



**Opera in Portugal 1793-1828:
a study in repertoire and its spread**

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Abstract

Opera thrived in Lisbon and, to a lesser extent, Oporto during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In 1793 the Teatro de São Carlos opened in Lisbon and in 1798 the Teatro de São João in Oporto. Though not the only theatres to do so, these were the main ones to put on opera between 1793 and 1828, when political turmoil led to the closure of the S. Carlos.

The repertoire at the S. Carlos was very largely Italian, though prior to the Napoleonic invasion of 1807-08, there were contributions from the Portuguese composers Moreira and Portugal, and a few *opéras comiques* in Italian translation. Fioravanti was joint maestro for part of the first decade of the nineteenth century and composed several works for the theatre. Opera was intermittent during and immediately after the Napoleonic invasions but in late 1818 resumed on a regular basis. By this time Rossini was being performed and came to dominate the repertoire in the early to mid-1820s. Coccia and Mercadante, at different times maestro at the S. Carlos in the 1820s also composed operas for Lisbon. The repertoire at Oporto, as far as we can tell from limited sources, was similar, though, along more conventionally Italian lines.

In the almost complete absence of documentation, the transmission of operas to and from Portugal has been followed through a stemmatic study of libretto variants. This shows that scores reached Portugal primarily from a variety of Italian cities, consistently, though far from exclusively, from Milan. Singers, especially prior to 1807 were responsible for bringing a number of operas to Lisbon. Links between Lisbon and Oporto were not always close, though they can be shown in some instances. Connections between Portuguese theatres and Spain, France, England and Brazil can be shown in isolated cases but not consistently.



"Madame Catalani in the Character Semiramis in the opera of Semiramide"
(i.e. as Semiramide in Marcos Portugal's *La morte di Semiramide*),
anon. engraving, London, c. 1807 (author's collection).

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Abbreviations

General

D.	Don (Italian)/Dom (Portuguese)
MS	Manuscript MSS Manuscripts
S.	San (Italian)/São (Portuguese)/Santo/Santa/Sant' (Italian/Portuguese)
Sr.	Senhor
Sra.	Senhora
T.	Teatro

Bibliographical (for details of these works, see Bibliography)

AMZ	<i>Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung</i>
NG	<i>The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians</i>
NGO	<i>The New Grove Dictionary of Opera</i>
Encic	<i>Enciclopedia dello Spettacolo</i>

Source locations (Siglas used by *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales*, Kassel (RISM))

A-Wn	Austria: Vienna. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
B-Br	Belgium: Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier/Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I
Cs-Pu	Czech Republic: Prague, Národní knihovna v Praze. Universitní knihovna
D-Dlb	Germany: Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek
-Mbs	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
E-Bc	Spain: Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya
-Bit	Barcelona, Instituto del Teatro
-Mn	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional
F-Pn	France: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
GB-Lbl	Great Britain: London, British Library
-Lcm	London, Royal College of Music (Parry Library)
-Lva	London, Victoria & Albert Museum
H-Bn	Hungary: Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtára
I-Bc	Italy: Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale
-Fc	Florence, Conservatorio di Musica Luigi Cherubini
-Fm	Florence, Biblioteca Marucelliana
-FZc	Faenza, Biblioteca Comunale
-Gl	Genoa, Conservatorio di Musica Niccolò Paganini
-LI	Livorno, Biblioteca Comunale Labronica Francesco Domenico Guerrazzi
-Mb	Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense
-Mc	Milan, Conservatorio di Musica Giuseppe Verdi
-Mr	Milan, Archivio Storico Ricordi
-Ms	Milan, Biblioteca Teatrale Livia Simonini
-MOe	Modena, Biblioteca Estense
-Nc	Naples, Conservatorio di Musica S. Pietro a Majella
-Pci	Padua, Museo Civico, Biblioteca Civica e Archivio Comunale
-PAc	Parma, Conservatorio di Musica Arrigo Boito
-Ra	Rome, Biblioteca Angelica
-Rn	Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele III
-Rsc	Rome, Conservatorio di Musica S. Cecilia (Carvalhaes libretto collection)
-SML	Santa Margherita Ligure, Biblioteca Comunale Francesco Domenico Costa
-TSci(com)	Trieste, Biblioteca Civica
-TScm	Trieste, Civici Musei di Storia ed Arte
-TSmt	Trieste, Civico Museo Teatrale di Fondazione Carlo Schmidl
-Vcg	Venice, Biblioteca Casa di Goldoni
-Vgc	Venice, Biblioteca e Istituto della Fondazione Giorgio Cini
-Vlevi	Venice, Fondazione Ugo e Olga Levi
-Vnm	Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana

- P-Cug* Portugal, Coimbra, Biblioteca Geral da Universidade
-Cul Coimbra, Faculdade de Letras (Sala Dr. Jorge de Faria)
-EVP Évora, Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Distrital
-La Lisbon, Biblioteca da Ajuda
-Lac Lisbon, Biblioteca da Academia das Ciências
-Lan Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional de Torre do Tombo
-Lcg Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian (Serviço de Música)
-Ln Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional. Secção de Música
-Lt Lisbon, Arquivo e Biblioteca do Teatro de S. Carlos
-Pm Oporto, Biblioteca Pública Municipal
-VT Vila Viçosa, Biblioteca do Palácio Ducal
- US-Bp* United States of America, Boston Public Library, Music Department
-BE Berkeley, University of California, Music Library
-Eu Evanston, Northwestern University Libraries
-NYp New York Public Library at Lincoln Center, Library and Museum of the Performing Arts
-Wc Washington, DC, Library of Congress, Music Division

Plates

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Preface

In the Spring of 1982 idle curiosity took me to the Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon, to see if there were any libretti there of local productions of operas from 'my period' - the latter years of the eighteenth century and the early years of the nineteenth. I found a small number for performances at Lisbon's Teatro de São Carlos and then wondered whether anyone had done a history of the theatre. When I learnt that Francisco da Fonseca Benevides had done just that some hundred years before, I intended to let the matter drop. It is now so long ago (almost 15 years) that I cannot quite remember what made me look further - my only recollection is that before long, I began to find errors and omissions in Benevides' chronology and determined to set about tidying it up. All that this study has become began with that aim.

In the years that have elapsed since that beginning, there have been many interruptions. I have never had the luxury of being able to work full-time for a year or even a term on this research project. Throughout, research has had to compete with the week-in, week-out demands of being a very full-time professional in a quite different discipline - as a teacher and trainer of teachers of English as a Foreign Language - not to mention the regular writing of articles, conference papers and books, whether as sole or co-author, sometimes relating to the one profession, sometimes the other, in one instance breaking new ground by marrying the two. Then there was Lisbon European cultural capital, in 1994, when I took a heaven-sent opportunity to edit and see staged two modern premieres of Portuguese stage works from my period - an opera and a play with music. I began the research for this dissertation as a single man. Now I have a wife and two children.

Taking so long to finish has at times been a source of frustration, but it has also been necessary and positive. There have been a number of occasions when material I needed has taken me literally two or three years to obtain - first tracing a source, writing for a photocopy or microfilm and chasing up the unanswered letters; then, in the face of absolutely no response, seeking another source, followed by more delays. Some libraries with material I needed have been closed to the public for years on end. Most difficult of these to cope with has been the unavailability for the past four years of the manuscript scores housed in the Teatro de São Carlos archives and the inaccessibility for the past year of the libretti housed there - just when I needed to check all kinds of details.

The delays have also had their positive side, however. Though I collected much of my data within the first two years, how to structure my findings involved a good deal of agonising. Time, however, has made it possible to reflect at regular intervals, to let ideas emerge or disappear into oblivion. The final format has been able to take shape of its own accord with a little guidance from its author, instead of being manacled and twisted out of shape by a straitjacketer.

This project could never have been completed without the practical and moral support of many, many people and institutions. Among those that have been of particular professional help have been a number of librarians, among whom I would like to single out Anthea Baird, music librarian until her retirement at the University of London Library, Senate House, Sr. Machado and João Azevedo, who each in their own way facilitated access to the Teatro de São Carlos archives, when Secretaries of State and theatre administrations would permit, João Pedro d'Alvarenga, librarian of the music section at the Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon, and Maria Alice Falcão Curado, librarian of the Faculdade de Letras, Coimbra. My very grateful thanks to them and to all the many librarians all over Europe and the United States with whom I have had contact. Important in a practical sense too has been the financial support I have received from the Serviço Internacional of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon, which on three occasions has provide me with a travel grant - the only financial assistance I have received from any source.

On a more personal note I would like to express my gratitude to my many friends and acquaintances, both within and without the music profession, who have helped in countless and often unperceived ways, especially Isabel Freire de Andrade, Ruth Baratz, Maria de Jesus Assis Camilo, Gabriella Clark, Michael Collins (University of North Texas, Denton), Alan Curtis, Luisa Cymbron, Clement Laroy, Nicola Lucarelli, João Frederico Ludovice, Mário Moreau, Isabel and Miguel Costa e Moura, Bernadette Nelson, Rui Vieira Nery, Pierluigi Petrobelli, Mario Rinvoluceri, Michael Robinson, Ross Wood and my dear wife, Teresa. My biggest debt, however, is to Manuel Carlos de Brito, a colleague and friend of some twenty years' standing, who has patiently borne the task of supervising my work.

Lisbon, November 1996

Part 1

The theatres and their repertoire

Introduction

When the Romans reached the most remote cape on the northwest coast of Galicia, they believed they had reached the end of the world - "Finisterre", the name it bears to this day. The west of the Iberian peninsula, Galicia in the north and what is now the Republic of Portugal in the centre and south, is indeed about as far from the centre of Europe as you can go without crossing the sea. And yet Lisbon, like other capital cities on the periphery of this continent, such as London and St. Petersburg, was for much of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a major operatic centre. Indeed for brief periods of particular splendour it rivalled the very best theatres anywhere.

Recollecting this, a few months after my arrival in Portugal, a series of questions began to cross my mind. What traces remained of all that operatic activity? Were there documents, scores or libretti? And if so, where? And what about Portuguese opera? Was there any and, if there was, what form did it take? I had heard of the Portuguese composer Marcos Portugal - "Portogallo", the Italian form of his name, as I had hitherto called him. But how did he fit in?

It very quickly became clear that I needed to limit the period I would investigate. Partly in order to answer the last of the above questions, but also because of my interest in and familiarity with the period already, I chose to take as my starting date 1793, the year of inauguration of Lisbon's Teatro de São Carlos, and as my finishing date 1828, the year in which opera came to a halt there as a consequence of the civil war that followed Prince Miguel's usurpation of the Portuguese throne. At an early stage I became aware, however, that the S. Carlos was not the only theatre where opera was produced during this period. In particular, the Teatro de São João opened in Oporto in 1798 and opera was a regular part of the diet there. In addition, though on a much smaller scale, there were private opera performances and performances of farces and comedies with music at other Lisbon theatres. I wanted to know about all of these too.

As well as a general interest in opera in Portugal during the period selected, there was one aspect that particularly aroused my curiosity. How did Portugal fit into the European scene in general? More precisely, given certain immediately noticeable features in the repertoire, how did Portuguese theatres obtain scores? What, for example, was the role of composers, impresarios, troupes and individual singers in the transmission process? What links, if any, were there among theatres within Portugal, or between those in Portugal and neighbouring Spain, or Portugal and Brazil, for most

of our period still a Portuguese dependency? And what links were there with Italy and leading operatic centres such as Vienna, Paris and London? Going on from there, to what extent did operas composed for Portuguese theatres travel on elsewhere? And a separate question but related to all of the above: what connection is there between scores surviving in Portuguese and other libraries, on the one hand, and performances in Portugal, on the other?

Before answering any of these questions, however, it would be necessary to clarify precisely what the repertoire consisted of and the context in which these operas were staged. Part 1 of this study - the first six chapters - is dedicated to this aspect, while Part 2 - chapters seven to nine - seeks to answer the question of the repertoire's spread to and from Portugal.

In establishing the repertoire for the Teatro de S. Carlos I had a head start in the shape of Francisco da Fonseca Benevides' classic *O Real Theatro de S. Carlos de Lisboa*. It very quickly became apparent, however, that it was not only incomplete but flawed. Benevides was a medical doctor of very diverse interests and knowledge, not a trained musicologist. He evidently made ample use of documents in the Arquivo Nacional de Torre do Tombo, read the *Gazeta de Lisboa* throughout the period and had access to an unusually complete collection of libretti. The notes he took from these, however, were not always accurate. Dates are often miscited and composers get confused. He very laudably tried to provide attributions for operas whose source gave none. Sadly, in doing so, he not only made some very pardonable errors, but also succeeded in misleading generations into the belief that António Leal Moreira and António José do Rego composed operas they merely directed, that there world premieres in Lisbon of operas by Cimarosa and Nicolini, and that Jommelli, Perez and Galuppi were still being performed around 1800. All of the operas cited by Benevides have therefore been the object of a detailed search for primary sources, in order to establish the chronology on a proper scientific footing and to cast serious doubt on those for which I have found none. The fruits of this search are to be found in Appendix 1 (Chronology).

Despite these necessary criticisms of Benevides, his book has been an invaluable source and it is a tribute to him that none of the books about the S. Carlos published in the well over a hundred years since his work first saw the light of day in 1883 have in any sense superseded him.

The bicentenary of the S. Carlos, in 1993, as might be expected, occasioned a number of books about the theatre. With the exception of Carvalho (1993), which makes an

important contribution to our understanding of the S. Carlos as a social phenomenon, albeit from a particular political standpoint, the remainder are disappointing other than from an iconographical point of view, adding nothing of relevance to the present study¹.

It has, nevertheless, been possible to make important additions to Benevides by using sources that were either unavailable to him or which he did not think to use. Of these particular mention should be made of three: firstly, additional documents in the S. Carlos archives, at the Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon, the Ministry of Finance archives, Lisbon, and the Arquivo Nacional de Torre do Tombo, along with church records and the roll of the Lisbon musicians' guild, the *Irmandade de Santa Cecilia*; secondly, letters and travel books by foreigners visiting Portugal, of which the most important by far is Carl Israel Ruders' *Portugisisk Resa*, unfortunately still awaiting a complete translation in Portuguese; thirdly, reports of musical events in foreign journals, the principal of which, from the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, have now been published in Portuguese with an introduction and notes by Manuel Carlos de Brito and the present author under the title *Crónicas da vida musical portuguesa na primeira metade do século XIX*.

As for the other theatres, there is no equivalent of Benevides and it has been necessary to begin from nothing, using the same kinds of primary sources as for the S. Carlos. The only significant modern source has been Volume 1 of Moreau's *Cantores de ópera portugueses*, which contributes important information about the Baron of Quintela and his private Teatro das Laranjeiras, Lisbon.

For Part 2 I have, in effect, been entirely on my own. The sources and the methodology I have used are discussed in the Introduction to Part 2.

¹It is particularly frustrating that a study of the S. Carlos by Manuel Carlos de Brito, Luisa Cymbron and the present author, commissioned to celebrate the bicentenary by the theatre itself, remains to be published, as does an extensive work by Mário Moreau.

Chapter 1

The Teatro de São Carlos, Lisbon (1793-1798)

The building and opening of the theatre

On 14 October 1792 it was announced that Princess Carlota Joaquina, wife of the heir apparent Prince João, was expecting a baby. After seven years of childless marriage this was a cause for great jubilation. There were many suggestions as to how the forthcoming joyous event should be celebrated. Among these was one from the Intendent General of Police, Diogo Inácio de Pina Manique, that a theatre be built. It is unclear whether the idea in itself was his but it was primarily as a result of his initiative that the Teatro de S. Carlos came to be built¹.

There were many reasons why he should back a move to build a theatre in celebration of a royal birth. In the first place, the royal theatres of Ajuda, Queluz and Salvaterra had closed, following a particularly severe attack of madness that overtook Queen Maria I while attending a performance of Grétry's opera *Riccardo Cor di Leone* at Salvaterra during the Carnival season of 1792². Secondly, Pina Manique had for a long time felt the need to improve the facilities for theatre in Lisbon. He was very aware of the lack of a good theatre by comparison with other European capitals. Already in the 1780s he had encouraged the use of the Rua dos Condes Theatre, not because it was good but because it was the less bad of the city's two rather mediocre theatres³. A recent fire at the theatre in Saragossa, in which over six hundred people had died, made Pina Manique acutely aware of the danger of the existing theatres in Lisbon⁴. All of these factors made the building of a suitable theatre, particularly for the performance of opera, highly desirable.

As well as these practical considerations, we may be sure that Pina Manique was anxious to take advantage of the opportunity to strengthen his own position as Intendent General of Police. He had already set up street lighting in the city and established the Casa Pia to house the city's orphans. These were not purely philanthropic moves but part of a concerted effort to rid the streets of thieves. In the same way, though a great theatre was much needed for its own sake, building it to celebrate such an auspicious occasion would further his position at court, and if it

¹The most useful account of Pina Manique's involvement in the building and early functioning of the T. de São Carlos is Oliveira Martins (1948), pp. 121-49; relevant documents are transcribed on pp. 339-353. The following paragraphs draw systematically from that source.

²Brito (1989a), p. 77

³Oliveira Martins (1948), pp. 125-27

⁴id., p. 136.

could remain under his control, it would provide him with both a venue to continue to venerate the royal family and a means of influencing, through censorship, the public's principal entertainment.

Pina Manique had no difficulty in financing the project. Early in 1792 he had granted exclusive rights to deal in tobacco to a group of Lisbon capitalists headed by Joaquim Pedro Quintela and Anselmo José da Cruz Sobral. At a time when the bourgeoisie was looking for ways to affirm its ever-increasing power, he found immediate support not only from Quintela and Cruz Sobral, but also from their colleagues Jacinto Fernandes Bandeira, António Francisco Machado, João Pereira Caldas, João Rodrigues Caldas, and António José Ferreira Sola⁵.

Pina Manique's proposal was that they should finance the building of the theatre, which would be incorporated into the Casa Pia. They would be repaid by means of a combination of rents of the theatre and adjacent buildings, and the profit from lotteries that Pina Manique would licence them to hold on behalf of the Casa Pia. Following agreement to these terms, work began on 8 December 1792 on a plot of land which Quintela sold for the sum of 6.241\$492 réis⁶ on condition that he and his heirs would be given ownership in perpetuity of a double box nearest the stage on the same level as the Royal Box, with an adjoining room and a separate entrance from the street.

The theatre was designed by José da Costa Silva, architect of the Ajuda Palace, and was based on the design of the Teatro San Carlo, Naples, which was later destroyed by fire (in 1816). Joaquim Pereira was in charge of co-ordinating the building works, while Pina Manique was able to do a great deal to facilitate the acquisition of materials. Over the next six months building progressed at a frenetic pace and Pina Manique set about obtaining the various licences he needed from Prince João, now *de facto* Prince Regent, and the Minister of the Realm, José Seabra da Silva, to enable the theatre to be financed and to function as he wished. He also obtained permission to name the theatre São Carlos, after Princess Carlota Joaquina, who gave birth to a daughter, Maria Teresa, Princess of the Beira, on 29 April 1793.

The theatre's management was put in the hands of Francesco Antonio Lodi and André Lenzi. Lodi was already an experienced impresario, having managed the Rua dos

⁵Oliveira Martins (1948), p. 144. The list of backers in Benevides (1883), p. 19, makes no mention of Rodrigues Caldas.

⁶*id.*, pp. 144-45. He further tells us that the final cost of building the theatre was calculated in 1800 as being 165.845\$196 réis, of which Quintela contributed 18.400\$000, as did Machado, Caldas and Bandeira, while Ferreira Sola paid 18.396\$290, Cruz Sobral 23.199\$994 and [his son], the Baron of Sobral, 13.600\$000.

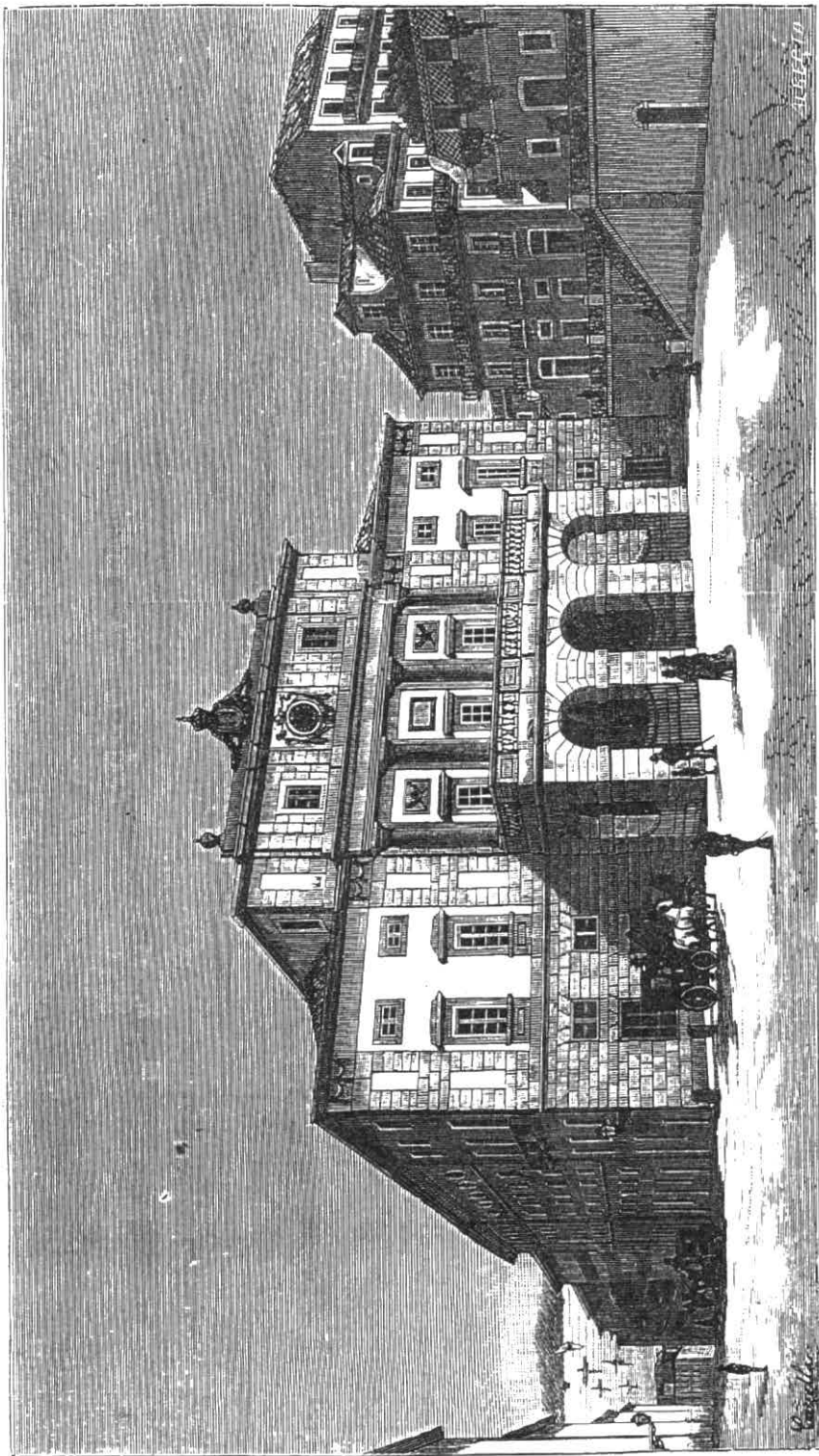


Plate I Engraving of the Teatro de São Carlos as in 1878, in Benevides (1883), p. 21.

Condes Theatre at least during the 1791/92 season⁷, while Lenzi was a horn-player in the Court Orchestra⁸. The musical director was to be António Leal Moreira, composer and court chapelmaster, who had been *maestro* at the Rua dos Condes since 1790.

It was Sunday 30 June 1793. The impresarios had displayed bills announcing the opening of the new Real Teatro de São Carlos with an evening's entertainment that included Cimarosa's popular '*burlata*' (i.e. two-act *dramma giocoso*, *opera buffa* or comic opera) *La ballerina amante*. The opening had been planned for the previous day, St. Peter's Day, but for whatever reason there was a 24-hour delay⁹.

As the audience arrived at the new theatre, they would have found it much as it is today¹⁰. Coming from the square outside beneath the covered portico, they would have entered through one of five large doors into the spacious entrance hall and from there, via the brightly-lit passage-way either to the stalls or up the stairs to the boxes. The stalls were laid out on a slight incline, descending from back to front, divided into four by means of three parallel gangways, and had a seating capacity of 800. They consisted of rows of benches with backs, one section of which, the *plateia dos nobres* (noblemen's stalls), was upholstered. No women were allowed in the stalls. The 122 boxes were divided into five levels, twenty-four on each except the last with twenty-six. They were decorated with beautiful arabesques and with three-armed candelabras, hung in such a way that the light would not dazzle the five or six spectators in each.

In the midst of the boxes, rising above the entrance at the back of the stalls was the Royal Box, above which, in turn, adjacent to the fifth-level boxes was one built specially for the royal household. If D. João and D. Carlota Joaquina, the Prince and Princess of Brazil, were present¹¹, the rich furnishings and royal coat-of-arms would have been visible. If not, the royal box would have been draped with a blue silk curtain embroidered with silver. Before the opera began and during the intervals, the auditorium was lit by a massive crystal candelabra in the middle and four smaller ones

⁷ Brito (1989), p. 108.

⁸ Scherpereel (1985), pp. 25-26, etc.

⁹ A letter dated 27 June from José Seabra da Silva, the Minister of the Realm, to Prince João and Princess Carlota Joaquina (*P-La* 54-XIII-15.83) seeks confirmation that they would be present for the opening on 29 June.

¹⁰ The following description combines information from Ruders (1805-09), Letter 29 March 1800, as given in Ruders (1981), pp. 88-89, and Bernard (1808), Vol. I, pp. 257-60. Ruders' account was written in 1800, Bernard's in 1802/3, and possibly the theatre was not in such a finished state when it first opened.

¹¹ They were evidently invited (see note 9).

hanging just in front of the stage. On the ceiling was a clock with an enormous face surrounded by lights. Separating the auditorium from the stage were two finely-painted curtains both depicting mythological scenes, the outer one raised and lowered at the beginning and end of the evening's entertainment, the inner one lowered only during the intervals.

As the curtain opened for the inaugural performance, the audience would have seen the great stage, capable of holding at least eighteen wing-flats on either side, sloping downwards, like the stalls from back to front, such that everything and everyone on stage would have been visible even from the very back of the auditorium.

The cast for *La ballerina amante* was an all-male one, women being forbidden by the Queen (Maria I) from appearing on the stage¹². The *prima donna buffa assoluta*¹³ was Domenico Caporalini (Madama Rubiconda), a *castrato* with a fine voice, at a time when good *castrati* were becoming very difficult to find¹⁴. The *primo buffo assoluto* was Francesco Marchesi (D. Totomaglio), a renowned *buffo* originally from Bologna, with over twenty-five years' experience, who had sung his present role in at least five previous productions, as well as taking part in the world premiere at the T. de' Fiorentini, Naples, in 1782. The Roman singer Pietro Guariglia, who played the *primo mezzo carattere* (Monsù Franchillone), had sung in four earlier productions of *La ballerina amante* (including two with Marchesi). The *prima donna seria* was the *castrato* Michele Cavanna (Ortensia), and the minor parts were sung by Loretto Olivieri (D. Petronio) and Paolo Boscoli (Mazzacogna), *primi buffi caricati*, the *castrato* Natale Rossi (Bettina), *seconda donna*, and Francesco Franchi (Cavalier Bireno)¹⁵. The orchestra was directed by *maestro* António Leal Moreira. A bilingual

¹²All contemporary visitors to Portugal make reference to the Queen's prohibition, supposedly a consequence of her insane jealousy of other women - one of the many manifestations of her madness. However, no decree as such has ever been found. It may just have been that following a scandal in 1774 between the Count of Oeiras (son of the Prime Minister, the Marquis of Pombal) and the singer Anna Zamperini, women were banned from Lisbon stages by unwritten rule, rather than by legal decree. The ruling did not apply in Oporto, which reinforces the idea of an unwritten rule, not a decree.

¹³The precise titles of singers' posts and their corresponding hierarchical position in the company were of great importance to them. These titles were gradually inflated over the decades - as Rosselli (1992) tells us: 'By the 1800s a *seconda donna* had to be known as *altra* (other) *prima donna*, *assoluto*, originally applied to one person only, came to be demanded by all leading performers; those billed as 'co-equal' (*a vicenda*) might, at worst, have to have their parts assigned by lot and their names printed diagonally across each other [in the libretto].' (p. 168) See also the summary of voice names and what they actually corresponded to in the introduction to Appendix II (Singers).

¹⁴Brito (1989a), pp. 66-68, writes of the great difficulty in recruiting good singers, especially *castrati* for the royal theatres during the 1780s and early 1790s. One of the *castrati* they unsuccessfully approached at that time was Domenico Caporalini.

¹⁵For details of the operas performed in Portugal 1793-1828, sources, etc. see Appendix I (Chronology); for details of singers' biographies and careers, see Appendix II (Singers).

libretto was printed for the production, the Italian text on the left-hand pages, a Portuguese translation on the right, a practice maintained throughout our period.

As for the performance itself and those who attended we know almost nothing. The opera was given in two acts and was repeated on 1 and 3 July, at least. Between the acts two ballets by C. Gioia were given: *Felicità lusitana* and *Gli dispetti amorosi*.

NOTICIA.

A Os 30 do corrente mez de Junho, 1.º e 3.º de Julho se ha de fazer a Abertura do Novo Real Theatro de S. CARLOS, dedicado á Serenissima Senhora D. CARLOTA JOAQUINA, Princeza do Brazil, e na sua primeira representação hirá á Scena a graciosa Burleta, intitulada

A BAILARINA AMANTE:

Musica do famoso Mestre de Capella Domingos Cimarosa, executada pela nova, e escolhida Companhia de Actores Italianos, que ultimamente vierão para serviço do mesmo Theatro. No fim do primeiro Acto haverá huma Dança da invenção do primeiro Bailarino o célebre Professor Caetano Gioia, Intitulada

A FELICIDADE LUSITANA:

Baile analogo a celebrar o Faustissimo Nascimento da Serenissima Senhora PRINCEZA DA BEIRA, no qual cantará Carlos Oneiti, hum dos Sopranos da Companhia, hum Elogio, ou Licença dirigida ao mesmo assumpto, e composta por Antonio Leal Moreira, Mestre do Real Seminario. Será tudo ornado de Scenário, e Vestuario competente a hum tão distincto-Theatro.

Os preços da Plateia serão de quatrocentos reis cada pessoa, e os da Varanda duzentos reis. Entre os lugares dos Assignantes haverá assentos para pessoas avulsas, cujo preço he o de oitocentos reis.

Adverte-se, que todos os Lugares do Theatro terão preços dobrados nos primeiros tres dias das suas representações, por ser este o costume nas Aberturas dos Theatros, attendendo á enorme despeza, que se tem feito em tudo que he indispensavel para hum tal Espectaculo.

Principiará ás oito horas e meia.

Os livros das Burletas, e Programa do Baile se acharão de venda no mesmo Theatro.

NA OFFICINA DE SIMÃO THADDEO FERREIRA. 1793.
Com Licença da Real Meza da Commissão Geral sobre o Exame, e Censura dos Livros.

The audience probably consisted chiefly of members of the merchant classes, including the capitalists who funded the building of the theatre, rather than the nobility. Joaquim Pedro Quintela is almost certain to have been present in his specially large box.

The remainder of the first theatrical year

As in Italy, the 'theatrical year' continued until Shrove Tuesday the following calendar year (4 March 1794), the Summer season continuing till late August, the Autumn season from then till late November, a Winter season during Advent and the Carnival season from 26 December till Shrove Tuesday¹⁶. During the rest of 1793/94 there were performances of three more operas by Cimarosa, two works each by P. A. Guglielmi, Sarti and Paisiello, and one, *Gli amanti della dote*, by the Neapolitan composer Silvestre Palma¹⁷; in addition, Moreira's one-act *pequena farsa dramática* entitled *A Saloia Namorada, ou o Remédio é Casar*, to a libretto by the Brazilian Domingos Caldas Barbosa, received its premiere on 9 December 1793, the joint Benefit¹⁸ night of Caporalini and Cavanna.

Following the tradition at the T. da Rua dos Condes, all the operas performed at the new theatre were comic works and all those that originally had three acts were, like *La ballerina amante*, given in two-act versions. Two operas - Cimarosa's *Chi dell'altrui si veste presto si spoglia* and *Giannina e Bernardone* - had already been performed at the T. da Rua dos Condes. Although a new libretto edition was printed for the former, it was not printed for the latter. This non-printing is more important than might at first appear, for while up to 1808 and from 1818 libretti were seemingly printed for the great majority of productions, this was not invariable and throughout the period under study here there are cases of productions we know of only through other sources - a few theatre bills, occasional newspaper announcements, the accounts of a Swedish priest resident in Lisbon and, from 1816, sporadic reviews in foreign periodicals. It is probable, therefore, especially in years when our only source of information is libretti, that there were other operas performed about which we have hitherto found no information. We are not, therefore, in a position to say with absolute certainty that this or that opera was never performed at the T. de São Carlos, only that we have no evidence that it was. Obviously too, any critical observations about the repertoire

¹⁶In 1794 and 1795 the T. de São Carlos was completely closed during Lent. The Spring season ran from Easter to mid-June.

¹⁷Though attributed in the printed libretto and all secondary sources to P. A. Guglielmi, the evidence against this is irrefutable. See Plate 3 on the next page. This and other errors are fully discussed in the corresponding entry in Appendix I (Chronology).

¹⁸Again as in Italy, singers and dancers were often entitled under the terms of their contract to one or more Benefit nights, in which part or all of the proceeds went to the beneficiary or beneficiaries.

La Musica è del celebre Sig. Silvestro
Palma, Maestro di Cappella Napolitano,
diretta dal Sig. Antonio Leal Moreira,
Maestro del Reale Seminario di Lisbona.

Mutazioni di Scene

Per questa Farsa.

1. Nobile Palazzina sulla spiaggia del Ma-
re con scala praticabile, che conduce all'
appartamento superiore. Da un lato della
Scena delizioso Giardino, ed in prospetto Can-
cello, per cui si passa nella suddetta spiaggia.
2. Gabinetto con sedie, e Tavolino con ricapito
da scrivere.

Parte interna di rovinoso Edificio, e di un
arco cadente: in prospetto Veduta di Giar-
dino in qualche distanza.

Giardino.

must not only take into account productions we know of but for which no libretto was printed, but also the probability that there were still further operas performed for which no evidence at all has survived.

Although the T. de São Carlos was a public theatre at which royalty had a permanent invitation and place (the royal box), not a court theatre to which the monarch invited whoever he or she chose, royal birthdays and name-days were regularly celebrated, usually with a lavish new production and/or a specially composed ode (*elogio*) or cantata. During the opening opera year Queen Maria I's birthday, on 17 December 1793, was marked by a production of P. A. Guglielmi's *La virtuosa in Mergellina*¹⁹.

The principal singers will have been contracted to the end of the theatrical year, with the possibility of renewal by mutual consent. This was the usual custom in Naples, Sicily and in theatres outside Italy, though not otherwise usual in other Italian cities, and while it remained the general rule throughout our period, some singers seem to have been taken on for 12 months across theatre years, e.g. by calendar years. Clearly too, to judge from their isolated appearances in libretti or other sources, some singers must have been engaged on an occasional basis. Caporalini, on the other hand, may have been contracted for as many as seven years²⁰. One other major singer joined the company during the first theatre year - Antonio Brizzi, who had already sung as a *basso buffo* at the T. da Rua dos Condes in 1791 and who is first recorded at the S. Carlos in January 1794, now in *mezzo carattere* (tenor) roles. In Paisiello's *La molinara* Pietro Guariglia was replaced as *primo mezzo carattere* by Pietro Jobit.

Easter 1794 to Lent 1798

After a closure during Lent the theatre reopened for the 1794/95 year after Easter, very likely on 25 April (the Friday after Easter Sunday), when Princess Carlota Joaquina's birthday was celebrated with a new production: *Una cosa rara* by Martin i Soler (Martini). From then till Lent 1798 the repertoire followed much the same lines

¹⁹The principal royal birthdays and name-days celebrated at the Teatro de S. Carlos during our period were:

	<i>Birthday</i>	<i>Name-day</i>
Queen Maria I	17 December	(not celebrated)
Prince João=Prince Regent=King João VI	13 May	24 June
Princess/Queen Carlota Joaquina	25 April	4 November
Prince Pedro=King Pedro I	12 October	29 June
Prince (King) Miguel	26 October	29 September

²⁰As we shall see, when the Lodi-Lenzi partnership ran into financial difficulties in October 1798, they were looking for a new manager who would honour Caporalini's contract, which continued till Shrovetide 1800.

as during the 1793/94 year. The repertoire consisted almost entirely of two-act *dramme giocosi*, or double bills of one-act *farse* (or one-act versions of longer works, e.g. the originally three-act *dramma giocoso* entitled *Li due castellani burlati* by Fabrizi). Such other works performed were all within the capabilities of a *buffa* (comic) company - Paisiello's *Nina, ossia La pazza per amore* (*Commedia...*), Nasolini's *Eugenia* (*Dramma per musica*), etc. The most popular composers were Cimarosa, Paisiello and P. A. Guglielmi, in that order, but with significant contributions from Sarti, Martin i Soler, Anfossi, Gazzaniga, Salieri and P. C. Guglielmi, who was present in Lisbon in 1795. Moreira again contributed a single work in 1794 - *A Vingança da Cigana*, the only opera of his to be revived in modern times - and in 1795 *L'eroína lusitana*. Of note too are two works of the French repertoire but sung in Italian - Dalayrac's *I due ragazzi savoardi* and Kreutzer et al. *Lodoiska*, both staged in 1796. Like Grétry's *Riccardo cor di Leone*, the fated final production at Salvaterra in the Carnival of 1792, the first performance of these operas in Italian was given at Monza, and apart from a performance of *I due ragazzi savoardi* at San Pier d'Arena in the Autumn of 1793, these works appear otherwise only to have been performed in Italian in Portugal.

Following completion in 1796 of the *Sala Nobre* (known today as the 'Salão Nobre') above the entrance hall, on the second floor of the theatre, 'oratorios' (a blanket term embracing such diverse works as Jommelli's *Miserere* Psalm, Paisiello's *Passione di Gesù Cristo* and operas on sacred themes) were given there during Lent. From the libretti it appears that these oratorio performances were sung but not acted²¹. It is significant that oratorio performances in 1796, unusually, were advertised in the *Gazeta de Lisboa*, probably to draw special attention at a time of year when the theatre was normally closed.

Caporalini continued to be *prima donna buffa* throughout this period. Francesco Marchesi remained *primo buffo assoluto*, except for a period during 1795 and 1796, when he was singing in Madrid; he left Lisbon after Carnival 1798. During Marchesi's absence in Madrid, his place was assumed principally by Gaetano Neri, an experienced *buffo*, who had sung in London as well as many major Italian theatres; he subsequently took Marchesi's place for a year in Madrid, returning to Lisbon in the Spring of 1797. Other significant *buffi* were Girolamo Crucciati, *primo buffo* Summer 1794 to Autumn 1795 before also going on to Madrid; Giuseppe Tavani, a younger singer, who began at the S. Carlos in Summer 1795; and Andrea Guglielmini, who brought over twenty-

²¹The libretti consistently designate these works as "componimento sacro destinato cantarsi" rather than "da rappresentarsi".

five years' experience with him when he began in October 1797. An additional *primo mezzo carattere*, Luigi Bruschi, was engaged following Pietro Guariglia's departure. From Summer of 1795, the *primo mezzo carattere* was Michele Schira, who remained in Lisbon off and on for the next twelve years.

As a reminder, on the one hand, of the difficulties the theatre continued to experience in trying to obtain *castrati* for women's parts, and, on the other, of the vicissitudes that singers sometimes had to face, it is perhaps worth highlighting the case of one 'minor' singer. Pasquale Rossetti is first recorded as singing at the T. de São Carlos on 19 August 1795, in Alessandri's *La finta baronessa*. He was only fourteen years old and apprenticed to a retired *opera* singer turned singing teacher, Lorenzo Galeffi, who was likewise a *castrato*. His engagement at the S. Carlos marked the beginning of Rossetti's professional career and although it was common for *castrati* to begin singing professionally in their mid teens, this is the only known example of an Italian of this early age being recruited for the S. Carlos - no doubt, older, available, remotely competent *castrati* could not be found. The boy continued to sing small female parts at the theatre for just under two years, his last known appearance being on 20 May 1797 in Cimarosa's *Le trame deluse*. Ten days later he died - of causes not recorded - at the age of sixteen, being buried next day at the Italian church of the Loreto, a few hundred yards from the theatre²².

Because Lent was the traditional rest period for singers, who were not therefore normally available at that time of year, for the Lenten oratorios, in 1797 and 1798, two *castrati* from the Royal Chapel were used - Francesco Angelelli and the singer-composer Giovanni Battista Longarini. The former had been contracted for the royal theatres in 1791, not long before their permanent closure and was to remain in Lisbon for the rest of his life.

Ballets remained a permanent feature between the acts of two-act operas or between double-billed *farse*, and by 1796 there was also a company to perform Portuguese comedies (mainly *farsas*). As well as being performed on certain days when there was no opera, they became a regular feature after Act II of operas or the second *farsa*²³. The only contemporary commentator, J. B. F. Carrère, makes reference to the use only of men in these entertainments as well as in the opera:

²²For further details regarding both Rossetti and Galeffi, see Rossetti's entry in Appendix II (Singers).

²³The *Gazeta de Lisboa* of 13 February 1796 tells us that from the following Easter opera would be performed on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays, while Sundays, saints' Days and other appropriate days would be reserved for Portuguese comedies. See also Benevides (1883), p. 49.

They have no female actors. The women's parts are performed by men; by *castrati* at the opera and by bearded men in the Portuguese pieces and in the ballets. It seems quite ludicrous to a stranger to hear a rough masculine voice proceed from the figure of a young shepherdess, a princess or a fine lady; it is not less so to see young shepherdesses, country girls and nymphs perform a ballet with beards that shock the eye of every spectator. The *rouge* with which they bedaub their faces only renders the dark tinge of their beards more prominent; and this mixture of hues gives them the aspect of furies, contrasting in a very grotesque manner with the characters they represent²⁴.

Among the *elogios* for royal birthdays/name-days particular mention should be made of *A Estância do Fado*, a spoken ode by the eminent Arcadian poet Manuel Maria Barbosa do Bocage, performed at the S. Carlos on the Queen's birthday in 1797 by actors from the Portuguese company²⁵. There were also occasional concerts²⁶.

²⁴Carrère (1809), pp. 45-46.

²⁵The libretto describes it as an 'Elogio dramático para recitar-se', i.e. for recitation rather than singing, though the three performers involved. António Manuel Cardoso [Nobre], Vitorino José Leite and João Anacleto de Sousa are all known from other contexts to have been singers as well as actors. The Portuguese *farsa* repertoire is discussed in Chapter 6.

²⁶These were generally announced in the *Gazeta de Lisboa* and are discussed and listed in Brito (1989b), pp. 167-87.

Chapter 2

The Teatro de São Carlos, Lisbon (1798-1807)

Crescentini and the introduction of opera seria

With the re-opening of the T. de São Carlos after Easter in 1798 began a new era, a whole series of events both musical and political which would make future generations look back upon it as a period of turning points and glory.

To begin with, the management had decided to put on performances of *opera seria* for the first time. The importance of this decision cannot be overstated. No *opera seria* had been performed in Portugal since December 1791 (Robuschi's *Attalo re di Bitinia*, at the Ajuda theatre¹) and none in a public theatre since the collapse of the *Sociedade dos Teatros Públicos* in 1774². Without a royal subsidy and no longer receiving financial support from Pina Manique³, it was a ruinously expensive undertaking. It seems likely, therefore, that the decision had considerable backing from the theatre's original backers, wishing to emulate both the court of earlier times and comparable theatres in other European capitals.

Whatever the reasons, musically it was a windfall, for not only did it mean the opportunity to hear a much broader repertoire (which was probably foremost in the audience's mind), but to enjoy the spectacle and, most of all, good singing. In this last respect they were indeed fortunate, for the impresarios had managed to engage Girolamo Crescentini, one of the last and greatest *castrati*, whom the royal theatres had tried unsuccessfully to engage some years earlier⁴. With Crescentini came the tenor Gustavo Lazzerini, with whom he had been singing at La Scala, Milan, the previous Carnival, and another *castrato*, Giovanni Zamperini.

The new *seria* company sang for the first time on 13 May 1798, the birthday of Prince João, and, coincidentally, the day the Teatro de S. João opened in Oporto. The opera they chose was Sarti's two-act *Giulio Sabino*. Between then and the end of the year, they performed regularly, with new productions to mark royal occasions, such as Princess Carlota Joaquina's name-day (4 November), when what was probably the first of Mayr's operas to reach Lisbon (*La Lodoiska*) was first performed and the Queen's

¹ Brito (1989a), p. 166.

² For details of this episode see Brito (1989a), pp. 90-97.

³ According to Benevides (1883), p. 53, who goes on to give an account of the lotteries for which the management was granted licences in order to raise money.

⁴ Brito (1989a), p. 67.

birthday (17 December), when *Gli Orazi e i Curiazi*, specially written by Cimarosa for Crescentini (Venice, Fenice: 26 December 1796), received its Lisbon premiere. Also among the operas performed that year was Zingarelli's *Giulietta e Romeo* (premiere: Milan, Scala: 30 January 1796), which had likewise been written specially for Crescentini. Both this opera and *Gli Orazi e i Curiazi* were to remain in the repertoire on and off throughout Crescentini's five-year stay.

At the same time, *opera buffa*, ballet and Portuguese comedies continued to be performed. The general situation at the S. Carlos at this time is described by Heinrich Link, who visited it during the 1798/9 theatrical year:

...It was at that time in all respects excellent, and the singers have rendered every other opera to me insipid. The best of these performers was added to it at that time, when the French occupied Rome and turned out the *castrati* from the great opera. Crescentini eclipsed all the rest; but I should only name him to those who knew Italy, which is the mother of music, before the late troubles. In Lisbon unmarried women are not allowed to perform at any theatre; and here, where their places are supplied by *castrati*, little more is lost than an illusion of the imagination, which perhaps misleads the judgement. The opera was my principal amusement at Lisbon. The house is large and handsome, the disposition of its parts excellent, and the attention of the manager that everyone should be in his proper place, very exemplary. Sometimes also Portuguese [sic] operettas are performed, generally farces, as afterpieces, in which the Portuguese language has a pleasing effect in the mouth of Zamparini [sic]⁵.

Things did not remain good for long, however. In October the impresarios, already feeling the massive financial burden of staging *opera seria*, put an announcement in the *Gazeta de Lisboa* advising the public of their intention to give up the management at the end of the season (Carnival 1799) and inviting offers to take over their assets and liabilities:

The impresarios of the Royal Theatre of *S. Carlos*, having resolved at their cost to terminate the aforesaid management at the end of next Carnival, make known to each and every person who might wish to undertake this business that the said impresarios have to find some person within the space of a month from the publication of this notice, to deal with and agree to the purchase of the sets, wardrobe and other furnishings belonging to the management for a modest sum: it being understood that the person who takes this business upon himself will be obliged to make good and take responsibility for the terms of Domenico Caporalini, who is contracted up to the end of Carnival 1800⁶.

⁵Link (1801), p. 216. The 'Zamparini' referred to was Giovanni Zamperini - see entry in Appendix II (Singers). The "late troubles" refer to the Napoleonic invasion of Italy.

⁶"Os Empresarios do Real Theatro de S. Carlos, achando-se resolvidos a finalizar por sua conta a referida Empresa para o fim do Entrudo proximo futuro, fazem saber a toda e qualquer pessoa que quizer emprender esta Negociação que haja de procurar os ditos Empresarios no termo de hum mez.

Apparently no-one was forthcoming, and the end of the season saw not only the departure of the impresarios Lenzi and Lodi but also *maestro* Leal Moreira⁷ and the singer Lazzerini.

As in the previous Lent, oratorios were performed in the *Sala Nobre* and for one of them Angelelli was once again brought in from the Royal Chapel, this time, together with Giuseppe Capranica.

For want of a new management for the start of the new season, the responsibility was undertaken by Caporalini himself in collaboration with Crescentini. To replace Lazzerini, Vincenzo Praun was engaged. It is not clear, however, who occupied the post of *maestro*, though the function appears to have been carried out by the violinist and composer Francesco Federici⁸. To open their season, on 25 March, Caporalini and Crescentini put on Salieri's *Axur re d'Ormuz*, which they advertised in the *Gazeta*⁹.

The repertoire continued to alternate between *opera seria* and *buffa*, and an announcement appeared in the *Gazeta* of 9 July that for the rest of the Summer *opera seria* would be performed on Sundays with *opera buffa* on Wednesdays. Among the composers represented in 1799 for the first time at the T. de São Carlos was the Portuguese composer Marcos António Portugal (known in Italy and the rest of Europe as Marco Portogallo), three of whose comic works were performed that year¹⁰. Also worthy of note that year is the performance on 3 July of a '*nova cantata seria*' by Paisiello, a setting of the Metastasian libretto *L'isola disabitata*. The fact that the

contado da publicação deste aviso, para tratarem e convirem na compra do Scenario, vestuário, e mais móveis pertencentes à Empresa, que sera feita por uma módice avaliação bem entendido que a pessoa que sobre si tomar esta Negociação, será obrigado a fazer boa, e a tomar a si a Escritura de *Domingos Caporalini*, que se acha escriturado até o Entrudo de 1800." *Gazeta de Lisboa*, 2 October 1798. *Supplemento*.

Benevides (1883), p. 56, draws attention to the fact that Crescentini is not mentioned in this Notice and suggests that he had only been contracted for one year (1798/99), as was evidently the case with Lazzerini. Circumstances in Italy at this time must have been sufficiently uncomfortable for Crescentini to accept a relatively modest deal in Portugal, i.e. a one-year contract on terms that Lodi and Lenzi could afford.

⁷Moreira's name appears for the last time in the libretto for Marcos Portugal's *La donna di genio volubile* on 23 January 1799.

⁸Moreira is traditionally said to have remained *maestro* until 1800, giving up the direction in favour of his internationally-renowned brother-in-law Marcos Portugal that year, a view probably stemming from the entry for Moreira in Vieira (1900). We know, however, from Ruders (1805-09), in his letter of 29 March 1800, that Francesco Federici was already present in 1799 and functioning as *maestro*, though not named as such in the corresponding libretti. In Spring/early Summer 1800 Federici's name does appear in two libretti. The traditional view is clearly untenable.

⁹*Gazeta de Lisboa*, 23 March 1799. Supplement II.

¹⁰*La donna di genio volubile* was given still under the Lodi-Lenzi management: *Rinaldo d'Aste* and *Il barone spazzacamino* under the new management.

Gazeta describes it as 'new' suggests that it may have been written by Paisiello specially for Lisbon but, in the absence of a score to prove this, we have to admit that it is more likely to have been a pastiche¹¹.

On 15 June Prince João was proclaimed *de jure* Regent of Portugal, a position he had effectively occupied since early in 1792. Among the celebrations that followed this proclamation was a gala organised by Pina Manique at the T. de São Carlos on 28 July and reported in the *Gazeta* on 2 August:

On 28 July at the Royal Theatre of *S. Carlos* the Intendent General of Court and Kingdom, *Diogo Inácio de Pina Manique*, by virtue of the zeal that so distinguishes him, wishing to applaud the publication of the decree concerning the Regency of H. M. the Prince, gave to the upper nobility, the diplomatic corps and a substantial number of notable persons of all classes, a *gratis* performance of the drama *Giulio Sabino* with refreshments for all, as delicate and copious as well-served. Their Royal Highnesses, to give a public demonstration of the esteem in which they hold the said officer, deigned not only to be present at the performance but even to take refreshment, which was served to them at separate tables and which, as well as a table of state, he had provided with the greatest sumptuousness for these royal personages and for their retinue, such that profusion was seen to compete with exquisiteness. After the Drama, between whose acts the Dance entitled the *Conquista da Flórida Branca* was given, a *licença* or birthday poem dedicated to H. M. the Prince, which that same piece includes, was sung; and the entertainment concluded with a Fiddle solo played by the celebrated Luisa Gerbini. After it was over, their Royal Highnesses withdrew amid the acclamations of that immense number of spectators in whose countenances shone the joy of having enjoyed in the presence of their Prince and Princess so magnificent a feast, in everything so utterly commensurate with its objective¹².

¹¹The practice at this period of adding and substituting arias from other operas was taken for granted, varying from the insertion of one or two pieces to the assembling of an entire opera from miscellaneous sources. Such a 'pastiche' would then be 'honestly' attributed to 'varii' or 'diversi compositori', or more often to one of the composers whose music was represented. This is likely to have been the case with *L'isola disabitata*.

¹²"Querendo o Intendente Geral da Policia da Corte e Reino, *Diogo Ignacio de Pina Manique*, por effeito do zelo que tanto o distingue, applaudir a publicação do Decreto sobre a Regencia do Principe N. S., deo Domingo 28 de Julho no Real Theatro de *S. Carlos* á primeira Nobreza, ao Corpo Diplomatico e a hum crescido numero de Pessoas conspicuas de todas as classes, huma representação gratuita do drama *Julio Sabino*, com hum refresco geral tão delicado e copioso, quanto bem servido. SS. AA. RR., por darem huma pública demonstração da estima que lhes merece o dito Magistrado, se dignarão não só de assistir á mesma representação, mas até de tomar o refresco, que lhes foi servido de diferentes Mezas, que além d'huma d'Estado, tinha elle feito preparar com a maior sumptuosidade para as mesmas Reaes Pessoas, e para as da sua comitiva, vendo-se alli competir o profuso com o exquisito. Após o Drama, em meio de cujos Actos houve a Dança intitulada a *Conquista da Florida Branca*, se cantou a *Licença* ou Poema Natalicio dedicado ao Principe N. S., que traz a mesma Peça; e concluiu-se o Espectaculo com hum Solo de Rabeca que tocou a celebre Professora *Luiza Gerbini*. Acabado que foi, se retirarão SS. AA. RR. entre as aclamações daquelle immenso numero de espectadores, em cujos semblantes transluzia o jubilo de terem gozado em presença dos seus Principes d'hum Festim tão magnifico e em tudo tão proporcionado ao seu objecto." *Gazeta de Lisboa*, 2 August, 1799.

Among the first moves that the Prince Regent made was to remove the prohibition of women appearing on the Lisbon stage, and on 16 October, if not sooner, Marianna Albani became the first singer to do so at the T. de São Carlos, in a performance of Settimo Marino's *Didone*, an opera composed for her at Oporto the previous season. As of early November¹³ the number of performances per week doubled, with *opera seria* on Sundays and Wednesdays, and *opera buffa* on Mondays and Fridays. A notable feature of the repertoire that Autumn and Winter was the inclusion of two operas by Dalayrac, namely *Camilla ossia La sepolta viva* (from 29 November) and a revival of *Raollo signore di Créqui*. As was the case with the operas from the French repertoire performed a few years earlier, *Camilla* had otherwise only been performed in Italian at Monza.

Present in Lisbon throughout this year and for the next two was the Swedish Lutheran pastor Carl Israel Ruders. A highly observant and perceptive man, he was also an avid opera-goer. In his letter home of 27 February 1800 he describes the theatre and the state of opera over the past year. Referring to the previous Spring (1799) he says this of the singers:

The *castrato* Crescentini was then and still is the best performer of serious roles.

He is justly considered one of the greatest singers in the world. In the tragedies that he takes part in, the female roles are played by the *castrato* Caporalini, who without having a voice comparable to his, is nonetheless a good singer and makes a good actress. As well as these there are other singers: Praun, of German origin (his voice cannot be called exactly beautiful but he knows music well and is an excellent actor in both serious and more elevated comic roles); Schira, with a better voice than Praun's, but not such a good actor in either type; and finally Tavani, an excellent bass and good comic actor, but a bad actor in serious pieces, for which he is unfortunately still indispensable. The rest are: Gaetano Neri, reasonable in burlesque roles, Bologna and Rastrelli for minor supporting parts, both equally bad; and the *castrati* Domenico Neri, Pepi, Bonini and Cavanna, who play the female parts. All of these last, whether as singers or actresses are from every point of view lamentable and at every performance receive from the public further demonstrations of their displeasure¹⁴.

¹³ Announced in the *Gazeta de Lisboa*, 1 November 1799.

¹⁴ "...O castrado Crescentini era então, e é ainda, o melhor artista para papéis sérios. E justamente considerado como um dos maiores cantores do Mundo. Nas tragédias em que ele toma parte, quem faz os papeis de mulher é o castrado Caporalini, que sem ter uma voz comparavel á sua, nem por isso deixa de ser um bom cantor e que vai muito bem como actriz. Além destes, há mais, como cantores: Praunn [sic], de origem alemã (a sua voz não pode precisamente chamar-se bela, mas sabe música muito bem e é um actor excelente, tanto nos papéis dramáticos, como nos cómicos de alguma elevação); Schira, com uma voz de tenor melhor do que a de Praunn [sic], mas pior actor em todos os géneros; e, enfim, Tavani, excelente baixo e bom cómico, mas mau actor em peças serias, das quais não pode ainda, infelizmente, ser dispensado. Os restantes são: Gaetano Neri, razoável em papéis de espalhafato; Bologna e Rastrelli, figuras subalternas e sempre igualmente más; e os

He also gives us a fascinating account of the reception of the first women to appear, three singers and a dancer:

Three new actresses and a female dancer were, by permission of the Prince Regent, contracted for six months. Marianna Albani substituted the *castrato* Caporalini in certain roles and was enthusiastically applauded, more out of the pleasure of novelty than because of her talent, which is rather mediocre in both acting and singing.

Luisa Gerbini, who arrived during last summer, at first gave fiddle concerts, but was later contracted also as a singer...

As a singer Mademoiselle Gerbini is not bad either. At present it is she who does most of the tragic roles, though she is accused fundamentally of making the action too frigid and lacking in life. They don't give her any credit, however, for being a good reliable singer. Her voice is clear, strong and agreeable.

The third singer is called Joaquina Lapinha. She is Brazilian by birth and the daughter of a half-caste mother, which is why she has rather dark skin. She gets round this problem, however, by using cosmetics. Apart from this, she has an impressive figure, a good voice and a keen dramatic sense.

The new dancer, Giuseppa Radaelli Pontigi, came from Spain at the beginning of this year, fleeing the persecution of a certain Spanish lady, to whom she gave reason to be jealous. She is really graceful in the Italian ballets and has, in fact, a considerable talent for the pantomime.

It was with these new performers that the Italian theatre auspiciously began to pick up¹⁵.

castrados Domenico Neri. Pepi, Bonini e Cavana [sic], que representam papéis de mulher Estes últimos, quer como cantores, quer como actrizes, são de todo o ponto de vista lamentáveis, e em cada espectáculo recebem do público novas demonstrações de desagrado." Ruders (1805-09), Letter 29 March 1800, (1981), pp. 90-91.

¹⁵"Três novas actizes e uma dançarina foram, com autorização do príncipe regente, contratadas por seis meses. Mariana [sic] Albani substitui o castrado Caporalini em certos papéis, e foi entusiasticamente aplaudida, mais pelo prazer da novidade do que pelo talento, que é bastante mediocre, tanto na representação como no canto.

Luisa Gerbini, que chegou no Verão, dava, a princípio, concertos de rabeça, mas foi, depois escriturada também como actriz...

Como actriz, Mademoiselle Gerbini também não é má. É ela quem actualmente faz a maior parte dos papéis trágicos, embora a acusem, fundadamente, de conduzir a acção com demasiada frieza e falta de vida. Não se lhe faz, porém, favor nenhum considerando-a como uma boa e segura cantora. A voz é clara, forte e agradável.

A terceira actriz chama-se Joaquina Lapinha. É natural do Brasil e filha de uma mulata, por cujo motivo tem a pele bastante escura. Este inconveniente, porém, remedeia-se com cosméticos. Fora disso, tem uma figura imponente, boa voz e muito sentimento dramático. A nova dançarina, Giuseppa Radaelli Pontigi, veio de Madrid no princípio deste ano, fugida à perseguição de certa dama espanhola, a quem ela deu motivos para ter ciúmes. É bem galante na dança italiana e tem, de facto, um grande talento para a pantomima. Foi com estes novos artistas que principiou, auspiciosamente, a levantar-se o teatro italiano."

Ruders (1805-09), *ibid.*, (1981), pp. 92-94.

Ruders' comment in this last sentence is of some importance. The prospects for Caporalini and Crescentini at the beginning of the season must have seemed somewhat dire. But, whether as a direct consequence of being able to bring in women or simply as a result of good management in a more general sense, by the end of the season the theatre seems to have been running quite smoothly¹⁶.

With Caporalini's contract now at an end, he departed for Italy at the end of Carnival 1800. The management was assumed by Giuseppe Durelli¹⁷, on behalf of the Count of Ribeira Grande¹⁸, and Francesco Federici was made officially *maestro*. According to Ruders, the theatre reopened three weeks late after Easter as the result of a government prohibition and the first libretto printed that season was Caruso's *Alessandro nell'Indie* for the Prince Regent's name-day, on 24 June. By August 1800 Marcos Portugal, having returned from his eight-year stay in Italy, took over the post of *maestro*, which he was to retain from then till Carnival 1807. To replace Caporalini, the singer Marianna Vinci was contracted and she made her first appearance on 25 July in the title role of Nasolini's *La morte di Cleopatra*, with Crescentini as Marco Antonio. Both had sung these roles before - Vinci at Madrid in 1798, Crescentini at Trieste in 1792. Ruders, who was present on this and subsequent occasions describes them in the following terms:

"[Marianna Vinci] has a lovely voice, clear and strong.

I have never heard a woman sing with such expression as her, especially on certain days. One of these was when Crescentini, out of illness or spite, did not do justice to his role; never has Marianna Vinci sung with such grace and freshness. Crescentini, too, has never employed such resourcefulness and skill as on her opening night.

The *castrato*, granted that he exceeds her in knowledge, training and voice range, cannot stand having anyone with talent at his side. And for this reason, together perhaps with others that I don't know about, the two artists are already sworn enemies¹⁹."

¹⁶Ruders (1805-09), *ibid.* (1981), p. 90, remarks on the good administration:

"Were it not for the numerous population of the city, the national taste for theatre, the incomparable talent of the performers, and the *good administration of the receipts* [present author's italics] (in spite of the luxury of the decorations and the wardrobe), it's impossible to understand how it is that this theatre, with all its defects, could bring the management any profit."

("Se não fosse a numerosa população da cidade, o gosto nacional pelos espectáculos, o talento incomparável de certos artistas, e a boa administração das receitas (apesar do luxo das ornamentações e do guarda-roupa), não se poderia compreender como é que este teatro, com todos os seus defeitos, podia dar benefícios aos empresários.")

¹⁷Originally a singer. For his background see Appendix II (Singers).

¹⁸Benevides (1883), p. 62, suggests that the Count of Ribeira Grande was acting on the Government's behalf and that the theatre was thus effectively under direct government control.

¹⁹"[Marianna Vinci] tem uma voz linda, clara e forte.

But if this rivalry was good fodder for gossip, it was nothing in comparison to that around the dancer Giuseppa Radaelli Pontigi and the tenor Michele Schira just before the previous Easter:

Mademoiselle Radaelli, the dancer of whom I spoke in my letter about the theatre is now called Schira.

La Chronique Scandaleuse, which is not lacking in Lisbon either, tells that Sig. Schira, actor and tenor by profession, simply by the enchantment of his voice and figure on stage, without any further personal acquaintance, utterly conquered the heart of the daughter of a merchant of this beautiful, rich city, and that the father, to put an end to his daughter's despair went personally to ask the tenor to be his son-in-law.

The latter, however, who of course did not hesitate to refuse the invitation, which the disappointed father made, had now fallen hopelessly in love with the enchantments of the new dancer - who offstage, between ourselves, others regard as rather mediocre - and without further ado ran to announce to her his respectful desire to be united with her amiable person for ever by the sacred ties of Hymen. Mademoiselle Radaelli, who had recently been victim of the persecution that a powerful, jealous woman had moved against her in Spain, considered the marriage less bad and that it would afford her some protection against similar circumstances. There was, however, one drawback: the Spanish Marquis, husband of this powerful lady, probably to indemnify Mademoiselle Radaelli for the trouble his wife was causing her, had set up for her a daily allowance of 16 *tosdões*, which would continue as long as she remained single. An uncle of the dancer's, who had accompanied her to Portugal and could not willingly resign himself to seeing her lose the Marquis' allowance, was furiously opposed to this marriage project. But as it was Mademoiselle Radaelli who maintained the uncle, she took no notice of his opposition, raising ever more the prayerful hope of her beloved.

Desirous, however, to reconcile her future situation with the inclination of her heart prudently, she resolved straight after getting married to set off for Spain, with a view to presenting her husband to the generous Marquis and beseeching a continuation of his favours. And the business was carried out with such skill that the Marquis not only maintained the allowance but granted the uncle, who had accompanied her and thereafter was to remain in Spain, a daily allowance of 8 *tosdões*, as an act of recognition of the interesting relations that he, the Marquis, had formerly maintained with the niece²⁰.

Nunca vi mulher nenhuma cantar com tanta expressão como ela, sobretudo em certos dias. Um deles foi quando Crescentini, por doença ou por despeito, não conseguiu dar relevo do seu papel: nunca Mariana [sic] Vinci cantou com mais brio e frescura: também Crescentini nunca pôs em acção mais recursos e aptidões do que na noite em que ela se estreou.

O castrado, posto que a exceda em saber, em escola e em extensão de voz, não pode suportar ao seu lado nenhum outro talento. E, por este motivo, junto talvez a outros que desconheço, que os dois artistas são já inimigo figadais."

Ruders (1805-09), Letter 13 August 1800. (1981), p. 117.

²⁰"Mademoiselle Radaeli [sic] a dançarina de quem falei na minha carta sobre teatro chama-se agora madame Schira.

From the libretti printed at this period we can easily be led to the view firstly that relatively few operas were performed - in 1800, for example, only five. Secondly, there would appear to be a preponderance of *opera seria*, a fact remarked upon in Carvalho (1993)²¹. From Ruders it is clear, however, that this is an oversimplification. Operas from previous seasons were maintained in the repertoire and were revived after each new opera had received a few consecutive performances. Besides this, a considerable number of *opere buffe* were performed without any libretto being printed - in 1800, again for example, Cimarosa's *L'italiana in Londra* and *Giannina e Bernardone*, Paisiello's *Il marchese di Tulipano* and a revival of Gazzaniga's *Il disertor francese*.

An important addition to the repertoire in December 1800 was the first of Marcos Portugal's new operas written for the T. de São Carlos. This opera, *Adrasto re d'Egitto*, was scheduled for the Queen's birthday, on 17th, but delayed by order of Pina Manique (as appears often to have happened) until 21st. Ruders, as usual, was present:

...This music is generally praised.

The overture gained great applause and Sr. Portugal for his Benefit night on 22 December must have come away with 2,000 Riksdalers. With my poor powers

«La Chronique scandaleuse». que também não falta em Lisboa, conta que o Sr. Schira, actor e tenor de profissão, somente pelos encantos da sua voz e da figura em cena, sem nenhum outro conhecimento pessoal, conquistou, em vitória decisiva, o coração da filha de um negociante, desta cidade linda e rica, e que o pai, para pôr termo ao desespero da filha, fora em pessoa convidar o tenor para genro.

Mas este, que então não hesitou em recusar o convite, que o pai da rapariga tão contrariado lhe fazia, enamorou-se, agora, perdidamente dos encantos da nova dançarina - que, fora da cena, aqui entre nós, outros julgam bastante medíocre - e, sem mais cerimônias, correu a anunciar-lhe o seu respeitoso desejo de se unir, para sempre, à sua amável pessoa pelos sagrados laços do himeneu. Mademoiselle Radaelli, que recentemente tinha sido vítima das perseguições que uma poderosa dama ciumenta tinha movido contra ela, em Espanha, achou o casamento menos mau com protecção em casos idênticos. Havia, porém, um inconveniente: o marquês espanhol, marido dessa dama poderosa provavelmente para indeminizar Mademoiselle Radaelli dos transtornos que sua esposa lhe causava, tinha-lhe estabelecido uma pensão de 16 tostões por dia, que duraria enquanto se conservasse solteira. Um tio da dançarina que a tinha acompanhado a Portugal e não podia, voluntariamente, resignar-se a vê-la perder a pensão do marquês, opôs-se furiosamente a esse projecto de casamento. Mas, como Mademoiselle Radaelli era quem sustentava o tio, nenhum caso fazia ela da sua opposição, ateando cada vez mais esperança, cheia de súplicas, do seu apaixonado.

Desejando, contudo, conciliar, prudentemente, a sua situação futura com as tendências do seu coração, resolveu-se logo, depois de casada, a partir para Espanha a fim de apresentar o marido ao generoso marquês, e impetrar dele a continuação dos seus favores. E o negócio foi tratado com tamanha habilidade que o marquês, não só lhe conservou a pensão, mas até concedeu ao tio que a tinha acompanhado e que dali em diante ficaria em Espanha, uma diária de 8 tostões, como testemunho de reconhecimento pelas interessantes relações que, outrora, ele marquês mantivera com a sobrinha.' Ruders (1805-09), Letter of 13 August 1800, (1981), p. 115. For details of the marriage, see the entry for Michele Schira in Appendix II (Singers).

²¹p. 61, and corresponding note 91, p. 274.

of expression, I cannot give you an exact idea of the admirable scenery for this opera. My description will seem insipid.

Imagine an enormous square, decorated with obelisks and statues, a triumphal arch, through which you can espy the view of a beautiful city; the arrival of the hero on top of a triumphal carriage, drawn by fine horses and surrounded by the multitude of the people of diverse nations; a procession of troops with banners and trophies, and, at the back, camels and elephants laden with the spoils of war - and you will thus get an idea of how the spectacle began...

It is difficult to discover in this piece the reason for the Intendent of Police's prohibition; there are no hints of any dubious political opinions; on the contrary, it even contains signs of the purest loyalty, for example, the aria in which Laconte swears to save his King and friend, Learco, or die²².

At the end of the season there was once again a change of management and Joaquim José de Sousa Bahiana became the new impresario. Apart from Crescentini, with whom he entered some kind of partnership and whose terms were exorbitant²³, and Schira, who appeared only in one comic production, Bahiana failed to retain any of the better singers from the previous season - Bonini went to Braga²⁴, Gerbini and Vinci

²²"Essa música é geralmente elogiada.

A abertura obteve grandes aplausos. e o Sr. Portugal. no seu beneficio em 22 de Dezembro. deve ter ganho 2000 riskdalers. Com o meu pobre poder expressivo. não posso dar uma ideia exacta do admirável cenário desta ópera. A minha descrição seria palida.

Imagine-se uma praça imensa. ornamentada com obeliscos e estátuas. um arco de triunfo. através do qual se avista a perspectiva de uma bela cidade: a chegada de um herói ao alto de um carro triunfal. tirado por belos cavalos. e rodeado pela multidão do povo de diversas nações: um cortejo de tropas com bandeiras e troféus. e ao fundo camelos e elefantes carregados com os despojos do inimigo: - e poderá assim fazer-se uma ideia do começo do espectáculo. O efeito do conjunto não pode no entanto ajuizar-se pelas ornamentações que de ordinário se vêem nos teatros.

E difícil descobrir-se nesta peça o motivo da proibição do Intendente da policia: não há nela vestígios de quaisquer culpáveis opiniões políticas: ao contrário contém até traços da mais pura lealdade. como por exemplo a aria em que Lacontes jura salvar o seu Rei e amigo Learchus ou morrer." Ruders (1805-09). Letter of 24 January 1801. (1981). pp.170-71.

²³Castelo Branco Chaves in his extensive note (3) for Ruders (1981). p. 298. Letter of 1 October 1801. cites an article by Jorge de Faria. published in the journal *Feira da Ladra*, Vol. 3. pp. 241-44. which in turn quotes the contract between Bahiana and Crescentini:

"The castrato will sing only five serious or semi-serious operas chosen by him. may also change the arias of the principal parts. and furthermore will not have to sing more that three times per week. He will receive monthly in advance an amount corresponding to 6400\$000 reis per annum. with an additional rent allowance of 120\$000 reis. He well receive a benefit free of all expenses. with an opera and day of his choice. which will always be on a royal birthday. If this should fall thirty days before the end of the management's term. given that it is recognised that this will not be profitable. he will be entitled to a further benefit..."

("O castrado cantará apenas cinco peças sérias our semi-sérias. escolhidas por ele. podendo ainda mudar as árias das partes principais. não sendo além disso obrigado a cantar mais de três vezes por semana. Receberá adiantamente e por mês as quantias correspondentes aos 6400\$000 réis anuais. cobrando além disso mais 120\$000 réis para aluguer da casa. Terá um beneficio livre de todas as despesas. com peça e dia á sua escolha. que será sempre o de anos de pessoas reais. No caso de 30 dias antes de terminar a empresa. dado que se reconheça que esta não terá lucros. terá ainda o direito a novo beneficio...")

Ruders (1981). p. 366.

²⁴Ruders (1805-09). Letter 2 May 1801. p. 218.



Plate 4 Two portraits of Girolamo Crescentini: a drawing, 'Retrato de Crescentini' by Domingos António de Sequeira (Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon, Inv.º 1949) and an engraving by Eloy d'Almeida based on Sequeira's drawing, dated 1798 (P-Inv).

left for London and Tavani for Italy²⁵, Praun and Gaetano Neri remained in Lisbon but not under contract²⁶. With these beginning-of-season difficulties the opera chosen to open with on Easter Monday was Gluck's *Orfeo ed Euridice* with Crescentini as Orfeo and the Roman beauty Rosa Fiorini as Euridice²⁷. It was a wise choice, using only a cast of three and showing off Crescentini's voice to full advantage. We have an unusually full description of Crescentini's performance in *Orfeo ed Euridice* written by Esther Lucie Bernard:

In his voice lies a magic...

The clearest tones come so effortlessly from Crescentini's vocal chords - so completely without strain that one is apt to believe that he is not singing at all and that merely his breath creates the melodic vibrations in the air. With him one sees no grimaces on the face or the violent swelling of the throat muscles with which even the best singers disturb the enjoyment of their singing. In short, one does not see him sing so much as just hear him. His notes conjure up Italy; for each of these notes is like the gentle wafting of the balmy westerlies in that cloudless strip of sky beneath which he was born. When he sings the great final aria in Gluck's *Orfeo*, where the chorus chimes in with a fugue between each stanza, then, as the composer did in this aria, he really touches the limit of the beautiful and the sublime in music²⁸.

As for Fiorini, the same writer went on to describe her Euridice as mediocre, and indeed as Ruders tells us she proved to be more of an attraction off the stage than on²⁹. She was marginally better in P. C. Guglielmi's *La sposa bisbetica* where, as a

²⁵See Appendix II (Singers). Ruders (1805-09). Letter of 28 March 1801. believed that Vinci had left for Madrid.

²⁶Ruders (1805-09). Letter 2 May 1801. p. 218. According to Castelo Branco Chaves citing Jorge de Faria (see note 23 above - check), Neri was contracted, but his name does not appear in any of Ruders' accounts of operas during Bahiana's management or in the only libretto, Gluck's *Orfeo ed Euridice*.

²⁷Ruders (1805-09). Letter 2 May 1801. p. 219. remarks tha Gluck's opera was left intact, but the libretto indicates that two arias written by Marcos Portugal were included and its text is altogether extremely impure.

²⁸"In seiner Stimme liegt ein Zauber...

Die reinsten Töne kommen so ungewungen, so ohne alle Anstrengung aus Crescentini's Kehle, dass man fast geneigt ist zu glauben, er singe gar nicht, und sein blosses Athmen bewirke die melodischen Schwingungen in der Luft. An ihm sieht man keine von den Verzerrungen des Gesichts, oder die gewaltsamen Anschwellungen der Halsmuskeln, wodurch selbst die besten Sänger und Sängerinnen den Genuss stören, den ihr Gesang giebt. Kurz, ihn sieht man nicht singen, man hört ihn blos. Seine Töne erwecken die Vorstellung von Italien; denn jeder dieser Töne ist wie das leise Wehen sanfter Weste in jenem wolkenlosen Himmelstrich, unter dem er gebohren wurde. Wenn er in Glucks Orpheus die grosse Schlussarie singt, wo der Chor zwischen Stanze mit einer Fuge einfällt, dann berührt er wirklich, wie es der Komponist in dieser Arie that, die Gränze des Schönen und Erhabenen in der Musik." Bernard (1808). pp. 261-62. The highly Romantic language of this passage (not to mention the section at the opening which I have omitted, in part because of its Romantic excess!) needs 'interpreting' before direct comparison with the more matter-of-fact, but no less real, enthusiasm that is constantly to be found in Ruders. He was similarly enthralled by Crescentini's rendering of the *opening scene of Orfeo*.

²⁹See Ruders (1805-09). Letter 28 October 1800. Vieira (1900) in his entry on Marcos Portugal makes reference to the composer's scandalous connection with Fiorini.

capricious, temperamental man-hunter, she appears to have been type-cast. For this production Schira was back and was joined by Paolo Boscoli, who had been singing in Oporto³⁰ since his return to Portugal from Madrid.

Already by 6 July, after only three months, Bahiana, apparently brought down by Crescentini, quit the management and the theatre was closed by higher authority³¹ before the latter promptly took it on³². Fiorini refused to work under the new management and her place in *Orfeo ed Euridice* was taken by Agata Bevilacqua. Schira continued to work for Crescentini and appeared as Imeneo in Cimador's *Pimmalione* with Madame Schira playing the part of the statue Galatea. Once again there were *opere buffe* as well as *opere serie*: Della-Maria's *Chi vuol non puole* and Nasolini *Il medico di Lucca*, which had been put on under the previous regime and was revived for the Benefit of the now reconciled Fiorini³³.

Ruders mentions the presence of Giuseppe Ferlendis (the dedicatee and first performer of Mozart's Oboe Concerto), who played with his son Alessandro, likewise a virtuoso oboe and cor anglais player on two occasions between the acts - to small audiences, in spite of the great talent that both displayed³⁴. Alessandro Ferlendis married the singer Camilla Berberis³⁵, who first sang at the T. de São Carlos on 28 August, and all three remained for the rest of the season³⁶.

The 'Golden Age'

In September 1801 the theatre made a dramatic turn for the better with the arrival of Angelica Catalani. It is unclear just how Madame Catalani came to be contracted, amid all the uncertainties of changes of management, not to mention a brief war between Portugal and Spain (acting on behalf of France) during May, but it was most likely set up by agents in Milan during the previous Carnival season, that is to say, during the management of the Count of Ribeira Grande and Giuseppe Durelli, when she was singing at the T. alla Scala.

³⁰See Ruders (1805-09). Letter 4 July 1801. p. 249.

³¹A document in the Ministry of Finance Archives, Lisbon. (XV-V-44) indicates that Crescentini's rent bill was discounted by one month owing to the closure from 6 June to 6 July.

³²See Ruders (1805-09). Letter 1 October 1801.

³³According to Ruders (1805-09), *ibid.* (1981), p. 210. *Il medico di Lucca* was already unpopular and on this occasions 'raised such a din among those present as you really cannot imagine' ('levantou-se um tal barulho entre a assistência que nem mesmo pode conceber-se').

³⁴See Ruders (1805-09). *ibid.* (1981), *ibid.*

³⁵See Appendix II (Singers) regarding their marriage.

³⁶Giuseppe Ferlendis remained in Lisbon for the rest of his life. He died in mid 1810 and is buried at Lisbon's Prazeres cemetery. His daughter Giuseppa, who was married to the instrumentalist Francesco Zanfardini, also sang at the S. Carlos - see her entry in Appendix II (Singers).

She was lodged, with her family, close to the theatre on the third floor of number three, Largo de Quintela, and first appeared on 27 September in a revival of Nasolini's *La morte di Cleopatra*. Her reception was, not surprisingly, stupendous. Ruders was full of enthusiasm and wrote a fascinating account of her voice in comparison with that of Crescentini:

None of us before hearing Catalani sing could have imagined that a woman could compare in agility, power and smoothness with the famous *castrato* singer Crescentini; and still less, in certain cases, that she might exceed it.

Her voice, like his, possesses the same stupendous range, both at the top and at the bottom; and it has the same power, the same skill and the same lightness in executing the most difficult passages, seeming still more velvety and more pleasing.

Of its class, it is an unparalleled luxury to see and hear these two great artists, each worthy of standing beside the other, engaging all their skill and displaying all their resources not only of singing but also of acting - one, to prove to himself that he still has the right to the applause that he has long enjoyed, the other to surprise the public with the revelation of a talent that goes beyond all you could imagine³⁷.

And as for the duet between them, at the end of Act I, Ruders was speechless with admiration.

On 11 November Cimarosa's *Gli Orazi e i Curiazi* was revived in a gala performance to celebrate the successful conclusion of the recent peace negotiations with France. Once again it was organised by Pina Manique and attended by the Prince Regent and Princess Carlota Joaquina, as well as the *corps diplomatique*, other men of influence and their wives, and combined with a sumptuous feast.

On 23 December Marcos Portugal's new opera *La morte di Semiramide* was premiered, the first of ten operas that the composer wrote for Catalani and which

³⁷"Nenhum de nós, antes de ouvir cantar a Catalani, seria capaz de conceber que uma mulher pudesse comparar-se em agilidade, em força e em suavidade à do célebre cantor castrado Crescentini, e menos ainda que, em certos casos, pudesse excedê-lo.

A sua voz possui, como a dele, a mesma assombrosa amplitude, tanto no registo agudo como no registo grave; e tem a mesma força, a mesma arte e a mesma ligeireza na execução das passagens mais difíceis, parecendo ainda mais aveludada e mais agradável.

É, na espécie, uma voluptuosidade sem igual ver e ouvir esses dois grandes artistas, dignos de concorrer um com o outro, empregar toda a sua arte e desenvolver todos os seus recursos, tanto no canto como na acção - um, para se mostrar ainda com direito aos aplausos de que há muito goza, outro, para surpreender o público com a revelação de um talento que ultrapassa tudo quanto se podia imaginar." Ruders (1805-09), *ibid.*, (1981), pp. 212-13.

either complete, or more often as excerpts, would form part of her repertoire for the rest of her career³⁸. It was followed on 19 February the following year by *La Zaira*.

In his letter of 9 March, at the end of the Carnival season, 1802, Ruders records that in the five months since her arrival, Catalani sang 33 times in *La morte di Cleopatra*, 11 in *Gli Orazi e i Curiazi*, 22 in *La morte di Semiramide*, 7 in *La Zaira*, and once, as a shepherdess, in the *cantata* for the Queen's birthday on 17 December - altogether 74 performances or roughly 15 per month. The house was always full to overflowing when she was singing and practically empty when she was not. Thus during this period *opera buffa* performances were few, though not out of any change of taste in relation to the genre itself, but simply because *opera seria* was the genre that the public's heroine sang.

At an early stage friction arose between Catalani and Crescentini. As we saw before, with Madame Vinci, Crescentini could brook no rivals. Ruders commented on this new enmity already in his letter of 24 November 1801 and wrote at length about the disputes that arose in December and January³⁹. It came to a head in March 1802 when Crescentini stole the autograph scores of Catalani's triumphs *La morte di Semiramide* and *Zaira* from the theatre, with a view to sending them away on a ship that was about to set sail for Genoa. The scores were, fortunately, recovered⁴⁰.

During Lent the authorities authorised performance of P. A. Guglielmi's *Debora e Sisara*, for which once again Giuseppe Capranica was brought in from the Royal Chapel.

For the 1802/03 theatrical year Francesco Antonio Lodi, this time alone, took up the management and with him returned a stability that had been lacking ever since his departure in 1799. Crescentini and Catalani remained as *primo uomo* and *prima donna*, Praun (who had rejoined the company at the time of Catalani's arrival) and a new singer, Pompilio Panizza (replacing Schira), sang the *mezzo carattere* parts. The repertoire throughout this season continued along the same lines - largely *opera seria*, because of the overwhelming popularity of Madame Catalani, both revivals and new operas, including two more specially written by Marcos Portugal. Perhaps the most

³⁸Catalani's favourite showpiece "Son regina" appears first as the Finale of Act I in this opera, though the composer subsequently revised it for *La Sofonisba* in 1803 and it was further modified in London for her 1806 debut there in *La morte di Semiramide*.

³⁹Ruders (1805-09), Letters 24 November 1801 and 9 March 1802.

⁴⁰See *P-Lan*, Intendência Geral da Polícia, Livro VI das secretárias, fol. 287, a minute from Pina Manique to the Minister of the Realm, cited in full by Benevides (1883), pp. 72-73. The autograph of *La morte di Semiramide* is now in *P-Ln* with the call-mark 4816 A 1/2.

notable event from our point of view was the departure of Ruders in early August, for from this point on we never have remotely such detailed, perceptive accounts of all that went on at the theatre.

The 1803/04 theatrical year saw a number of important changes. In the first place, Crescentini returned to Italy and was replaced by Pietro Mattucci as *primo uomo* in productions of *opera seria*. Secondly, Lodi seems to have been acutely aware of the predominance of *opera seria* arising from Madame Catalani's presence and the audience's refusal to hear anything or anyone else, and accordingly took on a new *buffa* company of a calibre that could compete. The *prima donna* was Elisabetta Gafforini and the *primo buffo* was Giuseppe Naldi, both outstanding performers, and, in addition, Valentino Fioravanti, arguably the greatest living composer of *opera buffa*, was brought to Lisbon to take direction of the *buffa* company⁴¹.

What was performed during the Spring season 1803 is unclear, for the only surviving record is the libretto of an anonymous *elogio* for performance on the Prince Regent's birthday (13 May), but for his name-day on 24 June Mayr's *Gli Sciti* was produced and during the Summer, the *buffa* company performed Fioravanti's *La capricciosa pentita* under the title *L'orgoglio avvilito*.

The Autumn saw the arrival from Naples of the great tenor Domenico Mombelli, together with his family and the bass Ludovico Olivieri (who had become effectively a member of the family), and on 4 November, Princess Carlota Joaquina's name-day, they appeared for the first time with Catalani and Mattucci in Tritto's *Gli americani*. Mombelli and Olivieri had taken part in the opera's premiere in Naples the previous Autumn. With the arrival of the Mombelli family, in addition to the new members of the *buffa* company, the scene is complete for what must have been the richest period in the history of the T. de São Carlos⁴². Regrettably, no contemporary descriptions of these years appear to have survived.

The picture remained virtually unchanged for three seasons - two companies: the *seria* led by Marcos Portugal with Catalani, Mattucci, Mombelli and Olivieri, the *buffa* led by Valentino Fioravanti with Gafforini, Naldi and various tenors, such as Praun,

⁴¹The earliest libretto to name Fioravanti as maestro is in Spring 1804, but *Il matrimonio per susurro* was written specially for Lisbon in Autumn 1803 and he probably directed the productions of *La capricciosa pentita* (under the title *L'orgoglio avvilito*) in Summer 1803 and *Le cantatrici villane* on 12 October.

⁴²It could, of course, be argued that the Crescentini-Catalani era a little before was still richer. However, it is the present author's view that the lack of *opera buffa* during those 18 months was a serious impoverishment to the repertoire and that the better balance of *seria* and *buffa* combined with top calibre singing, which began in 1803, marked the epitome.



Plate 5 Engraving of Giuseppe Naldi as Roberto in *Roberto l'assassino* (=Trento's *Gli assassini*), engraved for the *Lady's Magazine*, London c. 1809 (author's collection). He sang the role of Roberto in the S. Carlos, Lisbon, production of Spring 1804, going on to sing it at the King's Theatre, London, in 1809

Pedrazzi and (from 1805) Schira. Both *maestri* wrote new operas, principally for their own company but also one each for the other's:

Operas by Marcos Portugal

13 May 1804 (for the Prince Regent's birthday): *L'Argenide o sia il ritorno di Serse*
(revision of an earlier opera)

Summer 1804: *La Zaira* (revision of the 1802 opera)

Winter 1804 (for the Benefit of Elisabetta Gafforini): *L'oro non compra amore*

Winter 1804 (for the Benefit of Domenico Mombelli): *La Merope*

Summer 1805: *Fernando nel Messico*

(revision of an opera originally written for Elisabeth Billington)

Winter 1805 (for the Benefit of Madame Catalani): *Il duca di Foix*

Winter 1805 (for the Benefit of Madame Catalani): *Ginevra di Scozia*

Carnival 1806 (for the Benefit of Domenico Mombelli): *La morte di Mitridate*

Operas by Valentino Fioravanti

Autumn 1803: *Il matrimonio per susurro*

Carnival 1804 (for the Benefit of Madame Catalani): *La pulcella di Rab*

Summer 1804 (for the Benefit of Giuseppe Naldi): *Le astuzie fallaci*

no date 1804: *Camilla*

Summer 1805: *Il villano in angustie*

Autumn 1805 (for the composer's Benefit): *Le gemelle*

Winter 1805 (for the Benefit of Elisabetta Gafforini): *Sono quattro e paion dieci*
ossia Per amor si fa tutto

Carnival 1806 (for the Benefit of Elisabetta Gafforini): *La dama soldato*⁴³

Apart from these the repertoire was much as would have been heard at any other theatre in Europe. During the three seasons 1803/04, 1804/05 and 1805/06, the following composers were represented (in decreasing order of popularity):

⁴³A number of secondary sources, stemming from the reference in Benevides (1883), mention *La figlia d'un padre* in Autumn 1803. This should be regarded as spurious. See Appendix I (Chronology) - Doubtful works and productions.

Paisiello: 4 operas⁴⁴

Cimarosa: 2

Farinelli: 2

P. C. Guglielmi: 2

G. Mosca: 2

Andreozzi: 1 (Lenten oratorio)

Mayr: 1

Nasolini: 1

Nicolini: 1

Orlandi: 1

Trento: 1

Tritto: 1

± one each by Fioravanti and Portugal that had been written earlier and was not substantially revised.

It is interesting to note that although Francisco António Lodi gave up the management at the end of the 1804/05 season, the personnel and repertoire, as we have seen, remained unchanged. His place as impresario was taken by Jacinto Fernandes Bandeira and João Pereira Caldas, two of the theatre's original backers. Although their management ostensibly began at Easter 1805, no libretti were printed in the Spring of that year and it is thus unclear what the performance situation was at that time.

On a personal note, Angelica Catalani married the French diplomat Paul de Valabrègue at the Igreja da Encarnação, Lisbon, on 14 April 1805. Children were born in Lisbon to the Fioravantis (Maria Anna on 4 May 1804, Carlo on 24 April 1805 and Giovanni Pietro on 1 August 1806), Schiras (Margarita Dioga Gioacchina baptised 18 October 1804 and Maria Giuseppa born on 9 April 1805) and Mombellis (Francesco on 1 January 1805 and Gaetano on 19 February 1806, who died on 23 February 1807)⁴⁵.

At the end of Carnival 1806 three major singers left - Gafforini for Milan, Naldi and Catalani for London, the latter by way of Madrid and Paris. Three insertions in the *Gazeta de Lisboa* at this time inform the public of Madame Catalani's imminent departure and give details of the auctioning of her costumes⁴⁶.

⁴⁴Excluding the dubious *Trajano in Dacia*. See Appendix I (Chronology) - Doubtful works and productions.

⁴⁵For details of the records relating to singers, see Appendix II (Singers). The Fioravanti children were baptised at the Igreja do Loreto and are recorded in Baptisms *Liv.º 5* on pp. 191, 214 and 239 respectively.

⁴⁶*Gazeta de Lisboa*, 11 & 28 February and 8 March 1806.



G. Cardini delin. e. Sculp. L. c. 1804.

Plate 6 Portrait of Elisabetta Gafforini engraved by Giovanni Cardini. Lisbon 1804 (I-Ms).

Decline and invasion

Angelica Catalani was, in effect, replaced by two singers - the soprano Eufemia Eckart and the mezzo-soprano Marianna Sessi. Until the arrival of Marianna Scaramelli to replace Gafforini, the position of *prima donna* was taken by Mombelli's daughter Maria Ester. She had already sung in Andreozzi's *La morte di Saulle* (Lent 1804) and was to become a leading singer in the second and third decades of the nineteenth century. Her younger sister Anna (or Annetta) joined her in the production of Gardi and Fioravanti's⁴⁷ *Nardone e Nannetta* on 7 April 1806 - she was to become an important travesty singer in the next ten years. Another singer to come at this time was Costanza Banti, who in due course married into Francesco Antonio Lodi's family. Naldi was not replaced by anyone of comparable calibre.

The 1806/07 theatrical year was an important year in many respects. In the first place, it was the last season under the joint direction of Marcos Portugal and Valentino Fioravanti, though the former continued to be involved intermittently with the T. de São Carlos for the next few years. Secondly, it marks the beginning of what was an inevitable decline after the glory of the previous three years. Most important from a historical perspective, though insignificant at the time, was the first performance of a Mozart opera in Portugal (and the only one at the T. de São Carlos during our period for which we have concrete evidence) - *La clemenza di Tito*, performed for Sessi's Benefit in the Winter of 1806. We do not know anything about how the opera was received, only that Sessi was not especially popular in Lisbon generally, and there is no reason why she should have fared any better on this occasion⁴⁸. Sessi did not remain beyond the end of this one season and, like Fioravanti, returned to Italy.

During the previous few years the European political scene had begun once again to be felt in Portugal. Napoleon had proclaimed himself Emperor in May 1804. In April 1805 Austria, Prussia, Russia and Britain responded by forming the '3rd Alliance' against France. Shortly before this, France sent General Junot to Lisbon with the mission of making Portugal's 'neutrality' more favourable to France⁴⁹. Prince João's response was to insist on the maintenance of the *status quo*, while assuring Napoleon

⁴⁷The libretto attributes the opera to Gardi alone, but see Appendix I (Chronology)

⁴⁸Sessi's reception in Lisbon was unusual. She was by all accounts a very fine and exceedingly popular singer elsewhere, loved for her gentle, generous manner as much as for her voice. Probably the Lisbon audience was unwilling to accept any replacement for Catalani. The text of the Lisbon production of *La clemenza di Tito* is discussed in detail in Chapter 8.

⁴⁹Portugal's position was extremely delicate. It was dependent on England economically and needed to retain good diplomatic relations for the sake of the maintenance of its colonies. At the same time friendly relations with France (which to the fervent post-Revolutionary French meant actual alliance) were essential to avoid direct intervention by Napoleon's forces.

of his great esteem and eternal friendship. Napoleon was not pleased and during the following Autumn Junot was recalled. Only Nelson's victory at Trafalgar on 21 October delayed immediate moves against Portugal. On 16 May the British declared a naval blockade against France extending from Elba to Brest, to which Napoleon replied on 21 November with his own 'Continental Blockade' against Britain, a measure intended to include Portugal. While Prince João promised to close Portuguese ports to British shipping, he refused to take any active measures against the British.

This was the international political situation as it affected Portugal at the beginning of the 1807/08 opera season. To replace Fioravanti and Portugal, António José do Rego was appointed *maestro*. Organist, singer and composer, Rego was a competent musician but not remotely of the calibre of his two predecessors. During the Spring of 1807 the company was under strength but three new singers - Luigia Calderini, Diomiro Tramezzani and Angiola Bianchi - appeared for the first time in a pastiche put together by Rego for the Prince Regent's name-day and entitled *Il trionfo d'Emilia*. The recruitment of the tenor Tramezzani is curious, given that Mombelli was still present in Lisbon and gives rise to the suggestion that Mombelli may have been quite seriously ill for a period. In any case, Tramezzani, a young man of just over thirty, was a dazzling singer at this time and must have made a strong impression on the Lisbon audience.



Plate 7 Portrait of Domenico Mombelli engraved by Giovanni Cardini, Lisbon. c. 1805 (reproduced from Cruz (1992), p. 45).

A number of features in the repertoire during this season are worth remarking on. There were two operas by Gnecco - *Filandro e Carolina* and *Le nozze di Lauretta*. Gnecco was a popular composer of parody during the first decade of the nineteenth century - his *La prova di un'opera seria* had been performed at the T. de São Carlos the previous season and was to be performed again⁵⁰. Grétry's *La caravana del Cairo* was performed for the Prince Regent's birthday and included an aria specially written by Rego. This is the last of the works of the French repertoire to be performed in Lisbon, and once again is otherwise only known to have been performed in Italian at Monza. There were no operas by Paisiello (indeed there had been none since 1804) and only one by Cimarosa. Paer and Mayr were each represented by one opera. Benevides (1883) attributes *Il conte di Saldagna* to Rego and others but the libretto simply gives 'varii autori'. Nor can I find any contemporary evidence for performance of *Alessandro in Efeso*, which he also attributes to Rego⁵¹.

The political situation worsened rapidly. In August the French under General Junot began to amass troops in Bayonne, which on their march through Spain were joined by Spanish forces. On 27 October the Treaty of Fontainebleau, signed by France and Spain, determined how Portugal would be split following an invasion. The invasion and occupation began on 17 November, starting from Alcântara, following the Tagus valley via Castelo Branco and Abrantes. Tomar was taken on 25th, Santarém on 28th. On 29th Prince João, his family, much of the court, and nobility, set sail for Brazil, taking with them whatever they could and leaving behind a nominal government. Junot's troops reached and took Lisbon the following day.

⁵⁰*La prova di un'opera seria* is one of the many operas that belong to the 'play within a play' parody tradition, though also one of the most successful. However, Gnecco's sense of parody extended beyond such obvious cases. *Filandro e Carolina*, for example, contains an aria 'O Carolina aspetta', parodying the famous aria by Crescentini 'Ombra adorata aspetta', the latter inserted in Zingarelli's *Giulietta e Romeo* from its premiere and certainly the most popular piece in the opera.

⁵¹p. 97. There is no evidence that Rego ever wrote a complete opera, only numbers for insertion in operas by other composers or pastiches.

Chapter 3

The Teatro de São Carlos, Lisbon (1807-1818)

The French occupation and doldrums

At about the time of the French invasion, the composer P. C. Guglielmi and the singer Dorotea Bussani arrived in Lisbon¹ and his *L'amante di tutte, fedele a nessuna* was performed in the Winter of 1807.

The French, duly installed, began to make their mark in cultural matters, from which the theatre was not exempt. 16 January 1808 saw the premiere of a newly composed opera by the Italian flautist and composer Luigi Gianella, who had come to Lisbon from Paris, his habitual abode, in the wake of the invasion². The libretto to this opera, *Ifigenia in Aulide*, begins with an 'Avertissement' in French, written by the librettist Stefano Vestris, pointing out, very much in Revolutionary language, the pains he had been to in order to make it appropriate for an Age of Reason:

I have adapted rather than composed this work, which was printed in Naples in 1804. The author, apparently seduced by the beauty of the subject, did not reflect that *Apostolo Zeno*, and above all *Racine*, had saved him the trouble; so he set to, and after him I was commissioned to accommodate it for the Teatro de São Carlos. Whilst working on adding some scenes, which I believed to be essential, and on retouching the weaker and more careless parts, I became aware that it would have been better to rewrite the work from scratch; but perhaps if it had been better, it would never have been performed, for such is the depraved taste to which our nation [i.e. the Italian] has sunk that the only works for ever excluded from our Theatres are precisely those which do us most credit and which enjoy, as is right and proper, the greatest acclaim.

This elucidation, which hitherto would have been pointless, becomes a duty at a time when the theatre, delivered up to the healthy criticism of reason and taste, might rise from the state of abjection in which it currently finds itself.

Would that the present circumstances, so favourable to the reform of our Theatre, might rather bring this to fruition and would that my Country, the

¹Quite what the relationship between the two was I have been unable to ascertain. From Carnival 1799 at the T. Alibert, Rome, to 1809 at the King's Theatre, London, they were always at the same theatre at the same time.

²Neither *NG* nor *NGO* includes any Italian operas in Gianella's work list. There is no reason to doubt the attribution in the libretto, however, and another opera, *I fuorusciti*, apparently written for performance at the King's Theatre, London, exists in manuscript score at *GB-Lcm* (Parry Library MS. 211). His presence in Lisbon is attested to in a rather roundabout way - the *AMZ* report from Lisbon sent in November 1824, published in *XXVII*, 2, 12 January 1825, col. 30, but relating to Bomtempo's Philharmonic Society concerts of 1823, refers to a concerto for two flutes by Gianella, which the composer had written during his visit some fifteen years before. See also Brito & Cranmer (1989), p. 61.

school of all the arts and of all modern nations, might attain those arts and rival them, where she has allowed herself to be so shamefully overtaken³.

This opera, given for the Benefit of Eufemia Eckart Neri - she had married Gaetano Neri on 23 October 1806⁴ - was the last opera in which Domenico Mombelli and Ludovico Olivieri are known to have appeared in Lisbon.

During Lent a new oratorio by P. C. Guglielmi, *Il trionfo di Davide*, was performed. The management of the new season was undertaken once more by Lodi, obliged to do so by General Junot. Apart from the loss of the Mombelli troupe, the company remained unchanged - Eckart Neri and Caldarini were the leading ladies, Tramezzani the principal tenor, Giuseppe Tavani (who had returned from Italy in 1806) the principal bass. Who the *maestro* was is not indicated in the libretti, but it may be that Marcos Portugal was press-ganged.

The Portuguese, however, did not take the French occupation lying down. In June there were a number of uprisings, starting in Oporto, Minho and Trás-os-Montes and spreading rapidly to the rest of the country. On 12 July a force of ten thousand men set sail from England under the command of General Arthur Wellesley (later Duke of Wellington) and disembarked in Oporto on 23rd, to a warm welcome from the local population. A Portuguese army under General Bernardim Freire de Andrade prepared to march on Lisbon by land, while Wellesley's troops headed south by sea. The British

³"J'ai plutôt rédigé, que composé cet ouvrage, qui a été imprimé à Naples en 1804. L'auteur apparemment séduit par la beauté du sujet, n'a pas réfléchi que *Apostolo Zeno*, et *Racine* sur tout, l'avoient dispensé de l'entreprendre: enfin il l'a traité, et après lui j'ai été chargé de l'arranger pour ce Theatre de S. Charles. En travaillant à y ajouter quelques scenes, que m'ont paru essentielles, et à retoucher les endroits les plus foibles, et les plus negligés, je me suis aperçu, qu'il eût plus valu refaire l'ouvrage en entier: mais peut être que s'il eût été meilleur, on ne l'eut jamais représenté, car tel est la depravation du gout dans la quelle est tombée notre Nation, que les seuls ouvrages exclus pour jamais de nos Theatres, sont ceux la même, que nous honorent le plus, et qui jouissent à juste titre de la plus grande célébrité.

Cet éclaircissement, qui jusqu'à ce jour auroit été inutile, devient un devoir, dans une époque, on le Theatre livré à la saine critique de la raison, et du gout, pourrait sortir de l'état d'abjection dans le quel il se trouve maintenant.

Puisse les circonstances actuelles, si favorables pour la réforme de notre Theatre, l'opérer au plutôt, et puisse ma Patrie, l'école de tous les arts, et de toutes les Nations modernes, les atteindre, et les rivaliser dans celui, ou elle s'est laissée devancer si honteusement."

Racine's work was first published in 1674. *Apostolo Zeno's* libretto was set to music by Caldara at Vienna in 1718. The 1804 publication must refer to the G. Pagliuca libretto for Trento's opera, premiered at the Teatro S. Carlo, Naples, 4 November 1804. As for the librettist Stefano Vestris, he was evidently a member of the renowned Italian dancing family, many of whose members lived for greater or lesser periods in Paris, though I have been unable to establish his relationship to other better-known members. He subsequently had connections with the King's Theatre, London, adapting the libretto of Paer's *La Didone abbandonata* for the 1814 production there and writing the libretto for Liverati's *Gastone e Bajardo*, premiered there in 1820.

⁴See Appendix II (Singers) for details.

troops disembarked this time at the mouth of the Mondego on 1 August and joined up with the Portuguese forces at Leiria, from where the allies set out on 12th.

Meanwhile in Lisbon, as if it were business as usual, Junot ordered a gala performance at the T. de São Carlos for the Emperor Napoleon's birthday on 15 August, for which Marcos Portugal was required to furnish a new opera. The 'new' opera, *Demofonte*, was a reworking by the theatre's librettist Giuseppe Caravita of the Metastasian libretto which the composer had set in 1794 for production at La Scala, Milan, and which he adapted for use on this occasion. Tramezzani took the title role, with Caldarini as Dircea, Eckart Neri as Timante and Giuseppe Tavani as Matusio, with the minor parts sung by Angiola Bianchi, Maria Calvi and Michele Bologna.

Two days later the allied troops defeated the French army at Roliça, near Óbidos, and again on 21st at Vimeiro. On 30 August the Convention of Sintra was signed in Lisbon, by which all occupied positions were to be given over to the allies but which left the French otherwise free to leave with their baggage, arms and other equipment - including all they had looted. By 15 September the British troops had reoccupied Lisbon and the Portuguese flag was once again hoisted. On this date too, Lodi's forced management of the T. de São Carlos came to an end. There had been 75 performances since late March⁵.

In operative terms the expulsion of the French was by no means good news, for whatever their cultural designs, they did at least come with a cultural and not merely military and economic mission. With the Prince Regent and Court in Brazil, and the French gone, what was left was a cultural vacuum that the British had no brief to fill. Porter (1809) in a letter dated Lisbon, 19 October 1808, is quite explicit on this point:

I am told that an application had been made to the British commandant here to sanction the re-establishing the corps d'opera: but he with the true spirit of the cause he had engaged in, refused having anything to do with it. Our object in occupying Portugal was far different from the French; we did not wish to distract their attention by vain shows; but if possible, to concentrate all their thoughts on the grand object of maintaining the freedom we had given them⁶.

⁵Ministry of Finance Archives, Lisbon, XV-V-44. This document tells us during which months the theatre was open and how many performances were given within that period each year from March 1808 to February 1812, its purpose being to calculate the rent chargeable to the bar licensee. According to Benevides (1883), p. 35, Lodi's press-ganged management began in May, but the document he cites, *P-Lan*, Ministério do Reino, 992-2, also gives March as the starting date.

⁶p. 51.

There was apparently no impresario for the rest of the theatrical year and the only *definitely* known performance at the T. de São Carlos during that Winter and Carnival was a patriotic cantata by P. C. Guglielmi, composed to celebrate the birthday of Queen Maria I on 17 December and for which, uniquely, the libretto was printed in English as well as the customary Italian and Portuguese. It is extremely probable, however, that the opera *L'amor senza interesse* by the singer Prospero Pedrazzi was also given at this time (Winter 1808 or Carnival 1809), not Winter 1809 as the libretto prints. The cast was almost identical to that of Guglielmi's cantata, including Pedrazzi himself, Dorotea Bussani and Angiola Bianchi, all of whom, together with Diomiro Tramezzani and P. C. Guglielmi, travelled on to London early in 1809 and were involved in performances at the King's Theatre that spring and summer⁷. R. B. Fisher, in Lisbon in the latter part of 1808 and beginning of 1809 described the singing and dancing at the S. Carlos as 'extremely good'⁸.

At the beginning of February 1809 the French once more began to threaten, this time in the north. On 12 March they took Chaves and marched on Oporto, which they took on 29th. However, the occupying army under General Soult failed to penetrate further and on 11 May were forced by Wellesley's troops to abandon the city and make for Galicia.

The birthday of the Prince Regent, two days later, was thus a double celebration. At the T. de São Carlos a *cantata* by Marcos Portugal, *La speranza o sia L'augurio felice* was performed. All that is known for certain of this performance is that the only vocal part (Lisia) was sung by Marianna Scaramelli, though we may reasonably suppose that the composer directed the performance.

In November 1809 Lodi was once more pressured to take on the management, which had been effectively vacant for more than a year, and he did so until February the next year, during which time there were thirty-eight performances⁹. Given that Pedrazzi's *L'amor senza interesse* was probably performed the previous theatrical year, the only opera we may be sure was staged in 1809/10 is Marcos Portugal's *L'oro non compra amore*, for the Benefit of Scaramelli, on 5 January 1810, directed by the composer.

⁷The only reservation resides in the fact that Bussani, Bianchi and Pedrazzi are not recorded in London later than July and could, in principle, have travelled back to Italy via Lisbon. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to trace their movements after London, nor, at this crucial time, those of Senesi and Tavani, who likewise sang in both Guglielmi's cantata and Pedrazzi's opera.

⁸Fisher (1811), p. 50.

⁹Ministry of Finance Archives, Lisbon, XV-V-44; *P-Lan*, Ministério do Reino, 992-2.

During Lent 1810 Cimarosa's oratorio *Il sacrificio d'Abramo* was sung. On 13 May Marianna Scaramelli married the dancer Luigi Lacomba¹⁰.

In the absence of a new impresario, a society of actors was formed and began to operate on 4 June, putting on Portuguese plays as well as opera¹¹. There were performances of Paer's *La testa riscaldada* on 6 July and Mayr's *Il caretto del venditore d'aceto* on 17 August. These were probably occasional performances¹², as was a show put on at the theatre by the company of the T. da Rua dos Condes on 12, 13 and 14 August to celebrate the birthday of the English Prince Regent. For this occasion the resident maestro of the T. da Rua dos Condes, João José Baldi, composed an *elogio* in the Prince Regent's honour¹³. As of September, there were regular performances, 68 by the end of the season¹⁴, though this was probably divided between Italian opera and Portuguese comedies. There is a noticeable shift in the repertoire during these months back to two-act *opera buffa* of the late eighteenth century - revivals of Paisiello's *Il barbiere di Siviglia*, *La molinara* and *Nina*, and one each by Fabrizi and Gasparini.

For a third time the French invaded. In August 1810 they took Almeida and although mauled by Wellington's troops at the Battle of Buçaco on 26 September, went on to Coimbra, which they pillaged. Reaching the allied lines of Torres Vedras in October, the French army under General Massena found its way to the capital impassable without reinforcements from France. The Anglo-Portuguese troops maintained their positions through the winter and in this stalemate the opposing armies remained until early March 1811, at which point Massena, recognising the hopelessness of his situation, was forced to withdraw. By mid April the French had left Portugal for good.

Though the immediate danger from the French had gone, the situation at the T. de São Carlos was bad. Marianna and Luigi Lacomba, had left for Rio de Janeiro, to be followed shortly after by Michele Vaccani and the formerly disreputable Rosa Fiorini, whom he had married¹⁵. None of the singers that remained were such as could in any

¹⁰For details see Appendix II (Singers).

¹¹Benevides (1883), p. 102.

¹²The bar licensee only began paying rent in September 1810. (Ministry of Finance Archives, Lisbon, *ibid.*)

¹³Benevides (1883), pp. 102-03.

¹⁴Ministry of Finance Archives, Lisbon, *ibid.*

¹⁵For details of the marriage and the children they had in Lisbon, see their respective entries in Appendix II (Singers).

sense lead a company¹⁶. There is no evidence for any performances at all during the 1811/12 theatrical year, though Anna Chiari (who had been singing at the T. de São Carlos since Lent 1809) and Francesco Nicolini (who had been around intermittently since 1800, and of whom we shall hear more in due course at Oporto) both sang that season at the T. da Rua dos Condes¹⁷.

Attempts to restore opera

It will be apparent that the distinction between the repertoire and personnel at the T. de São Carlos and the T. da Rua dos Condes were disappearing. The spoken dramas (often with musical interludes) that were the standard fare at the T. da Rua dos Condes were now being performed at the T. de São Carlos and the singers from the latter were now singing at the former. This union was formalised at the beginning of the 1812/13 theatrical year when Manuel Baptista de Paula, on behalf of the Society of Actors, became impresario of both.

The oratorio *La distruzione di Gerusalemme*, probably by P. C. Guglielmi, was performed on 24 February 1812, with repetitions on 26 February and 9 March, apparently involving the singers Carolina Rossi and Giuseppa Veluti. Nonetheless, Paula found it impossible to put together an adequate company for lack of singers and because of the exorbitant salaries they demanded, and, while continuing to search in London, was forced in March to apply for permission to put on '*farsas portuguesas em música*' at the T. de São Carlos, which was granted him¹⁸.

It seems that persistence in London paid off, for *The Morning Chronicle* of 25 November 1812 reported that the singer Teresa Bertinotti, who had recently been singing in London and Dublin, had arrived in Lisbon and had begun singing at the São Carlos¹⁹. We cannot be certain who travelled with her, other than her husband, the violinist and composer Felice Radicati, but there is every likelihood that Carlo and Angiolina Cauvini, Giuseppa Collini and Giuseppe Bertini also came to Lisbon at this stage, for all four are known to have sung in London up to Spring 1812 and are next only to be found in Lisbon with Bertinotti in 1814. As for the operas sung that Winter and Carnival 1813, we know nothing concretely, though it is worth postulating that if

¹⁶*P-Lan*. Ministério do Reino, 992-12, indicates the necessity of involving Lodi in trying to recruit a new *prima donna*, principal tenor and principal bass from England, Malta or Sardinia. The document is undated but in all respects appears to relate to the 1811/12 season.

¹⁷*id.* *ibid.*

¹⁸*id.*, 992 cover note for docts. 10-12. The application is dated 16 March 1812 and was authorised on 20th. An unnumbered document also contained within this cover note tells of Paula's continuing efforts to recruit in London.

¹⁹Cited in Walsh (1993), p. 125 and note 10, p. 268.

not directly at this time, then within the next two to three years, Mozart's *Così fan tutte* is a very strong candidate, for not only did these singers have a history of connection with the opera (and the Cauvinis and Collini are known to have sung it in Oporto a little later), but Radicati is known to have possessed the score while in London²⁰.

During Lent 1813 the authorities once again granted permission for an oratorio to be performed, this time a revival of P. A. Guglielmi's *Debora e Sisara*.

For the 1813/14 theatrical year we begin to have a little more concrete evidence. P. A. Guglielmi's *Siface* was performed for the Prince Regent's birthday on 13 May 1813 and Cimarosa's *Il matrimonio segreto* (with the title *Il matrimonio occulto*) was given for Giuseppe Bertini's Benefit on 19 June.

For the year 1814/15 we begin once again to gain a clearer picture of the situation. John Milford, who was in Lisbon during the summer of 1814 tells us that "the vocal music [at the S. Carlos] was delightful, and the orchestra superior to what is generally met with. The Italian opera is performed three times a week, and during the remaining nights, Portuguese tragedy and comedy."²¹ On 25 June, for Bertini's Benefit, there was a performance of a cantata entitled *Marte e Fortuna* by the composer Vittorio Trento, who at this time was the theatre's *maestro*. Also of interest are performances of Pucitta's *La caccia d' Enrico IV* for the Prince Regent's birthday, among other occasions. In addition to the singers already mentioned, Anna Chiari performed in minor roles, as did Carlo Barlassina, who had been involved with the T. de São Carlos at various times since 1800, and his son Francesco.

At the end of the 1814/15 year the company disbanded, though Collini and the Cauvinis went on to Oporto. In March a new company from Italy began to operate, consisting of Carolina Neri (*prima donna seria*), Giuditta Favini (*prima donna buffa*), Dorinda Caranti (*seconda donna*), Giovanni Maria De Capitani (*primo tenore*), Giuseppe Corbetta (*primo buffo*), and Ercole Fasciotti (*secondo buffo*), with Carlo and Francesco Barlassina for minor parts²². The *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, in its first major report from Lisbon, tells us that Carolina Neri was very well received though the correspondent himself, at this date the Swedish merchant Jean de Ron²³.

²⁰id., p. 107.

²¹Milford (1816), p. 167.

²²This and much of the information about the 1815/16 and 1816/17 theatrical years is drawn from *AMZ* XVIII. 26, cols. 434-37, 26 June 1816; Brito & Cranmer (1989), pp. 38-46.

²³Information supplied by Manuel Carlos de Brito.

had a very poor opinion of her. He was much happier about Favini, who, though not an outstanding singer, was an excellent actress and rather pretty²⁴. As for the other singers, he was thoroughly unimpressed, though slightly less damning of De Capitani. Trento continued as *maestro*.

The year 1815/16 was of enormous importance. The information we have about it not only confirms that the situation at the T. de São Carlos had returned to something approaching 'normal', with the company once again being recruited from Italy and performances very clearly on a regular basis, but also indicates a marked change in the repertoire. Most significant, the first of Rossini's operas were heard - *L'italiana in Algeri* and *Tancredi*. But not only these: the other operas, e.g. Generali's *Adelina* and Pavesi's *Ser Marc'Antonio*, were mostly works by a new generation of composers, a pattern that this season firmly established and future seasons were to follow. The company remained as in the previous year and celebrated a wedding on 1 December 1815 - Ercole Fasciotti married Giuditta Favini, Giovanni Maria De Capitani being among the witnesses²⁵.

All of the principals were replaced for the year 1816/17, though Fasciotti remained for secondary roles²⁶. The new *prime donne* were Felice Vergè (*seria*) and Erminia Fenzi (*buffa*), and though the former was very weak, the latter had quite a good voice and acted well. Of greater importance were the new tenor, Luigi Mari, the original protagonist of Rossini's *Aureliano in Palmira*²⁷, and the *buffo* Luigi Martinelli, a singer of some thirty years' experience. The *AMZ* correspondent gives us detailed descriptions of both. Of Luigi Mari he says:

[He] is a very good singer, who uses his lovely voice with feeling and taste, sings with ease and precision, and does not overload his interpretation with flourishes - all of this whenever he wants. As long as he does not go into falsetto, which, however, he often does, his voice sounds really lovely, rounded and strong, and especially in the region between bass bottom G and the G or even A above middle C. However, he often gives the crowd occasion to applaud when he rises to a falsetto top E. All the same, if he does not stand

²⁴Marianne Baillie (1824), p. 210, informs us that Favini was among the camp-followers of the Italian troops commanded by Eugène de Beauharnais in Napoleon's Russian campaign of 1812 and that her voice was said to have suffered badly as a consequence. This observation and others made by Baillie are discussed in Cranmer (1989b).

²⁵See Fasciotti and Favini in Appendix II (Singers) for details.

²⁶It is unclear what happened to De Capitani, whose name does not appear again in the *AMZ* report, *op. cit.*, or in libretti but who reappeared in 1818.

²⁷The role was originally intended for Giovanni David, who went down with measles and had to be replaced by Mari. The first act was written with David in mind, the second with Mari. See Weinstock (1968), p. 407, note for p. 40, l. 27.

close enough to the orchestra, he goes out of tune - which happens to almost all singers who try to command too wide a range²⁸.

and of Luigi Martinelli:

[He] must have been a really good singer [in his time]; nowadays, however, he is not young, in spite of which he continues to have a fine voice, though not especially powerful; however, when he tries to give it power, he goes out of tune. He would be excellent for rooms that are not so large and where he would not need to force his voice. He is a man of discernment and culture, which influences the way in which he sings in regard to expression and taste. He also does serious roles very successfully²⁹.

During this year Gnecco's *La prova di un'opera seria* was revived and a further Rossini opera, *Demetrio e Polibio*, was staged. Paer's *Agnese* was put on for Martinelli's debut (he had already sung the part of Uberto at least twice before) and was so successful that it had to be repeated more than thirty times consecutively. Trento, in his final season as *maestro*, composed the opera *Tutto per inganno* and there was also an opera attributed to Marcos Portugal, *Il trionfo di Gusmano*, almost certainly a pastiche³⁰.

On 20 March 1816 Queen Maria I passed away in Rio de Janeiro at the age of 91 and the Prince Regent became King João VI. On 15 July a year's national mourning was declared and the T. de São Carlos, along with all other theatres, closed until 15 July the following year³¹.

²⁸"[Er] ist ein sehr guter Sanger, der seine schöne Stimme mit Gefühl und Geschmack anwendet, präcis und mit Fertigkeit singt, auch nicht mit Schnörkeleyen überladet - alles das, wenn er will. Gehet er nicht ins Falset [sic] über, was er aber oft thut, so klingt seine Stimme sehr schön, rund und stark, und zwar in dem grossen Umfang vom grossen Bass-G, bist eingestr. G, auch wol A: doch giebt er nicht selten auch dem grossen Haufen zu applaudieren, dass er, mit Falsett, bis ins zweygestr. E hinaufsteigt. Stehet er zuweilen dem Orchester nicht nahe genug, so intornirt er falsch - wie das fast allen Sängern gehet, die einen unnatürlich weiten Umfang von Tönen beherrschen wollen." *AMZ*, id. cols. 435-36.

²⁹"[Er] muss ein überaus braver Sängler gewesen seyn: jetzt ist er freylich nicht mehr jung, seine Stimme jedoch noch immer schön, obgleich nicht vorzüglich stark; will er sie aber gewaltsam verstärken, so singt er unrein. Für Säle, die nicht eben gross sind, und wo er nicht nöthig hätte, sein Gewalt anzuthun, wurde er vortrefflich seyn. Er ist ein Mann von Einsicht und Bildung, was denn auch Einfluss auf seinen Gesang, in Hinsicht auf Ausdruck und Geschmack hat." id., *ibid.* col. 436.

³⁰It has an aria in common with the 'Portugal' pastiche *Barsene regina di Lidia*, premiered at the King's Theatre, London, in 1815. Detailed investigation would doubtless reveal that the remaining material was also borrowed from other operas by Portugal and others.

³¹Different documents give slightly differing dates for the theatre's closure. A document at the Ministry of Finance Archives, Lisbon, (I-i-2) gives 11 July. Another there (XV-V-44) gives 12 July, while a third (also XV-V-44) gives 14 June, with a re-opening on 15 June 1817 (but indicates a rent from 15 July!). However, the mourning was announced in the *Gazeta de Lisboa* on 15 July, so the closure must surely have begun then. *P-Lan*, Ministério do Reino, 992-24, confirms the re-opening on 15 July 1817.

While the theatre was closed, work was done to the auditorium. Twenty-four chiaroscuro medallions portraying the most celebrated composers who had written for the theatre were painted on the first tier boxes, the royal box was redecorated and the stage curtain was given a new design depicting an allegory of Apollo inviting the Portuguese to immortalise themselves by the cultivation of the Fine Arts³².

The year's closure was something of a setback and when the theatre reopened in July 1817, both *prime donne* had left, as had Luigi Martinelli and Trento. From that time until the T. de São Carlos and the T. da Rua dos Condes were once again separated on 1 July 1818³³, the company was much as it had been in 1815/16 - Carolina Neri as *prima donna seria*, Giuditta Favini Fasciotti as *prima donna buffa*, Luigi Mari as *primo tenore*, and various basses - Fabrizio Piacentini (who had been singing in Lisbon since some time in 1816), Ercole Fasciotti and the Barlassinas.

In 1817 Generali's *Adelina* was revived together with a cantata by Marinelli for the celebrations of the wedding between Prince Pedro d'Alcântara (the future King Pedro IV) and Princess Leopoldina of Austria on 15 December. Also performed that year were Rossini's *L'inganno felice* for which Rego was once again *maestro* and Mayr's *I cherusci*. In the first half of 1818 we know only of performances of Nicolini's *Coriolano* and a revival of Rossini's *L'italiana in Algeri*, both in June.

³²*P-Lan*, RMC caixa 512, doct. 5108.

³³Matos Sequeira (1955). Vol. I, p.11.

Chapter 4

The Teatro de São Carlos, Lisbon (1818-1828)

The final years of the reign of King João VI

After a closure of some months the new impresario, Luigi Chiari, in collaboration with Luigi Mari and other singers, reopened the theatre on 7 December 1818 with a performance of Nicolini's *Carlo Magno* and an ode, *O Mérito Exultado*, written specially for the occasion by António José Soares¹. The leading singers for the new company were Carolina Massei, Luigia Franconi and again Giuditta Favini, *prime donne*, Luigi Mari and Giovanni Maria De Capitani, *primi tenori in seria* and *buffa* roles respectively, Ercole Fasciotti, Natale Veglia (*buffo cantante*) and Fabrizio Piacentini (*buffo caricato*), basses. The role of *maestro* was taken jointly by José António Gomes Pinzetti and Francisco de Paula da Silva Freitas. A printed document outlining what was staged during the year that followed indicates that there were 200 performances altogether in that time, with a monthly distribution as indicated in Plate 8 (see next page).

The repertoire during these months contains a number of important features. Three of the four great Rossini operas composed in 1816 and 1817 all received their Lisbon premieres in 1819 - *Il barbiere di Siviglia*, *La Cenerentola* and *La gazza ladra*. According to Benevides (1883), there were two supposed revivals by Marcos Portugal - *Il Demofonte* and *La Merope* - but Carvalhaes (1910) has established that the latter was in fact by Nasolini². Another apparently incorrect attribution is *La cameriera astuta*, which Benevides gives as being by Paisiello but which must have been Paine's opera of that name.³

Two new operas seem to have been specially composed - a new version of the oratorio *La distruzione di Gerusalemme* by Appiani (presumably husband of the singer of that name) and a setting of *Idomeneo* by Pietro Generali. The latter is particularly curious. Generali was, after Rossini, one of the leading composers at this time - two other

¹Benevides (1883) gives the date of reopening as 16 December (pp. 115 & 117), but the *Gazeta de Lisboa* of 30 November 1818 announces the reopening for 7 December. This is corroborated by two documents - the one that Benevides cites on p. 117 (*P-Lan*, Ministério do Reino, 992 unnumbered), see Plate 8, which lists the works performed during the year to 6, not 16, December 1819, and another in the Ministry of Finance Archives, Lisbon (XV-V-44), which gives information about the renting of the bar by Domingos Daddi (father of the composer João Guilherme Daddi).

²Benevides (1883), p. 117; Carvalhaes (1910), p. 148.

³*id.*, *ibid.* In the absence of a libretto for this production, Benevides must have used just the *P-Lan* document (Plate 8), which does not name the composer. Probably unaware of Paine's opera, he attributed it to Paisiello, though by this date his *La serva astuta* was no longer being performed. Manferrari (1955) attributes the present production to Paine, which must be correct.

A Sociedade Italiana do Real Theatro de S. CARLOS, julgou ser sua obrigação participar a V. S.^a a Nota das Operas, e Dansas que se tem posto em Scena no dito Theatro no decurso do anno que ha de findar em 6 de Dezembro proximo, pela qual se mostra que a Sociedade naõ só cumprio, mas até excedeo ás Condições a que se obrigou para com os Senhores Assignantes; a saber:

Operas Sérias, Semi-sérias, Burletas, e Oratoria. *Dansas Sérias, Semi-sérias, e de Meio Character.*

Carlos Magno.	Cesar no Egypto.
Clotilde.	Os Salteadores.
A Borrallheira.	O Usurpador Punido.
A Destruicão de Jerusalem.	A Morte dos Innocentes.
O Barbeiro de Sevilha.	A Doida fingida por Amor.
Demofonte.	A Vingança de Ulysses.
Mérope.	O Tambor Nocturno.
O Amor Conjugal.	Ignez de Fitz-Henry.
Idomeneo.	As Amazonas.
O Senhor Timonella.	Bianca de Rossi.
Pamella Nubil.	A Rede de Vulcano.
A Pegã Ladra.	
A Lodovisca.	

Operas e Dansas que tendo servido para Beneficios se repetirãõ depois por conta da Casa.

Débora e Sisara.	A Tomada de Belgrado.
A Camareira Astuta.	O Pagem.
Um Aviso aos Ciosos.	O Mestre na Villa.
Martilde.	Os Ritos da Baia Duska.
A Mulher de tres Maridos.	
O Aio Embaraçado.	
O Theatro em confusãõ.	

Distribuição das Récitas.

1818	Dezembro	-----	16
1819	Janeiro	-----	19
	Fevereiro	-----	20
	Março	-----	14
	Abril	-----	11
	Maió	-----	17
	Junho	-----	17
	Julho	-----	12
	Agosto	-----	18
	Setembro	-----	17
	Outubro	-----	19
	Novembro	-----	16
	Dezembro até o dia 6	-----	4
			200

Nos referidos Espectaculos a Sociedade naõ tem poupado nem despezas, nem trabalhos para merecer o acolhimento e acceptaçãõ; e faz saber a V. S.^a que chegando a nova Companhia de Italia, da qual se está á espera de dia em dia, dará hum novo Plano de Assignaturas, promettendo continuar com as suas despezas e trabalhos para alcançar a protecçãõ e a indulgencia de hum Público taõ bemfazejo, generoso, e liberal.

NA TYPOGRAFIA DE BULHÕES. Anno 1819. *Com Licença.*

Plate 8 A printed document listing the operas and ballets performed and the monthly distribution of performances from 7 December 1818 to 6 December 1819 (P-Lan. Ministério do Reino. 992 unnumbered).

operas by him were performed at the São Carlos in 1819 and during the 1817/18 theatrical year he had been working in Barcelona. It is possible that he was approached with the idea of coming on to Lisbon - he had left Italy after the disastrous reception of *Rodrigo di Valenza* at La Scala, Milan, with the intention of remaining abroad for a substantial period. That he never came to Lisbon is certain⁴, for he returned to Italy by the Spring of 1818, but it may be that he accepted a commission to write for the Teatro de S. Carlos in 1818, as did Rossini (of which *Adina*, performed only in 1826, was the outcome).

Despite attempts by a German known in Portugal as António Simão Mayr, to dislodge him, and the closure of the theatre from 7 December 1819 to 6 January 1820. Chiari's management continued into the following year⁵. A number of new singers were taken on, though with the earliest dated libretto being 13 May, it is unclear whether they began at this date or immediately after Easter, as was the usual practice. At any rate, the company was substantially reinforced by the addition of two new *prime donne*, Adelaide Dalmani Naldi and later also Carolina Micaela Balbi. Domenico Vaccani, a baritone who had been working in Barcelona for the previous few years, the Spanish *buffo* Paolo (Pablo) Rosich, who had been closely associated with Rossini, and Gaspare Martinelli, who was to sing minor tenor or bass roles in the great majority of performances till the end of 1828. With these singers came the composer Carlo Coccia to work alongside Pinzetti as *maestro*⁶.

A breakdown of the composers whose operas are represented during the two years of Chiari's management makes clear how the repertoire had by now shifted and in particular how Rossini predominated.

	1819	1820	Total 1819-20
Rossini	3	6	9
Generali	3	2	5
Coccia	1	2	3
Celli	2	0	2
Paini	1	1	2
Appiani	1	0	1
Mayr	1	0	1

⁴There is no primary source evidence for a visit to Lisbon and though Fétis (1860-65) states that Generali remained abroad till 1821, this is incorrect. See also Cranmer (1977), p. 7.

⁵Regarding the animosity between Chiari and Mayr, see Benevides (1883), pp. 116-17. A document in the Ministry of Finance Archives (XV-V-44) informs us of the one month's closure.

⁶Curiously, none of the libretti printed during Coccia's two-year stay give his name as *maestro* though some mention Pinzetti. However, he must certainly have directed the new operas he wrote for the theatre and contemporary commentators, such as the *AMZ* correspondent and Baillie (1824), describe Coccia as *maestro*.

	1819	1820	Total 1819-20
Nasolini	1	0	1
Pavesi	1	0	1
Portugal	1	0	1
Farinelli	0	1	1
Nicolini	0	1	1
Paer	0	1	1
Weigl	0	1	1

Politics begin to interfere

1820 was a turbulent year in Portugal. There was dissatisfaction on many counts. The King and Court were still in Brazil, though almost ten years had passed since the final expulsion of the French. Furthermore, there was by now widespread rejection of the continued existence of absolute Portuguese monarchy (a consequence of French influence reinforced by Spain's recent change to a constitutional monarchy). The country was effectively under the rule of the military, commanded by the British rather than the Portuguese. Portugal's economy already battered by the three French invasions, was further damaged by the emancipation of Brazil's economy following the arrival there of the Royal Family - Portugal had hitherto enjoyed a monopoly on all trade with Brazil. All of these conspired to bring about a revolution in favour of a constitutional monarchy, which broke out in Oporto on 24 August and in Lisbon on 15 September. It met no resistance and was greeted with general enthusiasm.

The revolution had no immediate effect on the theatre and there is every indication that business went on as if nothing had happened⁷. However, it appears that António Simão Mayer found greater sympathy from the new Intendent General of Police, Manuel Marinho Falcão e Castro, and when Chiari's licence ran out in early December, the new licence was granted to Mayer⁸. For Chiari, in terms of his personal life, it may have been a blessing in disguise - already a widower for the past four years, he lost his son Vincenzo on 29 October 1820, aged 19, and would lose his daughter, the singer Anna Chiari, aged 23, on 16 June the following year⁹. Mayer was fortunate in inheriting quite a strong company, for with the exception, apparently, of Mari, all the

⁷Coccia did, however, write an allegorical cantata entitled *Il genio lusitano trionfante* in praise of the new Constitution.

⁸It is not clear exactly when Mayer took over. If Chiari's licence expired on 6 December (i.e. a year after its renewal), Mayer could in principle have begun on 7 December. An announcement in the *Gazeta de Lisboa* of 30 December 1820 informs us that rehearsals were already under way by then, but it has not been possible to ascertain the date of the first performance under his aegis.

⁹Igreja do Loreto, Lisbon. *Liv.º 2.º dos Obitos 1777 até 1846*: his wife, Rosa, was buried there on 30 December 1816, aged 44 (p. 228). Vincenzo on 30 October 1820 (p. 246) and Anna on 17 June 1821 (p. 253). Anna's age is given as 'roughly' 23.

singers stayed on¹⁰. He seems to have had ambitious plans, including the setting up of a training school for up and coming Portuguese singers and dancers. An unusually extended, anonymous, article appeared in the *Diario da Regência* (the *Gazeta de Lisboa* under a new name) on 31 March 1821, supporting the idea:

..., we view with satisfaction that the present Impresario of the theatre dares to propose this same [idea of a national song/dance school] in his direction Plan, which so many *Portuguese* directors have not attempted; and we hope in consequence of this, that this laudable intention will not simply remain a plan, as it certainly merits help and promotion to the end that this magnificent theatre might become truly national; and so that ultimately it should not prove necessary to employ foreigners save only where their place cannot be supplied by *Portuguese*, which in time would be dispensed with, except the occasional admission of some such singers in strictly limited and rare cases or the most distinguished artists from other branches of the theatre, who might wish to come among us to exercise their talents and to work alongside us for the perfection of our own. At present we might begin under good auspices to make the most of the able artists employed there.

..., there are sufficient able Artists to establish the desired school of music and dance on a regular basis and to take advantage of local talent from an age appropriate for them to receive fully all the instruction they need to bring out the natural dispositions of the pupils, who will be carefully selected.¹¹

However seriously this plan was considered, it took another 150 or so years and another revolution to bring it to anything like fruition. In any case, the writer seems to have had reservations even about these apparently 'able' singers, and the *AMZ* correspondent who wrote an article covering this period would have shared them¹². According to this same correspondent, Mayer reduced the personnel and made various other economies, which together with the increased attendance since the Revolution

¹⁰It is possible that Mari stayed on during the Carnival season, his first known appearance in Madrid being in May. However, he was closely associated with Chiari and may well have taken umbrage when Chiari's licence was not renewed.

¹¹... temos a satisfação de ver que o actual Empreziario deste Theatro ouza propor isto mesmo no Plano da sua direcção, o que tantos directores *Portuguezes* não emprehendêrão; e esperamos, em consequencia disso, que não ficará só em projecto esta louvavel intenção, que merece por certo ser auxiliada e promovida, a fim de tornar-se verdadeiramente nacional este magnifico Theatro: e de não só naquillo em que não possa ser supprido por *Portuguezes*, o que com o tempo de todo se escusaria, salvo admittir casualmente algum desses Cantores ou Cantoras estremados e raros, ou algum dos mais eximios Artistas de outros ramos theatraes, que quizessem vir entre nós exercitar seus talentos, e concorrer para a perfeição dos nossos. Actualmente se poderia principiar com bons auspicios a tirar proveito dos habeis Artistas que alli se empregão.

... ha sufficientes Artista habeis para estabelecer a desejada Escola de musica e Dança de hum modo regular, e aproveitar os talentos nacionaes desde huma idade propria para receberem perfeitamente todas as lições que podem fazer proficuas as disposições naturaes dos alumnos, que se escolherem com boa selecção." *Diario da Regencia*, 30 March 1821, extracted from an article entitled 'MISCELLANEA - Real Theatro de S. Carlos'.

¹²*AMZ* XXIII, cols. 604-05, 29 August 1821; Brito & Cranmer (1989), pp. 51-52.

should have put him in a better financial position than his predecessors. He also tells us that the theatre now received an annual subsidy of 30.000 *cruzados*¹³. However, Marianne Baillie (1824) gives us a rather gloomy picture of the state of things. In her letter dated 30 June 1821 she says:

[The T. de São Carlos] is now so badly managed, as to be unworthy of any attention from foreigners; and the performers are so ill-paid, as to have little motive for exertion¹⁴.

Certainly, by November Mayer was quite heavily in debt and owed several months' salary to some of the singers¹⁵.

Whatever the financial situation, performances were regular. The repertoire was completely dominated by Rossini and Rossini imitations. Up to Carnival 1822 there were new productions of *La Cenerentola*, *La pietra del paragone*, *Ricciardo e Zoraide*, *Elisabetta regina d'Inghilterra*, *L'italiana in Algeri*, *La donna del lago* and *La gazza ladra*. A new *prima donna*, Ercolina Bressa, sang the title role in *La Cenerentola* and it was at a performance of this opera on 27 April that the Naval Minister, Francisco Maximiliano de Sousa, announced the King's acceptance of the new Constitution and his intention to return to Lisbon¹⁶. King João VI reached the Tagus estuary on 3 July and disembarked at the Terreiro do Paço, Lisbon, the following day, bringing with him part of the Court, but leaving behind his eldest son, Prince Pedro d'Alcântara, as Regent of Brazil.

The all-pervasiveness of Rossini even outside Rossini's operas is attested to by Marianne Baillie, who attended a performance of *La festa della rosa*, which Coccia had written for Giuditta Favini's Benefit on 13 August. In her letter of 26 October 1821, she gives us a carefully observed account of this production:

Last night we were at the opera;... We were pleased by the performance, "La festa di Rosa", [sic] but our admiration was limited to one or two of the performers. This opera (light and brilliant in the style of its music) is composed by Coccia [sic], a young Italian, who copies so closely from Rossini, that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish the difference between them; the whole company are from Milan, as well as the corps de ballet; the latter seems to possess little talent, and the mechanist must be, I should suppose, about the

¹³id. *ibid.*

¹⁴Vol. I, pp. 9-10.

¹⁵Benevides (1883), pp. 119-20, speaks of Mayer's financial difficulties, which are confirmed by a document giving monthly payments to singers owing to 9 November 1821 (*P-Lan*, Ministério do Reino, 992-27).

¹⁶Benevides (1883), pp. 122-23, quotes a lengthy description of the occasion from Júlio de Castilho's *Memórias de Castilho*, Vol. I, p. 194.

worst in Europe; as to the greater part of the scenery, and the dresses of the performers, economy appears to be the order of the day, or rather night. One thing it was impossible not to see - the ignorance generally speaking of the audience; almost all the applause was given to what really least deserved encouragement, and a few delicate strokes of genius were entirely lost upon them. Favini was prima donna, her voice is much decayed, more from accident or indisposition, than from age, as she is still young and handsome enough for her profession; I should conceive that it had once been very fine; her taste is extremely good, and she is a lively graceful actress...¹⁷

Coccia also composed the opera *Mandane regina di Persia* this year and, additionally, two of his operas composed prior to coming to Lisbon were staged.

Mayer's management collapsed at the end of Carnival 1822. As the correspondent of the *AMZ* reported:

The public was very dissatisfied with Impresario Mayer: he was accused, and it would appear rightly so, of being far too concerned with short-term gain and not the least bit bothered with the rest: and this in the end led to the complete disintegration of the Italian opera company¹⁸.

Coccia went to London. Dalmani Naldi, De Capitani, Vaccani, Veglia and Rosich joined Mari in Madrid.

From Easter till August 1822, the Teatro de São Carlos remained closed. When it reopened it was under the management of the architect João Baptista Hilberath and Margarida Bruni, who had been the leading ballerina since at least 1806. With the mass exodus of singers, the new company consisted only of Ercolina Bressa, Teresa Zappucci, who had been singing minor roles since 1818, a *castrato* named Lorati, about whom nothing else is known, and probably Gaspare Martinelli. In this depleted state, they nevertheless managed to stage Rossini's *Tancredi* and *Adelaide di Borgogna* in September and October, respectively. Reinforcements were contracted in Italy and set sail from Genoa on 7 October. On arrival, however, there were disagreements between four of the new singers and the management over advance payments, with the result that the singers refused to attend rehearsals¹⁹. This was settled by the beginning of December and on 13th Rossini's *Eduardo e Cristina* was staged. The cast was Adelaide Varese and Adelaide Cressotti, *prime donne*, Paolo

¹⁷Baillie (1824), Vol. I, pp. 208-10.

¹⁸"Mit dem Impresario Meyer [sic] war man sehr unzufrieden: man beschuldigt ihn, und wie es scheint mit Recht, dass er gar zu sehr nur auf den augenblicklichen Vortheil bedacht, und übrigens zu nachlässig sey: und so kam es endlich zur gänzlichen Auflösung der italienischen Opern-Gesellschaft." *AMZ* XXV, 1, col. 3, 1 January 1823; Brito & Cranmer (1989), p. 54.

¹⁹*P-Lan*, Ministério do Reino, 992-43. The dispute also involved two French ballerinas.

Lembi, *buffo cantante*, and Giuseppe Lombardi, *primo tenore*, Luigi Martinelli, who had returned from Italy with the new company, and Gaspare Martinelli²⁰. At about this time the company was also joined by the tenor Filippo Destri, who had been singing in Oporto for the past few years, and the bass Giacomo Calcina.

No sooner was the new company installed than the management once again collapsed for lack of money and the government appointed a commission presided over by the 20-year-old 2nd Baron of Quintela to take up the reins of the theatre in January 1823.

Marianne Baillie once again attended the opera on 28 January and wrote as follows in her letter home the following day:

We went yesterday to the opera, in which the prima donna (who might rather be called, from her tender age, "Prima Vera") appeared to great advantage and sang delightfully. Her name is Adelaide Varese [sic] ... Altogether San Carlos has considerably gained in the recent change of its company of both singers and dancers. Rossini's "Barbiere di Seviglia" [sic] has lately been played, and it is impossible not to admire it; yet the general merits of the composer appear to me to have been greatly over-rated. Compare him with Mozart and see how much he loses by the comparison.²¹

The audience was, of course, in no position to compare Mozart and Rossini, it being some seventeen years since *La clemenza di Tito* had been performed and some ten since the postulated production of *Così fan tutte*.

The *AMZ* correspondent was in full agreement about Varese's virtues, praising both her voice and appearance, though criticising her for bowing to public poor taste in her manner of singing. Cressotti, he tells us, had a mezzo-soprano or contralto voice of considerable range, especially in the lower notes, but of weak quality owing to age. Lembi was described as an average performer, better actor than singer. Lombardi had a good voice but not strong enough for the theatre²².

On 13 October 1822, the result of ever increasing pressure from the Brazilian independence movement, the Regent, Prince Pedro d'Alcântara, had been proclaimed constitutional Emperor of Brazil. In Portugal itself, the return of King João VI to Portugal as a constitutional monarch had by no means met with universal approval by more conservative elements, who believed firmly in absolute monarchy. At the head of

²⁰*AMZ* XXVII. 2. col. 26. 12 January 1825: Brito & Cranmer, p. 59. The report states that Luigi Martinelli had returned from Oporto, but I find no evidence for his being there after 1818.

²¹Baillie (1824), Vol. II, pp. 155-56.

²²*AMZ* XXVII. 2 col. 26. 12 January 1825: Brito & Cranmer, p. 59.

these was the Queen, Carlota Joaquina, sister of the Spanish King, who had refused to swear allegiance to the new Constitution. In consequence, she was banished to Spain, though on the pretext of ill-health she remained in Portugal, at the Quinta do Ramalhão, not far from Sintra. It was around her second son, Prince Miguel, that the conservative forces rallied. In February 1823 there was a revolt in Vila Real, led by the 2nd Count of Amarante, which led to Amarante's expulsion from Portugal. Increased discontent with the Constitution and the government that ruled in its name, even among moderates and liberals brought more and more of the nobility and military back to the absolutist fold. All of this came to a head in the so-called 'Vilafrancada'. Such was the strength of opposition that the King was forced to accept substantial changes to the Constitution or face civil war. The King met Prince Miguel and his absolutist supporters at Vila Franca da Xira, a few kilometres upstream from Lisbon, on 31 May 1823, made him Commander-in-Chief of the army, restored the Queen and the Count of Amarante, and brought Miguel's principal supporters into the government.

This political instability and confrontation did nothing to help the theatre, where performances were seemingly intermittent from the end of August until a new management was appointed in November, once again in the hands of Hilberath and Bruni. It is worth noting that in this year, for the first time, Prince Miguel's birthday, on 26 October, was celebrated by a special performance at the T. de São Carlos. For the occasion Tadolini's *La principessa di Navarra* (an oblique reference to the Queen?) was staged together with an anonymous birthday ode entitled *Lisia Exultante*.

Rossini's operas continued to be popular in 1823 (*Mosè in Egitto* was performed for the first time during Lent), but the first works of a slightly younger generation were staged during this year - one by Meyerbeer and two by Pacini. Two operas by Coccia were performed, one each by Paer, Mayr and Grazioli, and as the final new production of the year, Generali's *I bacchanali di Roma*. At the end of Carnival 1824 Adelaide Varese, Adelaide Cressotti and Giuseppe Lombardi left for Oporto, leaving the company seriously under strength.

In the spring of 1824 politics came once more to the fore. On 30 April Prince Miguel, grown overconfident, made a major tactical error: he arrested a number of more conservative Liberals, who had backed him at the time of the Vilafrancada, and during the next few days attempted to remove his father from the throne. On 9 May the King escaped to an English frigate moored in the Tagus estuary, summoned Prince Miguel and stripped him of his position as head of the armed forces. The prince was forced to

stay on board for four days, during which time his support disintegrated and he was obliged to leave the country.

The King's birthday was celebrated on 13 May with Rossini's *L'occasione fa il ladro* (given under the title *Il cambiamento della valigia*) and an ode entitled *Jove Benéfico* by the young Portuguese composer João Evangelista Pereira da Costa. Giuseppa Collini made a return for the occasion and was joined by, among others, a Portuguese by the name of António Chaves. The re-employment of a rather mediocre *prima donna* and the virtually unprecedented use of a local singer give an idea of the lack of singers available to the management. The *AMZ* correspondent speaks of the theatre being closed for several months and certainly the King's birthday is the only occasion we have clear evidence of its being open between early March and early July²³.

In June thirty-eight new performers arrived, mostly recruited for the ballet but substantially reinforcing the opera company, and including the following nine singers: Luigia Valsovani Spada, Giuseppa Julien, Maddalena Pereno, Catarina Pereno, Maria Mori, Alessandro Mombelli, Filippo Spada, Luigi Campitelli and Giovanni Riboli. The new company opened with Rossini's *Bianca e Falliero* on 3 July, to celebrate the anniversary of the King's return to Portugal two years earlier²⁴.

An unusually detailed document gives us full details of the positions each singer held in the company at this time:

Luigia Valsovani Spada - *prima donna seria*
Giuseppina - *check* - Julien - *prima donna buffa*
Catarina Pereno - *prima donna 'para cantar de muzico'* [i.e. travesty roles]
Luigi Campitelli - *primo tenore*
Alessandro Mombelli - *primo tenore di mezzo carattere*
Antonio Colla - *buffo cantante*
Filippo Spada - *buffo comico*
Paolo Lembi - *basso serio*
Maria Mori - *seconda donna*
Maddalena Pereno - *seconda donna*
Gaspere Martinelli - *secondo tenore*
Giovanni Riboli - *ultima parte*
+ a chorus of ten²⁵

²³id., col. 27; id., *ibid.*

²⁴id., *ibid.*, id., p. 60.

²⁵*P-Lan*, Ministério do Reino, 992-15.

The same document also, unusually, lists the dates of all new productions from 3 July 1824 to 22 January 1825:

3 July 1824	[Rossini] <i>Bianca e Falliero</i>
4 July	[Rossini] <i>L'inganno felice</i>
16 July	[Rossini] <i>Il turco in Italia</i>
4 August	[Mercadante] <i>Scipio in Cartagine</i>
20 August	[Pacini] <i>Il barone di Dolsheim</i>
25 August	[Pacini] <i>Il falegname di Livonia</i>
30 August	[Rossini] <i>Il barbiere di Siviglia</i>
12 September	[Mercadante] <i>Elisa e Claudio</i>
6 October	[Morlacchi] <i>Tebaldo e Isolina</i>
12 October	[Rossini] <i>Aureliano in Palmira (as Zenobia)</i>
25 October	[Rossini] <i>Demetrio e Polibio</i>
10 November	[Pacini] <i>La sposa fedele</i>
8 December	[Mercadante] <i>Anacreonte [in Samo]</i>
3 January 1825	[Coccia] <i>La festa della rosa</i>
17 January	[Portugal] <i>L'oro non compra amore</i>
22 January	[Rossini] <i>La scala di seta</i>

It is interesting to notice that alongside the seven Rossini operas, Pacini and Mercadante were emerging quite strongly, that *La festa della rosa* should have remained a firm favourite and that Marcos Portugal's *L'oro non compra amore*, twenty years after its composition, was revived. It is also worth noting, on the one hand, that this was apparently the first time *Aureliano in Palmira* had been performed in Lisbon, rather than when Luigi Mari, the original Aureliano, was present in Lisbon, and that, on the other, *Demetrio e Polibio*, an opera which was not in general widely performed should return to Lisbon when Alessandro Mombelli was present - the opera had been written by Rossini for the Mombelli family and first performed by Alessandro's father, Domenico, his two sisters, Maria Ester and Anna, and Ludovico Olivieri. Alessandro Mombelli, incidentally, was well received in Lisbon, in marked contrast to his reception later elsewhere. The AMZ correspondent speaks well of his voice and technique²⁶.

The management of Hilberath and Bruni grew very shaky in the latter part of 1824 and the Baron of Quintela was once more appointed to oversee the running of the theatre, by decree of 27 November²⁷. A letter to Hilberath from one Gaetano, son of the late

²⁶id., col. 28. id., ibid.

²⁷Benevides (1883), p. 137.

Francisco Maria Serra of Genoa, and dated Genoa 10 January 1825, provides us with an unusual insight into how singers were contracted and the particular difficulties at this juncture:

I received with satisfaction your letter of 27th November last; I noted with pleasure the considerable powers which you vested in me to contract a *prima donna*: after this I wrote, in consequence of your orders, to my Milanese friend to carry out everything, and although in his reply he drew my attention to the fact that circumstances did not admit of finding an adequate candidate who was not already contracted, as within a short time the theatres should open for the Carnival season, the season of greatest interest to them, he nevertheless assured me that through his intimate friendship with the Impresario of the theatres in Milan and Naples [Joseph Glossop²⁸], which because of their greatness contracted many first-rate candidates, a letter would be on its way to him granting him a *prima donna*, which had almost been completed, when he would go to to see one himself in order to see which would better meet your interest and which would more happily determine to come; he received an answer, such was the tenor of his letter, saying that as the contract was for Sr. Hilberath, they did not wish to be involved with him without a firm warrantee in Italy that their contracts would be guaranteed for a year, and similarly that the advance payment stipulated would be met, for they knew from reliable sources that the Impresario would be finishing within a few months, now that the Government has conceded the management to the Baron of Quintela; furthermore, they told me that payments to the present leading singers were two or three months in arrears: my assurances to the contrary carried no weight whatever, and in any case I could scarcely maintain them myself as I have also heard from a distance that there were letters circulating in these cities which spoke of all this; in consequence of which I cannot effect your charge without your formally authorising me to concede to him your warranty for the whole contractual process. Thus I await your further orders. Through this account you will see clearly the state of the credit of the theatre, which, however, I was flattered to try to revitalise - if as an assistance to the Government; all the same I find myself in the position where it is impossible to fulfil your wishes, not wishing myself to act as guarantor for these people, but only to be of service to yourself in the name of friendship and to my precious friend Sr. Oneto²⁹. If it is true that your management will be coming to an end within a short time, it is certainly pointless for you to undertake further expenses, which according to what I have informed you through the above-mentioned Oneto would not be slight, involving as it does sending out a *prima donna* or *prima ballerina*. I look forward to other more favourable occasions to testify to my friendship. Meanwhile I beg you to accept my warmest, best wishes.

Gaetano, son of the late Francisco Maria Serra.³⁰

²⁸Joseph Glossop was Impresario of the T. alla Scala and the T. Canobbiana, Milan, and the T. San Carlo and T. del Fondo, Naples, for the 1824/25 season, the only season from 1809 to 1834 when Domenico Barbaia was not Impresario at the S. Carlo, Naples.

²⁹Presumably a reference to the Giacomo Oneto who subscribed to box 64 at the T. de São Carlos in the 1823/24 season. (*P-Lan*, Ministério do Reino, 992-37.)

³⁰Recebi com satisfação a carta de V.^a M.^{cc} de 27. novembro proximo passado; com prazer nella observei os amplos poderes que V.^a M.^{cc} me concede para escriturar huma das primeiras Damas de

This letter serves to confirm the importance of agents in Italy working on the theatre's behalf to recruit principally from Milan. As to the outcome of Gaetano Serra's efforts, they appear not to have been successful, at least in the short term, though he may well have contributed to the contracting of the new singers who came to Lisbon the following Autumn³¹.

Unbeknown to Gaetano Serra, the day after he wrote his letter, a new impresario, António Marrare, was appointed manager of the theatre³² (still overseen by the Baron of Quintela, contrary to his own wishes³³) and a subsidy of 24\$000 réis per year was granted, despite the reservations of the Ministro da Fazenda (Finance Minister), who would rather have seen the money spent on orphans and widows than on immoral shows³⁴. In actual fact, however, Hilberath and Bruni continued to run the theatre until 19 July³⁵. For the King's birthday on 13 May Mercadante's *L'apoteosi di Ercole*

canto: depois disto escrevi, em consequencia das ordens da V.^a M.^{ce} [...] ao meu amigo de Milão para executar tudo, e não obstante, na sua resposta, ter me feito a observação que as circumstancias não davão lugar de se acharem sujeitos de merecimento sem estarem escriturados, porque dentro de mui pouco tempo devia se fazer a abertura do tempo dos Theatros para o Entrudo, epoca a mais interessante para elles, porém certificava-me mediante a sua intima amizade para com o Empresario dos Theatros de Milão, e de Napoles, os quaes por grandeza escitarão muitos sujeitos do primeiro merecimento, lhe teria escrito para lhe ceder huma primeira Dama, e quase estava p.^a acabar, quando hia procurando alguma para ver qual melhor conviasse ao interesse de V.^a M.^{ce}, e que melhor vontade se determinasse a vir: foi-lhe respondido, tal he o teor da sua carta, que sendo o contracto para o S.^r Hilbrath, não querião estar por elle sem huma solida fiança na Italia para lhe for garantida a escritura por hum anno, como tambem o prepagamento estipulado, pois que soberão por bons canaes que esse Empresario devia acabar dentro de poucos mezes, visto que o Governo tinha concedido a Empresa ao S.^r Barão de Quintella; além disto disserão-me tambem que os actuaes Virtuosos ficavão atrazados nas suas mezadas de dous outres mezes: nada vlerão as minhas contrarias persuasões, que bem pouco as podia suster, porque eu tambem de longe ouvi dizer que se achavão cartas nestas cidades que falavão em tudo isto: em consequencia do que não posso effectuar a incumbencia de V.^a M.^{ce} sem authorisar-me formalmente a conceder-lhe a sua fiança p.^a a inteira execução da escritura que se fizer. Ficarei então a espera das ordens ulteriores q.^{as} V.^a M.^{ce} me dar. Por esta relação bem vê V.^a M.^{ce} a situação que se acha o credito desse Theatro que me lisonjeava porém, que devesse animar - se como auxilio do Governo: portanto me acho impossibilitado de cumprir com os seus desejos, não querendo eu ficar fiador desta gente, mas fazer só o obsequio a V.^a M.^{ce} de lha procurar o titulo d'amizade, e ao meu rico Amigo S.^r Oneto. Se he verdade que a sua Empresa vai findar dentro de pouco tempo, he certamente inutil que V.^a M.^{ce} faça outras despezas, que segundo o que tenho informado a V.^a M.^{ce}, por via do referido Oneto, não serião indifferentes, tratando-se de mandar sahir huma primeira Dama ou huma primeira Dançarina. Dezejo outras occasiões mais favoraveis p.^a lhe testemunha a minha amizade. Queira no intanto acceitar os meus affectuosos cumprimentos. Gaetano del g. Franc[isc]o M.^a Serra'

This letter was an authenticated translation of a letter in Italian by 'Sr. Gaetano filho do falecido Francisco Maria Serra de Genova', dated 8 February 1825 with the stamp of the Genoese Consulate, Lisbon, and the signature of the Genoese Consul. (*P-Lan*, Ministério do Reino, 992-15).

³¹Paolina Sicard, for example, was singing at the T. alla Scala, Milan, in the Spring of 1825, shortly before her departure for Lisbon.

³²Benevides (1883), p. 137

³³As early as 12 August, Quintela wrote to the Minister of the Realm seeking to be relieved of the responsibility, which, however, was only granted nearly two years later.

³⁴*P-La*, 54-X-13.126 (MS letter from Miguel António de Mello, Ministro da Fazenda, to José Joaquim d'Almeida Araújo Correa de Lacerda, Ministro do Reino, dated 11 January 1825).

³⁵Benevides (1883), *ibid*.

was performed together with an ode by the bar licensee's 12-year-old son, João Guilherme Daddi. A gifted musician, he had already sung the child role of Adolfo in Paer's *Camilla* at the T. de São Carlos³⁶ and he went on to be a composer of some importance. On this occasion he was introduced to the King, who attended the performance³⁷.

With the change of management there was a corresponding change around in the company. Giuseppe Lombardi and Adelaide Cressotti, who had been singing again in Lisbon during the Spring, left definitively. Giuseppa Julien, Alessandro Mombelli and Paolo Lembi went on to Cadiz. Luigi Campitelli, Antonio Colla and Maria Mori returned to Italy, as probably did Maddalena and Catarina Pereno. In their place we find Giuseppe Spech, Luigia Valesi, Luigi Ravaglia, Stefano Valesi, Fabio Massimo Carrara and Luigia Carrara, who sang in the new administration's first production, Donizetti's *Zoraide di Granata*, on 30 September 1825. Also new to the company at this time were Costanza Pietralia, Paolina Sicard, Maria Frassi and Giovanni Orazio Cartagenova.

1825 may be marked out as the peak of the Rossini fever. Eight of his operas (including *Semiramide* for the first time) were produced, as compared with seven by all the other composers put together.

From the death of King João VI to Civil War

In November 1825 the hitherto unilateral declaration of independence of Brazil was ratified. The political situation in Portugal itself remained uneasy, with the Queen stubbornly living in Queluz apart from the King. In March 1826 he fell ill and on 10th he died. The question of the succession was a difficult one. Prince Pedro d'Alcântara, who by right of premogeniture, should have become the next king, was in Brazil, so at least in the interim a Regency was necessary. Shortly before he died, King João VI entrusted this to his daughter Princess Isabel Maria. Prince Pedro, however, opted to abdicate the throne of Portugal in favour of his daughter Princess Maria da Glória, at that time only seven years old, whom he intended should marry his brother, Prince Miguel, and thus bring to an end the divisions within the family. Prince Miguel, who was in Vienna at this time, agreed to the marriage on 29 July and prepared to return to Lisbon.

³⁶In January 1824.

³⁷For further details see Benevides (1883), p. 142.



Plate 10 a
Lithograph of Paolina Sicard
as Elcia in Rossini's *Mosè in
Egitto*. Lisbon, 1826.
reproduced in Freitas Branco
& Almeida (1956), p. 97.



Plate 10 b
Severini's engraving of
Paolina Sicard based on
the lithograph above.
in Benevides (1883),
p. 141. In the original
she comes across as
very pretty - in the
copy she has a rather
prominent chin.

The death of King João, like that of Queen Maria before him, was followed by a period of national mourning and hence the closure of the theatres. A letter to the authorities, dated 6 April, written on Marrare's behalf by the Baron of Quintela, speaks of the theatre's difficulties with the singers, who were neither being paid nor allowed to leave, and requests that they be allowed to leave if the period of mourning was going to continue beyond three months³⁸. According to Benevides (1883), the theatre remained closed until 12 June³⁹. However, the *Gazeta de Lisboa* of 15 May announced the reopening of the theatre the following day with a performance of Rossini's *Semiramide*, in which Adelaide Varese Pedrotti, back from Oporto, would be singing - she had meanwhile married the tenor Alessandro Pedrotti.

Marrare's management ran more or less smoothly and he continued to manage the theatre until the Autumn of 1828, the Baron of Quintela continuing to oversee until 14 April 1827⁴⁰. In 1826 there were eight Rossini operas, including the world premiere of *Adina*. Benevides (1883), quoting Thomas Oom, tells us that the opera had been commissioned by Pedro António de Pina Manique Nogueira Matoso de Andrade, several years before - Rossini is known to have written it in 1818 - but when the score arrived it was found to lack an overture. When Andrade complained to Rossini, the composer answered that the commission was for an opera, not an overture, and in this overtureless state the opera remained, neither party prepared to concede an inch to the other⁴¹.

Another premiere the same year was *I due forzati* by the Polish composer Franz Mirecki, who was *maestro* at the T. de São Carlos for a period. The opera was well-received, the composer as well as the singers being called out at the end of the first performance⁴². Otherwise there were two operas by Generali, one each by Coccia and Vaccai.

At the end of Carnival 1827, Sicard, Spada (presumably accompanied by his wife Luigia Valsovani Spada), Ravaglia and the Valesis departed. To replace them Giuseppina Tuvo (*prima donna*), Giovanni Battista Montresor (*primo tenore*) and Benedetto Torri (bass) were taken on. With the arrival in the Autumn of Saverio Mercadante as *maestro*, the theatre could boast two of the finest young male singers in

³⁸*P-Lan*, Ministerio do Reino, 992-61.

³⁹p. 142.

⁴⁰Benevides (1883), p. 143.

⁴¹Weinstock (1968), p. 159; Benevides (1883), p. 144, giving reference to an article by Thomas Oom in *Revista dos Espectáculos*, without further details.

⁴²*JMZ* XXXI, 12, col. 199, 25 March 1829; Brito & Cranmer (1989), p. 64. As for the composer, Benevides (1883), p. 145, tells us that he disappeared without leave one day, having drawn a month's advance on his salary two days before.

the world - Cartagena and Montresor - and one of the leading composers. Montresor, son of the great travesty singer Adelaide Malanotte, possessed a light, rounded tenor voice, noted for its clarity and tender sweetness - his career later took him to America, where in his father's company he sang in New World premieres of several major works of the period, before returning to Europe and ultimately settling in Bucharest as a singing teacher. Cartagena was known less for the beauty of his voice than for his general verve and superb acting. He was closely associated with Mercadante from his time in Lisbon for the rest of his career as well as singing in the premieres of Donizetti's *Gemma di Vergy* and Bellini's *Beatrice di Tenda*.



*Recebe d'Amizade, o Cartagena
Neste Retrato, dadiva sincera,
Da Terra o Orbe todo applauda, e veja
De insigne Cantor a Effigie vera.*

Plate 9 Lithograph of Giovanni Orazio Cartagena by Queiroz, dated Spring 1826 (P-Ln).

In 1827 the popularity of Rossini's operas began for the first time to show signs of waning in favour of other younger composers, particularly Pacini (three operas) and Vaccai (two operas). Important to this year was an opera entitled *Egilda di Provenza* by João Evangelista Pereira da Costa, Mercadante's assistant, which was first performed on 29 September, Prince Miguel's name-day. Its importance is twofold. In the first place, it was the first full-length opera by a Portuguese composer to be staged since those of Marcos Portugal. Secondly, it occasioned the first of a series of detailed reviews and polemical articles in the journal *O Constitucional*. The review of *Egilda di Provenza*, which appeared there on 29 January 1828, was mixed in its appraisal. The writer, S. M.⁴³, tells us in his second paragraph:

This piece, composed by Senhor *João Evangelista Pereira da Costa*, a young Portuguese of considerable talent, has, like everything there is, good things and bad things. What gives it greater merit is that it is the first he has composed, and it is this that most excuses its defects⁴⁴.

On 8 March Mercadante's new opera *Adriano in Siria*, which had received its premiere on 24 February, was given an extensive review in *O Constitucional*. The author, W. L. S.⁴⁵, considered the work to be such that not everyone would immediately appreciate its virtues, which he nevertheless felt strongly it possessed. Of a different opinion was the anonymous writer (but actually João Evangelista Pereira da Costa) of the pamphlet *Juzo Critico sobre a opera seria: Adriano in Siria....*, who felt that it was even worse than the worst of Mercadante's operas.

Stolen motifs, not one piece that shows inspiration, complete lack of sentiment and an insufferable length: these are the characteristic qualities of this much longed-for opera⁴⁶.

He went on to attack the costumes and sets, and laid into an ode written in praise of the composer, which had been distributed at the theatre and was published in the

⁴³It has proved impossible to identify the writer. It was not Saverio Mercadante, however, since the writer also makes accusations against Mercadante which, particularly as they were demonstrably false, the composer would hardly have made against himself.

⁴⁴'Esta peça, composta pelo senhor *João Evangelista Pereira da Costa*, joven portuguez de muito talento, tem como tudo o que existe cousas boas e cousas más. O que lhe dá mais merecimento é ser a primeira composição que compoem, e é isto mesmo o que desculpa mais os defeitos d'ella.' *O Constitucional*, N° 4, 29 January 1828, p. 92. The article continues to p. 96.

⁴⁵*O Constitucional*, N° 7, 8 March 1828, pp. 156-61. Once more it has not been possible to identify the writer, though with the first initial W. he must have been a foreigner (probably English or German). His comparison with Meyerbeer's *Il crociato*, which had not yet been performed in Lisbon, adds to this probability.

⁴⁶'Motivos roubados, nenhum pedaço que mostre ingenho, completa desituição de sentimento, e uma extensão insoffrivel: eis as qualidades caracteristicas d'esta tão desejada ópera.' Pereira da Costa (1828), p. 4. A copy of this pamphlet, dated 5 March 1828, is to be found in *P-Ln* with the call-mark: M/5

following edition of *O Constitucional*. In this same edition, there was a prompt answer to the pamphlet in a letter to the editor by a writer who signed himself 'Aristharco'. This letter makes plain who he attributes the pamphlet to and in a highly ironic tone counters the criticisms one by one. He also draws attention to the pamphlet's final paragraph, where Mercadante's large salary is compared with Costa's much less, and therein finds the motive for writing the pamphlet⁴⁷.

In *Adriano in Siria* Giuditta Schiroli, replacing Costanza Pietralia, sang for the first time alongside the tenor Antonio Piacenti, who had joined the company the previous summer, Giuseppina Tuvo, Adelaide Varese Pedrotti, Giovanni Orazio Cartagenova and Gaspare Martinelli.

It was two days before *Adriano in Siria*'s premiere that Prince Miguel finally returned to Lisbon. On 26th February in a ceremony at the Ajuda palace, making him Regent in place of his sister Isabel Maria, he took an oath of allegiance to his brother and niece, to whom he would deliver the kingdom on her coming of age. He further swore to uphold the Constitution and laws of Portugal. At that stage, there was already a substantial body of opinion within the higher echelons of the government in favour of abandoning the Constitution and making Miguel absolute king. As this element's power increased, life was made increasingly difficult for those that favoured the constitutional monarchy. Before long the arbitrary arrest of Liberals became commonplace, which led to the flight of many to England and France, and general disquiet at the government's rule provoked a series of revolts against it.

A review of Meyerbeer's *Il crociato in Egitto*, performed to celebrate the Dowager Queen Carlota Joaquina's birthday on 25 April, and which appeared in the English periodical *The Harmonicon*, tells us how these political events spilled over into the theatre:

One of the latest operas performed was *Il Crociato*, which was received with stormy applause, if, indeed, the applause could be separated from those frequent bursts of political feeling which disturb every performance. In a word, it is impossible that an Italian theatre can subsist at all in Lisbon, if the political state of the city does not experience some modification. It is no rare occurrence to see the performances interrupted by scenes of violence, which are sufficient to drive the muses from their favourite retreat⁴⁸.

⁴⁷*O Constitucional*, N° 8. 18 March 1828. pp. 189-92. The ode in honour of Mercadante appears at the end of a short article. pp. 187-88.

⁴⁸*The Harmonicon*. 1828. p. 237.

The same article goes on to allude to the flight of Liberals:

Porto, the celebrated singer, known for his *voce di testa*, is arrived in Paris. He fled from his country in the fear that Don [sic] Miguel might wish to rob him of his vocal powers, the only property he has to lose⁴⁹.

António Felizardo Porto, who in London was to become singing teacher to the exiled future Queen Maria II, was one of many musicians (including the leading Portuguese composer João Domingos Bomtempo and the Baron of Quintela) who espoused the Liberal cause.

In *Il crociato in Egitto* Luigi Rigola appeared on the Lisbon stage for the first time, alongside the recently returned Giuseppa Monati. *The Harmonicon* article also mentions the popularity of two new singers - the *prima donna* Giuseppina Glossop de Mery and the tenor Luigi Magnani. Though Magnani is only known to have sung in Vaccai's *Giulietta e Romeo*, Glossop de Mery sang title roles in three new operas by Mercadante written that year - *Adele ed Emerico* (the role of Adele) on 18 June, *Gabriella di Vergy* on 8 August and *Ipermestra* on 29 September, to celebrate Prince Miguel's name-day.

As the year progressed Marrare's position as impresario came under increasing threat. Government subsidies remained unpaid and permission to stage performances to celebrate Prince Pedro's name-day on 29 June was refused. With the declaration of Miguel as absolute king in early July Marrare must have been aware that his management's days were numbered. He was eased out and replaced by Margarida Bruni, once again, in late September. The transfer of power continued into the next month with Marrare demanding to be indemnified for his expenses in bringing out Glossop de Mery and to be released from further contractual obligations to her, insisting that Benefits for several musicians, including Mercadante, be guaranteed and that his sets and costumes be purchased by the new management⁵⁰. The settlement of all this was needed urgently so that Glossop de Mery would be available to sing for the birthday of the 'King' (Miguel) on 26 October.

The King's birthday was indeed to be a special occasion, though perhaps not in quite the sense intended. Bruni wrote to the Intendent General of Police on 23rd asking for an advance of money in order to make purchases needed for the performance, among them items for Cartagenova, Zappucci, Piacenti and Martinelli⁵¹. João Evangelista

⁴⁹id., *ibid.*

⁵⁰*P-Lan*. Ministério do Reino. 992-63. also quoted in Benevides (1883), p. 147.

⁵¹id., 992-unnumbered account sheet and letter.

Pereira da Costa wrote a cantata entitled *Tributo à Virtude*, for performance by Domenico Vaccani, Alessandro Pedrotti, Rosa Baldoni Tosini and Adelaide Varese Pedrotti, which was to be staged with Coccia's *Clotilde*. The whole occasion was reported in an evidently partisan article in *The Harmonicon*, in which allusions are made to Marrare's demise:

On the occasion of the birthday of Don [sic] Miguel, Signor Coccia's opera *Clotilda* [sic], was revived at this theatre. It was the first occasion of this personage visiting the opera, for it will readily be supposed that to a mind constituted like his, music has no very transcendent charms. The mode in which this visit was paid is too curious not to be noticed; as, in all probability, it is without precedent in any country. Constant patrols of infantry and cavalry, the whole way from the palace to the theatre were occupied in clearing the way, though there [sic] was no crowd. The object was not to allow anyone to stop in the street, and no sooner were two or more persons seen talking together, than they were ordered to go about their business. Near the theatre is the fountain of Loretto [sic] but not a single servant or water-carrier was allowed to approach it or cross any of the streets, from the afternoon till Don [sic] Miguel left the theatre. Many a curse, though not loud yet deep, was muttered against a tyrant whose excessive fears for the safety of his person caused such serious inconvenience to the public.

As a matter of course, all the Miguelite nobility were at the theatre and none but persons hired for the occasion were admitted into the pit and boxes.

On a former occasion, in order that the theatre might be closed on the two festivals of Don [sic] Pedro⁵², it was taken suddenly from the hands of the honest manager, Marara [sic], - thus robbing him of nearly a month's receipts. Add to this, that of the annual allowance of 20,000 milrees (4,000*l.*), without which the theatre cannot be kept up, and which is allowed by law, not a farthing has been paid. So much for Miguel's love of the arts!⁵³

This proved to be the last opera performance until 1834, when at the end of a bloody civil war Pedro, as King, restored peace to the country and opera to the T. de São Carlos⁵⁴.

The musicians rapidly dispersed. Mercadante went on to Cadiz, Madrid and thence back to Italy, as did Zappucci. Adelaide Varese Pedrotti also went on to Cadiz and from there straight back to Italy. Cartagena, Glossop de Mery and Vaccani sang in Madrid before their return to Italy. Piacenti returned to Italy direct.

⁵²We should recall that Prince Pedro's name-day was on 29 June, his birthday on 12 October.

⁵³*The Harmonicon*, 1828, p. 279.

⁵⁴A number of concerts were put on into 1829, some including excerpts from operas already performed, but no full productions are known.

Chapter 5 Opera in Oporto

Throughout the period covered by this study, information about opera in Oporto is, at best, patchy. There is no equivalent of Benevides (1883) to act as a starting point and owing in part to the fire that destroyed the Teatro de São João in 1908, and with it the theatre's archives, primary source material is sparse. The present chapter is intended therefore as an attempt to piece together some kind of picture from those few sources that do survive.

In 1793 the only theatre that was staging opera in Oporto was the Teatro do Corpo da Guarda, inaugurated in 1791 and so called after the square in which it was situated. It was a somewhat improvised affair, created by a group of local actors¹, and being the only public theatre in the city was also known simply as the 'Teatro Público'.

Formenti's annual *Indice* gives us information about the 1793/94 and 1797/98² theatrical years. In 1793/94 the company consisted of Carlo Barlassina (*primo buffo a vicenda*), his wife, Giovanna Barlassina (*prima donna buffa e seria*), Giuseppe Volunnio Durelli (*primo tenore e mezzo carattere*), Rocco Girolami (*primo soprano*), Michele Liberati detto Bologna (*secondo tenore*), Antonio Marchesi (*primo buffo a vicenda*), his daughter, Irene Marchesi (*seconda donna buffa e seria*), and Anna Vicchi (*terza buffa e ultima parte seria*). They performed both *opera seria* and *opera buffa*, though in exactly which operas is unknown. It is worth noting that Antonio Marchesi had sung at the Teatro da Rua dos Condes, Lisbon, in the 1770s and that the Barlassinas, Durelli and Bologna went on to perform at the Teatro de São Carlos, Lisbon, after singing in Oporto³.

In the year 1797/98 we are told of performances of Cimarosa's *Il credulo* and *L'impresario in angustie*, and *Il disertor francese* and *Il Don Giovanni (Il convitato di pietra)*, probably both by Gazzaniga. It is noticeable that all of these operas are *opere buffe* or *dramme per musica* and, supported by the evidence of the voice types/ranks of the singers, we must suppose that unlike 1793/94 there was no *opera seria* performed that season. The singers were Marianna Chabrand Albani (*prima buffa*), Giuseppe Caravita (*primo buffo a vicenda*), Luigi Pugnetti (*primo buffo a vicenda*), Pietro Ricci (*primo mezzo carattere*), Teresa Ancinelli (*seconda buffa*), Leutar

¹ According to *P-Pm* MS 1273, f. 249v, among the actors was João Nogueira Gandra, later Liberal, printer and librarian. He was born, however, in 1788 and cannot therefore have been involved in theatre at such an early stage. See note 5 regarding this manuscript.

² cited in Carvalhaes (unpubl.)

³ Durelli also acted as manager of the S. Carlos - see Chapter 2.

Chiaveri (*seconda buffa*) and Antonio Chiaveri (*secondo tenore*). It is interesting to note that three of the minor singers - the Chiaveris and Teresa Ancinelli also danced in the ballets and were evidently primarily dancers.

According to Rebelo Bonito (1945 & 1963), regular performances had already ceased after 28 February 1797⁴, which was Shrove Tuesday that year. Unfortunately, he does not cite his source and given that all the information above about the 1797/98 season is fully compatible with what is known about the singers' movements there is no reason to doubt that it took place as indicated by Formenti.

The Teatro do Corpo da Guarda was never exclusively or even primarily an opera house but also staged plays in Portuguese. Given the way it was founded and the fact that there was no other public theatre in the city, this is scarcely surprising. It is, however, importantly different from the situation we observed at the S. Carlos and will observe at the other public Lisbon theatres, which were largely or completely, depending on the period, given over to the one or the other.

The Teatro do Corpo da Guarda, however, was always inadequate as a theatre and as early as 1793 moves were made towards the building of a worthier, more permanent theatre. Through the offices of Francisco d'Almada e Mendonça, son of the late Governor of Oporto, João de Almada e Melo, the actors gained an audience before the *de facto* Prince Regent at the time of the celebrations that followed the birth of Princess Maria Teresa in April 1793. Their performance so impressed the Prince that he decorated them with the Habit of the Military Order of Christ and granted their theatre the epithet 'Royal'⁵. Almada e Mendonça, striking while the iron was hot, put in a proposal to the Queen for a new theatre to be built in Oporto that would befit the realm's second city, to which she agreed in a charter dated 12 April 1794⁶.

Preliminary plans drawn up by the Roman architect Vincenzo Mazzoneschi, who had been involved in the decoration of the T. de São Carlos, were submitted for royal sanction, and returned, duly approved in a document dated 9 October 1794, signed by the Minister of the Realm, José Seabra da Silva⁷. As well as agreeing to the plans themselves it allowed for the purchase of houses and contiguous land on which the

⁴Rebelo Bonito (1945), p. 119; (1963), p. 138.

⁵This information is drawn from *P-Pm* MS 1273, ff. 250r-v, written as late as 1868 but, nevertheless, the earliest and most complete account of the circumstances of the building and early functioning of the Teatro de S. João. The various writers in *O Tripeiro*, cited in the footnotes below, particularly Simões (1931), who makes reference to a manuscript in his possession, seem to have had access to this or similar documents.

⁶*id.*, ff. 250v-51r.

⁷Given in full in Rebelo Bonito (1945), p. 119.

theatre would be built. The site chosen was one that took in part of the old city wall between the Viela dos Entrevados and the Viela do Cativo, beside today's Praça da Batalha, and five houses had to be acquired for the purpose by compulsory purchase. The cost of the land and houses was 6.276\$000 *réis*⁸.

To raise the money for the building of the theatre, Almada e Mendonça published a notice asking for subscribers to invest at the rate of 100\$000 *réis* per subscription. In this way he raised 31,300\$000 *réis*, he himself being among the 247 subscribers⁹. Building work began under the supervision of the engineer Teodoro de Sousa Maldonado on 29 March 1796. Use was made of stone from the demolished section of the city wall, timber-merchants were forced to contribute in kind and transporters were required to furnish transport for materials. Following a second appeal for subscriptions which opened on 29 December 1797 a further 23.150\$000 *réis* were promised but only 14.150\$000 *réis* actually materialised and a third appeal was necessary¹⁰.

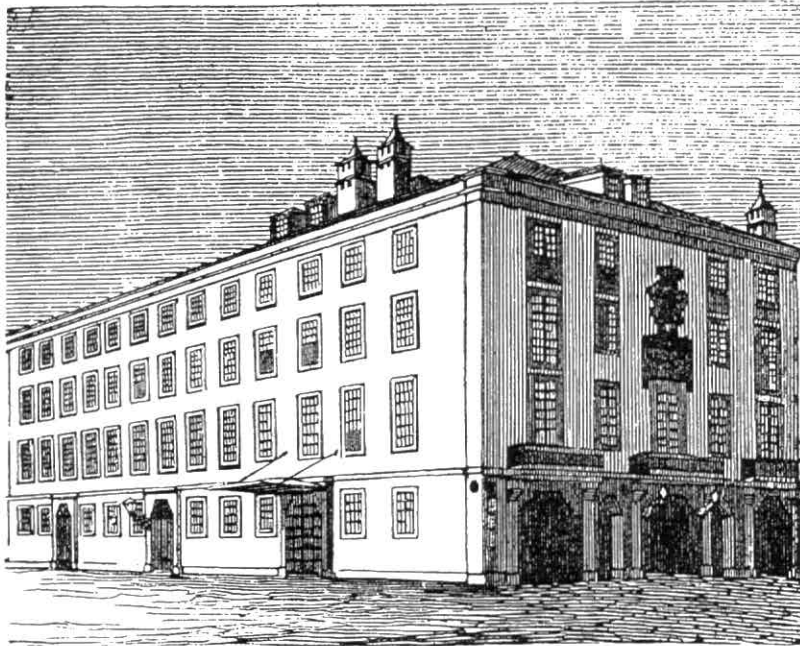


Plate 11 Engraving of the original Teatro de São João. Oporto, undated (author's collection).

Almada e Mendonça decided to call the new theatre the Teatro de São João after the *de facto* Prince Regent, just as the São Carlos had been named after his wife, Princess

⁸Simões (1931), p. 152.

⁹*P-Pm*, MS. 1273, ff. 251v-252r.

¹⁰Sá (1946), p. 160.

Carlota Joaquina. The opening was made to coincide with the Prince's birthday, 13 May 1798. The event was reported in the *Gazeta de Lisboa* of 1 June:

It is reported from the city of Oporto that on 13th of last month, in celebration of Our Lord Prince's birthday, a new theatre by the name of São João was opened there, with an ode set to music, dedicated to His Royal Highness, and a Comedy entitled the *Vivandeira* [Canteen Woman]; not only were the inhabitants of the city present for the occasion to marvel at the magnificence of the Theatre and its brilliant illumination, but also a substantial gathering of foreigners who flocked to the show. The Theatre was decorated with a curtain painted by the renowned Domingos Sequeira, currently employed in the service of Her Majesty, which gained the attention of the connoisseurs, no less for its manifold ornaments, paintings and decorations than for the novelty and good taste which they admired in it; the people there were extatic about the beautiful design of the building, conceived and executed by the famous Roman architect Vincenzo Mazzoneschi, known all over Europe through the work he has done, be it in Rome or elsewhere in Italy, in Spain through the magnificent Theatre of San Carlos in Malaga; and in Lisbon he made his talent well known through the decorations to the Royal Teatro São Carlos on the occasion of royal festivities celebrated there, the work he is just finishing in the city of Oporto being an abundant proof of his discrimination in the matter of architecture¹¹.

According to Simões (1931) the birthday ode was entitled *O Mau Gosto Destruído ou o Porto Afrontado* [Bad Taste Destroyed or Oporto Affronted] and the words were written by António Soares de Azevedo, a local poet. There is no indication of the composer of the music. The full name of the comedy was *Os Militares Heróis ou as Vivandeiras Ilustres* and the evening ended with a farce called *A Dama Astuciosa*¹², possibly with José Palomino's music¹³. It seems, then, that opera formed no part of the opening night and Simões gives us to understand that opera was restricted to three months of the year, during the winter¹⁴. Heinrich Link, who visited Oporto not long after the opening of the T. de São João, makes no reference to opera and says simply:

¹¹"Da Cidade do *Porto* avião que a 13 do mez passado, em applauso dos annos do Principe N. S. se abriu o novo Theatro, denominado de *S. João*, com hum Elogio em Musica, dedicado a S. A. R., e huma Comedia intitulada a *Vivandeira*: admirando naquella occasião a magnificencia do Theatro, e a sua brilhante illuminação, não só os moradores da Cidade, mas tambem hum numerozo concurso d'estrageiros que acudio ao espectáculo. Ornava o Theatro hum panno pintado pelo célebre *Domingos Sequeira*, actualmente empregado no serviço de S. M., o qual conciliou muito a attenção dos entendedores, não menos que os demais ornamentos, pinturas, e decorações, pela novidade e bom gosto que nellas se admiravão: louvando muito aquelle Povo o bello risco do edificio, ideado e posto em execução pelo famoso Architecto *Romano Vicente Mazzoneschi*, conhecido em toda a *Europa* pelas obras por elle executadas assim em *Roma*, como em outra partes da *Italia*, e em *Hespanha*, pelo magnifico Theatro de *S. Carlos* da Cidade de *Malaga*; e em *Lisboa* deo elle bem a conhecer o seu talento pelas decorações do Real Theatro de *S. Carlos* por occasião das festas Regias que alli se celebrãõ, sendo a obra que acaba de executar na Cidade do *Loreto* huma exuberante prova do seu discernimento em materia de Architectura." *Gazeta de Lisboa*, 1 July 1798, p. 4.

¹²Simões (1931), p. 152.

¹³Palomino's music survives at P-IT.

¹⁴id., ibid.

Here Portuguese plays are performed by tolerably good actors. Thus it is not impossible that Oporto may soon have a better theatre than Lisbon¹⁵.

Link also provides us with the first eye-witness description of the theatre itself:

'A short time ago a considerable play-house was built at a large expense, but the architect has so contrived it that the audience in the boxes cannot hear. In other respects it highly merits approbation.¹⁶

Simões (1931) gives us an idea of the size: the stalls were 68 palms (45 feet)¹⁷ wide by 71 palms (47 feet) deep, the stage width was 54 palms (36 feet) wide; the artist's dressing rooms covered an area of 90½ palms (60 feet) in length and the height of the interior was 62 palms (41 feet). According to him, the profile of the theatre was disagreeable, but he conceded that the interior was cheerful and distinguished, with a really beautiful auditorium.

However restricted performances of opera may have been in the first few years. Formenti's *Indice* for 1798/99¹⁸ tells us of productions of Cimarosa's *Le trame deluse*, Gazzaniga's *Il disertor francese*, Marino's *Didone* (premiere), Paisiello's *Nina pazza per amore*, Fioravanti's *Il furbo malaccorto*, Bianchi's *La vendetta di Nino* and Sarti's *Giulio Sabino*. According to Loewenberg (1978) Paisiello's *Il fanatico in Berlino* [= *La locanda*] was also staged during Carnival 1799. Evidently both *opera buffa* and *seria* were performed. Formenti once again gives us the names of the singers in the company:

<i>Prima donna assoluta buffa e seria</i>	Marianna Albani Chabrand
<i>Primo soprano</i>	Giovanni Battista Longarini
<i>Primo tenore</i>	Angelo Forlivesi
<i>Primi buffi</i>	Francesco Antonucci, José António Soares [Guerra], Giuseppe Caravita
<i>Seconde donne</i>	Maria Bossi, Bernardina Liotard
<i>Terza donna</i>	Maria Josefa Soares
<i>Altri buffi</i>	Luigi Pugnetti, Filippo Venti
<i>Secondi tenori</i>	Pietro Ricci, Felice Follia

The company was directed by Settimo Marino and the theatre poet was Giuseppe Caravita.

¹⁵Link (1801), p. 323.

¹⁶id., *ibid.*

¹⁷Simões (1931), p. 152. A palm measured eight inches. The equivalents in feet have been rounded to the nearest foot.

¹⁸Once again cited by Carvalhaes (unpubl.).

Several of these singers had, as we have seen, sung in the final season at the Teatro do Corpo da Guarda but the company had now been strengthened above all by the highly experienced *buffo* Antonucci, who had sung in Lisbon for the production of Paisiello's *La modista raggiratrice* the previous Spring, and the *castrato* Giovanni Battista Longarini, who had been active both as singer and composer in Lisbon during the previous two years. Caravita went on to become the theatre poet at the T. de São Carlos from 1799. Marianna Chabrand Albani, also at the São Carlos in 1799, was to revive Marino's *Didone* for her Benefit night on 16 October that year.

Carvalhaes (unpubl.) tells us that Alessandri's *La finta baronessa*, P. A. Guglielmi's *La serva innamorata* and Martin i Soler's *Una cosa rara* were performed at Oporto around 1800. A libretto of *La finta baronessa* for the S. Carlos, Lisbon, 1795 production, at one time in Carvalhaes' collection, now in the S. Carlos Archives has a handwritten note of a cast which performed the work in Oporto: 'Juana [=Giovanna] Barlassina, F[rancesco] Nicolini, A[ntonio] Marchesi, [An]Tonio Cantaneli, Bisoti [probably = Teresa Bedotti], [Carlo] Barlassina, Pepa [Maria Josefa] Soares'. From what is otherwise known of these singers we could reasonably suppose they would have been together in Oporto 1799-1800, but there is no more than circumstantial evidence for this.

The celebrated Portuguese singer Luísa Todi is believed to have sung at the T. de São João in 1801¹⁹, but what she may have sung is unknown. From then until 1805 there is no information at all about opera in Oporto. On 18 August 1804 Francisco de Almada e Mendonça died, still in debt on account of expenses incurred in the building and running of the theatre²⁰. José Teixeira de Sousa succeeded him as the theatre's inspector on 24 January 1805 and the way the theatre was run underwent reorganisation. On 28th of the same month a meeting of shareholders appointed Tomás da Rocha Pinto, Rudolph Amsink and Ludwig van Zeller as administrators with effect from 13 February²¹. In a document dated 3 March 1805 the suggestion was put forward that *opera seria* should cease and also questioned the continued production of *opera buffa*²². (Evidently, therefore, both were staged during previous seasons.) As might be expected, a major concern was cost, but, equally importantly, considerable difficulty had been experienced in obtaining adequate singers, a *maestro* to compose and direct, and an orchestra of sufficient size and quality.

¹⁹See Moreau (1981). Vol. I, pp. 166-67.

²⁰Rebelo Bonito (1945), p. 120.

²¹*P-Pm*, MS 1273, f. 252v.

²²'Memória sobre o regulamento do Theatro do Porto', dated 3 March 1805. *P-Ln*, Cx. 184, doct. 30.

It is shortly after the new management took office that we have the first unequivocal primary source evidence for opera at the theatre. A libretto survives for Marcos Portugal's *La donna di genio volubile* performed on 19 November 1805 in which Carolina Griffoni sang the role of the Countess, the rest of the cast being unnamed.

In 1806 libretti for two operas were printed: Paer's *La Griselda* (along with an *elogio* by António da Silva Leite), for the Prince Regent's birthday on 13 May, and Fioravanti's *La capricciosa pentita*, given under the title *L'orgoglio avvilito*. The *prima donna* for both operas was again Carolina Griffoni; on 13 May the *primo mezzo carattere* was Prospero Pedrazzi and the *primo buffo* Paolo Boscoli, while for the Fioravanti they were replaced by Vincenzo Praun and Pietro Angelelli²³ respectively. António da Silva Leite is named as the *maestro* in the libretto for *La Griselda*. It is noticeable that the great majority of singers in Oporto at this time had been singing shortly before in Lisbon, and at various periods it seems likely that singers for Oporto were recruited in Lisbon.

Also in 1806, on 16 August, the three shareholders elected to administer the theatre the previous year resigned and were replaced four days later by João Nogueira Gandra and Plácido Lino dos Santos Teixeira. According to the manuscript source *P-Pm* MS 1273, they continued to manage the theatre until 1821²⁴, but there are various indications that the theatre was, in reality, just in Santos Teixeira's hands and that his management collapsed before this date.

For 1807 a libretto survives for Nasolini's *La morte di Cleopatra*, performed at the T. de São João on 8 November, the first *opera seria* for which we have a primary source. In this opera the part of Cleopatra was played by Marianna Scaramelli, who had come from Lisbon, replacing Carolina Griffoni Angelelli, who in turn had returned to Lisbon.

Two comic operas by António da Silva Leite are often cited in reference works²⁵ as having been performed at the São João in 1807: *Puntigli per equivoco* and *L'astuzie delle donne*. The original source of information is a reference in the Supplement to Innocencio da Silva's *Diccionario Bibliographico Portuguez*, in a volume published in 1867²⁶, and had come to him from 'eyewitnesses' of the productions (sixty years before), who waxed lyrical about the composer's talents. Given the distance in time,

²³Pietro Angelelli was actually Carolina Griffoni's husband by this stage - for details of their marriage see Appendix II (Singers) - but it is only in the libretto for '*L'orgoglio avvilito*' that her married name appears.

²⁴f. 252v.

²⁵e.g. von Waxel (1883), p.544. and *NG*.

²⁶Innocencio da Silva (1858-1972). Vol. 8 (Supplement Vol. 1), p. 306.

the human tendency to glorify the 'good old days' and the absence of any other indication that Leite was a composer of operas, we need to be sceptical. It is the present author's view that this is a reference not to operas by Leite himself but to his directing productions of Fioravanti's *I puntigli per equivoco* and Cimarosa's *Le astuzie femminili*, to which he may or may not have contributed additional or substituted arias, as Moreira, Portugal and Rego did to the operas of other composers at the São Carlos.

A libretto does, however, survive for a cantata by Silva Leite entitled *I genii premiati*, performed by members of the São João company at the Real Academia on 5 October. The librettist was António Soares de Azevedo and the singers were Marianna Scaramelli, Prospero Pedrazzi, Paolo Boscoli and Giovanni Olivetti.

The extent to which the French invasions affected opera in Oporto is unclear. According to Simões (1931) the theatre remained open at all times, and in August 1809 a Spanish company performed *zarzuelas* there for the first time²⁷. *Zarzuela* performances were, in fact, to become a regular feature at the T. de São João. As regards opera itself, the situation is very inconclusive. On the one hand, there is no concrete information about performances between late 1807 and 1813, which, combined with what we know of the situation in Lisbon at this time, would tend to lead us to the view that performances would have been infrequent and irregular if indeed they occurred at all. On the other hand, an undated document, apparently written late in 1813, raises the question of the roles the Italian (opera) and Portuguese (spoken drama) companies should take the following year, arguing for preference to be given to the Portuguese company. The writer, does, however, concede that there was a time in which the Italians occupied the theatre entirely, though this had been a matter of necessity²⁸. It seems unlikely that this would be mentioned if it were not a fairly recent occurrence, which, if so, would mean that opera (mostly or entirely *buffa*) would have been the sole form of entertainment at some stage in the recent past.

It is interesting to note that the reasons put forward this time for reducing opera are no longer financial and related to practical difficulties, as had been the case in 1804, but rather of a political, nationalistic kind. To quote:

Oh! (The Administrator will insist) but the foreigners want to be entertained and don't understand Portuguese - What a specious reason! So a great city has to do without and be deprived of its national entertainment so that a few foreigners, and these of uncertain permanence in the country might have some entertainment. On what kind of right is this based? What would they say in

²⁷Rebelo Bonito (1963), p. 139.

²⁸*Memoria, em que se demonstra a preferencia...* (P-Ln. MS. 242. 19, in particular, f. 3')

London or some other European capital if a Portuguese company were to appear and, with the sole pretext of wanting to give amusement to their compatriots and to any other individuals of extravagant taste, were to attempt to oust a national company from any of its theatres? What would be the result of this kind of madness?²⁹

However overstated this polemic might be, the point is of some importance and was to remain an issue for a long time. It is also of interest in what it tells us of the kind of audience that attended the opera.

John Milford (1816), a foreign visitor 'of uncertain permanence', in Oporto in the summer of 1814 tells us the balance that was struck:

They have a very elegant theatre here, where the Italian opera and Portuguese plays are performed alternately³⁰.

According to Rebelo Bonito (1963), who as usual gives no indication of his source, during the 1814/15 theatrical year there were productions of the three-act pastiche oratorio *Saul*, to music by Haydn, Mozart, Cimarosa and Paisiello, put together by Kalkbrenner and Lachmith, Paer's *Griselda*, Fioravanti's *Camilla*, Cimarosa's *Gli Orazi e i Curiazi*, Paisiello's *La serva padrona*, Caruso's *L'oro non compra amore*, Mozart's *Così fan tutte* and Cimarosa's *Il matrimonio segreto*. The principal singers were Giulia Tertini and Irene S[ec]chioni (*prime donne*), C. Alboni (contralto), Antonio Ambrozzeti (tenor), Paolo Bosco[li] (*buffo caricato*) and Pietro Senni (bass)³¹. This information, however, evidently contains errors and imprecisions, and cannot in any sense be taken at face value³².

According to Firmino Pereira (1909) Francesco Nicolini, who had sung in Lisbon on a number of isolated occasions since 1800, sang at the T. de São João for the first time in 1815³³. He was to become the central figure at the theatre in the early 1820s.

²⁹"Oh! (insistirá o Adm[i]nistrador) mas os Estrangeiros querem divertir-se, e não entendem o Portuguez - Especioza razão! Pois huma grande Cidade ha-de prescindir, e privar-se do seu divertimento Nacional, para que huns poucos de Estrangeiros, e esses de incerta presistencia no Paiz, tenham hum divertimento? Em que direito se fundará esta pertença? Que se diria em Londres, ou em qualquer outra Capital da Europa, se lá se appresentasse huma Companhia Portuguêza, e que só com o simples pretexto de querer dar divertimento aos seus Patriotas que lá existissem, e a quaesquer outros individuos de gosto extravagante, intentasse lançar fora de qualquer dos seus Theatros huma Companhia? Qual seria o resultado dessa louca pertença?..." (id., f. 7') The document gives no indication as to its author or to whom it was addressed.

³⁰p. 190.

³¹p. 139.

³²See 'Doubtful works and performances' in Appendix I (Chronology), where the author's reservations are set out in detail, and the citation from *AMZ*, below.

³³p. 91.

Unusually, there is a mention of what appears to be the 1815/16 year as part of a lengthy article from Portugal published in 1816 in the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, which both because of its exceptional interest, as a contemporary source, and because of the questions it raises with regard to Rebelo Bonito's 1814/15 season, I cite here in full:

In Oporto there is also an Italian opera, which at present comprises the following members: Paolo Boscoli, *primo buffo*; José Soares Guerra, a Portuguese, *secondo buffo*; Francesco Nicolini and Cauvini, tenors. Mad. Col[l]ini and Irene Sec[c]hioni, *prime donne*; Giuseppa Sec[c]hioni and Mad. Cauvini, *seconde donne*, Giuseppa Veluti, *terza donna*. This company taken overall cannot exactly be described as good. Taken on his own, Boscoli distinguishes himself: but only he. This company, so lacking from every point of view, has the nerve to put on Mozart's *Così fan tutte*, Paer's *Griselda* and other equally important works: but unquestionably they distort them to the vexation and misery of the *cognoscenti*. That the public in Oporto includes few such people can easily be guessed from the fact that it does not mind these distortions and patronises them³⁴.

Were *Griselda* and *Così fan tutte*, then, performed in 1814/15 or 1815/16 (or both) ...and by whom? The production of *Così fan tutte*, of course, stands out among the repertoire given during the period under discussion, and knowing, as we do, of the previous connections of the Cauvinis and Collini with this opera, it is not difficult to accept the *AMZ* report and reject Rebelo Bonito³⁵. Around the end of 1815 Plácido Teixeira's management seems to have collapsed and was taken over by António Bernardo Brito e Cunha, the Liberal general and later martyr of the Liberal cause³⁶. It is unclear what Gandra's involvement may have been at this time.

As in Lisbon, the theatre was closed for a year from 15 July 1816 to 14 July 1817 in mourning for the death of Queen Maria I. When it reopened, Francesco Nicolini was head of the Italian company and José Soares Guerra head of the Portuguese.

³⁴"In Porto hat man auch eine italienische Oper, die jetzt aus folgenden Mitgliedern besteht: Paolo Boscoli, erster Buffo; Joze Soares Guerra, ein Portugiese, zweyter Buffo; Francesco Nicolini, und Cauvini, Tenoristen. Mad. Collini und Irene Sec[c]hioni, erste Sangerinnen; Giuseppa Sec[c]hioni, und Mad. Cauvini, zweyte Sangerinnen; Giuseppa Veluti, dritte. Diese Gesellschaft kann, im Ganzen genommen, gewiss nicht gut genannt werden. Im Einzelnen zeichnet sich Boscoli aus: er aber auch allein. Diese, in jeder Hinsicht so sehr unvollkommene Gesellschaft wagt es Doch, Mozarts *Così fan tutte*, Pars *Griselda*, und andere solche bedeutende Werke zu geben: aber freylich entsetzet sie sie zum Aerger oder Erbarmen der Unterrichteten. Dass das Publikum in Porto deren nicht eben viele zahlt, gehet schon daraus hervor, dass es dergleichen Entstellungen nicht ungerne hat und unterstutzt." *AMZ*, XVIII, col. 437, 26 June 1816; Brito & Cranmer (1989), p. 44.

³⁵All the more so, given the general scope and quality of this very full report, which can in some instances be corroborated by other sources.

³⁶Simões (1909), p. 91. The collapse of the Plácido Teixeira management is confirmed, though with no indication of when it occurred, by an unnumbered document dated 10 August 1817 in *P-Lan*, Ministério do Reino, 992.

Documents surviving from August 1817 tell us that the Italian company was ready to begin performances straight away, lacking only a *primo tenore*, who could in any case be replaced temporarily by one of the other singers, most notably Luigi Martinelli, who was at that time in Oporto³⁷. The Portuguese company, on the other hand, only had two actors and one actress, which was insufficient to put anything on. The usual conflict arose between the two companies, with the Portuguese company claiming the right to 50% use of the theatre and the Italian company taking what it considered to be a more realistic view, that the Portuguese company be conceded some performances a week to put on *farsas*, etc., when it could (i.e. rarely), and the Italian company use the theatre the rest of the time. Nicolini had a good deal of support, including that of the port producers Sandeman, Taylor, Croft and Graham, as well as the French and Spanish Consuls. The Portuguese company evidently considered Nicolini as something of an upstart³⁸.

The only opera we know to have been performed at about this time is Farinelli's *Ginevra degli Almteri* at some point in 1818, with a cast that included Nicolini and Luigi Martinelli, for which an *argomento* (cast list and plot) was printed.

According to the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, the company disintegrated in 1820³⁹ but this is contradicted by the fact that in this year *argomenti* (more usually) and libretti (rarely) began for the first time to be printed on a regular basis, which rather suggests a new wave of activity with a more co-ordinated and financially secure management. It seems likely that the company was brought together late in 1819 with Francesco Nicolini as impresario. According to Simões (1931), Nicolini was impresario of several theatres and he delegated part of the management to Pedro Waley Barberino⁴⁰

The earliest dated *argomento*/libretto printed in this new wave of activity was for Rossini's *La Cenerentola* on 20 January 1820, and though there can be little doubt that Rossini's operas had already been produced in Oporto before this time, this is the first for which we have actual evidence. *La gazza ladra* and *L'inganno felice* also received performances that year. For the King's birthday on 13 May Coccia's *Clotilde* was staged and there were also productions of Paer's *La testa riscaldata* and Winter's *I due vedovi*. A libretto also survives for the 'dialogo in música' *Lisia Agradecida*, an

³⁷Martinelli was *not* normally a tenor and this reference is indicative of the way at this period, especially in more minor roles or at times of crisis, some men would sing in either bass or tenor registers, using head voice or falsetto for higher notes.

³⁸Unnumbered docts. in *P-Lan*, Ministério do Reino, 992.

³⁹XXV, 1, col. 4, 1 January 1823; Brito & Cranmer (1989), p. 54.

⁴⁰p. 152.

occasional piece by João António Ribas, dated 1820. A handwritten note gives the date '15 do Corr.^{te} (15th of the current month). Given the patriotic title, it was probably written shortly after the Revolution that year, which broke out in Oporto on 24 August and we may postulate 15 September (the day the Revolution broke out in Lisbon), therefore, as a likely date for performance.

The company consisted of Ercolina Bressa (*prima donna*), Carolina Biagelli, Giuseppa Secchioni and Irene Secchioni; Francesco Nicolini (*primo buffo caricato*), Paolo Boscoli (*primo buffo cantante*), Filippo Destri (*primo tenore*) and Antonio Desirò.

In 1821 there were performances of Rossini's *Tancredi* on 30 January and *La pietra del paragone* in February, the latter for Ercolina Bressa's farewell Benefit. She was replaced as *prima donna* by Carolina Micaela Balbi for the remaining productions that year, viz. Paine's *La figlia dell'aria*, Rossini's *Torvaldo e Dorliska* and *Il turco in Italia*, the rest of the company remaining unchanged.

On 8 October 1821 there was a meeting of shareholders to consider a new plan for the administration of the theatre⁴¹, namely through a committee of three elected members, who would oversee an impresario. It was accepted and remained in force throughout the rest of our period and beyond. The committees over the next few years comprised:

1821-23

José Joaquim Vaz Guimarães

Manuel Joaquim de Sousa

António Joaquim da Costa Carvalho

1823-24

Francisco de Clamous Browne

António Luís d'Abreu

Jerónimo José de Faria

1824-25

António Luís d'Abreu

Florido Rodrigues Pereira Ferraz

António Joaquim Ribeiro

1825-26

António Joaquim Ribeiro

Francisco Clamouse [sic] Browne

Jerónimo José de Faria

1826-27

António Joaquim Ribeiro

Boaventura da Costa Dourado

Joaquim José Fernandes da Silva

⁴¹*P-Pm*, MS 1273, f. 252 v.

1827-32

Francisco Barroso Pereira
Custódio Teixeira Pinto Basto
António Joaquim Ribeiro⁴²

The company in 1822 remained unchanged and put on four operas by Rossini (including *Demetrio e Polibio*) as well as reviving Gnecco's opera *La prova di un'opera seria*. Firmino Pereira (1909) provides us with anecdotes relating to the production of *Il barbiere di Siviglia* and the Gnecco opera. In relation to the former, he tells us that on one occasion during Carnival 1822 the Oporto Chief of Police, Joaquim Correa de Lacerda was present. He was a rather dour fellow and when three pranksters began laughing during Antonio Desirò's perfectly good rendition of "La calunnia", he had them rounded up and thrown into jail for eight days. As for *La prova di un'opera seria*, it was received with such enthusiasm one evening that the Englishmen in the audience showered Nicolini and Boscoli with gold coins amounting to 6\$400 réis⁴³. Simões (1931) tells us that on the occasion of the birthday of Queen Carlota Joaquina, on 25 April, Rossini's *Elisabetta regina d'Inghilterra* was performed and that during one of the intervals, the company sang the 'Hino Nacional do Porto' (Oporto National Anthem) by António Joaquim Nunes, the theatre's *maestro*⁴⁴. This hymn was also sung on a number of other occasions that year⁴⁵. There is no information on productions in 1823 and the earlier part of 1824, and it seems that there were few performances at this time, owing to a lack of singers. Nevertheless, Nicolini remained as impresario and made attempts to obtain a government subsidy⁴⁶. Silva Leal (1910) tells us of a repercussion of the 'Vilafrancada' (31 May) for the theatre. On 8 June the authorities who oversaw Nicolini's management of the theatre had him replace the curtains of the royal box from ones of blue and white (the colours of the Constitutionals) to others of smooth red velvet 'to prevent bad reports'⁴⁷.

A plan for the running of the theatre was drawn up to take effect from Easter 1824 until such time as the King should decide otherwise. It specified that there should be a Portuguese company to put on *farsas* and an Italian company to put on opera. There would be four performances per week - two for each company - and galas should always include a play and an ode in the national language. The Italian company should put on a new opera [*seria*] or *burletta* [*opera buffa*] per month. Nicolini was in charge of the Italian company, Gaetano Manuel de Sousa Mesquita Barros was head

⁴²id., ff. 255v-256r.

⁴³Firmino Pereira (1909), p. 91.

⁴⁴p. 153. He gives the date of performance as 26 April, but her birthday was on 25th.

⁴⁵id., *ibid.*

⁴⁶*P-Lan*, Ministério do Reino, 992, unnumbered docts.

⁴⁷"«para evitar más intellegencias»". Silva Leal (1910), p. 335.

of the Portuguese company⁴⁸. The opera company that operated for the rest of that year and on to Lent 1825 consisted of Adelaide Varese and Adelaide Cressotti (*prime donne*), Giuseppa Secchioni, Irene Secchioni and Carolina Micaela Balbi (*seconde donne*), Giuseppe Lombardi (*primo tenore*), Francisco José Pereira (*secondo tenore*), José Soares Guerra, F. António Ferreira, Stefano Ferrero, Giacomo Calcina, Pietro Coggiola and Gioacchino Edo (basses). Cressotti and Varese, Lombardi, Calcina and Edo had all been singing in Lisbon just before. The company was at this time relatively strong and readily able to put on *opera seria*, such as Generali's *I baccanali di Roma* (for the Benefit of Lombardi on 7 June 1824), Rossini's *Bianca e Falliero* and *Mose in Egitto*, and Pacini's *Il falegname di Livonia*, as well as lighter pieces such as Coccia's *La festa della rosa*. According to Firmino Pereira (1909), Nicolini died suddenly on the night of the third performance of *Bianca e Falliero* - the *argomento* is dated 10 September - and a letter from the Marquis of Palmela dated 20 September 1824 states that Nicolini had recently died, leaving debts of over 2.000\$000 *réis*, owing to salaries, etc. Clearly, however, the company continued to perform - *argomenti* continued to be printed during the rest of the season. Cressotti and Lombardi returned to Lisbon at the end of the season. Calcina and Coggiola went on to Cadiz.

The 1825/26 theatrical year opened only on 24 June, the King's name-day, with Mercadante's *Elisa e Claudio*. The *argomento* printed for the occasion gives full details of the company:

<i>Prime donne</i>	Adelaide Varese and Giuditta Schirotti
<i>Seconde donne</i>	Giuseppa Secchioni and Irene Secchioni
<i>Primo tenore</i>	Alessandro Pedrotti
<i>Primo buffo comico</i>	Paolo Boscoli
<i>Primi bassi cantanti</i>	José Soares Guerra and Stefano Ferrero
<i>Secondi tenori</i>	Luigi Foresti and Francisco José Pereira

The company was directed by José Soares Guerra (who had probably been running the theatre since Nicolini's death) and the *maestro* was António Joaquim Nunes. During the rest of the season there were productions of five Rossini operas (including, unusually, *Sigismondo*) and one each by Generali and Morlacchi. Once again *opera seria* features prominently, to judge from the *argomenti* and libretti that were printed, but there may well have been productions of other operas for which no *argomento* or libretto was printed. Firmino Pereira (1909) tells us that at a performance of *Semiramide* in 1825 (the *argomento* dates from early 1826) the poet Nogueira Gandra was so enthusiastic about Ferrero's singing in the role of Assur, that he clapped his hands and interrupted the performance to recite a sonnet in praise of the artist. The

⁴⁸*P-Lan*. Ministério do Reino. 992. 44.

sonnet was subsequently published and given to General Saldanha, the then Governor of the Arms of Oporto, rather than to the artist⁴⁹.

Following the production of Rossini's *Mosè in Egitto* in February 1826, there are no *argomenti* or *libretti* until late November. We may assume that the theatre closed for a period of mourning following the death of the King on 10 March and that the company disbanded. When performances resumed, the impresario was Luigi Scassa⁵⁰ and the company was largely new.

The cast for the production of Meyerbeer's *Il crociato in Egitto* on 24 November 1826 consisted of Maddalena Alasson, Giuditta Schiroli, Leonora Bigati, Rosa Tosini, Luigi Rigola, Luigi Magnani and Guglielmo Guglielmi. Of these only Giuditta Schiroli was retained from the old company. Luigi Rigola had been singing in Turin in the Autumn season of 1825 and sang *Il crociato* at Genoa during Carnival 1826, evidently on his way to Portugal. Little or nothing is known of the other singers, though they appear to have come directly from Italy. Although in general the company is likely to have been weaker than the previous one, *Il crociato* evidently went down well in Oporto⁵¹. For Brambilla's *opera buffa* entitled *L'apparenza inganna o sia Il portantino*, given on 15 December 1826, the singers also included Chiara Asti, Luigi Frontini and Gaetano Marconi. Of these it has only been possible to trace Chiara Asti's earlier movements - she had been *prima donna* in a number of theatres during the previous twenty years and had sung in lesser roles at La Scala, Milan, in 1803 and 1815.

In 1827 there were performances of Rossini's *Il barbiere di Siviglia*, *Semiramide* and *La donna del lago*, Pacini's *La sposa fedele* and Valentini's *Ines de Castro*. An ode with words by Stefano Ferrero and set to music by a certain Smolzi was performed on 22 January (the birthday of Princess Maria Leopoldina Josefa Carolina). Valentini's opera, to words by Alberto Scribani, after Gomes' tragedy of the same name, was also specially written for the theatre, for the Benefit of the impresario Scassa. The event was reported by the new Milanese periodical *I Teatri*, which tells us:

Oporto in Portugal. *Ines de Castro* has been performed there with great success by the young maestro from Lucca Carlo Valentini, who is already known to us through the lovely music of *I falsi galantuomini*.⁵²

⁴⁹Firmino Pereira (1909), p. 91.

⁵⁰id. *ibid.* Scassa's name is misspelt as 'Scossa'.

⁵¹AMZ, XXIX, 22 col. 378, 30 May 1827; Brito & Cranmer (1989), p. 63.

⁵²"Porto in Portogallo. Se eseguisce quivi con molto buon successo la *Ines de Castro*, spartito del giovane maestro Carlo Valentini di Lucca, già autore fra noi della gradita musica de' *Falsi Galantuomini*." *I Teatri*, I, 26 (1827), cited in Carvalhaes (1908), pp. 45-46. This is almost certainly

Exceptionally, we have an eyewitness of the theatre in 1827 from Rev. William Morgan Kinsey, who attended a performance of *Il barbiere di Siviglia*:

Representations of the best Portuguese and Italian pieces are given alternately here.

Female performers resumed, it may be remarked, their appearance on the stage of this theatre long before the royal concession of the same favour was obtained for them in Lisbon. It is a fine handsome building, with four tiers of boxes, the royal box occupying, as at Lisbon, the centre of the house. A few evenings since we attended the representation of *Il Barbiere di Seviglia* [sic]; but it was wretchedly performed and the prima donna was a fat, vulgar woman of forty, without any pretensions to voice. In fact, this favourite opera was completely burlesqued, and as the Portuguese here never dress for dramatic performances, the assemblage of people had a slovenly appearance. There were twenty-five instrumental performers in the orchestra, and upon the whole the music was tolerably good; and in the ballet, which was remarkable in no other respect, eight horses were introduced, whose evolutions we found sufficiently amusing.

What would the fashionables of our own metropolis say to the taste of the day at Porto, where gentlemens' carriages are frequently dragged up the steep and almost precipitous streets by a yoke of oxen to the opera house! The custom is said to have originated in necessity when the French laid military requisition upon all the fidalgos' and wealthy persons' horses, and thus reduced them to the employment of this [practice]⁵³.

Apart from its intrinsic interest and entertainment value, this account is important in two respects. Firstly, it reaffirms the position of the two companies - on an equal footing, with performances alternating. Secondly, it provides clear evidence that operas were performed for which we have neither libretto nor *argomento* (and which we may assume were never published). The fat *prima donna* is likely to have been Maddalena Alasson.

The company remained, for the most part, the same in 1827 as in the previous year but there were two minor additions in F. Curti and A. de Mirò (?the composer António Luis Mirò), and Paolina Sicard sang the role of Malcolme Groeme in Rossini's *La donna del lago*. According to Firmino Pereira (1909), Paolina Sicard had been specially contracted to give five performances at the T. de São João, at a cost of 500\$000 *reis* and a Benefit free of expenses. The libretto of *La donna del lago*, he

the source of the news item in *AMZ*, XXIX, 52, col. 887, 26 December 1827; Brito & Cranmer (1989), p. 64.

⁵³Kinsey (1829), pp. 207-08.

tells us, was printed at the expense of the Countess of Vila Flor, wife of the Governor of the Arms of Oporto. The venture with Sicard appears to have bankrupted the impresario and nobody got paid⁵⁴.

It seems probable that *La donna del lago*, which the libretto indicates was performed during October, was the last opera production at the Teatro de São João until after the Liberal War. Magnani appeared in Madrid later in 1827, Schiroli and Rigola in Lisbon in 1828, Ferrero in Cadiz in 1829. As for the others, nothing further is known.

⁵⁴Firmino Pereira (1909), p. 91. He gives the date of the Sicard catastrophe as 1826 but all the evidence points to 1827. The libretto for *La donna del lago* (October 1827) is the only one in which Sicard's name appears.

Chapter 6 - Opera in other Lisbon theatres

Opera productions in private theatres and homes

The extent to which opera was performed in private homes and 'theatres' (i.e. temporary stages) during the period covered by this work is very unclear. The very fact that such performances were by definition 'private' tends to preclude there being records of them. That said, we do possess information about the more or less regular productions at the Teatro das Laranjeiras, the theatre built by the 2nd Baron of Quintela in the 1820s, and a very small number of performances in private homes.

During the period between the termination of opera at the royal theatres and the Teatro da Rua dos Condes in 1792, on the one hand, and the opening of the Teatro de São Carlos in the middle of the following year, on the other, there are no known performances of Italian opera as such. The birth of Maria Teresa, Princess of the Beiras, to Princess Carlota Joaquina, wife of the *de facto* Prince Regent, however, resulted in two semi-operatic occasional works being put on elsewhere: an oratorio entitled *La preghiera esaudita*, which was performed at Pina Manique's instigation, at the Casa Pia, St. George's Castle, Lisbon, on 14 May 1793, and a *dramma per musica* with the title *Il natale augusto* performed three days later at the house of Anselmo José da Cruz Sobral, one of the Lisbon capitalists who founded the Teatro de São Carlos¹. The former was written by Giovanni Cavi, at that time *maestro di cappella* at the Church of St. Anthony of the Portuguese, in Rome, to words by Giovanni Gerardo Rossi, director of the Portuguese Academy of Fine Arts also in Rome. *Il natale augusto* was composed by António Leal Moreira to a text by Gaetano Martinelli, respectively *maestro di cappella* and poet to the Portuguese court. Both of these works included the celebrated Luisa Todi among the singers and the performances are well documented in the exhaustive chapter devoted to her in Moreau, Vol. I (1981)².

Much the most important promoter of private opera during our period was Joaquim Pedro, 2nd Baron of Quintela. Son of the first Baron, he inherited his father's title and massive fortune in 1817, still at the youthful age of sixteen. As we have already seen, in his twenties he twice oversaw the management at the Teatro de São Carlos (in 1823 and from late November 1824 to April 1827). His absolute passion for music,

¹The house was in the Largo do Calhariz (the present-day Caixa de Depósitos building at the bottom of Rua da Rosa). See also Valdemar (1993), which includes a portrait of Anselmo José da Cruz Cabral on p. 129.

²See in particular pp. 150-57. These two occasional works have been omitted from Appendix I (Chronology) as pre-dating the opening of the T. de S. Carlos, the starting point for this study. The interested reader should consult Moreau.

combined with his buoyant financial position, was to make him unquestionably the most important patron of music and musicians, both professional and amateur, in Lisbon.

The first attempt he made to promote opera was a production of Rossini's *La Cenerentola*, probably in late 1821, which he put on at his palace at Laranjeiras, then a few miles from Lisbon, now where the Lisbon zoo is situated, at Sete Rios. Until recently this production was effectively unknown³, but there is a substantial account of it in the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*. From here we learn that the young Baron played the minor role of Alidoro and that alongside him sang a number of amateur singers, who were friends of his: Francisca Romana Martins, the best Portuguese mezzo-soprano of that time, as Cenerentola, Marcelino José Coelho as Don Magnifico, Madame Caffri and Demoiselle Arcanza as the 'ugly sisters'. Unfortunately, the report does not tell us who sang Don Ramiro or Dandini. The chorus consisted of eight amateur singers including Guilherme de Roure, the Swede Leonard Fries and Caetano da Costa Martins, brother of the *prima donna*. The singers were rehearsed by the singer Paolo Rosich together with Francisco de Paula da Silva Freitas on the harpsichord - both had been borrowed from the T. de São Carlos. The *AMZ* correspondent was of the opinion that, apart from minor weaknesses in the recitative, the standard of performance was on a par with the T. de São Carlos⁴

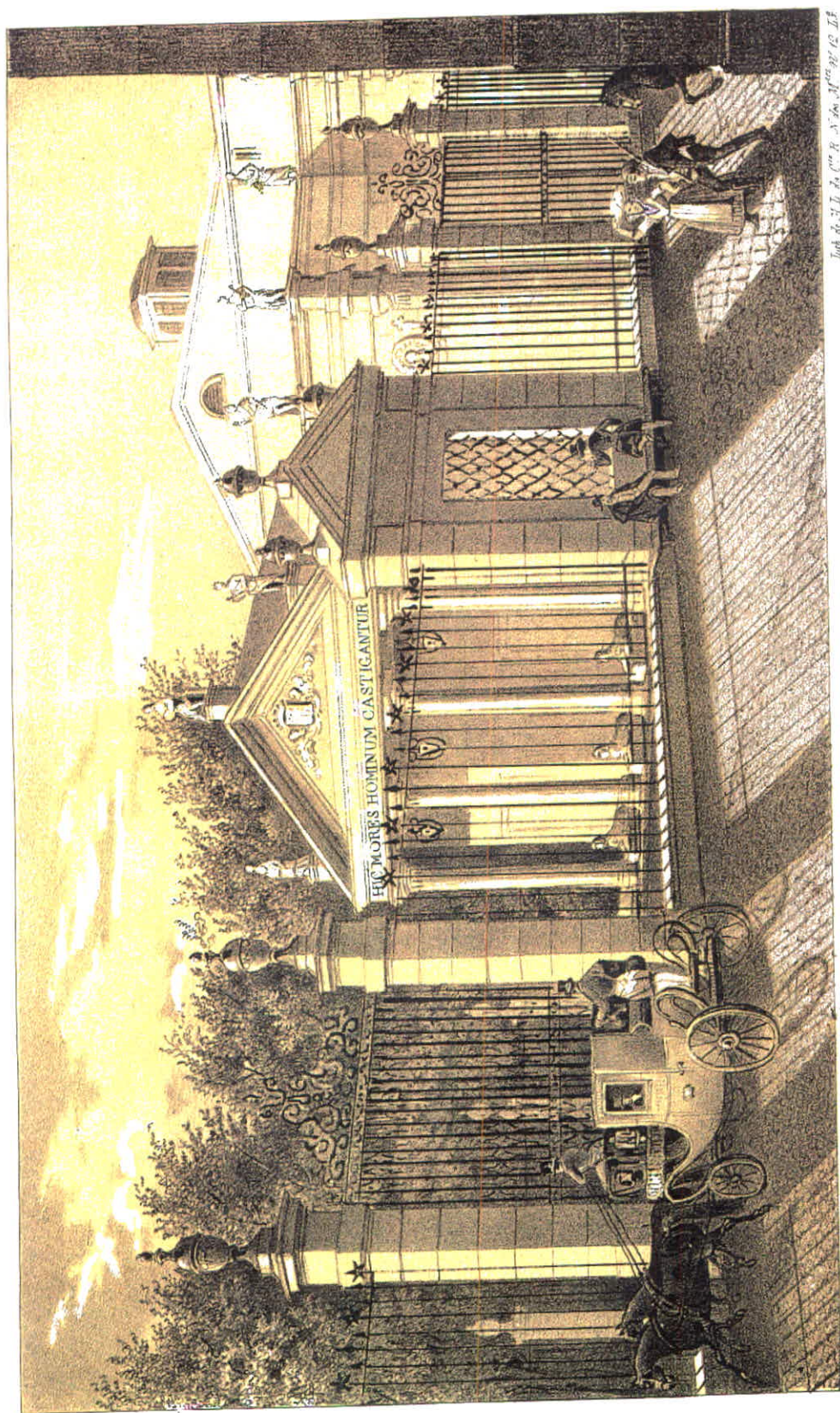
The same report tells us that already at this time the Baron was having a theatre built of stone, of rather substantial proportions and modelled on the T. de São Carlos. In another report, dated November 1824, the *AMZ* reports:

The private theatre of the Baron of Quintela at Laranjeiras (near Lisbon) is already finished. It is going to be illuminated by gas. Since gas is something new here, the owner had the lamps and other equipment brought from London together with personnel to instal them. It is unlikely that the theatre will be inaugurated during the rest of this year: it is very elegant, solidly built and really quite large for a private theatre⁵.

³The present author first drew public attention to it in the programme notes for the 1985 São Carlos production of *La Cenerentola*. Vieira (1900) also makes a passing reference to this production (though not to the *AMZ* report) in his entry for Francisca Romana Martins.

⁴*AMZ*. XXV. 1, col. 5. 1 January 1823; Brito & Cranmer (1989), p. 55.

⁵"Das Privattheater des Barons Quintella in Laranjeiras (nahe bey Lissabon) ist bereits vollendet. Es soll durch Gas erleuchtet weren. Da die Gasbeleuchtung hier noch etwas Neues ist, so liess der Eigenthümer den Apparat und einige Personen, die zu dessen Einrichtung beschäftigt sind, aus England kommen. Im Laufe dieses jahres dürfte es schwerlich sur ersten Vorstellung kommen: das Theater ist sehr zierlich, massiv gebaut und für ein Privattheater von ziemlicher Grösse." *AMZ*, XXVII. 2. col. 31. 12 January 1825; Brito & Cranmer (1989), p. 62.



Legrand del. Lith. R. N. No. 12. 1830

Legrand lith.

Theatro das Laranjeiras, proximo de Lisboa

Plate 12 Lithograph of the Teatro das Laranjeiras, near Lisbon, by Legrand, c. 1830 (author's collection)

The theatre was inaugurated on 14 March 1825 with Mercadante's comic opera *Il castello dei spiriti*. The cast included many of those that had sung in *La Cenerentola*, whether as principals or in the chorus.

Generali's opera *Chiara di Rosemberg* was performed on 6 December that year, evidently a belated celebration for the Baroness, whose birthday was three days before - there were comparable operatic birthday presents the next two years too⁶. In 1826 there were performances of Rossini's *L'occasione fa il ladro* (6 February) and Cordella's *Gli avventurieri* (4 December), in 1827 Mercadante's *La testa di bronzo* (3 December) and in 1828 Coccia's *Arrighetto* (7 February). The singers were drawn mostly from the same circle of family and friends, which, however, came to include Nicolau Klingelhofer, another more modest patron of music, Carolina O'Neill (née Joana Carolina de Brito e Cunha), Inácio Hirsch and Costanza Banti Lodi, who had sung at the T. de São Carlos some twenty years earlier.

Mercadante's *La testa di bronzo* was written specially for the Baron of Quintela and his troupe during the composer's stay in Lisbon. *The Harmonicon* described the opera in the following terms:

A new opera, called *La Testa di Bronzo, ossia, La Campanna solitario* [sic], composed by Mercadante, was performed on the 3rd and 10th ult. at the private theatre of the Baron Quintella at Laranjeiras, in the vicinity of this city, by a troop of amateurs, at which the composer presided. Everybody of distinction in this city attended; the foreign Ambassadors, Prince Schwarzenberg, British Officers, &c. Madame Constanza Lodi was *prima donna* and the Baron Quintella *buffo*. It is the fashion to applaud the music of this piece highly, but the truth is that it is like the rest of Mercadante's productions, full of weak imitations, and not possessing one original idea⁷.

Among the 'British officers' present was a certain John Percival, who in the jottings he wrote in the libretto he brought with him back to England described the work as a 'pretty little opera'⁸. The vocal score was published at Quintela's expense in Paris.⁹

The Baron of Quintela was one of the staunchest supporters of the Liberal cause and with the rise of Prince Miguel and the Absolutists was forced to flee to England in

⁶It may well be that the earlier production of *La Cenerentola* had the same purpose in 1821.

⁷*The Harmonicon*, 1828, pp. 45-46. Almost identical is the report given the same year, p. 171.

⁸"This pretty little opera was played in the amateur theatre of the Quinta or Villa of the Baron de Quintella [by] ladies & gentlemen of rank when the Guards were in Lisbon in 1827." - written on what was originally the inside of the back cover, reversed in binding. *GB-Lbl* (11714.a.27).

⁹Though undated, it seems to have been published in 1828. There is a copy at *GB-Lbl* (Music E123B).

June 1828. At the end of the War, owing to the massive financial assistance he had given Prince Pedro when the Liberal fortunes were at their lowest ebb, he was made 1st Count of Farrobo. His theatre reopened in October 1833 with a revival of *La testa di bronzo* and for the next twenty years he remained at the centre of musical happenings¹⁰.

Apart from the performances of opera through the patronage of the Baron of Quintela, we have references to separate private productions of two operas by Johann Simon Mayr. The *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* makes a fleeting reference to a performance of *Il fanatico per la musica* at the house of 'D[om] Gastão' in the Winter of 1820/21:

Last winter an aristocratic society produced S. Mayr's opera *Il fanatico per la musica* at D. Gastão's private theatre, which they did well and rather better than might have been expected. There were no professional musicians and only a few amateurs of the bourgeoisie took part¹¹.

Beyond the fact that D. Gastão refers to the poet and dramatist, D. Gastão Fausto da Câmara Coutinho, it has been impossible to establish anything further.

By contrast, we have an exceptionally detailed account of a performance of Mayr's *L'amor conjugale*, given at the house of the Dowager 2nd Countess of Anadia in April 1822 and which is described in Marianne Baillie's letter dated 22nd of that month, published in *Lisbon in the years 1821, 1822 and 1823*. In large part it speaks for itself:

Condessa d'Anadia has lately given two representations of a very pretty opera, at her own house, called "Amor Conjugal," the music by Mayer, and the performers consisting exclusively of her three daughters and their female domestics. Nothing could be better arranged; the little theatre, scenery, dresses, lighting, all were complete. The male characters were surprisingly well sustained by the ladies, who were so effectively disguised that it was impossible to recognise their sex. The Condessinha, (i.e. young, or rather *little* Countess, literally translated) acted two parts - a country girl, and a Polish prince. In the first, she appeared to the highest advantage in the costume of a Hungarian peasant; the depth of shade which the fur bonnet cast over her handsome marked brows and dark Spanish eyes, gave her a picturesque effect that was very striking. What an astonishing alteration does an animated expression of

¹⁰See Noronha (1945) for general information about the Baron of Quintela/Count of Farrobo, and Moreau, Vol. I (1981), for the operatic side, including other singers in his circle.

¹¹"Vorigen Winter suwrde von einer Gesellschaft Adelicher in einem Haus-Theater des D. Gastão die Oper *il Fanatico per la Musica*, von S. Mayer, gut und besser, als erwartet werden konnte, gegeben. Kein Musiker von Profession und nur wenige Liebhaber aus dem Bürgerstand nahmen Antheil." *JMZ*, XXIII, 35, col. 603, 29 August 1821; Brito & Cranmer (1989), p. 60.

countenance make in the same set of features! I could scarcely believe as I gazed upon the delightful smile, and intelligent sparkling eye of the Condessinha this evening that she was the quiet unimpassioned personage which I had been so long accustomed to see in real life. The company was numerous and consisted of the elite of Lisbon of all parties ... But the best performer yet remains to be described: the youngest daughter of the Condeça, Donna Nina, upon whom the arduous distinction of prima donna was conferred. She is extremely young, has not a regularly beautiful face nor a perfect voice; and yet these natural deficiencies vanished completely before the magic power of genius. Her grace and feeling were only equalled by her unaffected modesty. The second sister, Donna Pepina, whom I formerly depicted to you as a blooming creature of seventeen, with a profusion of fair hair, and a complexion of lilies and roses, *quite a l'Anglaise*, acted the part of a rough Hungarian boor, father to Nina, and performed most naturally, strange as it may seem. You may remember my saying that the hair of Nina was the most luxuriant I ever saw; in the course of the piece she uncoiled its superb length, and I assure you, it electrified the audience; being done suddenly and in the most graceful manner reminding one of Altisidora in Don Quixote, whose ringlets were said to

"Brush the ground."

The Condessinha's favourite maid, Ines, deserves not to be forgotten; she can neither read nor write in her own language and understands not a word of the Italian; and yet she played the part of a tyrant prince, and sang her recitative, aria and quartetto, in perfect tune and time, assisted only by her naturally good voice and strong memory¹².

From what we are told here, then, the characters were played as follows:

Zeliska	Dona Nina
Floreska	The Condessinha
Ardelao	NN
Peters	Dona Pepina
Amorveno	The Condessinha
Moroski	Ines

A number of significant points do seem to arise from this account. Firstly, an enormous amount of adaptation must have been needed (most obviously the fact that all parts were sung by women). Secondly, while the Countess of Anadia's household put on the opera and hosted it, there were a good many guests, including Marianne Baillie. How partisan the report may be is difficult to assess. The Countess was the one good Portuguese friend Marianne Baillie made during her stay - she generally had

¹²Baillie (1824), Vol. II, pp. 87-90. There seems to be some confusion regarding the relationship between the members of the cast, for the Dowager Condessa, to whom she must have been referring as *the* Condessa, had only one daughter, Maria Luisa. The latter (our 'Condessinha') married her uncle, Manuel Pais de Sá do Amaral de Almeida e Vasconcelos Quifel Barbarino, who became thereby 3rd Count of Anadia in 1821.

a poor view of the Portuguese and Portugal - but her criticisms of other musical events are by and large borne out by other sources.

Opera in Portuguese in other public theatres

Three other public theatres functioned in Lisbon during our period - the Teatro da Rua dos Condes and the Teatro do Salitre throughout, and the Teatro do Bairro Alto in the 1820s. All three maintained an orchestra of sorts and singers - principally Portuguese actor-singers but in some instances Italians who also sang at one time or another at the São Carlos or São João.

Though there were ballets, tragedies and other forms of spectacle with or without music, the principal diet at these theatres consisted of two- or three-act *comédias* and one-act *farsas* or *entremeses*. These would normally include between one and half-a-dozen sung items - solo songs or duets, perhaps an ensemble or chorus - usually not involving all the players, the remainder being purely actors. This repertoire, to which we have referred before in connection with both the São Carlos (in the early years and especially during the doldrums following the 1st Napoleonic invasion) and the São João (throughout the period), is generally referred to as the '*teatro de cordel*', so-called because the printed libretti were sold by blind pedlars who tied them on strings so that they could not be stolen. Sadly, the perceived lack of literary merit of these *comédias*, *farsas* and *entremeses* has led to their being in large part ignored as a literary and theatrical phenomenon. Such interest in them as there is has come rather from other related fields - the involvement of Africans in theatre, in Tinhorão's fascinating study *Os Negros em Portugal*, theatrical censorship, in Carreira's *O Teatro e a Censura em Portugal na Segunda metade do Século XVIII*, and the musical aspect, to which we owe the only modern performance of a work from this repertoire¹³. It is probably musicologists, seeing in these comic works the nearest indigenous Portuguese form of musical theatre to *zarzuela*, *opéra comique*, operetta, ballad opera and *Singspiel*, who are most likely to attempt a systematic study of their many facets.

Although the libretti of the comic works in the *teatro de cordel* do not name either the composer of the music or the singers involved, we gain a partial idea from other sources - occasionally from announcements in the *Gazeta de Lisboa* and, between

¹³The anonymous *farsa* entitled *O Gato por Lebre*, with music by António José do Rego, staged at the Museu da Electricidade, Central Tejo, Lisbon, in September 1994, in an edition prepared by the present author under the auspices of Lisbon European Cultural Capital 1994.

1804 and 1814, libretti for a number of odes and cantatas¹⁴. Among the composers referred to in earlier chapters these announcements and libretti make mention of António José do Rego, João José Baldi and João Evangelista Pereira da Costa. Among the Italian singers we find Francesco Nicolini, Filippo Senesi, Paolo Boscoli, Antonio Chiaveri, Giuseppa Veluti and Giuseppa Secchioni. The language in which they sang at these theatres, however, was always Portuguese.

The prestige of the Teatro de São Carlos since its very inception, to the detriment of all other Portuguese theatres where opera was staged, including the Teatro de São João, has led to the mistaken belief that other Lisbon theatres confined themselves almost exclusively to the repertoires just described. In actual fact, there is increasing evidence that opera in Portuguese formed a regular part of the entertainment available in Lisbon, at least from the mid 1780s till the Napoleonic invasions.

Between 1786 and 1792 Marcos Portugal was *maestro* of the T. do Salitre and wrote nine operas in Portuguese for performance at the theatre¹⁵. They were very popular and there can be no doubt that some, at least, continued to be performed at the Salitre and/or Rua dos Condes theatres after Portugal's departure for Italy in 1792.

According to Vieira (1900), quoting the composer's own catalogue, two of Portugal's Italian operas were staged in Portuguese translation at the T. da Rua dos Condes in 1794: *O Basculho da Chaminé* (an adaptation of the Italian *opera buffa* entitled *Il barone spazzacamino*) and *Rinaldo d'Aste, ou o Morto Vivo* (a version of the Italian *farsa* of the same name). In fact a libretto survives for the latter dated Carnival 1795 and the opera may therefore have been performed first at the end of December 1794. The cast consisted of:

Vitorino José Leite	Clelieta
António Manuel Cardoso	Rinaldo
Francisco Manuel Madeira	Fiorina
José dos Santos	Berto
Diogo da Silva	D. Onório

These are the same singers as had appeared in the earlier Salitre operas. It is worth recalling also that Vitorino José Leite and António Manuel Cardoso, together with Anacleto de Sousa, acted in a birthday ode for the Queen on 17 December 1797 at the T. de São Carlos. It was their Benefit evening and as well as this ode, *A Estância do*

¹⁴Because of the information they give about composers and singers of operas, this small group of occasional works has been included in Appendix I (Chronology).

¹⁵See Brito (1989), pp. 107-08 and the present author's Marcos Portugal article in *NGO*. How far these 'operas' were really operas rather than *comédias/farsas* with music has yet to be studied.

Fado, by the Arcadian poet Bocage, Tritto's opera *Le trame spiritose* was performed. António Manuel Cardoso also took part in Grétry's *Zemira ed Azor* at the T. de São Carlos that year and was evidently a central figure in Portuguese theatre at this time.

Vieira (1900) also indicates, again following the composer's catalogue, that a Portuguese *farsa* and two originally Italian operas by Marcos Portugal were produced at the T. da Rua dos Condes in 1802, namely *A Casa de Campo*, *A Máscara* (a Portuguese version of *La maschera fortunata*) and *O Sapateiro* (a Portuguese version of the very popular opera *Le donne cambiate*).

It seems, however, that the above evidence for Portuguese translations of Italian operas by Marcos Portugal is just the tip of a rather larger iceberg. At the Paço Ducal in Vila Viçosa exists a small but highly significant manuscript collection of theatre music (mostly parts rather than full scores) from the T. da Rua dos Condes and/or T. do Salitre - it is not clear which if not both. Although one is of an opera by Marcos Portugal, the other three are by Italians and together they form a coherent corpus distinct from the operas already mentioned. The operas in question are Paisiello's *O Barbeiro de Sevilha* (*Il barbiere di Siviglia*) and *O Estrambo em Berlim*¹⁶ (*Lo strambo in Berlina* [= *La locanda*]), Gazzaniga's *O Desertor Francês* (*Il disertor francese*)¹⁷ and Portugal's *As Damas Trocadas* (*Le donne cambiate*). It is noticeable that all of these operas were comic works - easily digestible and relatively cheap to stage - and that all were also performed at the S. Carlos in the last years of the eighteenth century or the beginning of the nineteenth, which suggests that these operas may have been among 'hits' made available to a wider audience through translation and staging at more downmarket theatres.

Although only *O Desertor Francês* gives a date (1800), the others can be dated to around the same period since some of the vocal parts name the singers who used them. In the case of *O Estrambo em Berlim* we can work out that the cast was made up of:

Riccardo	Manuel Ruiz e Silva
Guerrina	Joaquina Lapinha
Rosaura	Sra. Francisca
Arsénio	Sr. Luís Inácio
Valério	Sr. Gerardo ¹⁸

¹⁶Some of the parts among this material give the title as *O Estrambo em Berlim*, others as *O Fanatico em Berlim*.

¹⁷Alegria (1989) attributes this material to Moreira, but the composer is nowhere actually named. My attribution to Gazzaniga is fully explained in Chapter 8.

¹⁸The name 'Sr. Joze Ignacio' has been crossed out for the part of Arsenio and replaced by 'Sr. Luiz Ignacio'. The latter's name in turn was originally down for Valerio but has been crossed out and replaced by 'Sr. Gerardo'.

As for *O Barbeiro de Sevilha*, Rosinha was sung by Joaquina Lapinha, Fígaro by João dos Reis Pereira and there is mention of a performance for the Benefit of Geraldo Inácio Pereira (probably the Sr. Gerardo who sang Valério in *O Estrambo em Berlim*). Lapinha also sang the Condessa in *As Damas Trocadas*. Given the prohibition of women on Lisbon stages until 1799 and the notion that these Portuguese translations of Italian operas were probably 'latest hits' from the São Carlos, the Paisiello works were almost certainly also staged in about 1800, *As Damas Trocadas* in about 1805.

Part 2

The spread of the repertoire

Introduction

In the six chapters of Part 1 we examined the operatic repertoire of Portuguese theatres during the period bounded by the opening of the Teatro de São Carlos, Lisbon, the principal theatre in question, in 1793, and the end of 1828, when political turmoil forced the same theatre to close. This examination sought to establish what the repertoire consisted of and the historical contexts within which it fitted, both the narrower contexts of the theatres themselves and, where relevant, the broader political and economic context of Portugal as a nation. In Part 2 we shall focus on how this repertoire reached and went on from Portugal.

This is, however, a far from simple matter. Contemporary documentary evidence on the subject is extremely sparse. Indeed, it has only been possible to find two brief explicit sources, though these do at least provide a starting point, to be checked and confirmed or refuted.

Firstly, there is a passing reference in a report from Milan published in the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* of 21 December 1814:

At present there are agents around here from Spain, Portugal and England who are engaging dancers, singers, set designers and composers for their respective countries. They are also buying up a lot of opera scores. The local music dealers, Artaria and Ricordi, cannot find enough copyists to make multiple copies of the same score quickly enough¹.

This information is, of course, extremely valuable as far as it goes. It nevertheless leaves many questions unanswered. In the first place, it is an isolated reference from the middle of our period. What about the preceding twenty odd years and the years that followed? Secondly, the fact that some scores travelled from Milan to Lisbon does not exclude transmission from other Italian cities, from elsewhere outside Italy, or by other means than simply through contacts with agents and music dealers. Nor, at the end of the day, do these references prove that scores, once acquired, were actually used for performance in Portugal, though we may reasonably suppose that some, at least, were.

¹ "Gegenwartig befinden sich hier zu Lande Mäkler aus Spanien, Portugal, England, welche für ihre respectiven Länder Tänzer, Sänger, Theatermaler, Compositeure engagiren: sie kaufen auch viele Opern-Partituren auf. Die hiesigen Musikalienhändler, Artaria und Ricordi, finden nicht Schreiber genug, um dergleichen Partituren schnell mehrmals copiren zu lassen." *AMZ* XVI, 51, 21 Dec. 1814, col. 865.

The other relevant source concerns the obtaining of scores from Lisbon for use at Madrid's Teatro de los Caños del Peral, mentioned in two documents from 1796 in the Barbieri collection at Madrid's Biblioteca Nacional. The first of these, dated 18 May², is a receipt signed by Antonio Marchesi for scores he had purchased from Francesco Antonio Lodi, impresario of the São Carlos, for the use of the Madrid theatre. It mentions no titles, but given that, according to the receipt, they were copies made specifically at Lisbon for the Madrid theatre, rather than copies of operas that Marchesi himself possessed, and since Marchesi travelled from Lisbon to Madrid during Lent 1795, the only obvious candidate is Nasolini's *Eugenia*, performed in Lisbon on 17 December 1794 and in Madrid on 9 December 1795. Marchesi sang the role of Drink in both productions. Actual payment for the scores, was, as we can see, delayed for months (from Lent 1795 to May 1796!), finally being made only days before Marchesi returned to Lisbon, for he sang in Bianchi's *La villanella rapita*, one (presumably the last) of three operas performed at the São Carlos in Spring 1796.

The second document is a receipt dated 31 August, signed by Gaetano Neri for copies he had brought to Madrid of Dalayrac's *Raollo signore di Crequi* and Gazzaniga's *Il disertor francese*, likewise made at the São Carlos for use at the Caños del Peral.³ Again we are dealing with scores that the singer merely carried from one theatre to another, not ones that he actually possessed. Neri sang the role of the Colonello in *Il disertor francese* at Lisbon in Spring 1796 and again at Madrid in Autumn that year⁴. Although he probably took part in *Raollo signore di Crequi* at the São Carlos on 17 December 1795, there is no evidence for a production in Madrid.

As with the *AMZ* report, these documents provide no more than isolated references, early in our period, and cannot be regarded as giving us more than a momentary glance at transmission processes involving just one of the Portuguese theatres involved in this study. Beyond these references, however, we have absolutely no documentary evidence for the acquisition of or subsequent distribution of scores. We must, therefore, seek some other means to determine and understand the processes involved.

²*E-Mn*, Barbieri collection, MSS 13998³, document 16. I am indebted to Michael Robinson of the University of Wales, Cardiff, for making the information contained in the receipt available to me. Marchesi received 2920 *reales de vellón*. Given what Gaetano Neri received for purchasing two operas (see note 3, below), we must suppose that Marchesi brought as many as three or four other operas too, which it has not been possible to identify.

³*E-Mn*, Barbieri collection, MSS 13998⁶, document 25. Information again supplied by Prof. Michael Robinson. Neri was paid 1187 *reales de vellón*.

⁴Carmena y Millan (1917) in the chronology (p. 37) cites the title of the opera in the original shorter form *Il disertor*.

Throughout our period an Italian opera was not thought of by the composer (or anyone else) as a unified, sacrosanct entity. He would do what he could to make it musically coherent, to give it shape, but his creation was, at the end of the day, a series of sections (each section being most typically a recitative followed by an aria or duet) for a particular set of singers in a particular set of circumstances.

The composer would arrive at the theatre for which he had been commissioned to write perhaps a month before the opera would receive its premiere. He may or may not have seen in advance part or all of the text or 'libretto' he was to set. Time was nearly always short, often owing to setbacks of one kind or another - the poet being late in handing over his libretto, a leading singer failing to appear by the contracted date or falling ill or proving to be much weaker than the impresario had been led to believe. The composer was expected to accommodate all of these and other eventualities, though in desperation (which was common enough) he might need the help of some local composer to write some or all of the recitatives and maybe one or two arias for minor characters⁵.

If the premiere of an opera went well enough, it would normally be performed again elsewhere. The circumstances would almost certainly be different. One or other singer might remain as before, especially if the opera had been written specially with him or her in mind and he or she had taken either the original score or a copy away. It was, however, assumed that a new production would lead to alterations - cuts, additions and substitutions. The *maestro* of the new theatre would oversee these changes and might compose one or more new numbers for insertion (an addition or substitution). Equally likely, if not more so, singers would propose the introduction of 'trunk arias' (*arie di baule*) - that is to say arias they carried with them from theatre to theatre in their baggage. Sometimes these would have been composed originally for the individual(s) concerned, at other times they might merely be arias that had gone down particularly well on previous occasions, to the extent that the singer thought it worth having a copy made for future use. As both *opera seria* and *opera buffa* were replete with stock situations it was easy enough to insert 'foreign' material from comparable situations in other operas. And anyway the plot could always be changed a bit to accommodate a favourite aria. If necessary, as it often was, the local theatre's poet and *maestro* would then alter the surrounding recitative (usually just the preceding section) to smooth the transition to the inserted material.

⁵Mozart's *La clemenza di Tito* (the recitatives were not his) and Rossini's *La Cenerentola* (the recitatives, an aria and a chorus were by the Roman composer Luca Agolini) are two well-known examples among the repertoire of the present study.

If an opera continued to spread, the same process of alteration would continue. Some introduced material might persist and lead to a tradition, or 'family', of related productions. Very often several traditions evolved from the same original version of an opera. Within each tradition, further productions would lead to further alterations which might in turn be repeated and become 'systematic variants', or might not and thus remain 'idiosyncratic'. Prior to Rossini, the first composer to establish a permanent place in the repertoire, popular operas would continue to be produced for some twenty to twenty-five years, gradually evolving, with less and less of the original material, substitutions and additions at this later stage often being from more recent operas to reflect changes in audience taste. Sometimes traditions of inserted material would become mixed, when more than one score coming from different families were available and were combined - a process, if you like, of 'cross-fertilisation'.

It is possible to follow this evolutionary process by comparing the libretti that were printed for the great majority of productions in Italy and, though not always as regularly, in other cities outside Italy where Italian opera was performed. These libretti performed the function of a present-day programme, except that, since the text was printed in full, the audience could follow the opera throughout the performance - the auditorium at that time was not dimmed as nowadays. At Lisbon and, on the rare occasions they were printed, at Oporto too, the libretti were almost always bilingual, with the Italian text on the left-hand pages, the Portuguese translation on the right. At London they were printed in Italian and English.

Looking at these libretti now, as a regular primary source, they are absolutely invaluable, but like any other source they must be treated critically. There are clear cases, for example, of misprints affecting the name of the composer, the librettist or a singer. In some cases the date printed can be shown from other sources to be incorrect⁶. Fortunately, it is equally clear that misprints of this kind occur in only a tiny percentage of all libretti.

There are, however, other 'inaccuracies' that are less blatant than actual printing errors. In particular, the composer named was not only not necessarily responsible for everything at the premiere, but the subsequent additions and substitutions might or might not be his work. Yet the authorship of these extraneous pieces was only rarely indicated. Sometimes an opera would be ascribed to 'varii autori' or 'diversi autori', meaning that either the opera had strayed so far from the original that it could no

⁶I have dealt with misprint problems in the present study on an *ad hoc* basis in the relevant place. Some of the principal ones are considered more systematically in Cranmer (1993), q.v.

longer realistically be considered the work of a single composer, or more often that it was a 'pastiche', that is to say a motley assemblage of bits from this opera and that. Though frustrating to us now, since we would often dearly love to know the origin of these 'bits', it was at least more honest than what was all too often the case, that a pastiche would be attributed to a single composer who was actually responsible for no more than an aria or two.

Another point to recognise is that there is no absolute guarantee that the version printed in a libretto is what was actually sung. For one thing, many libretti contain sections that were marked with inverted commas in the margin (that is '*virgolati*'), to indicate that they would be cut in performance⁷. They were printed so that readers could follow the plot but marked so that they could follow the actual singing in performance. Another feature we sometimes find in the libretti themselves is information about last-minute alterations, indicated by printing the changes at the end. Equally, we may be sure that changes, especially cuts, were also made too late for the libretto to include them. The text represents, therefore, not necessarily what was performed but what was performable⁸.

Yet another caution: libretti only print the words of an opera, not the music. There is no intrinsic reason, just because the libretto text of one production of a given opera is identical to that of another production of the same opera, why the music must also have been identical. In one case (Mercadante's *La testa di bronzo*), we can show that the composer reset some of the same words after the original production. Furthermore, the practice of 'contrafaction' was by no means unknown in opera at this period - sometimes music was borrowed from one opera and reset to new words that followed the same conventional rhythm and rhyme scheme. Pastiche were particularly liable to include *contrafacta*.

In spite of all these provisos, the overwhelming evidence, when it is possible to compare a libretto edition with a score used for the same production, is that libretti correlate closely with the corresponding scores and may thus be regarded as normally reflecting what was actually performed. They constitute a sufficiently reliable source for us to take them as read unless we have clear evidence to the contrary.

⁷Note, however, that the same method was used for other functions at the S. Carlos, most often to differentiate arias, duets, choruses and ensembles from recitative. Sometimes there was a note in the libretto explaining that the *virgolati* sections indicated new words written by the theatre's poet and/or new music composed by the *maestro*.

⁸For related reasons, just because something was cut (i.e. not printed) in the libretto text does not mean that the score used for performance, or an exemplar available locally from which it was copied, did not contain the cut section, only that it was apparently not performed.

By comparing libretto editions and the variants they contain, that is to say the cuts and, more particularly, the additions and substitutions, it becomes possible to show some productions as being more closely related to each other than others. If we can gather a large enough number of editions, it is possible to show how traditions were established and spread, to propose a *stemma* or family tree. In addition, we are often able to link surviving scores to particular productions, which is of particular value since the scores themselves rarely give this information.

In embryonic form I attempted to piece together something approaching a family tree in *Pietro Generali and "I baccanti di Roma"* (Cranmer 1977)⁹. Through comparing a small group of libretti it was possible to show connections between the productions for which they had been printed and to relate three manuscript sources and a printed vocal score to them. It also transpired that singers played an important role in the opera's transmission from one theatre to another. This piece of research, however, was limited in its scope, serving merely to offer some explanation for the text of the critical edition it was accompanying. In principle, however, the same technique could be used with a far bigger sample of libretti of the same opera, with potentially much more far-reaching conclusions both as regards which productions were connected and how those connections came about. And if this could be done for one opera, it could also be done for others, not just one or two but for a whole repertoire extending over a number of years. That is precisely what has been attempted here, with the aim of answering the questions raised in the Introduction to Part 1. To quote, by way of a reminder:

"What, for example, was the role of composers, impresarios, troupes and individual singers in the transmission process? What links, if any, were there among theatres within Portugal, or between those in Portugal and neighbouring Spain, or Portugal and Brazil, for most of our period still a Portuguese dependency? And what links were there with Italy and leading operatic centres such as Vienna, Paris and London? Going on from there, to what extent did operas composed for Portuguese theatres travel on elsewhere? And a separate question but related to all of the above: what connection is there between scores surviving in Portuguese and other libraries, on the one hand, and performances in Portugal, on the other?"

⁹This Master of Music dissertation accompanies a critical edition of part of the British Library manuscript Additional 31.777-78 (*I baccanti di Roma*). It considers four libretto editions (T. Fenice, Venice, Carnevale 1816; T. Avvalorati, Livorno, Quaresima 1819; T. del Corso, Bologna, Primavera 1819; T. alla Scala, Milan, Carnevale 1825, three manuscript full scores (*GB-Lbl* Add. 16.148 (Act I only) and Add. 31.777-78, *GB-Lcm* Parry MS 206) and a printed vocal score (Simrock c.1818); see Appendix 3 of the present work for further details about these sources.

We know of productions in Portugal of some three hundred and twenty operas during the period 1793 to 1828. Clearly, it was impracticable to study the libretti of so large a corpus in detail. I therefore chose an initial sample of some seventy of these operas, covering the whole period, which between them promised to suggest answers to these questions.

At various stages difficulties arose. Early on I was forced, following exhaustive searches at libraries in London, Lisbon, Coimbra, Oporto, Madrid, Barcelona and Rome, to eliminate about half of these, since the libretti that would be fundamental in constructing the stemmas of these operas had proved to be impossible in practical terms to obtain - in some cases they were probably never printed, in others their absence from major libraries I had visited or enquired at made any attempt to find them like looking for a needle in a haystack. Finding editions for Spanish productions prior to the 1820s, for example, proved unexpectedly difficult. In another instance - Mercadante's *Elisa e Claudia* - although it had several productions at the T. de São Carlos and was evidently extremely popular in Lisbon, I was never able to find the corresponding libretto and can only conclude that, for some strange reason, it was not printed. In one case - Paisiello's *La frascatana* - I experienced exactly the reverse problem. I rapidly found twenty-four versions (both libretti and scores), including libretti for Lisbon, Madrid and Barcelona, but, as became apparent, these represented only a relatively small proportion of the surviving libretti and scores. Upon examination I discovered that the variants were so complex and so full of cross-fertilisations that I had to abandon the opera - it would have been impossible to clarify the pedigree of the Lisbon version without this one opera taking over the whole project, to the detriment of everything else. I found that the same composer's *La molinara* also posed comparable difficulties.

At a later stage I began increasingly to feel the need to be able to describe transmission systems in general, in Italy and the rest of Europe, in order to contextualise what occurred in Portugal. This led me to the decision to choose two complementary but contrasting operas as transmission models, and to attempt as full a performance history of each as possible. Having established through an examination of the processes involved in my models, I would then be able to base my conclusions regarding the situation in Portugal on much firmer ground.

After considering various options, I found that two operas emerged as particularly worth pursuing, namely Cimarosa's *La ballerina amante*, the opera sung at the opening of the Teatro de São Carlos, and Generali's *I baccanti di Roma*, the opera I

had already begun to explore in earlier years. They had the advantage of being separated by thirty years, as regards their dates of first performance in Lisbon (1793 and 1823 respectively), so that we might reasonably suppose that any transmission patterns they had in common (of which there turned out to be many) would be true of our period as a whole. One was an *opera buffa* and the other an *opera seria*, so that if genre was an issue, it could emerge as such. At the same time, they also complemented each other well in that between them they provided examples of patterns that were becoming apparent in the larger corpuses, both the original seventy and particularly the nearly forty I was able to explore further. After a lengthy process of contacting libraries throughout Europe and in the United States, it proved possible over a period of several years to obtain photocopies or microfilms of the libretti for the vast majority of known performances of these two operas.

Parallel to this work centred on libretti, I tried as far as possible to reconstruct, largely from other sources, the careers (what they sang and where) of all the singers involved in Portuguese opera productions, since their role in the transmission process was clearly going to be a consideration. This proved to be much easier to establish for the eighteenth century, thanks to Sartori (n.d. & 1990-), than for the nineteenth, where I was to a large extent dependent for information on reports in the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* and theatre chronologies, mostly very incomplete in what they give and not necessarily reliable. The information gathered on singers appears in tabular form in Appendix II (Singers).

Of the three chapters that follow, then, Chapter 7 examines the performance histories of the two model operas, in order to establish the general transmission processes at work both in Italy and in Europe as a whole (including Portugal); Chapter 8 considers a series of case studies focused more specifically on the operas performed at Portuguese theatres and their circumstances - some in more detail, others more briefly to reinforce or contradict points - these both provide further illustration of phenomena observed in the model operas and begin to answer the specific questions I have raised; and Chapter 9 seeks to clarify the conclusions reached in the two preceding chapters, tying up the few loose ends that remain.

Chapter 7

Two transmission models

I *La ballerina amante* - a transmission model for the late 18th century

Domenico Cimarosa composed *La ballerina amante* to a libretto by Giuseppe Palomba for performance at the Teatro de' Fiorentini, Naples, in 1782. Despite the rather fantastical plot of the libretto, which offered the composer little in dramatic terms, Cimarosa, then at the height of his fame, managed to produce music for it which was consistently competent and sometimes inspired. From Naples the opera spread throughout much of Italy and beyond to St. Petersburg, Dresden, Prague, Eszterháza, Malta, Barcelona, Madrid and Lisbon, with the last recorded performance at Naples in 1811. Below are listed all known productions, with date and theatre of performance¹.

Date	Theatre
1782 2nd opera	Naples. T. de' Fiorentini
1783 Carnival	Rome. T. Pallacorda
1783 Spring	Florence. T. Pergola
1783 Autumn	Milan. T. alla Scala
1783 Autumn	Genoa. T. Sant'Agostino
1784 Carnival	Malta
1784 Autumn	Padua. T. Obizzi
1785 Carnival	Trieste. T. Cesarea Regio
1785 Spring	Prague
1785	Barcelona
1786 Carnival	Vicenza. T. Nuovo
1786	Dresden
1786	Eszterháza
1787 Autumn	Madrid. T. Caños del Peral
1787 Autumn	Turin. T. Carignano
1788	Vercelli. T. Nuovo
1789 Spring	Brescia. T. Erranti
1789 Spring	Bologna. T. Zagnoni
1789 Fair	Sentgallia. T. Signori Condomini
1789 Summer	Rimini
1789 Autumn	Ferrara. T. Scroffa (with the title <i>L'amante ridicolo</i>)
1789 Fair	Rovigo (with the title <i>L'amante ridicolo</i>)
1790 Carnival	Crema
1790 Carnival	Parma. T. Ducale
1790 Summer	Udine
1791 Carnival	Faenza. T. Pubblico
1791 2nd opera	Naples. T. Nuovo
1792 Carnival	Livorno. T. Avvalorati
1793 Summer	Lisbon. T. São Carlos
1795 Carnival	Cremona
1795 Autumn	Varese
1796	St. Petersburg
1797 Carnival	Pisa. T. Prini

¹Appendix 3 contains details of the contents of libretti and scores, together with tables of singers by production, for both *La ballerina amante* and *I baccanti/baccanali di Roma*.

1797 Autumn	Turin. T. Carignano
1798 Autumn	Milan. T. alla Scala
1798 Autumn	Reggio nell'Emilia
1798 23 Nov	Florence. Cocomero
1799 Fair	Alessandria
1804	Naples. T. de' Fiorentini
1811	Naples. T. de' Fiorentini

The premiere

In the premiere production the names of the characters are:

Madama Rubiconda Zampetti detta Scassateatri
 Ortenzia
 Betta
 D. Totomaglio
 D. Petronio Pappa e Nonna
 Mazzacogna
 Monsù Franchiglione
 Il Cavalier Bireno

The role of Betta is consistently in Neapolitan dialect, while that of Don Totomaglio is a mixture of Neapolitan, standard Italian and garbled Latin. The original Don Petronio, Francesco Marchesi, was later closely associated with this opera, singing the role of Don Totomaglio (in standard Italian) in a number of subsequent productions, including that at Lisbon.

The opera consisted of three acts, divided into 16, 13 and 2 scenes respectively. The original numbers (recitatives, arias, duets, choruses ensembles) were as follows²:

Act I

- | | |
|-----|--|
| 1 i | Bet/Cav/Mons/Pet: <i>Zompa tu dall'auta bamma</i> [Introduzione - quartet] |
| ii | Cav/Bet/Mons/Pet: <i>Ma Betta chi è quell'uomo impertinente?</i> |
| iii | Bet: <i>Verbograzia vede uscia</i> |
| iv | Mons: <i>Se il diavolo fa che questi scopre</i> |
| 2 i | Tot: <i>Eggo summo Filosòfus:</i> |
| ii | Tot/Bet: <i>Tanto è. chi legge ogn'or libri latini</i> |
| 3 i | Bet/Maz/Mad/Tot: <i>Assettatela ccà.</i> |
| ii | Tot/Mad: <i>Addò stongo! ajemmè! ch'è chesso?</i> [duet] |
| 4 i | Mons/Pet: <i>Ma se dico. ho parlato</i> |
| ii | Pet: <i>Ha un visin si caro, e bello</i> |
| iii | Mons/Cav: <i>Ed ecco il Cavalier.</i> |

²Arias, duets, ensembles and choruses are printed in italics. *recitativo accompagnato* in small capitals, *recitativo secco* in normal lower case.

- 5 Tot/Mad: In somma lei Signora
- 6 Mad/Tot/Cav/Ort: *Ah mio bene di vita mi privi* [quartet]
+ *Ma già ognun sta qui perplesso!*
- 7 Ort/Pet: O Che Inglese birbon!
- 8 i Maz/Mad/Tot: Ma dite che diavolo vi avvenne?
ii Maz: *Se gioco alla gran torra*
- 9 i Tot/Mad/Bet: Oh che forza a treangole
ii Tot: *Statti adaggio...aspetta un poco.*
- 10 i Mad/Mons/Pet: Nella rete il faggiano
ii Mons: *Dal primier fatale istante*
- 11 i Ort: Or si che ho fatto un colpo
ii Mad: *Tu qui resta a far l'amore*
iii Tot: Oh Diabolorum! vi che que pro ette [just 2 lines]
- 12 Maz: (Oibò oibò. per donne
- 13 Tot/Cav: *Oh che odoriferi* [Finale I begins here]
- 14 Mad/Maz/Tot/Cav: *Ma dimmi poltrone*
- 15 Ort/Cav/Mad/Mons/Tot: *Cavalier mio bene amato*

Scena Ultima [16]

Maz/Pet/Bet/Mad/Tot/Cav/Ort: *Dammi Petronio*

Act II

- 1 Mad/Maz/Bet: Gli amici ballerini
- 2 i Tot/Mad/Bet: *Il mio babbo tenea no gran naso* [trio]
ii Mad: Signor D. Totomaglio. che? In vederci
iii Bet/Tot/Mad: *M'anno ditto ca l'ammore* [trio]
- 3 i Ort/Tot/Cav/Mons/Pet: Signor D. Totomaglio. per carità salvatemi.
ii Cav: *Placido. e lento il rio*
iii Mons: Non far ch'esci di là la Canterina [just 3 lines]
- 4 i Ort/Tot/Pet: Signor D. Totomaglio. Tot: Signor fistolo.
ii Tot: *Di questi Ciarleri*
- 5 i Mons/Mad: Dov'è il galesso?
ii Mons: *Mentre adaggio alla torbida sponda*
iii Mad: Se morto è il caro ben. numi tiranni [just 2 lines]
- 6 i Maz/Bet/Cav/Petr: Or che il tutto han disposto
ii Pet/Ort: *Monsieur le tempeston* [duet]
iii Pet/Ort/Cav: (Ortenzia sappi fingere
iv Pet/Maz/Bet/Tot/Ort: *Ecco vedete Madama Cocola* [quintet]
v Ort/Pet/Tot: Sì. son partiti
- 7 Tot/Mad/Maz: Tutte sti guaje le passo

- 8 i Maz/Mad: Madama cosa fù? chi vi trapazza.
 ii Mad: *Mentre sola a passo a passo*
- 9 i Maz/Tot/Mons/Bet: Dimmi bestia Birbona,
 ii Tot: NEL SECOLO IN CUI SIAMO
 iii Tot: *Io ti lascio, ò figlia amata*
- 10 Cav/Ort/Mons/Tot: Soddisfatto già son delle tue scuse
- 11 Pet/Maz/Coro/Tot/Mons/Cav: *Or che risuonano llà sù nell'etere* [Finale II begins here]
- 12 Mad/Tot/Pet/Maz: *Ecco scherzosa, e placida*
- 13 Ort/Bet/Tot/Mad/Pet/Maz/Mons/Cav: *Ah meschino, che diamine hai fatto*

Act III

- 1 i Cav/Ort/Mons/Pet: Si cari, vi prometto
 ii Ort: *Se a me fido il caro bene*

Scena Ultima [2]

- i Tot/Mad: Giacchè lo vetturino m'ha lassato
 ii Mad/Tot: *Cara sposa a primma doglia*

The mainly autograph manuscript score Rari I-I-18/19 at *I-Nc* follows this version closely, though Totomaglio's recitative and aria in Act II scene 9 and Ortenzia's aria in Act III scene 1 are missing. The manuscript score in *B-Br* (Inv. II 4011/Catalogue n° F 2583, Format C) and two of those in *F-Pn* (Vm 4.628 and D 2074/2075) also follow this version closely, though only *F-Pn* (Vm 4.628) includes the recitatives.

Productions during 1783

Already in 1783, the following year, there were four new productions of the opera: during the Carnival season at the Teatro Pallacorda, Rome, during the Spring season at the Teatro Pergola, Florence, and during the Autumn season at the Teatro alla Scala, Milan, and the Teatro Sant'Agostino, Genoa. The libretti printed for the last two are identical. Otherwise all differ from each other and from the Neapolitan original.

The libretto for the Rome production was substantially revised by the theatre's poet, Abbé Cesare Augusto Casini. He slightly altered the names of the characters, Betta becoming Bettina and Don Petronio becoming Pappennonna instead of Pappa e Nonna.

As for the text itself, the *Introduzione* begins with the words *Presto corri in quella parte* instead of *Zompa tu dall'auta banna* and the aria for Betta (now called 'Bettina'), is replaced by another, *Se si mira in sul teatro*. The third scene opens with

Appoggiatela quà and the following duet with *Dove son? Aimè, che caso*. At the beginning of Scene 5 there is a change of scenery, missing at Naples. Don Totomaglio's aria in Scene 9 begins here *Non partire...aspetta un poco* instead of *Statti adaggio...aspetta un poco*. In Act II the trio *Il mio babbo tenea no gran naso* now has the opening words *Il mio babbo avea un grosso barbozzo*. In Scene 9, although the *recitativo accompagnato* beginning *Nel seculo in cui siamo* is retained, Don Totomaglio's aria properly speaking is *Oimè...la morte di già s'affretta* instead of *Io ti lascio o figlia amata*. Act III remains as in the original.

Expressed in tabular form the principal differences are:

	<i>Naples, Fiorentini: 2nd opera 1782</i>	<i>Rome, Pallacorda: Carnival 1783</i>
	Act I	
1 i	<i>Zompa tu dall'auta banna</i>	<i>Presto corri in quella parte</i> (tr. v.*)
1 iii	Betta: <i>Verbograzia vede uscia</i>	Bettina: <i>Se si mira in sul teatro</i> (substitution)
3 i	Assettatela ccà	Appogiatela quà (tr. v.)
ii	<i>Addò stongo! ajemmè! ch'è chesso?</i>	<i>Dove son? Aimè, che caso.</i> (tr. v.)
5	-	(Scene change)
9 ii	<i>Statti adaggio...aspetta un poco</i>	<i>Non partire...aspetta un poco</i> (tr. v.)
	Act II	
2 i	<i>Il mio babbo tenea no gran naso</i>	<i>Il mio babbo avea un grosso barbozzo</i> (tr. v.)
9 iii	<i>Io ti lascio o figlia amata</i>	<i>Oimè...la morte di già s'affretta</i> (substitution)

*tr. v. = translation variant

The manuscripts scores at *D-Dib* (Mus. 3556-F-6 and Mus. 3556-F-504) and *P-La* (44-IV-66/67) follow this version closely, the latter being a Portuguese copy probably in the hand of the Lisbon copyist Joaquim Casimiro. Pietro Guariglia, later associated closely with this opera, including the Lisbon production, sang the role of Monsù Franchiglione for the first time at Rome. All of the female roles were sung by *castrati*, women at this period being prohibited from singing at theatres in the Papal States.

Comparable alterations were made anonymously for the Florence production. Don Petronio is re-nicknamed "Mangia, e dormi", Mazzacogna is now Masaccio, Ortenzia is given the variant spelling Ortensia and Monsù Franchiglione is Gallicised as "Monsieur", albeit misspelt "Mosieur". As at Rome, the Neapolitan dialect is translated, but differently.

The main alterations to the text of this version occur in Act I. Scene 1 begins *Corri tu dall'altra banda* instead of *Zompa tu dall'auta banna*, and Betta's aria *Verbograzia vede uscia* is replaced by *Aura soave rende*. Scene 3 begins *Fatela seder quà* and in Scene 4 Don Petronio sings *Vederete che gran figlia* instead of *Ha un visin si caro, e bello*. The original quartet in Scene 6 is cut. Here, Scene 6 (originally Scene 7) begins *O che inglese volubile* instead of *O che inglese birbon* and Masaccio's aria in Scene 7 (original Scene 8) begins *Se giuoco alla bambara* in place of *Se gioco alla gran torra*, the first of a bewildering range of variants to the opening words of this aria in different productions. In Scene 8 (original Scene 9) Don Totomaglio's aria no longer opens *Statti adaggio...aspetta un poco* but rather *Stà qui ferma...aspetta un poco*. In Scene 10 (original scene 11) Madama Rubiconda's aria is replaced. In Act II, Scene 5 is an addition and there are important changes to the recitatives in Scenes 7 to 11. The third act of the original version is cut completely. Expressed in tabular form:

<i>Naples, Fiorentini: 2nd opera 1782</i>	<i>Florence, Pergola: Spring 1783</i>
Act I	
1 i <i>Zompa tu dall'auta banna</i>	1 i <i>Corri tu dall'altra banda</i> (tr. v.)
1 ii <i>Verbograzia vede uscia</i>	1 ii <i>Aura soave rende</i> (substitution)
3 i <i>Assettatela ccà</i>	3 i <i>Fatela seder quà</i> (tr. v.)
4 ii <i>Ha un visin si caro, e bello</i>	4 ii <i>Vederete che gran figlia</i> (substitution)
6 <i>quartet</i>	-
7 <i>O che inglese birbon</i>	6 <i>O che inglese volubile</i>
8 ii <i>Se gioco alla gran torra</i>	7 ii <i>Se gioco alla bambara</i>
9 ii <i>Statti adaggio...aspetta un poco</i>	8 ii <i>Stà qui ferma...aspetta un poco</i>
10 ii <i>Da qui resta a far l'amore</i>	10 ii <i>Donna sono, e invan si crede</i> (substitution)
	Act II
	5 Additional scene
	7-11 Recitatives substantially modified
	Act III
	Cut completely

The manuscript score in *I-Fc* (FPT 71) follows this version. The libretto for the Florence production does not name the cast, but the company is given in Formenti's *Indice* for 1783/84. It included, among others, Gennaro Luzio (the original D. Totomaglio), Serafino Blasi and Orsola Mattei.

These same three singers sang the roles of D. Totomaglio, D. Petronio and Bettina, respectively, at Milan, but not at Genoa. We may reasonably conclude, therefore, that one or other of them, most probably Gennaro Luzio, brought a score to Milan (confirmed by some of the variants in the Milanese version) and that either the same score or one copied directly from it, then went on (very quickly) to Genoa. The names of three characters at Milan/Genoa are as at Florence - D. Petronio, M. Franchiglione and Ortensia - while Masaccio reverts back to the original Mazzacogna. This is already suggestive that we are dealing with an amalgam of the Florentine and original Neapolitan versions.

This picture is confirmed systematically in the course of the libretto text. The words that open Act I are as at Florence, as is the substitution in Act I Scene 4. (The other two substituted Act I arias at Florence have been cut here, so we can conclude nothing beyond the fact that these continued to be points of 'instability' in the text.) On the other hand, the translation of the sections in Neapolitan dialect is so close to the original that a copy of the Naples version must also have been to hand. Cimarosa was in Milan during the Carnival season 1783 for the premiere of *La Circe* at La Scala, so it is conceivable that he had also brought a score of *La ballerina amante* with him. The Milan version, then, is clearly a hybrid composed from two separate sources, one from Florence, the other of Neapolitan origin.

There are, however, other new changes to the text. Betta has the additional aria *Mio signor, se ve ne andate* in Act I Scene 9, there is an additional scene at Act II Scene 5, including an aria for D. Petronio, *Favorisca, mio padrone*, and there is a substituted aria for D. Totomaglio in Act II Scene 10, *Per amor io vado a morte*. Again the third act is cut. In tabular form:

	<i>Naples, Fiorentini: 2nd opera 1782</i>	<i>Milan, Scala: Autumn 1783</i>
	Act I	
1 i	<i>Zompa tu dall'auta banna</i>	<i>Corri tu dall'altra banda*</i> (tr. v.)
1 iii	<i>Verbograzia vede uscia</i>	-
3 i	<i>Assestatela ccà</i>	<i>Adagiatela qui**</i> (tr. v.)
ii	<i>Addò stongo! ajemmè! ch'è chesso?</i>	<i>Dove sono? Ohimè ch'è questo?***</i> (tr. v.)
4 ii	<i>Ha un visin si caro, e bello</i>	<i>Vederete che gran figlia*</i> (substitution)
9	(in the middle of i) -	Betta: <i>Mio signor, se ve ne andate</i> (addition)

*As at Florence

**As at Naples but in a new Italian version

Naples, Fiorentini: 2nd opera 1782

Milan, Scala: Autumn 1783

Act II

- 9 ii NEL SECOLO IN CUI SIAMO
- iii *Io ti lascio, ò figlia amata*

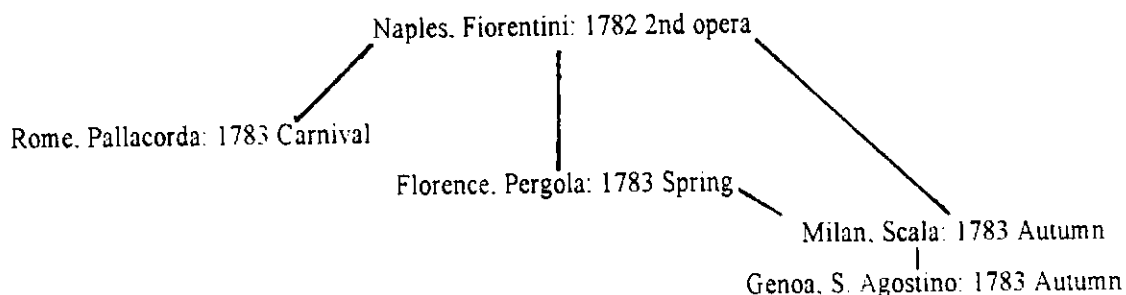
- 5 Additional scene (but different from Florence)
- Andar a morte? (substitution)
- Per amor io vado a morte.* (substitution)

Act III

Cut completely

The manuscript *F-Pn 10325* (1-4), a much thumbed and altered manuscript, must originally have been used at Milan. It contains the addition in Act II Scene 5, apparently autograph and attributed to one Isidoro Piantanida³, and there are indications that there was an aria for Betta in Act I Scene 9, now missing, as is the aria for D. Totomaglio in Act II Scene 10.

We possess, then, up to this point four distinct versions of the opera, even though two of the altered texts (Florence and Milan) have elements in common. These latter two can be shown to be connected through singers, but for the remainder we can only suppose links through the copy houses that enabled scores of operas to be reproduced and sent to other theatres. Up to this point, then, the *stemma* for the opera's transmission is thus⁴:



It is against this backcloth that we have to view the versions of all subsequent productions, for each of these four versions generated its own family of related productions. We shall now examine these families, one by one, discussing them roughly chronologically within each. In this way we will be able to follow the systematic variants through time and place, suggesting, where possible, explanations for similarities.

³Possibly a brother of the pianist and composer Gaetano B. Piantanida (Bologna 1768-Milan 1835), son of the violinist and composer Giovanni Piantanida (Florence 1705-Bologna 1782).

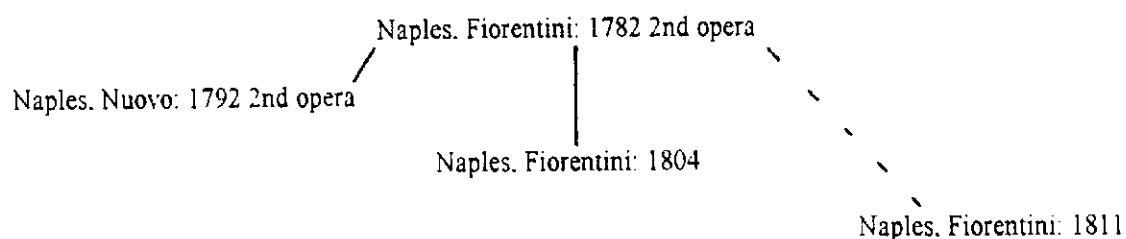
⁴The full *stemma* derived from all of the libretto sources examined appears on p. 136.

Productions that broadly follow the original Neapolitan version

The libretti of only two of the later productions broadly follow the Neapolitan original, namely those for 1791 Naples, T. Nuovo and 1804 Naples, Teatro de' Fiorentini. The changes for the 1791 production are mostly in the form of cuts. The additions and substitutions are all idiosyncratic. Act III is a substitution, indicated, in any case, in the libretto as being cut. The 1804 production again contains a lot of cuts and a number of idiosyncratic additions and substitutions. The role of Betta is translated into Italian, while that of D. Totomaglio, sung by the famous Neapolitan *buffo* Carlo Casaccia, remains in Neapolitan dialect. Act III, reduced to just its second (final) scene, replaces the original second act finale. (There is therefore no Act III.)

Since the autograph manuscript also makes reference to an 1811 Naples, Teatro de' Fiorentini production, for which we have no libretto, we may reasonably suppose it was used for this production too. Whatever changes may have been made, it must have remained essentially the original version.

The *stemma* for the Naples family, then, reflects direct links with a common ancestor:



The only clear connection between these productions is purely geographical. It does seem, however, that if the autograph score, with due modification, was not used for all productions in Naples, then closely related locally-produced copies were.

Productions that broadly follow the Rome version

The Rome family is the largest, but breaks down into two distinct groups: the Rome family proper and a subgroup, derived from it, established first at Bologna in 1789.

i The Rome family proper

Three productions fall into this group: those at Prague in 1785, Dresden the following year and the Teatro de los Caños del Peral, Madrid in Autumn 1787.

The Prague and Dresden productions form a pair, the Dresden libretto differing from that at Prague only in being bilingual Italian-German and in cutting Act III, which is present at Prague in a form that clearly derives from the Rome production. Both productions rename Mazzacogna as "Sgranerino". Apart from following the Rome variants in general, Prague and Dresden share three additions: Ortenzia has the aria, *Quel rio dal mar si parte*, in Act I Scene 7, Sgranerino has one, *Non son così stolto*, in Act I Scene 12 and Ortenzia has a further one, *Infelice sventurata*, in Act II Scene 4 (the last of these repeated subsequently at Crema in a different position, apparently by coincidence). We do not know who the singers were in either production but since the impresario at both was Pasquale Bondini, the singers are also likely to have been the same or nearly so.

The Madrid production is alone in cutting a character, the role of Mazzacogna being partially reallocated to other characters, particularly Betta, and partially cut. A note on page 9 of the bilingual Italian-Spanish libretto apologises for the poor translation, putting it down to a combination of haste and "the many variations that appeared in the original"⁵. The available manuscript evidently had alternative texts in places, which squares with a tendency in the libretto to switch almost arbitrarily at various points between the Rome and Naples versions. Curiously, in Act I Scene 4 the substituted aria *Vederete che gran figlia* for D. Petronio is identical to that found in the same position in the Florence production. All other variants are idiosyncratic.

The manuscript score used at Madrid probably came through an agent from a copy-house in Rome, the copyist also having access, however, to the substituted aria from Florence, if not to the whole score. There are no singer connections between the Madrid production and any other we know of.

ii *The Bologna sub-group*

While the underlying version remained that of the Rome production, a new series of variants, principally affecting the second act, was established at the Teatro Zagnoni, Bologna, in the Spring season of 1789. Of these the most important are in Act I Scene 4, where D. Petronio's aria *Ha un visin si caro e bello* is replaced by one beginning *Entra in scena la mia figlia*, Act II Scene 2, which is an addition, Act II Scene 3, where D. Totomaglio's Naples aria *Di questi ciarleri* is replaced by one for D. Petronio beginning *Capitan di due sciabecchi* (at Rome there was no aria in this position), in Act II Scene 4, where Monsù Franchiglione's aria *Mentre adaggio alla torbida sponda*

⁵"...las muchas variaciones que han ocurrido in el original..."

is replaced by one beginning *Pensa che son tradito* and in Act II Scene 8 where D. Totomaglio's *recitativo accompagnato* and aria *Nel secolo in cui siamo...Io ti lascio. o figlia amata* are replaced by the aria *Lascio in primis & ante omnia* with the preceding recitative lengthened. Expressed in tabular form:

<i>Naples, Fiorentini: 2nd opera 1782</i>	<i>Bologna, Zagnoni: Spring 1789</i>
Act I	
1 i <i>Zompa tu dall'auta banna</i>	<i>Presto corri in quella parte*</i>
1 iii <i>Betta: Verbograzia vede uscia</i>	<i>Bettina: Se si mira in sul teatro*</i>
3 i <i>Assettatela ccà</i>	<i>Presto. acqua. aceto [=Rome but beginning 1.2]*</i>
ii <i>Addò stongo! ajemmè! ch'è chesso?</i>	<i>Dove son? Aimè, che caso*</i>
4 ii <i>Ha un visin si caro e bello</i>	<i>Entra in scena la mia figlia (substitution)</i>
5 -	<i>(Scene change)*</i>
9 ii <i>Statti adaggio...aspetta un poco</i>	<i>Non partire...aspetta un poco*</i>
Act II	
-	<i>(original scenes 1 & 2 are cut)</i>
-	<i>2 Additional scene</i>
4 ii <i>Tot: Di questi ciarleri</i>	<i>3 ii Pet: Capitan di due sciabecchi (substitution)</i>
5 ii <i>Mentre adaggio alla torbida spondo</i>	<i>4 ii Pensa che son tradito (substitution)</i>
9 ii <i>NEL SECOLO IN CUI SIAMO</i>	-
iii <i>Io ti lascio o figlia amata</i>	<i>8 Lascio in primis & ante omnia (substitution)</i>

*Drawn from the Rome 1783 version.

The Act I Scene 4 substitution also appears in the Turin 1787 production, though in Act II Scene 3. This difference of position would normally lead me to dismiss this shared variant as probably coincidence, but in this instance the productions have two singers in common, Cleotilde Cioffi (Madama Rubiconda) and her husband Luigi Bonfanti (Mazzacogna at Turin, D. Petronio at Bologna). Although Bonfanti changed roles, he was probably responsible for transmitting this aria from the one production to the other.

To a greater or lesser extent seven productions have variants in common with Bologna: the Teatro Condomini, Senigallia, at the July Fair of 1789, Rimini that Summer, Ferrara that Autumn and Rovigo at the October Fair that year, the Teatro Ducale, Parma, during the Carnival season 1790, the Teatro Avvalorati, Livorno,

during Carnival 1792 and the inaugural production at the Teatro de São Carlos, Lisbon, on 30th June 1793.

The Senigallia and Rimini libretti, from the Summer of 1789, are identical. Underlying the version is the Rome text sometimes exactly, sometimes as varied at Bologna. The Bologna variants in Act I Scene 4 and Act II Scenes 2 to 4 recur, but Act II Scene 8 has the idiosyncratic substitution *S'è bella la moglie*, found uniquely at Senigallia and Rimini. The impresario for both productions was Giovanni Janni and the casts were identical, including Cioffi and Bonfanti, who provide a direct link with Bologna. As well as the idiosyncratic substitution in Act II Scene 8, D. Totomaglio has the substituted aria *Ho girato mezzo Mondo* in Act I Scene 9, thus establishing an important precedent. The singer of this role here was Francesco Marchesi, who, as we have seen, had sung D. Petronio in the Neapolitan premiere.

The Ferrara and Rovigo libretti, both from the Autumn of 1789, likewise form a pair, with the alternative title *L'amante ridicolo*. Again the underlying version is a Rome/Bologna mix, with the Bologna arias from Act I Scene 4, here in Scene 6 (owing to different scene divisions and an addition) and from Act II Scene 4, in the same position here. The Senigallia/Rimini Act I Scene 9 aria recurs, here in Scene 11. We do not know who the impresario was for these two productions but the singers were identical, four of them also being the same as at Senigallia and Rimini: Cleotilde Cioffi (M. Rubiconda), Antonina (the more familiar "Tonina" at Ferrara and Rovigo) Mei (Betta), Francesco Marchesi (D. Totomaglio) and Luigi Bonfanti (D. Petronio). Given the association that may be observed between this opera and the singers Cioffi and Bonfanti, we may assume that they owned a copy of *La ballerina amante*, made in Bologna, and that the transmission of the Bologna variants are best explained in this way. Pietro Guariglia, who had sung the role of Monsù Franchiglione at Rome and went on to sing it in Lisbon, also sang it in these two productions.

The production at the Teatro Ducale, Parma the following Carnival season again broadly follows Bologna. Of the Bologna substitute arias, that from Act II Scene 4 appears in a comparable position in Act II Scene 3. However, Petronio's aria *Capitan di due sciabecchi* (Act II Scene 3 at Bologna) appears here in Act I Scene 4, that is to say in a new position, substituting what at Bologna was already a substitution. There is also an important link with Rimini and Senigallia in that the aria *Ho girato mezzo mondo*, sung by Francesco Marchesi as D. Totomaglio in those two productions in Act I Scene 9, reappears here as an aria for D. Petronio in Act II Scene 2. Marchesi

sang D. Totomaglio again at Parma and this was presumably an *aria di baule* that he carried with him.

The version preserved in the Livorno libretto is a complex hybrid of material best thought of as originating from Rome (including original Neapolitan material), Bologna and Milan/Genoa (including the Florence Act I Scene 4). A number of Rome variants found here that do not actually appear in the Bologna libretto, could easily have been present in Bolognese copies retaining a "purer" version than that used for performance at Bologna itself. We do, however, have to assume that there were at least two separate scores available at Livorno: one from Bologna and another from Milan or Genoa.

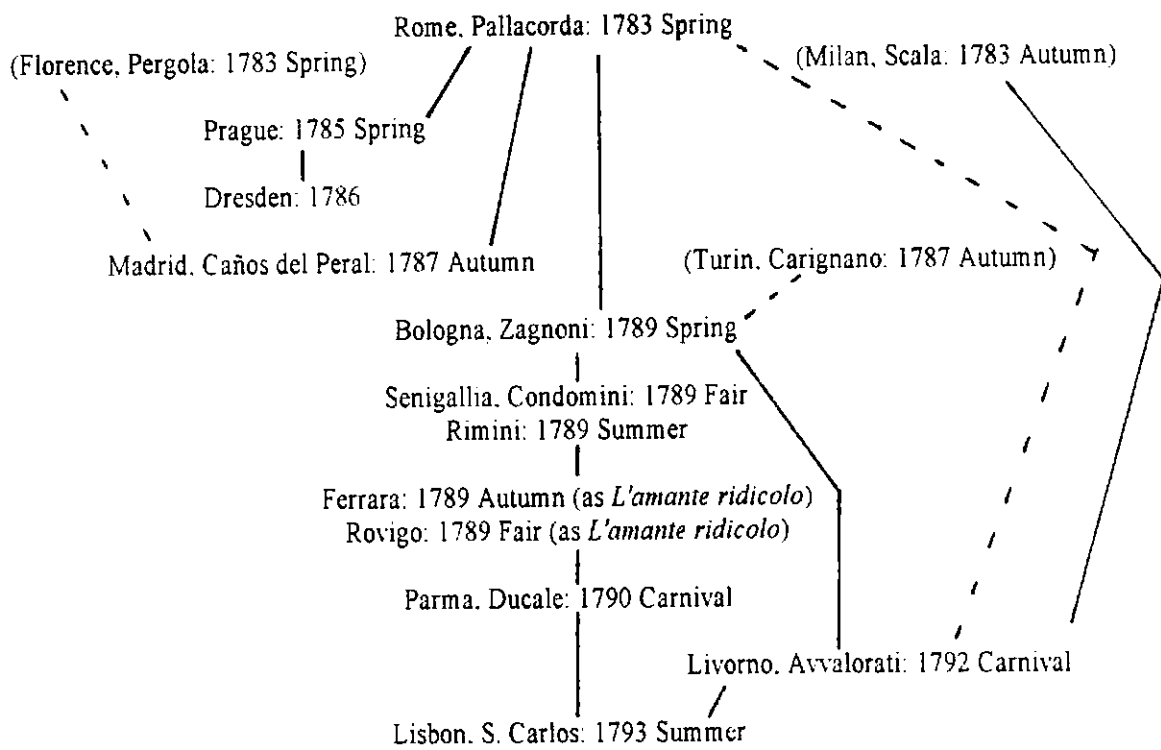
As well as several idiosyncratic added arias, there is an important substitution in Act I Scene 10, the aria for M. Franchillon *Sono alfiere, son soldato*. Pietro Guariglia was the singer of the role here (as at Ferrara and Rovigo). This substituted aria provides a good example of a borrowing from another opera the singer had recently taken part in and which, presumably, had gone down well - it is taken from Act II of Anfossi's *L'avaro*, which Guariglia had sung at the T. Balbi, Venice, the previous Autumn.

The Lisbon 1793 libretto compounds the complexity of Livorno still further. Apart from an unusually large number of idiosyncratic additions and a fairly standard number of idiosyncratic substitutions, not surprising given that this production was inaugurating a new theatre and thus presenting a company for the first time, the Lisbon version has distinctive features of both the Bologna and the Livorno versions, being at all points compatible with one or other if we allow for manuscripts transmitting slightly "purer" versions than the libretti from the same place. To give concrete examples, the aria for D. Petronio *Capitan di due sciabecchi* (Act II Scene 3 at Bologna, but missing at Livorno) appears here in Act II Scene 5 (the equivalent position) and in Act I Scene 10 we find the otherwise idiosyncratic aria from Livorno, *Sono alfiere, son soldato*. Given the particular combination of variants and the history of connection with this opera that Francesco Marchesi and Pietro Guariglia had, we may be sure that each brought a copy of the opera with him. Marchesi, who was born in Bologna and maintained contacts with it⁶, may have obtained a copy from that city or had a copy made from the copy that I suggested above Cioffi and Bonfanti are likely to have

⁶A report in the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, Vol. 2, 12 February 1800, states that Marchesi was back in Bologna, where he was born. Baptismal records of his children (see his entry in Appendix 2), indicate that he was both born and married in Bologna. He sang there several times in the early years of his career: 1769, 1772, 1776. That the *AMZ* should have mentioned his visit suggests that he had probably been away for a good many years.

possessed. Guariglia's copy, on the other hand, given the idiosyncrasy of the variants transmitted to Lisbon, must have been made in Livorno.

The *stemma* for the Rome/Bologna family thus looks like this:



Productions that broadly follow the Florence version

The libretti of five productions broadly follow the Florence version: those for the Teatro Obizzi, Padua, in the Autumn of 1784, the Teatro Cesareo Regio, Trieste, in the Carnival season of 1785⁷, the Teatro Nuovo, Vicenza, in the Carnival season of 1786, Udine in the Summer of 1790 and the Teatro Prini, Pisa, in the Carnival season of 1797.

At Vicenza, Udine and Pisa Mazzacogna is called Mosaccio, as at Florence, while at Padua and Trieste he is called the almost identical 'Masacco' and 'Mosacco', respectively. None of these forms is used in any production outside this family and thus constitutes an instant means of identification.

Of the Florence family the closest to the 1783 Florence version is the last (Pisa), which, with one exception, differs only in idiosyncratic additions and substitutions. The exception is the substituted aria for Madama Rubiconda in Act II Scene 8, *Da*

⁷The libretto frontispiece actually gives the season as Carnival 1784, but this is evidently a misprint. See the corresponding entry in Appendix III.

quel primiero istante, which is also found in Act I Scene 12 of the Cremona production (Carnival 1795). We do not know who the singers at Pisa were and cannot therefore rule out a link through Teresa Lucchi, who sang this role at Cremona. The altered position within the opera, however, suggests that there is no connection and that their substitution in common is the result of coincidence. There is nothing to link the Pisa production with those at Padua, Trieste and Vicenza, nor, beyond the text itself, to the Florence production.

The productions at Padua, Trieste and Vicenza, on the other hand, form a closely-knit group. Although the underlying version in all three is that of Florence, there are also variants from Milan and new variants that they share.

In all three productions the Milanese version appears in the opening words of the duet in Act I Scene 3 and the substituted aria found in Milan Act II Scene 10. Act I Scenes 5 and 6 in both the Trieste and Vicenza libretti follow a slightly modified wording found at Milan, but at Padua these scenes have their own idiosyncratic form.

As for the new, shared variants, in Act I Scene 7 there is an additional aria for Ortensia, *Nel gran mondo già sapete*, in Act I Scene 11 a substituted aria for Madama Rubiconda, *Come mai sperar poss'io*, and in Act II Scene 9 a substituted aria with preceding recitative, *Son quà, son quà signora...Crude stelle e quando mai*, once again for Madama Rubiconda. All three productions also contain idiosyncratic variants.

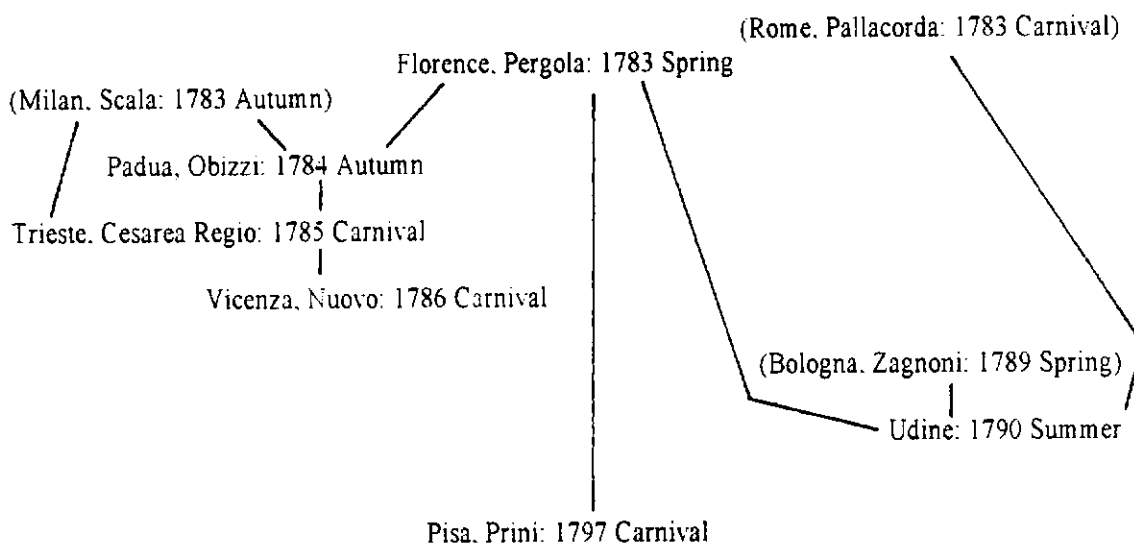
The cast at Padua and Trieste was identical except for Monsù Franchiglione, sung by Vincenzo Fineschi at Padua and Vincenzo Calvesi (possibly a misprint for Fineschi) at Trieste. Fineschi repeated this role at Vicenza, where the cast was otherwise different. Antonio Zardon was impresario for the Trieste and Vicenza productions and probably also for the Padua production⁸. To judge from this group of productions, it would seem, then, that individual singers (Fineschi), troupes (Trieste and Padua) and impresarios (Trieste and Vicenza, at least) might be involved in the transmission of a particular version.

The version performed at Udine is idiosyncratic in that while largely based on the Florence text, it also has variants in common with Rome (Scenes 1, 3, 5 and 6 of Act I) and Bologna (Act II Scene 4 and Finale). This probably has to do with the singers

⁸The Trieste libretto names Zardon as impresario. Rosselli (n.d.) indicates that Zardon was impresario at Vicenza at the time of the production of *La ballerina amante*. Rosselli also cites various Paduan theatres where Zardon was impresario at various times.

Cleotilde Cioffi (*Madama Rubiconda*) and her husband Luigi Bonfanti (*Don Petronio*), who, as we have already seen, sang in several productions of *La ballerina amante* belonging to the Rome/Bologna family as well as at Udine (see above and the list of singers by production in Appendix III).

The *stemma* for the Florence family is best regarded as being thus:



Productions that broadly follow the Milan version

The Milanese version underlies eight productions: at Eszterháza in 1786, the Teatro Carignano, Turin, in the Autumn of 1787, the Teatro Erranti, Brescia, in the Spring season 1789, Crema in the Carnival season of 1790, Cremona in the Carnival season of 1795, Varese in Autumn 1795, the Teatro Carignano, Turin, in Autumn 1797 and the Teatro alla Scala, Milan, in the Autumn of 1798.

In general the productions in this family have few systematic variants other than those that all or most share, derived from Milan.

A connection between Milan and Eszterháza is scarcely surprising at this period, given that Emperor Leopold of Austria (i.e. the Austro-Hungarian Empire) was also Archduke of Milan. The Eszterháza production was directed by Joseph Haydn and the manuscript score *H-Bn* (call mark MS. MUS. OE-54), used for this production, contains alterations in his hand. The score and libretto follow the Milanese version closely with just a few minor alterations, in some cases reverting to the original Neapolitan version. This is easily explained by the fact that the score in many places retains the original wording of the Neapolitan version, including dialect, but crossed

out with or without the Milanese rewording written above. The additional Act II Scene 5 at Milan is cut.

The 1787 Turin production introduces three systematic variants: a new opening wording for Mazzacogna's *Se gioco*. aria in Act I Scene 8, which here begins *Se gioco alla primiera*, an additional aria for Monsieur Franchiglione, *Cara madama amabile*, in Act I Scene 11 (which represents a substitution when compared with the Neapolitan version) and a substituted aria for D. Petronio in Act II Scene 3, *Entra in scena la mia figlia*, which replaces the aria in Act II Scene 5 at Milan. All recur in the 1797 Turin production but not elsewhere. Presumably the same score was used for both productions.

The Brescia production follows Milan closely, departing only in three idiosyncratic variants and the cutting of Milan's Act II Scene 5. Two of the singers in this production, Francesco Bertocci (D. Totomaglio) and Paolo Mandini (M. Franchiglione) had sung identical roles at Turin. It is doubtful, however, that the score used at Brescia came from Turin since the aria Mandini had added there in Act I Scene 11 is missing from the Brescia libretto. We may, nevertheless, suppose that the presence of these two singers, already familiar with *La ballerina amante*, may have encouraged the impresario's selection of the opera.

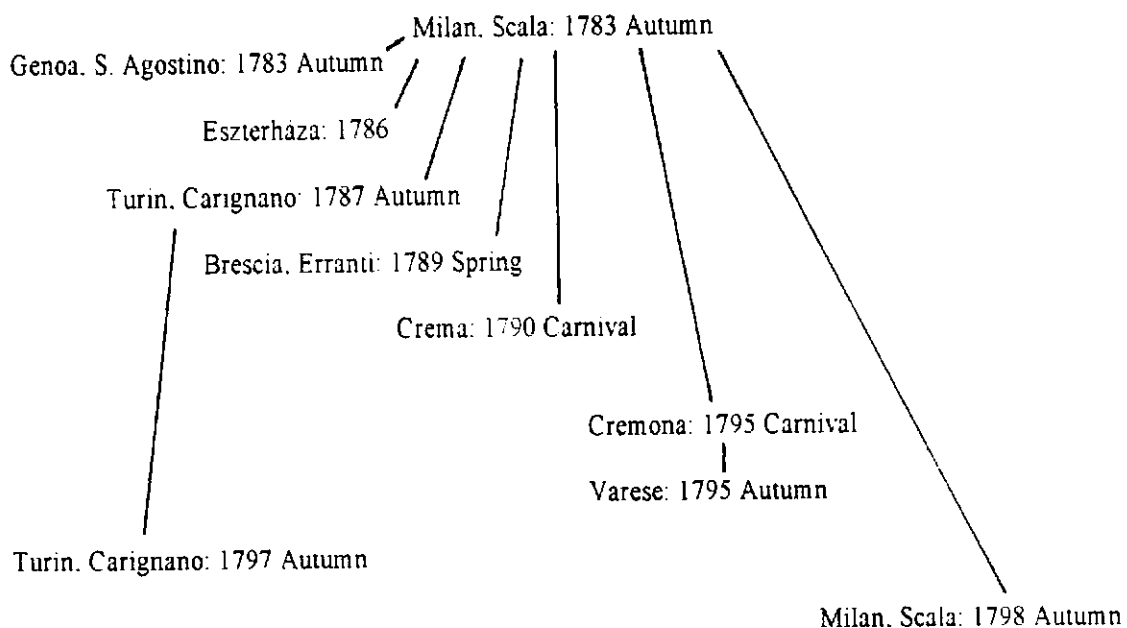
The Crema and Cremona productions both follow Milan in general, while each has idiosyncratic variants. They are curious in that each contains an aria associated with productions in the Rome family: in Act II Scene 10 at Crema the recitative and aria for D. Totomaglio *La mia forte maligna...Lascio in primis & ante omnia*, found in the equivalent position in the Bologna 1789 production, is introduced as a substitution for *Per amor io vado a morte*; in Act I Scene 10 at Cremona the aria *Ho girato mezzo mondo* for D. Totomaglio, first found at Senigallia in 1789 (and subsequently in this position at Rimini, Ferrara and Rovigo) replaces *Statti adaggio...aspetta un poco*. There is no obvious link beyond the textual between Crema and Bologna, on the one hand, and Cremona and Senigallia (or followers), on the other. These coinciding variants must be regarded as anomalous. The Crema libretto also contains the aria *Infelice sventurata* for Ortenzia in Act I Scene 7, found at Prague and Dresden in Act II Scene 4. Unlike the two cases just mentioned, the position of the aria is different, which suggests that this is likely to be a chance coincidence.

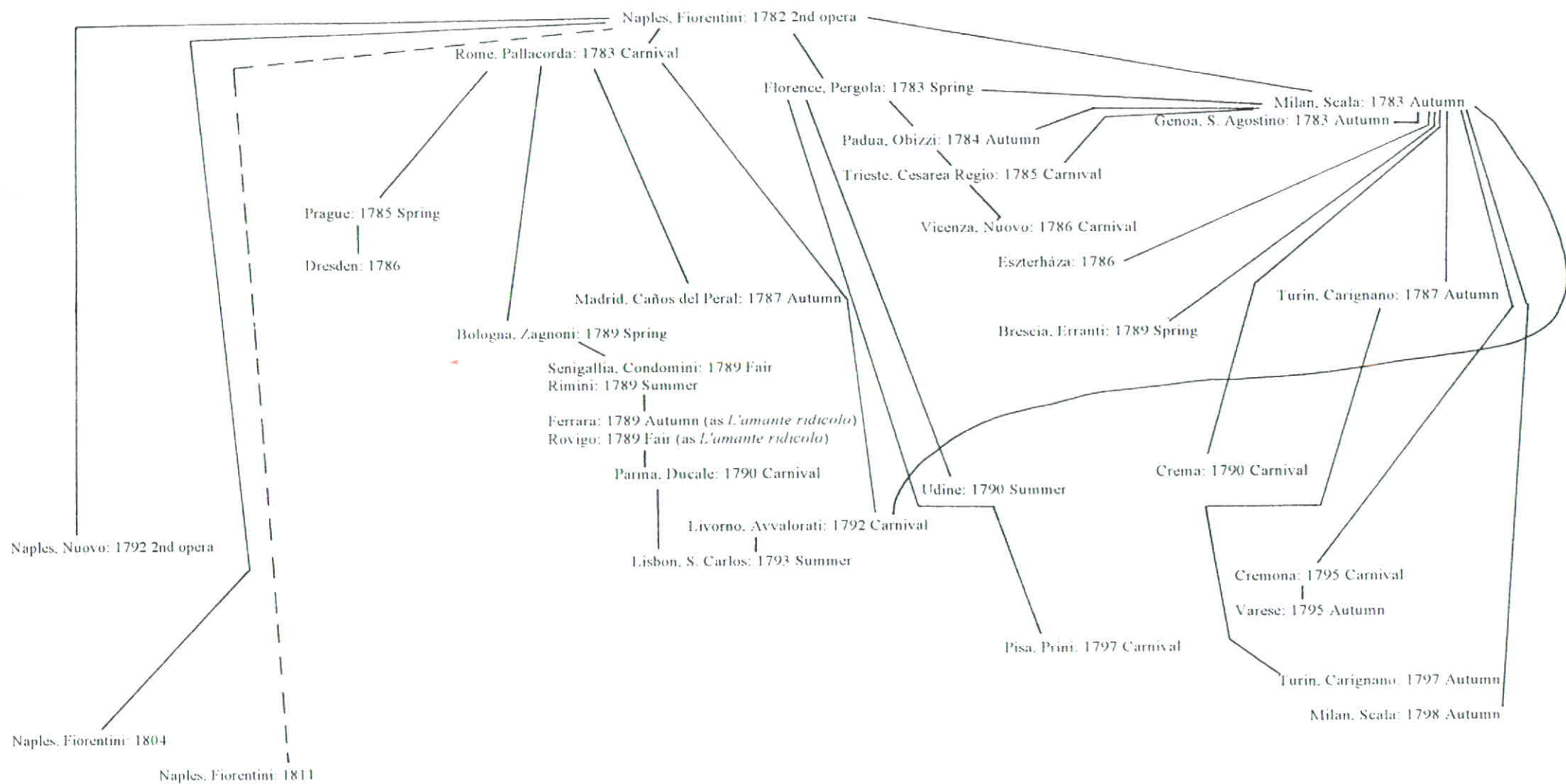
At Cremona the Milan Act II Scene 5 is retained. This version also establishes an important variant in Act I Scene 9, namely an additional aria for Betta, *Io voglio un sposino*, with the preceding recitative modified.

The Varese production in 1795 has a number of idiosyncratic variants but also has two important features in common with Cremona: the Milan Act II Scene 5 is present - it otherwise only appears at Milan (1783 only) and Genoa - and the modified recitative of Act I Scene 9 also recurs, though the aria that conditioned this modification at Cremona is cut. There seems to be some connection. However, the productions have no singers in common and the impresarios (Antonio Maraffi at Cremona and Gaetano Bellone at Varese) also differ. Although Giuseppe Naldi and Michele Vaccani, D. Totomaglio and D. Petronio respectively at Varese, repeated these roles at Turin two years later, while their coming together again may have contributed to the selection of this opera there, they took no Varese variants with them.

The 1798 production at La Scala Milan differs from that of 1783 only in detail. Act II Scene 5 is among the cuts, though the libretto in its scene numbering for Act II jumps directly from 4 to 6, as if Scene 5 were still present.

The *stemma* for the Milan family looks like this:





Stemma for Cimarosa's *La ballerina amante*

2 *I baccanti/baccanali di Roma* - a transmission model for the years 1816-1832

Turning to our second model, Pietro Generali composed *I baccanti di Roma* to a libretto by Gaetano Rossi for performance at the Teatro La Fenice, Venice in the Carnival season of 1816. The plot is based on the story of the expulsion of the Bacchantes from Rome in 186 B.C., described in Livy Book XXXIX, chapters 8 to 17, and dramatised by Giovanni Pindemonte in his 5-act tragedy *I baccanali di Roma* (first performance at the Teatro San Giovanni Grisostomo, Venice, in 1788). The music, of a consistently high standard, was understandably popular - it begs for modern revival and a place beside some of Rossini's operas of this period. From Venice the opera spread rapidly throughout Italy, including the south and Sicily, and beyond, as far afield as Corfù, Budapest, Prague, Darmstadt, Barcelona, Lisbon and Havana, where the last known production took place in 1840. I have traced almost sixty productions, listed chronologically below.

Date	Theatre
1816 Carnival	Venice. T. La Fenice
1816 Spring	Trieste. T. Nuovo
1817 23 March	Munich
1817 Summer	Vicenza. T. Eretenio
1817-18	Palermo. T. Carolino
1818 Lent	Florence. T. Pergola
1818 Fiera	Reggio nell'Emilia. T. della Comunità
1818 Fiera	Senigallia. T. della Comunità
1818 25 August	Darmstadt
1818 9 September	Naples. T. San Carlo
1819 Carnival	Florence. T. Pergola
1819 Lent	Livorno. T. Avvalorati
1819 Spring	Bologna. T. del Corso
1819 Summer	Modena. T. della Comunità
1819 Autumn	Venice. T. San Samuele
1820 12 June	Vienna. Th. an der Wien
1820 Summer	Milan. T. Carcano
1820 Summer	Siena. T. Ravvivati
1820 Autumn	Lucca. T. Giglio
1822 1 May	Cassel
1822 Autumn	Florence. T. Infuocati
1822 Autumn	Trieste. T. Grande
1823 20 June	Budapest
1823 Autumn	Florence. T. Infuocati
1823 December	Lisbon. T. São Carlos
1824 7 June	Oporto. T. São João
1824 ?Autumn	Rovigo
1825 Carnival	Milan. T. alla Scala
1825 Lent	Messina. T. Munizione
1825 ?Carnival	Rimini
1825 Spring	Milan. T. alla Scala
1825 Spring	Parma. T. Ducale
1826 Carnival	Mantua. T. Nuovo
1826 Fiera	Padua. T. Nuovo
1826 ?Autumn	Ancona
1826 ?Autumn	Cremona. T. Concordia

1827 Carnival	Corfù
1827 12 July	Prague
1827 Fiera	Bergamo, T. Riccardi
1827 10 Nov.	Barcelona
1828 Summer	Siena, T. Rinnovati
1828 Autumn	Florence, T. Borgognissanti
1829 Carnival	Fuligno, T. Apollo
1829 Carnival	Piacenza, T. Comunale
1829 Lent	Pisa, T. Ravvivati
1829 Spring	Livorno, T. Avvalorati
1829 Fiera	Reggio, T. della Comunità
1829 Fiera	Senigallia, T. della Comunità
1830 Carnival	Pavia, T. Compadroni
1830 Spring	Venice, T. San Benedetto
1830 Fiera	Ceneda, T. della Società
1831 ?Carnival	Venice, T. San Samuele
1832 Summer	Milan, T. Rè
1832	Grätz
1833 Carnival	Pesaro
1835 Carnival	Livorno
1836 Lent	Florence, Chiesa di San Giovanni (as the oratorio <i>Ozia</i>)
1840	Havana, T. Italiano

The premiere

The premiere production, with the title *I baccanti di Roma*, consisted of two acts, divided into 10 and 13 scenes respectively. The names of the characters were:

Sp[urio] Postumio Albino
 Sempronio
 Minio Cerinio
 Pub[lio] Ebuzio
 Fecenia
 Ippia
 Lentulo
 Augure Sommo¹

None of the manuscripts of this opera examined in the course of this study follow the original Venice version.

The Trieste revisions

The second production of the opera took place at the Teatro Nuovo, Trieste, the following Spring. The composer was present² and made a number of changes: the opera was given a revised title: *I baccanali di Roma*, the character Spurio Postumio

¹The original names as given by Livy are Spurius Postumius Albinus, Titus Sempronius Rutilus, Minius Cerrinius, Publius Ebutius and Faecenia Hispala. Lentulo and Ippia are additional characters created by Pindemonte.

²AMZ 23 October 1816, cols. 738-9, quoting the Milanese *Corriere delle dame*, describes the delirious reception of the opera and of the composer at the end of the performance.

Albino dropped the "Spurio" and there were alterations to text and music, particularly in Act II. The Venice and Trieste versions are compared in the table that follows:

	<i>I BACCANTI DI ROMA</i> <i>Venice, Fenice: Carnival 1816</i>	<i>I BACCANALI DI ROMA</i> <i>Trieste, Nuovo: Spring 1816</i>
Act I		
1 i	Coro/Pos/Sem /Fec/Aug: <i>Odi gran nume</i>	1 V [i.e. as Venice]
ii	Aug: <i>O Romani, i più neri</i>	
2	Sem: <i>Quai detti! - qual minaccia!</i>	2 V
3 i	Coro: <i>Evoè! - Bacco, Evoè!</i>	3 V
ii	Ebu/Coro: <i>Ove son io?</i> > ³ Eb/Coro: <i>Non temete: i sommi Dei</i> > <i>Nume perdonami</i>	
4	Min: <i>Ite acostati</i>	4 V but partially revised by shortening
5	Fec: <i>Ippia fedel rimanti</i>	5 Fec: <i>Oimè! sichiuso è già l'infame tempio</i>
6 i	Fec: <i>Ei forse in questo istante!</i>	6 i Ebu: <i>Ch'è il mio nome!...chi vedo?</i>
ii	Fec/Ebu: <i>IO SOL PER TE PAVENTO</i> > <i>Ah! S'è ver che m'ami ancora</i>	ii V 6 ii
7 i	Sem: <i>Fecenia! Ebuzio!</i>	7 i Min: <i>Fecenia ell'è...non m'ingannai</i>
ii	Sem: <i>NOL SO. RICERCO IN VANO</i> > <i>Senti, gran Dio Tebano</i>	ii V 7 ii
8	Min: <i>Ombra vagante alla sua tomba intorno.</i>	8 Min: <i>Io non comprendo</i>
9 i	Coro: <i>Della patria alla gloria</i>	9 i V 9 i
ii	Sem: <i>Qui il console</i>	ii V 9 ii with revisions
iii	Sem: <i>Io tremar?</i> > Sem/Pos: <i>Pensa ch'io serbo in petto</i> [= beginning of Finale I]	iii V 9 iii with minor revisions
iv	Pos: <i>Nè Ebuzio ancor</i>	iv V 9 iv
10 i	Ebu/Fec/Pos/Len/Coro: <i>Che veggo?</i>	10 V 10
ii	Ebu/Fec/Sem/Pos: <i>Oh qual contrasto</i>	
iii	Tutti: <i>Nembo s'addensa orribile</i>	
Act II		
1 i	Sem: <i>Vedesti? Ebu: Vidi.</i>	cut
ii	Ebu/Sem: <i>Di Fecenia? - oh dio!</i> > <i>E come mai potrei</i> > <i>In tanti contrasti</i>	
2	Min: <i>Baccanti, al Marzio Campo</i>	cut
3 i	Coro: <i>S'abolisca - si punisca</i>	1 i V 3 i
ii	Pos: <i>Si, Romani, fia questo</i>	ii Pos: <i>Romani, i sensi miei [= V 3 ii revised]</i>
iii	Pos: <i>Già del ciel la voce udiste</i>	
		2 Len: <i>Console, i Senatori [addition]</i>

³The symbol >, here and elsewhere, indicates "leading to".

4 i	Sem: Che sento? - Ah? troppo è ver	3 i	Fec: Ora che induggio
ii	Sem/Fec: <i>Tu qui? - Spergiura!</i> > <i>Miralo spoglia esague</i>	ii	V 7 ii but with chorus
5 i	Len: Voi. di Postumio ai cenni	4	Pos: Duci, Tribuno. alfine
ii	Ipp: <i>Fra queste - funeste</i>		
6	Ebu: Oh, quale stato è il mio!	5	Ebu: Oh Ciel! qual turbamento > OH CIELO! GENTE S'APPRESSA: ANDIAM [This scene = V 6 revised]
		6 i	Min: FERMA. Sem: INSANO! CON QUESTO BRANDO...
		ii	Ebu/Fec/Sem: <i>Empio assassino, trema</i> > <i>Della vendetta all'ara</i>
7 i	Min: Che fai? Ebu: Sorte crudel!	7 i	Ipp: Troppo. Lentulo, inoltri: questi sentier [not i.q. V 10]
ii	Fec: <i>Ecco il sen ferisci omia</i> > <i>Per te gradita</i>	ii	V 5 ii
8 i	Sem: A che tardar? - ardente sete. il sai	8 i	Sem: Il sacrificio loro [= V 8 i revised]
ii	Min: LE SACRE TROMBE? Sem: OH CIEL!	ii	Sem: OH CIEL! LE SACRE TROMBE... [= V 8 ii slightly revised]
9 i	Coro: <i>S'odon voci - funeste, feroci...</i>	9 i-ii	V 9
ii	Sem/Coro: <i>Quale consiglio</i> > <i>I sacri acciar brandite</i>	iii	Min: Fidi Ministri. e voi
10	Ipp: Troppo. Lentulo. inoltri. - Perigliosi questi sentier...	cut	
11	Ebu: Ora di morte, affrettati	10	V 11
12 i	Coro: <i>Le faci dell'Euminidi</i>	11 i-ii	V 12 i-ii
ii	Ebu: <i>Oh mostri!</i> - Fec: <i>Ebuzio!</i> > Ebu (with Min/Coro): <i>La riviva il nostro amore</i>	iii	Min: Ministri, il sacro ferro [= V 12 iii revised]
iii	Min: Sì. - cadrete. E Sempronio!		
Ult i	Sem: Che miro? - e vivi ancora!	Ult i	V Ult i with minor revisions
ii	Fec/Coro/Sem/Pos/Ebu/Ipp: <i>Ecco il felice istante</i> > Coro: <i>Brilla ancor sereno il cielo</i>	ii	V Ult ii but già for <i>ancor</i> in first line of chorus

As we can see above, in Act I the alterations to text indicated in the libretto only affect the recitatives in Scenes 4 to 9, and tiny changes to the duet in Scene 9. In Act II the opening 2 scenes were cut completely - a clear dramatic improvement - as was the original Scene 10, but the addition of two new scenes - 2 (recitative) and 6 (recitative and the trio *Empio assassino, trema*) - brought the total number of scenes up to 12. Two of the original arias were put in new positions: Fecenia's aria *Ecco il sen ferisci omai* (II 7 ii in Venice) was brought forward to Scene 3 (to replace the duet in II 4, the

equivalent position in the Venice version), while Ippia's *aria di sorbetto*⁴ *Fra queste - funeste* (II 5 in Venice) moved back to Scene 7. Most of the recitatives also underwent revision and the first line of the final chorus was slightly reworded. Although Act II was thus thoroughly overhauled, the only major new item was the trio in Scene 6.

The Trieste production had two singers in common with the premiere, namely Marietta Castiglione (Ippia) and Francesco Desirò (Minio at Venice, Augure Sommo at Trieste). Both, however, occupied secondary roles, and, knowing as we do, of the composer's presence and involvement in the production, we may assume that he alone was responsible for taking the opera to Trieste.

All subsequent productions derive essentially from the Venice and Trieste versions.

Productions that broadly follow the Venetian premiere version

The first production in 1817 took place at the Bavarian capital, Munich, on 23 March. Allowing for free translation into German, the libretto is identical to that of the Venetian premiere. Although the libretto does not name the cast, we know from the review in *AMZ*⁵ that Elena Harlas sang the role of Fecenia, just as she did in Venice, where the libretto describes her as currently in the service of H. M. the King of Bavaria⁶. She must certainly have taken a copy (if not the original autograph) of the score with her.

Apart from small changes to the names of the characters (largely a Latinisation of them) and minor spelling variants, the libretto for the 1818 Darmstadt production is identical to that for Munich. Clearly the score for this production was obtained from Munich. The undated vocal score printed by Simrock in Bonn/Cologne, plate number 1584, follows the Darmstadt version exactly, and we must suppose that the score used for this production served as the basis for the printed edition. In the absence of any manuscript scores of the original Venice version, it is only through the Simrock edition, that we can see the musical changes Generali made for the Trieste version (assuming, that is, that there were no significant musical changes made for the Munich and Darmstadt productions).

⁴An *aria di sorbetto* ('sherbert aria') was an aria for a minor character, often, as in this case, simple and conservative in style. Traditionally the audience would take refreshments during it (hence the name). It was common simply to cut it.

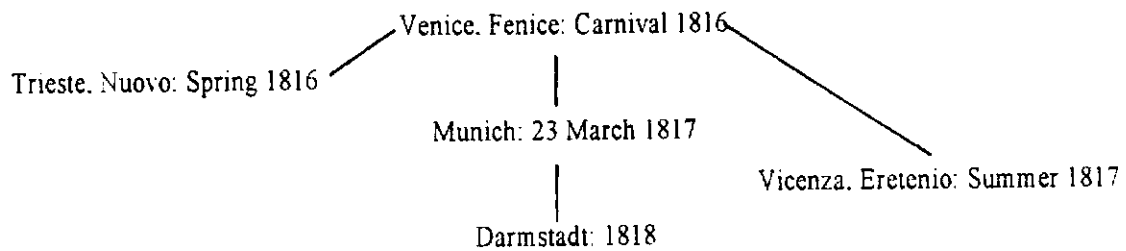
⁵*AMZ* 20 January 1819, col. 45.

⁶"*all'attuale servizio di S. M. il Re di Baviera*"

It has proved impossible to trace the libretti of the remaining productions given in the German-speaking world but the productions at Vienna in 1820, Cassel in 1822, Budapest in 1823 (given by a Viennese company) and possibly Prague in 1827, all apparently performed in German, are likely, to a lesser or greater extent, to have followed the Munich version, with or without the Darmstadt microvariants.

Among Italian productions, that given at the Teatro Eretenio, Vicenza, in the Summer of 1817 is unique in following the Venetian version, differing only in minor cuts and a substituted aria in Act II Scene 7. It had no singers in common with the premiere

The stemma for productions derived from the original Venice version is thus quite straightforward:



Patterns among productions derived from the revised Trieste version

The libretti of all other productions follow the revised Trieste version more or less closely. However, a number of important patterns are established among those of late 1817 and early 1818.

The libretto for the production at the Teatro Carolina, Palermo, signed by Gaetano Zanardi and dated 27 December 1817, contains three additions and a transposition of scene - Act II Scene 7 of the Trieste version occurs as Scene 9. after Trieste II 8 and 9, which appear as II 7 and 8, respectively. These changes are idiosyncratic, finding no direct imitators, and this production is to be considered the first of a small group at only one remove from Trieste.

Exclusively idiosyncratic variants are otherwise only to be found at the Teatro Rinnovati, Siena, in Summer 1820 and 1828 (*both* productions are idiosyncratic), the Teatro Munizione, Messina, in Lent 1825 (though the positioning of the variants does suggest a possible connection with Palermo) and the identically idiosyncratic pair, the Teatro S. Benedetto, Venice, in Spring 1830 and the Teatro Società, Ceneda, in the Fair that year. The only production to follow the Trieste version exactly is that at the Teatro Grande, Trieste, in Autumn 1822, the connection clearly being geographical.

The production at the Teatro della Pergola, Florence, in Lent 1818 established an important series of variants, which in due course became linked directly or indirectly with other systematic variants. In Act I, Scene 2 has an extended recitative with the additional aria for Fecenia *Ah che non serve il piangere* and Scene 6 has a substituted duet for Fecenia and Ebuzio, *Ah perchè serbai finora* leading to *Chi mai vide più funesto*. In Act II, the *recitativo accompagnato* opening *Eccoti il sen: ti trattien?* followed by the aria for Fecenia *Ah se pur l'amato bene* leading to *Cara immagine gradita* replace the regular *Ecco il sen ferisci omai* in Scene 3; there is an additional aria for Ebuzio in Scene 10 and a substituted scene for Ebuzio and chorus in Scene 11.

The other production at this time that establishes important precedents is that at the Teatro della Comunità, Reggio, given during the May Fair of 1818. In Act I Scene 1 lines 9-16 are cut and there is an additional section of recitative at the scene end, while Scene 2 is substituted. In Act II the opening chorus of Scene 1 has the microvariant wording "S'avilisca" instead of "S'abolisca".

Productions linked to the 1818 Florence production

The distinctive features of the 1818 Florence production mentioned above may be expressed in tabular form as follows:

	<i>Trieste, Nuovo: Spring 1816</i>	<i>Florence, Pergola: Lent 1818</i>
	Act I	
2	V 2	i V 2 (recitative) is extended Fec: <i>Ah che non serve il piangere</i> (addition)
6 ii	V 6 ii	Fec/Ebu: <i>Ah perchè serbai finora</i> > <i>Chi mai vide più funesto</i> (substitution)
	Act II	
3 ii	Fec: <i>Ecco il sen ferisci omai</i> > <i>Per te gradita</i> (= V 7 ii)	ii Fec: <i>ECCOTI IL SEN: TI TRATTIEN?</i> > <i>Ah se pur l'amato bene</i> > <i>Cara immagine gradita</i> (substitution)
10 ii	-	Ebu: <i>Speranze lusinghiere</i> (addition)
11 i	V 12 i	i Coro: <i>V'ieni Ebuzio: è sorto il dì</i>
ii	V 12 ii	ii Ebu: <i>Il genitore estinto!...</i>
iii	Min. Ministri il sacro ferro	iii Ebu: <i>Ombra adorata placati</i> (substituted scene)

The production at the Teatro Avvalorati, Livorno, in Lent 1819 follows the Florence production closely, introducing the same variants in Act I Scenes 2 and 6, and Act II Scene 3. However, Act II Scenes 10 and 11 are substituted by a new scene complex (Scene 10), consisting of a *recitativo accompagnato* opening *È questo dunque il loco* leading to an aria section for Ebuzio and chorus *Se al caro bene vicino almeno*, then a second *recitativo accompagnato* opening *Fecenia sventurata* leading to a second aria section for Ebuzio and chorus *Alla tua quest'alma unita* with the final section *In questo barbaro fatale istante*. This new Scene 10 sets a new precedent, sometimes associated with the Florence variants but more often not. It should be noted that the variants established at Florence and repeated at Livorno all involve the role of Fecenia, sung on both occasions by Teresa Bertinotti. Adelaide Malanotti, who sang Ebuzio in both productions, must have been responsible for inserting the new Act II Scene 10 at Livorno.

The manuscript *GB-Lbl* Add. 31,777-8 is identical to the Livorno production, to which it makes reference by giving the cast list⁷, except only that Ippia's aria (T II 7 ii) and the recitative T II 11 iii, which are cut in the Livorno libretto, are present in the manuscript, and that II 3 begins with the words "Ippia vien meco" instead of "Ora che induggio", a difference of greater importance than might at first sight appear.

The production at the Teatro della Pergola in Carnival 1819, for which we do not possess the libretto, also involved Bertinotti and Malanotti (as well as Vincenzo Botticelli as Postumio, who played this role at Trieste in 1816 and Florence in 1818 though not at Livorno in 1819). The version sung was almost certainly identical to the Florence 1818 or Livorno 1819 version.

Three other productions include one or more of the variants established at Florence in 1818, namely those at the Teatro Giglio, Lucca, in Autumn 1820, and the two at the Teatro degl'Infuocati, Florence, in Autumn 1822 and Autumn 1823, while the Teatro d'Apollo, Fuligno, in Carnival 1829, has variants in common with Livorno, Lucca and the 1823 Infuocati production.

The Lucca libretto includes the Florence 1818 Act I Scene 6 duet and the Livorno 1819 Act II Scene 10, divided between its Scenes 12 and 13. Ippia's *aria di sorbetto* *Fra queste - funeste* (T II 7 ii) and the recitative T II 11 iii, both cut at Livorno, are restored, as in the *GB-Lbl* manuscript. In Act II Scene 1 the final six lines are cut, a feature that will recur. Vincenzo Botticelli once again sang Postumio, thus creating a

⁷*GB-Lbl*. Add. 31.777. f.36r

link with Florence, though not with Livorno. The cast also included Claudio Bonoldi as Sempronio, a role he had played at Reggio and Senigallia in 1818, but there are no textual links with those two productions.

The production at the Teatro degl'Infuocati, Florence, in 1822 contains the Florence 1818 Act I Scene 2 aria for Fecenia and the shortened Act II Scene 1 as at Lucca. There are no singer connections, since all the roles were being sung for the first time by their respective interpreters. The only apparent link is geographical.

As for the 1823 production at the same theatre, Act I is identical to the version used at Florence in 1818, containing the Scene 6 duet as well as the Scene 2 aria for Fecenia. In Act II the shortened Lucca Scene 1 recurs, the missing final 6 lines forming instead the opening of Scene 2, while Scene 11 consists of a shortened version of the Trieste II 11 iii and the Ultima Scena begins at line 8 of Trieste II Ult i. Act II Scene 3 begins "Ippia vien meco", as in the *GB-Lbl* manuscript, a recurring variant in the wording that will be discussed below. Caterina Lipparini, who sang Fecenia in this production, also sang the role in the 1822 Florence production, while Eliodoro Bianchi had sung Sempronio in the 1818 Florence production, thus adding further Florentine tradition to this production. On the other hand, Ebuzio was sung by Rosa Mariani, who had sung the role in the very pure Trieste 1822 production, failing, however, to transmit any purification to Florence!

The last production in the Florentine group, strictly speaking, is that at the Teatro d'Apollo, Fuligno, in 1829. Although it contains none of the Florence 1818 variants, it has to be considered a member of this group because of its proximity to the 1823 Infuocati production in Act II (Scene 1 as at Lucca, Scene 2 with the missing 6 lines of Scene 1 at the beginning, Scene 3 opening "Ippia vien meco", Scene 11 and Ultima Scena reduced, all as in the 1823 Infuocati production) and because of the inclusion of the Livorno Act II Scene 10, divided up into two scenes as at Lucca. None of the singers of this production is known to have sung in any other production.

A further four productions include the Livorno Act II Scene 10 but without any other connections with the previous group, namely those at the Teatro del Corso, Bologna, in Spring 1819, the Teatro San Samuele, Venice, in Autumn 1819, the Teatro Principal, Barcelona, in 1827 and the Teatro Comunale, Piacenza, in Carnival 1829.

The Bologna production follows Trieste closely, differing only in replacing Act II Scenes 10 and 11 with the Livorno Scene 10 and cutting Ippia's *aria di sorbetto* in Act

II Scene 7, as at Livorno. Adelaide Malanotti was once again Ebuzio (and certainly responsible for transmission of the Livorno variant) and Vincenzo Botticelli played Postumio.

Malanotti sang Ebuzio again at Venice, once more introducing the Livorno Act II Scene 10. Also in Act II we find the first appearance of another important substitution involving Fecenia: Scene 3 contains the aria *Trema spietato, invano* with a new preceding recitative. The singer on this occasion was Carolina Pellegrini, who did not play the role again before or after.

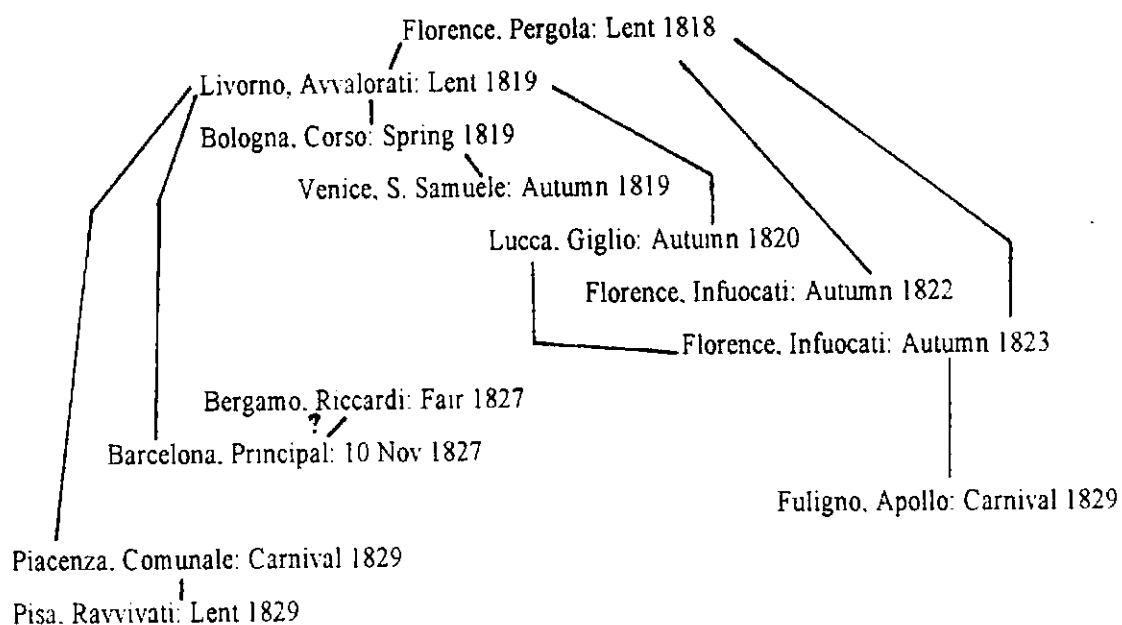
The Livorno substitution reappears somewhat later, at Barcelona in 1827, in a slightly shortened form. This production also shows a possible connection with the Bergamo production given at the August Fair 1827 in making minor alterations to the Finale of Act II. These alterations may well reflect a performance practice already established for some time, but which was only included in the printed libretti at a later stage. None of the Barcelona performers is known to have sung in the opera before.

The last appearance of the Livorno substitution was at Piacenza in 1829, in a slightly revised form, and in a production which otherwise only preserves new variants. The only major singer to have performed in the opera before was Gaetano Crivelli, who had already sung the role of Sempronio at Siena, the previous year.

Lastly, we should at this point mention the production at the Teatro de' Ravvivati, Pisa, in Lent 1829, not because of any connection with the Florentine productions or even the Livorno substitution, but because it included two substitutions otherwise found only at Piacenza. Both of these involve Fecenia, namely the duet with Ebuzio in Act I Scene 6 and the aria with chorus in Act II Scene 3. Fecenia was sung on both occasions, but only on these two occasions, by Teres(in)a Casanova. The Pisa production may also be connected with the Reggio group in that lines 9-16 of Act I Scene I are cut, but as there are no other connections, this may just be coincidence.

The Barcelona, Piacenza and Pisa productions all begin Act II Scene 3 with the wording "Ippia vien meco", which tends to be the more common opening among the later productions.

The stemma for the productions connected with the 1818 Florence production may thus be regarded as follows:



Productions linked to the Reggio 1818 production

As we observed above, the characteristics of the Reggio version are:

Act I

- 1 i V 1 i but lines 9-16 are cut
- ii V 1 ii
- iii Pos: Quale in que' detti asconde orrido arcano! (addition)
- 2 i Sem/Fec: *Agli sdegni. all'ire insane*
- ii Sem: E pur. Fecenia. ancora (substituted scene)

Act II

- 1 i Trieste 1 i but with the wording "s'avilisca" instead of "s'abolisca"

Seven further productions share characteristics first encountered at Reggio, namely those at the Teatro della Comunità, Senigallia, for the July Fair 1818, the Teatro della Comunità, Modena, in Summer 1819, the Teatro Carcano, Milano, in Summer 1820, the Teatro alla Scala, Milan, in Carnival 1825, the Teatro della Comunità, Reggio nell'Emilia, for the May Fair 1829, the Teatro della Comunità, Senigallia, for the July Fair 1829 and the Teatro Rè, Milan, in Summer 1832 (with the title *I baccanali aboliti*), the last production for which it has been possible to trace a libretto.

The 1818 Senigallia libretto is identical to that for Reggio, as is the cast and impresario, Osea Francia.

All of the variants introduced at Reggio are also present at Modena (though with the Act II Scene 3 wording variant spelt differently: "avvilisca"). As well as unimportant idiosyncratic alterations (a section cut in II 3 ii and a substituted aria in II 7), in Act II Scene 3, for the first time in a libretto, we meet the opening words "Ippia vien meco", a wording variant which we have already encountered.

From this point on, the "Ippia vien meco" wording becomes increasingly frequent in libretti, being found, apparently indiscriminately, in all groups of productions derived ultimately from the Trieste version. Particularly curious, as we have already observed, this variant appears in the *GB-Lbl* manuscript Add. 31,778, though not in the Livorno 1819 libretto, with which (and only with which) it is in all other respects compatible. It should be added that "Ippia vien meco" is also the form of the opening of Act II Scene 3 in the manuscripts at *F-Pn* (Fonds du Conservatoire D 4404) and *GB-Lcm* (MS Parry 206), both of which in every other respect follow the Trieste version exactly. What seems to have been the case is that the manuscripts consistently transmitted the words "Ippia vien meco", while, prior to the Modena production, libretti transmitted "Ora che indugio" and continued to do so in many cases afterwards. Clearly there were two parallel, and partially independent, transmission systems in operation - through libretti and through manuscript scores⁸. Initially, the "Ippia vien meco" variant was transmitted solely through the scores, gradually infiltrating the libretto transmission system at a later stage. We should therefore regard this wording as a free variant, appearing in some libretti but not in others, not as a criterion for grouping productions, though it is worth remarking that hereafter all members of the Reggio group do begin Act II Scene 3 in this way.

The first Milanese production took place at the Teatro Rè in 1820. It follows Reggio in Act I Scene 1 and the "avvilisca" wording variant of Act II Scene 1. Interestingly, three of the singers had taken part in the Trieste production (Vincenzo Botticelli as Postumio, Nicola Tacchinardi as Sempronio and Elisabetta Pinotti as Fecenia). In terms of the text, however, there is no reason to suppose that any of them transmitted the opera, and it is more likely that the chance coming together of these three singers and the availability of a score originating at Reggio, Senigallia or Modena made the impresario's choice of the opera obvious.

The 1825 La Scala production, on the other hand, includes the Reggio Act I Scene 2. with its substituted duet for Sempronio and Fecenia as its Act I Scene 3 - in the

⁸Scores rarely give any stage directions but these appear consistently in libretti and must have passed directly from libretto to libretto, while the music, as is self-evident, passed from score to score.

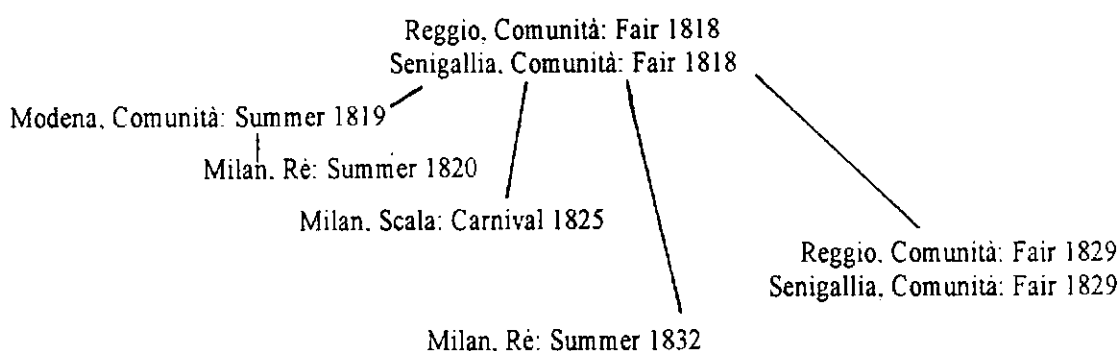
T. Carcano production it was cut. It also includes, as a separate Scene 2, the additional recitative section that immediately precedes it at Reggio (II 1 iii). It is certainly significant that the Sempronio and Fecenia on this occasion were Claudio Bonoldi and Carolina Contini, respectively, who had sung the same roles at Reggio and Senigallia. With the exception of the "Ippia vien meco" free variant, a substituted Act II Scene 11 and other insignificant details, this version otherwise follows Trieste.

The productions at Reggio nell'Emilia and Senigallia for the Fiera seasons of 1829 once again form a pair, differing only in the cutting of a scene at Senigallia. There are 4 substitutions and an addition, none of them being found in any other production. The link with the 1818 Reggio/Senigallia version is only in Act I Scene 1, where as well as cutting lines 9-16 of the original opening, we find the additional final section. The cast was identical, including Gaetano Crivelli, who had sung Sempronio already at Siena in 1828 and Piacenza in Carnival 1829, going on to sing it in at least three more productions over the next two years, and Marietta Bramati as Ippia, who accompanied him in many of these. Nicola Orsini, who signed the dedication in the Reggio libretto, was presumably the impresario for both productions. A note in the Reggio libretto - and repeated in that for Senigallia - acknowledges that the score used had been obtained from the Bolognese dealer Agostino Marchesi. However, there is nothing to connect it with the 1819 Bologna production. Might Marchesi have obtained the score directly or indirectly from the estate of Osea Francia (the impresario of the 1818 Reggio and Senigallia productions), who had meanwhile died, leaving debts⁹? Or did his copy perhaps have links with Milan?

It is once again in Milan, at the Teatro Rè in 1832, that we find the only other production in the present group. As well as idiosyncratic variants (two additions and three substitutions) we find the Reggio Act I Scenes 1 and 2, divided into 3 scenes, the final addition to Reggio Scene 1 (Reggio I 1 iii) forming Scene 2. Eliodoro Bianchi, who had sung the role of Sempronio in at least seven previous productions (including those in Florence in 1818 and 1823) did not bring any of the earlier variants with him.

⁹On Osea Francia's career in Central Italy, see Rosselli (1984), pp.13-15. He died at Modena in March 1824 while preparing the season there.

The connections among this group, then, appear as follows:



The productions at Parma, Mantua, Padua, Bergamo and Pavia

This group is best understood in relation to the production at the Teatro Riccardi, Bergamo, for the August Fair of 1827. This version includes variants drawn from the Teatro Ducale, Parma, in Spring 1825, from the Teatro Nuovo, Mantua, in Carnival 1826 and the Teatro Nuovo, Padua, in Spring 1826¹⁰, all of which are in turn derived essentially from Trieste 1816.

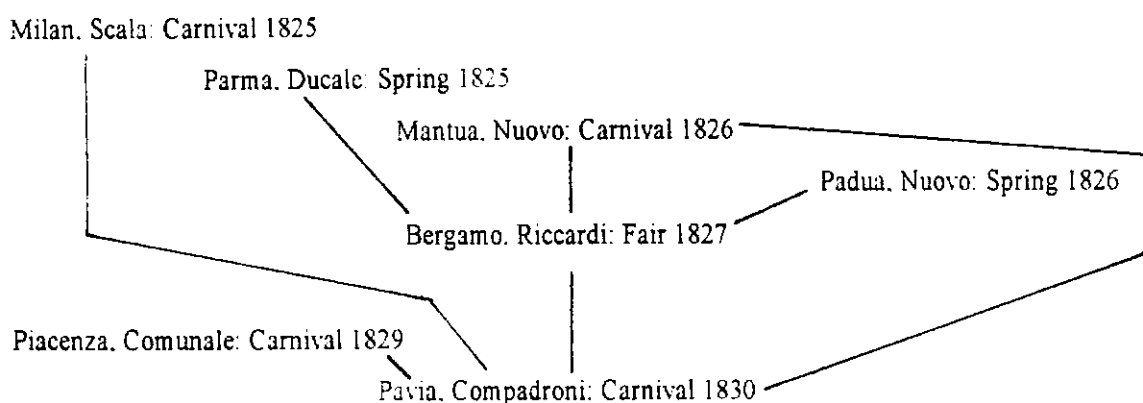
In the Bergamo production Act I Scene 1 contains what amounts to an additional aria for Sempronio with chorus, otherwise found only at Parma, while Act I Scene 5 opens with an additional aria for Fecenia and chorus, otherwise found only at Padua. In both cases the respective singers must have been responsible for transmitting the addition. Sempronio was played at Parma and Bergamo by Nicola Tacchinardi, who had also sung the role at Bologna and both Trieste productions. Fecenia was sung at Parma and Bergamo by Brigida Lorenzani, who is not otherwise known to have sung the role. Without any such singer connection there are two new pieces in Act II which first appear at Mantua: Fecenia's great aria in Scene 3 is substituted by another with very similar wording but different metre, *Ecco il mio sen ferite*¹¹, and there is a substituted aria for Postumio in Scene 6, replacing Ippia's *aria di sorbetto* - at Mantua this aria had appeared as an addition in Scene 4, leaving Ippia's aria intact.

¹⁰According to *The Harmonicon*, which reviewed the Parma production in its January 1826 edition, the opera had been greatly improved by the composer since its first presentation and had been "augmented by seven new pieces" (col. 19). In *this* production there are indeed seven new pieces, two additions and five substitutions, but there is no reason to suppose that Generali had anything to do with them. As we saw above, the only new piece he composed for the revised Trieste version (apart from recitatives) was the trio in Act II Scene 6.

¹¹This aria is probably a *contrafactum*. The singer at Mantua, Mme. Sedlaczek, probably wanted to sing an aria she had with her that better showed off her voice, but which had unsuitable words. The local theatre's poet would have taken the original words and redrafted them to fit the metrical needs of the 'new' music.

The production at the Teatro Cavalieri Compadroni, Pavia, in Carnival 1830 brings together features from a still wider range of earlier productions. There is a new added aria for Postumio and chorus in Act I Scene 1 but since it appears in the same position as the added aria for Sempronio and chorus at Parma and Bergamo, it may actually be a substitution for the latter rather than a true addition. The notion of a connection with the present group is strengthened by the inclusion in Act II Scene 3 of the aria *Ecco il mio sen ferite*, found at Mantua and Bergamo - as at Mantua, but not Bergamo, this aria included the chorus. On the other hand the duet for Fecenia and Ebuzio in Act I Scene 6 includes material otherwise found only at Piacenza in Carnival 1829. Yet again, Act I Scene 2 is made up of the added final recitative section of the Reggio 1818 Act I Scene 1, which we have already seen forming a separate Scene 2 at La Scala, Milan, in 1825. None of the Pavia singers is known to have sung in the opera before. Wherever the score used was compiled, the copyist must have had access to material originating from a range of theatres in northern Italy.

The stemma for this group is best seen as being built around a double centre (Bergamo and Pavia):



The 1823 Lisbon and 1824 Oporto productions

We come finally to the production at the Teatro de São Carlos, Lisbon, in 1823. Like the Pavia production, this betrays multiple origins, while giving no direct clues as to their transmission. On the one hand, Act I Scene 2 is again the additional final recitative of Act I Scene 1 at Reggio 1818, found otherwise as Scene 2 only in subsequent productions in Milan (La Scala 1825, Rè 1832) and Pavia (1830). On the other, Act II Scene 3 opens as at the Teatro San Samuele, Venice (1819), with the end cut and merging into the standard Trieste Scene 3. There are no new substitutions and there is only one addition, involving just the chorus, in the Finale of Act II. Since none of the singers at Lisbon had sung in the opera before and since the text itself involves

material that must have come from at least two sources, one stemming from the Reggio 1818 family, the other from Venice, we cannot draw any firm conclusion as to where the score used came from. Though Milan is clearly a possibility, it is by no means the only one. Furthermore, it may be that two scores reached Lisbon and that the mix as we have it is a local one.

For the Teatro de São João, Oporto, production in June 1824 we have no libretto, only an *argomento*, from which we cannot draw any clear conclusions regarding the text. Two singers had been involved in the Lisbon production: Adelaide Varese as Ebuzio and Giuseppa Secchioni as Ippia. On the other hand, the opera was being performed for the benefit of the singer Giuseppe Lombardi, who took the role of Sempronio, having previously sung the minor role of Lentulo at Trieste in 1822. Given that Lombardi was the beneficiary and had a previous, albeit minor, involvement, it would be a mistake, without more concrete evidence, to link this production with that in Lisbon.¹²

Gaps in the model

Even more than with *La ballerina amante* there are gaps in the distribution model of *I baccanali di Roma*. To some extent this is a consequence of our knowledge, through newspaper reports, of far more productions of *I baccanali di Roma* than was the case with *La ballerina amante*. It is also a consequence of the historical period involved - until recently 19th-century musicology tended to be frowned upon, with the result that vital bibliographical tools, such as Sartori (n.d./1990-), stop at 1800, making the sheer job of locating sources far more difficult. It is also the author's view that in a larger number of cases the libretto was simply not printed, particularly in the German-speaking world and in Italy towards the end of the period.

Prior to the productions in Lisbon and Oporto and apart from those in the German-speaking world (Vienna 1820, Cassel 1822, Budapest 1823), we lack libretti for only two, namely those at Naples, S. Carlo 1818 and Florence, Pergola 1819. Bearing their casts in mind, these two productions are almost certain to have followed the 1818 Florence, Pergola production. At any rate, neither of these productions is likely to

¹²It is worth drawing attention to the genre given in the libretto in each case: *Drama sério* at Lisbon, *Drama heróico* at Oporto. A glance at the frontispieces cited in Appendix 3 shows that prior to the Portuguese productions the work was always described as a *Melodramma eroico* except in two cases: the productions belonging to the Florence/Livorno group, where it is systematically described as *Melodramma serio*, and the 1822 Trieste production, where the latter term is also used. While the Trieste 1822 libretto, belonging as it does, squarely in the Trieste 1816 central group, is the proof that we cannot place too much reliance on this difference, the tendency for different genres to indicate different paths of transmission is, up to this stage of the opera's history, extremely clear.

have had a significant effect on the opera's *stemma* and it is highly improbable that they would shed any light on the curious mix of variants at Lisbon.

After the Portuguese productions we lack the libretti from Rovigo in 1824, Rimini and Milan in 1825 (the latter for the production in Spring, which, with a partially different cast, may or may not have been the same as in Carnival), Ancona and Cremona, Concordia in 1826, Corfu and Prague in 1827, Florence, Borgognissanti in 1828, Livorno, Avvalorati in 1829, Ceneda in 1830, Venice, S. Samuele in 1831, Grätz in 1832, Pesaro in 1833, Livorno in 1835, the oratorio form *Ozia* given in Florence in 1836 and the last known production, at Havana in 1840.

It has also been impossible to take into account the manuscripts in *I-Fc* and *I-Rsc*, my awareness of their existence coming too late in the day for me to examine them.

In spite of these lacunae in the *stemma* clear patterns emerge and the absence of these links in the chain would be unlikely to alter our understanding of the systems at work, only the details of how it was realised in practice.

Conclusions regarding the transmission of I baccanti/baccanali di Roma

In this instance we have direct evidence for the composer's involvement in transmission. He was present at the Trieste production, where he made substantial revisions, and is likely to have been responsible for the opera's reaching there in the first place.

The impresario (Osea Francia) and casts were identical at Reggio nell'Emilia and Senigallia in 1818. In 1829 the cast at both cities was the same, making it likely that Nicola Orsini, who we know to have been the impresario at Reggio, was probably also impresario at Senigallia. The versions performed were identical or nearly so, but we cannot really say whether it was the impresario as such who was the agent of transmission or the troupes.

We also find identical versions associated with near-identical troupes for the Venice, T. San Benedetto and T. Società, Ceneda productions in 1830. In neither case do we know the identity of the impresario.

A glance at the table of singers¹³ by production is striking for the repetition of names in the same role. Leaving apart the cases just mentioned where identical or near-identical troupes repeated the opera at a new location, and taking just the four principal roles of Ebuzio, Fecenia, Sempronio and Postumio, Ebuzio was sung by Adelaide Malanotti 6 times, Elisabetta Pinotti 3 times, Rosa Mariani, Brigida Lorenzani, Fanny Eckerlin and Adelaide Varese twice and Carolina Contini once in addition to the twice as part of a troupe (Reggio/Senigallia 1818), Fecenia by Teresa Bertinotti 3 times, Elena Harlas, Caterina Lipparini, Carolina Passerini, Teresa Casanova and Siga. Sedlaczek twice, Sempronio by Eliodoro Bianchi 9 times, Nicola Tacchinardi 6 times, Gaetano Crivelli 3 times in addition to 4 in troupes (Reggio/ Senigallia 1829, Venice/Ceneda 1830), Claudio Bonoldi twice in addition to 2 in troupes (Reggio/Senigallia 1818), Zennone Cazzioletti and Giovanni Battista Verger twice, and Postumio by Vincenzo Botticelli 7 times, Felice Botelli and Emilio Serda twice.

For various reasons, however, it is much more difficult to interpret this information than with *La ballerina amante*. While certain variants do seem to follow particular singers around, e.g. those associated with Adelaide Malanotti, it is also striking how many of the singers with a history of involvement in productions of *I baccanali di Roma*, particularly the leading male singers, sang more or less indiscriminately in versions that not only differed but also, in some cases, included differences involving their own parts. Vincenzo Botticelli, for example, though involved in 7 productions, seems almost certain not to have possessed a score, judging from the variety of versions he sang in. Even in the case of Malanotti, with a significant, if brief, association with the opera, knowing, as we do, of the existence of an extant score that contains the variants she sang (*GB-Lbl* Add. 31,777-8), we do not need to assume that she herself possessed a copy of the whole score, though she may well have done, but only of the material she herself introduced. (With *La ballerina amante*, on the other hand, there is a greater tendency for whole versions to follow singers around, affecting not only their own role but other characters.) Indeed, with the exception of Elena Harlas, who must certainly have taken a score of the original version to Munich, we cannot be sure whether any singer possessed a complete manuscript, as distinct from a series of potential inserts. All we can say is that, just as with *La ballerina amante*, certain singers seem to have had associations with the opera, making the choice of *I baccanti/baccanali* an obvious one for the impresario concerned, particularly when two or more such singers coincided.

¹³At the end of Appendix 3.

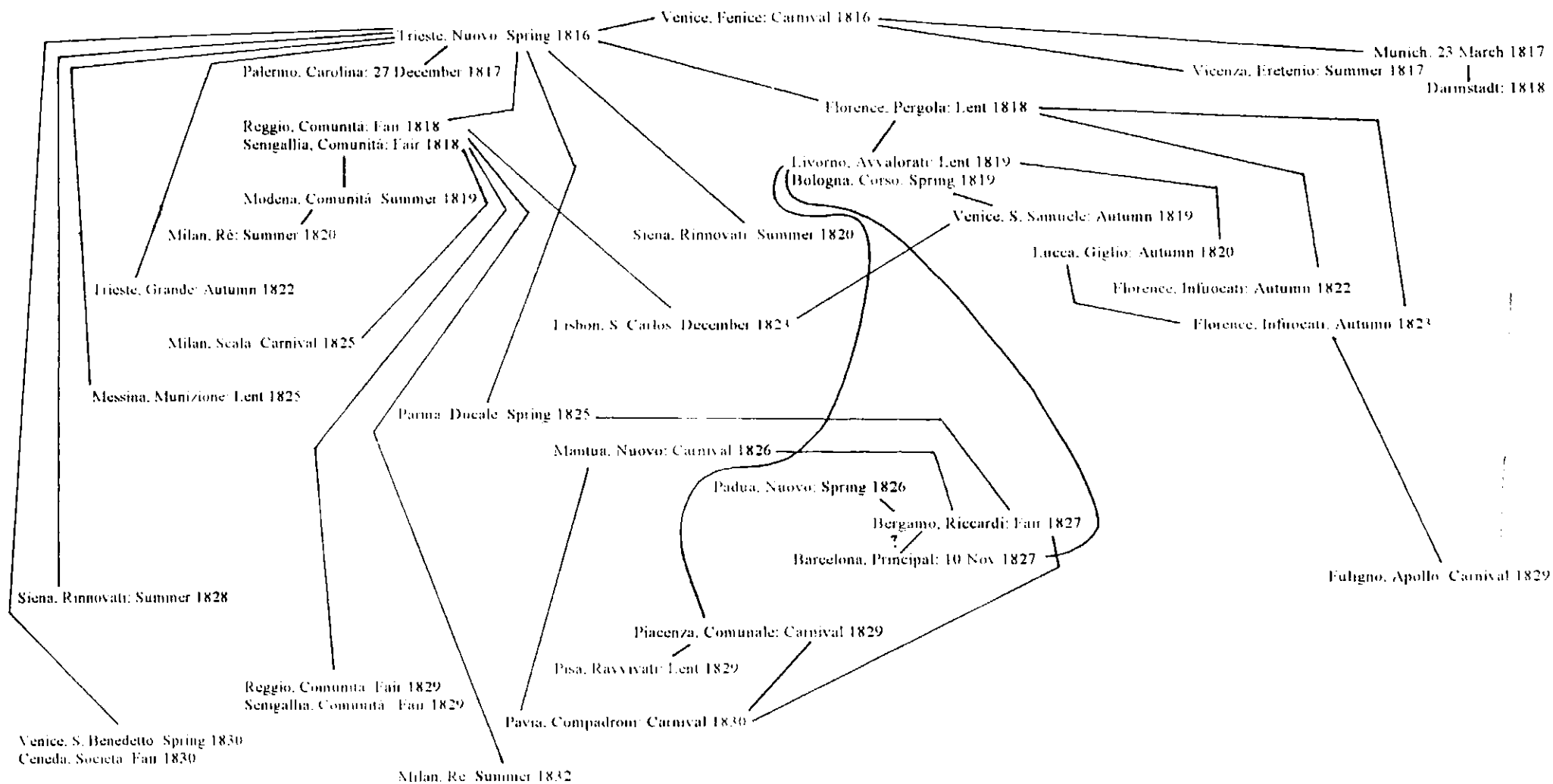
With *I baccanti/baccanali* we cannot speak of centres of distribution as we could with *La ballerina amante*. Copies seem to have had their origins in many different places.

There clearly are, once again, a number of geographical patterns in the distribution of versions. This is most noticeable among the small group of German versions we have, which follow the original Venetian production, via Munich. There are, however, two other geographical groups. Irrespective of Malanotti's involvement, there are a number of associated productions in the central area, centred on Florence, namely Florence 1818, Florence 1819, Livorno 1819, Lucca 1820, Florence 1822 and 1823, and Fuligno 1829. The productions stemming from the Reggio 1818 version also form a tight group geographically, all falling along a narrow strip from Milan to Senigallia. A looser connection both textually and geographically may be observed among the productions at Parma, Mantua, Padua, Bergamo and Pavia.

With the exception of the two Trieste productions (1816 and 1822), which are identical, later productions at the same theatre introduce more radical changes than was the case with *La ballerina amante*.

It is unclear exactly how the opera reached the Teatro de São Carlos, Lisbon, and the Teatro de São João, Oporto, or whether the material used in Lisbon was subsequently used in Oporto. There is no connection between the Lisbon and Barcelona productions.

The full stemma for *I baccanti baccanali di Roma* follows on the next page.



Stemma for Generali's *I baccanti baccanali di Roma* (Principal connections)

Conclusions from the transmission models

a In general terms

- 1 Transmission may take place through the composer, who may undertake revisions in subsequent productions where he is present.
- 2 Impresarios and troupes may transmit operas, but in no case in our two models do we know for certain that they did so independently of each other.
- 3 Individual singers can be shown to have been agents of transmission. This is particularly clear in the earlier model. In the later model there is less direct evidence that singers transmitted whole operas as distinct from a set of numbers for insertion. Throughout the period, leading singers certainly influenced the choice of opera, several showing association with a particular opera even though they were almost certainly not responsible for actually transmitting it.
- 4 Operas performed at the same theatre, particularly in the early part of the period, tend to follow the same or compatible versions, irrespective of the impresario running the theatre.
- 5 Geographical proximity may affect transmission, theatres within the same city and theatres in cities close to each other in many cases preserving related versions. There are many exceptions, however.

b Of specific relevance to Portuguese productions

- 7 In the models there is no incontestable evidence for transmission between theatres in the Iberian peninsula. There is strong evidence that Spanish theatres obtained scores from Italy independently of Portuguese theatres.
- 8 The Teatro de São Carlos, Lisbon, did not use the score of *La ballerina amante* from the royal library at the Ajuda Palace.

We shall now examine a series of individual cases of operas performed in Portugal during our period, in order to confirm that the transmission processes observed above apply to the repertoire given at Portuguese theatres and in order to seek an answer to the questions raised in the introduction to Part 1.

Chapter 8

Case studies

The following case studies have been selected on the basis of their ability to demonstrate aspects of the transmission patterns observed in the models above, insofar as they are applicable to the Portuguese context, particularly that of the Teatro de S. Carlos, Lisbon, as the principal functioning opera house in Portugal in the period defined. They also serve to suggest answers to the specific questions raised above. Unlike the models, these operas are not used to show the detailed transmission pattern of each work *throughout* its history but to *focus*, rather, on elements of specific pertinence to the spread of opera to, within and from Portugal. Wherever relevant, reference is made to other operas that serve to confirm or contrast with the case studies.

The early years of the Teatro de S. Carlos (1793-98)

In this section our focus is on establishing in general the extent to which the patterns observed in the transmission models are applicable to the early years of the Teatro de S. Carlos and on the potential connections between the Teatro de S. Carlos, on the one hand, and the theatres that preceded it, both the Teatro da Rua dos Condes and the royal theatres, on the other. As a further focus we shall investigate how the manuscript scores chiefly at the library of the Palácio da Ajuda, Lisbon (*P-La*), are related to this scheme of things.

- Cimarosa *Chi dell'altrui si veste presto si spoglia*¹

This opera was performed at the Teatro de S. Carlos in the inaugural 1793 season. Like a number of other operas produced at the S. Carlos during the opening years, it had already been performed at the Teatro da Rua dos Condes (Carnival 1792). It is the only one of these operas, however, for which the libretto underwent a new edition, enabling us thus to compare the version performed in both productions.

Chi dell'altrui si veste presto si spoglia was first performed at the Teatro de' Fiorentini, Naples, as the third opera of 1783 in a 3-act version. Among the original cast was Giovanni Morelli as Martuffo. He repeated this role at the Teatro alla Scala,

¹Libretti consulted for productions at: Naples, Fiorentini: 3rd opera 1783; Milan, Scala: Autumn 1784; Genoa, Falcone: Autumn 1785; Naples, Fiorentini: 2nd opera 1787; Barcelona, Principal: 1789; Crema: Fair 1790; Salerno, S. Agostino: 4th opera 1790; Lisbon, Condes: Carnival 1792; Lisbon, S. Carlos, Autumn 1793.

Milan, in Autumn the following year and there is a strong possibility that he was responsible for transmitting it there. For this production the opera underwent thorough revision, including reduction to two acts, simply by eliminating the original Act III. Cimarosa was working at La Scala at this time - the première of *I due supposti conti* took place there on 10 October - so it is also possible that he was involved in conveying *Chi dell'altrui si veste* and was responsible for the revisions to the opera, though we have no definite proof of this.

Of the nine libretto editions of this opera that it has been possible to examine, two (Naples 1787 and Salerno 1790) broadly follow the original Neapolitan version, the 1787 Naples production having the role of Martuffo translated into Neapolitan dialect - it was sung by Antonio Casaccia, one of a dynasty of Neapolitan *bassi buffi* spanning several generations. The remainder broadly follow the Milanese version. Of these, however, the Lisbon productions, which preserve identical texts, are alone in being fully compatible with the Milanese version, differing from it only in cuts to Act I Scene 2 and Act II Scene 7. It is highly likely therefore that the score used at the Teatro da Rua dos Condes in 1792 was a copy of Milanese origin. There can be little doubt, either, that the same score was then used at the Teatro de São Carlos the following year. Although the productions had no singers in common, the impresario at the Teatro da Rua dos Condes was Francisco António Lodi, who became joint impresario of the Teatro de São Carlos when it opened. The score must have belonged to him.

It should be noted that the Barcelona production, though derived from the Milanese version, is not readily compatible with the Lisbon version.

The manuscript full scores preserved at the Palácio Ducal, Vila Viçosa (*P-VI*) (Act I: MS G57) and the Ajuda Palace Library, Lisbon, (*P-La*) (Act II: 47-III-2) are two parts of the same source, the paper, binding and copyist being the same. Again, though broadly following the Milanese version, there are differences from the version found in the Lisbon productions that make any direct connection highly unlikely. There are no indications in the *P-VI*/*P-La* scores that they were ever used for performance.

- P. A. Guglielmi *La virtuosa in Mergellina*²

Likewise performed at the Teatro de São Carlos during the inaugural season, this opera had already been given at the royal palace at Salvaterra during Carnival 1790.

²Libretti consulted for productions at: Naples. Nuovo: 2nd opera 1785; Salvaterra: Carnival. 1790; Livorno. Avvalorati: Carnival 1793; Lisbon. S. Carlos: 17 December 1793.

La virtuosa in Mergellina, in two acts from the very outset, was first performed at the T. Nuovo, Naples, as the 2nd opera of the 1785 season. The role of D. Mercurio, sung by Genaro Luzio, was originally in Neapolitan dialect. Also among the original cast was Francesco Marchesi as D. Ercolino.

Allowing for translation of the dialect sections into Italian, the Salvaterra libretto production follows the original closely. There is a manuscript score of the opera in *P-La* (44-IX-19/20). Ignoring the missing finales, it preserves an identical version. Either this score or one directly related to it must have been used for the Salvaterra production.

Just as with *La ballerina amante*, where Francesco Marchesi sang the *Primo buffo toscano* role in the première, but subsequently took on that of the *Primo buffo napoletano*, translated into standard Italian, so in this case he switched from the role of D. Ercolino to that of D. Mercurio for the production at the T. Avvalorati, Livorno, in Carnival 1793. This production, shortly before Marchesi's departure for Lisbon, also featured Paolo Boscoli as D. Ercolino. The version used on this occasion is a very impure one, including, among other 'foreign' material, the aria "Trenta cose a dirsi bella", with which Marchesi substituted the original Act I Scene 6 aria. He was to re-use it in *La ballerina amante* Act I Scene 9 for the inaugural production at the Teatro de S. Carlos.

Though the S. Carlos production of *La virtuosa in Mergellina* included Marchesi and Boscoli in the same roles as at Livorno, the version used is incompatible with the Livorno libretto, being generally much closer to the Neapolitan original. We must suppose therefore, that although Marchesi and Boscoli may well have been instrumental in the choice of the opera, they were not directly responsible for its transmission. On the other hand, various features of the Salvaterra/*P-La* MS version are incompatible with the S. Carlos libretto, e.g. the omission of material in Act II Scenes 2 and 3 in Salvaterra/*P-La* MS, present in the S. Carlos libretto, which thus follows the Neapolitan original at this point. We may conclude, therefore, that the score used for the Teatro de S. Carlos production did not come with Marchesi and Boscoli, nor from *P-La*, but from a third, presumably Italian, source that was in large part faithful to the Neapolitan original.

Neither Marchesi nor Boscoli sang in this opera again after the S. Carlos production.

- Cimarosa *Il convito*³

This opera was performed at the Teatro de S. Carlos in 1796. Although there is a manuscript score at *P-La* (44-V-4/5), the work was not performed at any of the court theatres.

The first performance took place at the T. San Samuele, Venice, in 1782 and spread extremely rapidly. However, of the eight subsequent libretto editions it has been possible to examine, the Teatro de S. Carlos edition is alone in preserving exactly the original Venice version. There are a number of variants in the *P-La* manuscript which link it to other productions but which make it incompatible with the S. Carlos libretto. The score used at the Teatro de S. Carlos is almost certain to have come from Venice.

- Dalayrac *Raollo signore di Crequi*⁴

This opera was first performed at the Teatro de S. Carlos on 17 December 1795, in celebration of Queen Maria I's birthday, and subsequently revived in 1800. There is no evidence that the libretto was reprinted for the 1800 production, our source of information being Ruders (1805-09).

Originally a French *opéra comique*, *Raoul Sire de Créqui* was first performed at the Comédie Italienne, Paris, on 31 October 1789. It was evidently a popular work, reaching Vienna in 1793, where it was given at the suburban Theater in der Leopoldstadt on 10 September⁵, and Stockholm, where Ruders had heard it prior to his departure for Lisbon in 1798⁶. It was translated into Italian by the francophile Giuseppe Carpani for production at the Milanese (Habsburg) court theatre at Monza in Autumn 1791. The libretto for the 1795 S. Carlos production states that the Italian translation used was by Carpani and the Monza libretto is fully compatible with it. Since there were apparently no other productions of this Italian version in Italy or elsewhere, we must conclude that the score used in Lisbon came from Monza.

³Libretti consulted for productions at: Venice. S. Samuele: Carnival 1782; Reggio nell'Emilia. Pubblico: Fair 1782; Bologna. Zagnoni: Carnival 1783; Nizza, Maccarani: Carnival 1783; Novara. Nuovo: Carnival 1783; Pavia. Nuovo: Spring 1783; Dresden: 1783; Vicenza, Nuovo: Carnival 1785; Lisbon. S. Carlos: Autumn 1796.

⁴Libretti consulted for productions at: Monza: Autumn 1791; Lisbon, S. Carlos: 17 December 1796.

⁵Kirk (1988). p.25.

⁶Ruders (1805-09). Letter of 29 March 1800.

Neither the S. Carlos nor Monza libretto cites the cast. There is, however, a pencil jotting in the Monza libretto preserved in the Carvalhaes collection in *I-Rsc*, indicating that the role of Landri was sung by Giuseppe Tavani, who was probably present in Lisbon at the time of the S. Carlos production and very likely repeated the role there⁷. He was not, however, a leading singer and is most unlikely to have possessed the score himself. More likely, an agent in nearby Milan forwarded a copy of the score.

Among the other singers likely to have taken part in the 1795 Lisbon production was Gaetano Neri. As noted above, in the Introduction to Part 2, he took a copy of the score from Lisbon to Madrid, though there is no record of *Raollo signor di Crequi* subsequently being performed there.

- P. C. Guglielmi *Dorval e Virginia*

Apart from the new operas composed for the S. Carlos by its maestro, António Leal Moreira, the only opera to be performed there during this period in the composer's presence was P. C. Guglielmi's *Dorval e Virginia*, given to celebrate the birthday of Prince João on 13th May 1795, during a brief visit by the young composer.

The opera had first been performed at the Teatro de Los Caños del Peral in January that year. Given that the S. Carlos production had no singers in common with the premiere and given the extreme rapidity with which the opera reached Lisbon, there can be little doubt that the composer was responsible for transmission.

There was also a production at Barcelona on 8 January 1796. However, Guglielmi cannot have been present, since he was already back in Italy by the end of 1795 for the production of his new opera *La Griselda* at the T. Pergola, Florence, on 27 December. He might, however, have visited Barcelona *en route* and left a copy.

So far, then, we may conclude that while some operas did come from Milan, e.g. *Chi dell'altrui si veste presto si spoglia* (via the T. da Rua dos Condes, Lisbon), or possibly through Milan, e.g. *Raollo signore di Crequi*, others did not. The source of *La virtuosa in Mergellina* is uncertain, but there is no hint of a Milanese connection. *Il convito* must have come from Venice. In another instance, Trento's *La finta*

⁷According to S. Carlos libretti, Tavani was present in Summer 1795 and Spring 1796. Most of the intervening libretti, however, as in the present case, do not name the cast, so we do not have absolute proof regarding the period in between.

ammalata, there is clear evidence that the score came from Florence⁸. We must therefore at this stage state that Milan had by no means an exclusive connection with Lisbon. On the contrary, Milan was evidently only one of several sources of scores.

Secondly, we should be aware that *Raollo signore di Crequi* is representative of a group of operas, all originally *opéras comiques*, which were only (or almost only) performed in Italian at Monza and Lisbon, always using identical Italian translations by Giuseppe Carpani. The original precedent was set shortly before the building of the S. Carlos with Grétry's *Riccardo cor di Leone*, performed at Salvaterra during Carnival 1792, which, as we saw in Chapter 1, was the last opera to be performed at a royal theatre. Apart from *Raollo*, three operas falling into this category were performed at the S. Carlos during the eighteenth century: Dalayrac's *I due ragazzi savoiardi* (Monza 1791, S. Pier d'Arena 1793, Lisbon 1796), Kreutzer's *Lodoiska* (Monza 1793, Lisbon 1796) and Dalayrac's *Camilla* (Monza 1794, Lisbon 1799).

The 'Golden Age' of the Teatro de S. Carlos (1798-1807)

The period bounded by the arrival of Crescentini and the 1st French Invasion was incomparable for the calibre of many of the singers and for the presence of two of the leading composers of the day, Marcos Portugal and Vaientino Fioravanti. The focus of this section is thus particularly on the role of singers and composers as agents of transmission. Once again we shall see to what extent manuscript scores chiefly at the Palácio da Ajuda, Lisbon, but including a small group preserved in London, principally at the Royal College of Music (*GB-Lcm*), are related to performances at the Teatro de S. Carlos.

- Salieri *Axur re d'Ormus*⁹

Salieri's *Axur* was performed at the Teatro de S. Carlos in Spring 1799, having already been put on at the Ajuda Theatre in celebration of Queen Maria I's birthday, on 17 December 1790. There are vocal and instrumental parts, but no full score, at *P-VV* (MS G33).

⁸There are only three known productions - Florence, Pallacorda: Spring 1793; Venice, San Cassano: Carnival 1794 and the truncated, pastiche Lisbon, S. Carlos: 1796 production. The Lisbon version contains none of the new material introduced at Venice, so must have come from Florence.

⁹Libretti consulted for productions at: Vienna, Burgth.: 1788; Lisbon, Ajuda: 17 December 1790; Milan, Scala: Spring 1792; Milan, Scala: Carnival 1797; Lisbon, S. Carlos: Spring 1799; Barcelona, Principal: 4 November 1800; Rio de Janeiro, S. João: 17 December 1814.

Axur re d'Ormus received its first performance at the Burgtheater, Vienna in 1788. It was at this same theatre that Girolamo Crescentini first sang in the work in April/May 1797. We cannot be certain as to whether Crescentini acquired a score and brought it to Lisbon or whether the management of the Teatro de S. Carlos obtained one independently, Crescentini being merely the catalyst for its use¹⁰. What we do know is that the singer composed two arias for the work - "Vieni agli amplessi miei" (MS preserved in *I-Nc*¹¹) and "Dei pietosi" (MS in *GB-Lcm* Parry 2258 (6) - opening page reproduced below), of which (only) the latter appears in the S. Carlos version, in Act I Scene 10. He probably wrote "Vieni agli amplessi miei", therefore, for the 1797 Vienna production and "Dei pietosi" either in Vienna or Lisbon. Neither "Dei pietosi" nor other significant variants from the S. Carlos version were reused at Barcelona in 1800 or Rio de Janeiro 1814.



Plate 13 Photograph of the opening of Crescentini's aria "Dei pietosi" composed for insertion in Salieri's *Axur re d'Ormus* (*GB-Lcm* MS Parry 2258 (6), f. 1v (author's photograph).

¹⁰Regrettably, I have been unable to locate a copy of the Vienna 1797 libretto, which would enable us to establish possible connections. Probably it was not printed.

¹¹Information from work list in article on Crescentini in *NGO* (Nicola Lucarelli).

The S. Carlos libretto is also incompatible with that for the Ajuda 1790 production. The latter, however, coincides precisely with the material preserved at Vila Viçosa and it will come as no surprise, therefore, to learn that the names Sigr. Reyna, Sigr. Schettini, Sigr. Marrocchini and Sigr. Martini appear on the Vila Viçosa parts, respectively, for Atar, Axur, Fiammetta and Urson - the singers who we know from the 1790 libretto sang in the Ajuda production. The 1790 Ajuda libretto also coincides exactly with that for the T. São João, Rio de Janeiro, in 1814 (little more than a year after its opening). The absence of the *full* score from Vila Viçosa (and Ajuda) is almost certainly because it was sent to Rio and re-used there.

Manuscript scores for a substantial number of operas performed in the first years of the S. Carlos had already been acquired by the Portuguese court prior to the cessation of court opera in 1792. Among these case studies we have now considered three: *Chi dell'altrui si veste presto si spoglia* (Act I at *P-VV*, Act II at *P-La*), *La virtuosa in Mergellina* (at *P-La*) and *Axur re d'Ormus* (vocal/orchestral parts at *P-VV*). Two important conclusions emerge from these cases, and are confirmed by the many others, too numerous to be considered here. Firstly, this repertoire as represented in the collection at Vila Viçosa originally formed part of the royal library at Ajuda - part was taken at some stage to Vila Viçosa, on an apparently indiscriminate basis, often leaving one act in one place and another in the other. Secondly, while the libretti for productions at the royal theatres prior to 1792 consistently follow the surviving scores in these two collections, those for the S. Carlos do not. It is absolutely clear that the *royal* library was not available for use by the *public* T. de São Carlos, which thus had to obtain scores from elsewhere. This distinction of royal and public was evidently less clear cut in Rio de Janeiro, where the royal family was living in 1814.

- Cimarosa *Gli Orazi e i Curiazi*¹²

Cimarosa's masterpiece *Gli Orazi e i Curiazi* holds a prime position in bringing us to an understanding of the repertoire at the S. Carlos at this period and the versions performed there, particularly since it is one of the very few for which two differing libretti were published, the first in celebration of Queen Maria I's birthday on 17

¹²Libretti consulted for productions at: Venice. Fenice. Carnival 1797; Venice. Fenice: Ascension 1797; Livorno. Avvalorati: Autumn 1797; Genoa. S. Agostino: Carnival 1798; Milan. Scala. Carnival 1798; Venice. Fenice: Autumn 1798; Lisbon. S. Carlos: 17 December 1798; Venice. Fenice: Carnival 1800; Bologna. [Zagnoni]: Spring 1800; Reggio nell'Emilia: Fair 1800; Verona. Accademia Filarmonica: Summer 1800; Vicenza. Nuovo. Summer 1800; Trieste. Cesarea Regio: Autumn 1800; Florence. Pergola: Autumn, 1801; Lisbon. S. Carlos: 11 November 1801; Trieste. Nuovo: Spring 1805; London. King's: 2 May 1805; Pavia. Compadroni: Spring 1807; Naples. S. Carlo: 18 November 1807; Barcelona. Principal: 1807; Florence. Pergola: Spring 1808; also Marcos Portugal's *Gli Orazi e i Curiazi*: Ferrara. Nazionale: Summer 1800.

December 1798 and the second for the restoration of friendly relations between the Portuguese crown and Napoleon, on 11 November 1801 (though the peace treaty was actually signed on 6 June).

The opera was first performed on 26 December 1796 at the Teatro La Fenice, Venice, with Josephina Grassini as Orazia and Girolamo Crescentini as Curiazio. Crescentini repeated the role of Curiazio at the Burgtheater, Vienna, in April/May of that year, at the Teatro Avvalorati, Livorno, in Autumn and at the Teatro alla Scala, Milan, in Carnival 1798, the last of these with Gustavo Lazzerini as Marco Orazio (and Francesca Riccardi-Paër as Orazia). Crescentini and Lazzerini repeated these roles at the S. Carlos in the 1798 production. We may be certain that Crescentini possessed a copy of the score. As *primo soprano*, and therefore the leading member of the troupe, the opera would have been written most of all with his voice in mind. It was entirely usual, as we saw with Elena Harlas as *primo soprano* in *I baccanti di Roma*, and as we shall see with other singers, for principals to possess scores of operas written particularly for them.

At Lisbon, as also at Livorno and Milan, a high degree of fidelity to the original version is maintained, cuts, substitutions and additions being consistently few by the standards we have observed in our models, the only consistent point of instability being a substitution in Act III Scene 2, where the original aria for Curiazio "Resta in pace, idolo mio", is replaced by "Nò, non temer mio bene" at Livorno and Milan, and by "Deh, cessa, mio bene" at Lisbon, an indefinition resolved in the 1801 production by the cutting of Scenes 1-3 of Act III entirely.

Although Crescentini was still in Lisbon for the 1801 revival of *Gli Orazi e i Curiazi*, we should be aware of a number of changes in the circumstances. For one thing, the cast, apart from Crescentini as Curiazio and Gaetano Neri as Publio Orazio, was a different one.

Of the principal roles, Vincenzo Praun, replacing Lazzerini as Marco Orazio, had no previous connections with the opera, but Angelica Catalani, who sang Orazia in place of Domenico Caporalini, had already sung in four previous productions: the T. La Fenice, Venice, in Carnival 1800, the T. Filarmonico, Verona, and the T. Nuovo, Vicenza, in Summer of the same year and the T. Cesarea Regio, Trieste, that Autumn. Like Crescentini, she played the role of Curiazio in all of these productions, and it is indicative, on the one hand, of Crescentini's precedence, and, on the other, of the post

she must have been contracted to fill - that of *prima donna seria* - that she had to change roles and play Orazia.

Catalani made two substitutions: in Act I Scene 10 she sang the aria "A questo core oppresso" in place of "Nacqui è ver tra grandi eroi", and in Act II Scene 5 a *recitativo accompagnato* "L'amante forse" leading to the aria "Se la patria è mia rivale", replacing "Se Pietà nel cor serbate" (in Scene 7 at the premiere, in Scene 6 of the 1798 Lisbon production). The Act II substitution was borrowed from Nicolini's *I baccanali di Roma* Act II Scene 5, an opera written for performance at the Teatro alla Scala, Milan, in Carnival 1801, particularly with her in mind and generally considered her first great triumph.

In other respects the 1801 S. Carlos libretto follows the version used at the theatre in 1798 very closely: in Act I by cutting the opening of Scene 9 and substituting the last part of the finale, and in Act II by including the same substitute duet for Curiazio and Orazia in Scene 3, by the combining of the original Scenes 4 and 5 to make a single Scene 4, by maintaining a substitute aria for Marco Orazio in Scene 8 and by the cutting of the original Scene 10. All of these are specifically Lisbon variants, so that we may be certain that the 1801 version is a direct descendent of the 1798 version.

If Crescentini was the catalyst for the 1798 production, what then about 1801? I would suggest that the choice of this opera for revival, unlike anything we saw in the model operas, was the consequence of a political decision taken by Pina Manique. The plot of the opera is centred on conflict between warring sides and the deaths of the bride and bridegroom to be, Curiazio and Orazia. According to the 1798 libretto, the performance on the actual occasion of the Queen's birthday ends not in the tragedy of Orazia's death, as in Sografi's libretto, but rather, in a specially composed ending, in the prevention of the tragedy by a spirit, who then leads all present in a eulogy of the Queen. Corresponding to this, for the performance on 11 November 1801, given in the presence of the Royal Family and following which Pina Manique had laid on a banquet for the guests, a spirit once more intervenes, urging Marco Orazio to put an end to bloodshed. The scene changes magically to a temple interior, with a portrait of the Prince Regent as a backcloth. Curiazio is restored to life and with Orazia he sings in praise of peace and the peace-bringer, the Prince Regent. The symbolism in the context of the celebration of peace between the Portuguese and French is obvious¹³.

¹³For a study of the role of politics in determining alterations to libretto texts, specifically Sografi's libretto *La morte di Cleopatra*, see Nocciolini (1994).

It remains to be stated that Crescentini went on to repeat *Gli Orazi e i Curiazi* at Piacenza in 1804 and Vienna, in 1805, as did Lazzerini at Bologna and Reggio nell'Emilia in 1800, and Catalani at Paris in 1816¹⁴. The production at the T. Principal, Barcelona, given in 1807, did not include any of the Lisbon variants observed above and is clearly unrelated.

We have now seen Crescentini centrally involved in determining the performance of two operas. He may have brought the score of *Axur re d'Ormus* and certainly brought that of *Gli Orazi e i Curiazi* to Lisbon. To these we must add Sarti's *Giulio Sabino* (he sang the title role at Civit  Vecchia in 1790, Genoa and Brescia in 1793, Brescia again in 1794 and Lisbon in 1798), Cimarosa's *L'olimpiade* (he sang the role of Megacle at Genoa in 1791 and Lisbon in 1798), Zingarelli's *Giulietta e Romeo* (composed for him at Milan in 1796, he sang the role of Romeo there, at Venice, Reggio nell'Emilia and Modena the same year, Vienna in 1797, Lisbon in 1798-99, Milan and Vienna in 1804, Paris in 1809) and Paisiello's *I giuochi d'Agrigento* (he sang the role of Alceo at Venice in 1794, Verona in 1795 and Lisbon in 1799). He certainly brought with him the scores of all or most of these.

As for Catalani, she brought not merely the one aria from Nicolini's *I baccanali di Roma*. She clearly possessed the score, singing Fecennia [sic] not only at the Milanese premiere but also at Genoa in Spring 1801 and at Lisbon in 1804. She is likely also to have brought two other operas: Curcio's *Ifigenia in Aulide* - she sang the role of protagonist at both the Florence premiere in 1799 and the 1802 Lisbon production - and Mayr's *Gli Sciti* - she sang at the Venice premiere in 1800 as well as the 1803 Lisbon production¹⁵.

- Portugal *Fernando nel Messico*¹⁶

Fernando nel Messico was performed at the T. de S. Carlos in Summer 1805 in a version revised by the composer. The original premiere took place at the T. San Benedetto, Venice, in Carnival 1798. Although the role of the protagonist was played by the castrato Filippo Martinelli, the opera was above all composed as a display piece

¹⁴For ease of reading, in this and similar lists with other singers I have omitted the name of the theatre and the season. If needed, these can be found in the corresponding entry in Appendix 2 (Singers).

¹⁵She originally sang the *primo uomo* role of Altamaro but since Crescentini was the *primo uomo* at the S. Carlos, she had to switch to the *prima donna* role of Obeida, a phenomenon we have already observed with *Gli Orazi e i Curiazi*.

¹⁶Libretti consulted for productions at: Venice, S. Benedetto: Carnival 1798; London, King's: n.d. [1803]; Lisbon, S. Carlos: Summer 1805.

for the English *prima donna* Elisabeth Billington, in the role of Zulmira. Also in the cast was Domenico Mombelli as Zorambo.

Other than at Lisbon there were subsequent productions at the T. Nuovo, Padua, in Summer 1798, at the T. Cesarea Regio, Trieste, in Autumn 1799 and at the King's Theatre, London, in 1803. Mrs. Billington sang the role of Zulmira in all of these. She evidently possessed the autograph manuscript score, which now resides, in a somewhat altered state, in *GB-Lbl* (Add. MS. 16,112).

The cast of the Lisbon production included Catalani as Zulmira, Mombelli as Zorambo and Ludovico Olivieri as Fernando. The score underwent thorough revision, the changes to the libretto being made by the theatre's poet Giuseppe Caravita and to the music by the composer. As well as the alterations to suit Catalani's voice, the role of Fernando had to be reconceived for a bass.

Though Mombelli may well have contributed to the idea of staging *Fernando nel Messico* at the S. Carlos, it is most improbable that he possessed a copy - he did not sing the opera between Venice and Lisbon. We must assume, therefore, that the composer had retained one and was responsible for its transmission to Lisbon.

The MS full scores preserved in Portuguese libraries - Act I in *P-La* (48-II-24) and Act II in *P-IV* (MS G 41) - though different in their paper, binding and copyists, probably originally belong together. They follow the Lisbon version and were almost certainly copies for presentation to the Prince Regent.

Fernando nel Messico was one of three *opere serie* that Portugal wrote while in Italy and revised for performance at the S. Carlos, the other two being *L'Argenide o sia Il ritorno di Serse* (Florence, Pallacorda: April 1797; revised Lisbon, S. Carlos: 13 May 1804) and *Demofonte* (Milan, Scala: 8 February 1794; revised Lisbon, S. Carlos: 15 August 1808). While in the latter case we may again assume that the composer was responsible for transmission, we cannot do so with *L'Argenide*. Mombelli was again among the premiere cast (as Serse) and he evidently possessed a score (quite possibly the autograph), for he appeared again as Serse at Venice in 1798 and Verona in 1799 as well as at Lisbon in 1804. He is, in actual fact, more likely than the composer to have been the transmitter.

Mombelli and/or Olivieri, with whom Mombelli and his family travelled from Naples in 1803 and who became effectively a member of the family until 1813, was also probably

responsible for bringing two other operas to Lisbon: Tritto's *Gli americani* (they sang the roles of Cabana Cacico and Arias Davila, respectively, at the Naples premiere in 1802, at Lisbon in 1803 and at Padua in 1809 - the only three known productions of the opera) and P. C. Guglielmi's *La distruzione di Gerusalemme* (although they were not involved in the premiere, at the S. Carlo, Naples, in Lent 1803, both singers were probably still in Naples at the time and may well have acquired the score then, singing the roles of Sedecia and Geremia respectively at Lisbon in 1805 and Parma in 1810, Mombelli going on to sing it at Milan in 1815).

- Portugal *La morte di Semiramide*¹⁷

Marcos Portugal composed *La morte di Semiramide* for the occasion of Angelica Catalani's Benefit in 1801, taking as his text a libretto by Antonio Sografi, which had already been set by Nasolini and Borghi, and which was modified for the the purpose by Giuseppe Caravita. It received its premiere at the T. de S. Carlos, Lisbon, on 23 December, with Catalani in the title role and Crescentini as Arsace.

Of the subsequent productions three involved Catalani: at the King's Theatre, London, from 13 December 1806 (with the title simply as *Semiramide* - repeated in 1807, 1808, 1811, 1812 and 1813), at the Crow Street Theatre, Dublin, from 20 August 1808 (though scenes from the opera had been sung there by her the previous year) and the Th. Italien, Paris, from 16 September 1817. She must have possessed a score (a copy, since the autograph, which, as we saw in Chapter 2, Crescentini had stolen and been forced to return, still resides in Lisbon, at the Biblioteca Nacional¹⁸), and she was certainly the agent of transmission for these productions.

From her time in London on, Catalani often included two arias from *La morte di Semiramide* in concerts. The first and particularly celebrated was "Son regina", originally the Act I finale. Portugal revised the aria for *La Sofonisba* in 1803 and it was further altered in London. The other aria, "Frenar vorrei le lagrime", had a more complex history. Originally composed by Portugal for his setting of *Gli Orazi e i Curiazi* for the inauguration of the Teatro Nazionale, Ferrara, in Summer 1798, it was adopted, along with another aria, by Josephina Grassini for substitution in Cimarosa's

¹⁷Libretti consulted for productions at: Lisbon, S. Carlos: Winter 1801; London, King's: 1807; London, King's: 1812.

¹⁸Call-mark: MM 4816 A 1-2. The score includes an autograph substitute aria by Portugal for Semira in P. C. Guglielmi's *La distruzione di Gerusalemme*. Owing to the orthographic similarity between this character and the protagonist of Portugal's opera, the aria was erroneously bound into this volume. The opening page of this aria is reproduced in Seabra (1993), p. 74, in the mistaken belief that it is from *La morte di Semiramide*.

opera. It rapidly became a favourite among other singers. Catalani must first have met it when she sang at Verona or Vicenza in Summer 1800 alongside Luigia Calderini, who included this aria as a substitution. This would have been reinforced by Anna Morichelli Bosello who sang it at Trieste that Autumn, when Catalani was again in the cast. Indeed, probably the only reason the latter did not sing it in the 1801 Lisbon production of *Gli Orazi e i Curiazi* was her wish to show off the aria that Nicolini had composed for her. Marcos Portugal did, however, include "Frenar vorrei le lagrime" in his revised version of *La Zaira* in Summer 1804. When Catalani reached London, she introduced the aria into Act 2 in the 1806/07 production of *La morte di Semiramide*.

As well as *La morte di Semiramide*, Catalani took at least two other scores by Portugal on from Lisbon: *L'Argenide*, which she sang at London in 1807, and *La morte di Mitridate*, the last opera the composer wrote for her, premiered at Lisbon in 1806 and repeated by her at London in 1807 and Dublin in 1808.

- Portugal *L'oro non compra amore* and Fioravanti *Camilla*¹⁹

Both *L'oro non compra amore* and *Camilla* received their premieres at the T. de S. Carlos in 1804, being directed by their respective composers, and both included, among others in the cast, Elisabetta Gafforini (in the roles of Lisetta/Camilla) and Giuseppe Naldi (as Giorgio/Duca Alberto). *L'oro non compra amore* was given for Gafforini's Benefit.

If we look first at subsequent productions of *L'oro non compra amore*, we find that Gafforini repeated the role of Lisetta at Milan in 1808, Turin in 1809, Naples, in 1812 and Vicenza in 1815²⁰. The proximity of the Milan libretto to the original version is very noticeable, particularly when compared with the other editions it has been possible to examine - cuts and additions/substitutions are few and none involve Lisetta's role. This, combined, firstly, with the fact that the opera was written for her Benefit and, secondly, with the number of times she subsequently repeated the role, make it almost certain that she possessed the score and was the agent of the opera's transmission.

¹⁹Libretti consulted for productions of *L'oro non compra amore* at: Lisbon, S. Carlos: Winter 1804; Milan, Scala: 'Autunnino' 1808; Florence, Pergola: Spring 1811; Milan, Canobbiana: Summer 1811. Libretti consulted for productions of *Camilla* at: Lisbon, S. Carlos: 1804; Milan, Scala: Autumn 1810; Chieti: Carnival 1815; Rome, Valle: Autumn 1817.
²⁰Carvalhaes (1910), pp. 164-175.

L'oro non compra amore was again performed at the S. Carlos on 5 January 1810 under the composer's direction and for the Benefit of Marianna Scaramelli, who must have sung Lisetta. This combination of composer and leading singer was repeated at the court theatre, Rio de Janeiro, the following year, on 17 December, Queen Maria I's birthday. Presumably Marcos Portugal took the score with him to Brazil.

Turning to the subsequent productions of *Camilla*, of the four it has been possible to trace, two involve singers from the original Lisbon production, namely at London in 1806, where Naldi sang the role of Cola, and at Milan in 1810, where Gafforini once more took the title role. In the London production, the libretto is identical to the original in Acts I and II, and Act III Scene 1, but there is a completely new Finale. Given that the opera was being given for Josephina Grassini's Benefit and that Naldi was not singing the role originally composed for him (Duca Alberto), we should make no assumptions as to his involvement either in the choice or transmission of the opera. The Milan production, a single performance on 7 November²¹, which, I would suggest, may well have been a Benefit performance, also followed the original version very closely, differing only in substituting Duca Alberto's aria in Act I Scene 8 and accommodating the preceding recitative to fit it. Gafforini may well have chosen the opera and been the agent of its transmission²².

As we have seen, Gafforini certainly took a score of *L'oro non compra amore* with her from Lisbon and probably one of *Camilla*. She was also very important in bringing operas to Lisbon, certainly being responsible for transmitting Fioravanti's *La capricciosa pentita* (as "*L'orgoglio avvilito*")²³, Giuseppe Mosca's *Il sedicente filosofo* and *La fortunata combinazione*, and Orlandi's *Il podestà di Chioggia*, having taken part in the premieres of all four at La Scala, Milan, in 1801 or 1802 and repeating them at Lisbon in 1803 or 1804. She probably also brought with her a score of Portugal's *Le donne cambiate*, in which she had sung the role of Contessa Ernesta at Livorno in 1798, Trieste in 1799, Turin in 1800 and Milan in 1801, prior to singing it at Lisbon in 1804 on the occasion of the Benefit of Antonio Palmini²⁴. The latter may also have possessed a score, having previously sung the role of Biagio at Florence in 1798 and Genoa in 1801. While Naldi was clearly less central as an agent of transmission, he

²¹according to the chronology in Gatti (1964).

²²The libretti for the productions Chieti and Rome are both very impure. The former gives the librettist as Tottola, which suggests that Tottola may at some point have revised the libretto (originally by Caravita, based on Carpani's text for Paer's opera of the same name).

²³For more details of this opera, see below in the section regarding the T. de São João, Oporto.

²⁴At Lisbon the second aria for Contessa Ernesta and Carlotta were cut, and Portugal composed a new duet for the Conte and Contessa. This follows very much the pattern at Milan, where both the two arias and the duet were cut. Gafforini must certainly have been centrally involved in the pattern that the Lisbon production took.

probably did acquire a score of Trento's *Gli assassini* while in Lisbon, for, having played the part of Roberto at Lisbon in 1804, he repeated the role at the King's Theatre, London, in 1807 when the opera was given the revised title, focusing on his role, *Roberto l'assassino*.

At the Royal College of Music, London, there are manuscript scores of both *Camilla* (GB-Lcm MS Parry 196) and *L'oro non compra amore* (GB-Lcm MS Parry 514), which are to all intents and purposes identical to the respective S. Carlos libretti. The score for *L'oro non compra amore* is a particularly remarkable manuscript for two reasons: firstly, it is copied with most exceptional care and clarity, with tempo indications and dynamics highlighted by being in red ink, in contrast to the black of the rest; secondly, it informs us of the identity of the copyist, stating on the frontispiece "Copiò dall'originale Joaq. Casimiro". Very clearly, this was intended as a presentation copy, though there is no indication as to who it was intended for. In addition, the indication of the copyist here provides us with a key to the understanding of a whole series of manuscripts of operas by Marcos Portugal and Fioravanti located in libraries in Portugal and London. Joaquim Casimiro is known to have been a copyist at the T. de S. Carlos. With his hand identifiable through this manuscript, it has been possible to identify other manuscripts to which he contributed, and to associate a series of other copyists with him and therefore with the copying system at the S. Carlos. We may add, furthermore, from the enormous quantity and, in certain cases, the type of things he copied (this outstanding presentation copy, in some manuscripts just the arias but not the recitatives, which were left for others), that he must have been the chief copyist²⁵. The *Camilla* manuscript also contains sections copied by Casimiro, thus linking it too to the S. Carlos *copisteria*.

The pair of manuscript scores of *L'oro non compra amore* made up of the Overture/Act I at *P-Lan* (Fundo Casa da Fronteira, MS 73) and Act II at *P-IV* (Mus. MS G39) was copied by four copyists, including Casimiro. This again is certainly a product of the S. Carlos *copisteria*, as are the scores of Fioravanti's *La dama soldato* and Portugal's *Argenide*, *Fernando nel Messico* (Act II only²⁶), *La Merope*, *La morte di Mitridate*, *La morte di Semiramide* and *La Zaira*, variously at *P-La* and *P-VV*, and *Demofonte* (Act I only) at *P-Ln*.

²⁵For a discussion of the corpus of manuscripts involved, see Cranmer (1988).

²⁶The *P-La* Act I is of less certain origin.

- Portugal *Artaserse* and Mozart *La clemenza di Tito*²⁷

In Autumn and Winter 1806 there were two Benefit productions which particularly warrant our attention, respectively *Artaserse*, composed by Marcos Portugal for the Benefit of Eufemia Eckart, and Mozart's *La clemenza di Tito*, for the Benefit of Marianna Sessi.

At the premiere production of *Artaserse* at the T. de S. Carlos the title role was played by Ludovico Olivieri, with Eckart as Arbace, Sessi as Mandane and Domenico Mombelli as Artabano. Only three subsequent productions of the opera are known: at the T. Pergola, Florence, in Lent 1810 and the T. Ducale, Parma, in Carnival 1817, both with Eckart²⁸ as Arbace, and at the Court Theatre, Rio de Janeiro, on Queen Maria's birthday, 17 December, 1812, directed by the composer.

The Florence libretto differs from that for Lisbon only in cutting the closing duet of Act I Scene 1 and the whole of Act II Scene 12, and in substituting the two arias for Mandane. Although further alterations were made at Parma, the version there still remains fundamentally similar to the original. Given that Eckart sang at both Florence Parma productions, and given how close these two versions are to the original, there can be little doubt that she was responsible for the choice and transmission of the opera.

The Rio de Janeiro libretto, however, differs still less from the Lisbon libretto, merely cutting the original Act I Scene 5 aria "Per pietà, bell'idol mio" and the following recitative. As in the case of *L'oro non compra amore*, it is likely that the composer took the score with him and was the agent of transmission.

The Royal College of Music, London, also possesses a score of *Artaserse* (GB-Lcm MS Parry 512), apparently the only extant copy. Once more it is demonstrably a product of the S. Carlos *copisteria*, containing four hands including Casimiro's, and apart from two cuts it gives an identical version to the 1806 S. Carlos libretto.

²⁷Libretti consulted for productions of *Artaserse* at: Lisbon, S. Carlos: Autumn 1806; Florence, Pergola: Lent 1810; Rio de Janeiro, Court: 17 December 1812; Parma, Ducale: Carnival 1817. Libretti consulted for productions of *La clemenza di Tito*: Prague, National: 6 September 1791; Lisbon, S. Carlos: Winter 1806; Naples, S. Carlo: 14 May 1809. London, King's: 27 March 1806. Related libretti also consulted: 'Portogallo' *Tito Vespasiano* - Livorno, Carlo Lodovico: Spring 1807. 'Portogallo' *Barsene regina di Lidia* - London, King's: 3 June 1815.

²⁸Eufemia Eckart married Gaetano Neri at the Igreja dos Martires, Lisbon, on 23 October 1806. The Lisbon libretto for *Artaserse* has the original form of her name, while at Florence and Parma her surname is given as Eckart Neri.

La clemenza di Tito also has a story of connection with the beneficiary, this time principally, though not wholly, prior to its performance in Lisbon. Marianna Sessi first sang in the opera (as Sesto) at the Burgtheater, Vienna, in 1804, repeating the role in the production at Munich the following year, the Tito in both cases being the baritone Antonio Brizzi. Although neither libretto seems to have been printed, we know something about the versions used from the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*²⁹, which tells us that it was necessary at Vienna to make two substitutions to accommodate Brizzi's voice, since he was not a true tenor, one being by Johann Simon Mayr, the other specially composed by the maestro for the Vienna production, Joseph Weigl. From the Lisbon libretto it is plain which arias are being referred to, since Domenico Mombelli, the Lisbon Tito, in spite of being a true tenor, repeated the same substitutions. In Act I Scene 4 "Splenda di Roma il fato", the specially-composed Weigl substitution, effectively replaces "Del più sublime soglio", in Scene 7; in Act II Scene 6 "Non tradirmi in quest'istante", borrowed from Mayr's *I misteri eleusini* (first performed at the T. alla Scala, Milan, 6 January 1802) is added at the end of Tito's *recitativo accompagnato* "Che orror! che tradimento", while the original Mozart aria "Se all'impero, amici Dei!" is cut from the end of Scene 10. At Munich, at Brizzi's instigation and not at all involving Sessi, there were eight changes, with music by Winter and Cannabich being introduced as well as material by Weigl and Mayr. The Lisbon version, remarkably pure by the standards of the time, apparently reverts to what was performed at Vienna, though possibly with more cuts. Plainly, Sessi was not only responsible for the choice of opera, but brought the score containing the Weigl and Mayr substitutions with her from Vienna to Munich (where the score, at any rate, did not apparently suffer any changes, even if the production did) and on to Lisbon.

The story is far from complete, however. There exists a curious libretto of an opera entitled *Tito Vespasiano*, performed at the T. Carlo Lodovico, Livorno, in Spring 1807, and attributed there to 'Marco Portogallo'. Marcos Portugal was, of course, at this time in Lisbon, but, as it happens, the cast for the production included Marianna Sessi. As well as the libretto itself we are singularly fortunate in possessing an almost identical manuscript entitled *La clemenza di Tito*, also attributed to 'Marco Portogallo', at the Conservatorio Arrigo Boito, Parma (*I-PAc* MS SL 256-57)³⁰. An analysis of the contents of libretto and score make it quickly apparent that the work is a pastiche,

²⁹AMZ VI, N° 30, 25 April 1804, cols. 504-6; VII 46, 14 August 1805, cols. 741-3.

³⁰The differences found in the manuscript are as follows: in Act I Scene 2 Vitellia's aria begins "Ecco a te mi guida amore", continuing from line 2 as in the libretto; in Act I Scene 7 Servilia's aria is substituted by one beginning "All'idea di tal periglio"; in Act I Scene 8 the aria "Torbido mar che freme" is assigned to Annio instead of Publio; in Act II Scene 3 there is an additional chorus "Calma l'affanno" and aria for Tito "Sommi e clementi dei", in effect replacing the corresponding chorus and aria for Tito in Act II Scene 4 of the libretto.

including, among much else, sections drawn from Mozart's *La clemenza di Tito* (including the overture), an *Introduzione* from Farinelli's *I riti d'Efeso* and two arias from Portugal's *Artaserse* ("Frenar non posso il pianto" from Act I Scene 6 and "Sospirando, afflito e mesto", a slight rewording of "Palpitando, afflitta e sola" from Act II Scene 13), all operas associated with Sessi.³¹

Sessi also took part in the production of *La clemenza di Tito* at the T. S. Carlo, Naples, on 13 May 1809. Much of the *Tito Vespasiano* material reappears in this libretto (leaving little by Mozart), though not the *Artaserse* arias - Sessi had, after all, already used "Sospirando, afflito e mesto" as a substitution in Zingarelli's *Giulietta e Romeo* there, one that she went on to repeat in the production of Zingarelli's opera at the Th. de L'Impératrice, Paris, on 16 December 1812³². "Sospirando, afflito e mesto" also found its way into *Barsene regina di Lidia*, performed at the King's Theatre, London, in 1815, where it appears in Act II Scene 10. This was another pastiche concocted by Sessi, for her Benefit night, once more attributed to 'Marco Portogallo'.

That Sessi carried scores about with her is extremely clear. Not only did she bring *La clemenza di Tito* to Lisbon but she must also have possessed Farinelli's *I riti d'Efeso* - she had sung Aspasia at Vienna in 1805, repeating the role in Lisbon in 1806, Rome, Reggio nell'Emilia and Parma in 1811, and Turin in 1812, also, as we have seen, including material from the opera in *Tito Vespasiano*. Whether she owned a score of the whole of *Artaserse* as distinct from her two arias is far from proven. It is perhaps significant in this respect that whenever Eufemia Eckart Neri repeated *Artaserse*, the arias for Mandane (Marianna Sessi) were always replaced. Maybe they were simply missing from her copy of the score as Sessi had taken them with her³³.

The choice of operas we have examined for the period 1798-1807 emphasises the role of singers as carriers, both to and from Lisbon. This is by far the most striking feature among the modes of transmission during these years. We should be aware that this was partly because of the sheer calibre of singers such as Crescentini, Catalani, Mombelli, Gafforini, Naldi, Eckart Neri and Sessi, lesser singers being not only less

³¹For a detailed account of the contents and origins of the productions of *La clemenza di Tito* in London and Lisbon (1806), Naples (1809), Paris (1816) and Milan (1818), as well as *Tito Vespasiano* in Livorno (1807), see Collins & Cranmer (forthcoming).

³²The manuscript used for the Naples production still exists at the Conservatorio there (*I-Vc* Rari 5.5.33-34), the first volume entitled "Il Tito Vespasiano", and attributed to Marco Portogallo, the second entitled "La clemenza di Tito" and attributed to Mozart.

³³It is perhaps ironic that the sole surviving autograph material from *Artaserse* is the aria "Palpitando, afflitta e sola", preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon (call-mark: MM 434).

influential in the choice of productions but less likely to possess their own copies of scores. We should also remember that it was not the only mode, with scores continuing to be received through agents in Italy. The *opéras comiques* reaching Lisbon from Monza, probably via Milan, have already mentioned. Among other operas not reaching Lisbon through singers, specific reference should be made to Gnecco's *Filandro e Carolina*, performed at the S. Carlos in Spring 1807, since all the evidence points to its having come from Rome, thus widening the range of Italian cities that supplied Lisbon with scores³⁴.

Invasion and doldrums at the Teatro de S. Carlos (1807-18)

The period bound by the 1st French Invasion (1807-8) and the resumption of regular seasons, really and truly only from late 1818, may be broken down into three distinct phases: the invasion itself, when business continued as normally as possible, its aftermath, when opera performances seem to have been irregular, the repertoire decidedly backward-looking and the printing of libretti, with only one or two exceptions, discontinued (from late 1808), and the period of attempted re-establishment of regular opera (from late 1812), when the repertoire was of mostly recent works but libretti were still not, as a rule, printed.

In the first and third of these phases, we have cases of composer involvement in transmission and actual composition. P. C. Guglielmi is likely have brought a score of his opera *La fiera*, given with the new title *L'amante di tutte. fedele a nessuna* at Lisbon in late 1807. Marcos Portugal revised his *Demofonte* for a production in celebration of Napoleon's birthday on 15 August 1808, presumably adapting a score he had brought with him from Italy eight years earlier. Prospero Pedrazzi's new opera *Amor senza interesse* was put on probably in late 1808 or early 1809³⁵, while Trento composed *Tutto per inganno* for the Lisbon theatre in 1816.

One new opera does stand out at this time, namely Luigi Gianella's *Ifigenia in Aulide* on 16 January 1808. The composer and, possibly, his librettist Stefano Vestris, came to Lisbon from Paris in the immediate wake of the French invasion. To judge from Vestris' announcement in the printed libretto (cited in Chapter 3), this opera was

³⁴Libretti consulted for productions at: Rome, Valle: Autumn 1804; Bologna, Comunale: Spring 1805; Lisbon, S. Carlos: Spring 1807; productions with the title *Carolina e Filandro*: Fiume, Adamich: Autumn 1805; Florence, Pallacorda: Spring 1806; Livorno, Accademici Floridi: Spring 1808.

³⁵See Chapter 3 and Appendix I (Chronology) for my dating of this opera.

intended as some kind of attempt at reform, part of a programme of cultural propaganda from the invading power.

With the French duly removed and the British installed in their place later in 1808, the Paris-Lisbon axis was replaced by a close link between London and Lisbon. Initially, opera in Lisbon suffered from something of a vacuum. Cultural propaganda formed no part of the British brief and the sporadic productions of opera must have been dependent, to judge from the repertoire, on old favourites and whatever else happened to be available. Nevertheless, it was from London that the first company aimed at re-establishing opera at Lisbon came (in late 1812).

The lack of printed libretti for the S. Carlos at this time makes it impossible to give properly founded statements about which operas came from where or how. However, two operas at least are suggestive that the singers did bring scores with them, namely Pucitta's *La caccia di Enrico IV*, premiered at the King's Theatre in 1809 and performed at the S. Carlos in 1814, and Portugal's *Le donne cambiate*, which Giuseppe Bertini had sung in at the Pantheon, London, in 1812 before singing it for his Benefit at the S. Carlos also in 1814³⁶. For reasons already explained in Chapter 3 and to which we shall return later in this chapter, I also believe that this troupe possessed a score of Mozart's *Così fan tutte* and almost certainly sang it in Lisbon between late 1812 and 1814.

To judge from the *AMZ* correspondent cited in the Introduction to Part 2, the new company that began singing at the S. Carlos at some point in 1815 had been contracted in Milan and scores were also acquired there at that time. The S. Carlos libretti we possess from 1816 and 1817, however, are too few and limited in scope for us to confirm the origin of the scores used then.

Re-establishment and continuation at the Teatro de S. Carlos (1818-28)

In late 1818, following various attempts over the previous six years, opera was finally re-established on a longer-lasting, regular basis. In this section, then, our chief task is to confirm that the transmission patterns we observed prior to the French invasions resumed in the aftermath of this trauma. It has to be stated, however, from the outset

³⁶We must remember that the S. Carlos throughout our period had no library or other repository for scores used at the theatre. The scores were the individual property of the impresarios, composers, singers, etc., so that the fact that *Le donne cambiate* was by Marcos Portugal or that it had already been performed at the theatre did not mean that there was necessarily a score available locally that could be used.

that the repertoire itself shows fewer idiosyncracies than before. Relatively few operas from the final ten years of our period were not also performed in Madrid and Barcelona, for example, and the corpus of Rossini operas, in particular, formed a *sine qua non* of the repertoire everywhere, a phenomenon not observed to the same degree previously with any other composer. It has also to be added that the tendency in the music towards reducing the sharp division between recitative and aria, and the greater integration of music and drama, especially in the *melodramme* that were developing from the increasingly antiquated *opere serie*, made the cuts, substitutions and additions that were part and parcel of earlier practice gradually more difficult and less desirable. This in turn makes the versions of the libretto for each production increasingly similar and a *stemma* correspondingly more difficult to construct. For the end of this period we shall also focus on scores in two Lisbon libraries - the Biblioteca Nacional (*P-Ln*) and the archive of the T. de São Carlos (*P-Lt*) - of operas performed at the S. Carlos at that time and the extent to which these actually relate to performances at the theatre.

- *Coccia Clotilde*³⁷

Clotilde was first performed at the T. de S. Carlos in 1818, being repeated there in 1821 and 1828. It was also given at the T. de S. João, Oporto, in 1820, one of the few productions there at this period for which we possess a full libretto.

The premiere took place at the T. San Benedetto, Venice, in Spring 1815, rapidly becoming a considerable success. Among the early subsequent productions are two of particular relevance to Portuguese productions, since the libretti include variants found also in Lisbon and/or Oporto, namely at the T. San Benedetto, Venice, in Spring 1816 and at the T. Rè, Milan, in Spring 1817.

Although the cast for the 1816 S. Benedetto production was totally different from the premiere there a year earlier, the libretto text differs in only a few instances, the principal changes being: in Act I Scene 4 there is an additional aria for Clotilde; in Act II Scene 1 there is a new aria for Clotilde, which also shortens the scene, in Scene 9 an aria for Isabella replacing a chorus and in Scene 13 a revised ensemble involving Jacopone, Emerico, Clotilde, Isabella and Tartuffo. The Milan production follows these alterations in Act I Scene 4 and Act II Scene 1, but also substitutes Act II Scene 14 and all but the final *Tutti* of the *Scena Ultima*, which follows it.

³⁷Libretti consulted for productions at: Venice, S. Benedetto: Spring 1815; *ibid.*: Spring 1816; Milan, Rè: Spring 1817; Verona, Morando: Lent 1818; Florence, Pergola: Summer 1818; Lisbon, S. Carlos: 1818; Florence, Spring 1819; Barcelona, Principal: 1819; Oporto, S. João: 13 May 1820; Palma [Majorca], 1826.

The S. Carlos 1818 and S. João 1820 productions share much with each other and certain features with the Milan production:

	<i>Lisbon, S. Carlos: 1818</i>	<i>Oporto, S. João: 1820</i>
Act I		
4	Clotilde's additional (Milan) aria and surrounding recitatives are replaced	The additional (Milan) aria is replaced (differently) but the recitatives remain intact
7	Recitative begins at line 7 of the original	Likewise
Act II		
1	Revised Venice 1816 format: Clotilde's aria replaced by one for Agata	Likewise: Clotilde's aria replaced by another for Clotilde
6	Duet for Taruffo and Clotilde replaced by recitative and aria for Tartuffo	Likewise - the replacement is the same
11	Opening of <i>Scena Ultima</i> as at Milan; additional aria for Clotilde	<i>Scena Ultima</i> - Opening as at Milan; otherwise an idiosyncratic finale

In Act I Scene 4 they both replace the addition made at Milan, the S. Carlos production also replacing the recitatives on either side; Scene 7 in both places begins at line 7 of the original. In Act II Scene 1 both follow the shorter Venice 1816 format, but replace the new aria, at the S. Carlos with one for Agata, at the S. João with another for Clotilde; in Scene 6 both substitute the duet for Tartuffo and Clotilde, replacing it by an identical recitative and aria for Tartuffo; both use the opening of the Milan *Scena Ultima*, at the S. Carlos in Scene 11 (in this version, the last scene before the *Scena Ultima*) to precede an additional aria for Clotilde, at the S. João to open the *Scena Ultima*, which is otherwise entirely new.

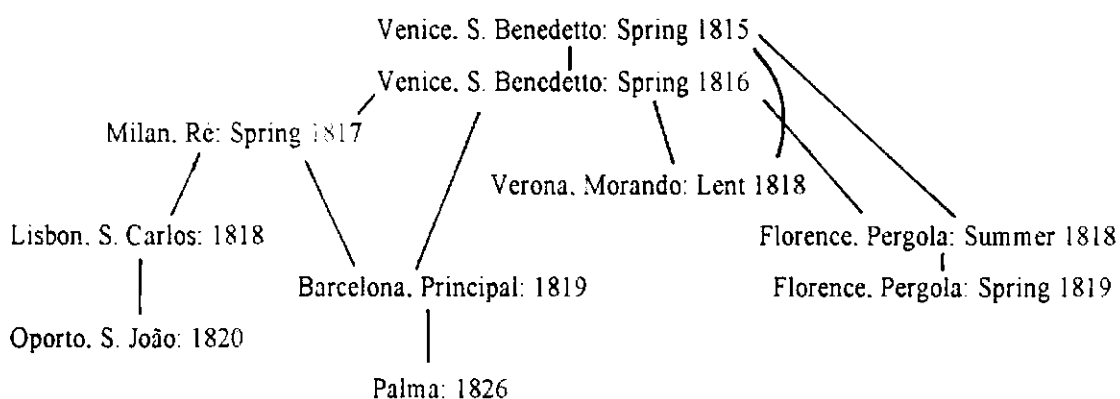
The versions we find in these two libretti are close and fully compatible, all differences involving cuts or simple substitutions. We may reasonably suppose, therefore, that the score used for the Oporto production, in all probability, came from Lisbon³⁸. The two productions also broadly follow the Milan version and are compatible with it.

³⁸According to the Oporto libretto, Act I Scene 1 was entirely new, having been recomposed by the composer, who was currently *maestro* at the T. de S. Carlos, Lisbon. The libretto text, however, is identical to other editions. Assuming that Coccia did indeed write something new for the Oporto production, either it was just the music to this scene, the words remaining the same, or, more likely in the present author's view, the reference is to some other scene, e.g. one of the substituted arias for Clotilde (Act I Scene 4 and Act II Scene 1) or Isabella (Act II Scene 8), or, less likely, the Finale of Act II. At any rate, it would add weight to the idea of a direct link between the S. Carlos and S. João productions.

Sadly no libretto was published for the 1820 T. del Principe, Madrid, production, an *argomento* being printed instead. We do, however, possess libretti for the 1819 Barcelona and 1826 Palma (Majorca) productions. These two are strikingly similar to each other: both follow the 1816 S. Benedetto production in Act I Scene 4, in most of the final scene of Act I, both having the same new opening, in Act II Scenes 1 and what in the 1816 S. Benedetto version was Scene 13 (11 and 10 at Barcelona and Palma, respectively); both have the Milan Act II Scene 14 and *Scena Ultima* opening, though at Palma the rest of the scene is substituted. Without doubt the Palma score came from Barcelona. Although the Barcelona production included in its cast two of the singers from the Venetian premiere, Domenico Vaccani as Tartuffo and Marianna Rossi as Isabella, they seem not to have had any influence on the version performed and not, therefore, to have possessed a copy of the score.

While the connection between Barcelona and Palma is extremely clear and that between Lisbon and Oporto highly suggestive, we cannot ignore certain broad similarities between these Spanish and Portuguese versions, particularly since the patterns are different from those observable in other Italian libretti (namely at Verona in 1818 and Florence in 1818 and 1819). While the similarities are not so great as to make direct transmission between the two countries probable - though this cannot be absolutely ruled out - they *are* such as to make it likely that the scores used in both countries came from the same Milanese *copisteria*.

We may propose, therefore, the following *stemma* for the productions of *Clotilde* examined here:



- Rossini *Otello*³⁹

Otello received its first Iberian performance at the T. de S. Carlos, in 1820. Within our period there were subsequent productions in the peninsula at Barcelona, in 1821 and 1827, Madrid in 1822 and 1827, Cadiz in 1826, Seville and Palma (Majorca) in 1828, for all of which libretti are available, and at Oporto in 1824 and Lisbon in 1825, for which an *argomento* was printed. *Otello* provides us, therefore, with an unusual opportunity to assess how operas may have spread from Lisbon to the rest of Iberia.

In general terms, the variants depart little from the premiere production at the T. del Fondo, Naples, during the Winter season of 1816. It is noticeable, however, that whereas the Spanish productions retain the original three-act format, in all three Portuguese productions the three acts were reduced to two, the original Act II Finale being substituted to smooth the transition.

Let us consider first the two-act Portuguese versions. Although we only possess an *argomento* for the 1824 Oporto and 1825 Lisbon productions, it is clear from the version of the plot not only that the opera was given in two acts but that the version was as performed at Lisbon in 1820. The Oporto *argomento*, by way of justification of the two-act format, goes so far as to provide a footnote saying, "To understand the development of the piece it is important to know that it was originally written in three acts, which were only sung intact in the early performances in Italy, and which were afterwards reduced to the two acts in which we find it, which is how it is performed now everywhere..."⁴⁰ This was not, however, true. The only precedents at this time were Lisbon (1820) and London (1822). That being so, we must suppose, firstly, that Carlo Coccia, the then maestro at the S. Carlos, was responsible for the adaptation and, secondly, that the score used at Oporto came from Lisbon. As regards the situation in Italy, it has only been possible to trace six two-act productions during the 1820s, namely at Parma in 1825, Turin in 1826, Milan and Brescia in 1827, Mantua in 1828 and Pavia in 1829. In four of these, Luigi Mari, the 1820 S. Carlos *Otello*, repeated this role - at Turin, Milan, Brescia and Mantua. He must have possessed a copy of the Act II finale substitution if not the whole score⁴¹.

³⁹Libretti consulted for productions at: Naples, Fondo: Winter 1816; Lisbon, S. Carlos: 1820; Barcelona, Principal: 1821; Madrid, Principal: 1822; Cadiz, Principal: 1826; Barcelona, Principal: 1827; Madrid, Cruz: 1828; Palma: 1828; Seville: 1828.

⁴⁰"Convem saber, para intelligencia do desenvolvimento da Peça - que ella foi escripta em tres Actos, que só nas primeiras representações em Italia se cantou inteira, e que depois foi reduzida aos dous Actos em que se acha, como agora em toda a parte se executa..." *Argomento*, p. 14. It goes on to recount the plot as in the original, so that the audience would understand how it had been altered.

⁴¹I am indebted to Michael Collins for supplying me with information on the two-act productions (fax of 11 November 1996), he in turn having received much of it from Philip Gossett.

Though great in its extent, the replacement of the original Act II finale should not be regarded as any different from any other substitution, only circumstantially removing this version from the original at this point, and not necessarily preventing the transmission of the original version.

Apart from the reduction to two acts, the 1820 Lisbon version only contains two variants compared with the original: an altered wording in Act I Scene 9 and an addition in Act II Scene 6 revolving around the character Lucio. Both of these are also to be found in the 1822 *Madrid* libretto, which, apart from the retention of the three acts and a few insignificant cuts, follows Lisbon exactly. The *Otello* at Madrid was once again Luigi Mari, alongside Natale Veglia as Elmiro and Giovanni Maria De Capitani as Rodrigo, both of whom had sung these roles with him at Lisbon. Although *Otello* was a generally popular opera and is likely to have reached Madrid through other channels by 1822, given what we already know about Mari, we must suppose that, as well as the Act II finale replacement, he possessed the whole score, with the original Act II finale, taking it with him from Lisbon to Madrid⁴².

The remaining Spanish productions may be divided into two groups: those at Cadiz, Madrid 1827 and Seville, on the one hand, the two at Barcelona and that at Palma, on the other. The *Cadiz* libretto contains no material not found at Madrid or, apart from the Act II finale, at Lisbon. Thus the score could have come from either⁴³.

The *Madrid 1827* production is also similar to the Madrid 1822 production, though in Act I Scene 4 we find an additional recitative and aria for Desdemona - an expanded variant of "Mura felice>Oh quante lagrime" from Rossini's *La donna del lago*. In Act II the first three scenes are cut and what is called Scene 3 is an extension of Scene 2, not the Lucio scene in the equivalent position in Lisbon and Madrid 1822.

At *Seville* in 1828, where the *Otello* was once again Luigi Mari, there were a number of cuts, including the first three scenes of Act II, a feature also found at Cadiz, and some substituted or variant recitatives. This version remains, however, compatible with the others so far described, being closest to the 1822 Madrid and Cadiz productions. Mari was probably the agent of transmission again.

⁴²It is worth mentioning that Mari took the role of *Otello* very much to heart, unlike Aureliano in *Aureliano in Palmira*, where he was the original protagonist. He had, of course, taken on the role of Aureliano at a late stage, to substitute Giovanni David. It remains, however, ironic that Aureliano received its Lisbon premiere only some time after Mari had left.

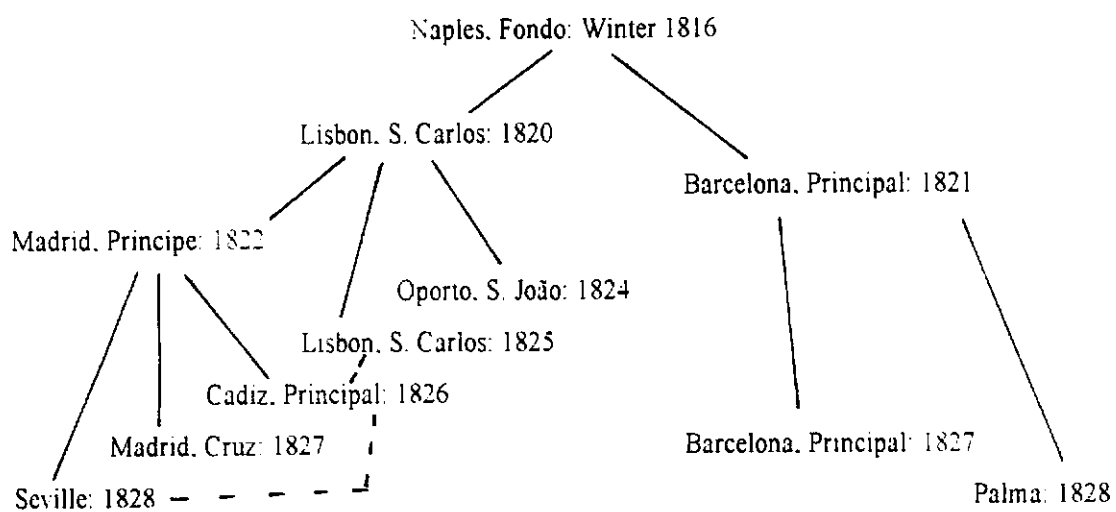
⁴³There is a further Lisbon connection, namely with the later 1825 S. Carlos production, the role of *Otello* being sung at Cadiz by Alessandro Mombelli, who had sung *Iago* at Lisbon and that of *Iago* being played at Cadiz by Paolo Lembi, who had played Rodrigo at Lisbon. This, however, while interesting and possibly raising the likelihood of Lisbon as the source, does not alter the options.

The 1821 *Barcelona* version, on the other hand, though similar to the Lisbon-Madrid-Cadiz-Seville group, shows important differences. Among these are: in Act I the duet for Rodrigo and Iago "No, non temer: serena" (end of Scene 3 at Lisbon) is cut and Scene 4 opens with an additional recitative section; in Act II Scenes 1 and 2 there is a substitution involving Rodrigo and Desdemona, and the original Naples Scene 4 recitative is found here as Scene 3. The nature and scale of these differences indicate a different origin from the versions found in the group we have just considered.

The 1827 *Barcelona* production follows that of 1821 in all but a few points and this production evidently used the same score as in 1821.

The 1828 *Palma* libretto shares certain features with the 1821 *Barcelona* production, though in others respects reverts to the Neapolitan premiere version. Either the same score was used for both productions with most of the *Barcelona* changes removed and the original put back or, more likely, a copy keeping closer to the original but incorporating some variants found at *Barcelona* was used. In either case, as with *Clotilde*, the score is likely to have come from *Barcelona*.

The stemma for the Iberian productions of *Otello* thus looks like this:



If Mari was responsible for transmitting *Otello* from Lisbon to Madrid, other singers seem certain to have taken Coccia's *La festa della rosa* along the same route. The premiere took place at the S. Carlos on 13 August 1821 for the Benefit of Giuditta Favini. Also in the cast were Domenico Vaccani, Paolo Rosich and Giovanni Maria De Capitani. All three of these took part in the production at the T. del Principe,

Madrid, on 20 December 1822⁴⁴. We are probably dealing here with a case comparable to that of Gazzaniga's *Il disertore francese*, some twenty-five years before: a copy was made in Lisbon for the Madrid impresario, one or other of Vaccani, Rosich (the most likely) and De Capitani acting merely as transporter.

On a different tack, it is worth just mentioning that the only trace of Favini it has been possible to find after she left Lisbon, late in 1821, is in a production of *La festa della rosa* at the T. Compadroni, Pavia, in Carnival 1825. Presumably she possessed the score.

- Morlacchi *Tebaldo e Isolina*⁴⁵

Tebaldo e Isolina was first performed at the T. de S. Carlos on 6 October 1824, with Giuseppa Julien as Tebaldo, Luigia Valsovani Spada as Isolina and Alessandro Mombelli as Boemondo. Of these, Alessandro Mombelli had already taken part in the premiere at the T. Fenice, Venice, in Carnival 1822, though in the minor role of Geroldo, while Luigia Valsovani Spada had already sung Isolina at the T. Ducale, Parma, in Spring 1822 and at Reggio nell'Emilia in the May Fair that year⁴⁶. As we shall see, there is no reason to suppose that either was responsible for transmitting the opera to Lisbon, though Valsovani Spada, in particular, may well have been behind the choice for performance.

The particular interest of *Tebaldo e Isolina* in the present study is the existence at the Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon, of a manuscript score (*P-Ln* MM 195) known to be a

⁴⁴Although the libretto for the Madrid production has proved impossible to locate, it would in any case actually be irrelevant, since the Lisbon production was the premiere and all subsequent versions must stem from it.

⁴⁵Libretti consulted for productions at: Venice, Fenice: Carnival 1822; Reggio, Comunità: May 1822; Verona, Filarmonico: Autumn 1822; Florence, Pergola: Spring 1823; Padua, Nuovo: Fair (June) 1823; Livorno, Carlo Lodovico: Summer 1823; Barcelona, Principal: 1824; Lisbon, S. Carlos: 1824; Bologna, Comunale: Carnival 1825; Venice, S. Benedetto: Spring 1825; London, King's: 25 February 1826; Ravenna, Comunale: May 1827; Madrid, Cruz: 1827; Seville: 1828; Barcelona, Principal: 1829.

⁴⁶In both instances with Giambattista Velluti and Gaetano Crivelli, the original Tebaldo and Boemondo, respectively, both of whom appeared in many of the early productions of the opera. As well as the Venetian premiere, Parma and Reggio, they both sang at the T. Eretenio, Vicenza, in Summer 1822 and the T. Filarmonico, Verona that Autumn. Velluti went on to sing in the opera at least at the T. Pergola, Florence, in Spring 1823, the T. Carlo Ludovico, Livorno, in Summer 1823, and the King's Theatre, London, in 1826, while Crivelli took part in the productions at the T. Nuovo, Padua, during the June Fair 1822, the T. Comunale, Bologna, in Carnival 1825, the T. Verzaro, Perugia, in Spring that year, the T. Comunale, Ravenna, during the May Fair 1827 and the T. Rinnovati, Siena, in Summer 1828.

Bolognese copy made at the *copisteria* of Bonoris Zappi⁴⁷. If we could prove a direct connection between this manuscript and the S. Carlos production, it would not only be one of a handful of cases where this is possible, but the only one in which the source gives an unequivocal indication of its origin.

Let us examine the S. Carlos version and establish the precedents for its main features:

Venice, Fenice: 1822	Lisbon, S. Carlos: 1824	Precedents (and other relevant productions)
Act I		
6	Cut	(Bologna 1825)
Act II		
3	Isolina's aria cut	Florence 1823, Livorno 1823, (Bologna 1825)*
4	Cut	Florence 1823, Livorno 1823, (Bologna 1825)
11	Clemenza's <i>aria di sorbetto</i> cut	cut at Verona 1822; substituted at Livorno 1823; (Barcelona 1824 & Bologna 1825 share a substitute <i>aria di sorbetto</i> but for Ermano)
12	Cut after opening Cavatina	-
13	Cut	Florence 1823, Livorno 1823, (Bologna 1825)
14	Cut	Florence 1823, Livorno 1823, (Bologna 1825)
15	Cut	(Barcelona 1824), (Bologna 1825)

*The Padua 1823 edition also lacks an aria for Isolina, but in the context of the preceding chorus being substituted.

As we can see, the Lisbon production included nothing that was not present in the original, the only alterations being cuts. In its cuts there is a noticeable tendency to follow traditions established at the T. Pergola, Florence, in Spring 1823 and maintained at the T. Carlo Lodovico, Livorno, that Summer, when the identical casts included Giambattista Velluti as Tebaldo, Giovanna Gnon Teghil as Isolina and Berardo Winter as Boemondo. All of these cuts, along with two others found at Lisbon, are also to be found in the libretto edition for the production at the T. Comunale, Bologna, in Carnival 1825. While cuts in common cannot be regarded as such strong proof of connection as additions and substitutions in common, since they can always be put down to coincidence, in this instance they are more than usually suggestive. It is a pity, from our point of view, that Clemenza's *aria di sorbetto* in Act II Scene 11 was cut at Lisbon, for, had it not been, we might have had clearer evidence of connection

⁴⁷On the frontispiece of the second volume of this two-volume manuscript, from the Vieira collection, we read "Tebaldo e Isolina / Del M.^{to} Morlacchi / Atto Secondo / Archivio di Bonoris Zappi in Bologna".

with one or other specific production. For the time being, we must be content with suggesting possible connections with any of the productions cited in the table, together, in theory at least, with the Venetian premiere and the production at Reggio nell'Emilia in 1822, which leaves the original version intact⁴⁸.

It is against this background that we have to view the *P-Ln* manuscript. From the outset it must be stated that not only does it contain no extraneous material, but that although it does not preserve the original version intact, the missing sections are all among those cut in the S. Carlos production, namely Act II Scenes 3 (Isolina's aria), 4, 13 and 14. Secondly, there are numerous indications in the score that it was used for actual performance, though no indication of where and when.

In the first Act the original Scene 6, cut at the S. Carlos, is present in the manuscript. There are no indications in the score that this was cut in performance. In the second Act the original Scene 11 is intact, with the Venice *aria di sorbetto*, and the only cut indicated at this point is of the recitative preceding the aria. This contradicts the 1824 S. Carlos libretto text, which, as we have seen, retains the recitative but cuts the aria. On the other hand, the one apparently idiosyncratic feature of the Lisbon version, the cutting of the second half of Act II Scene 12, is clearly indicated in this score. On the page where the cut was made, there is a *segno* and a diagonal mark across the bottom right-hand corner, showing that this corner was at one time folded back. The original Act II Scene 15, cut at the S. Carlos, is present in the manuscript but again there are vestiges of folding to the pages, clearly indicative that this scene was cut.

So where does this seemingly contradictory evidence leave us? The fact that everything that appears in the Lisbon libretto is present in the score and that the seemingly idiosyncratic cut in Act II Scene 12 is so unequivocally indicated mean that this score could have been used for the Lisbon production and it is the present author's view that this was the case. The markings that seem to militate against this are merely evidence that the score was used again in slightly modified form, most likely relating to the 1828 S. Carlos production, for which we do not possess the libretto. Bologna, should thus be added to the list of Italian cities from which the S. Carlos obtained scores.

There remains one point to clarify - the relationship between the *P-Ln* score, copied in Bologna, and the 1825 Bologna production. With one exception, the Act II *aria di*

⁴⁸The 1822 Parma production is also likely to follow the original version, since its cast was identical to that at Reggio.

sorbetto, they are fully compatible. Of the versions examined, the aria found at Bologna, which does not simply replace the original but alters the character singing at this point, first appears at Barcelona in 1824, where the opera was performed on 28 September, eight days before the Lisbon opening. Whether transmitted as a single aria or incorporated in scores of the whole opera, it is doubtful if it originated in Barcelona but more likely had a precedent in Italy. At any rate, we have to suppose either that the aria was substituted locally at Bologna into a score identical to or closely compatible with that in *P-Ln* or that the Bologna theatre obtained a score already containing the new aria, probably from a different *copisteria* and not necessarily in Bologna⁴⁹.

- Meyerbeer *Il crociato in Egitto*⁵⁰

Il crociato in Egitto holds a position of central importance in the present study, since it is not only one of the few operas for which a full libretto was printed for the production at the T. de S. João, Oporto, but the sole one of an opera performed in Oporto before Lisbon; furthermore, it is one of the few operas for which a contemporary manuscript survives in the S. Carlos archives (*P-Lt*).

Unfortunately, establishing the origin of the variants at Lisbon and Oporto is far from simple. As Steven Huebner, in a very Anglo-Saxon understatement, tells us in his *NGO* article on Meyerbeer's opera, "The source history of *Il crociato* is complicated." Or as Philip Gossett (1979) more forthrightly puts it in his introduction to the Garland facsimile edition, "It poses more textual problems than practically any other opera of the early nineteenth century." The twenty-two libretto editions examined for the present study confirm this. Indeed, it has not been fully possible to unravel all of the connections among these different versions other than by supposing missing links and

⁴⁹The Barcelona libretto also contains other variants which separate it clearly from the Lisbon version, including a new *Scena ultima* in Act II. This new finale also appears at Madrid in 1827, though not at Seville in 1828 nor the revival at Barcelona in 1829. There is nothing to link the Spanish productions to those in Lisbon.

⁵⁰Libretti consulted for productions at: Venice, Fenice: Carnival 1824; Florence, Pergola: Spring 1824; Trieste, Grande: Autumn, 1824; Parma, Ducale: Spring 1825; Padua, Nuovo: Fair 1825; London, King's: 30 June 1825; Barcelona, Principal: 1825; Genoa, S. Agostino: Carnival 1826; Milan, Scala: Lent 1826; Reggio nell'Emilia, Comunità: [May] Fair 1826; Brescia, Grande: [August] Fair 1826; Bologna, Comunale: Autumn 1826; Naples, S. Carlo: Autumn 1826; Oporto, S. João: 24 November 1826; Cadiz, Principal: 1826; Turin, Regio: Carnival 1827; Venice, Fenice: Carnival 1827; Lucca, Giglio: Summer 1827; Madrid, Principal: 1827; Cadiz, Principal: 1827; Seville: 1828; Lisbon, S. Carlos: 25 April 1828. The copy of the 1824 Trieste edition at *GB-Lbl* (905.c.6) contains detailed manuscript annotations regarding the production with Giuditta Pasta at Paris on 25 September 1825, evidently written by someone directly involved (?Meyerbeer himself).

scores drawing from multiple sources⁵¹. Nevertheless, clear patterns do emerge, sufficient for us to draw useful conclusions about Iberian productions and the *P-Lt* manuscript.

Il crociato in Egitto was first performed at the T. La Fenice, Venice, on 7 March 1824, with Henriette Méric-Lalande as Palmide, Gaetano Crivelli as Adriano and Giambattista Velluti as Armando. Méric-Lalande did not sing the opera again but it became a firm favourite of Crivelli, who repeated the role of Adriano at the T. Sant'Agostino, Genoa, in Carnival 1825, the T. alla Scala, Milan, in Lent 1825 and the T. La Fenice, Venice, in Carnival 1827, as well as singing Osmino at the King's Theatre, London, in June 1825. Velluti sang in two further productions: at the T. Pergola, Florence, in Spring 1824 and the London production the next year.

The productions that took place in 1824 and 1825 established a series of variants and production families, which in broad terms may be identified in the following ways. Beginning with the remaining 1824 performances, at the T. Pergola, Florence, where the composer oversaw the production, there were two important alterations: the original scenes 9 and 10 of Act I were partially replaced by a 5-scene complex, taking away, among other things, Felicia's aria "Pace io reco" and giving Armando the additional aria "Cara mano"; and the *Scena Ultima* of Act II, apart from the opening, was recomposed, replacing Armando's extended solo with a duet for Palmide and Armando⁵².

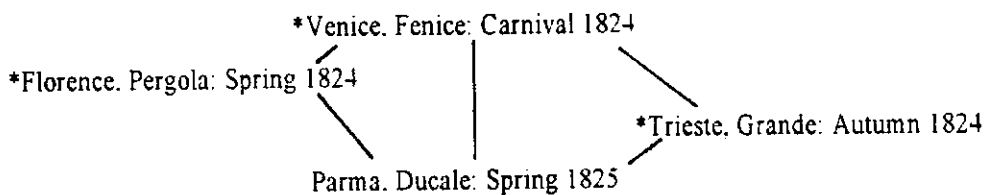
The composer was also present at the Teatro Grande, Trieste, in Autumn 1824, where the Armando was Carolina Bassi-Manna, the Palmide Caterina Canzi and the Adriano Nicola Tacchinardi. Again the libretto shows that he made a number of changes: the original scenes 9 and 10 of Act I were replaced by a 3-scene complex including the aria "Queste destre" for Adriano and the *Scena Ultima* was replaced by a new extended solo for Armando. Furthermore, there is an additional scene (Act II Scene 6) and a substitution in Act II Scene 17 where Armando sings the aria "Oh come rapida fuggi la speme" in place of "Il di rinascerà", found in the middle of Scene 21 in the original Venice version.

⁵¹For example, in the case of the 1825 Paris version, to judge from the annotations in the *GB-Lbl* 1824 Trieste libretto, three sources were used: a score brought by Pasta, one from Florence and a third unidentified score, which served as the point of departure into which sections from the other two were introduced.

⁵²With the opening words "Ravvisa qual alma", a substitution which Steven Huebner in *NGO* describes as having occurred "early on".

Of the early Italian productions that at the T. Ducale, Parma, in Spring 1825 seems to have been particularly influential, if not actually establishing something approximating a "standard" form for the opera, at least providing a point of departure for many other versions over the next few years. Its principal characteristics in Act I are the cutting of the original Scene 4, a new opening for Scene 6 (Scene 7 of the original), adopting the Trieste 3-scene complex (though with a tiny reversion to the original Scene 9 at the end of its Scene 8) and the replacement of the Tutti "Sogni ridenti" by an ensemble "Di gioja, di pace" in the middle of the Act I Finale. In Act II the most important feature is the inclusion of the Florence *Scena Ultima*, though with a slight change to the wording of the final chorus⁵³. This hybrid version, with chunks taken from both the Trieste and Florence versions, as well as small changes introduced here for the first time, occurring, as it does, at such an early stage of the opera's history, not only contributes greatly to the difficulty in constructing a stemma for the opera among subsequent productions, but also creates a precedent for a 'pick'n'mix' attitude towards the opera, going well beyond anything we found in our transmission models, other than at Lisbon!

It is against the background of the following broad *stemma* for these early productions that we should view subsequent productions:



*versions overseen by the composer

For the present purpose, suffice it to say that the production at the King's Theatre, London, in 1825 is a direct descendent of the Florence version, and certainly taken there by Velluti. Also deriving from the Florence production are those at the T. Grande, Brescia, in the August Fair of 1826, the T. San Carlo, Naples, in Autumn 1826 and those in 1826 and 1827 at *Cadiz*, even if these last two productions (especially in 1826) are rather truncated.

Apart from the production at the T. Nuovo, Padua, in the June Fair of 1825, which in any case also contains features found at Parma (and where the composer was once again involved), the only subsequent versions examined that are descended *directly*

⁵³The apparently random distribution of the Florence and Parma versions of the final chorus suggests that this should be regarded as a free variant, rather than an indication of connection with one production or the other.

from the Trieste production, that is to say, not via Parma, are those at the T. alla Scala, Milan, in Lent 1826 and the T. Regio, Turin, in Carnival 1827, which also possesses variants first introduced at Milan. It is undoubtedly significant that in all of these productions (Padua, Milan and Turin) the Armando, as at Trieste, was Carolina Bassi-Manna. Importantly for us, none of the Milanese variants are to be found in Portuguese versions.

The remaining productions examined all show signs of stemming ultimately and principally from the Parma production. Some, such as those at the T. Comunale, Reggio nell'Emilia, in the May Fair 1826 and at the T. Comunale, Bologna, in Autumn 1826 are rather idiosyncratic, the Bologna version going so far as to provide yet another new finale. Another important group differs from the Parma version only in the cuts made - in some cases these version themselves make further cuts, in others they restore sections of the original that were cut at Parma. Significantly for the present study, among this latter group are the productions at the T. Principal, *Barcelona*, which opened on 22 December 1825, the T. Sant'Agostino, Genoa, in Carnival 1826 and the T. São João, *Oporto*, which began on 24 November 1826.

The Barcelona version has one idiosyncrasy which reduces the likelihood of its being connected with the Genoa and Oporto productions. In Act II it combines the original Scenes 4 and 5 to make a single scene and inserts this as 'Scene 2' after Scene 1, before the original Scene 2, which thus becomes Scene 3. At Genoa and Oporto there is no such reordering and these two productions share a very similar overall pattern of cuts, especially in Act I. It is significant that the same singer, Luigi Rigola, sang the role of Osmino in both productions, for although this is not a major role and although Rigola almost certainly did not possess the score himself, he could easily have brought a copy with him from Genoa to Oporto, made for the Oporto theatre and merely carried by the singer. It is the present author's view that he did so.

The production at the T. del Príncipe, *Madrid*, from 20 December 1827 raises two important questions. In the first place, while in general terms it again follows the Parma version, Act I Scene 5 contains a scene for Armando which, of the versions examined is otherwise only found at the T. Giglio, Lucca, in Summer the same year. Given the short time span between the two productions, it is unlikely that the Madrid score came directly from Lucca, and we must suppose, therefore that both stem from another production, not among the libretti included in the present study. Secondly, as at Barcelona, there is a transposition of scenes at the beginning of Act II, the original Scene 4 (Scene 5 being cut) appearing immediately after Scene 1, and being followed

by the original Scene 2 as Scene 3⁵⁴. The origins of this version are thus apparently contradictory, appearing, on the one hand, to be connected, probably indirectly, with the Lucca production, and, on the other, to that at Barcelona. Here is another clear hybrid.

The 1828 *Seville* production, though once more ultimately descended from Parma has a number of idiosyncratic variants: two substitutions (Act I Scene 6, which replaces the original Act I Scene 7, and the main body of the *Scena Ultima*) and an addition (an aria for Palmide at the end of Act I Scene 8). There is no direct and obvious connection between this and any other of the Italian or Iberian productions examined.

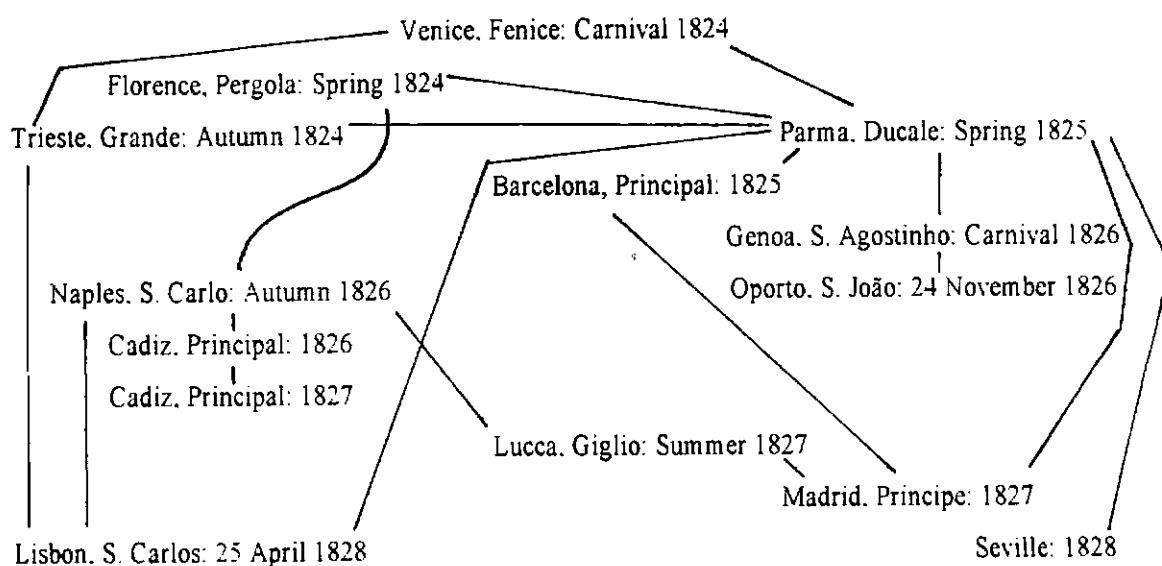
Turning finally to the *S. Carlos* libretto and the score preserved in its archives, there can be no doubt that this manuscript was actually used for the April 1828 Lisbon production, for while there are cuts in the libretto not made in the score, there are no cases of the reverse, and a number of idiosyncracies are to be found in both, the manuscript in one case providing an answer as to where the intrusion came from.

In very broad terms the libretto and score follow the Parma version by including the 3-scene complex from Trieste in Act I and the *Scena Ultima* from Florence. On the other hand, the end of the *Scena Ultima* is slightly different, as found in the T. San Carlo, Naples, production of 1826. Highly idiosyncratic is a substitution for Palmide in Act II Scene 4 of the libretto, where the aria "Gioia per me svani" replaces the original Act I Scene 7 aria. The *P-Lt* score identifies the aria as coming from Meyerbeer's *Margherita d'Anjou* (premiere: T. alla Scala, Milan, 14 November 1820) and it is, indeed, to be found as an aria for Margherita in Act II Scene 5 of the premiere libretto. Uniquely among the libretti examined, this aria is followed (in Act II Scene 5) by the Trieste Act II Scene 6, a variant also to be found in the *P-Lt* score.

The presence of the Naples ending and the Trieste Act II Scene 6 in both libretto and score, which otherwise, apart from the *Margherita d'Anjou* replacement aria, follow a reasonably standard Parma version, is thoroughly confusing. Clearly, the *S. Carlos* version or an exemplar from which it was copied derived from multiple sources, though how this came about, whether in Lisbon or prior to its reaching there, must remain a matter for speculation. What is important, however, it clearly has nothing to do with the production at Oporto, even though Luigi Rigola again sang the role of Osmino, or with any other known Iberian production.

⁵⁴The production at Barcelona in 1829 also follows this pattern, likewise cutting the original Scene 5. It also introduces minor variants of its own.

To recapitulate, below is a *stemma* for the Iberian productions, additionally incorporating those from which they are derived:



- Mercadante *Gabriella di Vergy*⁵⁵

Gabriella di Vergy, which received its world premiere at the T. de São Carlos on 8 August 1828, not only provides us with an example of composer transmission (on from Lisbon), but also serves to remind us of one of the inherent dangers in trying to construct a performance history for an opera solely on the basis of comparing libretto editions.

The 1828 S. Carlos libretto tells us that "The Music (except the DUET, and the RONDÒ FINALE of the Second Act which are by Maestro CARAFA) was expressly composed by the Maestro Composer, and Director of Music of this Royal Theatre SAVERIO MERCADANTE"⁵⁶. The cast included Josephine Glossop de Méry as Gabriella, and Giovanni Orazio Cartagenova as Fayel.

The next production was at the T. Carlo Felice, Genoa, in Spring 1832 with changes made by the composer and with Cartagenova again amongst the cast. According to Michael Rose in his *NGO* article on Mercadante, the libretto was revised for the occasion by Giovanni Emmanuele Bidera, the Lisbon version being by Profumo, based

⁵⁵Libretti consulted for productions at: Lisbon, S. Carlos: 1828; Genoa, Carlo Felice: Spring 1832; Lisbon, S. Carlos: 1841; libretti of Carafa's *Gabriella di Vergy* for productions at: Naples, Fondo: Summer 1816; Lucca, Giglio: Spring 1820.

⁵⁶"A Musica (excepto o DUETO, e o RONDÒ FINAL do Segundo Acto que são [sic] compostos pelo Mestre CARAFA) foi expressamente composta pelo Mestre Compositor, e Director de Musica deste Real Theatro XAVIER MERCADANTE." libretto, p.[5].

on an earlier text by Tottola. If we compare the Genoa version with that at Lisbon, we find substantial differences. In Act I seven largely new scenes replace the first three at Lisbon, while in Act II, Scene 2 (including the duet) and Gabriella's final aria (the Rondò) are replaced. That this is not just a regular case of substitution is confirmed by the *AMZ* review of this production, which tells us that after the first opera of the Spring season the public heard "Gabriella di Vergy, an opera composed by Sig. Mercadante in Spain [sic] and reworked by the composer himself, which made a furor and was a box-office hit."⁵⁷

To judge from these two libretti the transmission process was simple. The composer prepared the score in Lisbon. Probably because of shortage of time, a common enough phenomenon in the opera world of this period, he introduced two extraneous sections from Carafa's opera of the same name (premiere: T. del Fondo, Naples, Summer 1816). He took the score with him to Cadiz and Madrid, though he did not use it there, and then on to Genoa, where he made substantial revisions based on a revised libretto. In this new version the opera became popular, returning to Lisbon in 1841 in a version which, if we examine the 1841 libretto edition, was based firmly on the Genoese production.

And we would go on thinking this were it not for the existence of a manuscript orchestral score in the S. Carlos archives which, for two reasons, forces us to view things rather differently - because, on the one hand, it is largely autograph and because, on the other, it contains much that was supposed to have been introduced at Genoa.

The *P-Lt* manuscript is, unfortunately, incomplete in Act I, lacking the equivalent of Scenes 4 to 7 of the 1828 S. Carlos libretto (Scenes 8 to 10 of the Genoa edition) and what we do possess (the overture and about two-thirds of Act I and all of Act II) is decidedly complex, containing multiple hands. We can, however, assert a number of important facts. Firstly, the 1828 S. Carlos libretto differs substantially from the word text of the manuscript. What was printed at Lisbon was a version of Carafa's libretto, not the text that Mercadante was setting, which was already close to the 1832 Genoa edition. Secondly, contrary to what the libretto tells us, Mercadante *did* compose the Act II duet (see Plate 14 on the next page) and the whole Act II Finale, including the Rondò, while in Lisbon. Thirdly, there are two features that suggest the composer was indeed under serious time pressure: three recitative sections (in Act I, what at Genoa formed the final section of Scene 1, plus Scenes 2 and 3, the opening of Scene 7 and,

⁵⁷"Gabriella di Vergy, eine von Hrn. Mercadante in Spanien componirte und hier von ihm selbst umgearbeitete Oper, welche Furore und Billets machte." *AMZ* XXXIV, 34, 22 August 1832.

in Act II, the opening of Scene 1), though apparently in an autograph hand, are in different writing from the bulk of the manuscript, presumably being the work of a local composer, conceivably Mercadante's assistant, João Evangelista Pereira da Costa; in many places the vocal line(s) and/or layout are in a copyist's hand, the rest in Mercadante's, as if the composer had first produced a vocal score (so that the singers could learn their parts), a copyist had drawn up the full score (often including the vocal line(s)) and Mercadante had then added the orchestral parts.

None of these points alter the conclusion that the composer was responsible for transmitting the opera from Lisbon to Genoa. They do, however, alert us to the possibility that what was performed and transmitted could in some instances be very different from what the corresponding libretto printed⁵⁸.

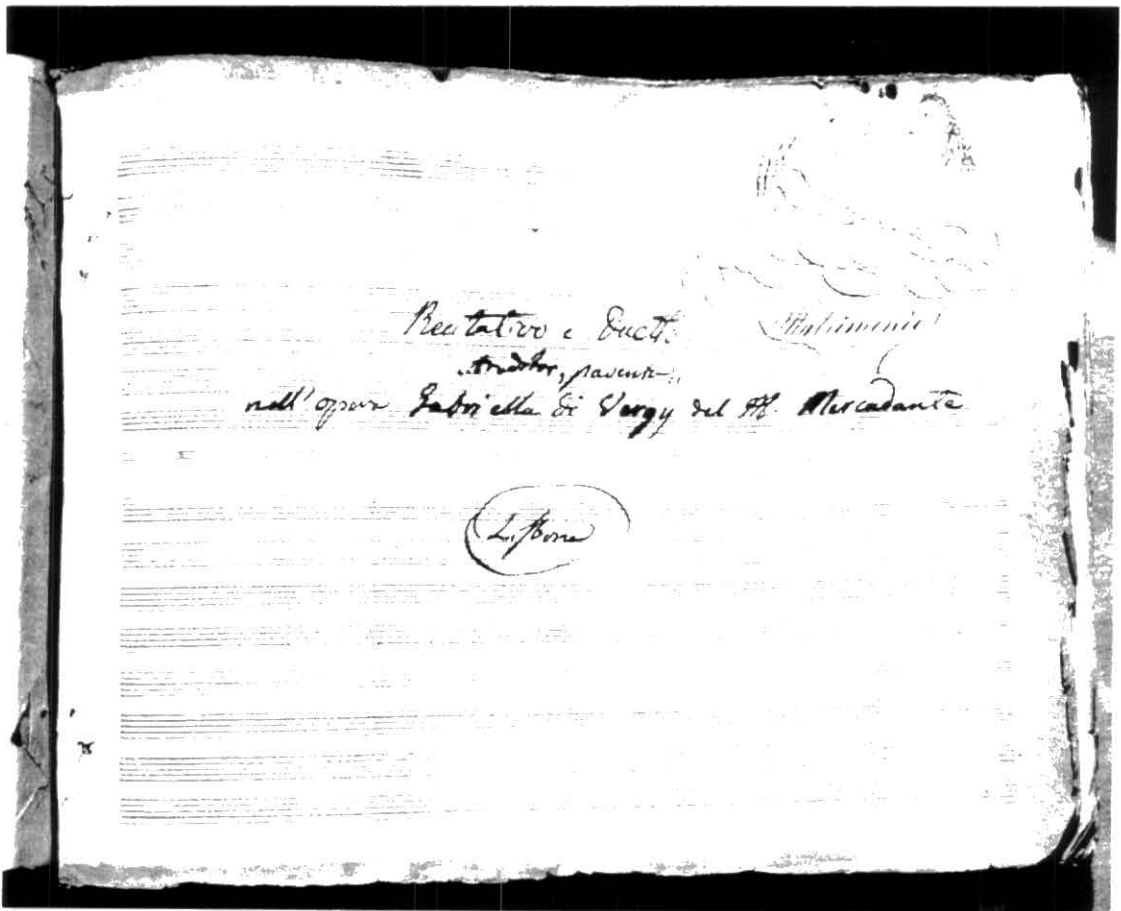


Plate 15 Photograph of the frontispiece of the Act II duet, "Recitativo e duetto / Traditor. paventa...", from the largely autograph manuscript of *Gabriella di Vergy* by Mercadante, P-Li (no call mark), p. 327. Note the composer's 'doodles' on the theme "matrimonio" in the top right-hand corner (author's photograph).

⁵⁸According to *NG* and *NGO*, the [revised] autograph manuscript of *Gabriella di Vergy* is to be found at the Ricordi Archives, Milan. Regrettably, when the present author visited there in early July 1990, he was unable to gain admittance. The opera thus needs further investigation.

The operas selected for examination in this final period for the S. Carlos serve to confirm, in general terms, the transmission patterns already observed. Milan again appears as a point of transmission from Italy, as was clearly the case with *Clotilde*, and which other operas not included among these case studies bear out⁵⁹. At the same time, with *Tebaldo e Isolina*, we have been able to add Bologna to the list of cities from which scores came.

Relations between the Lisbon and Oporto theatres are as yet unclear. *Clotilde* provides evidence for a connection, as does *Otello. Il crociato in Egitto*, on the other hand, despite the potential for a singer carrying the score from Oporto to Lisbon, supports the notion of separate existences. We shall pursue the Lisbon-Oporto axis further in the next section.

Turning to relations with Spain, while there continue to be no links with Barcelona and no systematic connection with Madrid (nor with Seville and Cadiz), we do again have grounds for supposing that Madrid occasionally received scores from Lisbon through singers. *Otello* is the only case we can probably put down to a singer actually possessing a score, but *La festa della rosa* provides a parallel with *Il disertor francese*, at the beginning of our period, in that it was probably carried by a singer, the singer being merely the means by which the score travelled from the one theatre to the other. Though not, strictly speaking, within the scope of this study, it is worth drawing attention to the close ties that evidently linked Palma to Barcelona and the looser ties between Madrid, Seville and Cadiz. Evidence for links between these two groups is sparse.

The Teatro de São João, Oporto

As already observed, we are extremely limited in our ability to identify how operas reached Oporto because libretti were printed for so few productions at the Teatro de São João. To judge from what survives, prior to the 1820s libretti were published for only four operas and even in the 1820s, with rare exceptions, the practice was to publish an *argomento*, not a full libretto text. Where Oporto has featured in the cases so far examined the evidence for connection with Lisbon is ambiguous, with two operas suggesting a link and another an independent source. To clarify the situation we shall examine four further cases, three involving libretto texts, the other bringing in other evidence.

⁵⁹Rossini's *La Cenerentola* and Pacini's *Temistocle* are among them.

- Fioravanti '*L'orgoglio avvilito*' (*La capricciosa pentita*)⁶⁰

The libretto editions entitled *L'orgoglio avvilito* published in Lisbon in 1803 for the Summer production at the T. de São Carlos and in Oporto in 1806 for the production at the T. de São João are not in fact of Fioravanti's opera of that name, first performed at the T. alla Scala, Milan, in January 1803, but actually of *La capricciosa pentita*, premiered at the same theatre on 2 October 1802. Among the singers in the original cast was Elisabetta Gafforini as Lindora.

The opera reached Lisbon with unusual rapidity, brought, no doubt, by Gafforini, who repeated the role of Lindora there. Gafforini may also have suggested the new title, for while she had already left La Scala by the time *L'orgoglio avvilito* was first performed there, she must still have been present when the latter opera was being composed. The version performed at Lisbon differed from the original only in the title and in cutting a number of recitative sections along with Lindora's aria "Forse per me già spirano" in Act II Scene 6.

As for the production at the T. de São João three years later, we find important changes. To begin with, the role of Nespola is suppressed, a phenomenon we also find, for example, at the T. Carignano, Turin, in Autumn 1804. Nor is there a chorus, as also occurs at the Th. de l'Impératrice, Paris, in early September 1805. Both of these reductions were, no doubt, the consequence of limited resources at Oporto.

In Act II further connections with the Paris production are encountered. For one thing, both there and at Oporto the original Scenes 1 and 2 are cut, and while the same thing did occur at the T. Risoluti, Florence, in Summer 1806 and in the very late production at the T. Ducale, Parma, in Summer 1821, it was sufficiently unusual that we should be alert to the possibility of connection. The original Act II Scene 3 thus constitutes Act II Scene 1 at Paris and Oporto. This is followed in both productions by a recitative and duet for Lindora and Barone Castagna, which is a substitution for the recitative and duet for Simone and the Baron that appears in the original Scene 4. Of the fifteen versions examined, it is *only* in these two productions that this particular substitution is to be found, though the recitative also appears at the King's Theatre,

⁶⁰Libretti consulted for productions of *La capricciosa pentita*, with the original title: Milan, Scala: Autumn 1802; Turin, Carignano: Autumn 1804; Paris, Impératrice: 18 Fructidor an 13 [September 1805]; Cremona, Associazione: Carnival 1806; Milan, Carcano: Spring 1806; Florence, Risoluti: Summer 1806; Milan, Scala: Autumn 1806; Bologna, Marsigli Rossi: Carnival 1807; Livorno, Avvalorati: Carnival 1808; Rome, Valle: Spring 1808; London, King's: 1809; Vicenza, Eretenio: Summer 1815; Parma, Ducale: Summer 1821; under the title *L'orgoglio avvilito*: Lisbon, S. Carlos: Summer 1803; Oporto, S. João: 1806; London, King's: 1815; also for *L'orgoglio avvilito* properly speaking: Milan, Scala: Carnival 1803.

London, in 1815 (followed by a different substitute duet), where the title *L'orgoglio avvilito* was once again used. All the remaining variants at Oporto are idiosyncratic among the editions examined.

We see, therefore, that though the title used at Oporto was *L'orgoglio avvilito*, as at Lisbon, which might initially lead us to assume a connection between the Lisbon and Oporto productions, the libretto text suggests a very different link, namely between Oporto and Paris. The unique case of connection we found between *Lisbon* and Paris necessitated a French invasion and an Italian composer physically travelling there from the French capital. So how might we explain a connection in the present case?

In actual fact, there is indeed a link, though of a kind we have not previously encountered. The substitution that the Paris and Oporto productions share involves the *prima donna* role of Lindora. According to the libretto, this role was sung at Paris by "Signora Ferlendis", who we also find singing in *La capricciosa pentita* at Vienna in January 1811 and the King's Theatre, London, in February 1815. In this last case, as we have already observed, the recitative of the substituted section at Paris/Oporto again appears and the opera was once more given under the title *L'orgoglio avvilito*, seemingly the only production outside Portugal where this occurred. This Signora Ferlendis was actually none other than the Camilla Berberis [or Barberi] who had sung at the S. Carlos in 1801-02 and who, as we noted in Chapter 2, married the oboist Alessandro Ferlendis. It happens that among the singers in the Oporto cast, in the minor role of Giannina, was Alessandro Ferlendis' sister, Giuseppa Zanfardini ("Gianfardini" in the libretto), who was married to one Francesco Zanfardini⁶¹. Given the specific connection of the Paris/Oporto variant with Camilla Ferlendis and the close family ties between her and Giuseppa (Ferlendis) Zanfardini, it seems likely that the score was sent by Camilla from Paris to her sister-in-law in Oporto.

Unusual though this form of transmission would appear, it is not altogether surprising. The T. de São João, unlike its Lisbon counterpart, was never a major opera house, never among the leading theatres that top singers might leave Italy, or centres such as Paris, London or Vienna for. Its links with major theatres and mainstream distribution systems show every sign of having been decidedly more tenuous than was the case with the São Carlos. The Oporto management must have had to use every connection at its disposal to obtain scores. We have already seen, though twenty years later, with *Il crociato in Egitto*, how a relatively minor singer was almost certainly responsible for

⁶¹Nothing is known of Francesco Zanfardini except that he was an instrumentalist enrolled as a member of the Lisbon musicians' guild, the *Irmandade de Santa Cecilia*, his entry being dated 22 March 1803, with a note that he was struck off on 23 November 1826.

bringing a score to Oporto from Genoa. Camilla Ferlendis would have had easy access to copies in Paris and could readily have obtained them for the T. de São João, her sister-in-law acting as an intermediary.

- Paer *La virtù al cemento o sia La Griselda*⁶²

Known by both its first title *La virtù al cemento* and its alternative (*La Griselda*), this opera was first performed at the T. Ducale, Parma, in January 1798. One of Paer's most successful and widely-performed operas, there were productions of it not only in the usual Iberian operatic centres of Barcelona, Madrid, Lisbon and Oporto, but also in Rio de Janeiro. Uniquely, among the cases studied it has been possible to obtain libretti for the Oporto (1806), Lisbon (1808) and Rio de Janeiro (1815) productions.

The three libretti differ noticeably from each other. As well as actual textual differences, at Oporto, but only there, the choruses were systematically cut, just as we saw with '*L'orgoglio avvilito*'. In addition, the Portuguese translations at Oporto and Rio are different - at Lisbon, the libretto, unusually, has no Portuguese translation. In short, there are no grounds for proposing a connection between any of the three productions and we must assume different sources for the scores used at each theatre.

It should also be mentioned that though Rosa Canzoni sang the role of Lisetta at Barcelona in 1804 and Oporto in 1806, and Michele Vaccani sang Giannuccola at Barcelona in 1804 as well as at Rio in 1815, there are no textual connections between the Barcelona libretto and the three we are concerned with here. We must put the singers' repeated appearance in both cases down to chance.

Griselda is the last case we shall consider involving Rio de Janeiro. As we have observed, operas were performed at court there to celebrate Queen Maria's birthday in 1811 and 1812, in both instances the opera given being by Marcos Portugal (*L'oro non compra amore* and *Artaserse*, respectively), the composer doubtless being responsible for their transmission. For the corresponding occasion in 1814 Salieri's *Axur re d'Ormus* was performed at the Teatro de S. João, inaugurated the previous year, the score for this opera being obtained from the royal library in Lisbon. All three thus indicate that Lisbon was the source of scores used at Rio, *Axur* specifically implying a link between court and (public) theatre completely absent at Lisbon⁶³. *Griselda*,

⁶²Libretti consulted for productions at: Barcelona: 1804 (*La virtù al cemento*); Oporto, S. João: 13 May 1806 (*La Griselda*); Lisbon, S. Carlos: Summer 1808; Rio de Janeiro, S. João: 1815.

⁶³In the absence of a comprehensive study of the T. de São João, Rio de Janeiro, it would be foolish to jump to conclusions about the relationship between court and theatre. However, this striking

however, indicates a different, independent source of supply. We must be open, therefore, as at Oporto, to the notion that Lisbon was only one, albeit an extremely important one, among several cities from which scores reached Brazil.

This picture is reinforced if we examine the repertoire of operas performed at Rio up to 1830. Both at the S. João until March 1824, when it was destroyed by fire, and from December that year at the T. de São Pedro, the vast majority received performances only after production at Lisbon, thus, in principle at least, making a Lisbon-Rio route feasible. In one instance, "*O Grão Duque de Granada*" - Rossini's *Adina* with an alternative Portuguese title - performed at the S. Pedro, on 14 February 1828, we may be sure it reached there from Lisbon, given that its premiere was at the S. Carlos and that there are no other known performances prior to revivals in the twentieth century.

Against these, however, we have to put a small number of operas that were performed at Rio before Lisbon (including Mozart's *Don Giovanni* given in 1821, 18 years before the Lisbon premiere) and at least four operas produced at Rio that seem never to have been staged at the S. Carlos: Pablo Rosquellas' *Il gran califfo di Bagdad* (1819)⁶⁴, which was a world premiere, Mayr's *Il segreto* (1821), Basilij's *Il califfo e la schiava* (1827) and an opera entitled *Le due gemelle* (1828), perhaps P. A. Guglielmi's

- Mozart *Così fan tutte*

Così fan tutte, premiered at the Burgtheater, Vienna, on 26 January 1790, like the rest of Mozart's operas had a very chequered early history outside the German-speaking world. With the possible exception of *La clemenza di Tito*, which we have already considered, (and, later, *Don Giovanni*.) *Così fan tutte* fared perhaps best, with an isolated production at the T. Principal, Barcelona, in 1798 and performances at the T. Sociale, Varese, in Autumn 1805, the T. alla Scala, Milan, in 1807 and 1814, the King's Theatre, London, in May 1811, Crow Street Theatre, Dublin, that August and the T. de São João, Oporto, probably in 1816.

connection in the case of *Axur* suggests that the S. João may have functioned more as a court theatre open to a more general public, perhaps something akin to such Italian royal theatres as the T. Regio, Turin, or the S. Carlo, Naples, unlike Lisbon's S. Carlos, which was essentially a public theatre where the royal family might occasionally appear.

⁶⁴The libretto is to be found in the Carvalhaes collection, *I-Rsc*. The remaining information is drawn from Andrade (1967), who additionally mentions Pavesi's *Corradino* on 10 February 1829. However, he also cites Rossini's *Matilde di Shabran* as having been performed that day. Since *Corradino* was an alternative title for *Matilde di Shabran*, it was doubtless Rossini's opera that was staged, Andrade simply being unaware of the alternative title and ingenuously assuming it referred to Pavesi's opera.

Unusually, we have a reference to a score in use at the King's Theatre, for as Walsh (1993) informs us, the composer Felice Radicati possessed one and sold a copy of it to the ballet master Armand Vestris⁶⁵. Among the cast at London were Radicati's wife, Teresa Bertinotti as Fiordiligi, Carlo Cauvini as Ferrando, Angiolina Cauvini as Despina and Giuseppa Collini as Dorabella. Carlo Cauvini had already sung in the opera at Varese. Bertinotti and the Cauvini also took part in the Dublin production. Against this backcloth it is scarcely surprising that when the Cauvini and Collini sang at Oporto in 1816 they should have had recourse to *Così fan tutte*. It is also hard to imagine that when they were in Lisbon with Radicati and Bertinotti, from late 1812 to 1814, there would not also have been a production of the opera at the S. Carlos. Very likely Cauvini acquired the score from Radicati while in Lisbon, either the copy in the composer's possession or a further one made from it, subsequently using it at Oporto⁶⁶.

- Rossini *Mosè in Egitto*⁶⁷

To conclude the case studies involving Oporto and to reinforce patterns already observed, let us consider another opera from the end of our period. Originally composed for the T. San Carlo, Naples, and premiered there in Lent 1818, *Mosè in Egitto* was revised by the composer for production at the same theatre the following year. The only change, in Act III, consists of the replacement of the original Scenes 1 and 2 by another single scene, which includes the celebrated *Preghiera* "Dal tuo stellato soglio". It is essentially in this revised form that the opera reached Portugal.

Its first performance at the T. de São Carlos, Lisbon, took place in Lent 1823. The corresponding libretto edition differs from the 1819 Naples version only in making minor cuts to Act I Scene 5, where, to judge from other editions, this was customary, and in substituting the opening recitative and aria for Amaltea in Act II Scene 2. Although there are precedents for *cutting* this aria, for example at the T. Pergola, Florence, in Lent 1821 and at the T. Aquila, Fermo, in September 1821, the substitution found at Lisbon is idiosyncratic among the editions examined.

Importantly for the present study, the substitution made at Lisbon in 1823 is not present in the libretti published for the production at the T. de São João, Oporto.

⁶⁵p. 107.

⁶⁶There are no known performances of *Così fan tutte* involving Radicati and/or Bertinotti after they were in Lisbon, thus making it quite possible that Cauvini had bought Radicati's copy.

⁶⁷Libretti consulted for productions at: Naples, S. Carlo: Lent 1818; Naples, S. Carlo: Lent 1819; Florence, Pergola: Lent 1821; Venice, S. Benedetto: Spring 1821; Fermo, Aquila: 3 September 1821; Bologna, Comunale: Spring 1822; Bergamo, Riccardi: Summer 1822; Milan, Rè: Autumn 1822; Lisbon, S. Carlos: Lent 1823; Rome, Accademia IV: Spring 1824; Barcelona, Principal: 1825; Lisbon, S. Carlos: Lent 1826; Oporto, S. João: 22 February 1826; Palma: 1828; Madrid, Principe: 1829

which began on 22 February 1826, nor for the simultaneous S. Carlos production in Lent 1826. The texts of both of these differ from the 1819 Naples version and from each other only in minor cuts. No doubt the scores used in both instances contained the missing sections, which were cut locally.

There is, however, an important difference between the Lisbon versions, both of 1823 and 1826, on the one hand, and the Oporto version, on the other, namely as regards scene division. While at Lisbon the original divisions are retained throughout, at Oporto Act I Scene 3 (with a section cut) is combined with the original Scene 4 to make a single Scene 3. Though slightly different, there is an important precedent found already at the T. Rè, Milan, in Autumn 1822 (and repeated in the 'Autunnino' 1822 libretto edition), where the final section of the original Scene 3 ("Oh Ciel! che miro") becomes the opening of Scene 4. The same occurs in the Spanish editions: at the T. Principal, Barcelona, in 1825, at Palma in 1828 and at the T. del Príncipe, Madrid, in 1829, where, as at Oporto, the immediately preceding section was cut. This altered scene division suggests that the Oporto version is less likely to have come from Lisbon, and more likely to have come from Milan⁶⁸.

To summarise, then, although the very limited range of libretti printed for productions at the T. de São João, Oporto, seriously hampers an assessment of the sources of supply for operas there, a picture does emerge with reasonable clarity. Firstly, as at Lisbon, operas reached the theatre in a variety of ways and from a variety of places. There were, however, differences. The most noticeable of these is the complete absence at Oporto of operas written for particular singers and brought by them, a direct consequence of the lesser calibre of the singers there. The only instance we have identified of a score presumably owned by a singer and thus brought by him is *Così fan tutte*, transmitted by Carlo Cauvini. On the other hand, at Oporto we have a seemingly unique case of a score being transmitted through family connections among singers - there is strong evidence for Camilla (Berberis) Ferlendis' having sent a copy of *La capricciosa pentita* from Paris to her sister-in-law Giuseppa (Ferlendis) Zanfardini at Oporto. This rather unorthodox transmission system would appear to be indicative of a greater difficulty in obtaining scores than was the case at Lisbon. At Oporto we also seem to have a case of a singer acting as carrier of a score that did not belong to him -

⁶⁸or, in theory at least. Barcelona. To judge from other cases, however, it is almost certain that the scores would have been acquired independently from Milan. The Madrid production was later than that at Oporto, so that if there was any direct connection, which there may or may not have been, it was in the direction Oporto-Madrid, not Madrid-Oporto.

Il crociato in Egitto brought from Genoa by Luigi Rigola. He had probably been instructed to bring it by his future employer at the S. João⁶⁹, who would have kept it - this would explain why the singer did not then take this score with him on to Lisbon.

As for links that *can* be established between Lisbon and Oporto, they were clearly present in some instances. *Clotilde* certainly came from Lisbon. The unusual same two-act format of *Otello* at both theatres would lead us to the same conclusion in respect of that opera. However, if we take other examples, such as *Griselda* and *Mosè in Egitto*, scores were evidently supplied from other cities too. In the case of *Mosè* this may well have been Milan.

On a very different scale there are two (or three) other theatres where we can attempt to provide minimal answers as to how the operas reached there. The first is the Baron of Quintela's private Teatro das Laranjeiras, Lisbon, between 1825 and 1828. Libretti were printed for all of the few productions there during this period. The other instance relates to the small group of four manuscripts and vocal/instrumental parts of Italian operas in Portuguese translation, evidently originating from the Teatro da Rua dos Condes or Teatro do Salitre or both, and dating from around 1800. In spite of the very small samples available in both cases, it is both important and possible to establish whether there were connections between productions at these theatres and those at the S. Carlos or elsewhere.

The Teatro das Laranjeiras. Lisbon

- Rossini *L'occasione fa il ladro*⁷⁰

First performed at the T. San Moisè, Venice, on 24 November 1814, its Lisbon premiere took place at the S. Carlos on 13 May 1824, in celebration of the birthday of King João VI, with the title *Il cambiamento della valigia*. The production at the T. das Laranjeiras took place on 6 February 1826.

⁶⁹The instruction is more likely to have been in terms of bringing scores of recent successes, rather than specifically of *Il crociato in Egitto*.

⁷⁰Libretti consulted for productions at: Venice, S. Moisè: Autumn 1812; Parma, Ducale: Spring 1821; Milan, Scala: Spring 1822; Turin, Suteria: Spring 1823; Florence, Infuocati: Autumn 1825; Lisbon, Laranjeiras: 6 February 1826; with the title *Il cambiamento della valigia*; Lisbon, S. Carlos: 13 May 1824.

The libretto for the Laranjeiras production is identical to that printed for the Venice premiere and for the T. alla Scala, Milan, production in Spring 1822. All other editions examined, however, differ to some degree albeit small, including that for the 1824 S. Carlos production, which has an idiosyncratic substitution in Scene 11. In all other respects, however, the S. Carlos libretto is fully compatible with the Venice/Milan version and the substitution could well have been introduced locally into a score with the same reading as that used at the T. das Laranjeiras. It would be a mistake, therefore, to rule out a connection.

In another instance, Mercadante's *Il castello dei spiriti*, the inaugural production at the Laranjeiras on 14 March 1825, the version used is more directly suggestive of connection with the S. Carlos. Apart from Act I Scene 1, where the aria is cut at Laranjeiras, the libretto text is identical to that for the S. Carlos production later that year. However, since the Laranjeiras production took place first, we are more justified in supposing that the S. Carlos was supplied by the Laranjeiras than the reverse. Since the Baron of Quintela was overseeing the management of the S. Carlos at this time, he may well have been obtaining scores personally from Italy simultaneously for the use of his own theatre and the S. Carlos.

This hypothesis is supported by Generali's *Chiara di Rosemberg*, where again the Laranjeiras production (6 December 1825) preceded that at the S. Carlos (undated 1826) and the texts, though not identical, are once more at only one remove from each other. The score could well have been used at the Laranjeiras and subsequently altered at the S. Carlos.

- Coccia *Arrighetto*⁷¹

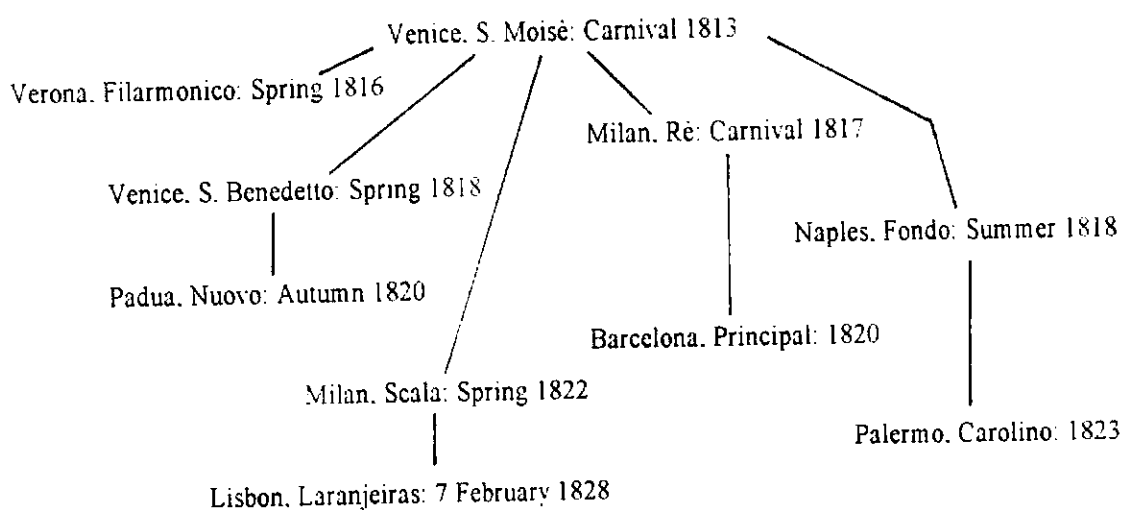
Two operas performed at the Laranjeiras were seemingly never performed at the S. Carlos: Cordella's *Gli avventurieri*, staged there on 4 December 1826 and Coccia's *Arrighetto*, given on 7 February 1828. In the case of *Gli avventurieri*, premiered at the T. Canobbiana on 6 September 1825, the speed with which it reached Lisbon makes it virtually certain that the opera came directly from Milan. In the case of *Arrighetto*, which received its first performance at the T. San Moisè, Venice, in Carnival 1813 much longer had elapsed and only a stemmatic study can tell us whence it came.

⁷¹Libretti consulted for productions at: Venice, S. Moisè: Carnival 1813; Verona, Filarmonico: Spring 1816; Milan, Rè: Carnival 1817; Venice, S. Benedetto: Spring 1818; Naples, Fondo: Summer 1818; Padua, Nuovo: Autumn 1820; Barcelona, Principal: 1820; Milan, Scala: Spring 1822; Palermo, Carolina: 1823; Lisbon, Laranjeiras: 7 February 1828.

At its premiere *Arrighetto* included among the cast Nicola de Grecis as Corrado, as did many subsequent productions, including those at Verona in 1816, at the T. San Benedetto, Venice, in 1818, at Padua in 1820 and the T. alla Scala, Milan, in 1822. Among the libretto editions for these and those of other productions examined, the systematic variants are few but significant, enabling us to identify related performances with unusual ease. In particular, the Barcelona version stems from one at the T. Rè, Milan, in 1817, both including the additional duet "Senti?...Tu piangi i figli?" in Scene 10 and the Padua version from that at the T. San Benedetto, Venice, both containing the substitute aria "Perdei del cor la pace" in Scene 11.

At the level of variants in the wording, Scene 1 provides two slightly amusing alternatives. The opening line "In Cicilia gran fracasso" seems to have touched local sensibilities in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, for at Naples in 1818 it reads instead "Qui sette asini", an opening repeated at Palermo in 1823. At the T. alla Scala, Milan, in 1822 we find the more specific "In Catania gran fracasso" and it is this opening that appears at the T. das Laranjeiras. Since the remaining variants found in the Laranjeiras libretto (in Scenes 3, 6 and 11) are idiosyncratic, presumably changes made locally, we must conclude that the score used is likely to have come from Milan, from a *copisteria* connected with the T. alla Scala.

The stemma for *Arrighetto*, then, is plainly:



- Mercadante *La testa di bronzo*

La testa di bronzo differs from the other operas performed at the Laranjeiras up to 1828 in that it was commissioned from Mercadante by the Baron of Quintela, receiving its premiere at the theatre on 3 December 1827. Since the origin of the opera is clear, it is the subsequent productions and related scores that are of interest.

There were two particularly noteworthy subsequent productions: at the T. Regio, Turin, as early as Autumn 1831 (Mercadante was in Spain until early 1831) and a revival of the opera at Laranjeiras on 19 October 1833, the first opera to be performed in Lisbon after the Liberals took the capital on 24 July.

Taking the latter production first, the text is identical to that of 1827, the cast also being largely the same. At Turin, the libretto differs in only two details in the second act: Tollo's aria in Scene 13 is cut and the scene division between Scene 15 and the *Scena Ultima* occurs at a different point, the text itself being the same. As with *Gabriella di Vergy*, however, we should be wary of taking this at face value.

The cutting of Tollo's aria may not be quite so straightforward as at first appears. In the vocal score that the Baron of Quintela had printed in Paris, shortly after the premiere, Tollo's aria is also cut. This is odd for two reasons. In the first place, the score gives details of the premiere production - not only the date and place but also the cast and others involved. By implication, it contains precisely what was sung at Laranjeiras in 1827, yet the cutting of this aria constitutes a discrepancy between the libretto and the supposedly corresponding score. Secondly, it was the Baron himself, the opera's sponsor, who played the role of Tollo. Politically, therefore, if there was one aria that absolutely could not be cut, it was Tollo's. It is the present author's belief that, as indicated in the libretto, it was indeed sung both in 1827 and again in 1833, but that the Baron chose not to publish it, preferring instead to retain it for his own use, and his alone. Hence, no other edition, whether libretto or score includes the aria.

With this in mind, it is not surprising that the manuscript score of the opera preserved at the British Library, London, (GB-Lbl Add. 30,909/30,910) also lacks Tollo's aria. The importance of this source, however, resides in the fact that though it is basically a copy, it also incorporates autograph alterations and was evidently used for actual performance. As well as clarifying embellishments to the vocal line, it provides indications regarding cuts, short, recomposed sections and, in one instance, alternative music for an entire aria, inserted in the score immediately before the original aria,

which is in the copyist's hand. Given that the word text of this manuscript is fully compatible with the Turin libretto and that Mercadante is known to have overseen the Turin production, we may be sure that this is the score that Mercadante used to direct from on that occasion.

The autograph alterations to the *GB-Lbl* manuscript are clearly important to our understanding of the performance history of *La testa di bronzo*. Their significance, however, goes beyond just this particular opera, for they establish unequivocally that Mercadante, in modifying a score for a new production, not only made cuts and recomposed passages, like any other composer, but rather than substituting an aria, might compose an entirely new setting of the same words - something which, of course, cannot be recognised from a libretto edition. And if this was not just an isolated occurrence, but part of a more consistent policy, did he do the same thing when he revised *Gabriella di Vergy* for Genoa in 1832?

The Teatro das Laranjeiras, then, contrary to what might be expected of a small private theatre, was not dependent on the Teatro de S. Carlos. Its owner, the Baron of Quintela, obtained scores himself from Italy. With the exception of *La testa di bronzo*, which he commissioned, the cases whose origin we have traced consistently suggest Milan as a source. To the extent that the repertoire was also performed at the S. Carlos, the indications are that the Baron supplied it with scores he had obtained, not the reverse. Any similarities in the productions at the two theatres should be viewed in that light. *La testa di bronzo* raises questions regarding the extent to which Mercadante reset texts when modifying his scores for subsequent performance.

Productions at the Salitre and or Rua dos Condes theatres, Lisbon

Our knowledge of productions of Italian opera at the Salitre and Rua dos Condes theatres is extremely limited. It is not even clear whether both theatres were involved, though it is quite possible. Seemingly, no libretto editions were printed, so that the only evidence we have is a small group of manuscripts of four operas preserved at the Ducal Palace, Vila Viçosa (*P-VV*), which have somehow escaped the ravages of time. In no case does this material give a place of performance, and in only one instance a date (1800) but from the fact that the word texts are written by and large in Portuguese rather than Italian and the naming, in some instances, of the singers

involved, we know that it belongs to the very last years of the eighteenth century or the first decade of the nineteenth at the Salitre or Rua dos Condes.

- Paisiello *Lo strambo in Berlina*

First performed at the Pantheon, London, on 16 June 1791, with the title *La locanda*, it was revised by the composer the following year for production at the T. de' Fiorentini, Naples, and given the new title *Il fanatico in Berlina*. It was first performed at the T. de São Carlos on 6 April 1795 with a further production there in Spring 1798, in both cases under the title *Lo strambo in Berlina*. At the T. de São João. Oporto, it was given as *Il fanatico in Berlina* in Carnival 1799.

The material at Vila Viçosa (*P-IV G 34*) consists of a score of Act I and parts. The score has the title *Il fanatico in Berlina*, is in Italian and, to judge from the watermarks in the paper and copyists' hands (including Joaquim Casimiro's), was evidently copied at the S. Carlos *copisteria*. Performance indications and the version it contains make it clear that it was actually used at the S. Carlos. Given that this score was not part of the royal library but a working copy from the S. Carlos⁷², there is no reason why it should not then have been passed on to some other Lisbon theatre.

Turning to the parts, these are in Portuguese though the title sometimes appears as *Il fanatico in Berlina* and sometimes as *L'Estrambo in Berlina* (neither Italian nor fully Portuguese). Since the title *Lo strambo in Berlina* was peculiar to the S. Carlos and since the material in Portuguese is consistently compatible with the version staged there, we must suppose that this Portuguese version stems from the S. Carlos. Among the singers whose names appear on the parts are [Joaquina] Lapinha, which both places and dates the Portuguese production as being in the first decade of the nineteenth century at one or other of the T. da Rua dos Condes or T. do Salitre.

If we take the case of Portugal's *Le donne cambiate*, we find a similar pattern. According to the composer's catalogue of his own works⁷³, he produced a separate Portuguese version of the opera, with the title *O Sapateiro*, for performance at the T. da Rua dos Condes. The set of manuscript parts at Vila Viçosa (*P-VV G 46*), however, gives the title consistently as *As Damas Trocadas*, a direct translation of the

⁷²Note too that the Act I of the opera at *P-La* preserves a different version.

⁷³Cited by Vieira (1900), p. 216.

original title, retained for the 1804 S. Carlos production⁷⁴. Furthermore, the duet for the Conte and Contessa found in this material is a substitution, one which the composer wrote specially for Gafforini and Naldi at the S. Carlos. The score for the Portuguese production to which the Vila Viçosa manuscripts relate must again have come from the S. Carlos⁷⁵.

- 'Moreira' *Il disertor francese*

Everything about Moreira's opera *Il disertor francese* seems enigmatic. To begin with, as *NG*, *NGO* and other reference works tell us, its premiere took place at the T. Carignano, Turin, during the Carnival season of 1800. This is confirmed by the printed libretto edition, which tells us "La Musica è del celebre signor Maestro Leali all'attuale servizio di S. M. il re di Portogallo" (The Music is by the celebrated Maestro Leali, currently in the service of H. M the King of Portugal). But how did an opera by a Portuguese composer who never set foot outside his native country come to receive its premiere in Turin? It is true that Moreira's brother-in-law, Marcos Portugal, was in Italy at that time, but he was busy in Milan that season preparing *Idante* for La Scala.

Then there is the material (parts only, with no full score) at Vila Viçosa (*P-VV G 8*) in a Portuguese version dated 1800⁷⁶. Did it, like *Lo strambo in Berlina* or *I - donne cambiate*, stem from a production at the S. Carlos? The problem is that no libretto survives for a production of Moreira's opera there, even though the composer was *maestro* at the theatre for several seasons. But might it not be that it was in actual fact performed there only without the libretto being printed? Perhaps, but there is nothing that points to this. And if these manuscripts do not stem from the S. Carlos, did Moreira simply make available to the Rua dos Condes or Salitre a copy he had retained of an opera he had somehow had put on in Turin?

With all the questions that arise we are reduced to pure guesswork.

⁷⁴The performing edition entitled *As Damas Trocadas*, performed at the Teatro de S. Carlos in November 1994 and repeated the same month at the Clerkenwell Music Festival, London, prepared by the present author, was based on this material.

⁷⁵The material for Paisiello's *Il barbiere di Siviglia* (*P-IT G 27*) consists of two bound full scores, probably of Italian origin, and parts, some in Italian, some in Portuguese, in one instance with the Italian text covered by thin strips of paper with the Portuguese translation written on them. The part for "Rosinha" [sic in Portuguese] is identified as having been sung by Lapinha. Since we have no libretto for the S. Carlos productions we cannot verify the potential links between the latter and this Portuguese version.

⁷⁶Alegria (1989).

There are two further partial sources for Moreira's opera: the printed libretto of a further production, given at the T. alla Scala, Milan, in the Summer of 1800, with the shortened title *Il disertor*, attributed to "Il celebre Maestro Leali all'attual servizio della Corte di Portogallo" (the celebrated Maestro Leali, currently in the service of the Portuguese Court"; and two manuscript trios attributed to "Maestro Leali" preserved at the Conservatorio di Musica Giuseppe Verdi, Milan.

If we compare the Turin and Milan libretti, something of a surprise awaits us. Even by the standards we have grown accustomed to, the versions are very different. Indeed, of the ten arias at Turin five are substituted and two are cut, leaving only three intact.

Three other things are also noticeable. Firstly, of the two manuscript trios at the Milan Conservatoire, only one, "A un sol moto a un gesto solo" (*I-Mc* (Nosedà) 100-121), appears in the libretto editions - in Act II Scene 8 of both. The other (*I-Mc* (Nosedà) 132-147), upon closer investigation turns out to be a misattribution, belonging instead to Nasolini's *Eugenia*. Secondly, in both editions the word text of the *Introduzione* of Act I, of almost all the recitatives, the Quartet in Act II and both Finales follows the text of Gazzaniga's opera *Il disertor*, often, as at Lisbon, given under the title *Il disertor francese*. Thirdly, Eugenia's aria "Quelle pupille tenere" in Act I Scene 12 at Turin, but substituted at Milan, is a borrowing from Cimarosa's *Gli Orazi e i Curiazi*.

All of these features - the instability of the two libretto editions, the overall structural similarity to Gazzaniga's opera, the borrowing of an aria from Cimarosa and the inclusion of a trio which supports an attribution to Moreira - point to the same conclusion: that the opera performed at Turin and Milan was a pastiche taking Gazzaniga's opera as its point of departure and with probably no more than a single trio by Moreira⁷⁷. If we accept this hypothesis, we are still left with two fundamental unanswered questions: for one, how did the Moreira trio reach Turin (and Milan) and, for another, how come there are manuscript parts of Moreira's *Il disertor francese* at Vila Viçosa?

If we look first at the manuscript, the solution turns out to be quite simple. Nowhere on any of the parts is the composer actually named. The attribution is that of the collection's cataloguer, Canon Alegria, whose ascriptions the present author has had

⁷⁷Comparison with Portugal's *Tito Vespasiano*, discussed above in the section concerning Portugal's *Artaserse* and Mozart's *La clemenza di Tito*, is instructive here. With a pastiche only a minimal amount by the composer to which it is attributed may actually be his.

reason on another occasion to challenge⁷⁸. If instead of Moreira, we attribute this manuscript to Gazzaniga we are much closer to the truth, for although there are differences when compared to the premiere production of his opera at the T. Pergola, Florence, in Spring 1779, they are precisely the same differences as found in the S. Carlos production on 13 May 1796. Furthermore, the Portuguese translation is exactly that found in the S. Carlos libretto edition. This material then, must be added to *Lo strambo in Berlina* and *Le donne cambiate* as stemming from the Teatro de São Carlos, leading us to the conclusion that the scores of Italian operas performed in Portuguese at the Rua dos Condes and/or Salitre theatres were consistently acquired from the S. Carlos.

Though the attribution of the Turin/Milan opera and the Vila Viçosa manuscripts to Moreira is no more than a flight of fancy, there are important links between them. As well as the sections by Gazzaniga, the Moreira trio is also present in the S. Carlos/Vila Viçosa versions and two other substitute arias at Lisbon reappear at Turin, one being retained at Milan. The missing link proves to be quite simple, for Maria Panizza, the Contessa at both Turin and Milan (probably the crucial connection between these two productions⁷⁹), had sung in Gazzaniga's opera at Madrid in 1797 and, as we know from the precious documents in the Barberi collection of the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, discussed in the Introduction to Part 2, Gaetano Neri brought a score of Gazzaniga's *Il disertor francese* with him from Lisbon to Madrid.

We must conclude, then, that the Portuguese versions of Italian operas performed at one or both of the T. da Rua dos Condes and T. do Salitre, all stem from the T. de São Carlos. *O Estrambo em Berlim*, given the unusual form of the title and the fact that the full score of Act I was written by copyists known to have worked at the São Carlos, cannot have come from anywhere but that theatre. *Il disertor francese* proves to be Gazzaniga's opera of that title and follows both the version and the Portuguese translation used in the 1796 S. Carlos libretto. *As Damas Trocadas* includes a duet that Portugal only composed in 1804 for the S. Carlos production. Each of these three thus shows an irrefutable link with the T. de São Carlos. There can be little doubt that had a libretto for Paisiello's *Il barbiere di Siviglia* been printed for the S. Carlos, we

⁷⁸Cranmer (1988). In this article, taking the as yet only typewritten catalogue available at Vila Viçosa, I challenged the attribution to Marcos Portugal of two scores: *Artaserse* Act III (P-IT' G 40) - Portugal's opera was in two acts and differs entirely from this score - and *Demofonte* (P-IT' G 51) - among this motley assortment of incomplete scores, one section is actually the Finale of Act I of Cimarosa's *Li due baroni di Rocca Azzurra*, which has the character D. Demofonte [sic].

⁷⁹Filippo Senesi also sang in both productions. Two of the arias that remained intact at Milan were those that he sang.

would be able to show comparable connections with the full scores at Vila Viçosa. In short, it would seem that operas that were successful at the São Carlos got borrowed, bought or pirated and then translated into Portuguese for use at the more downmarket theatres.

Chapter 9

Conclusions

In the introduction to Part 1, re-iterated in the introduction to Part 2, a series of questions was posed regarding the transmission of operas to and from Portugal. In the course of Part 2 answers have gradually emerged. In this final chapter we shall answer the questions systematically, by briefly recapitulating on conclusions already reached and adding further points and examples as appropriate.

To what extent were operas transmitted by composers?

With *I baccanti/baccanali di Roma* we saw how Generali took the opera from Venice to Trieste, where he made revisions. Several similar cases arose in chapter 8, most strikingly of all in the case of Meyerbeer's *Il crociato in Egitto*, where the composer oversaw productions and made revisions in at least four theatres after the premiere.

As regards Portugal, the only theatre to which composers brought operas already performed elsewhere was the T. de São Carlos, Lisbon. We have seen how P. C. Guglielmi brought *Dorval e Virginia* with him from Madrid to Lisbon and how Marcos Portugal probably brought *Fernando nel Messico* and *Demofonte* from Italy. I suggested, however, that we should not assume that this was also necessarily the case with Portugal's *Il ritorno di Serse* or *Le donne cambiate*, because of the previous association of certain singers with these operas.

It is likely that the following operas were also brought to the S. Carlos by their respective composers (listed chronologically by composer):

Fioravanti	<i>Le cantatrici villane</i> <i>Il villano in angustie</i>
P. C. Guglielmi	<i>L'amante di tutte fedele a nessuna</i>
Coccia	<i>La donna selvaggia</i> <i>Elena e Constantino</i>
Mercadante	<i>Didone abbandonata</i> <i>Adele ed Emerico</i> <i>Ipermestra</i>

We have also seen how Marcos Portugal probably took operas with him to Brazil, namely *L'oro non compra amore* and *Artaserse*. Similarly, Mercadante took *La testa di bronzo* and *Gabriella di Vergy* with him, overseeing revised versions in Turin and Genoa respectively. I have found no evidence of this occurring in any other case.

One opera composed for the T. de São João, Oporto, Marino's *Didone* was otherwise only performed at the S. Carlos, but it was the protagonist, i.e. a singer, not the composer who was responsible for its transmission.

To what extent were operas transmitted by the impresario?

Whereas in Italy, with both *La ballerina amante* and *I baccanti/baccanali di Roma*, it was impossible to distinguish between transmission directly through the impresario and transmission through his troupe of singers, the situation in Portugal was different. With regard to impresarios, we have seen clearly how Francesco Antonio Lodi must have used the same score of Cimarosa's *Chi dell'altrui si veste presto si spoglia* at the T. da Rua dos Condes and subsequently at the T. de São Carlos. Although no libretto was printed we know of performances at the S. Carlos in the 1790s of a number of other operas that had already been performed at the R. dos Condes and we may reasonably suppose that Lodi again reused the same scores:

Cimarosa	<i>Giannina e Bernardone</i> (Condes 1791, S. Carlos 1794)
	<i>L'impresario in angustie</i> (Condes 1792, S. Carlos 1795)
	<i>L'italiana in Londra</i> (Condes 1791, S. Carlos 1795)
Paisiello	<i>Il barbiere di Siviglia</i> (Condes 1791, S. Carlos 1796, 1797, 1798 ¹)
	<i>I zingari in fiera</i> (Condes 1791, S. Carlos 1797)

The only other cases where an impresario was clearly the transmitter involve Crescentini, but he possessed scores as a function of his being a leading singer, only circumstantially becoming impresario at the S. Carlos.

To what extent were operas transmitted by troupes of singers?

Singers tended to reach the São Carlos and São João in pairs or small groups and the only case we have of a troupe as such, in the sense of a group of singers already accustomed to working and travelling together, was that centred on Carlo Cauvini, Angiolina Cauvini and Giuseppa Collini. All three had been involved in both the London and Dublin productions of Mozart's *Così fan tutte* in 1811 and must have brought the opera to Oporto in c.1816. Given that Teresa Bertinotti also sang in the Dublin production and seemingly travelled with them to Lisbon, it is highly probable that *Così fan tutte* was also performed by them at the S. Carlos between late 1812 and 1814. Also in the same troupe was Giuseppe Bertini, who had sung in the 1812

¹The 1799 production at the S. Carlos was already during Crescentini's management.

London Pantheon production of Portugal's *Le donne cambiate*, repeated at the S. Carlos for Bertini's Benefit in 1814. The troupe probably brought this score from London too. Likewise Pucitta's *La caccia di Enrico IV*.

It is worth drawing attention to the débuts of Domenico Mombelli's daughters Maria Ester and Anna at the São Carlos. Together with their father and the family friend Ludovico Olivieri, with whom they had travelled to Portugal, they subsequently formed a troupe: Maria Ester as the soprano, Anna as the contralto, Domenico as the tenor and, up to 1813, Olivieri as the bass. After this date the father and two daughters continued to tour together until 1817. The troupe's main pieces were Rossini's *Demetrio e Polibio*, commissioned of the young composer by the Mombelli family and written in 1808, when he was 16, and Coccia's *Evellina*, both of which they performed in a number of Italian theatres. However, they also went on to perform P. C. Guglielmi's *La distruzione di Gerusalemme*, which Domenico Mombelli or Olivieri probably brought from Naples and first sang in at Lisbon, and the 'Fioravanti' pastiche, attributed at Lisbon to Gardi, *Nardone e Nannetta*.

To what extent were operas transmitted by individual singers?

The role of singers as agents of transmission has been a recurrent feature among the operas we have considered. We do, however, need to be clear that, on the one hand, singers sometimes transmitted whole operas and sometimes only a series of numbers that could be inserted into one or more operas, and, on the other, that the singer might actually own this material or merely be transporting it from one theatre to another. Nor is it necessarily clear which of these cases we are dealing with in any particular instance.

That singers brought scores they possessed to Lisbon is extremely plain during the period bound by Girolamo Crescentini's arrival in 1798 and the 1st French invasion in 1807. Among our case studies we have already identified operas almost certainly transmitted in this way through Crescentini himself, Angelica Catalani, Domenico Mombelli, Elisabetta Gafforini and Marianna Sessi.

When examining our model operas we also saw how Francesco Marchesi in the 1790s must have possessed and brought a score of Cimarosa's *La ballerina amante*, to which we should add the double bill consisting of P. A. Guglielmi's *Lo sciocco poeta di campagna* and Palma's *Gli amanti della dote* - he sang the roles of D. Properzio/D. Favonio, respectively, at Livorno in 1793, at Lisbon in 1794 and Madrid in 1795,

where the Guglielmi opera was so pastiched that it was attributed to 'Diversi' and entitled *Lo sciocco presuntuoso*². Pietro Guariglia, we further noted, similarly brought a score of *La ballerina amante*.

To these singers we should add, at various points during our period, the following cases of singers probably owning and bringing operas:

- Giuseppe Tavani: Nicolini's *Le nozze campestri* - he played Albertone at the Milanese premiere in 1794, probably repeating the role at Madrid in 1795 and certainly at Lisbon in 1797;
- Marianna Albani: Marino's *Didone* - it was composed for her at Oporto in 1798 and she sang the title role at Lisbon in 1799, as she must have in Oporto;
- Luigi Martinelli: Paer's *Agnese* - he sang Uberto at Rome in 1813 and Turin in 1815, and presumably in this role at Lisbon in 1816, as he did again in 1823;
- Paolo Rosich: Paine's *La figlia dell'aria* - he took part in the Parma premiere in 1816, singing Timoteo at Lisbon in 1820 and probably the same role at Madrid in 1822;
- Giuseppe Lombardi: Rossini's *Eduardo e Cristina* - he sang various roles at Reggio nell'Emilia, Ravenna, Verona, Rovigo and Bologna in 1820, and at Lisbon in 1822.

There may have been other cases, for which the evidence is less clear cut. Did Luigi Mari possess and bring scores of Nicolini's *Coriolano* and *Quinto Fabio*, both of which he sang in at Vicenza in 1815, repeating them at Lisbon in 1818 and 1820, respectively? Did Giovanni Battista Montresor acquire a score of Mercadante's *Elisa e Claudio*? He took part in productions at Madrid in 1826 and 1827, Lisbon in 1828, New York in 1832 and Venice in 1841.

As for operas acquired at and taken on from Lisbon, we have seen clear cases involving Catalani, Gafforini, Naldi, Sessi, Mari and Favini. In addition to these we should add:

- Crescentini: Cimador's *Pimmalione* - he sang the title role at Lisbon in 1801, presumably the same role at Piacenza in 1804 and at Paris in 1806
- Cartagena: Rossini's *Mosè in Egitto* - he played the part of Faraone at Lisbon in 1826, presumably repeating the role there in the 1827 revival, Madrid in 1830 and Turin in 1833³.

²Marchesi also sang D. Properzio in *Lo sciocco poeta di campagna*, but without Palma's opera, at Ancona in 1799.

As for singers as 'transporters', clear examples are not so easy to spot. On the one hand, singers often took part in more than one production of the same opera purely by chance, or even out of choice, without necessarily being responsible for carrying a score. Thus, merely singing twice in the same opera, while sometimes suggestive, cannot by itself be taken as evidence for being a carrier. On the other hand, there is no reason why singers should not act simply as transporters of scores without ever taking part at all in the corresponding opera, just following an instruction to 'bring the latest hits' with them.

Where we wish to suppose singers to have been transporters, then, we need clear evidence either that a particular version travelled from one place to another and so did a singer, or that the speed with which an opera travelled suggests personal delivery rather than forwarding through an agent⁴. We also need evidence that the singer did not actually own the score, for example by showing that his or her link with the opera involved was incidental and did not recur.

We saw in the Introduction to Part 2 that Francesco Marchesi probably took Nasolini's *Eugenia* from Lisbon to Madrid and that Gaetano Neri definitely took Dalayrac's *Raollo signor di Crequi* and Gazzaniga's *Il disertor francese*. We also found clear evidence for Luigi Mari, Domenico Vaccani or Giovanni Maria De Capitani carrying Coccia's *La festa della rosa* from Lisbon to Madrid and for Luigi Rigola acting as transporter of Meyerbeer's *Il crociato in Egitto* to Oporto. To these we should add:

- Cimarosa *Il matrimonio segreto*

Premiere: Vienna, Burgth., February 1792; Lisbon, S. Carlos, Lisbon, 6 August 1794. Luigi Bruschi sang Paolino at the T. Pergola, Florence, in Spring 1793 and repeated it at Lisbon. Girolamo Crucciati sang the role of Conte Robinson at the T. Nuovo, Vicenza in Summer 1793 and likewise repeated it at Lisbon. Neither appears to have sung the opera again after his stay in Lisbon and either may have brought the score.

- Mayr *La Lodoiska*

Premiere: Venice, Fenice, 26 January 1796; Lisbon, S. Carlos: 4 November 1798. Pietro Bonini sang in the premiere as Narseno. Although long enough had elapsed for the opera just about to have reached Lisbon simply through agents in Italy, Pietro Bonini was again in the cast, repeating the same role at Lisbon, and the opera was

³Although he sang Fayel in Mercadante's *Gabriella di Vergy* at Lisbon in 1828, Genoa in 1832, Turin in 1833 and Naples in 1840, he is unlikely to have possessed the score. The composer was present for the first two productions and the other two are separated by seven years.

⁴Operas typically took at least two to three years to reach Lisbon from first performance in Italy. Even two years, and certainly anything less, is strongly suggestive of a more personal delivery service. In the vast majority of cases, operas were first performed in Oporto a year or two later than in Lisbon.

otherwise only performed in the Iberian peninsula many years later, at the T. Principal, Barcelona, in 1816. There is no record of Bonini singing in the opera after he left Lisbon.

- Gardi *La donna ve la fa*

Premiere: Venice, S. Moisè: May 1800; Lisbon, S. Carlos: October 1801. Filippo Senesi gave his Lisbon debut in this opera. His movements between the end of July 1800, when he was still in Milan, and October 1801 are unknown. He may have visited Venice, but in any case, he could easily have gathered scores, including this one, and brought them on to Lisbon. He was a minor soloist, on the fringe of the São Carlos, and unlikely, therefore, to have carried around scores of his own.

- P. C. Guglielmi *La contessina contrastata*

Premiere: Rome, Apollo: 28 December 1805; Lisbon, S. Carlos: Spring 1806. The original cast included Giuseppe Tavani as Conte Orlando, a role he repeated at the S. Carlos a mere six months later. It is difficult to see any way the opera could have reached Lisbon so quickly other than through Tavani. He did not, however, sing the role subsequently.

- Gnecco *La prova di un'opera seria*

Premiere: Milan, Scala, 16 August 1805; Lisbon, S. Carlos: Summer 1806. These productions, separated by only a year, had no singers in common. However, Marianna Sessi was singing at La Scala immediately after the premiere and reached Lisbon for the Spring season of 1806. Since *La prova di un'opera seria* was an *opera buffa*, it would have been of no interest to her as a performer, but she could, nevertheless, have been the transporter, responsible simply for bringing the score to Lisbon.

- Vaccai *Zadig ed Astartea*

Premiere: Naples, S. Carlo: 21 February 1825; Lisbon, S. Carlos: 4 February 1827 as *Astartea regina di Babilonia*. Antonio Piacenti had sung in the opera at Florence in Autumn 1826, just a few months before taking part in the Lisbon production.

A number of other cases pose difficulties. A good example is Mayr's *L'intrigo della lettera*, which was premiered at the T. San Moisè, Venice, in Autumn 1797, and performed at the T. de São Carlos, Lisbon, at some point in 1798. Even if the production took place at the very end of the year, the transmission was unusually rapid. Giovanni Zamperini was the only singer to come to Lisbon from Italy in the meantime, but, as a *castrato*, he performed largely in the Papal States and in the relevant period seems not to have strayed further than Florence. It would, in the present author's view, be far-fetched to suppose he transported the score.

From the middle of the second decade of the nineteenth century, when Rossini fever swept across Europe, the calibre of singers at Lisbon was not as it had been prior to the Napoleonic invasions (at Oporto it had never been very great). Furthermore, the whole distribution system seems to have grown to depend less on the possession of scores by individual singers or on singers acting as transporters, but to have worked through a more general system of contacts between agents, copy houses and theatres.

What links were there among theatres within Portugal?

To begin with let us just for a moment consider the operas repeated at the same theatre. Although there are many examples of this, particularly with the Rossini operas in the 1820s, it was rare for a new libretto edition to be reprinted, the few cases all being of operas performed at the S. Carlos. To a large extent we may take this as probable evidence that the text remained unaltered or only slightly modified (e.g. through cuts), there being little point, therefore, in printing a new edition of the libretto. This would be a continuation of the practice we observed above in the non-printing of libretti for productions in the early years of the S. Carlos that had already been performed at the T. da Rua dos Condes.

On the other hand, we need to recall that the 1801 edition of Cimarosa's *Gli Orazi e i Curiazi* differed from the 1798 edition in having an altered ending and various substitutions resulting from Angelica Catalani's involvement. To this we may add the case of Andreozzi's *La morte di Saulle*, where the 1804 libretto includes substantial alterations made by Giuseppe Caravita and set to music by Domenico Mombelli, while the 1807 edition entitled simply *Saulle*, though performed for Mombelli's Benefit, omits all this material and reverts to a more original version. Then turning to the latter part of our period, we have seen how the 1823 libretto edition for Rossini's *Mosè in Egitto* included an idiosyncratic substitution, normalised in the 1826 version. In all three cases, however, the two editions are mutually compatible, involving straightforward substitutions, additions or cuts that could readily have been made by altering the same physical copy of the score.

Turning to operas repeated at different theatres within Portugal, the only theatres with a substantial overlap of repertoire were the T. de São Carlos and T. de São João, though the huge gaps in our knowledge of what was performed at Oporto, particularly between 1800 and 1819, make it difficult to assess the extent of this overlap. As to links between these two theatres other than through singers, we find definite evidence of connection in some cases, e.g. Coccia's *Clotilde* and Rossini's *Otello*, but in others

we must assume different sources of supply, e.g. Paer's *Griselda* and Rossini's *Mosè in Egitto*.

As for the T. das Laranjeiras, it seems that its owner, the Baron of Quintela, acquired scores independently, particularly from Milan. Where links can be shown with the T. de S. Carlos, this would seem to be to do with the Baron's overseeing of the latter's management. In two instances, Mercadante's *Il castello dei spiriti* and Generali's *Chiara di Rosemberg*, the scores were probably used first at the Laranjeiras and only subsequently at the S. Carlos.

By contrast, the Vila Viçosa scores of Portuguese versions of operas performed at the T. da Rua dos Condes and/or T. do Salitre show that there were direct connections between these theatres and the T. de São Carlos. In all three cases where it is possible to compare the scores with S. Carlos libretti, it is clear firstly that the S. Carlos production came first and secondly that the Portuguese versions were made using scores stemming from there.

What links were there with neighbouring Spain?

Despite its geographic proximity, connections with Spain have proven to be consistently tenuous and incidental.

In the case of Barcelona, there is no proven case of a score going to or coming from any Portuguese theatre and even within Spain, Palma (Majorca) seems to have been the only city to have been closely linked with it. The absence of a Barcelona-Lisbon link is particularly surprising considering that both cities are ports and that any ship between Italy and Lisbon would have to pass Barcelona, with or without stopping.

Links with Madrid, though not close, can be shown from time to time. They did, however, depend on personnel movements - the composer P. C. Guglielmi in the case of the only opera that definitely came *from* Madrid and singers in the cases of those that went *to* Madrid.

As for the Seville and Cadiz theatres, there are no clear links with Portugal, though again personnel movements, particularly from Lisbon to these cities at the end of our period mean that some transmission of scores cannot be ruled out. There are more obvious connections, albeit quite loose, between these theatres and Madrid.

To underline the fundamental separateness of Portuguese and Spanish theatres, let us just add the following points. Of Marcos Portugal's Lisbon operas only *L'oro non compra amore* was ever performed in Spain, at the T. de la Cruz, Madrid, in 1819, fifteen years after its premiere, by which time it was a well-established, indeed already waning, opera in Italy, from where it almost certainly came. His opera *I due gobbi*, premiered at Florence in 1793, was performed at the T. Principal, Barcelona, in 1795 but to this day, as far as is known, has never been performed in Portugal. Generali's opera *Gusmano di Valore*, written for Barcelona was not performed in Portugal, while his *Idomeneo*, premiered at Lisbon in 1819, was never performed in Spain. Nor was Rossini's *Adina*. Of Mercadante's Lisbon operas only *Gabriella di Vergy* was ever staged in Spain, reaching Barcelona only after widespread performance in Italy, in 1837, while his Cadiz operas *La rappresaglia* and *Don Chisciotte alle nozze di Gamaccio*, premiered there in 1829-30, were never given in Portugal. One could go on.

What links were there with Brazil?

Just as links can be shown in some instances but not all between Lisbon and Oporto, so too between Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro. Two of Marcos Portugal's S. Carlos operas received performances at the court in Rio, Salieri's *Axur re d'Ormus* found its way from the royal library in Lisbon to the T. de São João, Rio, and Rossini's *Adina*, premiered at the S. Carlos in 1826, found its only other nineteenth-century production at the T. de S. Pedro, Rio. On the other hand, a number of operas had Rio de Janeiro premieres prior to the S. Carlos premiere and a number of operas performed at Rio were not staged at all at the S. Carlos. Scores must have reached the Rio theatres, then, from a variety of sources, of which Lisbon was just one. No links have been established between Oporto and Rio de Janeiro.

What links were there with Italy?

In the Introduction to Part 2, we learnt that in 1814 agents in Milan were seeking copies of scores from the publishers (*copisterie*) Artaria and Ricordi to send to Portugal. We have further found, regularly throughout the period, that the versions in which operas were performed at Lisbon, even when there was no singer involved in transmission, regularly coincide with or are compatible with earlier Milanese versions, specifically in the cases of the S. Carlos productions of Cimarosa's *Chi dell'altrui si veste presto si spoglia* (via the T. da Rua dos Condes), Coccia's *Clotilde* and the

Laranjeiras production of Coccia's *Arrighetto*. At Oporto we could add to this Rossini's *Mosè in Egitto*.

Equally we have found plenty of exceptions to the Milanese connection. Cimarosa's *Il convito* would seem to have reached the S. Carlos from Venice, Trento's *La finta ammalata* from Florence, Gnecco's *Filandro e Carolina* from Rome and Morlacchi's *Tebaldo e Isolina* from Bologna. The small group of *opéras comiques* in Italian translation came systematically from Monza, albeit very likely through a Milanese agent. Some S. Carlos productions show the availability of multiple versions, from different cities, as was the case with Generali's *I baccanali di Roma* and Meyerbeer's *Il crociato*. Thus, though we might agree that Milan should be regarded as perhaps *primus inter pares*, we would be quite wrong to assume that all or even most scores came from there.

What links were there with other leading operatic centres such as Vienna, Paris and London?

In the case of Vienna, there are no definite cases of connection with Portugal other than through the movements of singers. Salieri's *Axur re d'Ormus* may have come to Lisbon direct from Vienna through Crescentini. Mozart's *La clemenza di Tito* certainly came from there via Munich through Sessi. Other operas premiered there, however, for example Cimarosa's *Il matrimonio segreto*, reached Lisbon via Italy, in this instance probably carried by Bruschi or Crucciati.

As regards Paris, although Luigi Gianella, an Italian composer normally resident there came to Lisbon to stage his *Ifigenia in Aulide* in the wake of the 1st French invasion, there is only one case of a link between the French capital and Portugal that did not involve personnel movement: Fioravanti's *La capricciosa pentita*, under the title *L'orgoglio avvilito*, seems to have reached Oporto from Paris through family connections - from the *prima donna* Camilla Berberis Ferlendis to her sister-in-law Giuseppa Ferlendis Zanfardini.

The military and economic links between Portugal and Britain during the Napoleonic period and its immediate aftermath led to operatic connections between London and Portugal. While, on the one hand, Catalani, in particular, took scores from Lisbon to London, the troupe centred on Giuseppa Collini and the Cauvinis brought others to Lisbon and Oporto. There are no cases, however, of connection between the two countries other than as a consequence of personnel movements.

To what extent did operas composed for Portuguese theatres travel on elsewhere?

We have already encountered cases of new operas travelling on elsewhere from Portugal through both composers (Portugal and Mercadante) and singers (especially Catalani and Gafforini). Apart from the single case of Rossini's *Adina*, however, which, as we have seen, went on to Rio de Janeiro, no other opera premiered in Lisbon did so. The traffic with Italy, in particular, was strictly one-way.

What connection is there between scores surviving in Portuguese libraries, on the one hand, and performances in Portugal, on the other?

Scores potentially connected with performances in Portugal are to be found in six Portuguese libraries. There is also related material in two London libraries. The conclusions we have reached about them are summarised below and brief reference is made to the few scores we have not so far considered.

Beginning with the Ajuda Palace Library, part of whose original holdings are now at Vila Viçosa, the huge collection of eighteenth-century scores was, as we have seen, gathered prior to the opening of the S. Carlos, for use at the court theatres. None of these scores was used at the S. Carlos, even though there was considerable overlap in the repertoire in the early years. Some can clearly be linked to productions at court theatres up to 1792. The full score of *Axur re d'Ormus*, missing from both libraries, was probably sent on to Rio de Janeiro, the version performed at the T. de S. João there in 1814 being identical to that at Ajuda in 1790.

With the possible exception of Act I of *Fernando nel Messico*, all of the full scores of operas by Portugal and Fioravanti in both libraries, together with the Act I of *L'oro non compra amore* at the Arquivo Nacional de Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, and the Act I of *Demofonte* at the Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon, were copied at the S. Carlos *copisteria*.

At Vila Viçosa there is a further small group of parts and full scores in Italian and/or Portuguese used for actual performance at the T. da Rua dos Condes and T. do Salitre. This material, relating to Paisiello's *Lo strambo in Berlina*, Gazzaniga's *Il disertor francese* and *Le donne cambiate*, stem from S. Carlos productions. Also at Vila Viçosa there are performance scores relating to the 1794 S. Carlos production of Gazzaniga's *Il palazzo d'Osmano*, including four pieces composed by Leal Moreira, and some parts for Portugal's *L'Argenide*, used there for the 1804 production.

At the Ajuda library there are two scores that do not fit into any of these three groups: Mayr's *Ginevra di Scozia* and Pavesi's *Un'avvertimento ai gelosi*. Neither shows any kind of performance indications and it is unlikely they were ever actually used.

The Biblioteca Nacional possesses a largely autograph score of Portugal's *La morte di Semiramide*, at one time the subject of a wrangle between Catalani and Crescentini, and the autograph of an aria from his *Artaserse*, which through Sessi found its way into Zingarelli's *Giulietta e Romeo*, as well as pastiches attributed to Portugal. Also among the library's holdings are single numbers from various of Portugal's Lisbon operas. The score of Morlacchi's *Tebaldo e Isolina* was used at the S. Carlos, certainly the origin also of that of Moreira's *A Vingança da Cigana*. Like Ajuda, the library also possesses Pavesi's *Un'avvertimento ai gelosi*, which again we cannot link to any actual production.

The only relevant scores in the archives of the Teatro de S. Carlos itself date from the late 1820s. The manuscript of Meyerbeer's *Il crociato in Egitto*, as we have seen, was certainly used at the theatre in 1828. It is less clear whether the score for Pacini's *Temistocle* is related to the 1827 production there. There is also a manuscript of Vaccai's *Giulietta e Romeo*, the final scene of which was removed at an early stage and attached to the score of Bellini's *I Capuleti e i Montecchi* to form the latter's so-called 'Vaccai Act III'⁵. Intact, the Vaccai score is fully compatible with the libretto for the 1828 S. Carlos production.

At the Biblioteca Municipal, Oporto, there are scores of three operas by Rossini, *Mosè in Egitto*, *Riccardo e Zoraide* and *Armida*, and of Gnecco's *La prova di un'opera seria*. The Rossini scores are from later in the century, the titles given in German on the spines, and evidently have nothing to do with Portuguese productions in our period. The Gnecco manuscript, on the other hand, clearly dates from the early part of the nineteenth century. It is compatible with the 1806 S. Carlos libretto, which does not, however, exclude the possibility of its connection with productions in Oporto, for which we possess no libretti.

Turning to London, the British Library's score of Portugal's *Fernando nel Messico* is essentially the composer's autograph, now somewhat altered. It originally belonged to Elisabeth Billington and was taken by her to London, where it was reused for the

⁵It was common practice throughout the nineteenth century to replace the final grave scene of Bellini's opera by that of Vaccai's slightly earlier *Giulietta e Romeo*. See Cranmer (1990) for details of how this came about and the importance of the 1835 S. Carlos production of *I Capuleti* to our understanding of it.

King's Theatre production in 1803. It was acquired by the theatre's principal double bass player Dragonetti and now forms part of the British Library's Dragonetti bequest. It thus has nothing directly to do with the version of the opera performed in Lisbon in 1805.

Also in the British Library is a score of Mercadante's *La testa di bronzo*. This manuscript, basically a copy, must have been taken by the composer from Lisbon to Turin, where he inserted autograph changes used at the production there in 1831. The score was subsequently acquired by one A. Mapleson, probably responsible for bringing it from Italy to London and was purchased from him on 13 July 1878⁶.

To conclude, let us return to the scores of Portugal's *L'oro non compra amore* and *Artaserse*, and Fioravanti's *Camilla* at the Royal College of Music, for they present a last enigma. Although we know their origin (the S. Carlos *copisteria*), unlike the British Library scores, we know nothing of their subsequent history. How, then, did they reach London?

At first sight there could be a link between Lisbon and London through singers. Naldi was involved in the S. Carlos premieres of *L'oro non compra amore* and *Camilla* immediately before coming to London. Sessi, though coming to London after an interval of several years, had been involved in the Lisbon premiere of *Artaserse* and had maintained links with the opera through the consistent borrowing of at least one aria from it. There are many grounds, however, for dismissing this superficially attractive hypothesis. For example, Naldi never sang in *L'oro non compra amore* after the premiere and when he sang *Camilla* at London, the version used was significantly different from the Lisbon original and the Royal College manuscript, which follows it. He also sang a different role. As for Sessi and *Artaserse*, the score is in far too pristine a state, given all that we know she did with the opera. In addition, the scores are far too consistent with each other in their appearance to have reached London separately through different singers - they must always have formed a group. How then, as a consistent group, could they have travelled from Lisbon to London?

And yet there is a connection between them all, involving a form of transmission we have not otherwise considered. The libretti of all were written or adapted by Giuseppe Caravita, *poeta del teatro* at the S. Carlos, Lisbon, from 1799 to 1810, who then moved to London to take up a similar post at the King's Theatre. Did the librettist bring them with him?

⁶The flyleaf of the first volume (MS. Add. 30.909) states "Purchased of A. Mapleson / 13 July 1878"

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