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EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY POLITICS AND PATRONAGE: MUSIC AND THE REPUBLICAN REVOLUTION OF NAPLES

ANTHONY R. DELDONNA

ABSTRACT

In December 1798 the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, with Naples as its capital, capitulated to the Republican armed forces of France under the direction of General Championnet. The establishment of the First Republic of Naples, the so-called Parthenopean Republic, was brief, lasting only until June 1799. Although fleeting, the Republic nevertheless exercised a profound effect on virtually every facet of contemporaneous society, especially music and theatre. In this essay I examine musical life during the first Republic of Naples (1798–1799), based upon surviving primary sources.

*These sources include legal and civic documents, personal diaries and correspondence, employment rosters, newspapers (*giornali*), opera librettos and musical compositions. They illustrate the effects of the revolution on contemporary artistic practices, specifically with regard to those political and social uses of the operatic stage by the new regime that had consequences for repertory choice, production practices, theatrical management and the artists themselves. The bringing-together of these sources provides not only a detailed chronicle of contemporaneous events, but also significantly furthers present-day understanding of artistic practices during the Republic as well as providing a context for the policies enacted with the restoration of the Bourbon monarchy.*

In December 1798 the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, with Naples as its capital, capitulated to the Republican armed forces of France under the direction of General Championnet. The establishment of the First Republic of Naples, the so-called Parthenopean Republic, was brief, lasting only until June 1799. This fleeting six months of French rule nevertheless exercised a profound effect on virtually every facet of contemporary society, especially music and theatre. These historical events and their impact on local artistic practices, institutions and musicians have been underestimated by music historians. In this article I offer an overview of musical life both during the first Republic of Naples (1798–1799) and immediately after the restoration of the Bourbon Monarchy, demonstrating the critical significance of this period through an array of archival, historical and musical sources.[1]

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1 The primary sources consulted for this study are housed in the following institutions: Archivio di Stato Napoli (ASN), the Biblioteca della Storia Patria (BSP), the Biblioteca Nazionale (BNN) and the Biblioteca del Conservatorio San Pietro a Majella (I-Nc). The documents consulted at the Archivio di Stato were found in the *fondo* Casa reale antica and the Antichi tribunali. The Biblioteca della Storia Patria is located within the Castello Maschio Angioino (or Castel Nuovo) in Naples. It is a private archive which houses numerous civic records from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Of particular interest for this study were the manuscript copies of the *Monitore Napoletano*. The Biblioteca

A brief précis concerning the Kingdom of Two Sicilies will serve to contextualize the establishment of the First Republic. The Kingdom of Two Sicilies was founded as an autonomous monarchy by Charles Bourbon (Carlo di Borbone, 1716–1788) in 1735, with Naples as its capital.[2] Naples became the focal point for the political, social and cultural geography of the kingdom and left an indelible imprint on contemporary European artistic practices. A significant role in the representation of the Bourbon monarchy to the local nobility, Neapolitan public and the continent itself was entrusted to the stage, officially in the building of the Teatro di San Carlo[3] and its preference for the heroic operas of Pietro Metastasio.[4] The Neapolitan court assiduously appropriated the stage to present a sublime portrait of itself, its policies and the well-being of the state and its citizens. Thus political philosophy and theatrical spectacle forged an intimate and continuing relationship that endured until the end of the century.[5] Although Charles Bourbon ultimately relinquished his rule in 1759 to ascend to the Spanish throne, the close rapport between the state and stage was rigorously maintained in the *secondo settecento* by his successor Ferdinand IV[6] and his Austrian wife Maria Carolina.[7]

Nazionale also contains several manuscript copies of the *Monitore* as well as other documents germane to this article. The items consulted include legal and civic documents, personal diaries and correspondence, employment rosters, newspapers, opera librettos and musical compositions.

2 After a period of more than two hundred years spent as a Spanish possession (1503–1707) and the fleeting dominion of Austria (1707–1734), Naples was reclaimed by Philip V and constituted as an autonomous state, with his son Charles Bourbon (Charles III) as its absolute monarch. Girolamo Imbruglia has noted that 'the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies was constituted, developed, and died between 1734 and 1799. It was born as a monarchy in 1734, and ended as a revolutionary republic in June 1799'. See Girolamo Imbruglia, *Naples in the Eighteenth Century: The Birth and Death of a Nation State*, ed. Imbruglia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 1. The Peace of Vienna was the instrument for returning Naples and Sicily to the Spanish Bourbons, Philip V and Elisabeth Farnese. The ascent of their eldest son Charles Bourbon as sovereign of the newly created kingdom was officially confirmed in 1735. Sicily was governed, however, by a viceroy appointed by the King. The standard reference work for the musical practices and culture of eighteenth-century Naples remains Michael F. Robinson, *Naples and Neapolitan Opera* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1985). See also Francesco Degrada, '"Scuola napoletana" e "opera napoletana": nascita, sviluppo e prospettive di un concetto storiografico', in *Il Teatro di San Carlo, 1737–1987*, ed. Bruno Cagli and Agostino Ziino (Naples: Electa Napoli, 1987), volume 2, 9–20.

3 The construction of the San Carlo Theatre was initiated on 11 March 1737 and completed in an astonishing six months. It replaced the antiquated San Bartolomeo Theatre, which had presented stage dramas since the mid-seventeenth century. The design of the San Carlo was entrusted to the architect Giovanni Antonio Medrano, who planned the theatre as 'a ferro di cavallo', or horseshoe pattern. The impresario Angelo Carasale also played a significant role in the artistic philosophy of the theatre and its exclusive cultivation of opera seria. See Franco Mancini, 'Il San Carlo del Medrano 4 novembre 1737 – 13 febbraio 1816', in *Il Teatro di San Carlo*, volume 1, 25–88.

4 The relatively exclusive subscription to the dramas of Pietro Metastasio was among the first resolutions promulgated by the overseers of the Royal Theatre. The Uditore Generale dell'Esercito Erasmo Ulloa San Severino (who was entrusted by the King with direct supervision over the construction of San Carlo) noted in early March 1737 that 'there is no doubt among poets, who in the present century excelled in the composition of dramas, the most concise, in which the character of the feigned sovereigns and heroic parts are better adorned and furnished, is the renowned Abbot Pietro Metastasio'. See Benedetto Croce, 'I teatri di Napoli', in *Archivio Storico per le province Napoletane*, Anno XVI-Fascicolo II (Naples: R. Tipografia Francesco Giannini & Figli, 1891), 546–548.

5 Rigid control of theatrical spectacle was evident even in the opera calendar itself, so that all premieres coincided with important events in the lives of the royal court, thus providing Naples with a season unlike that of any other major city on the Italian peninsula. During the reign of Charles Bourbon the opera season started on 4 November, the feast of his patron saint. Royal intervention also meant that the King personally approved the sale and location of each box in the theatre. When Ferdinando IV assumed majority, the calendar was altered to reflect significant days within his immediate family. For example, the inaugural opera was moved to 13 August, the birthday of the Queen Maria Carolina. See Paolo Fabbri, 'Vita e funzioni di un teatro pubblico e di corte nel Settecento', in *Il Teatro di San Carlo*, volume 2, 61–76.

6 Ferdinando IV was the third son of Carlo di Borbone and Maria Amalia of Saxony, appointed heir after it was deemed that his older brother was not fit to rule. The negotiations for the engagement of Ferdinando di Borbone to an Austrian

In the last decades of the eighteenth century, Neapolitan cultural and artistic life endured significant changes, attributable to both social reform and, ultimately, political rebellion. Elite associations (whether *accademie* or clubs) promoted by the Crown offered a context for dialogue and debate about the continuing role of the nobility within contemporary society.[8] Essayists such as Francesco Mario Pagano (1748–1799), who were in essence Neapolitan *philosophes*, applied the social contract to existing conditions and offered extended meditations on the prevailing system of feudalism.[9] The outbreak of revolution in France was closely observed by locals (not to mention the monarchy itself), and within three years Neapolitans were corresponding with French patriotic societies. Masonic lodges in Naples (which thrived after the arrival of Maria Carolina, initially in opposition to the Prime Minister, Bernardo Tanucci) were eventually transformed into secret 'Jacobin' societies.[10] It was under the veil of a Masonic lodge that the 'prelude to the revolution' occurred and the first Neapolitan Jacobins were exposed.[11] These organizations disseminated news from France, promoted the ideals of *liberté, fraternité* and *égalité* and prepared for the desired arrival of Napoleon's armies.

The decision of the Bourbon court in 1798 ultimately to declare war and to initiate hostilities against French troops proved to be disastrous. These events culminated in the exile of the Bourbon court to Sicily in December 1798, the surrender of Naples to General Championnet and, finally, the establishment of the First Republic. Similar to its aristocratic predecessor, the new republic closely monitored and maintained rigid control over the theatres of Naples, regardless of whether the repertory was tragic or comic. The stage was

archduchess spanned more than a decade and gave rise to numerous difficulties. At the age of thirteen, Ferdinando was promised to Archduchess Joanna, who succumbed to smallpox prior to their nuptials. The fifth Archduchess, Maria Josepha, replaced her sister, only to suffer the same malady and death on the day prior to her departure for Naples. The Viennese court offered as recompense a choice between Maria Amalia and Maria Carolina, whose portraits were sent to the court of Charles III (the father of Ferdinando and King of Spain) at Madrid. Maria Carolina was selected after a brief period of mourning for Maria Josepha. See Harold Acton, *The Bourbons of Naples* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1958; reprint London: Prion Books Limited, 1998).

7 Maria Carolina was the daughter of Empress Maria Theresa of Austria, and, like her mother, ambitious, wilful and dominating. She was a marked contrast from Ferdinand, who preferred to delegate his official responsibilities to others in favour of more ephemeral pursuits. Maria Carolina began regular attendance at meetings of the Council of State (or royal cabinet) in 1775 and assumed many of her husband's responsibilities. In this position, she helped to foment dissatisfaction with the Prime Minister, Bernardo Tanucci (1698–1783), which culminated in his dismissal in 1776. Tanucci's replacement was the Marchese della Sambuca, Giovanni Beccadelli Bologna, who earned her favour through his prior experience as ambassador to Vienna. This period also marks the ascent of the Englishman John Acton, first as Secretary of State for War and the Navy, and later as Sambuca's replacement as Prime Minister in 1779. Through these actions and many others, Maria Carolina realigned the Kingdom in a rapprochement with Austria and England to the neglect of relations with Spain and France, traditional dynastic and familial allies, who had engendered the very creation of the Neapolitan monarchy. It was natural in such a political climate (where affairs of state were often intertwined with theatrical spectacle) that Maria Carolina also cultivated the stage to shape her public and political image. During the 1780s the figure of Maria Carolina was perhaps most dominant on the royal stage and associated with a series of works featuring feminine protagonists. Montserrat Frigola has surmised that Maria Carolina may have envisioned herself as 'the mythological *Ero* loved by *Leandro*, the exotic and unfaithful *Semiramide*, the jewess *Debora*, the Greeks' *Ipermestra*, *Antigona* and the avenger *Medea*'. See Montserrat Moli Frigola, 'Festeggiamenti reali al San Carlo (1737–1800)', in *Il teatro del re: Il San Carlo da Napoli all' Europa* (Naples: Edizioni scientifiche, 1987), 239. See also Paolo Fabbri, 'Vita e funzioni di un teatro pubblico e di corte nel Settecento', in *Il Teatro di San Carlo*, volume 2, 61–76.

8 See Giovanni Montroni, 'The Court: Power and Social Life', in *Naples in the Eighteenth Century*, 22–43.

9 See Girolamo Imbruglia, 'Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century Naples', in *Naples in the Eighteenth Century*, 70–94.

10 Several studies have outlined the significant role of the Freemasons prior to the revolution, and in particular the transformation of Masonic lodges into 'revolutionary clubs'. Ironically, Charles III was openly hostile to the Freemasons and even issued an edict against their organizations in 1751. See Giovanni Montroni, 'The Court: Power and Social Life', 38–39.

11 For a further explanation of the years immediately prior to the revolution see Mario Battaglini, *La Repubblica napoletana: origini, nascita, struttura* (Rome: Bonacci, 1992), 11–17.

appropriated not just as an emblem of the new regime, but also as a means of direct communication with the remaining nobility and general public.

THE FORGING OF A *GIACOBIN* STATE

With the declaration 'we are free at last, and the day has arrived for us, in which we can proclaim the sacred names of liberty and equality'[12] the *Monitore Napoletano* introduced itself to the Neapolitan public as the official chronicle of the new regime.[13] In its first month of publication (January–February 1799) the *Monitore* revealed that the swift capitulation of the Bourbon state caught the capital city entirely unprepared. Among the denunciations, it noted that the overseers of the Teatro di San Carlo, whether out of defiance or ignorance, premiered the final opera of the season, an opera seria entitled *Nicaboro in Jucatan* (music by Giacomo Tritto and libretto by Domenico Piccinni), on 12 January 'to celebrate the birthday of Ferdinand IV, our most loved sovereign'.[14] The French immediately closed the former royal theatre as a direct response to its management. It might be suggested that as a result of this experience, the Republicans and their local collaborators moved quickly to organize themselves and to appropriate the Neapolitan tradition of spectacle tailored to political purpose.

A subsequent notice in the *Monitore*, confirmed in the personal diary of Carlo De Nicola, confirms a careful coordination between spectacle and the new regime. De Nicola recounts that Sunday 27 January was reserved for 'the public singing of the *Te Deum* in the mother church, to the firing of canons and in the presence of General Championnet'.[15] While curious in light of the French Jacobins' view concerning the separation of church and state, this symbolic gesture was a shrewd calculation to win public support. The celebration occurred at the Cathedral of Naples, whose patron San Gennaro occupied a significant place in the social, religious and political iconography of the city. San Gennaro was not simply the protector of Naples, but a martyr and living hero, whose 'miracle'[16] continued to safeguard the people.[17] Such careful

12 Biblioteca Nazionale Napoli (hereafter BNN), *Monitore Napoletano*, 2 February 1799: 'Siam liberi in fine, ed è giunto anche per noi il giorno, in cui possiamo pronunciare i sacri nomi di *libertà*, e di *uguaglianza*'.

13 Mario Battaglini has noted the existence of several other Republican *giornali* that circulated during the brief life of the Republic. According to Battaglini, each catered to a specific socio-economic readership. For example, the *Veditore repubblicano* was a chronicle whose linguistic style distinguished it as an 'elite' publication. In a similar manner, the *Corriere di Napoli e di Sicilia* was published in bilingual editions (Italian and French). The *Monitore* was the most widely read and without doubt the 'official' chronicle of the Republic. Largely the work of Eleonora Fonseca Pimentel, it represented the voice and interests of the Neapolitan public. See Battaglini, *La Repubblica napoletana.* Battaglini has also prepared a modern edition of the *Monitore Napoletano*; see *Il Monitore Napoletano*, ed. Mario Battaglini (Naples: Guida, 1999).

14 The dedication is taken from the libretto to *Nicaboro in Jucatan*, which is located in the Biblioteca del Conservatorio San Pietro a Majella in Naples: 'Festegiandosi la nascita di Ferdinando IV, nostro amabilissimo sovrano ed alla sua reale maesta dedicato'.

15 Carlo De Nicola, *Diario napoletano 1798–1825* (Naples: Società Napoletana di Storia Patria, 1906), 36: 'Nella mattina della Domenica, cantato, come abbiamo cennato, pubblico *Te Deum* nella Chiesa madre allo sparo del canone, e coll'intervento del Generale Championnet'.

16 The miracle of San Gennaro occurs each year on one of the three dates linked to the saint: either the vigil of the first Sunday of May (date of the conveyance), 16 December (the anniversary of the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in 1631, on which the people invoked the saint and the eruption ceased) and 19 September (the date of his martyrdom). The miracle itself involves the reliquefaction of the saint's blood, which is kept in two ampoules. The first notice of the miracle is traced to the Feast of the Assumption on 17 August 1389.

17 The political significance of San Gennaro's miracle can be gauged by the events of 1761. The failure of the blood to liquefy that year was the basis for the expulsion of the Jesuits during the Regency of Bernardo Tanucci (which was supported, nevertheless, by Charles III, who had already assumed the Spanish throne in 1759, but remained very much a strong presence in Naples).

choreography not only helped to assert the legitimacy of the new Republic, but also to insinuate its role as another 'protector' of the populace. The same day (27 January, albeit in the evening), the Teatro di San Carlo was reopened in perfect synchronicity with the earlier celebrations. It was rechristened as the Teatro Nazionale and featured the aforementioned *Nicaboro in Jucatan*, this time, however, touted 'to celebrate the expulsion of the tyrant [with] an analogous hymn and ballet in the second act'.[18] Extant libretti from these performances indicate that the former personnel of the San Carlo were simply retained for the Republican celebration.[19] The score to *Nicaboro in Jucatan*, however, does not reveal any specific revisions undertaken to adapt it to the Republican agenda. Contemporary with this resumption of theatrical performances, an edict was issued requiring each of the local theatres to reserve a box for members of the new government, one 'distinguished by the tricolour banner and by other emblems indicative of liberté'.[20]

The use of the dramatic stage to promote the Republican agenda was rapidly incorporated into the new system of laws. The Minister of Interior, the Neapolitan Francesco Conforti, summarized the formal policy, stating 'the theatre, which disseminates vice and virtue equally, according to its direction, constitutes one of the most envied instruments of the administration, in order to ensure that the people not embrace feelings other than patriotism, virtue and moral health'.[21] To this end, the Republicans sought to delineate their constituency, and distinguished three classes of Neapolitans: 'the first [is] comprised by the feudal lords and the entire nobility, the second the middle class, and the third the agricultural workers, artisans and craftsmen . . . [this last class is] called "bassi", although they will be the most useful and necessary for society'.[22] The rationale for concern about the 'bassa gente' was clear: they were considered the most politically volatile and perhaps most easily cultivated. Conforti's statement of policy and these demographic renderings were integrated in the form of two initiatives undertaken by the Regime. In an attempt to gain their complicity, the *Monitore Napoletano* was published in a Neapolitan-language edition. Its effectiveness, however, was limited by the high rate of illiteracy; hence the government changed its focus to theatrical forms popular among this class. In particular, 'those forms of portable theatre featuring puppets which entertain the lower classes in the piazzas . . . must be made to present democratic subjects; and those of ballad singers, who similarly sing in the piazzas the fables of Rinaldo and Orlando, should sing educational *canzone* in Neapolitan'.[23] The careful language of this statement underlines an ongoing apprehension about the role of the general populace in the Republic. The potential means of communication, whether portable theatre or ballads, were the most direct forms of expression to, and interaction with, the *bassa gente*. These modes of entertainment and interaction, moreover, were traditionally cultivated in the local language, making them particularly suitable to their potential demographic.[24]

18 BNN, *Monitore Napoletano*, 2 February 1799: 'Nel Teatro Nazionale, di S. Carlo si dà il Nicaboro per solennizzare la espulsione del Tiranno: nel secondo atto inno e ballo analogo'.

19 See Paologiovanni Maione and Francesca Seller, *Teatro di San Carlo di Napoli: Cronologia degli spettacoli (1737–1799)* (Naples: Altrastampa, 2005), volume 1, 316. Also see Francesco Melisi, *Catalogo dei libretti d'opera in musica dei secoli XVII e XVIII* (Naples: Conservatorio di Musica San Pietro a Majella, 1985), 169.

20 BNN, *Monitore Napoletano*, 2 February 1799: 'Distinto da uno stendardo tricolore e da altri emblemi analoghi della libertà'.

21 BNN, *Monitore Napoletano*, 12 March 1799: 'Il teatro, onde si propaga equalmente il vizio che la virtù, a misura della direzione che gli si dà deve formare uno degli oggetti più gelosi della cura e vigilanza delle Amministrazioni, per non soffrire, che il popolo venga da altri sentimenti animato, che da quelli del patriottismo, della virtù e della sana morale'.

22 BNN, *Monitore Napoletano*, 9 February 1799: 'La prima dei magnati, de' Feudatari e di tutta la Nobilità; la seconda del ceto di mezzo e la terza del popolo applicato all'agricoltura, alle arti illiberali e ad altri mestieri chiamati bassi quantunque siano i più utili e necessari alla società'.

23 BNN, *Monitore Napoletano*, 9 February 1799: 'La mozione i quali con teatro portatile di burattini van divertendo il minuto popolo per le piazze, faccian anche da questi trattar soggetti democratici; e quei cantastorie, che similmente per le piazze cantan favole di Rinaldo ed Orlando, cantino delle istruttive canzoni napoletane!'

24 An important early collection of political *canzone* was compiled by Benedetto Croce, *Canti politici del popolo napoletano* (Naples: G. M. Priore, 1892).

The reorientation of the dramatic stage also extended to the comic theatres of Naples. The three primary institutions (the Fondo, Nuovo and Fiorentini) had historically cultivated the middle class. In recent years, ironically due to the personal interest of Ferdinando IV, these theatres had catered more toward the upper middle class and select members of the nobility.[25] The Republic generally maintained this focus, however, with an increasing emphasis on classical drama. In March 1799, the Teatro del Fondo was reopened as the Teatro Patriotico, and commissioned by the government to stage Metastasio's *Catone in Utica*.[26] And this preference was also extended to the Teatro de' Fiorentini, which staged Vittorio Alfieri's[27] tragedy, *La Virginia*. These dramas were clear representations of Republican values. They extolled the virtues of ancient Rome through meditations on liberty, justice, honesty and ethics, while also condemning the tyranny of dictators such as Caesar or Appio Claudio, either of which could have personified Ferdinando IV. The resonance of these performances was registered by the *Monitore Napoletano*, which noted that 'the repeated applause the public gave to both [works] has indicated to the performers those subjects which are to be staged and the ideas that are pleasurable to them'.[28] It is also worth noting that the Teatro Nazionale (the former San Carlo) was relegated to hosting an equestrian spectacle, an event that caused considerable damage to the former royal theatre.[29] The significant position of the theatres in promoting the Republican cause was underlined during Lent 1799. The Comitato di Polizia departed from tradition and ordered that all Neapolitan theatres remain open through Lent to present officially sanctioned works.[30]

Republican spectacles continued unabated into the spring of 1799, even as forces loyal to the Bourbons, the so-called San Fedesti,[31] reclaimed a number of the surrounding provinces and drew nearer to Naples.[32] The government nevertheless proclaimed a 'festa nazionale' in May, organizing public celebrations

25 Ferdinando IV was also known for his long-standing patronage and personal cultivation of comic opera, initially at his private theatres in Naples and Caserta. In 1776 he broke with tradition and attended performances at the Nuovo and Fiorentini theatres. These occasions marked the first appearance of a Neapolitan sovereign at the local public theatres of the capital. Ferdinando's preference for San Carlo was undoubtedly a primary influence on the court's decision in the 1780s to assume direct management of the comic theatres.

26 Although the specific version of the libretto used for the staging of Metastasio's *Catone in Utica* is unknown, and in all likelihood has not survived, it can be assumed that there was a reversion to the original version of the drama, which praises the Republican Cato rather than Caesar. The Teatro del Fondo had already staged the opera *Aristodemo*, based on Vincenzo Monti's libretto (1754–1828). Monti exemplified the identity crisis that many Italian intellectuals faced at the end of the eighteenth century. His work was a reflection of his own experiences, which began in a conservative vein, with disdain for the Revolution in France, only for him to reverse course and become an ardent supporter of Republicanism. Monti ultimately found himself in Milan as a supporter of the Cisalpine Republic and then in Naples for the Second Republic (1808–1815).

27 Vittorio Alfieri (1749–1803) was one of the most important political voices in Italian literature of the later eighteenth century. His primary influence was the Enlightenment and the associated themes of liberty, truth and rebellion against tyranny. His prodigious output includes nineteen tragedies, seventeen satires and six comedies. See Massimiliano Boni, *L'Alfieri e la Rivoluzione francese con altri scritti alfieriani* (Bologna: IM, 1974).

28 BNN, *Monitore Napoletano*, 5 March 1799: 'Il pubblico con ripetuti applausi dati all'una ed all'altra ha mostrato a' Comici quali siano i soggetti, ch'egli ama rappresentati, ei sentimenti di cui solo si compiace'.

29 The *Monitore Napoletano* advertised the celebration as 'per dare a questo Pubblico delle rappresentazioni e spettacoli di maneggio di Cavalli'. DeNicola also makes note of this event in his diary. It is interesting to note that there was considerable disagreement about the staging of this event. The *Veditore Republicano* published a scathing criticism of the spectacle.

30 For further information see Benedetto Croce, 'I teatri di Napoli', 546ff.

31 The terms 'San Fedesti' and 'Sanfedismo' originally referred to the Army of the Santa Fede (or Protectors of the Faith), which was comprised of ordinary citizens opposed to the Republicans. These terms have been extended to signify opposition to any form of reactionary or clerical ideology. See Alberto Consiglio, *Lazzari e Santa Fede (rivoluzione Napoletana del 1799)* (Milan: Ceschina, 1936).

32 Both DeNicola and the *Monitore Napoletano* note with increasing frequency the encroachment of Royalist forces around Naples. The entries in DeNicola for 28 April and 2, 5 and 10 May are quite detailed in their accounts.

and staging new theatrical works. Among the more spectacular was one held on 19 May at the Piazza del Castello[33] that featured the burning of the Bourbon flag and other symbols of the monarchy. The *Monitore Napoletano* noted in its report on the event that 'the students of the music conservatories performed a patriotic hymn, written by the noted citizen and poet Luigi Rossi and composed by Maestro [Domenico] Cimarosa'.[34] The diarist De Nicola mentions that 'there were several other hymns (one written by Vincenzo Mundo and the other by Eugenio Palumbo) composed by Cimarosa and [Giovanni] Paisiello'.[35] Cimarosa's hymn has survived and it provides a glimpse into the musical qualities preferred by the Republicans.

The so-called 'Inno della Repubblica Partenopea' resides in the present-day Conservatory of Naples (San Pietro a Majella) in two versions.[36] The first is a reduction for piano, presented without textual underlay, in the hand of the composer (Example 1). The second version is given in full score, again in the composer's hand, with a vocal setting of the first two strophes of the poetry. The poem extols the spirit of the revolution: 'Bell'Italia, ormai ti desta! / Italiani, all'armi! all'armi !/Altra sorte a noi non resta / Che di vincere o morir / Dalla terra dei delitti / mosse il passo il fuoco audace / e nel sen di nostra pace / venne l'empio ad infierir'.[37] The musical accompaniment to the hymn is in essence a wind band featuring horns, clarinets, oboes, bassoon and bass (Example 2). The vocal corps features two soprano soloists (doubled by the oboes) supported by an SATB chorus.

The music is comprised of two melodies, spanning twenty-five bars and marked by martial rhythms in what can be assumed to be a march tempo in 2/4 metre. The existence of additional strophes to the poem (which are not present in the autograph manuscript) suggests that Cimarosa utilized the initial stanza ('Bell'Italia, ormai ti desta') as a refrain alternating with the remainder of the poetry. This interpretation is strengthened by the organization of the full score itself. The first melody (bars 1–12) is set to the initial poetic strophe, while the second (and perhaps all subsequent verses) is sung to the second melody (bars 13–25). The score then provides an indication for the return to the singing of the initial strophe and its melody (Example 2). Both melodies are nevertheless entrusted to the solo voices, which are joined and/or punctuated by the SATB chorus. It is also conceivable, given the context of an open-air celebration, that those in attendance were implored to join the singing of the refrain. The performance style aside, the very existence of Cimarosa's hymn is significant.

Like their French counterparts, and undoubtedly under their sway, the Neapolitan Republicans made a distinction in the types of music cultivated, namely songs and hymns. The promotion of song in Neapolitan dialect (as noted earlier) was meant to reach the *bassa gente* and as such was an oral tradition, which also explains the dearth of extant notated music. In contrast, hymns such as those by Cimarosa were more formal in both composition and performance. Both of these qualities are evident in Cimarosa's work. It is an original melody (as opposed to appropriating an indigenous melody), arranged for a wind ensemble (another French influence) and set to poetic verses. It is no coincidence, on the verge of the revolution's failure, that the poetry to Cimarosa's hymn implores the audience to 'take arms as there is no other means remaining, only that of victory or death'. The musical qualities and context of performance, and the open-air festival, are also significant indicators of the impetus for this celebration. Taking all the evidence into consideration, it appears highly likely that the Neapolitan Republicans were attempting to emulate the Parisian fêtes of the 1790s.

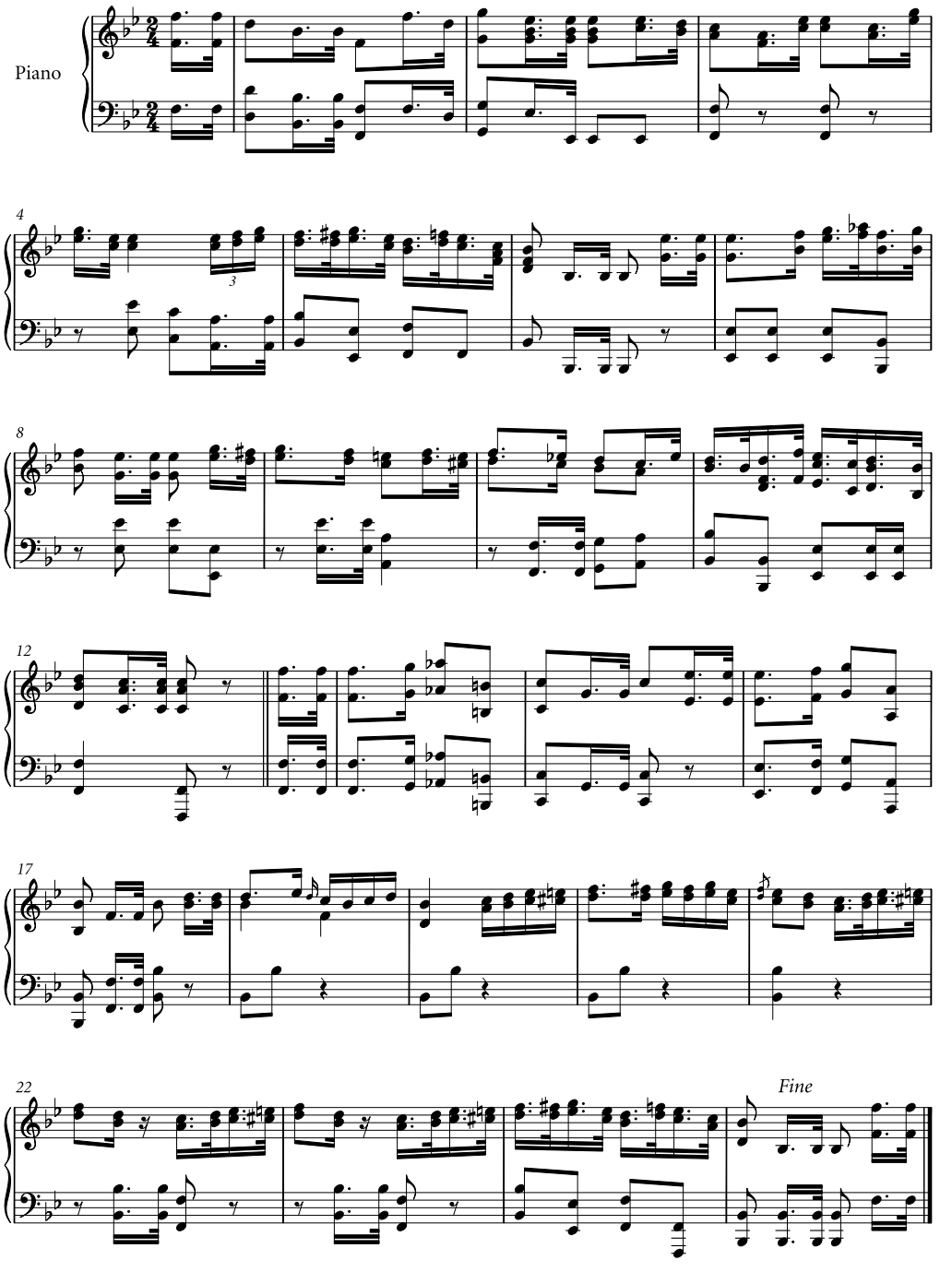
33 The Piazza del Castello was chosen because of its past political significance. It was the site of the first popular uprising in Neapolitan history, the so-called Masaniello Revolt.

34 BNN, *Monitore Napoletano*, 25 May 1799: 'I giovani del Conservatorio di Musica intuonano allora un inno patrottico, poesia del noto Cittadino e Poeta Luigi Rossi, e composizione del Maestro Cimarosa'. Carlo DeNicola also notes this event in his diaries.

35 DeNicola, *Diario napoletano 1798–1825*, 144: 'Si sono ancora cantati alcuni Inni composti uno da Vincenzo Mundo [Monti], l'altro da Eugenio Palumbo e posti in musica da [Domenico] Cimarosa e [Giovanni] Paisiello, maestro di Cappella Nazionale'.

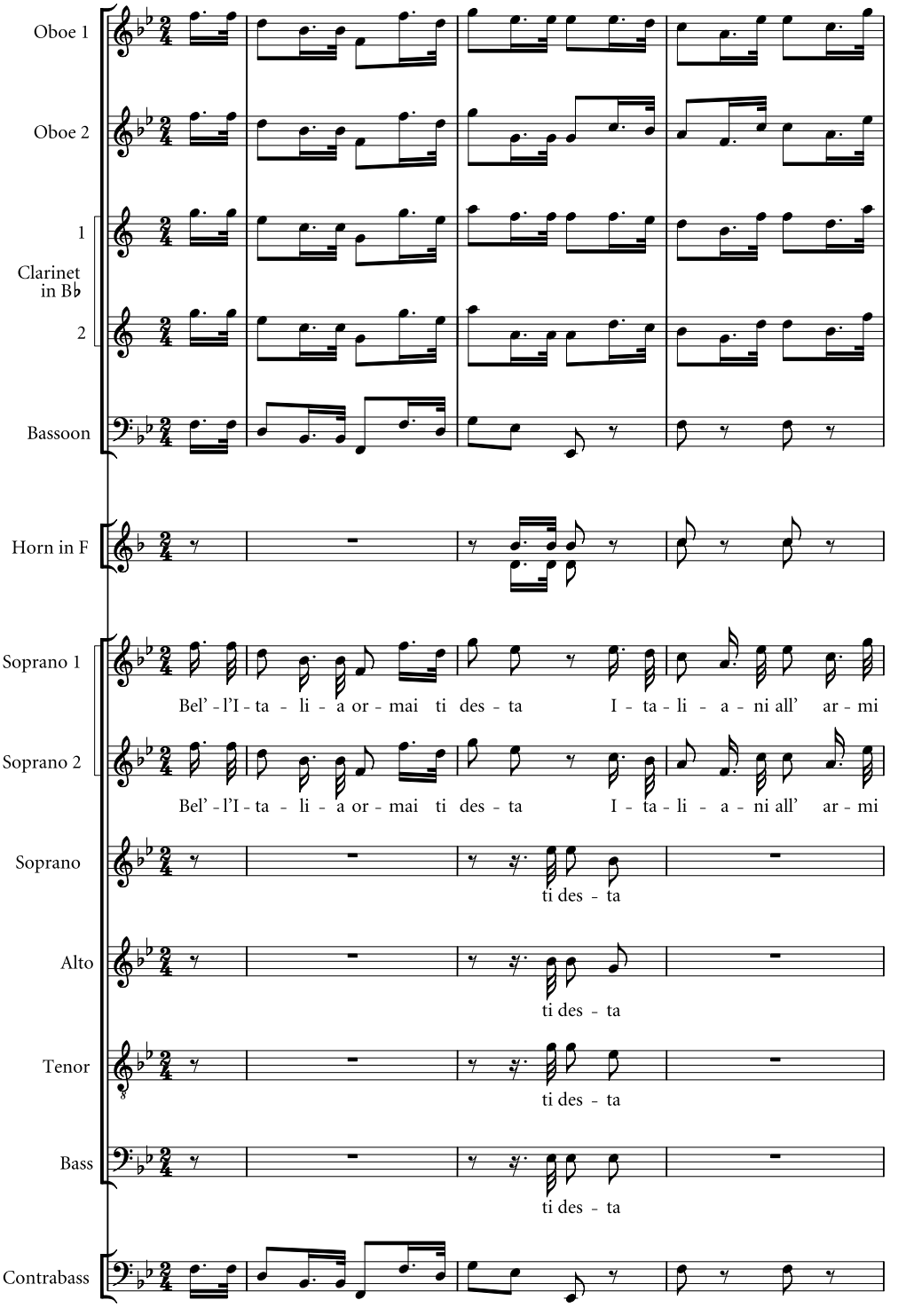
36 The catalogue number for the autograph at San Pietro a Majella is I-Nc Rari 1.6.7(29).

37 I-Nc Rari 1.6.7(29).



Example 1 Domenico Cimarosa, 'Inno della Repubblica Partenopea' (piano version, 1799; I-Nc, shelfmark Rari 1.6.7(29))

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1478570607000929 Published online by Cambridge University Press



Example 2 Domenico Cimarosa, 'Inno della Repubblica Partenopea' (piano version, 1799; I-Nc, shelfmark Rari 1.6.7(29))

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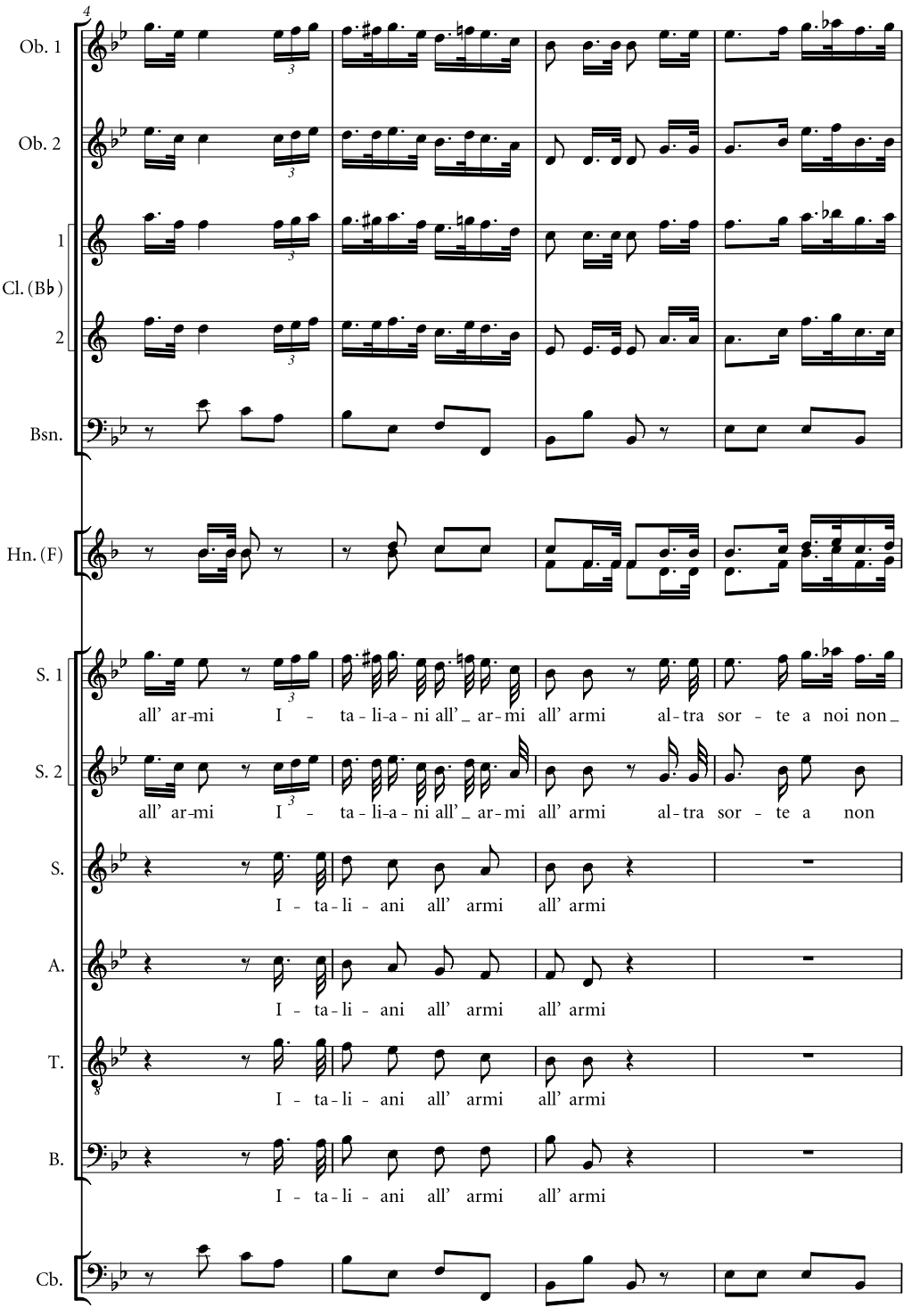

Example 2 *continued*

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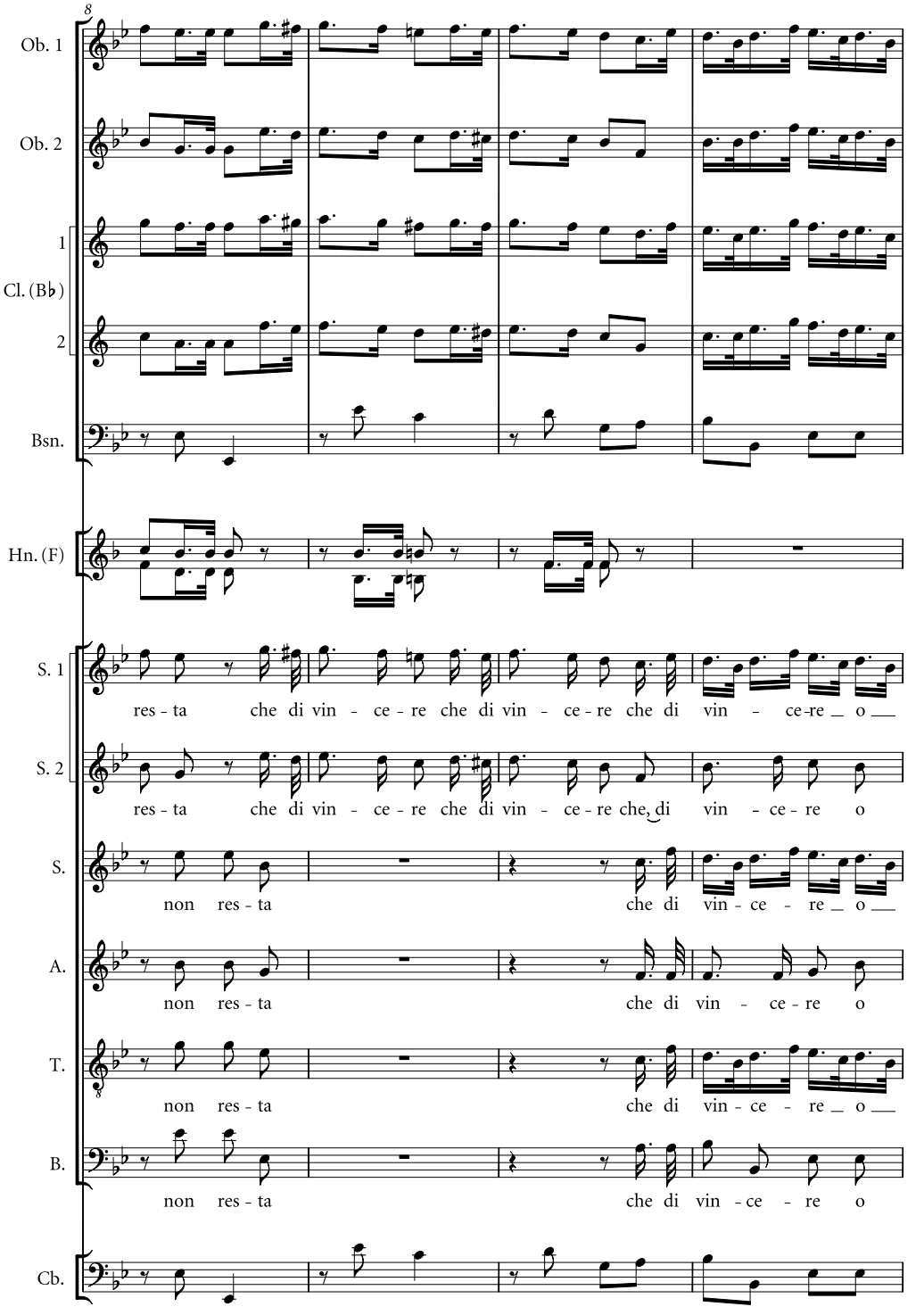

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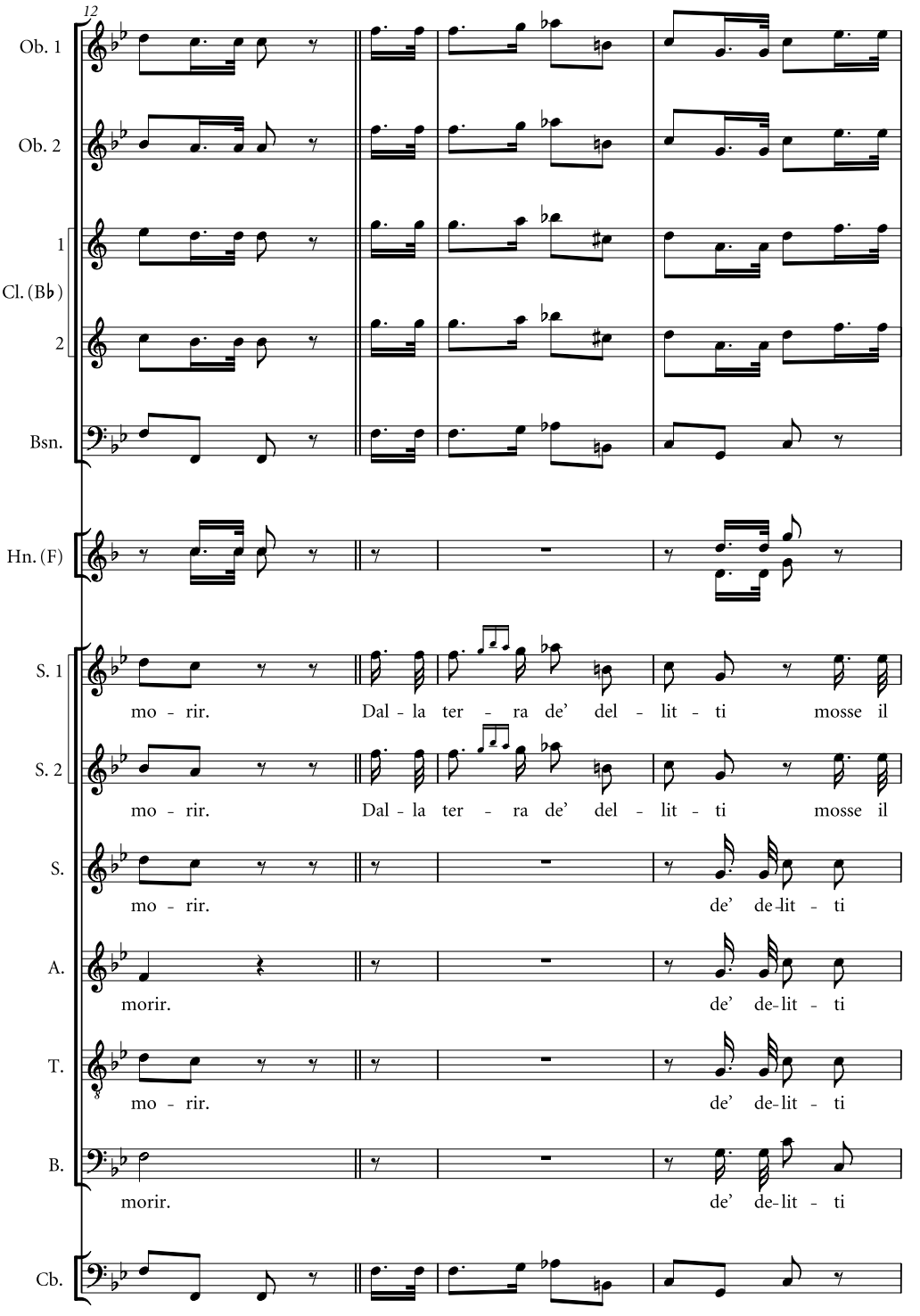

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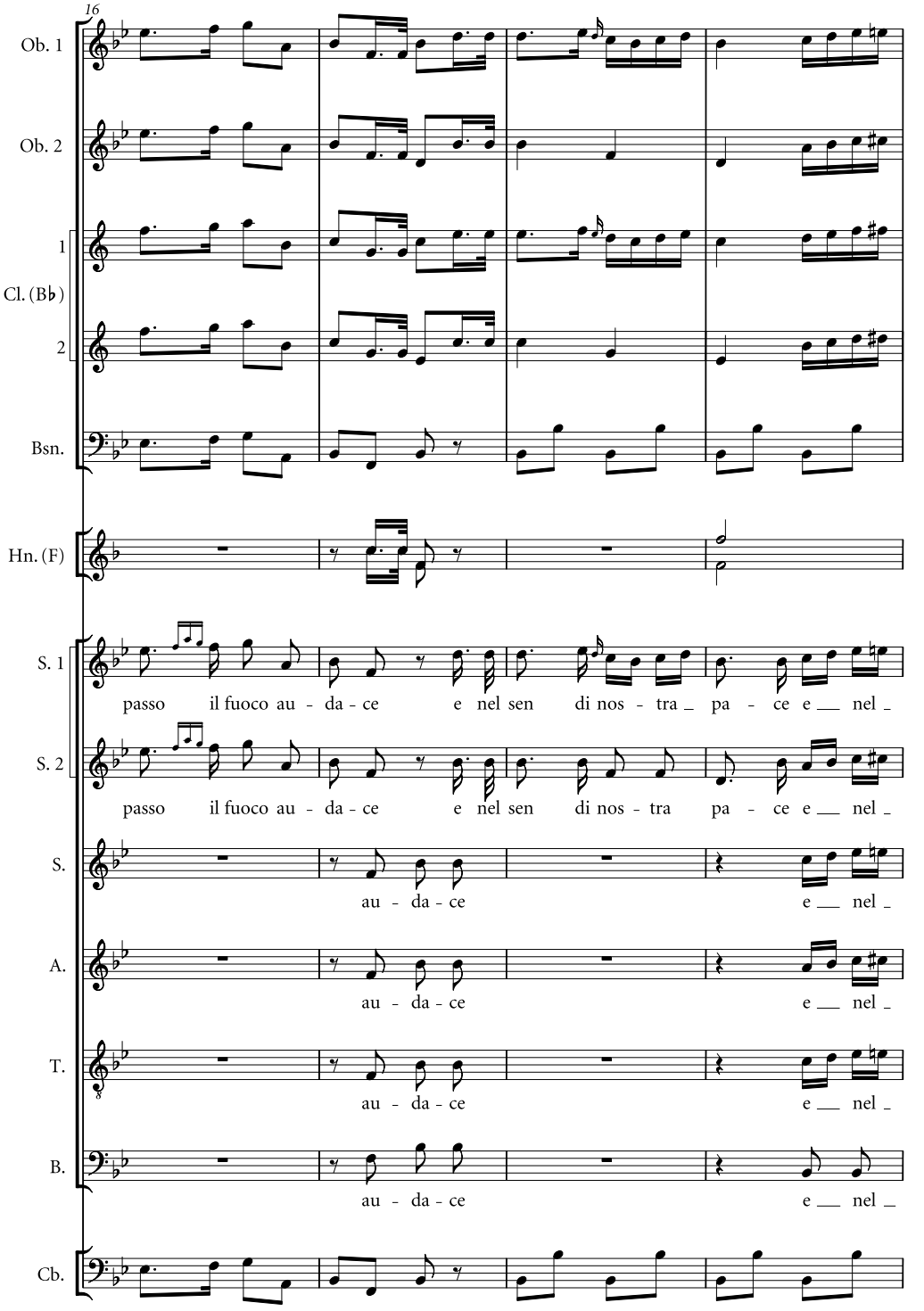

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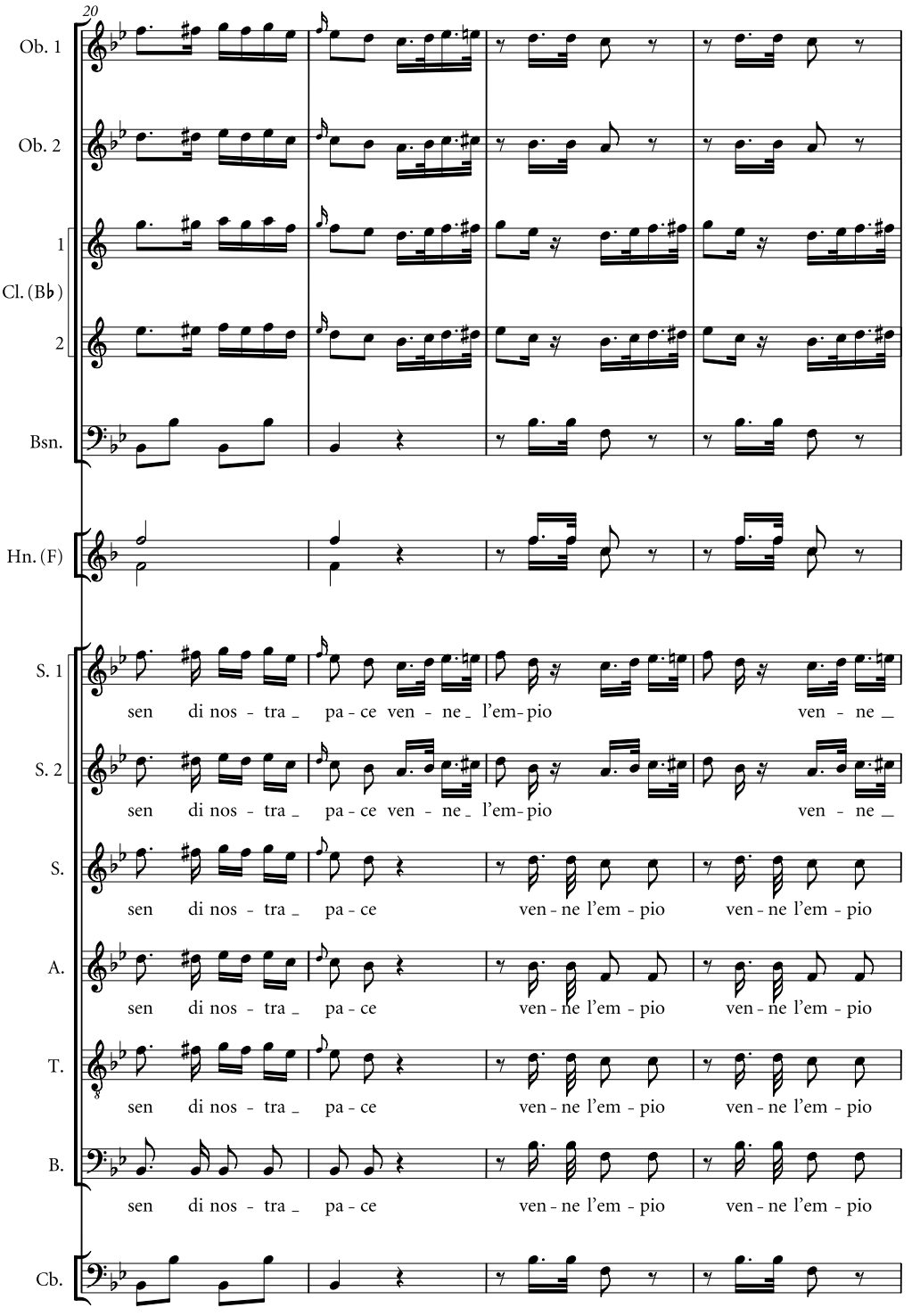

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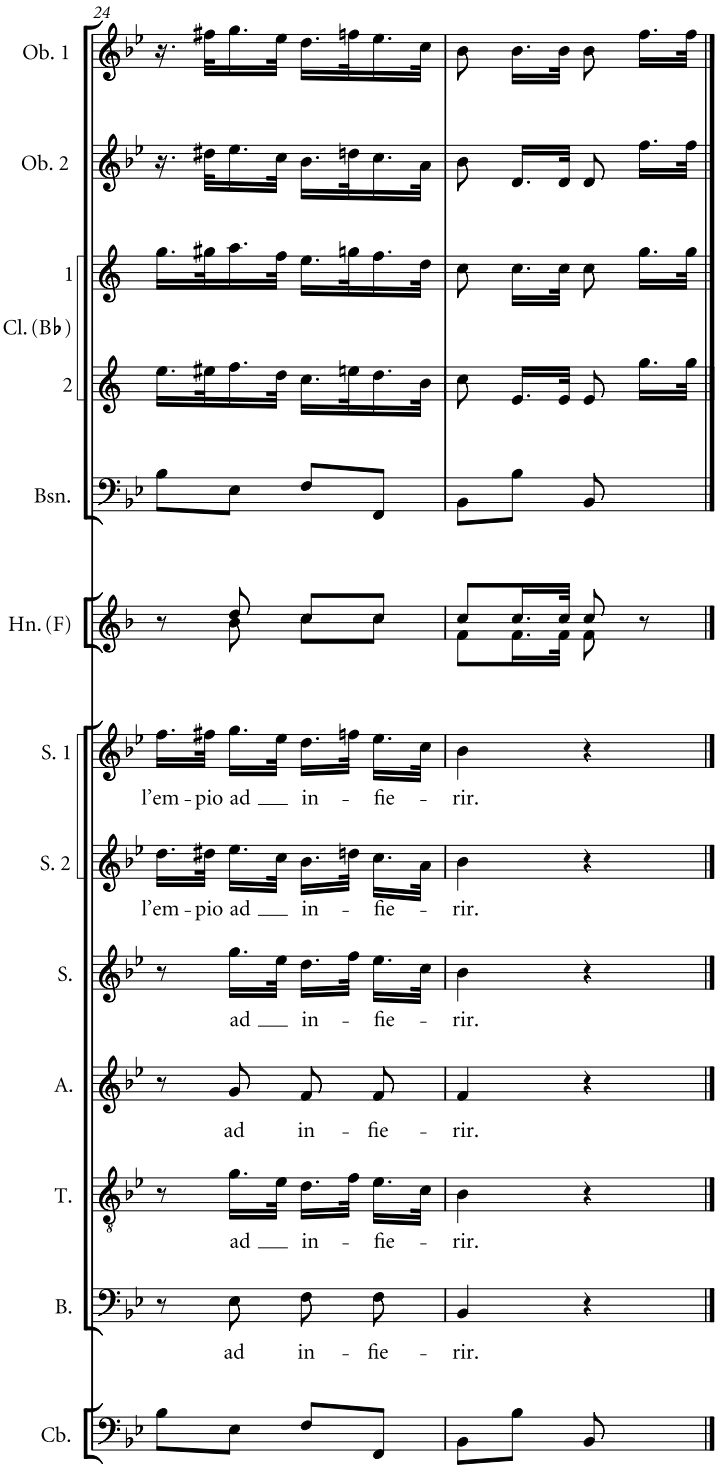

Example 2 *continued*

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The revelry sponsored by the Republicans continued on 24 May, with the premiere of another tragedy by Alfieri, the drama *Timoleone*, at the Teatro Patriotico (formerly the Fondo). It was advertised by the regime as 'a great mirror of perfection, of moral and Republican virtues, this historic preserver of the rights of man'.[38] The Feast of Corpus Domini[39] on 29 May was also appropriated by the Republicans and marked the further complicity of Paisiello. According to varied sources, the traditional procession to the church of Santa Chiara by sacred and secular dignitaries culminated in 'the singing of the mass, by the best voices [of Naples] and composed by the famous Paisiello, *maestro di Cappella nazionale*'.[40] 4 June marked the performance of a cantata entitled *Il vero patriottismo* at the Fondo Theatre. De Nicola remarked that 'the story is none other than that of a young man who wants to leave his lover in order to take up arms with the insurgents'.[41] This undertaking was aimed at the middle class, as it extolled obedience to the state and a call to arms before all other virtues. It might be suggested that the performance of *Il vero patriottismo* was a realistic acknowledgement of the impending defence of Naples and perhaps even an attempt at recruiting natives to combat the Royalists. The end of the Republic was near as Royalist forces began their siege and entry into Naples only ten days later on 14 June 1799. With the capitulation of the Republicans, the momentary flickering of nationalism, self-rule and, one can suggest, even the Enlightenment itself came to a brutal end.

THE RESTORATION OF THE BOURBON MONARCHY

The official end of the Parthenopean Republic occurred on 19 June 1799 with a treaty signed by representatives of the French and Bourbon forces. The ensuing chaos was surpassed only in the retribution exacted by the royal court. Among his first actions, albeit from the distance of Sicily, Ferdinand IV formed the *Suprema Giunta* to act as the provisional government (while order was restored), and he reactivated the *Giunta di Stato* (or High Court of State) with the special task of prosecuting citizens involved in the revolution. As the 'public voice' of the Republic, the principal local theatres (San Carlo, Fiorentini and Nuovo) and their personnel were cast under immediate suspicion by the Bourbons. The proceedings of the *Giunta di Stato* contain evidence that the royal court meticulously investigated and then prosecuted artists and administrators active at the Neapolitan theatres during the Republic.[42]

The years immediately following the Bourbon restoration are the darkest in the history of Neapolitan artistic life. The royal court acted on the assumption that virtually everyone was a collaborator, suspending all performances and closing the theatres indefinitely.[43] Evidence of the repressive climate is apparent in the numerous supplications made to the government to recommence artistic activities.[44] Beginning in August

38 Croce, 'I teatri di Napoli', 551: 'Gran specchio di semplicità, di virtù morali e Repubblicane fu questo antico sostenitore dei diritti dell'uomo'.

39 The observance of Corpus Domini originated in the thirteenth century and has traditionally been celebrated on the sixtieth day after Easter. It is a feast in veneration of the Eucharist, which represents the 'body' (*corpus*) of Christ in the sacramental ritual of bread.

40 BNN, *Monitore Napoletano*, 1 June 1799: 'Nella Messa, cantata dalle migliori voci, e musica del famoso Paisiello'.

41 De Nicola, *Diario napoletano 1798–1825*, 58: 'Il soggetto non è altro che un giovane, il quale vuole allontanarsi dalla sua amante per andarsi a battere con gli insurgenti'.

42 The proceedings of the *Giunta di Stato* are located in the Archivio di Stato Napoli, Fondo *Antichi tribunali*.

43 Based on extant sources consulted, the Neapolitan theatres were gradually reopened in the course of 1800–1801. The Teatro Nuovo returned to activity with *Gli sposi in cimento* (1800) by Luigi Mosca and Saverio Zini, while the Teatro de' Fiorentini staged *Gli amanti in cimento* (1800, music by P. C. Guglielmi based on the libretto of Giuseppe Palomba). Specific dates for the premieres of these operas are not indicated in either the libretti or Francesco Florimo's catalogue. The Teatro del Fondo reopened during Carnival 1800 with the comedy *L'incontro inaspettato*, with music by Francesco Antonio de Blasis to the libretto of Filippo Cammarano.

44 The supplications are located in the Archivio di Stato Napoli (ASN), Fondo *Casa reale antica*, Fascio 1269 TER. Each supplication bears an arabic numeral (which was in all likelihood added by a later archivist) and several indications of date (generally receipt and response), as well as handwritten annotations.

1799, the volume of supplications grew exponentially, and their tone often takes the form of testimony. Among the first documents is one dated 29 August 1799, in which 'Don Nicola Ricciardi, Impresario of the Teatro de' Fiorentini, asks permission to open said theatre with a cantata entitled *La felicità inaspettata* with an analogous ballet, to be performed by the company of the Teatro del Fondo'.[45] Unsuccessful in his bid, Ricciardi further petitioned the *Giunta di Stato* in October 1799, noting that the event was 'to celebrate the happy return of the glorious royal armies of his majesty'.[46] The concerns of the *Giunta di Stato* are revealed in correlative materials, which highlight the conduct of certain performers. A folio dated 22 October 1799 states 'Antonio Calvarola, alias Tonino, ballerino of the Teatro de' Fiorentini, is suspended from performing by the Giunta di Stato, as he stands accused of being a member of the Civic Guard in the past revolution and having dressed himself in the Republican uniform'.[47] Similar charges were brought against the performers Carlo Pucci and Pietro Caprara.[48] The case of Calvarola is of interest because of his past association with the San Carlo Theatre. Beginning in 1795, Calvarola was a member of the royal ballet corps under the direction of Gaetano Gioja.[49] In light of his prior royal service, Calvarola's actions during the Republic were viewed not simply as objectionable, but as treason. Ricciardi nonetheless petitioned the government again in December 1799, but to no avail. Although it appears that the dancer Calvarola and others were a primary cause for the continued closure of the Fiorentini, the true motive is revealed in other documents. A supplication dated 5 February 1800 shows that Ricciardi renounced his lease to Don Santo Petrosini in the hope that Petrosini would serve as proxy and allow the theatre to open.[50] In March, however, Ricciardi was arrested and quickly sent to the gallows. The death sentence stemmed from his operation of the Fiorentini theatre during the Republic and his engagement of artists like Calvarola, Pucci and Caprara.[51]

In contrast to Ricciardi, Don Antonio Albani (the impresario at the Teatro Nuovo) provided the *Suprema Giunta* with a thorough accounting of activities at the time of the Republic. Albani's extended statement is dated 25 August 1799[52] and candidly admits the performance of politically charged spectacles at the theatre; however, he claims to have acted at the command of Giuseppe Langotela, the theatrical reviser for the Republicans.[53] In the most shocking passages of this document, Albani implicates all but a select few of the vocal corps of the Nuovo. He recounts specifically the representation of the comic opera *Il viaggiatore ridicolo* with the addition of 'a patriotic hymn written by Domenico Piccinni and set to music by maestro di cappella Giuseppe d'Elia, and sung by Mariantonia Falsi, Giovanni Benelli, Fortunato Aprile and Angelina

45 ASN, *Casa reale antica*, f. 3: 'Don Nicola Ricciardi, Impressario del Teatro de' Fiorentini domanda il permesso di aprire tal Teatro con una cantata, che ha il titolo *La Felicità inaspettata* con ballo analogo, da eseguirsi detto Ballo dalla compagnia del R. Teatro del Fondo della Seperazione'.

46 ASN, Fondo *Casa reale antica*, f. 11: 'Per festeggiare il felice ritorno delle gloriose Reali Armi della Vostra Maestà'.

47 ASN, Fondo *Casa reale antica*, f. 12: 'Antonio Calvarola, alias Tognino, Ballerino del Teatro de' Fiorentini essendo stato sospeso ora dal poter ballare, in seguito della rappresentanza della Giunta di Stato, nella quale viene accusato d'essersi ascritto alla Guardia Civica nella passata rivoluzione e di aver vestito Uniforme Repubblicano'.

48 The charges against Pucci and Caprara are also detailed in the folio dealing with Calvarola. The assumption is that they were both members of the dance corps as well. ASN, Fondo *Casa reale antica*, f. 12.

49 See Maione and Seller, *Teatro di San Carlo*, 305–308.

50 The supplication reads: 'Don Santo Petrosini, cessionario dell'Impressario N. Ricciardi, implora il permesso di poter fare rappresentare opere in musica'. ASN, Fondo *Casa reale antica*, f. 36.

51 I was not able to find the actual death sentence in the Neapolitan archives. Instead, Ricciardi was listed among those who were executed and whose names and crimes were then publicly posted.

52 ASN, Fondo *Casa reale antica*, f. 4.

53 In addition, Albani states that it was Langotela who personally revised the dramas *Langravio di Turingia* and *L'uomo condannato prima di nascere* to become *La giustizia democratica* and *L'amore della libertà* respectively. As neither the archives nor Florimo's catalogue make mention of these works in either their original or revised versions, it is impossible to ascertain whether they were intended to be performed as operas or given within the context of some other spectacle.

Albertini'.[54] Albani contends, however, that the remaining singers, Carlo Casaccia, Giovanni Pace and Pietro Sambati,[55] be reinstated, as they were 'always in good conduct, and Royalists, [and] in any case that in the time of the fatal anarchy they had always spoken in secret against [said Republic] and had expressed their desire for the coming of his Royal Highness's armies'.[56] At the close of the document Albani implores the Giunta, 'do not fail to undertake further inquiries regarding the conduct of Piccinni, who wrote the patriotic hymn, and d'Elia, who set it to music'.[57]

The official reaction to, not to mention veracity of, Albani's affidavit is difficult to determine with certainty, as the archives do not contain further proceedings against any of the singers mentioned. It may be that Albani's statement was a shrewd, albeit gutless, attempt at self-preservation given the fate of Ricciardi. Albani may have also sought to retain those whom he viewed as the most valuable of his vocal corps, if the theatre were to reopen after the Bourbon restoration. The latter theory is probable, given that Casaccia[58] and Pace[59] were well known and esteemed by local audiences.[60] Pietro Sambati evidently distinguished himself quickly (at least in the eyes of Albani), as he first appeared at the Fiorentini with the performance of *La finta filosofa* (Spontini/Piccinni) in 1799.[61] The only surviving evidence to confirm the reinstatements of Casaccia, Pace and Sambati derives from Francesco Florimo's extensive chronology of the Neapolitan theatres, which was compiled in the late nineteenth century.[62] Florimo's documents show that Casaccia, Pace and Sambati were included in performances at the Nuovo theatre immediately after the Bourbon restoration.[63]

54 ASN, Fondo *Casa reale antica*, f. 4, paragraph 8: 'Inna Patriottica, composta da Don Domenico Piccinni, messa in musica dal Maestro di Cappella D. Giuseppe d'Elia, e cantato da Mariantonia Falsi, Giovanni Bionelli, Fortunato Aprile, ed Angelina Albertini'. Florimo's catalogue notes the performance of *Il viaggiatore ridicolo* simply as the 'fourth opera' of 1799. This may suggest its performance in the waning of the Republic, namely spring 1799.

55 The surname of Sambati has been recorded in sources in three other variant spellings, as 'Lambatti', 'Zampati' and 'Stampati'.

56 ASN, Fondo *Casa reale antica*, f. 4, paragraph 9: 'Sono stati sempre di buona condotta, e Realisti, in guisa che intempo della funesta anarchia [e] aveano [*sic*] sempre parlato in segreto contro dell [*sic*] medisma ed aveano [*sic*] estoinsecato il diloro desiderio della venuta dell'armi di Vostra Maestà'.

57 ASN, Fondo *Casa reale antica*, f. 4, paragraph 10: 'Che La Giunta istessa non tralascenà di prendere altre indagini sulla condotta di Piccinni, che compose l'inno Patriottico, e di Elia che lo pose in musica'.

58 Casaccia was the heir to a family of prominent Neapolitan performers. Both his grandfather, Giuseppe, and father, Antonio, were considered among the finest bassi buffi of their respective eras, and Carlo also had a distinguished career in the comic theatres of Naples. Casaccia made his debut at the Fiorentini theatre in 1785, in Pietro Guglielmi's *farsa*, *La finta zingara*, and continued to perform until the early nineteenth century. See Colin Timms, 'Casaccia Family', *Grove Music Online*, ed. Laura Macy (accessed 2 June 2005), <http://www.grovemusic.com>.

59 Giovanni Pace was also an experienced performer and had had a long relationship with both the Nuovo and Fiorentini theatres, beginning with his debut at the former in Guglielmi's *Poeta di campagna* in 1792. See Francesco Florimo, *La scuola musicale di Napoli e i suoi conservatorii: con uno sguardo sulla storia della musica in Italia* (Naples: Stabilimento tipografico di Vincenzo Morano, 1880–1882; reprint Bologna: Forni, 1969), volume 4, 143.

60 For further information about the respective careers of Casaccia and Pace see Florimo, *La scuola musicale di Napoli e i suoi conservatorii*, volume 4, 76.

61 Sambati is also listed among the cast for Tritto's *Nicaboro in Jucatan,* which was scheduled for performance at the San Carlo Theatre in January 1799, immediately after the outbreak of the revolt. The frontispiece of the libretto reads: 'NICABORO IN JUCATAN / dramma per musica / di Domenico Piccinni / da rappresentarsi nel real Teatro di S. Carlo / nel dì 12 gennaro [*sic*] 1799 / festeggiandosi / la nascita / di / Ferdinando IV / nostro amabilissimo sovrano / ed alla S.R.M. / dedicato'. See Melisi, *Catalogo*, 169.

62 Francesco Florimo (1800–1888) was a librarian, pedagogue, musicologist and composer who had been trained at the Conservatory of Naples, San Pietro a Majella. He was appointed librarian and archivist there in 1826 and acquired and/or consolidated many of the manuscripts and libretti in the library. Near the end of his career, Florimo began to compile extended histories of Neapolitan music and practice, first with the *Cenno storico sulla scuola musicale di Napoli* (Naples, 1869–1871) and the supplementary *Cenni storici sul Collegio di musica S. Pietro a Majella in Napoli* (Naples, 1873). These two publications were enlarged as *La scuola musicale di Napoli e i suoi conservatorii* (Naples,: Vincenzo

The four singers accused of being Republicans, Albertini, Aprile, Benelli and Falsi, appear to have exonerated themselves of Albani's accusations, as evidenced by their return to the Neapolitan stage. Angela Albertini was perhaps the most successful, as her career continued unimpeded in the succeeding years after the revolution.[64] Albertini performed at the Nuovo until Carnival 1801 and then joined the vocal corps at the Teatro Fiorentini in 1802. It is ironic that her first performance at the Nuovo was a cantata by Francesco Ruggi, composed in honour of the 'return of Ferdinando IV from Sicily'.[65] Albertini remained at the Nuovo for only a single season, which overlapped with her performances as a *seconda parte* at the San Carlo.[66] Albertini even performed at the Palazzo Reale in 1800 for a representation of Luigi Mosca's cantata *L'omaggio sincero*, celebrating the *onomastico* (30 May) of the monarch.[67] The sources are less clear regarding the fates of Fortunato Aprile and Giovanni Benelli, who were also implicated by Albano. Aprile did eventually return to the stage of the Fiorentini in 1803, however, appearing in two operas performed that season, after which there are no further indications of him in Naples.[68] Florimo records a Giovanni *Battista* Benelli in performances at the Nuovo beginning in 1803; whether this was the same vocalist, however, is unknown. Mariantonia Falsi returned to the Nuovo in 1805 and remained for two seasons until 1807.[69] She is also listed as the *seconda parte* 'Filislide' in the *L'oracolo di Delfo* (Raimondi–Scrofani) presented at the San Carlo in 1811.[70]

As the virtual embodiment of the Bourbon state, the San Carlo endured the most rigorous investigation of its practices, personnel and administrators. A primary concern of the monarchy was the conduct of Domenico Cimarosa and Giovanni Paisiello who, prior to the Republic, had had long associations with the royal theatre and the court. Cimarosa had been first organist in the *Real cappella*, while Paisiello was appointed 'composer and maestro della Real Camera' in 1783 by the King.[71] Paisiello's post accorded him considerable influence, not only on the choice of repertory and artists at San Carlo, but also the supervision of the orchestra.[72] The complicity demonstrated by Cimarosa and Paisiello was greeted with shock by the aristocracy,[73] but their actions were redressed in considerably different manners.

Moranno, 1880–83; reprint Arnaldo Forni editore, 2002). See Dennis Libby and John Rosselli, 'Francesco Florimo', *Grove Music Online*, ed. Laura Macy (accessed 12 December 2006), <http://www.grovemusic.com>.

63 Florimo, *La scuola musicale di Napoli e i suoi conservatorii*, volume 4, 147–149.

64 Florimo, *La scuola musicale di Napoli e i suoi conservatorii*, volume 4, 145. Florimo first notes Albertini in the role of Madama Ginetta in *L'impressario burlato* by Luigi Mosca (1797) at the Nuovo theatre.

65 Florimo, *La scuola musicale di Napoli e i suoi conservatorii* , volume 4, 89.

66 Florimo notes her participation in three works in the period of 1801–1802: *Ginerva ed Ariodante* (Tritto–Piccinni); *Scipione in Cartagena* (Cercià–Ferretti) and *Sesostri* (Andreozzi). See *La scuola musicale di Napoli e i suoi conservatorii*, volume 4, 261.

67 Florimo, *La scuola musicale di Napoli e i suoi conservatorii* , volume 4, 485. The libretto is located in the Biblioteca del Conservatorio San Pietro a Majella and the frontispiece reads: 'L'omaggio sincero / componimento drammatico del cavaliere Giuseppe Pagliuca / de' Conti di Manupello da rappresentarsi nel Teatro di Corte festeggiandosi il / giorno del nome della maesta di Ferdinando 4. re delle due Sicilie / dall'eccellentissimo signor Principe di Cassaro suo luogotenente e capitan / generale del Regno / [la musica è del sig. D. Luigi Mosca maestro di cappella napolitano] / Napoli : nella Stamperia Reale, 1800'.

68 Florimo, *La scuola musicale di Napoli e i suoi conservatorii* , volume 4, 91. Based on Florimo's records, Aprile again left the stage and did not return to the Fiorentini until the 1809 season.

69 Florimo, *La scuola musicale di Napoli e i suoi conservatorii* , volume 4, 153–155.

70 Florimo, *La scuola musicale di Napoli e i suoi conservatorii* , volume 4, 269.

71 See Robinson, *Naples and Neapolitan Opera*.

72 Michael Robinson notes that Paisiello was entrusted with the responsibility or reorganizing the make-up and placement of the San Carlo Orchestra in 1796. According to Robinson, Paisiello called for an ensemble comprised of twenty-five violins, four violas, two cellos, six basses, two oboes, two clarinets, four bassoons, four horns and two harpsichords. See Robinson, *Naples and Neapolitan Opera*, 161.

73 Although in exile in Palermo, Ferdinando IV and Maria Carolina kept close tabs on events in Naples. A considerable amount of information was communicated to them through Loyalists still in Naples or the various Republican publications.

On 9 December 1799 a warrant of arrest was issued for Cimarosa based on his participation at the Republican ceremonies of 19 May.[74] He was subsequently convicted by the *Giunta di Stato* and relieved of his duties at the *Real cappella*. His punishment was first imprisonment and then exile from the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Although Paisiello was also arrested and his behaviour condemned in official statements, his treatment was much more lenient. As early as August 1799, the diarist De Nicola recorded, 'today was performed the *Te Deum*, composed and directed by Paisiello, in the church of San Lorenzo. It was said that the composer was prohibited from conducting: however, he has asked for forgiveness.'[75] By the end of 1799 Paisiello had been reappointed to the *Real cappella* (along with many others), and he officially reassumed the posts of composer and *maestro della Real cappella* in July 1801.

The contrasting treatment of Cimarosa and Paisiello reflected their respective activities during the Parthenopean Republic. It was well known that Cimarosa had set at least two hymns[76] in honour of the Republic, the latter of which was performed at the desecration of the Bourbon flag on 19 May (the so-called 'Inno della Repubblica Partenopea') and adopted as the official anthem of the regime. In view of this, it was impossible for Cimarosa to deny his collaboration. Another factor concerning the composer was his opera *Gli Orazi e I Curiazi*. Although composed for Venice and never performed in Naples, the opera was widely acclaimed in Republican circles for its portrayal of ancient Rome and exaltation of duty and honour, themes clearly sympathetic to the Revolution in France. It may also be that the resonance of this work among Republicans was not lost on the Bourbons in their dealings with the composer, and it is evident that Cimarosa was aware of the severity of his situation. In the months following the restoration of the monarchy he composed a *Cantata per il fausto ritorno di Ferdinando IV*.[77] Cimarosa's life was spared (also through the intervention of influential friends) and he was ultimately exiled to Venice.[78]

It appears that the proceedings against Paisiello derived from his continued professional activities (primarily as a conductor) during the Republic rather than any ideological beliefs expressed in his music. Paisiello clearly benefited as well from the assistance of influential associates; however, his relationship with the court in an official capacity can be described as more distinguished than that of Cimarosa. Michael Robinson has shown, though, that the composer's full reinstatement at court did not occur until the

74 De Nicola, *Diario napoletano 1798–1825*, 391.

75 De Nicola, *Diario napoletano 1798–1825*, 372: 'Oggi se è cantato il solenne *Te Deum*, musica di Paisiello, da lui diretta nella detta chiesa di San Lorenzo. Si era detto che al detto maestro era si proibito lo battere, ma egli lo ha chiesto in grazia, dicendo averlo promesso in voto.'

76 The text of the second hymn set by Cimarosa is given in Anna Lisa Sannino, *L'altro 1799. Cultura antidemocratica e pratica politica controrivoluzionaria nel tardo Settecento napoletano* (Naples: Edizioni Scientifice Italiane, 2002), 195–197. The poetry of the second hymn, the *L'Inno da cantarsi sotto l'albero della libertà*, is characterized by the rhetoric and imagery of the Revolution. Similar to the first hymn, the second is structured as an alternation between soloists and chorus, representing the 'voice(s)' of the regime and that of the people, who respond to each strophe with a lengthy refrain. Each verse offered meditations on contemporary events (the raising of the Republican flag and planting of the tree of liberty) while invoking the rituals of ancient Rome. The second strophe is characteristic of the hymn's rhetorical content, proclaiming: 'Cittadini un odio eterno / Qui giurate al serto, al soglio, / Qual giurollo in Campidoglio / Di Quirino la città. / Contro I despoti fugaci / Sorge più d'un Bruto armato / Or che l'albero è innalzato / Della nostra libertà'. Quirino (Quirinus) was among the chief gods of ancient Rome and considered to be the God of War. He was worshipped originally by the Sabines and often associated with Jupiter and Mars. In the late republic he was identified with Romulus, legendary founder of Rome. Thus the republican Rome of Quirinus and Brutus is associated with the raising of a new republic and the triumph of liberty over aristocratic tyranny in contemporary Naples.

77 For a detailed analysis of this cantata see Lucio Tufano, 'La cantata di Cimarosa "In occasione del bramato ritorno di Ferdinando IV"', in *Domencio Cimarosa un 'napoletano' in Europa*, volume 1, ed. Paologiovanni Maione and Marta Columbro (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2004), 469–499. The libretto is located in the Biblioteca della Società Napoletana di Storia Patria in Naples. The call number is S.A. X.B.5.25.

78 Cimarosa has been the subject of numerous biographies. Among the more significant are Nick Rossi and Talmage Fauntleroy, *Domenico Cimarosa: His Life and His Operas* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1999) and Jennifer E. Johnson, 'Domenico Cimarosa 1749–1801', 3 volumes (PhD dissertation, Cardiff University of Wales, 1976).

resumption of formal diplomatic relations between France and Naples,[79] and that Napoleon's personal regard for the composer was the crucial factor. These circumstances culminated in Paisiello's formal relocation to Paris, where he remained from 1802 to 1804, at the request of Napoleon.[80] Paisiello's political leanings were eventually confirmed in his final opera, *I pittagorici*, composed during the second reign of the French in Naples (1808–1815).[81]

EVIDENCE AND INQUIRIES: THE RECOMMENCEMENT OF THEATRICAL PRACTICES

The first step in the reactivation of the theatres by the monarchy was the reinstatement of the *Reale Deputazione de' Spettacoli*.[82] The *Deputazione* was entrusted specifically with the operation and management of all the Neapolitan theatres. Archival documents dating from August 1800 suggest a protocol for the resumption of performances. The *Deputazione* required each theatre to submit its employment roll to the *Giunta di Stato,* who then vetted the political standing of all personnel and their right to continue to perform.[83] Several of these registers have survived, although they vary in their amount of detail.

Table 1 is a summary of two loose folios in the Archivio di Stato pertaining to the personnel under consideration by the Teatro Nuovo for the years 1800–1801 and 1801–1802 respectively. Among the vocalists listed for the 1800–1801 season, and hence subject to royal scrutiny, are Angelina Albertini, Carlo Casaccia and Giovanni Pace. But the remaining performers present an interesting collection of choices. For example, Carmela Pecoraro had never sung in the either the Nuovo or Fiorentini theatres, the two primary comic venues of Naples. Antonio Manna had made his debut at the Nuovo in 1797 and sang at the Fiorentini during the ill-fated 1799 season. Orsola Fabrizi is curious, as her prior experience at the Nuovo was limited to the 1781–1782 season and the 1776–1777 calendar at the Fiorentini. Fabrizi was nevertheless among the singers who performed at the Palazzo Reale to mark the name-day of Ferdinand IV in 1800. Felice Simi does not appear at all in Florimo, and Giuseppe Pecoraro's single performance occurred at the Fiorentini in 1811.[84]

Table 1 also lists the vocal corps projected for the 1801–1802 calendar and reveals a surprising lack of continuity at the Nuovo. Based on these documents, the *Deputazione* proposed an entirely new corps of singers, departing from the long-standing practice in Naples of retaining the same roster for several

79 According to Robinson, Napoleon intervened and negotiated directly with Ferdinando IV, initially securing a temporary release so that Paisiello could visit Paris. Upon the composer's arrival in France, he was offered a permanent position with a generous stipend and living arrangements. See Michael F. Robinson, 'Paisiello e La Cappella Reale di Napoli', in *Musica e cultura a Napoli dal XV al XIX secolo: Naples 1982*, ed. Lorenzo Bianconi and Renato Bossa (Florence: Olschki, 1983), 267–280.

80 Bianconi and Bossa, *Musica e cultura a Napoli*, 268–269. Robinson, 'Paisiello e La Cappella Reale', 268–269.

81 See also Friedrich Lippmann, 'Un'opera per onorare le vittime della repressione borbonica del 1799 e per glorificare Napoleone: *I pittagorici* di Vincenzo Monti e Giovanni Paisiello', in *Musica e cultura a Napoli dal XV al XIX secolo*, 281–306, and Michael F. Robinson, *Giovanni Paisiello: A Thematic Catalogue of His Works*, volume 1 (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1991). Also see Marina Mayrhofer, 'La drammaturgia di Giovanni Paisiello tra Illuminismo e Rivoluzione: *Il Re Teodoro in Venezia* (1784); *I Pittagorici* (1808) in Napoli 1799', ed. Roberto De Simone (Sorrento: F. Di Mauro, 1999).

82 The Reale Deputazione was traditionally comprised of select members of the nobility who formed consortia to manage and operate the San Carlo theatre. Virtually all of the archival sources regarding the resumption of theatrical life begin with the qualifying phrase, 'The *Reale Deputazione de' Teatri e Spettacoli*, having re-established its function and returned the proper order to the Theatres of this Capital according to policies Decreed by *His Royal Highness*, etc.'. See also ASN, Fondo *Casa reale antica*, fascio 1517 BIS: 'Dovendo la Reale Deputazione de' Teatri, e Spettacoli riprendere le sue funzioni e rimettere il buon ordine ne' Teatri di questa Capitale a norma degl'Ordini di S[ua] M[aestà], ecc.'.

83 ASN, Fondo *Casa reale antica*, fascio 1517 BIS.

84 Florimo, *La scuola musicale di Napoli e i suoi conservatorii*, volume 4, 97.

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Table 1 Archivio di Stato Napoli, Fondo *Casa reale antica*
Personnel under consideration for the vocal corps and orchestra at the Teatro Nuovo

1800–1801		1801–1802	
Cantanti:		**Cantanti:**	
Orsola Fabrizi	Felice Simi	Elisbetta Potenza	Eliodoro Bianchi
Angelina Albertini	**Giovanni Pace***	Felice Vergè	Serafino Gentile
Carmela Pecoraro	Giuseppe Pecorari	Teresa Meghini	Filippo Fiani
Carlo Casaccia*	Antonio Manna	Gennaro Luzio	Andrea Ferraro
Orchestra:		**Orchestra:**	
Violini	**Contrabassi**	**Violini**	**Contrabassi**
Pascale Pasca	Luigi Spinelli	Pasquale Capendiero^	Antonio Trojano^
Giovanni Zobel	Giuseppe Denari	Pompeo Tessitore	Bartolomeo Fierro^
Felice Antonio Millot		Francesco Santoro^	
Gaetano Altomare	**Oboi**	Gaetano Torsei^	**Oboi**
Pompeo Tessitore	Ignazio Prota	Michele Gagliano^	Ignazio Prota
Carlo Moresca	Giuseppe Lizio	Antonio Piccinni^	Giuseppe Lizio
Giovanni Atene		Giuseppe Desio^	
Francesco Torres	**Trombe**	Gennaro Volpa^	**Corni**
Luigi Moretti	Pasquale Tedesco	Domenico Piccinni^	Giuseppe Pignieri^
Vincenzo de Simone	Gaetano Coluzzi	Nicola Alvano^	Gaetano Sciulz^
		Vincenzo Compagnone^	
Viole	**Fagotto**	Francesco Errico^	**Fagotto**
Michele Gagliani	Andrea Gamboggi		Nunziante Rava^
Stefano Morot		**Viole**	
	Clarinetto	Pasquale Madonna^	**Clarinetto**
Violoncelle	Giuseppe Laino		Antonio Abbate^
Giovanni Copeta		**Violoncelle**	Vito Interlandi^
Salvadore Amore		Giovanni Copeta	
			Cembalista
			Giovanni Siori^

*Members of the cast at the Teatro de' Fiorentini in the 1801–1802 season
^New members of the orchestra for the 1801–1802 season

seasons.[85] Even more significantly, the majority of the vocalists were almost entirely new to the Neapolitan stage. For example, Potenza had debuted at the Nuovo in 1795 and Bianchi at the Fiorentini in 1799. Vergè, Menghini, Gentile and Fiani would all make their initial appearances in Naples during the 1801–1802 season. Their relative inexperience was balanced by Gennaro Luzio and Andrea Ferraro, who had long associations with the Nuovo and Fiorentini theatres. In contrast to the previous season, all of the vocalists under consideration were used for performances (based on Florimo's rosters).

A list of instrumentalists who could comprise the orchestra for the 1800–1801 season is also specified in Table 1. These data demonstrate that the Nuovo ensemble was well equipped to accompany most

85 Neapolitan tradition mandated that the same cast of singers was maintained for three to four seasons to encourage a loyal following. See Florimo, *La scuola musicale di Napoli e i suoi conservatorii*, vol. 4, pp. 34–105, 107–231, 234–343, 346–423.

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contemporary repertory.[86] Whether the musicians were previously employed at the Nuovo is unknown, given the lack of surviving information in general pertaining to the theatre. A high rate of turnover is, nevertheless, apparent in the composition of the orchestra. Table 1 shows that eighteen of the twenty-three musicians hired for the 1801–1802 season were new to the ensemble. Although the ensemble was slightly larger, the addition of the horns and an extra clarinet may have reflected practical needs for the operas scheduled for performance rather than a progressive expansion of the ensemble. The lack of continuity in personnel in the vocal corps and orchestra raises the question of whether they had come under scrutiny for their activities during the revolution, or whether there were other reasons. Florimo's chronology for the Teatro Nuovo nevertheless shows that the theatre offered four works in 1800, six in 1801 and six in 1802.[87] This is surprising, considering the high rate of turnover evidenced by the personnel rosters and general uncertainty in the Neapolitan artistic climate.

Table 2 presents correlative folios in the Neapolitan archives which detail the personnel under consideration for the Teatro de' Fiorentini in the same two-year period as Table 1. Similar to the Nuovo, the Fiorentini had a vocal corps comprised of both younger and established singers. Dorotea and Francesco Bussani as well as Maria Magrini all made their initial appearances on the Fiorentini stage in 1800. As at the Nuovo, the vocal corps at the Fiorentini was either replaced or had moved on after a single season. The vocal corps under consideration for 1801–1802 season (also shown in Table 2) presents six vocalists (M. Marchesini, P. Marchesini, Tomiati, Ragazzoni, Liparini and Marzocchi) who were making their debuts at the Fiorentini and in Naples. A comparison of Tables 1 and 2 reveals, however, that some of the vocalists simply migrated from the Fiorentini to the Nuovo and vice versa. In particular, the trio of Potenza, Luzio and Bianchi[88] from the Fiorentini cast of 1800–1801 took employment at the Nuovo for the 1801–1802 season, while the duo of Casaccia and Pace shifted from the Nuovo corps of 1800–1801 to the Fiorentini for the 1801–1802 calendar.

Table 2 also gives a projection of the Fiorentini orchestra. Based on this document, it comprised twenty-six musicians, which is comparable not only with the Nuovo ensemble, but also pre-revolution dimensions and thus sufficient to support the programmed repertory.[89] Scrutiny of the orchestra shows that a large number of new instrumentalists (eleven out of twenty-five) were employed for the 1801–1802 season. Comparison of Tables 1 and 2 illustrates that interchange also occurred between the orchestras of the two theatres. In particular, the violinists Pasca, Moresca and Torres noted in Table 1 at the Nuovo in 1800–1801 were engaged by the Fiorentini in the following year. Similarly, the horns Pignieri and Sciulz, as well as the clarinettist Abbate, listed in Table 2 at the Fiorentini for 1800–1801 moved to the Nuovo for the next season.

86 See Robinson, *Naples and Neapolitan Opera*, 160. It is also of interest to note the presence of familiar surnames among those listed, in particular those of Altomare, Moresca, Prota and Tedesco, who were undoubtedly related to members of the San Carlo Orchestra in prior years.

87 See Florimo, *La scuola musicale di Napoli e i suoi conservatorii* , volume 4, 146–149 for the complete list of works and vocalists.

88 The tenor Eliodoro Bianchi was given the part of King Ferdinand IV in Cimarosa's *Canata per il fausto ritorno di Ferdinando IV*.

89 There are very few statistics that survive in the archives regarding the composition of the orchestra at the Teatro de' Fiorentini in the latter half of the century. In 1782 Ferdinando IV requested a performance of Cimarosa's comic opera *La ballerina amante*, which was being staged at the Fiorentini, be given at the San Carlo. Payment ledgers provide the names of the performers and the specific instrumentation of the orchestra, which can be summarized as twelve violins, two violas, two cellos, two basses, two oboes, two trumpets (who also doubled on horn as per the contemporary performance practice), bassoon, mandolin and two continuo performers. For further information concerning orchestral norms in Naples see Anthony R. DelDonna, 'Behind the Scenes: The Musical Life and Organizational Structure of the San Carlo Opera Orchestra in Late-18th Century Naples', in *Fonti d'archivio per la storia della musica e dello spettacolo a Napoli tra XVI e XVIII secolo*, ed. Paologiovanni Maione (Naples: Editoriale Scientifica, 2001), 427–448, and DelDonna, 'Production Practices at the Teatro di San Carlo, Naples, in the Late 18th Century', *Early Music* 30/3 (August 2002), 429–445.

Table 2 Archivio di Stato Napoli, Fondo *Casa reale antica*
Personnel under consideration for the vocal corps and orchestra at the Teatro de' Fiorentini

1800–1801		1801–1802	
Cantanti:		**Cantanti:**	
Dorotea Bussani	Luigi Martinelli	Maria Marchesini	Carlo Casaccia
Elisabetta Potenza*	**Eliodoro Bianchi***	Petronilla Marchesini	Giuseppe Liparini
Maria Magrini	Andrea Ferraro	Elena Tomiati	Giuseppe Marzocchi
Gennaro Luzio*	Francesco Bussani	Orsola Ragazzoni	Giovanni Pace
Orchestra:		**Orchestra:**	
Emanuele Giuliani	Carlo Loveri	**Pascale Pasca***^ [**violin**]	Giuseppe Giuliani
Gaetano Mauriello [violin]	Francesco Tagliaferro	Gaetano Mauriello [violin]	Raffaele Lizio
Luigi Vita	Felice Leonardi [bass]	Andrea Berenati^	Guglielmo Hattenbauer^ [clarinet]
Domenico Giaridelli	Ferdinando Zito [oboe]	**Carlo Moresca***^	Ferdinando Sedelmajer^ [clarinet]
Sabbatino Pelliccia	Giuseppe Giuliani [oboe]	Gaspare Stender	Vincenzo Conte [bassoon]
Pasquale Landri	Raffaele Lizio [oboe]	Gregorio Comitas	**Vincenzo Tedesco***^ [**trumpet**]
Gregorio Comitas [violin]	**Giuseppe Pignieri**** [**horn**]	Pasquale Landri	**Gaetano Coluzzi***^ [**trumpet**]
Francesco Saverio Gabelloni	**Gaetano Sciulz**** [**horn**]	Francesco Saverio Gabelloni	Carlo Loveri
Gaspare Stender	**Antonio Abbate**** [**clarinet**]	Constantino Grandilli^	Francesco Tagliaferro
Giorgio Stender	Girolamo Giannuzzi	**Francesco Torres***^	Felice Leonardi [bass]
Giuseppe Abronzini	Vincenzo Conte [bassoon]	Raffaele Vigorito^	Giuseppe Piccinni^
Gaetano Comparetti	Carmine di Pascale	Domenico Deliso	Giuseppe Benevento [cembalo]
Domenico Deliso [violin]	Giuseppe Benevento [cembalo]	Gaetano Comparetti^	

*Members of the cast at the Teatro Nuovo in the 1801–1802 season
**Members of the orchestra at the Teatro Nuovo for the 1801–1802 season
***Members of the orchestra at the Teatro Nuovo for the 1800–1801 season
^New members of the orchestra for the 1801–1802 season

Despite such a high rate of change in personnel, Florimo's chronology records that the Fiorentini was able to stage three operas in 1800, four in 1801 and a surprising seven in 1802.[90]

The data derived from these rosters present a mixed portrait of the resumption of theatrical activities in Naples after the restoration of the monarchy. On the surface, they suggest a return to normal activity for the Nuovo and Fiorentini theatres, simply by virtue of having assembled the personnel needed to stage works. Given that both theatres were under the direct management of the *Reale Deputazione de' Teatri*, the mix of well established singers with less experienced counterparts was apparently intended by the overseers to cultivate a new generation of performers without association with the revolution. The continued reliance on stalwarts such as Angelina Albertini, Giovanni Pace, Carlo Casaccia and Gennaro Luzio (despite in some cases direct associations with Republican spectacles) reflects a pragmatic decision on the part of the *Deputazione*. These performers had a considerable following, not to mention practical experience, which provided a sense of continuity and familiarity for contemporary audiences.

Nevertheless, the relatively high turnover in both the vocal and orchestra corps raises further questions and may point to other difficulties encountered in the attempt to recommence activities. The Neapolitan archives offer some answers, as they contain numerous supplications from employees of these two theatres to the *Giunta di Stato* asking for compensation from the theatres by means of the court's intervention.[91] By 1801, it is apparent that the musicians had yet to be paid and resorted to petitioning for benefit evenings. A highly informative folio regarding the prima buffa Elisabetta Potenza recounts that the Nuovo theatre could neither 'lease the boxes nor sell the seats, which caused the debt [owed] to the company'.[92] Potenza also notes that the Nuovo had attempted to stage a formal ball; however this gala was 'prevented by the right entrusted to the impresario of the royal Teatro di San Carlo'.[93] Potenza's problems were not unique, as her colleague Carlo Casaccia[94] was forced to declare bankruptcy and plead for the mercy of the courts. It is also revealing to note the presence of musicians, such as the clarinettist Guglielmo Hattenbauer, who had been in the service of the San Carlo Orchestra. Hattenbauer had entered royal service in 1778 and one imagines that he was past his prime as a musician by 1801–1802. In addition, Table 2 lists six musicians whose service at the Fiorentini can be traced as far back as 1782.[95] The dire economic climate seems to be the rationale for the continuing activities of all of these musicians. The supplications of Potenza and other musicians,[96] coupled with the frequent changes of personnel and the apparently ruthless competition between the local theatres, also undermine the appearance of normality suggested by the presentation of the rosters above. The sources demonstrate rather the continued uncertainty and volatility in the resumption of Neapolitan theatrical life. Even experienced performers such as Potenza and Casaccia (who had frequent engagements) were compelled to migrate from one theatre to another in hope of compensation.

The archives also contain materials related to the San Carlo for the 1800–1801 season. Documents note the dismissal of the impresario Domenico Balsamo,[97] who held the lease before and during the Republic. He was replaced by the chief of police Ferdinando de Bonis, a member of the *Deputazione*, until a suitable individual

90 Florimo, *La scuola musicale di Napoli e i suoi conservatorii*, volume 4, 87–91.

91 These supplications are found in the ASN Fondo *Casa reale antica*, ff. 40–68.

92 ASN, Fondo *Casa reale antica*, f. 132: 'Di non avere un corrispondente appalto di Palchi, e di sedie, che costrinse almeno in parte il debito della Compagnia'.

93 ASN, Fondo *Casa reale antica*, f. 132: 'Espressamente vietato nell'istrumento stipulato coll attuale Impressario del Real Teatro di San Carlo'. The Teatro di San Carlo maintained the ancient *jus prohibendi* which provided the theatre with the right to prohibit other theatres from staging spectacles. The decision of Charles III to utilize ballet as the entr'actes at San Carlo extended this right to the inclusion of dance.

94 See ASN, Fondo *Casa reale antica*, f. 133.

95 Gaetano Mauriello (violin), Gregorio Comitas (violin), Domenico Deliso (violin), Felice Leonradi (bass), Vincenzo Conte (bassoon) and Giuseppe Benevento (harpsichord) are all listed in the orchestra that performed at the San Carlo in 1782. ASN, *Casa reale antica*, f. 967.

96 ASN, Fondo *Casa reale antica*, ff. 130–132.

97 ASN, Fondo *Casa reale antica*, f. 21.

Table 3 Archivio di Stato Napoli, Fondo *Casa reale antica*
Teatro di San Carlo, 1801

Prime Donne
L'Angiolini [Caterina]
La Balsami
La Bolognesi [Cecilia] (che attualmente cantava nel R. Teatro, ma si trova essere di cartello)

Primi Soprani
Marino, il Senesini [Vincenzo]
Mattuci [Pietro]
Crescentini [Girolamo]
Damiani [Vitale]
Bravura

Primi Tenori
Mombelli [Domenico]
Adamino
Bianchi [Eliodoro]
Braham, (marito della Storace)

Primi Ballanti
Il figlio di Vigano
Bonzi
Nesti
Ponzieri
Angiolini
Ferdinando Gioja

Prime Ballanti
La Del Caro
La Duperneis
La Campilli
La Tarabotton

Maestri di cappella
Tritto [Giacomo]
Paisiello [Giovanni]
Bianchi [Francesco]
Francesco Greco
Simone Mayr
Antonio Cipolla
Silvestro Palma
Gaetano Andreozzi

could be engaged.[98] Detailed employment rosters from San Carlo, such as those of the Nuovo and Fiorentini, have not been located in the archives. Several loose folios, however, are of particular interest. The first is dated 26 June 1801, and confirms the return to Paisiello's plan for the orchestra, first implemented in 1796, which provides for an ensemble of forty-nine musicians.[99]

The second document, presented in Table 3, is a loose folio dated 1801 which bears the signatures of Ferdinando de Bonis and Giuseppe Zurlo, the Minister of Finance who was also a member of the *Giunta di Stato*.[100] This folio was therefore circulated from the *Deputazione* to the *Giunta di Stato*, and names the vocalists, ballerinas and composers under consideration for employment at San Carlo upon its eventual reopening in 1801. A cursory survey of the twelve vocalists identified immediately yields interesting statistics. With regard to the prime donne, none of the three individuals proposed had ever performed in the royal theatre prior to 1801. The handwritten annotation next to the name of Cecilia Bolognesi, which is shown in

98 It is tempting to speculate about the decision to install the police chief de Bonis as impresario of San Carlo, however, since the very creation of the royal theatre, the Uditore dell'Esercito (literally Auditor of the Military), had always maintained some form of supervision regarding personnel.

99 ASN, Fondo *Casa reale antica*. Robinson provides the instrumentation of the orchestra as follows: twenty-five violins, four violas, two cellos, six basses, two oboes, two clarinets, four bassoons, four horns and two harpsichords. See also Robinson, *Naples and Neapolitan Opera*, 161.

100 ASN, Fondo *Casa reale antica*, f. 153.

brackets in Table 3, nevertheless seems to indicate otherwise as it reads, 'she has actually performed in the royal theatre, but finds herself otherwise engaged'.[101] There is, however, no documentation to support the claim. There is evidence in the archives, though, that Bolognesi had refused to sing because she was owed past wages.[102] Bolognesi eventually resolved her issues with the *Deputazione*; both she and Angela Angiolini are listed in performances at San Carlo beginning in 1801.[103] There is no indication that Balsami participated in the works staged at the royal theatre.

The selection of primi soprani was more promising, as Pietro Mattuci, Girolamo Crescentini[104] and Vitale Damiani all had prior experience at San Carlo. Mattuci had taken part in a performance of the cantata *Il disinganno* at San Carlo on 22 July 1799, the first concert after the restoration of the monarchy, for celebrations marking the official entry of loyalist forces to Naples.[105] Of those vocalists named under the heading of primi tenori, Domenico Mombelli was undoubtedly the most recognized and experienced.[106] Eliodoro Bianchi, as noted earlier, had experience in the premier comic venues of Naples, the Fiorentini and Nuovo theatres. Bianchi had also performed, alongside of Matucci, in the cantatas composed by Tritto and Cimarosa.[107]

The cautious blend of experience and youth is also reflected in the list of composers under consideration. The preference was clearly for musicians with prior success at the royal theatre, such as Giacomo Tritto, Giovanni Paisiello, Francesco Bianchi and Gaetano Andreozzi. Bianchi's most recent production had been *Ines de Castro* for the 1794–1795 season, while Tritto seems to have enjoyed a growing stature in Naples. The composition of the celebratory cantata *Il disinganno* as well as a series of commissions for San Carlo between 1799–1806[108] underline his elevated role. Andreozzi (who had made his early mark in comic opera outside of Naples) was commissioned to compose four operas for the San Carlo after the re-establishment of the season.[109] The inclusion of Paisiello is not only a further confirmation of his reinstatement at court, but also

101 ASN, Fondo *Casa reale antica*, f. 153: 'Che attualmente canta nel Real Teatro, ma si trova essere di cartello'.

102 ASN, Fondo *Casa reale antica*, f. 117.

103 See Carlo Marinelli Roscioni, ed., *Il Teatro di San Carlo: La cronologia 1737–1987* (Naples: Guida, 1987), volume 1, 118–119.

104 Crescentini (1762–1846) was undoubtedly the most prominent of the castrati under consideration. He had a distinguished career throughout Italy and the continent, which included management posts in London and even Naples.

105 The cantata was *Il disinganno*, with music by Giacomo Tritto. Mattuci sang the part of the personage of Partenope, the allegorical representation of the city itself. The indication of 'Marino' may refer to Vincenzo Marino, who also performed at the 22 July celebrations; however, he is not listed among the performers of productions at the San Carlo in the ensuing years. There is no further information about the sopranist listed simply as 'Bravura'.

106 Mombelli had first been engaged at San Carlo during the 1783–1784 season and returned regularly to the theatre in subsequent years. Roscioni, *Il Teatro di San Carlo, La cronologia 1737–1987*, notes his years of performances as 1783–1784, 1785–1787, 1791–1794 and 1801–1803.

107 The remaining vocalists under consideration, Adamino and John Braham, the latter of whom is identified as the 'husband of [Nancy] Storace', were never engaged by the San Carlo, leaving the royal theatre in search of a successor and potential second tenor to Mombelli.

108 Tritto contributed the ill-fated *Nicaboro in Jucatan* (1799), *Ginevra ed Ariodante* (1801, 1802–1803) and *Gonsalvo* (1802–1803, 1805–1806), in a rather brief span for the San Carlo.

109 See Marita P. McClymonds, 'Andreozzi, Gaetano', *Grove Music Online*, ed. Laura Macy (accessed 6 June 2005), <http://www.grovemusic.com>. Andreozzi's first work for San Carlo was the Lenten drama *Sofronio ed Olindo* by Carlo Sernicola. For further information on the phenomenon of Lenten dramas at San Carlo see Anthony R. DelDonna, 'Esotismo e drama quaresimale nel tardo Settecento a Napoli: uno sguardo a Debora e Sisara di Sernicola e Guglielmi', in *Le arti della scena e l'esotismo in età moderna*, ed. Paologiovanni Maione e Francesco Cotticelli (Naples: Turchini edizioni, 2006), 421–448, and DelDonna, 'Pietro Alessandro Guglielmi's Debora e Sisara: A Neapolitan Sacred Tragedy Revitalized in Late Eighteenth Century Tuscany', in *Music Observed: Studies in Memory of William C. Holmes*, ed. Colleen Reardon and Susan Parisi (Warren, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 2004), 101–116.

Table 4 Archivio di Stato Napoli, Fondo *Casa reale antica*
Teatro di San Carlo, 1801

Prime Donne	**Prime Ballanti**
La Bertinotti [Caterina]	La Zerobi
La Catalano [Barbara]	La Vezzoli
La Billington [Elisabetta]	La Montacini
L'Andreozzi [Anna]	La Camilli, [non conosciuta]
La Banti [Brigida Giorgi]	La Marsali, [non conosciuta]
La Macciorletti [Teresa]	La Buffi, [non di cartello]

(Le quali perche non si possono avere, perciò' si sono omesse.
Vi sono altresi la Bakart e la Buratti, che essere per Buffe, si e' stimato traslasciarle.)

Primi Tenori	**Primi Ballanti**
Davide, [Giacomo] (non si è incluso, perchè vecchio)	Franchi, (perchè vecchio)
Nozzari, [Andrea] (perchè non conosciuto)	Garzia, (compositore, ma non Ballante)
Fidanza,	Gio. Marsiglio, (per non piacere al Pubblico)
(per non essere entrambi di cartello)	
Crivelli	

a significant acknowledgement of his importance to Naples in regaining a sense of prestige and status within the European musical community.

The remaining musicians (Greco, Mayr, Cipolla and Palma) had never written for San Carlo, although they do offer an interesting array of options. Simone Mayr (1763–1845) had already earned a successful reputation as a dramatic composer in northern Italy by the turn of the century, and his listing may be viewed as a progressive initiative by the *Deputazione*. Although Mayr did not compose an original work for San Carlo until 1813 (*Medea in Corinto*), his dramas began appearing in the royal theatre as early as 1804. Palma (also noted as di Palma) had been a student of Cimarosa in the decade of the 1780s and had achieved moderate success at the Fiorentini and Nuovo theatres as a composer of comedy.[110] Antonio Cipolla (more commonly identified as Francesco Antonio) had focused his endeavours primarily on serious and sacred works in Naples.[111] No further information could be located regarding Francesco Greco. Based on the data in Table 3, it can be suggested, though, that the *Deputazione* consistently attempted to engage both experienced and younger musicians, whether vocalists or composers, to create new operas for the royal theatre in order to re-establish its local identity and perhaps stature within the Italian peninsula. Yet several questions linger. For instance, does the consideration of second-tier composers such as Palma and Cipolla as well as older vocalists such as Mombelli speak of more subtle problems encountered by the *Deputazione*? Given that news about the rise and fall of the Republic was well disseminated throughout Europe, as well as the active prosecution of performers after the restoration of the monarchy, could it be that the *Deputazione* and artists were weary of the political climate and potential for problems in Naples? The appointment of suitable artists to the royal theatre appears to have been of considerable concern to the *Deputazione*, and there is archival evidence throughout 1801 to confirm the continued careful vetting of personnel under consideration.

Table 4 reproduces another loose folio circulated among the managers of the theatre, which attempts to propose additional individuals or at least explain some of their decisions. Although the folio is limited to

110 See Michael F. Robinson: 'Palma, Silvestro', *Grove Music Online*, ed. Laura Macy (accessed 6 June 2005), <http://www.grovemusic.com>.

111 Cipolla's experience in comedic genres was limited to select pieces in *Il barone burlato* (1784) by Cimarosa and *La scuola de' gelosi* (1785) by Salieri, both staged at the Nuovo.

vocalists and dancers, the annotations illustrate many practical considerations confronted by the administrators. The statement written below the proposed prime donne is particularly informative, noting 'these [singers] were omitted, because they cannot be engaged. There are also [Signori] Bakart and Buratti, who are "buffe", but it is better to omit them.'[112] This brief annotation not only identifies Table 4 as an addendum to Table 3, but also illustrates the growing concerns regarding the few singers available to the royal theatre. Of the prime donne listed in Table 4, Banti, Macciorletti, Billington and Andreozzi had performed at San Carlo. Banti had been engaged on two separate occasions, each lasting two years, first between 1787 and 1789 and then 1790–1792. Elisabetta Billington had also performed as the prima donna at San Carlo during the 1794–1795 season. Anna Andreozzi's appointment by the San Carlo in 1796 was undoubtedly a result of her husband's commission to compose a drama that year. Macciorletti had performed as a *seconda parte* at San Carlo in 1792–1794. The inclusion of Catalano and Bertinotti on the folio is a vivid indication of the mounting desperation by the *Deputazione* to engage potential vocalists. Both had performed many years prior at the comic venues of Naples, the Nuovo and Fiorentini. Catalano had performed at the Nuovo theatre as early as 1756, while Bertinotti can be traced to the Fiorentini calendar for 1773. The consideration of Catalano and Bertinotti also seems to contradict the annotation regarding Maria Eckerlin Buratti, who had in fact performed in three operas staged at San Carlo during the 1795 season.

With regard to the proposed primi tenori, none appears to have met the standards of the administration. The basis for the rejection of these singers (as noted in Table 4) is clearly stated next to each name. The singer at the head of the list, Giacomo Davide (1750–1830), had a long association with the San Carlo and royal court of Naples. He had created roles for Paisiello, Guglielmi and others and was renowned for his considerable virtuosity. The *Deputazione* evidently felt that he was past his prime (given the annotation on Table 4) and chose not to enlist his services again. The comment next to the name of Andrea Nozzari (1775–1832) is quite revealing too, as it suggests that the *Deputazione* felt that a recognized singer was of prime importance. Nozzari had first established his reputation in Paris, at the Théâtre Italien, before returning to Naples in 1803. His tenure in Naples was highly successful and he created numerous roles for Rossini on the stages of the San Carlo and Teatro Fondo. The singers Crivelli and Fidanza had not received appropriate clearance by the overseers of San Carlo as of 1801. Gaetano Crivelli (1768–1836) was eventually approved by the *Deputazione* and sang simultaneously at the Teatro Fiorentini and San Carlo between 1802 and 1804. This dual employment was unusual and undoubtedly speaks to the dearth of male voices available in Naples. It is interesting to note, moreover, that all three tenors, Davide, Nozzari and Crivelli, were from northern Italy and not trained in the local conservatories of Naples.

While Tables 3 and 4 confirm the resumption of musical practices at San Carlo after the revolution, these documents only vaguely suggest the existence of performance standards for engagement at the royal theatre. They tacitly admit, rather, that decisions regarding personnel were not based solely on artistic ability, but rather on political considerations and most significantly whether or not the proposed individual had a prior history with the Republic. A consultation of the chronology prepared by Paologiovanni Maione and Francesca Seller[113] for the San Carlo, cross-referenced with Florimo, identifies the final decisions rendered by the *Deputazione*. The 1801 calendar for the San Carlo consisted of a single drama, *Ginevra ed Ariodante* by Giacomo Tritto, and featured the familiar names of Caterina Angiolini, Angela Albertini and Domenico Mombelli.[114] The following season, 1802–1803, marks the return to the traditional theatrical calendar of four or five works whose premieres coincided with important events in the lives of the Bourbon family. The personnel engaged for this season includes both Teresa Menghini and Felice Vergè, both of whom had

112 ASN, Fondo *Casa reale antica*, f. 153a: 'Le quali perchè non si possono avere, perciò si sono omesse. Vi sono altresi la Bakart e la Boratti, che essere per Buffe, si è stimato traslasciarle'.

113 See Maione and Seller, *Teatro di San Carlo*, and Roscioni, *Il Teatro di San Carlo: La cronologia 1737–1987*.

114 The remaining roles were fulfilled by Ludovico Olivieri (who had first appeared at the Nuovo theatre in 1791) and Francesco Fasciotti. The 1801–1802 calendar included all of these singers in the two dramas presented, with the addition of Cecilia Bolognesi, who had returned to the fold of the royal theatre.

performed in the Nuovo and Fiorentini theatres in earlier years and the return of Francesco Roncaglia to Naples. Given this information, it may be surmised that the *Deputazione* attempted to resolve their personnel issues by utilizing singers from the comic theatres. Performers such as Albertini, Menghini, Vergè, Falsi, Crivelli, and even Gennaro Luzio and Pietro Sambati were eventually enlisted by the royal theatre; all of them had extensive service in the Nuovo and/or Fiorentini theatres. These documents therefore suggest that since many of the singers at the Fiorentini and Nuovo theatres had already been approved by the time that activities were resumed at San Carlo, they were eligible to perform at the royal theatre, whether or not they were of merit. It is also interesting to note that even though the *Deputazione* felt that Giacomo Davide was 'too old', they either attempted to or did in fact engage his contemporaries Girolamo Crescentini, Domenico Mombelli and Francesco Roncaglia. The documents do demonstrate, though, that the *Deputazione* considered vocalists of great promise, such as Andrea Nozzari and Eliodoro Bianchi, who would rightly establish themselves as 'stars' in the future.

A NEW DIRECTION

The first Neapolitan Republic, albeit brief, had a profound effect on local theatrical history. The restored Bourbon court was confronted not only by the political and social legacy of the Republican theatrical productions, but also forced to redefine how it presented itself ideologically on the stage. A significant obstacle in this process was that the court maintained considerable reservations towards its most formidable tool of dynastic expression. The San Carlo Theatre – once the locus of encomiastic spectacle which exalted their reign – no longer held an exclusive association with the Bourbons. Many of the royal theatre's personnel, moreover, had chosen to participate in the theatrical productions of the Republic and as a result were an object of concern and even of retribution. Given these factors, artistic decisions were no longer predicated solely on the outdated and distorted image of Bourbon sovereignty from the *primo settecento* or even on the basis of talent, but rather a new and complex web of political considerations lingering from the Pathenopean Republic.

Lucio Tufano has asserted that these conditions were the primary cause for the profuse cultivation of cantatas (rather than new stage works) in the early stages of the Bourbon restoration.[115] The cantata had a significant history of, and intrinsic value in, expressing a system of political and/or social values. Even if allegorical in nature and therefore innately similar to stage drama, the cantata was at heart a narrative chronicle of aristocratic life and history, and the cantata in Naples had had a rich tradition of marking and enriching weddings, births, name-days and general occasions of state. Thus the cantata could become a vehicle to re-establish the authority of Ferdinand IV, to communicate or recreate the actual events of the revolution, to examine the collective actions of the citizenry and even to provide a rationale for the return of the monarchy. Among the musicians who contributed cantatas to mark the restoration, none were more conspicuous than Cimarosa and Tritto. In the case of Tritto, the composer may have felt that the mere performance of his opera *Nicaboro in Jucatan* at the advent of the revolution placed him in a precarious position. In regard to Cimarosa, his *Cantata per il fausto ritorno di Ferdinando IV* was the path to a desired absolution. This composition offers a provocative glimpse into contemporary conditions at the restoration of the monarchy.

Cimarosa's cantata is based on the poetry of Luigi Barbarotta and conceived for three soloists (a castrato, tenor and bass), chorus and full orchestra. An unprecedented quality of the cantata is that Ferdinando IV himself is cast as the protagonist. This representation of the King transcended the traditional allegorical approach of stage drama, as noted by Tufano; Ferdinando IV is 'not made into an object of subtle allusion, nor refigured under the guises one can offer of Caesar or Alexander [the Great], or Jupiter or of Apollo;

115 Lucio Tufano, 'Partenope consolata: Rivoluzione e reazione nelle cantate celebrative per il ritorno deli Borboni a Napoli (1799–1802)', *Studi settecenteschi* 19 (1999), 293–342.

rather, he is transformed into one of the dramatis personae himself and borne onto the stage because a singer can give him body, gesture and voice'.[116] The role of the sovereign is supported by two other voices simply identified as the 'First and Second Loyalists', along with choruses of loyalists, soldiers and shepherds. Barbarotta's libretto is painstaking in the careful balance of its themes. It is at turns an extended supplication to Ferdinand IV clothed in the allegorical topoi and language of the cantata tradition and, at other points, a compelling, realistic document referring to contemporaneous social and political conditions as well as individuals. Among the pervading themes is the representation of Ferdinando IV as caretaker of the people, chosen by God. This idea is proclaimed repeatedly in the early scenes of the cantata. For example, in the secco recitative that follows the introductory chorus, the Second Loyalist proclaims, 'we are ready and we will shed [our] blood for the God that rules the entire world and for a King who like a loving father protects us and holds us to his merciful bosom'.[117] This recitative gives way to an accompanied recitation by the First Loyalist, who sings, 'He spreads the victorious emblem by means of the venerated cross / And raises to the nimble breezes the royal flags'.[118] The recitatives culminate in a jubilant chorus with soloists that the First Royalist begins with the declaration, 'Danger, I do not fear / Death, I do not fear / Shall fortune render back to us / the Father and King?'.[119] Although these passages are marked by allegory, they are careful juxtapositions of the desired image of Ferdinando with reference to actual events. Ferdinando is not simply the caretaker of the people: he is the legitimate sovereign whose authority has been granted by the will of God. The 'venerated cross', or 'Croce adorata', is both a pointed reference to the symbol of the so-called San Fedesti, or royal loyalists, who were led by Cardinal Ruffo to restore Ferdinando to the throne, and a reminder to the populace of the brutal fashion in which they meted out justice.

The dramatic and musical focal point of the cantata occurs near its conclusion with the appearance of the King himself. In an extended series of musical items, Cimarosa draws on a variety of techniques that evoke his finest operas to build the tension for the entry of Ferdinando IV. The dramatic progress is provided by alternating recitatives and choruses, punctuated by brief appearances of a small wind ensemble (or *banda*) that hail the arrival of the monarch. The secco recitatives offer a veritable chronicle of recent events in Naples. For example, the initial recitative is entrusted largely to the First Loyalist, who begins by singing, 'here, here already unfurled in the tranquil sea on a hundred masts [are] a hundred British flags. Nelson the great warrior, who in recompense of Neptune, is the Emperor of the Sea.'[120] This recitative is succeeded by a triumphant chorus accompanied by the full orchestra in which voices (who represent the populace of Naples) sing 'already peace and calm has returned to my heart'.[121] The chorus gives way to another secco recitative, in which the Second Loyalist proclaims, 'the heavens and the trees resound with the sweet names of Ferdinando, and the august, most dearly loved Maria Carolina and their sublime offspring'.[122] The use of the *banda* ensemble initiates several rapid vacillations with brief recitatives that set the stage for Ferdinando's accompanied recitative. The monarch begins his recitation in dramatic fashion, proclaiming, 'Children, ah

116 Tufano, 'La cantata di Cimarosa', 471: 'Non fatto oggetto di sottile allusione, non raffigurato sotto le spoglie, poniamo, di Cesare o di Alessandro, di Giove o di Apollo, ma trasformato in dramatis personae e trascinato sul palco perchè un cantante gli presti corpo, gesto e voce'.

117 The libretto is held at the Biblioteca della Storia Patria di Napoli. I was unable to gain access, and so all of the textual citations from this cantata are taken directly from the autograph score. Domenico Cimarosa, *Cantata per il fausto ritorno di Ferdinanao IV,* score 1799, Biblioteca del Conservatorio San Pietro a Majella, Napoli, f. 30r: 'Verseremo il sangue per gloria di quel Nume che regge il mondo intero e per un Ré, che qual Padre amoroso ci protegge e ci accoglie al sen pietoso'.

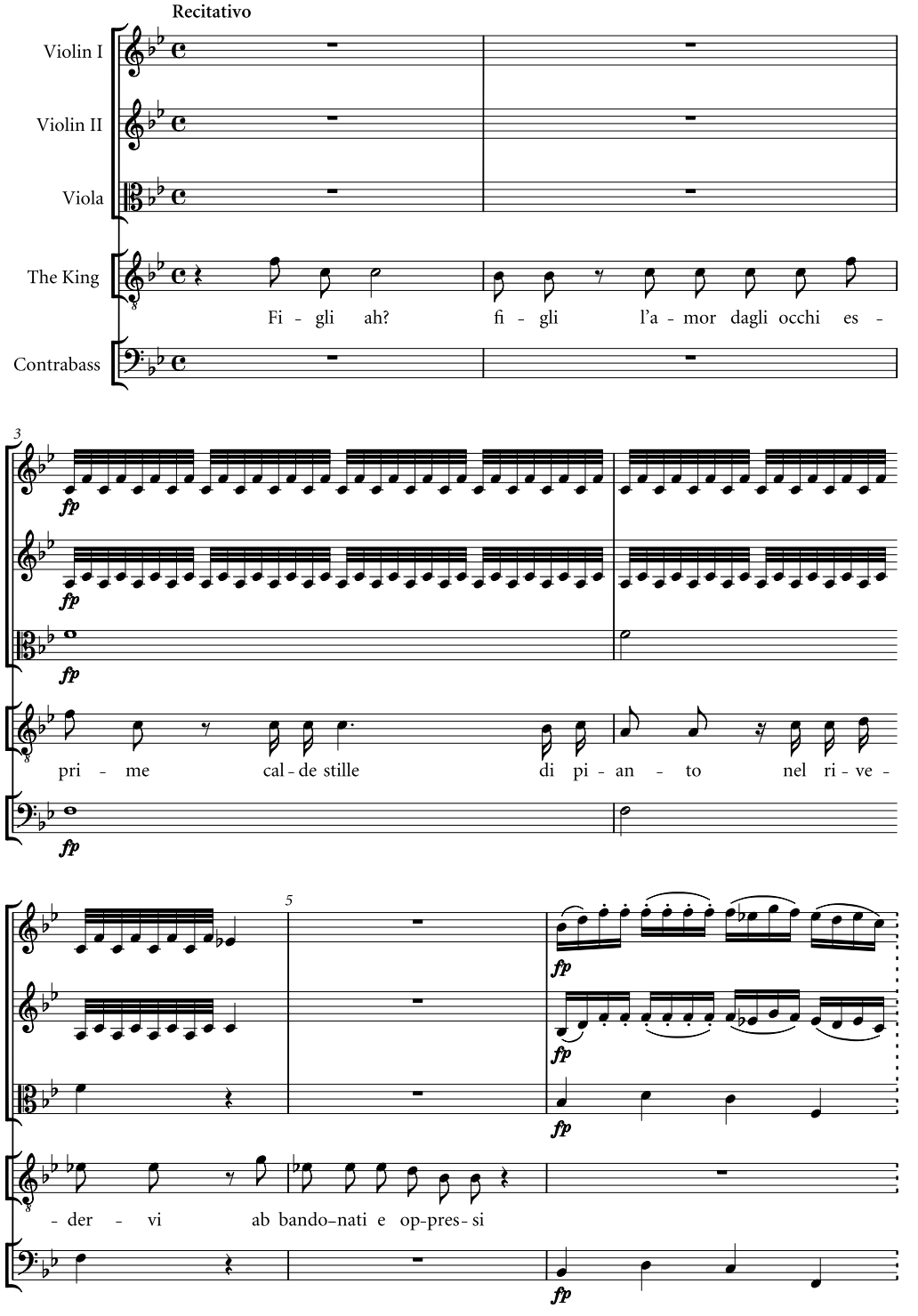
118 ff. 31v–32r: 'Egli l'insegna Trionfale dispiega della Croce adorata / E innalza all'aure sciolte le Regali bandiere'.

119 ff. 33v–346: 'Perigli, non temo / la morte non temo / Ci renda la sorte / Il Padre ed il Ré'.

120 f. 63r: 'Ecco, ecco già sventolare in mar tranquillo su Cento antenne e cento Britaniche bandiere. Nelson il gran Guerriero a cui Nettuno in premio die' L'Impero dell'onde, ecc.'.

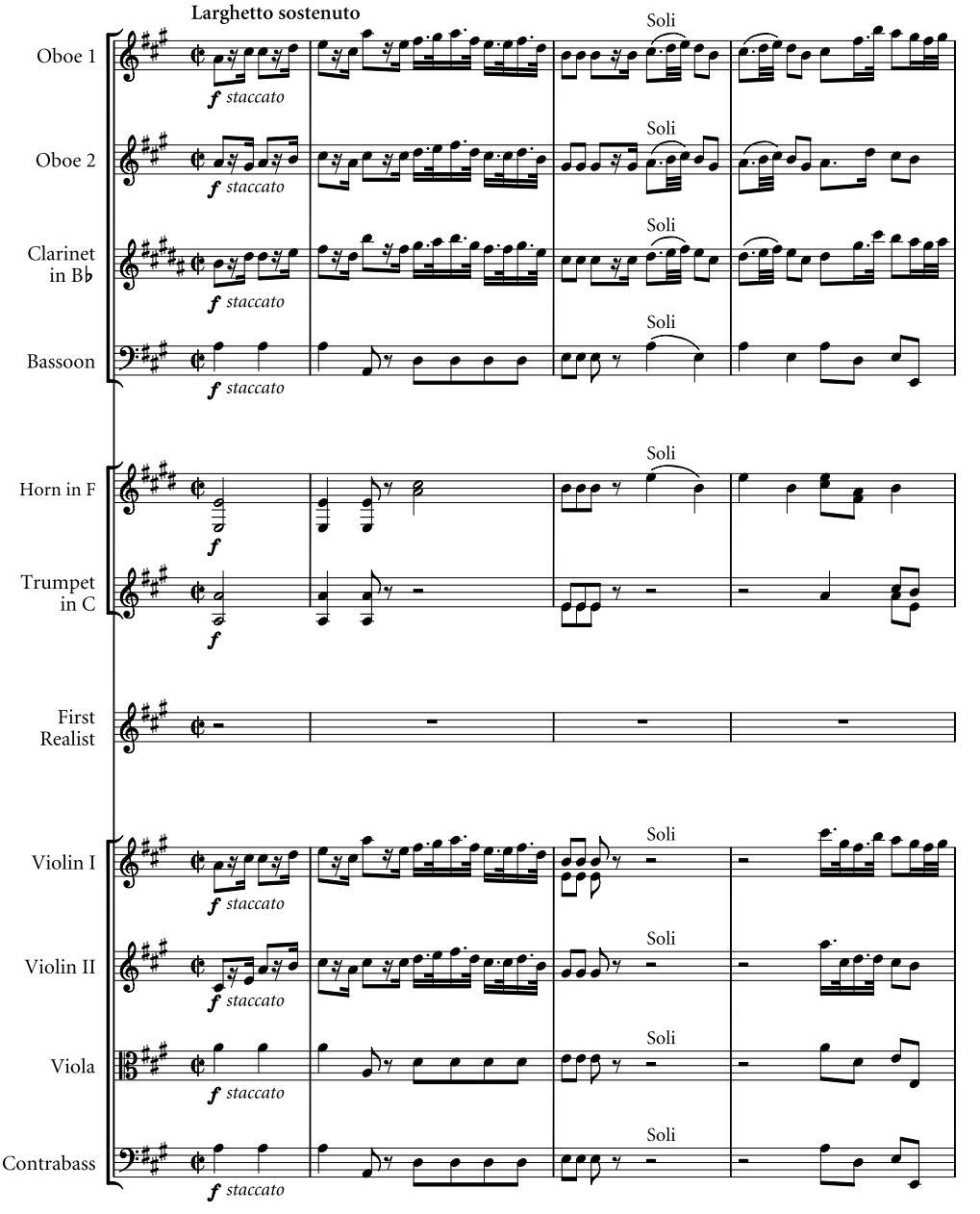
121 f. 64r: 'Già riede nel Core, la pace, la calma'.

122 f. 68r: 'Al ciel le palme, ed echeggiar ne fanno i dolci Nomi del gran Ferdinando, e dell'Augusta, e cara amabil, Carolina, e dell'Eccelsa Prole'.



Example 3 Domenico Cimarosa, *Cantata per il fausto ritorno del Ré Ferdinando IV*, accompanied recitative 'Figli, ah? figli' (I-Nc, shelfmark Cantate 350)

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1478570607000929 Published online by Cambridge University Press

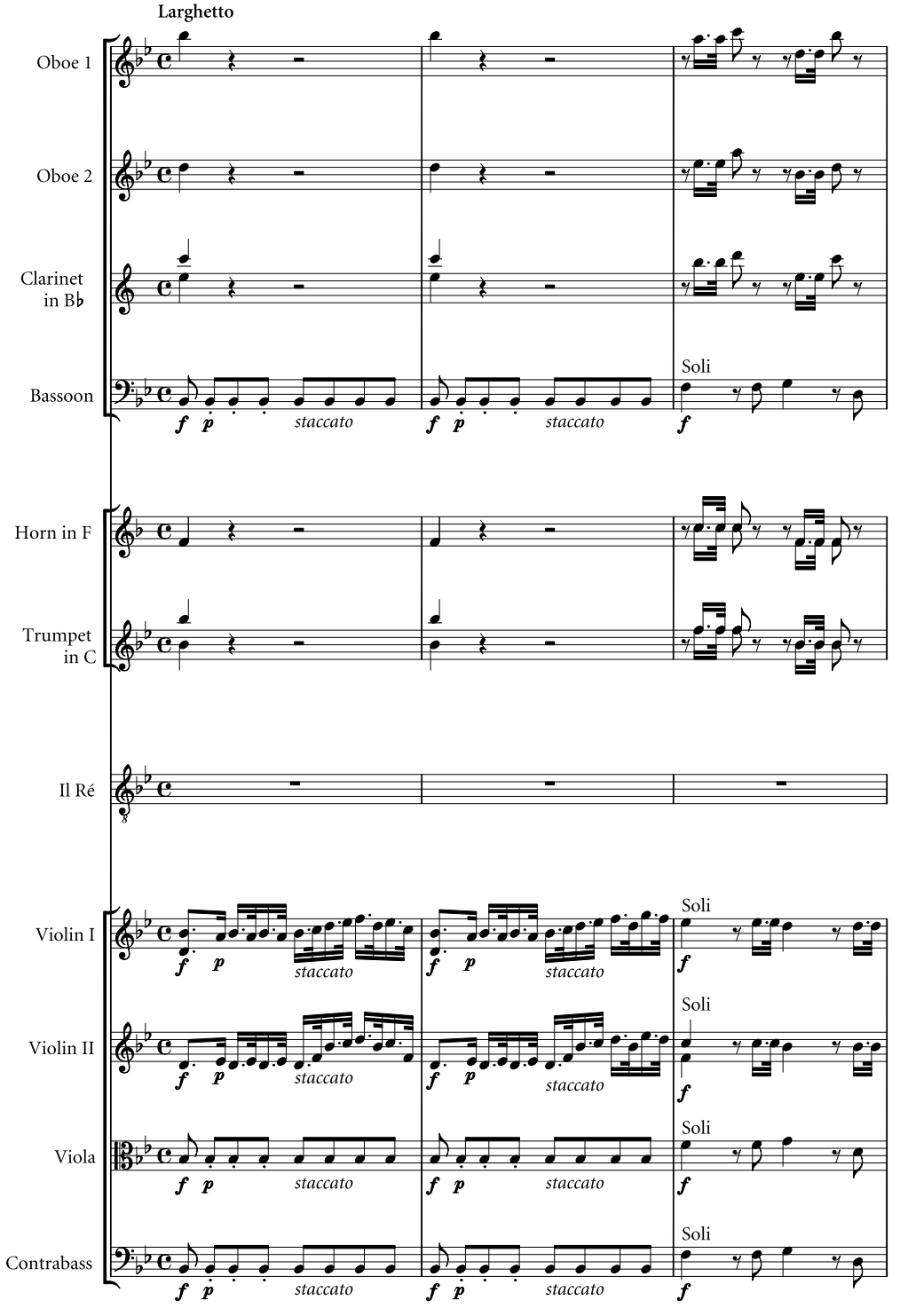


Example 4 Domenico Cimarosa, *Cantata per il fausto ritorno del Ré Ferdinando IV*, aria 'Padre augusto e Ré clemente' (I-Nc, shelfmark Cantate 350)

children, the love expressed from your eyes elicits warm drops of tears from seeing you abandoned and oppressed'[123] (Example 3). The dramatic narrative of these musical items is skilfully underlined by the key structure. The initial numbers (secco recitative–chorus–secco recitative) are held together by a continuous D major tonal centre, which then changes to F major for the succeeding items, namely the march, secco

123 f. 7or: 'Figli, ah figli, L'amore dagli occhi esprime calde stille di pianto nel rivedervi abbandonati e oppressi'.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S1478570607000929 Published online by Cambridge University Press



Example 5 Domenico Cimarosa, *Cantata per il fausto ritorno del Ré Ferdinando IV*, aria 'Se mi vedo intorno al Trono' (I-Nc, shelfmark Cantate 350)

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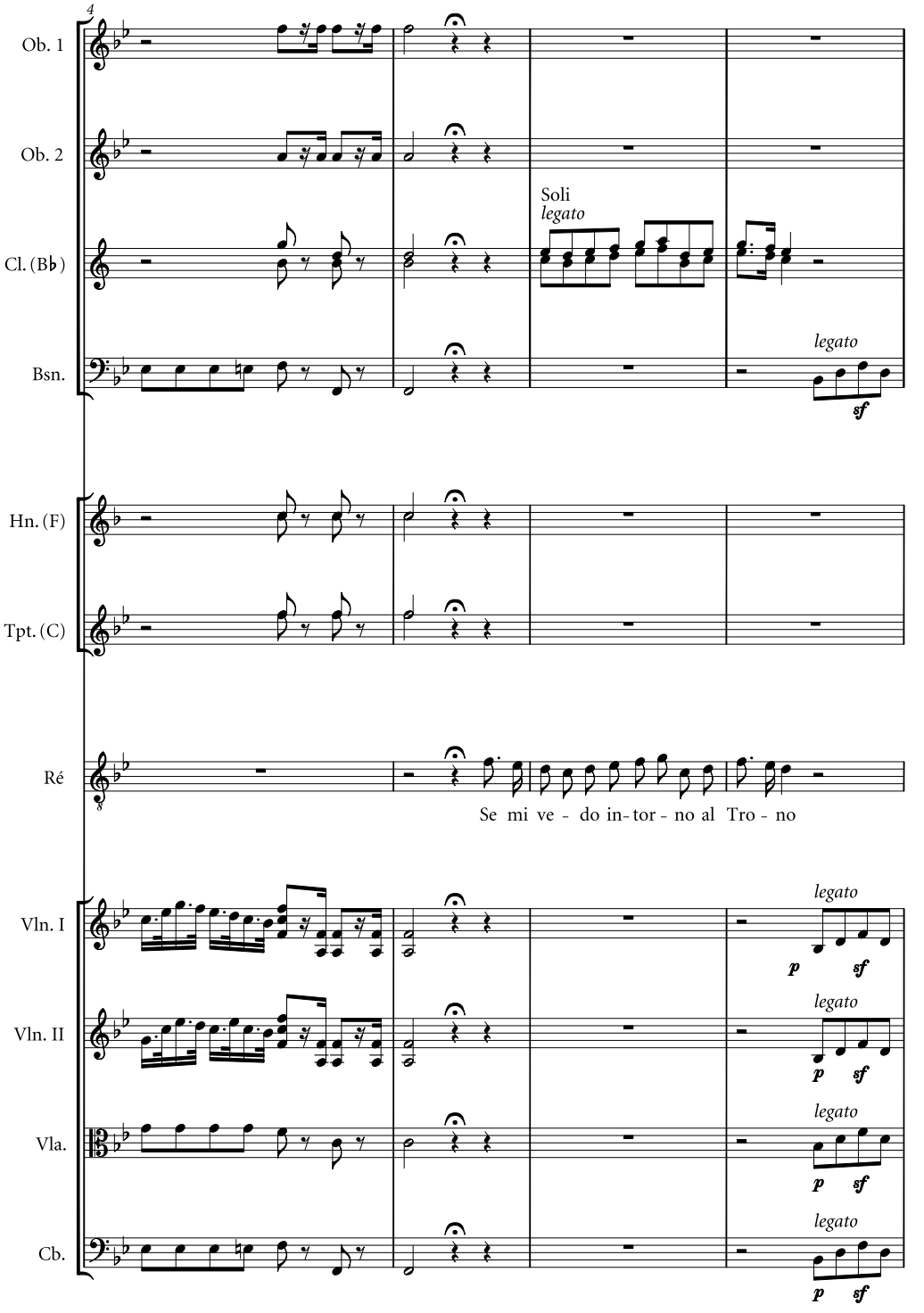

Example 5 *continued*

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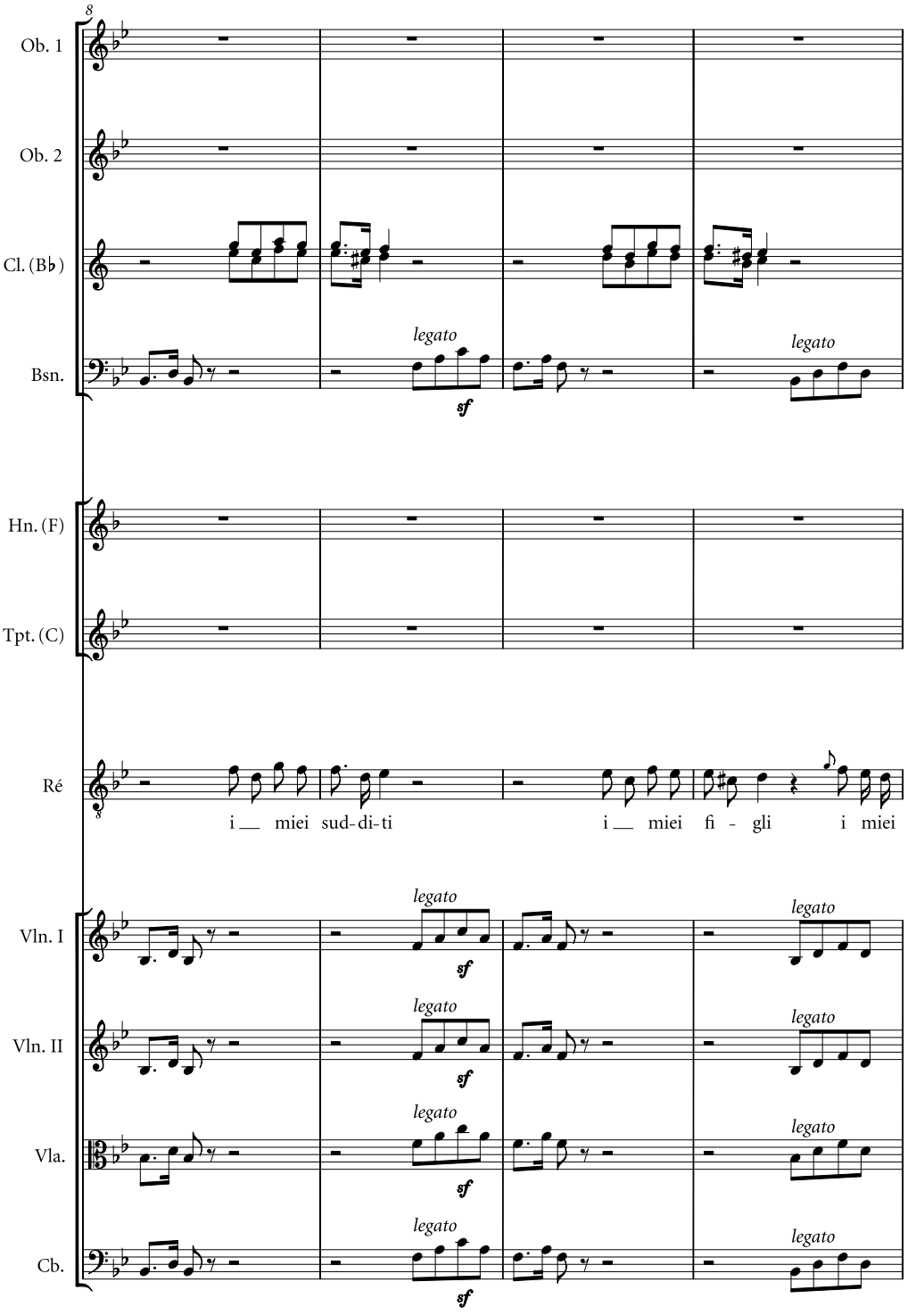

Example 5 *continued*

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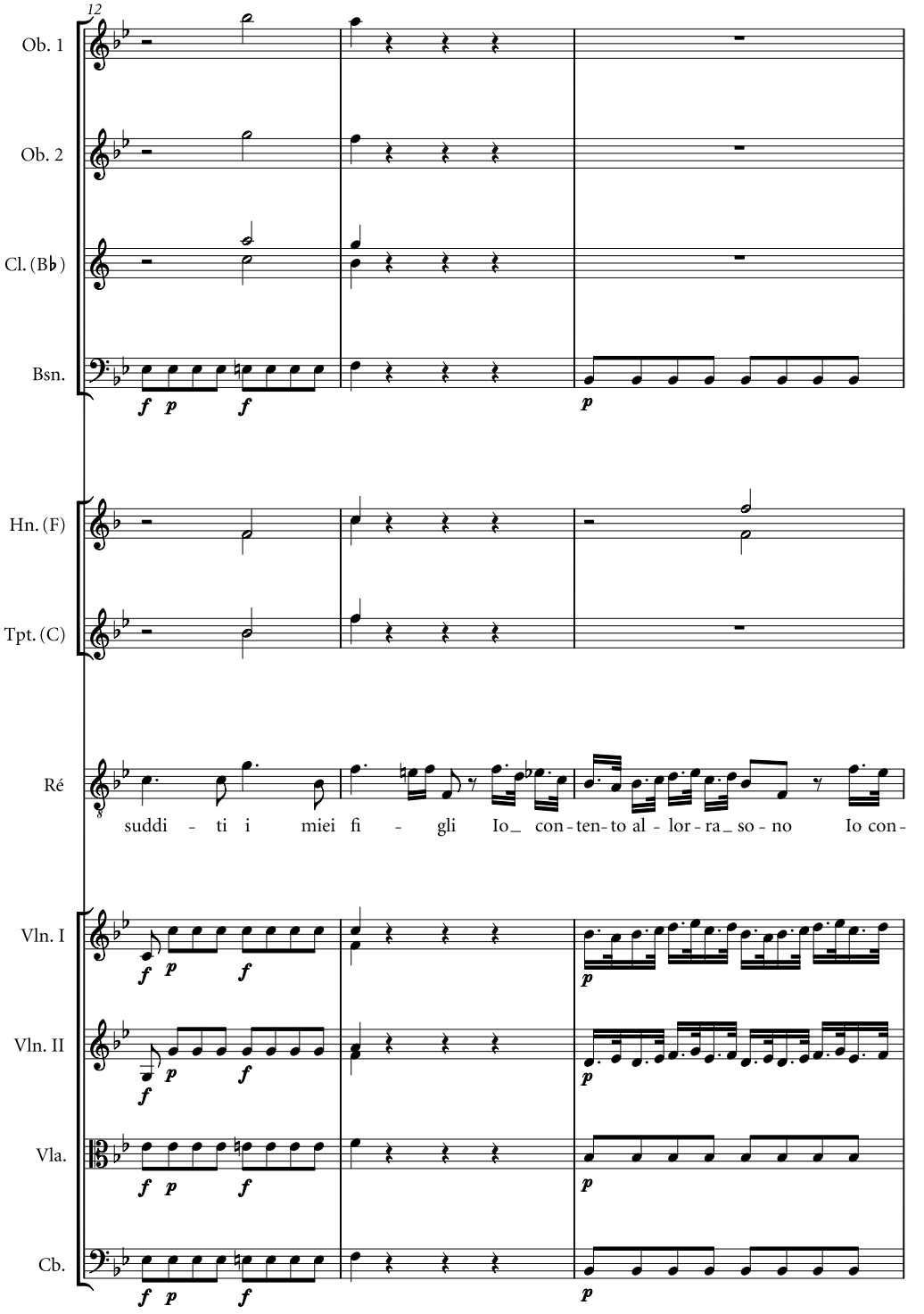

Example 5 *continued*

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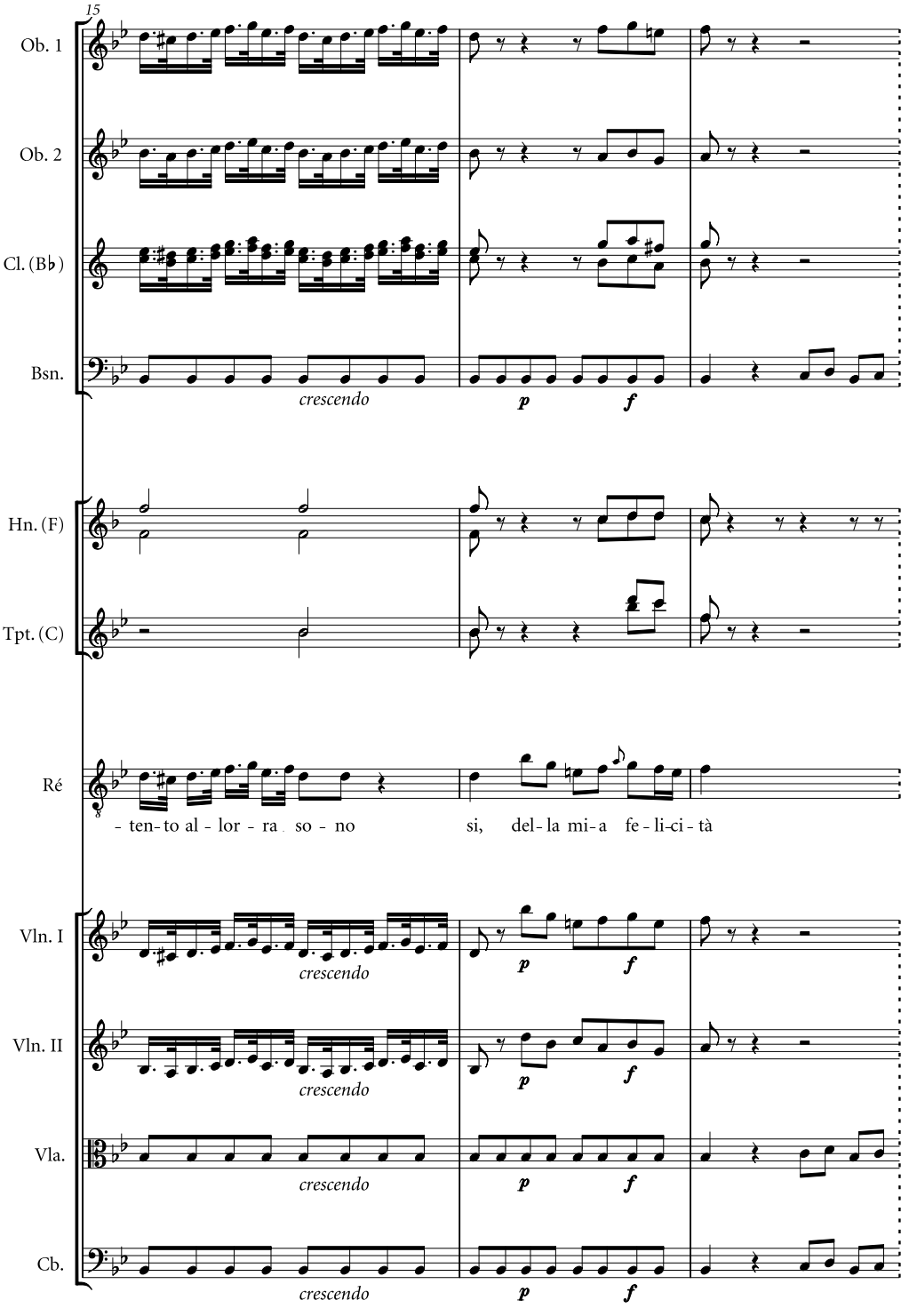

Example 5 *continued*

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recitative, a second march and the accompanied recitative of the King. The organization is reminiscent of techniques used for ensemble scenes in contemporary stage drama.

The last two musical items are arias presented by the First Loyalist and then the King, both of which stand apart from the harmonic organization of the prior episodes. It is worth noting that the arias utilize a more recent trend in stage drama: the rondo in two tempos. The rondo of the First Loyalist is in A major, with cut-time metre and an initial Larghetto sostenuto tempo that progresses to an Allegro giusto marking (Example 4), and scored for a large orchestral ensemble. The poetic content of the aria takes the form of a supplication pleading forgiveness, addressed directly to the King. The cyclic nature of the rondo structure, echoed by repetitions of the text, underscores the dramatic affect; the First Loyalist is the voice of the people, begging 'their August Father and Clement King'[124] for amnesty. The ensuing aria of the King is the response to the previous entreaty. Ferdinando's rondo shares the exact orchestration and initial Larghetto tempo (before proceeding to an Allegro) of the preceding soliloquy; however, it is in common time and the key of B flat major (Example 5). The lyrical melody is accented by the sovereign's poetry, as he notes 'if I see my subjects around the throne, my citizens, my children, I am content'.[125] While the general message is conciliatory, one should note the well defined contrast in key between this aria and its immediate predecessor, in A major and B flat major respectively. This chromatic juxtaposition may allude to the reality of contemporary conditions in Naples, namely that the King was not as forbearing and merciful as he was portrayed in this work and others. Although stunning in its directness of expression and relevance to actual events (not to mention clothed in the musical expression of opera), the presumption of Cimarosa and Barbarotta to give thought and voice to the King, even metaphorically, was ultimately viewed as ill-conceived.[126] Their mistake in judgement aside, this cantata stands apart from the twenty-two other works (all of the same genre) offered to mark the Bourbon restoration. It reconfigures the cantata not simply as a chronicle of aristocratic life, but as a vehicle for direct communication steeped in political reality. It also asserts a new identity for Ferdinando IV as father/protector who has been restored and designated to rule by God. The King, as noted earlier, takes centre-stage in the flesh rather than in allegorical fashion. These qualities not only suited the exigencies of the Restoration, but also helped forge a new ideological representation of the monarchy.

CONCLUSION

From the founding of the San Carlo Theatre in 1737, the Bourbon dynasty had cultivated a close rapport between the heroic operas staged in the royal theatre and images of their sovereignty. The Republican revolution of 1799 brought an end to the exclusive association between the House of Bourbon and Neapolitan operatic practices. The Republicans appropriated the stage in a similar manner, namely to promote their political agenda and initiatives and to denounce the aristocracy. Surviving evidence from the Republic suggests, however, that a premium was placed on the organization of public celebrations in ways similar to those of the Parisian fêtes of the 1790s. The creation of an original composition such as Cimarosa's *Inno della Repubblica Partenopea* was not only an ideal means for the expression of ideology and of ties to France, but also an attempt to distinguish Republicans from the monarchy. The singing of the anthem, which coincided with the planting of the 'tree of liberty' and burning of the Bourbon flag, was offered in a public forum, not the exclusive context of the royal theatre and its history. The *Inno* is also significant because it provided a unique means, at least in Naples, for the assertion of Republican identity and rule, while

124 f. 76r: 'Padre augusto e Ré clemente'.

125 ff. 94r –96r: 'Se mi vedo intorno al Trono i miei sudditi, i miei figli, io contento allora sono'.

126 Tufano concludes (based on archival documents) that Cimarosa's cantata had little impact, if any, on his standing in the eyes of the Bourbons. He notes that if the cantata had any effect, it was to only hasten Cimarosa's exile. See Tufano, 'La cantata di Cimarosa "In occasione del bramato ritorno di Ferdinando IV"', 496–499.

also 'usurping' an acclaimed musician closely identified with the renowned musical traditions of the city and one who had held the favour of the Bourbons.

The Bourbon restoration was marked by a gradual recommencement of theatrical activities, the meticulous investigation of theatrical personnel at all levels and the promotion of an alternative form of aristocratic spectacle, the cantata, instead of an immediate return to serious drama. The cantata remained the preferred vehicle of the court until the return of a complete theatrical calendar at the San Carlo, which occurred in the 1802–1803 season. This fact has led some to consider the influence and intent of the cantatas as ephemeral. Yet their influence is much more profound than may appear at first. The cantatas were intended to re-establish the identity and to reassert the authority of the monarchy, while reminding ordinary citizens of the Republican terror and Bourbon magnanimity. There is ample evidence of these qualities in Cimarosa's cantata. There is also the reality that the stage was a common denominator between the Republican and Bourbon regimes. In view of this situation and for practical reasons (such the ongoing inquiries into the activities of performers), the stage was not the most suitable means to express ideological distinctions between the Republicans and the Bourbon court. These issues notwithstanding, the court was confronted by the reality that they had to reformulate how they presented themselves not only ideologically, but also literally in a public forum. The evidence suggests that the intense cultivation of the cantata allowed them to enact such changes, if only for a brief period of time; yet time enough to impose order in the city and public institutions such as the royal theatre. The essential fabric and message of the cantata was comparable to stage drama, hence it was a logical choice. Yet it was also a more direct means of expression by the monarchy, and one clearly responsive to contemporary events (given its history in Naples as a narrative chronicle of royal life), in comparison to heroic opera. A subscription to the cantata also altered the established public context of self-representation utilized by the court, imposing a definitive, albeit brief, break with past traditions. Thus through the cantata a 'new' public vehicle for self-representation was put forward, one which posited images of Bourbon rule, identity and, most important, clemency that were static, yet difficult to misinterpret.

A return to the dramatic stage was unavoidable for the monarchy, given its long association with this form of dynastic expression. It was a return, however, that was generally undistinguished and short-lived. Ferdinand decided once again to enter into the fray of war and in 1805 aligned the Kingdom with the Third Coalition against Napoleon. In 1806 Napoleon's victory at Austerlitz allowed him to install first his brother Joseph as King of Naples and then two years later his brother in-law Gioacchino Murat as sovereign. The Napoleonic reign of Naples continued until 1815, a period during which French tastes dominated the dramatic stage of San Carlo and Naples. The rule of Murat is, however, another episode in Neapolitan music history altogether.