénzo “burlador,” 278, 281). Traditionally, the morality associated with the effect of ghostly appearances is key in *The burlador* (Cull 620).

The renaissance and popularity of the undead hero associates him with the vampire, a myth that mainly became part of popular culture in this same period thanks to Polidori’s famous short narrative. In Don Juan’s original tradition, the main character dies at the end for defying God. While the concept of permanent progress associates it with fantastic literature, the figure of the vampire is related to Don Juan in that there is, in both cases, a ques-

tioning of the power hegemony of the family.<sup>15</sup> In fact, Montague Summers relates Don Juan to Zeus (cit. en Livermore 262) and Ter Horst mentions the relevance of the intergenerational challenge in the duel (260).

The vampire associates to the non-progressive primitive world, which needs to be destroyed to protect society as well. He gets to be rejected as a social disease in its Naturalistic, Protestant, industrial-revolutionary versions, as it is clear in Bram Stoker's *Dracula*. On the contrary, Don Juan holds the free-will possibility to be integrated back into society. In the case of Zorrilla's nineteenth-century Catholic version, repentance is allowed, in confirmation of the need to be generous with sinners in line with some of the burlettas, such as *Giovanni in Paris*: (The devil himself declares, / That if you'll promise to be good / He'll take you in—down stairs) (15). Although the evil side is present in *Giovanni in Ireland* and *the Vampire*, it is associated with a comic fashion as well: "Here a bride and bridegroom, who never yet have married been, / Follow'd by a Libertine, who's to the devil carried been!" (*Giovanni the Vampire* 15); "Dear don, I with Lucifer's compliments come, / Your absence below, Sir, has caused him much pain; [...] / The Black Prince himself, invites you to his ball, / Then come to Old Nick, Don, and Shake yourself" (*Giovanni in Ireland* 21).

The resuscitating statue is one of the most uncanny aspects of the story, even though Don Juan seems to be a character impervious to the laws of men (superpowers) and God (divinity); his lack of fear is one of the keys in the Burlador personality, which associates him with libertinage (Vitse 72). In some aspects of the tradition of the myth, such as in his rivalry with the statue, Don Juan's past actions are judged privately, even though he is self-aware about public opinion as well (Fernández-Turienzo "convidado," 49) (Arias 374). In sum, both Don Juan and the vampire are associated with the devil and redeemed libertinage; in the end, being famous, with or without honour, is another path to immortality.

#### CONCLUSION: DON GIOVANNI'S OTHERNESS IN LONDON: DEVILISH, GENDER AMBIGUOUS AND VERY SELF-CONSCIOUS

There is certainly still more space for expanding on the different characters and aesthetic manifestations related to the "Donjuanesque" myth that have a clear common ground in both Golden Age Spanish theatre and popular Romantic English musical short-dramas or *burlettas*, with a focus on the exploitation of anti-heroes fictional possibilities.<sup>16</sup> The concentration on the reception of the Don Juan myth originally filtered through Mozart's opera, but having as a precedent Shadwell's drama play, *The Beggar's Opera*, Tom

and *Jerry* and the Harlequin series, among others, has contributed to a better understanding of the Giovanni *burlettas* by contextualizing them within their original literary and cultural complexities. The meaning and intention of the different versions in each specific cultural manifestation during the early nineteenth-century English stage has been equally explored. Choosing several main aspects of the character, genre, social class and identity seems to be a great creative resource to play with in order to cause emotions of fear (tragedy, gothic plays) or happiness (comedy, *burlettas*) in audiences. Other aspects present both in the original and subsequent burlesque sequels are Don Juan's libertinage, his association with evil and his self-awareness as a literary character, among others. This essay has illuminated how and why a burlesque approach to Mozart's version of Don Juan, using comic resources celebrated by London audiences, contributed to demystifying different kinds of social fears, such as genre ambiguity and sexual libertinage, which are paradoxically present both in related cultural phenomena of nineteenth-century England and the Spanish Golden Age.

The burlesque plays represented in London at the beginning of the nineteenth century, initiated by *Giovanni, A Spectre in Horseback!* (1817) responded to Mozart's opera by showing a sympathetic and irreverent Don Giovanni, who mocks Hell, Heaven and even himself, referring to his own prevalence as a myth in a humoristic tone. Paradoxically, some of the core characteristics of Shadwell's Don John are present in the Don Giovanni character; especially his bizarreness and devotion to the sensorial world. The Giovanni melodrama series, as burlesque versions of the myth, created a comic universe around a main character who took advantage of his devoted audiences in a kind of entertainment that nonetheless reveals a snapshot of the audiences' spectacular preferences in the period: interactive, bizarre, grotesque, obscene, merry, with a local flavor, transgressive, self-affirmative and, mostly, entertaining.

#### Works cited

- Anonymous. *Harlequin Libertine: Founded on the Interesting Story of Don Juan, a Pantomime*. 1817.
- Arellano, Ignacio. "La degradación de las guras del poder en la comedia burlesca." *Bulletin of the Comediantes*, 65, 2, (2013): 1-19.
- Arias, Judith H. "El burlador de Sevilla y convidado de piedra." *Hispanic Review*, 58, 3 (1990): 361-377.

- Bayliss, Robert. "Serving Don Juan: Decorum in Tirso de Molina and Molière." *Comparative Drama*, 40, 2 (2006): 191-215.
- Beaty, Frederick L. "Harlequin Don Juan." *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 67, 3, (1968): 395-405.
- Borrego Gutiérrez, Esther. "Convenciones escénicas y tópicos burlados: el éxito de la comedia burlesca." *Bulletin of the Comediantes*, 65, 2, (2013): 21-41.
- Burry, Alexander. "The Poet's Fatal Flaw: Venedikt Erofeev's Don Juan Subtext in *Walpurgis Night, or the Steps of the Commander*." *The Russian Review*, 64, 1 (2005): 62-76.
- Canfield, J. Douglas. "The Classical Treatment of Don Juan in Tirso, Molière, and Mozart: What Cultural Work Does It Perform?" *Comparative Drama*, 31, 1, (1997): 42-64.
- Carrington Lancaster, H. "Don Juan in a French Play of 1630." *PMLA*, 38, 3 (1923): 471-478.
- Colman, George. *Memoirs of the Life, Public and Private Adventures of Madame Vestris with Interesting and Amusing Anecdotes of Celebrated Characters in the Fashionable World, Detailing an Interesting Variety of Singularly Curious and Amusing Scenes, As Performed Before and Behind the Curtain: In Which Will Be Found Most Curious Notices of Many Eminent Roues and Debauchees of the Day; with Various Others of Public Notoriety*. London: Printed for the Booksellers, 1887.
- Cowgill, Rachel. "Re-gendering the Libertine; or, the Taming of the Rake: Lucy Vestris as Don Giovanni on the Early Nineteenth-Century London Stage." *Cambridge Opera Journal* 10, 1, 1998: 45-66.
- Cull, John T. "Hablan poco y dicen mucho": The Function of Discovery Scenes in the Drama of Tirso de Molina." *The Modern Language Review*, 91, 3 (1996): 619-634.
- Davis, Jim. "Victorian Pantomime." *Victorian Pantomime: A Collection of Critical Essays*. Edited by Jim Davis. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan. 2013. 1-19.
- Dibdin, Thomas. *Don Giovanni, or, a Spectre on Horseback!: A Comic, Heroic, Operatic, Tragic, Pantomimic, Burletta-Spectacular Extravaganza, in Two Acts, as Performed at the Royal Circus and Surrey Theatre*. London: Printed for J. Miller, by B. Millan, 1818.
- Fenner, Theodore. *Opera in London: Views of the Press, 1785-1830*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1994.
- Fernández-Turiénzo, Francisco. "El burlador: mito y realidad." *Romanische Forschungen*, 86. (1974): 265-300.

- . “El Convidado de piedra: Don Juan pierde el juego.” *Hispanic Review*, 45, 1 (1977): 43-60.
- Gies, David T. “Don Juan Tenorio y la tradición de la comedia de magia.” *Hispanic Review*, 58, 1 (1990) 1-17.
- Hermanson, Anne. “Forsaken Justice: Thomas Shadwell’s “The Libertine” and the Earl of Rochester’s “Lucina’s Rape or the Tragedy of Vallentinian.”” *Restoration: Studies in English Literary Culture, 1660-1700*, 33, 1 (2009): 3-26.
- Kelly, Veronica. *Giovanni in Botany. Australasian Drama Studies* 23, (1993): 101-120.
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude. *Structural Anthropology*. London: Alan lane Press, 1968.
- Livermore, Ann. “The Origins of Don Juan.” *Music & Letters*, 44, 3 (1963): 257-265.
- López de Abiada, José Manuel and Rodríguez López-Vázquez, Alfredo. “Claromonte hace un teatro de gran impacto popular”: Alfredo Rodríguez López-Vázquez zanja la añeja controversia sobre la autoría del “Burlador de Sevilla.” *Iberoamericana* 7, 27 (2007): 173- 179.
- Mandrell, James. “Don Juan Tenorio as Refundición: The Question of Repetition and Doubling.” *Hispania*, 70, 1 (1987): 22-30.
- Marín, Diego. “La versatilidad del mito de Don Juan.” *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos*, 6, 3 (1982): 389-403.
- Milner, Henry M. *Songs, Chorusses, Duets, Parodies, &c. in Giovanni in Paris: An Operatic Burletta Extravaganza in Two Acts*. London: Printed for J. Lowndes, 1820.
- Moncrieff, William T. M. *Giovanni in Ireland. An Extravaganza Opera in Three Acts*. London: J. Tabby, Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, 1821.
- . *Songs, Duets, Chorusses, &c., Serious and Comick, as Sung in the ... Comic Extravaganza Entertainment: In Two Acts Yclept Giovanni in London; Or, the Libertine Reclaimed*. London: Printed for J. Miller by B. M’Millan, 1818.
- Monleón, José B. “Vampiros y donjuanes (Sobre la figura del seductor en el siglo XIX).” *Revista Hispánica Moderna*, 48, 1 (1995): 19-30.
- Nyholm, K., et al. *Taboo*. Season one. London: BBC, 2018.
- O’Brien, John. *Harlequin Britain: Pantomime and Entertainment, 1690-1760*. 2015.
- Pirrotta, Nino. “The Traditions of Don Juan Plays and Comic Operas.” *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 107 (1980 - 1981): 60-70.

- Planché, James Robinson. *Songs, Duets, Glee's, Chorusses, &c. in the New Operatic Burlesque Burletta Entitled Giovanni the Vampire, Or, How Shall We Get Rid of Him?* London: John Lowndes, 1821.
- Ruán, Felipe E. *Pícaro and Cortesano: Identity and the Forms of Capital in Early Modern Spanish Picaresque Narrative and Courtesy Literature*. Lewisburg: Bucknell UP, 2011.
- Rubsamen, Walter. "The Ballad Burlesques and Extravanzas." *The Musical Quarterly*, 36, 4, (1950): 551-561.
- Russell, Charles C. "The Libertine Reformed: 'Don Juan' by Gluck and Angiolini." *Music & Letters*, 65, 1 (1984): 17-27.
- Shadwell, Thomas. *The Libertine: A Tragedy*. Acted by His Royal Highness's Servants. London, Printed by T. N. for Henry Herringman, at the Anchor, in the Lower Walk of the New Exchange. 1676.. <http://tei.it.ox.ac.uk/tcp/TextsHTML/free/A59/A59432.html> (Dec.17, 2016).
- Ter Horst, Robert. "Epic Descent: The Filiations of Don Juan." *MLN*, 111, 2, (1996): 255-274.
- Tirso de Molina, *El burlador de Sevilla*. Ed. de Francisco Florit Durán. Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, 2006. (Dec.17, 2016).
- Vitse, Marc. "Don Juan o temor y temeridad. Algunas observaciones más sobre "El Burlador de Sevilla."" *Cahiers du monde hispanique et luso-brésilien*, 13 (1969): 63-82.
- Wilson, James D. "Tirso, Molière, and Byron: The Emergence of Don Juan as Romantic Hero." *The South Central Bulletin*, 32, 4, (1972): 246-248.
- Winston, James, Nelson, Alfred L. and Cross, Gilbert B. *Drury Lane Journal: Selections from James Winston's Diaries, 1819-1827*. London: Society for Theatre Research, 1974.
- Worrall, David. "Artisan Melodrama and the Plebeian Public Sphere: The Political Culture of Drury Lane and Its Environs, 1797-1830." *Studies in Romanticism*, 39, 2 (2000): 213-227.
- . *Harlequin Empire: Race, Ethnicity and the Drama of the Popular Enlightenment*. London: Routledge, 2016.
- . *Politics of Romantic Theatricality 1787-1832: The Road to the Stage*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
- Ziolkowski, Theodore. "Talking Statues?" *The Modern Language Review*, 110, 4 (2015): 946-968.

## Appendix

THE FOLLOWING ENDNOTES accompany Vicente Pérez De León's article "Portrait of Giovanni as an English Anti-hero" on page 223.

1 Mozart's *Don Giovanni* was represented in 1817, 1818, 1821, 1822, 1824, 1825 and from 1828 to 1830 (Fenner 294).

2 Fashionable continental opera had become part of English popular culture as well:

Fenner mentions the "enormous popularity of Mozart and Rossini" (93) with the "great popularity of Don Giovanni which "all" the middle classes attended, had a serious effect on the attendance at the playhouses" (Kenrick, British Stage, July 1817, quoted at Fenner 93). "By 1821 Ebers found that lovers of opera were "now of a numerous class", the interest arised "from the general spread of knowledge and the love of intellectual amusement among the mass of the people" (Ebers, 1823 European quoted at Fenner 93), "In 1830 Alsager pointed out, "that the music was "all familiar to the public" (T, Feb.5). (quoted at Fenner 93).

3 See *The Spectator's* arguments for attacking Italian opera:

[...] Hence, because they were performed in a language that its audience did not understand, Italian operas raise the spectre of language degenerating into mere sound, at which pint it becomes merely dross, inert nonsense that constitutes so much wasted matter (O' Brien 74).

4 This musical burlesque tradition is essential in the Giovanni melodrama series, in order to find the right atmosphere by reinforcing the ideological message of the play, presenting the main character as a comic libertine. In *Giovanni in Ireland*, *Paris* and *in the Country*, a bolero and a guaracha are performed in order to add a supposed Spanish flavor to the main character.

5 Giovanni in the country was presented as:

The new comic operatic melo-dramatic pantomimic Moral  
Satirical Gallymaufrical Parodiactal Salmagundical  
Olla Podridacal Extravaganza Bizarro Entertainment,

Two trends in Spanish Golden Age burlesque comedy have been identified, one satirical, and the other one purely entertaining or ludic:

La interpretación global de la comedia burlesca conoce dos posturas fundamentales: la que advierte implicaciones de sátira, por ser críticas con el poder (como hace García Lorenzo en “La comedia burlesca,” “El hermano de su hermana,” “De la tragedia a la parodia” y “Procedimientos cómicos”) y la que supone una dimensión estrictamente lúdica (Serralta, “La comedia burlesca”; Arellano, Historia). (Arellano 2)

6 The actual authorship of the original drama play is still under discussion; see López de Abiada and Rodríguez López-Vázquez 178.

7 See Ruán.

8 The commander challenges don Juan in the Irish *burletta*:

Song O’ Donnell (as Commandant) / Don’t you know in a duel / You run me thro’ jewel?  
I in drawing my sword was so lazy; / And would you, my master, / Cause further disaster?  
Giovanni now can’t you be aisý? / Can’t you let the girls be, Don? (*Giovanni in Ireland* 20)

9 *The Libertine* was based on the French versions of the *Burlador*:

A version of the play was performed as part of the Italian *commedia dell’arte repertoire* and then picked up in France where there were four different versions written in the 1660s. Two minor playwrights, Villiers and Dorimon, wrote versions of the play before Molière produced his much more celebrated *Dom Juan ou Le Festin de Pierre* (1665). After Molière’s death, the French actor Claude La Rose, Sieur de Rosimond wrote another adaptation of the play for the Théâtre du Marais entitled, *Le nouveau Festin de Pierre, ou L’Athée foudroyé* (1669). This is the play that Shadwell chose as his model for *The Libertine*. (Hermanson 7-8)

10 [...] in the course of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries [...]. Contemporary observers noted how the London theatres had become available to what was often described as the “middling sort,” a group that comprehended merchants, artisans, and urban professionals more generally. [...] genteel denotes a “rank” situated [...]” above the commonalty on the ground of manners or style of living” but beneath the aristocracy on the ground of lineage. (O’ Brien 64)

11 The *Don Giovanni* series included Montcrieff’s *Giovanni in London or the Libertine Reclaimed* (1817), Thomas Dibdin’s *Don Giovanni*; or *A Specter on Horseback* (1818), W.T. Montcrieff’s *Giovanni in the Country*; or the *Rake Husband* (1819) W. Barrimore’s *Giovanni in the Country or A Gallop to Gretna Green* (1820), *Giovanni in Paris* (1820) by H. M. Milner, *Giovanni the Vampire* (1821) by R. Planché, Montcrieff’s *Giovanni in Ireland* (1821) and Montcrieff’s *Giovanni in Botany* (1822).

- 12 Gay's success inspired many imitations, some of which dealt with low life, as had their model, while others were social satires, pastoral or village operas, straight farces, and classical, mythological, or even serious historical plays. All contained spoken dialogue, usually in prose, alternating with songs in rhyme, most of which were set to traditional or currently popular tunes whose composers were generally not identified in the librettos. Authors wrote new song texts for each ballad opera, but borrowed the melodies to which they were sung. [...] Many of the melodies included in the ballad operas were those belloyed on street corners, but a good proportion had a more sophisticated provenance, for they might once have been contemporary English art songs that had struck the popular fancy, French vaudevilles, dance tunes by Bononcini, Corelli, Geminiani, or Handel, melodies from recently successful pantomimes, airs from Italian operas, or songs originally composed for dramas of the Restoration period. A similar hodge-podge of sources may be found in the ballad burlesques and extravaganzas a century later. (Rubsamen-551-52)
- 13 The historical character of Miss Vestris has been recently featured in the popular BBC series *Taboo* (Nyholm 2017) as the main character friend. In these series, some aspects of her life as a *burletta* actress are portrayed in an obscure context which suggests that certain aristocrats in the audiences had expectations of getting advantage of actresses after the spectacle. The presence of this character in English popular culture is reflected in the complaints about the misplaced talent of Miss Vestris in her role as Giovanni, reflected in her biography:

But we must proceed with her other characters. It impossible to witness her rambles in Don Giovanni, and withhold the need of just praise. It an excellent libertine performance, which, whilst you admire, accompanied with feelings of regret that such superlative talents were so grossly misapplied. (Colman 55)

- 14 The serious and tragic natures don Juan is related to different classic ballet versions:
- In their pantomime ballet Angiolini and Gluck achieved what Goldoni had tried unsuccessfully to do 25 years earlier. They took the Don Juan legend away from the domain of the popular theatre; they removed the vulgar adventures, the clownishness, the jokes, the cheap laughs, the buxom ladies and pinched bottoms of peasants and fishergirls, and they created something elegant, heroic, tragic and sublime. Angiolini turned a cheap adventurer into a figure of tragic dimensions, while Gluck ennobled him with the grandeur of his score as no other musician had done before or was to do again until Mozart. Together they turned the legend into a worthy subject for the profoundest of music. (Russell 26)
- 15 On the one hand, although the fantastic is associated to a lack of understanding progress, the Don Juan myth is related to the uncanny. In the "serious" tradition will naturally lead to the vampire with whom it shares common fears:

La literatura fantástica es un género, o más bien un modo literario, que tiene unas concreciones históricas: nace, en Europa, en el momento en que la burguesía se consolida en el poder, y coincide, en términos generales, con la puesta en marcha del proceso de industrialización. Es decir, lo fantástico presupone el emplazamiento de una epistemología dominante basada en los principios de la razón burguesa y con dos puntos de apoyo fundamentales. Por un lado, requiere que exista un concepto de universo donde tanto la naturaleza como la sociedad se encuentran regidas por leyes objetivas, por principios ajenos a designios arbitrarios; por otro lado, este mismo universo es visto como conducido por el tren del progreso: la Historia se ha puesto definitivamente en marcha. Estas dos premisas resultan imprescindibles. Sin ellas lo fantástico no puede ingresar en la imaginación social ni como aparente ruptura del orden ni como amenaza futura a la estabilidad social, a la sobrevivencia de ese orden. [...] Consecuentemente, lo fantástico ayudó a reproducir, en los parámetros ideológicos europeos, mecanismos para la defensa del orden imperante: hizo viable la alternativa de un discurso de la sinrazón. [...] Don Juan se humaniza -se hace hombre- y pierde así su carga monstruosa. No surge, como en la literatura de vampiros, la necesidad del castigo ejemplar para preservar el orden [...]. El vampiro, por lo tanto, viene a asumir, dentro de las monstruosidades generales con las que la burguesía verá cercado su universo, el ataque concreto a la familia. (Monleón 25, 29, 19, 22).

On the other hand, the comic vein has also achieved different fusions of the Don Juan archetype, for instance with Harlequin and the Vampire, which are discussed in this essay. Existing hybrid plays of a donjuanesque vampire corroborate the natural transition of the Don Juan myth into the Vampire myth. In fact, as it is defended in this essay, Don Juan as a comic character has been very popular and celebrated in English literature and spectacles during early nineteenth century, in contradiction with Marin's claim:

En Inglaterra el mito no ha sido nunca popular y su interpretación tiende a ser grotescamente cómica o irónica, alterando radicalmente el carácter del héroe y utilizándolo como medio de satirizar la sociedad y su falso moralismo. Don Juan resulta aquí un excéntrico que choca con la mentalidad más o menos puritana, mientras que en los países latinos no deja de ser un hombre normal que lleva sus aspectos sexuales a extremos condenables y con el cual se puede identificar hasta cierto punto el público (Marín 401).

16 Actually, Don Juan is associated to a locust in the original play as well:

Y tú, señor, eres / langosta de las mujeres; (y con público pregón! / Porque de ti se guardara, cuando a noticia viniera de la que doncella fuera, fuera bien se pregona: Guárdense todos de un hombre, que a las mujeres engaña, y es el burlador de España. (Tirso de Molina)