

Cosmopolitan or Xenophobia

On the construction of identity in Reggio nell'Emilia's Opera House
(1875-1885)

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Introduction

Local festivities in a new state

On the second of June 1861, Don Angelo Camurani (1807-1870) writes in his diary on *La Festa dello Statuto* in Reggio nell'Emilia – a small city in the Po Valley, between Bologna and Milan. The *Festa* was the national celebration in honour of the *Statuto* – the Savoyan constitution of 1848 that was transferred to the entire peninsula in 1859-60. The celebration was dressed with colourful decorations, a military parade and acts of public charity. Camurani positively describes the celebrations and includes in his report the monument that was erected for the men and women who fought for the liberation of Italy:

[...] dopo il quale [un breve discorso di circostanza] fu scoperto il monumento in cui sono scritti in oro I gloriosi nomi dei prodi nostri concittadini che morirono pugnando per la libertà d'Italia negli anni 1848-1849-1859-1860 [...]. Rientrata le autorità in chiesa si cantò il Te Deum, e detta l'orazione pro rege si chiuse il sacro rito colla benedizione del santissimo sacramento. [...] Così si è compita; la giornata della prima solennità nazionale con cui si è festeggiata l'unione di 22 milioni d'Italiani e l'unità d'Italia.¹

Camurani experienced the *Festa* not only as the celebration of the Italian nation, but also as a celebration for the Italians. Important was also the position that was given to the church, expressed by singing a *Te Deum* – a hymn of thanks.

A year later however, Camurani gives much less significance to the event.² Due to rain there was no military parade, and besides, the clergy was not allowed to lead the Mass or sing a *Te Deum*. The clergy and the church in general took a more defensive stance towards the Italian state, because the pope had lost his worldly possessions to Italy. Subsequently the pope called on members of the church and its believers to thwart Italy, placing a ban on Catholic participation in national politics.

The *Festa dello statuto* was initiated by the post-Risorgimento liberal state on a nationwide scale to express a national identity. This liberal state was firmly established after 1860-70 and demised around the First World War. In the first couple of years following the unification of 1859-60 the local elites wanted– and could – express almost any local

¹ 'After which [a short speech on the circumstances] the monument was uncovered in which was written in gold the names of our glorious fellow citizens who died to fight for the liberty of Italy in the years 1848-1849-1859-1860 [...]. Returning to the church authorities, who sang the Te Deum, and said the pro regency [prayer for the kingdom], they closed the sacred rite with blessing the most holy sacrament. [...] So it is accomplished; the day of the first national solemnity in which has been celebrated the union of 22 million Italians and the unity of Italy.' In: Angelo Camurani, *Cronichetta Giornaliera*, ed. Maria Grazia Manini (Felina, 1996), 119-120. All translations are made by the author himself [SE].

² Camurani, *Cronichetta Giornaliera*, 152.

interpretation of the festivities. In this way, these elites shaped and maintained their local identity in relation to the nation. After 1861, the central government controlled the *Festa* increasingly. The changes in celebration reveal how the Italian state extended its influence over what was to be celebrated and how. The festivities celebrated the state, thereby leaving out the Italian people – making the festivities increasingly a highly hierarchical event.³ Expressing any local interpretation of the *Festa* clearly proved more difficult in the years after 1861.⁴ There were however other ways of expressing a local, municipal or national identity.

The importance of discussing identity remains a pressing matter in any study on nineteenth- and twentieth-century Italy. Numerous voices have claimed that Italy was and is not a real nation and that national identity was – at least for the masses – an ill-conceived concept before entering the First World War.⁵ It has been the rise of the *Lega Nord* in the last twenty years, a political party that pleads for the independence of Northern Italy and bases its identity on presumable former North Italian city-states founded during the medieval period, that has made clear that the idea of a singular national Italian identity is as far removed from reality as ever. Even ‘commenters have underscored the unsettling and disturbing “waning” of the nation’s identity, accompanied by troubling episodes of xenophobia.’⁶

Nevertheless, some forms of expression have been named to shape Italian identity. One of these was opera. Opera ‘was considered the nation’s principal art form, synonymous with being Italian.’⁷ It is for a reason that Verdi’s ‘Va pensiero’ made it unscathed through two world wars – even though used by the fascist regime – and is now even used by the *Lega Nord*.⁸ Therefore opera is a usable subject from which to distil a social group’s identity. This thesis discusses the social composition of the public, the sociability surrounding the opera and the actual performance of opera, in order to unveil how narratives and identities are conceived, conveyed, translated and received. By examining a small area, Reggio Emilia, and a small part of the elite’s actions and doings, namely opera, we can expose part of this identity. This first chapter will give the general outline of multiple discussions on the liberal

³ Axel Körner, *Politics of Culture in Liberal Italy: From Unification to Fascism* (New York – Abingdon, 2009 – 2011), 192-195.

⁴ Körner, *Politics of Culture in Liberal Italy*, 192-195.

⁵ Vanda Wilcox, ‘Encountering Italy: Military Service and National Identity during the First World War’, *Bulletin of Italian Politics* 3:2 (2011), 283-302, here: 284.

⁶ Lega Nord: per l’Indipendenza della Padania, ‘Statuto della lega nord per l’Indipendenza della Padania’ <<http://www.leganord.org/phocadownload/ilmovimento/statuto/statuto.pdf>> [accessed on 17-05-2017]; Dario Biocca, ‘Has the Nation Died? The Debate of Italy’s Identity (and Future)’, *Daedalus* 126:3 (1997), 223-239, here: 226, 236-237.

⁷ Körner, *Politics of Culture in Liberal Italy*, 1.

⁸ Roger Parker, ‘Verdi politico: a wounded cliché regroups’, *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 17:4 (2012), 427-436, here: 431.

Italian state that tried to create an Italian identity, on the development of opera in the nineteenth century, on identity studies and on the key-figures of this thesis.

The Liberal State

The unification of 1859-60 was part of the *Risorgimento* or ‘resurrection’, the mythical idea that Italy had always existed as a nation and the active striving towards re-creating this nation.⁹ Since its inception, the liberal state that was formed after unification has been the subject of many studies. Previous historians have pointed to the *Risorgimento* itself as a top-down process purely based upon war, diplomacy and *Realpolitik*.¹⁰ Many scholars have also seen it as a failure of the liberal Italian state to try to create a top-down *italianità*. A famous, alleged, statement by the statesman Massimo D’Azeglio (1798-1866) remarks that ‘we have made Italy, now we must make Italians.’¹¹ – thereby pointing to the lack of a national identity before the Italian unification process.¹²

There have nonetheless been different schools in the historiography that focused on the issue of the ‘success’ of the liberal Italian state. The communist historian, Antonio Gramsci, dominated one side of the debate with his pessimistic view. He stated that the *Risorgimento* – and the unified state that followed it – was a ‘passive’, failed bourgeois revolution, because the bourgeoisie had been unable to bind either the nobility or the popular classes to its cause. The state was therefore based on repression. Benedetto Croce was an advocate of the opposite view, stating that the liberal state was – overall – a success.

⁹ In the introduction of a special issue of *Bulletin of Italian Politics*, James Walston writes that ‘the Italian culture and elements of unity had existed in reality and in myth for centuries. It was on the part real, part mythical “Italy” that the architects of the *Risorgimento* built the Italian state.’ Miroslav Hroch confirms this idea, stating that there must have been essential preconditions in order for a national community to surface. James Walston, ‘Introduction: Italy’s 150th Anniversary’, *Bulletin of Italian Politics* 3:2 (2011), 217-224, here: 219; Miroslav Hroch, ‘From national movement to the fully-formed nation: the nation-building process in Europe’, in: Gopal Balakrishnan (ed.), *Mapping the Nation* (London, 1996), 78-96, here: 79. See also: Vanda Wilcox, ‘Encountering Italy: Military Service and National Identity during the First World War’, *Bulletin of Italian Politics* 3:2 (2011), 283-302, here: 285.

¹⁰ At the forefront of this *Realpolitik* vision was Denis Mack Smith. See: Denis Mack Smith, *The making of Italy 1796-1870* (London – Melbourne, 1968); Denis Mack Smith, *Victor Emanuel, Cavour, and the Risorgimento* (London – New York – Toronto, 1971).

¹¹ Walston, ‘Introduction’, 218.

¹² Salmone points to the concept of *Rivoluzione Mancata* to describe the idea of the failure of the unification. The *Risorgimento* was seen as a struggle between the old and new elite, not based on a common feeling of being Italian. Denis Mack Smith, in several books has tried to show that the *Risorgimento* was a top-down process. William Salomone, ‘The *Risorgimento* between Ideology and History: The Political Myth of *rivoluzione mancata*’, *The American Historical Review* 68:1 (1962), 38–56, here: 44, 50. Mack Smith, *The making of Italy 1796-1870*; Mack Smith, *Victor Emanuel, Cavour, and the Risorgimento*; Jonathan Steinberg, ‘The art of Denis Mack Smith’, *London Review of Books* 7:9 (1985). See also: Nick Carter, ‘Rethinking the Italian Liberal State’, *Bulletin of Italian Politics* 3:2 (2011), 225-245, here: 226-227. Carter gives a relatively recent overview of the historiographic debate on the *Risorgimento* and the Unification.

According to him, the liberal state was able to accomplish things that the pre-unified states, individually, would have been unable to do.¹³

Since the 1980s, a revisionism has taken place, which aims at studying the liberal state and the Risorgimento more on its own terms. The liberal state was described as genuinely committed to liberal principles, because it tried to promote modernisation at the local level. The problem was that the central government could not enforce this modernisation. Christopher Duggan elucidates that the process of modernisation – a liberal revolution – could be blocked. This obstruction was mainly caused by the weakness of the central state in the periphery. The state was thus unable to empower its liberal vision. Duggan states that ‘language of liberty furnished local elites with a fiendishly powerful tool with which to resist the incursions of the centre.’¹⁴ Even so, in the first couple of decades after unification, Italy was in a state of disarray. There was no extensive infrastructure in the better part of the country, except for some areas in Piemonte and Naples. In addition, the north was much more industrialised than the south, where the economy was based upon agriculture. Illiteracy was also widespread and the national population spoke dialects, not the ‘national’ language.¹⁵

In order to minimize these contrasts, the liberal government and the parliament wanted to ‘make Italians’, but were also afraid that the politicisation of the masses (the ‘anti-system’ i.e. socialism and Catholicism) would pose a threat to the liberal state and subsequently the unification. Parliamentary action was therefore guided towards stability, from 1883 forward termed *Trasformismo* – an ever-changing coalition of members of both the *Destra Storica* (the moderates) and *Sinistra Storica* (the democrats or progressives). In this way power remained in the hands of small group of national-liberals who were able to maintain some stability, until around the time of the First World War.¹⁶

The ‘making of Italians’ was presumptuous, as the new wave of revisionist studies has also pointed to the existence of regional and local identities in Risorgimento Italy and the liberal period. Lucy Riall has clarified that nationalism was limited to a small part of the urban elite and, according to Stefano Cavazza, it was the local that was of greatest importance in the formation of an identity. He and other historians have pointed to the multi-layered and multiple identities that the inhabitants of Italian cities and regions have had in the nineteenth

¹³ Carter, ‘Rethinking the Italian Liberal State’, 226-227.

¹⁴ Christopher Duggan, ‘Sicily and the Unification of Italy: Liberal Policy and Local Power, 1859-1866, by L. Riall (book review)’ *The English Historical Review* 114:459 (1999), 1346-1347, here: 1347; Carter, ‘Rethinking the Italian Liberal State’, 228.

¹⁵ Derek Beales and Eugenio F. Biagini, *The Risorgimento and the Unification of Italy* (Essex, 2002), 75-76, 156-157.

¹⁶ Carter, ‘Rethinking the Italian Liberal State’, 229; Christopher Duggan, ‘Politics in the era of Depretis and Crispi, 1870-96’, in: J. Davis (ed.), *Italy in the nineteenth century* (Oxford, 2000), 154-180, here: 163.

century – both before and after the unification – and beyond. These local identities were based on *Campanilismo*, the love for a people's own city and culture. Italy was not simply one state, but *L'Italia delle cento città*, the nation of a hundred cities.¹⁷ These most recent developments in the historiography have made clear that it is important to not only know that there were several co-existing identities – national, regional, municipal – but also to find-out what these identities were based on and rooted in.

On identity and memory

Every identity is part of a specific social group and all these groups are, as Maurice Halbwachs in *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (1925) wrote, limited in space and time. No social group can do without memory – the way in which individuals and societies represent their past – and every memory, even individual, is based on images and categories from society. Halbwachs made this connection between a social group and collective memory explicit.¹⁸ Many years later, Pierre Nora, former director of the *École des hautes études en sciences sociales*, writes in *Les Lieux de Mémoire* (7 volumes, 1984-1992) that '[m]emory is blind to all but the group it binds – which is to say [...] that there are as many memories as there are groups, that memory is by nature multiple and yet specific; collective, plural, and yet individual.'¹⁹ In *How societies remember* (1989, 1995), Paul Connerton, a social anthropologist at Cambridge University, has made clear that memory is not just collective, but social. Subsequently he shows how this social memory works. He states that the experience of the present for a large part depends upon knowledge of the past. He argues that 'it is an implicit rule that participants in any social order must presuppose a shared memory.'²⁰ This collective or social memory functions as a framework of thought for every individual member of the group. Likewise, Alon Confino, professor of history with a specialisation in Modern Germany and Europe at Virginia University, states that 'collective memory is an exploration of a shared identity that unites a social group [...], whose members nonetheless have different interests and motivations.'²¹

¹⁷ Lucy Riall, *The Italian Risorgimento. State, Society and national unification* (London – New York, 1994), 65; Stefano Cavazza, 'Regionalism in Italy: a critique', in: Joost Augusteijn en Eric Storm (ed.), *Region and State in Nineteenth-Century Europe: Nation-Building, regional identities and separatism* (New York, 2012), 69–87.

¹⁸ Alon Confino, 'Chapter 2: History and Memory', in: Axel Schneider and Daniel Woolf (ed.), *The Oxford History of Historical Writing*, 5 volumes (Oxford, 2011), V:36-51, here: 36-38. Confino gives a recent overview of the debate on memory and identity.

¹⁹ Pierre Nora, 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire', *Representations* 26: special issue (1989), 7-24, here: 9.

²⁰ Paul Connerton, *How societies remember*, (New York – Melbourne, 1989-1995), 2-3.

²¹ Alon Confino, 'AHR Forum: Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method', *The American Historical Review* 102:5 (1997), 1386-1403, here: 1390.

Connerton also observes that ‘our images of the past commonly serve to legitimate a present social order.’²² In their introduction of *Memory: Histories, Theories, Debates* (2010), Susannah Radstone, professor on cultural memory and theory, and Bill Schwarz, professor of English, expand on this, remarking that all identities are shaped and reshaped through narrative. Memory is thus not static, but active, always changing to serve the present.²³ Thereby, Radstone and Schwarz, as well as Connerton, add to the theme discussed by the Scottish cultural anthropologist, Victor Turner, who observes:

[a]t every moment the meaning of the past is assessed by reference to the present and, of the present by reference to the past; the resultant ‘meaningful’ decision modifies the group’s orientation to or even plans for the future, and these in turn react upon its evaluation of the past.²⁴

Rebecca Green, associate professor at Bowling Green State University, subsequently extends the point articulated by Radstone and Schwarz on the issue of the narrative act of memory making, stating that

memories are created by repeated reenactments [sic.] or re-visitations of events, tales, histories, or occurrences. Repetitive storytelling of the past re-creates, solidifies, and even creates the veracity of events and individuals. Continual retelling allows individuals to emphasize certain elements of a history and to magnify and sometimes distort certain passages of one’s life, causing the narratives to become integral components of the teller’s and audience’s life and determining factors in the negotiation of identity.²⁵

To maintain a stable – yet dynamic – collective memory, commemorative ceremonies (or rituals) are essential. In such a fashion, images of the past are actively preserved and constantly under revision through ritualistic performances. Nora actively joined the discussion, arguing that we, as a society, have lost a real environment of memory (or social mnemonic communities), a *milieu de mémoire*. More precisely, this milieu has been replaced by *lieux de mémoire*, sites of memory.²⁶ He describes the former as being social and unviolated, exemplified by primitive or archaic societies, and the latter as an organizing of the

²² Connerton, *How societies remember*, 3.

²³ Susannah Radstone and Bill Schwarz, ‘Introduction: Mapping Memory’, in: Susannah Radstone and Bill Schwarz (ed.), *Memory: Histories, Theories, Debates* (New York, 2010), 1-9, here: 1-4.

²⁴ Victor Turner, *The Anthropology of Performance* (New York, 1986), 98.

²⁵ Rebecca Green, ‘Ancestral Dreams: Re-living the past, re-creating the future’, in: Dena E. Eber and Arthur G. Neal (ed.), *Memory and Representation: Constructed Truth and Competing Realities* (Bowling Green, 2001), 21-54, here: 29.

²⁶ Nora, ‘Between Memory and History’, 7.

past by ‘hopelessly forgetful modern societies.’²⁷ At the *lieux des mémoire*, memory is to be actively experienced in rituals and everyday social practices.²⁸ Connerton also comments on the importance of rituals. Rituals function ‘to communicate shared values within a group and to reduce internal dissension [...]’²⁹ Part of the ritual is language and more precisely the utterance of the participants – the social group – of the word ‘we.’ Connerton describes this as an explicit and pre-arranged act.³⁰ A social group, however, can also be established when people come together in a defined space for a shorter or longer period without explicitly stating ‘we’, as is the case with opera.

In using a defined space, it is important to consider Jay Winter’s words, articulating that ‘sites of memory are places where groups of people engage in public activity through which they express a collective shared knowledge [...] of the past, on which a group’s sense of unity and individuality is based.’³¹ Again, the opera house was a space where a social group engaged in a public activity, watching and sometimes actively participating in an opera. Winter continues to say that ‘the group that goes to such sites inherits earlier meanings attached to the event, as well as adding new meanings.’³² In the adding of new meaning and continual retelling of stories it becomes clear that social groups actively engage in the construction of a dynamic and continuously changing collective memory and identity.

Italian Opera

Opera ‘was considered the nation’s principal art form, synonymous with being Italian,’³³ and a space for the social and cultural elite to express their cultural policy. Cultural policy designates ‘the ways in which cities represent themselves through culture.’³⁴ Opera originated around 1600 in Florence, out of a variety of theatrical genres that featured music. Nevertheless, according to Carolyn Abbate, an American musicologist and Roger Parker, Thurston Dart Professor of Music, these first operas were like a ‘minor earthquake.’³⁵ A group of composers and poets began writing and publishing theatrical works in which all characters sang all the time. First, these operas were performed in closed circles, but in 1637

²⁷ Nora, ‘Between Memory and History’, 8.

²⁸ Marjet Derks, Martijn Eickhoff, Remco Ensel and Floris Meens, ‘Introduction. What’s Left Behind. The *Lieux de Mémoire* of Europe beyond Europe’, in: Marjet Derks, Martijn Eickhoff, Remco Ensel and Floris Meens (ed.), *What’s Left Behind. The Lieux de Mémoire of Europe beyond Europe* (Nijmegen, 2015), 9-22, here: 11.

²⁹ Connerton, *How societies remember*, 49.

³⁰ Ibidem, 58.

³¹ Jay Winter, ‘Sites of Memory’, in: Susannah Radstone and Bill Schwarz (ed.), *Memory: Histories, Theories, Debates* (New York, 2010), 312-324, here: 312.

³² Winter, ‘Sites of Memory’, 312.

³³ Körner, *politics of Culture in Liberal Italy*, 1.

³⁴ Ibidem, 7.

³⁵ Carolyn Abbate and Roger Parker, *A History of Opera: The Last Four Hundred Years* (London, 2012), 40.

the first commercial opera house, the *Teatro San Cassino*, was opened in Venice. This practice of a paying audience spread to other parts of the peninsula and to other countries. In all these countries, opera acquired its own peculiarities and traditions and opera underwent many changes and reforms throughout the centuries.³⁶

By 1800, the Italian peninsula knew about a hundred theatres that produced regular opera seasons. Most of them were located in the northern and central part of the peninsula. After 1815, there was an enormous increase in the number of theatres. Entrance prices were very low and combined with the vast expanse of the total number of opera houses, the audience for opera was enlarged. Theatrical life was promoted, sometimes funded and always under supervision by and censorship of the government.³⁷ The theatres themselves were run by an impresario who had to find singers, musicians and other performers. This person also had to pay the costs of the entire endeavour. Most of the time the impresario was supported by a theatre owner or restoration government with a subsidy (*dote*). The separate boxes in the theatre were sold and rented to the aristocracy and later to the upper part of the bourgeoisie – though socially separated – in order to generate an income.³⁸

After the unification, there were some structural changes. First of all, in 1866 the national parliament voted to end central government funding for opera houses. Hence, the responsibility for public funding was transferred to the municipalities. Most of the local councils reduced the *dote* or cut them completely. Consequently, many opera houses were closed for a shorter or longer period and were subject to irregular seasons. Secondly, the audience visiting the opera house changed substantially as a new bourgeois group made up of professionals and entrepreneurs emerged, and became part of the higher social strata of society. The opera's boxes were thus no longer the exclusive arena for the aristocracy and the upmost part of the bourgeoisie – while for the new elite the opera was just one of many possibilities to spend its leisure time.³⁹

The opera house had nevertheless, since its beginnings, been a place of social gathering. Watching the performance was just one of the many things one could do when attending. It is well known that guests were gambling, playing chess, talking and eating. One

³⁶ Abbate and Parker, *A History of Opera*, 39-42.

³⁷ Thomas Ertman, 'Opera, the state and society', in: Nicholas Till (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Opera studies* (New York, 2012), 25-52, here: 27-29; Carlotta Sorba, 'National theater and the age of revolution in Italy', *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 17:4 (2012), 400-413, here: 403.

³⁸ Alan Mallach, *The Autumn of Italian Opera: From Verismo to Modernism, 1890-1915* (Lebanon, 2007), 14; Thomas Ertman, 'Opera, the state and society', 29; John Rosselli, *The opera industry in Italy from Cimarosa to Verdi: The Role of the Impresario* (Cambridge, 1984), 42.

³⁹ Körner, *Politics of Culture in Liberal Italy*, 57; Ertman, 'Opera, the state and society', 30; Mallach *The Autumn*, 15.

historian describes a count ‘remembering people “reading, dreaming or sleeping” during the performance, while another contemporary observer maintained that one also went there “*per far l’amore*.”’⁴⁰ The opera was thus a site for many kinds of entertainment, but also of education and social and political control that was more easily supervised than clubs or associations. At the same time, ‘[t]he opera house served to embody municipal pride and demonstrate how the community was “abreast of the times.”’⁴¹ The gentlemen that owned or let private boxes in the opera houses frequently held influential positions in trade, elite clubs and the local or national politics. This cultural elite had clear ideas about which performances had to be executed. This group paid to keep the opera house open, and could therefore influence what was performed and thus the direction a city’s cultural policy could take.⁴²

All the same, opera and individual performances were discussed beyond the actual space of the theatre. People wrote about it in newspapers and discussed it in cafés and clubs.⁴³ During the decades following the restoration, political themes were widely represented and recognized in operas. Carlotta Sorba, associate professor of contemporary history and history of the Risorgimento, states:

‘[i]mages of, and allusions to, patriotic and national discourses indubitably permeated texts produced between the 1830s and the 1850s, often focussed upon the counterposing [sic.] of an oppressed people bent upon its own redemption and an oppressor destined soon to be defeated.’⁴⁴

Nevertheless, ‘on occasion audiences could read a work against the grain, seeing through its officially approved surface a radical subtext apt to expressing the political grievances of the moment.’⁴⁵ Because of the extensive impresario network on the Italian peninsula, operas with national characteristics circulated through the pre-unification states.⁴⁶ This in turn played an important role in the political transformations of the period.⁴⁷ By, for example, directing the setting of a story around the communal Middle Ages or Renaissance Italy, a link was created with the contemporary Austrian presence and domination on the peninsula.⁴⁸ The theatre

⁴⁰ Abbate and Parker, *A History of Opera*, 4.

⁴¹ Sorba, ‘National theater at the age of revolution in Italy’, 408.

⁴² Körner, *Politics of Culture in Liberal Italy*, 48.

⁴³ Sorba, ‘National theater and the age of revolution in Italy’, 409.

⁴⁴ Ibidem, 409-410.

⁴⁵ Cormac Newark, “‘In Italy we don’t have the means for Illusion’: Grand opera in nineteenth-century Bologna”, *Cambridge Opera Journal* 19:3 (2007), 199-222, here: 199.

⁴⁶ Sorba, ‘National theater and the age of revolution in Italy’, 410.

⁴⁷ Carlotta Sorba, ‘To Please the Public: Composers and Audiences in Nineteenth-Century Italy’, *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 36:4 (2006), 595-614, here: 597.

⁴⁸ Carlotta Sorba, ‘Between cosmopolitanism and nationhood: Italian opera in the early nineteenth century’, *Modern Italy* 19:1 (2014), 53-67, here: 59.

functioned as a ‘vehicle of mobilisation’ in the pre-unification period.⁴⁹ Sorba even speaks about ‘a unified theatrical Italy [that] preceded a unified political one.’⁵⁰ Not only in Italy was theatre able to mobilize the masses, but this also happened in Belgium. The performance of Daniel Auber’s *La muette di Portici* in 1830 started riots that led to Belgium’s independence.⁵¹

Simonetta Chiappini, researcher on questions of melodrama, music and gender, has nevertheless argued that ‘opera had a “national” flavour to it only for as long as political unity remained to be achieved.’⁵² Indeed, after achieving unification, politics was increasingly viewed as a private matter. Hence, as some historians have argued, the link between opera and Italian nationalism is not straightforward but complex.⁵³

The new elite - the Italian Middle-class(es)

As mentioned above, the main groups that owned or rented boxes in the opera house were the aristocracy and the upper part of the bourgeoisie. They were also the people in the liberal government and the parliament. In Italy, as in some other (western-) European countries, the bourgeoisie had a mix of aristocratic and middle-class elements.⁵⁴ It has been argued that the Italian bourgeoisie was more ‘a bourgeoisie of landed proprietors and professionals than an industrial bourgeoisie.’⁵⁵ Land might have fascinated the bourgeoisie as it confirmed wealth and conferred status, but until the 1980s the Italian bourgeoisie was more ‘blamed’ than studied. Nick Carter, Head of History at the University of Wales, has summed up this debate. First of all, it was argued that the Italian bourgeoisie failed to behave like a ‘true’ bourgeois class, meaning that it was neither a proper capitalist class nor a sufficiently liberal one. They saw land as a prestige object and were hostile towards industry. When they finally embraced industrialisation, they waged no risk, opting instead for state protection. Secondly, the middle class was a small, divided and weak class. They were divided by *Campanilismo*, and

⁴⁹ Sorba, ‘Between cosmopolitanism and nationhood’, 61.

⁵⁰ Sorba, ‘To Please the Public’, 606.

⁵¹ Krisztina Lajosi, ‘Nineteenth-Century National Opera and Representations of the Past in the Public Sphere’ in: Lotte Jensen, Joep Leerssen, and Marita Mathijsen (ed.), *Free Access to the Past: Romanticism, Cultural Heritage and the Nation* (Leiden – Boston, 2010), 227-246, here: 228.

⁵² Simonetta Chiappini, ‘From the People to the Masses: Political Developments in Italian Opera from Rossini to Mascagni’, in: Silvana Patriarca and Lucy Riall, *The Risorgimento Revisited: Nationalism and Culture in Nineteenth Century Italy* (London, 2012), 56-76, here: 73.

⁵³ Axel Körner, ‘Introduction: Opera and nation in nineteenth-century Italy: conceptual and methodological approaches’, *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 17:4 (2012), 393-399.

⁵⁴ Jürgen Kocka, ‘The Middle Classes in Europe’, *The Journal of Modern History* 67:4 (1995), 783-806, here: 790.

⁵⁵ Carter, ‘Rethinking the Italian Liberal State’, 230.

Trasformismo was a reflection of this division. The members of parliament worked as advocates of local interests and were willing to form alliances in favour of these interests.

Since the 1980s, more comparative studies have been presented, thereby painting a different picture of the Italian bourgeoisie. Firstly, Alberto Banti, professor of contemporary history at the University of Pisa, has shown that bourgeois landownership and capitalist innovation were by no means exclusive. When an agricultural crisis occurred in the 1880s, '[t]hey organised at both the local and regional level to facilitate the introduction and rapid dissemination of new techniques, technologies and machinery in order to raise productivity and cut labour costs.'⁵⁶ Investing in land brought not only prestige, but also economic profit. This was not simply a 'northern thing', as the bourgeoisie in the south displayed a similar interest in land for economic gain. Looking through a comparative lens also made clear that – besides lacking the necessary resources to develop an industrial base – the Italian bourgeoisie was not alone in its hostility towards industrialisation. Their European counterparts, even in the most industrial countries, shared their hostile sentiments. Then again, when industry finally developed not one simple line could be drawn on the views of the Italian bourgeoisie towards the protection of it; even liberalism was not a defining characteristic of middle class culture. Secondly, research has confirmed the image that the Italian middle class was intensely parochial and highly fragmented. They lived and worked in their cities of birth and if they bought land, they did so locally. Social and collective organisations were also established on a local level. Not only space divided the elite, there were also social, professional and political differences.⁵⁷ What is more, Carter points to the fact that divisions in Italy might have been stronger than in other parts of the continent, due to centuries-old fragmentation and localism.⁵⁸

All the same, there were features that made the middle classes different from, for example the aristocracy and – more importantly – the working classes. For one, the middle classes held common cultural values, behaviours and practices. They shared an ideal of the family, believing in a gendered separation of private and public spheres and they married within their own class. This was not simply an Italian feature, but one of the defining features of the entire European bourgeoisie.⁵⁹ It were the middle-classes as well that participated in national celebrations and were instrumental for the establishment of new national

⁵⁶ Carter, 'Rethinking the Italian Liberal State', 231.

⁵⁷ For example: among those who practiced medicine there was political diversification based on income and status. The elite within the profession mainly backed the centrist politics, the lower-status *medici condottii* generally embraced socialism. Carter, 'Rethinking the Italian Liberal State', 233.

⁵⁸ Carter, 'Rethinking the Italian Liberal State', 234.

⁵⁹ Kocka, 'The Middle Classes in Europe', 787; Carter, 'Rethinking the Italian Liberal State', 234.

monuments.⁶⁰ The bourgeoisie likewise engaged in the same forms of sociability: clubs, associations, cafés and attending the opera. They used opera as one way of forging and expressing a regional identity on a national and international scale.⁶¹ At the same time, the nation-state tried to convey one idea, one narrative of the nation or a ‘master narrative.’

The narrative of the nation

The master narrative is the dominant story told by a social, cultural and economic elite group of a national society. Based on the work of Lyotard and Lévi-Strauss, this concept is discussed by Krijn Thijs, postdoctoral researcher at the centre of language and identity at University of Leiden.⁶² According to him,

[m]aster narratives relate mythical origins of the group (nation, class, religion, race), define the identity of the we-community as well as that of its enemies, structure the way in which time is experienced, and justify the social and political reality around which the group is organised.⁶³

After giving three possible ways to interpret the idea of the master – master-slave, master-audience and master-copy – he chooses the latter to formulate his idea of what a master narrative is:

A third interpretation of the metaphor develops the hierarchy of masterliness on an *intertextual* level by locating the power of master narratives in their characteristically dominant relation to other narratives. [...] [T]his metaphor [master-copy] indicates that such a copy always retains the structure of the ‘master’ original. It does not suggest that the master presupposes repressive rule over slaves or performs before an audience, but that it is an ‘original’ whose ‘reproductions’ retain the same structure. [...] In this understanding, master narratives dictate their narrative framework to numerous partial stories, and therefore both integrate them and lend them legitimacy. As a result, we could understand the master narrative as an ideal typical ‘narrative frame’ whose pattern is repeated, reproduced and confirmed by highly diverse historical practices.⁶⁴

The master carries core narrative elements that give shape to a narrative framework. Thijs’ lists these as follows: (1) central actors of the story; (2) central antagonists or enemies of the

⁶⁰ Kocka, ‘The Middle Classes in Europe’, 787; Carter, ‘Rethinking the Italian Liberal State’, 234-235.

⁶¹ Körner, *Politics of Culture in Liberal Italy*, 2.

⁶² Krijn Thijs, ‘The Metaphor of the Master: ‘Narrative Hierarchy’ in National Historical Cultures of Europe’, in: Stefan Berger and Chris Lorenz (ed.), *The Contested Nation: Ethnicity, Class, Religion and Gender in National Histories* (New York, 2008), 60-74.

⁶³ Thijs, ‘The Metaphor of the Master’, 60.

⁶⁴ Ibidem, 68.

nation; (3) the overarching idea of progress of history; (4) the periodisation of history; and (5) the time economy.⁶⁵ These elements can be found in the Italian master narrative.

This Italian story was based on the Risorgimento. On a large part, and even more so after the unification, this narrative was made specific on mythologized icons. Vittorio Emanuele II (1820-1878) and Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807-1882) were the most important protagonists of the Risorgimento.⁶⁶ At the time of their death they were described as the heroes of the Risorgimento, the martyrs for the *Patria*. It was this *Patria*, the fatherland, for which these exemplar men had sacrificed themselves, to release it from foreign rule, so that the nation could prosper. This *Patria* was natural (and thus non-negotiable) and had required (military) sacrifice.⁶⁷ The (symbolic) sacrifice of Vittorio Emanuele, Garibaldi and others was illustrated in the monuments and works written in honor of the heroes of the Risorgimento.⁶⁸ The basic premise is hence that the core of the master narrative was the idea of the *Patria* as natural national community, founded on (mythologized) sacrifice. This master narrative was presented in (Italian) novels, operas and other writings around the peninsula.⁶⁹ An often-named example are operas by Giuseppe Verdi (1813-1901), like *Nabucco*, *Ernani*, *I due Foscari*, *Macbeth* or *La Battaglia di Legnano*, which were seen as ‘patriotic statements.’⁷⁰ Also, street names were changed to include the heroes of the Risorgimento and monuments were established to remind people of the struggle the Italian people had to endure against foreign domination and for freedom.⁷¹

This does not mean, as Banti notices, that this master narrative was not a heavily contested story of the nation.⁷² Thijs considers these contestations as part of the master narrative – ‘locating the power of master narratives in their characteristically dominant relation to other narratives.’⁷³ He names them counter-narratives when consciously constructed against the dominant story, and sub-narratives when the local story is heavily

⁶⁵ Thijs, ‘The Metaphor of the Master’, 71.

⁶⁶ Alberto Mario Banti and Roberto Bizzocchi, ‘Introduzione’, in: Alberto Mario Banti and Roberto Bizzocchi (ed.), *Immagini della nazione nell’Italia del Risorgimento* (Rome, 2002), 11-20, here: 12-13; Alberto Mario Banti, ‘The Remembrance of Heroes’, in: Silvana Patriarca and Lucy Riall (ed.), *The Risorgimento Revisited: Nationalism and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Italy* (London, 2012), 171-190, here: 171.

⁶⁷ Banti and Bizzocchi, ‘Introduzione’, 18-19; Banti, ‘The Remembrance of Heroes’, 182-183.

⁶⁸ Ibidem, 185.

⁶⁹ Banti and Bizzocchi, ‘Introduzione’, 11-12, 14.

⁷⁰ Roger Parker, ‘Verdi politico: a wounded cliché regroups’, *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 17:4 (2012), 427-436, here: 430-431.

⁷¹ David Atkinson and Denis Cosgrove, ‘Urban Rhetoric and Embodied Identities: City, Nation, and Empire at the Vittorio Emanuele II Monument in Rome, 1870-1945’, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 88:1 (1998), 28-49, here: 30; Nuela Johnson, ‘Cast in stone: monuments, geography, and nationalism, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 13:1 (1995), 51-65, here: 51-54.

⁷² Banti and Bizzocchi, ‘Introduzione’, 19.

⁷³ Thijs, ‘The Metaphor of the Master’, 68

influenced by the master narrative. In his book *Politics of Culture in Liberal Italy: From Unification to Fascism* (2009), Axel Körner, professor of Modern History and Director of the UCL Centre for Transnational History, has, for example, pointed to the construction of a self-image presented by Bologna's cultural elite, in which music, and opera in particular, played an important part. According to Körner, Bologna's cultural elite had a conscious preference for operas by Richard Wagner (1813-1883). Wagner was a German composer, and as such not considered to be part of the national story. For a lot of Italian cities, being part of the nation was locally expressed in performing Italian or Italianised operas, most importantly by the hand of Verdi. It was his works which were performed in Italian cities, large and small alike. Körner has thus revealed that the cultural elite of Bologna did not accept the national master narrative, but consciously constructed a counter-narrative.⁷⁴

The larger cities in the Italian state have been subjected to considerable research in the past, but less has been written on smaller cities or towns. That is why Reggio nell'Emilia (hereinafter also referred to as 'Reggio') has been chosen as a case study. Reggio is located between two large cities in the north of Italy – Bologna and Milano and has a vast state archive. Reggio's narrative, studied through its cultural policy, is compared to the master narrative. The main question reads as follows: how did the narrative of the cultural elite of Reggio Emilia relate to the master narrative as presented in the cultural policy of the Italian nation-state and how was the narrative's reception between 1875 and 1885? The question I am trying to answer is twofold, the first part is on who the cultural elite was and how they decided on the city's cultural policy. The second part is on the actual performance and how the community of Reggio experienced and responded to these operas. To answer these questions, I will take the opera house, its programming, sociability and the interaction of the cultural elite as my primary focus. The periodisation is both practical – a comprehensible ten years - and logical, as some political and social ruptures occurred nationwide that might have influenced the narrative framework in the period from 1875 to 1885.

Sources and Approach

A variety of sources was consulted. Reggio's State Archive has been pivotal in this respect. In the first place this concerns an inventory of box owners in Reggio's opera house, the *Signori proprietari dei Palchi*. The information in this source was written down systematically for every musical season and contains the name, title, seasonal payment and seating placement of a box owner. For a period of ten years (1875-1885), five musical seasons have been selected. The selected seasons are Carnival 1874-75, Fiera 1877, Carnival 1880-81, Carnival 1882-83

⁷⁴ Körner, *Politics of Culture in Liberal Italy*, 9.

and Carnival 1884-85. The names of the box owners were admitted to a dataset created by the author and this has been added as a supplement (see *Appendix I*).

There are some things to keep at the back of the mind when using this dataset. First of all, certain letters and names are illegible. Secondly, the addition of noble or professional titles, though useful for this research, has not always been added or added consequently throughout the investigated period. Certain abbreviations could mean two things. *Conte* (count), designated by the adding of a 'C' between the surname and the first-name, could also signify *Cavaliere*, an honorary - but not noble - title.⁷⁵ Sometimes 'Cav' has been written down to point to the latter, but this is not done consequently.⁷⁶

The use of this dataset is twofold. In the first place those box owners with a noble title are extracted. In this way, it is possible to research the presence of the nobility in Reggio's social and cultural life. Secondly, names will be cross-referenced with other names in the available literature so that it is possible to establish an interconnectedness between the political, economic and cultural elite in Reggio. Then it will be investigated if this elite was able to influence theatrical productions. That concludes the first part of the research.

The second part will focus on the operas and the reception of these operas. Another dataset has been created in order to see which operas were performed the most, who was singing and otherwise executing these and who directed them. The five most performed operas are subsequently selected for further research.⁷⁷ After that, the composers' lives are examined, as well as the plot of the opera. Subsequently, the local newspaper *L'Italia Centrale* has been chosen to investigate the reception of these specific operas. This periodical

⁷⁵ Louis Mendola, 'Italian Titles of Nobility', *Regalis.com* < <http://www.regalis.com/nobletitles.htm> > [accessed on 10-07-2017].

⁷⁶ An example: during the 1874-75 season the name of Luigi Ferrari Corbelli is preceded by the letters 'Cav', meaning *Cavaliere*. During the season of Fiera 1877 his name is only preceded by an 'C', denoting *Conte*. Another example is the case of Federico Ferri who's name during the Fiera season of 1877 was preceded by 'C.D.', meaning 'Conte e Dottore.' The next year his title has changed to 'C.Avv.', meaning 'Conte e Avvocato.' The possibility exists that we are dealing with a different person altogether, but as the full name is the same and we know that Federico Ferri only died in 1894, it is probably the same person. It is interesting to note that he was probably both a lawyer (avvocato) and a doctor (dottore), which might have caused the inconsistency. Archivio di Stato di Reggio Emilia (ASRE), Archivio Teatrale Vivi (ATV), I.17 Registri degli incassi serali, degli abbonati e dei palchettisti del teatro Comunale 1826-1897 (RISPC), Incassi Serali Palchettisti Abbonati (ISPA) Anno 1874 al 1877, Signori Proprietari dei Palchi e relativo Canone per N°30. Rappresentazione Carnevale 1874=75; ASRE, ATV, I.17 RISPC, ISPA, Anno 1874 al 1877, Signori Proprietari dei Palchi e relativo Canone per N°18. Rappresentazioni Stagione di Fiera 1877; ASRE, ATV, I.17 RISPC, ISPA, Anno 1878 al 1885. Signori Proprietari dei Palchi e relativo Canone per N°30. Rappresentazioni d'opere serie impresa sociale Carnovale 1880-81; Alberto Ferraboschi, *Borghesia e potere Civico a Reggio Emilia Nella Seconda Metà dell'Ottocento* (Soveria Mannelli, 2003), 25, 26.

⁷⁷ Giannino Degani and Mara Grotti, *Teatro Municipale di Reggio Emilia: Opere in Musica 1857-1976*, 3 volumes (Reggio Emilia, 1976), II:90-136. See also: *Appendix 2*.

was the only newspaper in the city that was produced throughout the investigated period and that reported substantially on what happened in the opera house.

Finally, there is a number of historical works that will present themselves throughout this thesis. An important book, *Borghesia e potere civico a Reggio Emilia nella Seconda Metà dell'Ottocento, 1859-1889* (2003), written by Alberto Ferraboschi, is the main, most comprehensive and recent work on Reggio Emilia. His book builds on a number of historical works on Reggio and he combines and updates these works and adds analysis of his own hand. His work has guided me through the rumble of historical data and literature. When it came down to the opera and individual composers and their plays, *The new Grove Dictionary of music and musicians* (2001) and *The New Grove dictionary of Opera* (1992) proved to be a great help as well.

Reggio nell'Emilia

Post-unification Reggio and those in charge

The urge to create a unified Italy originated with the arrival of Napoleon Bonaparte. In Reggio Emilia, the arrival of the French was of a particular interest. After the French invasion of 1796, the Cispadane Republic was founded in Reggio and it was there that the 'tricolore' – the Italian red, white and green flag – was first created. The city was nicknamed 'Culla del Tricolore', cradle of the Italian Flag. The Congress of Vienna reconstituted the pre-Revolution states. Finally, in June 1859, Francesco V d'Este (1819-1875) – duke of Modena and therefore supervisor over Reggio nell'Emilia – fled the country. A provisional government followed. Eventually the provinces of Modena and Parma were united under the dictatorship of Luigi Carlo Farini. In March 1860, there was a plebiscite that decided in favour of joining the Kingdom of Piedmont.⁷⁸ In a short time, Vittorio Emanuele II (1820-1878) was king of Italy and a national parliament was set-up. Reggio nell'Emilia was elevated to provincial capital and thereby gained in importance over Modena and Parma, two former capitals.⁷⁹ This meant that a prefecture (founded in 1865), answerable only to the central government, was stationed in Reggio (besides a normal municipal council), controlling 46 communities and well connected with both Bologna and Piacenza through a train line.⁸⁰

Agriculture predominated for a long time in Reggio, and it was only in 1886 that an association of industrialist, merchants and shopkeepers was founded.⁸¹ The interests of the agricultural landowners was represented in the *Consorzio Agraria*, presided over by Enrico Terrachini (1812-1892) between 1876 and 1892.⁸² The economic elite was also directly involved in politics, as members of the municipal council. Mainly built with members of the bourgeoisie and some nobility (a little more than 22% of the municipal council had a noble title in the period from 1861 to 1889), they had very diverse social interests, but nevertheless crystallized into a solid block that dominated the political life of Reggio until the 1880s.⁸³ They were proponents of the moderate and mainly represented the interests of the landowners. Many of the political and economic elite were not from noble descend, but *ex patrioti*, former patriots who had fought for the independence and sometimes came from a long family line who had fought for the same cause. *La logica del cognome*, the logic of the surname – a bond

⁷⁸ Ferraboschi, *Borghesia e potere Civico*, 25, 26.

⁷⁹ Ibidem, 45.

⁸⁰ Ibidem, 34, 248-250.

⁸¹ Ibidem, 11, 19-20.

⁸² Ibidem, 66-67.

⁸³ Ibidem, 51, 287-294.

that connected one generation with another – was considered decisive in the initiative of the national cause. Those families were involved in the revolution of 1796 and again in 1848. Among these *ex patrioti* were men like Enrico Terrachini, Domenico Sidoli (1821-1896), Carlo Baroni (d. 1874), Gioacchino Paglia (1814-1880), Luigi Ancini (1820-1882), Domenico Nobili (1824-1883), Luigi Chiesi (1811-1884), Prospero Pirondi (1787-1869) and Count Giuseppe Fossa (1812-1889).⁸⁴

By the 1870s, Reggio had become one of the strongholds of liberalism. More precisely, in September 1874 *l'Associazione Costituzionale Permanente* was established. It would become one of the most potent and long living moderate associations in the entire kingdom. Its first president was Enrico Terrachini. Other members were Federico Ferri (1824-1894), Giuseppe Cuppini (1816-1906), Fortunato Modena (1830-1887) and Giovanni Fiastrì (1822-1884).⁸⁵ The above also served in the municipal council and succeeded in maintaining a secure political position that lasted until the 1880s. By that time, industrial development had slowly taken off, and societal change and electoral transformations created a new political order. The electoral change of 1882 widened the constituency and made it necessary for the moderates to work together with the progressives – many of them were ‘new men’ from the commercial world – and the electoral change of 1889 accelerated these social changes.⁸⁶ This eventually led to the establishment of the first ‘radical-socialist’ council in 1889.⁸⁷

A large group in the community was Jewish and some of this group were part of the political and economic elite. This was exceptional, as the historian and musicologist John Rosselli notes, because – skipping forward – the social profile of ‘boxholders’ lists [in leading and second-rank theatres] show a mixture of nobles and professional men – lawyers, doctors, civil servants, not to mention the Reggio Emilia Jews, some of whom were bankers.⁸⁸ Beyond being bankers, some of them were actively involved in trade. Fortunato Modena, for example, was president of the chamber of commerce and Gian Battista Versè (d. 1904), Pomponio Segrè (d. 1891) and Arnolfo Levi (d. 1908) were members of the political moderate of Reggio.⁸⁹

⁸⁴ Ferraboschi, *Borghesia e potere Civico*, 55-62, 287-294.

⁸⁵ Ibidem, 63-64, 287-294.

⁸⁶ Körner points to a similar process in the Italian state in general. Körner, *Politics of Culture in Liberal Italy*, 35.

⁸⁷ Ferraboschi, *Borghesia e potere Civico*, 14, 61-62.

⁸⁸ John Rosselli, *The Opera Industry in Italy from Cimarosa to Verdi*, 42.

⁸⁹ Ferraboschi, *Borghesia e potere Civico*, 66, 287-294.

There were many possibilities for the elite of Reggio, both aristocracy and bourgeoisie, to come together, talk, drink, gamble, and discuss politics. During the liberal period, besides the obvious interest groups, many bourgeois leisure clubs were established in Reggio, like the *Società Filodrammatica* (1868), the *Società di Mutuo Soccorso* (1860), the *Società Filarmonica* (1869), the *Società del Tiro a Segno* (1862), and the *Società promotrice dell'educazione popolare* (1866).⁹⁰ Most important to notice here is the *Società del Casino*. It was a club of *gentiluomini*, from both the aristocracy – for example the counts Germano and Prospero Liberati Tagliafieri and count Francesco Cassoli (d. 1893) – and the bourgeoisie – with a multitude of men from the legal professions, like Giovanni Fiastrì, Federico Ferri, Francesco Gualerzi (1850-1915) and Giuseppe Fonaciari (1820-1872); protagonists of the commercial and financial world, like Ulderico Levi (1842-1922) and Giacomo Namias; and members of the Jewish community, like Riccardo Modena and Raimondo Franchetti (1829-1905).⁹¹

The club was established in 1857 and was more exclusive than the other clubs. The club-members came together to socialize as an alternative to the scientific societies and, after the unification, also discussed politics. The *Società* was originally founded as the *Società pel Casino annesso al nuovo teatro*, as an attachment to the municipal theatre and, as one historian notices, well frequented.⁹² Adjunct was a small restaurant and café. Musical performances were also part of the club's leisure, as the newspaper from Reggio, *L'Italia Centrale*, reported in 1876:

Ieri sera nella Sala della Società del Casino ha avuto luogo un concerto musicale, al quale presero parte gli egregi artisti del nostro Municipale, signora Marangoni e signor D'Antoni, e Carbone, e il violoncellista M. Serato, condiiuvati dai Maestri Gristani e Tebaldi e dai signori Alfredo ed Eugenio Soliani. La Marangoni cantò la romanza per soprano del *Roberto il Diavolo* e in unione al D'Antoni il duetto dei *Lombardi*; il D'Antoni, la romanza *Quando le sere al placido* della *Luisa Miller*; il Carbone *Il Sogno* di Mercadante. Il M. Serato suonò una sua *Elegi pastorale* per violoncello e il concerto ebbe termine con l'*Hymne à la Vierge* di Lefebure Wely suonata dai signori Serato e Tebaldi in unione al signor Alfredo ed Eugenio Soliani. Inutile aggiungere che tutti questi pezzi furono molti applauditi. [...] Dopo il concerto fu improvvisata una piccola festa da ballo e le danze si protrassero fine alle ore 5 di questa mattina.⁹³

⁹⁰ Ferraboschi, *Borghesia e potere Civico*, 153, 154.

⁹¹ Ibidem, 155, 287-294.

⁹² Giuseppe Armani, 'Teatro e vita politica dal 1848 al 1915', *Teatro a Reggio Emilia*, 2 volumes (Florence, 1980), II:225-241, here: 231.

⁹³ 'Last night in the hall of the *Società del Casino* [emphasis added: SE] a musical concert has taken place, in which took part the remarkable artists of our municipality, miss Marangoni and mister D'Antonio, and Carbone, and the violinist M. Serato, in collaboration with *maestri* [SE] Gristani and Tebaldi and the gentlemen Alfredo and Eugenio Soliani. Marangoni sang the romance for soprano from *Roberto il Diavolo* and in union with

The night did not simply display one opera, but acts of several operas and at the end there was a small ball. As is examined below, this was not the only place where music was performed. It was the municipal theatre where the city's most important performances were shown.

The Teatro Municipale

Under the House of d'Este, the theatre had been a space, like the church, where the sacred position of the royal house was confirmed, through rituals and religious and military ceremonies. The presence of the royal court during 'la fiera di maggio' – a couple of weeks, when a lot of activities took place in the city – made Reggio the centre of the dukedom.⁹⁴ Some members of the ducal family are also known to have been actively involved in the politics of opera, especially Francesco III (1698-1780). In the second half of the eighteenth century he decided on the theatrical season, when it started, the duration and which artists were to be involved.⁹⁵ Musical performances, especially opera, were performed in the *Teatro della Cittadella* (built in 1741). The building was however destroyed by a fire in 1851.⁹⁶ Quite immediately plans were made to build a new theatre at the centre of the city. It would not be until 1857 that the theatre was finally opened, funded by the municipality and through the purchase of boxes by wealthy citizens.⁹⁷ The theatre then bore the name *Teatro Comunitativo*. The inauguration was accompanied by an opera of Achille Peri (1812-1880), *Vittore Pisani*. Peri was a composer from Reggio. He had studied at Paris for some years and had some success at *La Scala* – one of the leading opera houses in Europe – in Milan. He was *maestro di cappella* at *La Ghiara*, the cathedral of Reggio and conductor at the opera house until 1876. His operas were influenced by Donizetti and he also reproduced many of Verdi's operas.⁹⁸

D'Antonio the duet from *Lombardi*; D'Antonio the romance *Quando le sere al placido* from *Luisa Miller*; Carbone *Il Sogno* from *Mercadante*. M. Serato played one of his *Elgei pastorale* for violoncello and the concert was ended with the *Hymne à la Vierge* from Lefebure Wely sung by the gentlemen Serato and Tebaldi in union with mister Alfredo and Eugenio Soliani. Needless to add that all these pieces received much applause. [...] After the concert, a small dance party was improvised and the dancing ended finally around 5 this morning.' In: 'Notizie d'arti e teatri - Teatro Municipale', *L'Italia Centrale* (22 February 1876), 3.

⁹⁴ Giuseppe Armani, 'Teatro e vita politica dal 1848 al 1915', 226.

⁹⁵ Ferraboschi, *Borghesia e potere Civico*, 215-216.

⁹⁶ Sergio Romagnoli, 'Il Teatro e una città', in: Sergio Romagnoli and Elvira Garbero (ed.), *Teatro a Reggio Emilia*, 2 volumes (Florence, 1980), I:VII-XIII, here: IX.

⁹⁷ Ugo Bellocchi, *Il Teatro Municipale di Reggio Emilia* (Reggio Emilia, 1962), no page numbers added; Ferraboschi, *Borghesia e potere Civico*, 157.

⁹⁸ Giovanni Carli Ballola, 'Peri, Achille', in: Stanley Sadie, George Grove, John Tyrell, *The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, 29 volumes (New York – London, 2001), XIX:397; Degani and Grotti, *Teatro Municipale di Reggio Emilia*, II:103. 1876 is the last year Peri is mentioned. On *La Scala* see: Mariangela Donà, 'Milan', in: Stanley Sadie, George Grove, John Tyrell (ed.), *The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, 29 volumes (New York – London, 2001), XVI:657-668, here: 663-664.

The *Teatro Municipale*, as the *Teatro Comunitativo* was named after the unification of 1860, was not the only theatre in Reggio Emilia. The *Teatro Croppi* was opened in 1870 and in 1878, the *Politeama Ariosto* was established, build on the ruins of the old *Teatro della Cittadella*. The *Teatro Municipale* was by far the larger of the three, with space for over a thousand guests.⁹⁹ The theatre was – and still is – richly decorated.¹⁰⁰ Besides opera, there were a lot of musical and theatrical activities and also assemblies of a political and ‘educative’ nature. Political conferences predominantly took place after the period under consideration – during socialist leadership – and even then, these meetings mainly took place in the other theatrical areas of the city, not the *Teatro Municipale*.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ ReTeatri, ‘Reggio Emilia – Teatro Municipale Valli’, <<http://teatri.provincia.re.it/Sezione.jsp?idSezione=118>> [accessed on 20-06-2017]; Alessandro Roccatagliati, ‘Reggio Emilia’, in: Stanley Sadie, *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, 4 volumes (New York, 1992), III:1266.

¹⁰⁰ Ferraboschi, *Borghesia e potere Civico*, 155, 157.

¹⁰¹ Giuseppe Armani, ‘Teatro e vita politica dal 1848 al 1915’, 238-239.



Image 1 Reggio's Teatro Municipale, date unkown (ASRE).

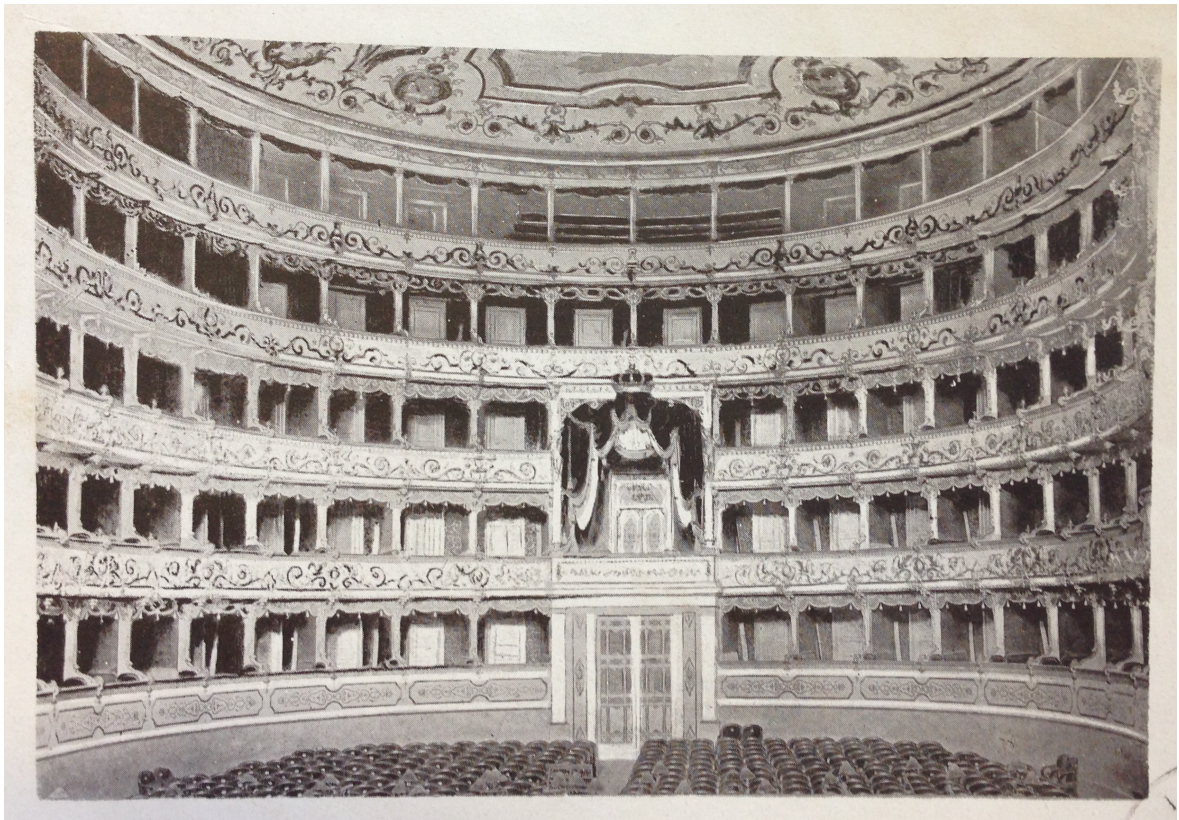


Image 2 Inside of Teatro Municipale di Reggio Emilia, date unknown (ASRE).

The Opera house's visitors

The theatrical lay-out paved the way for a hierarchical differentiation between *palchi* (boxes), *platea* (parterre) and *loggioni* (gallery). The boxes were themselves also differentiated between *ordini* (orders or tiers). The individual box owners had already bought a *palco*, but on top of that had to pay a seasonal fee.¹⁰² The fact that the *proprietari* had bought a box, probably implies the same as Körner has distilled: that the box owners shared in the ownership of the theatre.¹⁰³ The theatre had 112 boxes, although two were lost to the entrance doors, one was reserved for the manager of the opera house, four were reserved for the Royal House of Savoy, one was reserved for the prefecture, one for the public security office, and finally nine boxes were reserved for the municipality. This left 94 boxes to be filled by private box owners.¹⁰⁴

Ferraboschi showed for the 1867-68 Carnival season, that in the first and second tier members of the patricians were seated, counts and marquises, as well as members of the higher bourgeoisie. The third order was almost exclusively filled by representatives of the Jewish community and people engaged in the financial world. In the fourth tier, there were men in the margins of Reggio's establishment.¹⁰⁵ Ferraboschi has only established this classification for one year, but below this examined for five seasons, spanning ten years.¹⁰⁶

During Carnival 1874-75 there were 27 box owners with a noble title, two marquises and the rest were counts or knights. The following season, the number had risen to 28, with again two marquises. The number of counts and knights had clearly risen and there were some changes as well. This number can partly be explained by the fact that under the House of Savoy families and individuals who contributed to the unification were sometimes granted a title, but not the privileges that normally came with the title.¹⁰⁷ During the 1880-81 season the number of box owners with a noble title was less, just 26, but with again two marquises. In the Carnival season of 1882-83 the number of noble box owners had risen to 30. By the Carnival season of 1884-85 the number was back at 27, with still two marquises and the rest of them counts or knights. Most of these nobles were seated in the first and second tier, although some, like Giuseppe Cuppini, Federico Ferri and Domenico Nobili were seated in the third order. The percentage of box owners with a noble title varied throughout the period,

¹⁰² Bellocchi, *Il Teatro Municipale di Reggio Emilia*, no page numbers added.

¹⁰³ Körner, *Politics of Culture in Liberal Italy*, 48.

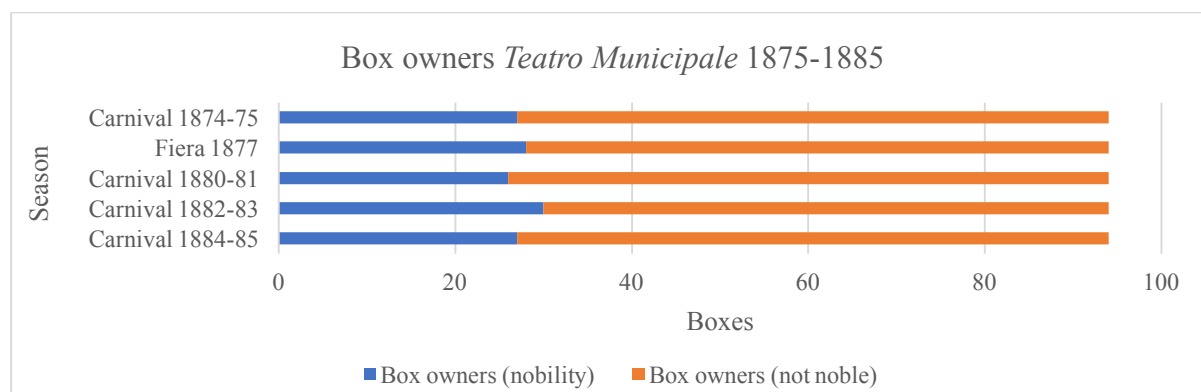
¹⁰⁴ See *Appendix I*.

¹⁰⁵ Ferraboschi, *Borghesia e potere Civico*, 158, 159.

¹⁰⁶ See *Appendix I*.

¹⁰⁷ Giovanni Montroni, 'Aristocracy and Professions', in: Maria Malatesta (ed.), *Society and the Professions in Italy, 1860-1914* (Cambridge, 1995), 255-275, here: 256.

between 27% and 32%. The nobility was certainly present in the opera house, but quite different from Bologna's *Teatro Comunale*, where the nobility owned 62,5% of the private boxes in 1867.¹⁰⁸



Graphic 1 Box owners Teatro Municipale (based on sources from the ASRE, see Appendix 1)

Beyond that, a number of men that were already termed ‘active in the community’, owned boxes, among them Luigi Ancini, the Baroni family, Francesco Cassoli (only during the 1884-85 season, before that it was Marco Cassoli), Giuseppe Cuppini, Federico Ferri, Giovanni Fiastri (although he had died by 1884 and his son, Eredi took his box), a large branch from the Levi family was seated in the third and fourth tier – although it cannot be established if they actually belonged to the same family or just had the same surname –, Fortunato Modena, Prospero Liberati, Domenico Nobili (who owned two boxes for most seasons) and Domenico Sidoli. There were also yet unmentioned members of the municipal council that had a box: Ulisse Carmi (1828-1884); Enrico Cugini; the marquises Francesco (1838-1926) and Marco (1816-1896) Gherardini – the first was mayor, president of the *Società del Casino* and president of the *Banca Popolare*, while the latter was president of the *Cassa di Risparmio*; Giacomo Maffei (1857-1914); and Gaetano Predelli. Enrico Terrachini and other previously named active members of the community of Reggio were not found in the records, although the Terrachini family had a box in the first order.¹⁰⁹ There was thus certainly an interconnectedness between those members of the political and economic community and those who took part in the cultural institutions.

The box owners had to pay a fee, which differed per season and per order. The first and second order boxes were the most expensive, but not equally so and sometimes equal to the third tier. For example, during the Carnival season of 1874-75 the first, second and third tier costed 35.50 lire, while the fourth order was 22.25 lire. During the Fiera season of 1877

¹⁰⁸ Körner, *Politics of Culture in Liberal Italy*, 57.

¹⁰⁹ All the information can be found in Appendix 1. See also: Ferraboschi, *Borghesia e potere Civico*, 287-296.

the first and third order costed 60.10 lire, while the second tier costed 66.80 lire and the fourth order 40.10 lire. During the other seasons the price for the first, second and third tier was always equal, around 30-35 lire, while the fourth tier was much less expensive.¹¹⁰ Besides the income from the boxes, the *Teatro Municipale* attracted many visitors who were either seated in the *parterre* or on the gallery. It is however beyond the scope of this research to investigate this part in detail. What is however necessary to notice, is that the income during some seasons was insufficient, and as such a municipal *dote* was sometimes required.

Municipal funding

The theatre was partly funded by the municipality, even after 1866. There were however voices in opposition. Primal resistance was voiced by Camillo Prampolini (1859-1930).¹¹¹ He was the leader of the socialist movement, that was growing in Reggio since the 1880s.¹¹² Prampolini led the fight against the elite *dote*, by voicing his opinion in *La Giustizia*. This was a socialist newspaper, printed in Reggio under supervision of Prampolini himself.¹¹³ He termed the *Teatro Municipale* ‘il teatro dei signori’ – the theatre of lords – since not only were they housed in the theatre, but also because

quel locale magnifico del Teatro Municipale dove i signori di Reggio vanno a leggere i giornali, a giocare, a conversare, e dove vengono date “feste di ballo”, perché prima di pensare a fabbricare delle case sane [...] pei poveri, i signori di Reggio si son fatti a spese del municipio, cioè poveri, uno splendido luogo di ritrovo per essi.¹¹⁴

The theatre, in Prampolini’s eyes, did not contribute to the welfare of the masses, it only existed for the benefit of the elite. Finally, in 1891, when the radical-socialist council had already come into existence, the *dote* was cut.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁰ ASRE, ATV, I.17 RISPC, ISPA, Anno 1874 al 1877, Signori Proprietari dei Palchi e relativo Canone per N°30. Rappresentazione Carnevale 1874=75; ASRE, ATV, I.17 RISPC, ISPA, Anno 1874 al 1877, Signori Proprietari dei Palchi e relativo Canone per N°18. Rappresentazioni Stagione di Fiera 1877; ASRE, ATV, I.17 RISPC, ISPA, Anno 1878 al 1885. Signori Proprietari dei Palchi e relativo Canone per N°30. Rappresentazioni d’opere serie impresa sociale Carnovale 1880-81; ASRE, ATV, I.17 RISPC, ISPA, Anno 1878 al 1885. Signori Proprietari dei Palchi e relativo Canone per N°26. Rappresentazioni Carnevale 1882=1883; ASRE, ATV, I.17 RISPC, ISPA, Anno 1878 al 1885. Signori Proprietari dei Palchi e relativo Canone per N°28. Rappresentazioni Carnevale 1884=85.

¹¹¹ Giuseppe Armani, ‘Teatro e vita politica dal 1848 al 1915’, 230.

¹¹² Ferraboschi, *Borghesia e potere Civico*, 150.

¹¹³ Biblioteca Panizzi e Decentrate, ‘La Giustizia: scheda di approfondimento’, <<http://digilib.netribe.it/bdr01/Sezione.jsp?idSezione=70>> [accessed on 22-06-2017].

¹¹⁴ ‘That magnificent place of the *Teatro Municipale* [SE] where the lords of Reggio go to read the newspapers, to play, to chat, and where they go to give “dancing parties”, because before thinking about producing clean homes [...] for the poor, the lords of Reggio are making expenses at the cost of the *municipio* [SE], meaning poor, a splendid place to meet for them.’ In: Armani, ‘Teatro e vita politica dal 1848 al 1915’, 231.

¹¹⁵ Ferraboschi, *Borghesia e potere Civico*, 159; Armani, ‘Teatro e vita politica dal 1848 al 1915’, 229-237. Giuseppe Armani gives an overview of the debate.

In the period investigated it can be noticed that both the box owners and the municipal council had an interest in the theatre. They either owned part of it and paid a seasonal fee, or they invested in it. The conflict in Bologna between the box owners and the impresario on what was to be performed and how, might be termed exemplar with regard to the former. Additionally, previous research has provided evidence that in some opera houses a contract was drawn up between impresario and municipality in which every detail was negotiated.¹¹⁶ It makes sense that by funding the opera house, Reggio's municipal council acted under similar terms. The fact that a change in communal leadership in the city brought with it a change in vision on the *dote* to support the opera is remarkable. As Jeffrey Olick has written 'memory is never unitary. There are always sub-narratives, transitional periods, and contests over dominance.'¹¹⁷ Not simply the fact that the new radical-socialist council changed a practice that was common for a very long time, municipal support for a public – yet exclusive – (social) activity, but also a change of the outlook on what it meant to be 'Reggian', which was expressed through the city's cultural policy.

In a matter of speaking, the radical-socialist government changed the entire outlook of a city that was once considered a stronghold of liberalism, and by the end of the 1880s had become ground zero of Italian socialism. The city might have represented the post-unification Italian nation-state *par excellence*, it was so no longer. For the researched time however, those in charge in Reggio had not obviously changed the city's self-image. Let's now turn to the actual performance of opera and its reception.

¹¹⁶ Körner, *Politics of Culture in Liberal Italy*, 58.

¹¹⁷ Jeffrey Olick, 'Introduction: Memory and the Nation: Continuities, Conflicts, and Transformations' *Social Science History* 22:4 (1998), 377-387, here: 381. See also: Confino, 'AHR Forum', 1397-1398.

The Operas

La Favorita

The opera that was performed most of all, overall, with a total of 42 performances spread over ten years (Carnival 1876-77; Fiera 1881; Carnival 1881-82 and Carnival 1884-85), was *La Favorita* – originally in French *La Favorite* – by Gaetano Donizetti (1797-1848). He was born in Bergamo and studied at Bologna's *Liceo Filarmonico Comunale*. When he finished his musical training, Donizetti produced works in the entire peninsula, first *Enrico di Borgogna* (Venice, 1818) and later *Zoraid di Granata* (Rome, 1821) and *La zingara* (Naples, 1822). In Naples, he settled for sixteen years, whilst also conducting and producing operas in other Italian cities and accepting the position of director to the *Teatro Nuovo*. Later, he became director of the royal theatres of Naples (1828-1838). Donizetti had by then made a reputation for himself in the peninsula and with *Anna Bolena* (Milan, 1830) he also broke through internationally. He wrote many more operas, like *Parisina* (Florence, 1833) and *Lucia di Lammermoor* (Naples, 1835). Unfortunately, the theatrical censors in Rome and Naples were quite restrictive and some of his plays were banned.¹¹⁸ Although the rules were less scrupulous in Milan, some of his plays were also censored there. In 1840, he moved to Paris. It was in Paris that *La Favorite* premiered in December 1840. With his move to Paris he started to write music on French libretti and for the Paris Opéra. By the time of his death in 1848 he had become *Hofkapellmeister* to the Habsburg court in Vienna and he had produced 65 operas.¹¹⁹

The libretto of *La Favorite* was written in French by Alphonse Royer and Gustave Vaëz. The story is set in the Kingdom of Castile. It is 1340, around the time the Spanish peninsula is threatened by the Moors. The main character is Fernando, a monk. He is in love with Leonora, but he is unaware of who she truly is – as it turns out, she is the King's mistress – and Fernando wishes to leave the monastery to search for her. Fernando is led blindfolded to Leonora by her helper, Ines. They meet, but Leonora still leaves her identity in the dark. She declares her love to him, but will not reveal her identity. She procures Fernando a position in the army. The king, Alfonso, comes out victorious from the war with the Moors, was it not for Fernando's bravery. Even the king stresses his bravery:

¹¹⁸ There were restrictions on 'allusions [...] to the regime in power, to members of the royal family, and most often to religious practices. Far more troublesome, however, were their rules against any subject matter that might shock an audience [...].' In: Mary Ann Smart, 'Donizetti, Gaetano', in: Stanley Sadie, George Grove, John Tyrell, *The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, 29 volumes (New York – London, 2001), VII:471-497, here 474.

¹¹⁹ Mary Ann Smart, 'Donizetti, Gaetano', VII:471-497.

'Gasparo Fu la tua gloria, Signor.
 Alfonso Fu mia? Non mai.
 Fu Fernando, fu quel garzon valente,
 Che un giorno sol fe' noto,
 Che rannodò l' armata
 Salvando il suo signor, ogg' io l'attendo
 A Siviglia e innanzi a tutti
 Il suo valore d'onorar desio.'¹²⁰

In the next scene, Alfonso publicly expresses his love for Leonora. He then receives a papal bull – by the hand of Baldassare, the head of Fernando's order – that condemns the kings love affair and demands the reinstatement of the queen as his rightful wife. By that time, it has become clear that Leonora's affections have changed and no longer wants to be the king's mistress. Don Gasparo, the kings minister, announces that a letter has been found that reveals Leonora has a lover, although he is unable to disclose who it is. Alfonso then rewards Fernando and he is given anything he wants. Fernando confesses to be in love with a noblewoman he wants to make his wife. As she enters the stage, the king – although surprised – sees the error of his ways, and grudgingly agrees to the marriage of Fernando and Leonora. Only afterwards does Fernando find out about Leonora's affair with the king. Fernando bursts out in anger and leaves Leonora to return to the monastery. In the final act, Fernando is about to take his vows, when Leonora arrives disguised. She has a fatal illness and is impelled to see Fernando once more. Although he initially bids her to go away, at long last, Fernando's love for her is rekindled. On hearing his forgiveness, Leonora collapses and dies.¹²¹

The opera was translated into Italian by Francesco Jannetti and performed throughout the peninsula. The opera, and especially the fourth act is regarded as one of Donizetti's greatest accomplishments.¹²² The local press, *L'Italia Centrale*, wrote on the most recent opera performances from time to time. During the theatrical season of 1876-77, *La Favorita* was received in the midst of 'un baccano indescrivibile di fischi, di urla e di grida "abbasso la

¹²⁰ The English translation differs somewhat from the Italian. 'Gasparo: To thee, oh sire, the glory!/ Alfonso: To me-no: Ferdinand!/He the glory deserves: it was his arm won the battle!/'Twas he inspir'd our men-his valor sav'd his country./I await him at Seville./Where, before my assembled court, I intend/To load, to o'erwhelm him with honors.' Alphonse Royer and Gustave Vaëz, *La Favorita*, trans. (It.) Francesco Jannetti (Milan, year unknown), 13. English translation: Alphonse Royer and Gustave Vaëz, *La Favorita*, trans. (Eng.) Unknown (Boston, 1860), 10. All names of the story's characters are derived from the Italian opera's. All libretti can be found on the website from Reggio's state archives. Archivio di Stato di Reggio Emilia, 'Libretti d'opera' <<http://www.archiviodistatoreggioemilia.beniculturali.it/index.php?it/163/libretti-dopera>> [accessed on 27-06-2017].

¹²¹ David Cummings, 'Favorite, La', in: Stanley Sadie, *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, 4 volumes (New York, 1992), 2:140-142.

¹²² Cummings, 'Favorite, La', II:142.

direzione”.¹²³ Though not all singers did poorly, overall it was a fiasco and ‘il teatro momentaneamente è chiuso.’¹²⁴ By the third performance, things had clearly improved and some of the singers were praised. Leopoldo Borgioli, playing Alfonso, was praised for his ‘[b]uona voce, buona presenza, buon metodo e arte non comune hanno già assicurata a questo artista ogni simpatia [...]’.¹²⁵ During the same season, Borgioli performed another role in one of Donizetti’s operas, *Lucia di Lammermoor*. Proceeding to the orchestra, a large part was either young or inexperienced, but this did not alter the fact that ‘[i]n conclusione la *Favorita* come ci è ora rappresentata è uno spettacolo buono per questa stagione e crediamo che potrà attirar molta gente a teatro.’¹²⁶ That the opera had become a true spectacle was confirmed by the fact that it was performed eleven more times during that season.¹²⁷

La Favorita was performed again, but one of the singers, miss Wittmann, became ill and her part was taken over by Luisa Marziali, who quite recently had performed the same part, Leonora, in the *Teatro di Savona*.¹²⁸ A review of the performance was written after a benefit concert. Eugenio Vicini, carrying the part of Fernando, was praised for his performance, as ‘[l]a *Favorita* fu cantata da questo egregio artista con la solita bravura e con quella franchezza di cui die’ prova nelle due prime rappresentazioni.’¹²⁹ Vicini also had five other leading or supporting roles in the period from 1875-1885, always performing as a tenor. There was however still some room for criticism during that evening’s performance, because although ‘[l]a serata ebbe termine con la scena finale della *Lucia*, nella quale il Vicini fu egualmente applaudito’, his interpretation of that song ‘non sia né la tradizionale, né la più giusta [...]’.¹³⁰

The following season, *La Favorita* was performed again and

‘[i]l pubblico che la prima sera si mostrò piuttosto freddo, nel successive ha saputo apprezzarlo, e l’ha applaudita calorosamente e chiamata al proscenio al duetto col

¹²³ ‘An indescribable racket of whistles, of screams and shouts [saying] “down with the management.”’ In: ‘Teatro Municipale’, *L’Italia Centrale* (26 December 1876), 3.

¹²⁴ ‘The theatre is momentarily closed.’ In: ‘Teatro Municipale’, *L’Italia Centrale* (26 December 1876), 3.

¹²⁵ ‘Good voice, good appearance, good method and uncommon art have already secured for this artist every sympathy [...]’ In: ‘Teatro Municipale’, *L’Italia Centrale* (2 January 1877), 3.

¹²⁶ ‘In conclusion the *Favorita* [SE] how it is now represented is a good spectacle for this season and we believe that it will attract many people to the theatre.’ In: ‘Teatro Municipale’, *L’Italia Centrale* (2 January 1877), 3.

¹²⁷ Degani and Grotti, *Teatro Municipale di Reggio Emilia*, II:90-136.

¹²⁸ ‘Teatro Municipale’, *L’Italia Centrale* (3 May 1881), 3.

¹²⁹ ‘The *Favorita* was sung by this excellent artist with usual skills and with that truthfulness that he had proved in the first two representations.’ In: ‘Teatro Municipale’, *L’Italia Centrale* (20 May 1881), 3.

¹³⁰ ‘The evening was ended with the final scene from *Lucia*, for which Vicini was equally applauded [his interpretation of that song] was neither traditional, nor the most right.’ In: ‘Teatro Municipale’, *L’Italia Centrale* (20 May 1881), 3.

tenore nel primo atto, nell'aria *Oh mio Fernando* e nel finale del terz'atto, nel duetto e finale dell'atto quarto.¹³¹

In short, the first performance was coldly received, but the following nights the act was warmly applauded. In reviewing the benefit concert of a day later, the analyses were of a different kind:

È stato un gran peccato che ieri sera nella sua beneficato il primo tenore signor *Vicini* non si trovasse nella p[i]enezza de'propri mezzi. La raucedine che l'ha preso, specialmente nell'ultimo atto della *Favorita*, non gli ha permesso di spiegare quell'abilità notevole, alla quale ci ha avvezziati nella romanza *Spirito gentil* [...]. Il pub[b]lico tuttavia non ha dimenticato che aveva davanti a se un artista rispettabile che ha dato già prove non dubbio del suo valore, e però l'ha applaudito sempre ed acclamato con ovazioni veramente entusiastiche alla fine del terz'atto, dove ieri sera ci ha fatto meglio ammirare la potenza della sua voce, e alla fine del quarto, chiamandolo ripetutamente al proscenio.¹³²

Vicini's performance, however poorly executed, did not especially hurt his good reputation. Singers were able to build up a certain respectable position on the stage that, even when performing poorly, was not easily surrendered to possible fleeting dispositions of the public. Together with Borgioli and others, Vicini demonstrates that a group of artists were performing frequently in the area. Nevertheless, the case of Marziali shows that the performers were also drawn from other parts of the peninsula.

By the season of 1884-85, 'la *Favorita* è [un] opera che da tutti si sa a memoria, essendo in questi ultimi tempi stata data ripetutamente.'¹³³ *La Favorita* had by this time become a well-remembered classic by a renowned Italian composer. As Rebecca Green has clarified, these repeated re-enactments of performances night after night for extended periods caused the stories and the ways in which it was performed to become 'integral components of

¹³¹ 'The public which during the first night showed itself rather cold, during the successive [evenings] it has known to appreciate it, and it has applauded it [the opera] warmly and shouted at the proscenium at the duet with the tenor during the first act, at the aria *Oh mio Fernando* and during the final of the third act, during the duet and the final of the fourth act. In: Foli, 'La Favorita la Teatro Municipale', *L'Italia Centrale* (7 February 1882), 3.

¹³² 'It is a great shame that yesterday evening during his beneficiary, the first tenor mister *Vicini* could not find the fullness of his means. The hoarseness that he has taken, especially during the ultimate act of the *Favorita*, has not permitted him to explain that remarkable ability, to which he has grown accustomed with the romance *Spirito gentil*, [...]. The public has however not forgotten that it had in front of them a respectable artist that has already proven without doubt his value, and therefore it has applauded always and acclaimed with true enthusiastic ovation at the end of the third act, where yesterday evening [we] were better to admire his voice, and at the end of the fourth, shouting repeatedly at the proscenium.' In: Foli, 'Teatro Municipale', *L'Italia Centrale* (8 February 1882), 3.

¹³³ 'The *Favorita* is [an] opera that everyone knows by heart, because in recent times it has been given repeatedly.' In: 'Teatro Municipale', *L'Italia Centrale* (13 January 1885), 3.

the teller's and audience's life and identity.'¹³⁴ In that way, remembering previous performances, *La Favorita* was not only known in general, but in fact had to be known. Some part of the identity of Reggio was built around this memory, that functioned as a framework for individual members of the group.¹³⁵ Even though the individual memories of those people attending the performance might differ from those of other people in the same theatre, there were general outbursts of applause and sometimes roars of outrage that created a collective feeling.

Faust

The second most performed opera was *Faust*, by Charles Francois Gounod (1818-1893). It was performed 35 times (Carnival 1874-75; Carnival 1881-82 and Carnival 1884-85). Gounod was born and educated in Paris and in 1839 he won the *Prix de Rome* – a scholarship – and went to the French Academy in Rome. In 1843, he moved back to Paris and sometime later he secured the libretto *Sapho*. The opera premiered in 1851, unfortunately it was considered a failure. He produced some new operas and became director of the *Paris Opéra* and the director of vocal instruction in the public schools of Paris. In the meantime, he wrote *Faust*, which after dropping it from time to time, he finished in 1858. He wrote several more operas after this, most importantly *Roméo et Juliette* (Paris, 1867), which was his most international success. In his later years, he produced more religious works, which were equally successful.¹³⁶

The story of *Faust* is based on *Faust: Eine Tragödie* (1808), by Goethe and *Faust et Marguerite* by Michel Carré. The libretto is by Jules Barbier and Michel Carré. It tells of an aged and embittered scholar, Faust, who, has missed out on youth and love, because he spent his entire life studying. Depressed, he tries to kill himself twice. In his search for guidance, he finds the devil, Méphistophélès. This devil tells him he can have a season of youth and love with himself as his servant, but Faust must return the favour by the time of his death. Faust is not convinced, but the devil presents him with the image of a beautiful woman, Marguerite. Faust is convinced and turned into a young man. Marguerite is however the sister of a soldier,

¹³⁴ Rebecca Green, 'Ancestral Dreams: Re-living the past, re-creating the future', in: Dena E. Eber and Arthur G. Neal (ed.), *Memory and Representation: Constructed Truth and Competing Realities* (Bowling Green, 2001), 21-54, here: 29.

¹³⁵ Connerton, *How societies remember*, 2-3.

¹³⁶ Other operas from Gounod were: *Ulysse* (Paris, 1852), *La nonne sanglante* (Paris, 1854), *Philémon et Baucis* (Paris, 1860), *La colombe* (Baden-Baden, 1860), *La Reine de Saba* (Paris, 1862) and *Mireille* (Paris, 1864). His most successful religious works are *Le redemption* and *Mors et vita*. William Hays, 'Gounod, Charles-François' in: Stanley Sadie, George Grove, John Tyrell (ed.), *The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, 29 volumes (New York – London, 2001), X:214-236.

Valentin. He leaves for war and asks his friend Siébel to look after her. At that point in the story, a singing crowd of soldiers, students and citizens, is interrupted by the devil who starts a song about gold and greed. He proceeds in an insulting manner, using the name of Marguerite lightly, thereby causing those present to draw their swords. Valentin strikes, but his sword gets shattered immediately. Faust has, in the meantime made his acquaintance with Marguerite and made an approach, which she rejects:

Faust	Permettereste a me, Mia bella - damigella, Che il braccio mio vi dia Per fare insiem la via?
Marguerite	Non sono damigella, Signor, nè sono bella, E d' uopo non ho ancor Del braccio d' un signor. ¹³⁷

Next, Siébel, who is also in love with Marguerite, leaves some flowers at her door. The devil arranges a better gift for Faust to give. Méphistophélès returns with beautiful jewellery that he then leaves at her doorstep. Marguerite tries them on and falls in love with it. Faust visits her and they express their mutual feelings for one another and Faust takes Marguerite in his arms.

We skip forward to some months later, when Marguerite has given birth to a child and Faust has abandoned her. Remorseful, Faust returns with Méphistophélès, at the moment that Valentin arrives home from the war. Valentin hears the devil sing and charges outside. Faust and Valentin fight and the latter is fatally wounded. Marguerite races towards her brother, and he curses her. She seeks forgiveness of her sins from God but is stopped by demon voices mocking her, stating that she is lost and finally Méphistophélès curses her. In the last act, Marguerite is in prison for killing her own child. Faust and the devil appear to rescue her. She however refuses to go with Faust. Marguerite prays and calls for divine protection. Méphistophélès then drags Faust to hell as Marguerite departs with an angel chorus to heaven.¹³⁸

Faust's premiere was in 1859, but not received with great enthusiasm. Nevertheless, it was soon performed in Germany and gathered momentum in Paris as well. The very first

¹³⁷ The English translation differs somewhat from the Italian. 'Faust: Will you not permit me/my fairest demoiselle/to offer my arm/and clear for you the way?/ Marguerite: No sir/I am no demoiselle, neither am I fair/And I have no need to accept your offered arm.' Jules Barbier and Michel Carré, *Faust*, trans. (It.) Achille de Lauzières (Milan, 1868), 18. English translation: Jules Barbier and Michel Carré, *Faust*, trans. (Eng.) Unknown (Boston, 1892), 19.

¹³⁸ Steven Huebner, 'Faust (ii)', in: Stanley Sadie, *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, 4 volumes (New York, 1992), 2:131-135.

performance of *Faust* in Italy was considered a success when it was performed at La Scala in 1862.¹³⁹ When *Faust* was performed in Reggio in 1874-75, it was described as

un opera [sic.] eclettica per eccellenza, e se non merita tutte le censure ed acerbe invettive di che l'ha caricata, con la sua solita sfrontata e brutale arroganza, il troppo famoso M. Wagner, non si può a meno di non riconoscere che il Wagner stesso ha ragione laddove afferma che il Gounod colla sua musica fa una continua scorreria nel capo[l]avori dei maestri di tutte le scuole, e particolarmente degli italiani.¹⁴⁰

Gounod's opera was thus a great 'eclectic' work. But he stole from the masterpieces of other great composers, especially the Italian – I shall return to this later. The opera was nevertheless a work of art, because 'al nostro Teatro Municipale, se ci ha confermato ne' dubbi nostri sul valore di esso come opera d'arte.'¹⁴¹ The performance itself was however less fortunate, as it was poorly executed. Remarkable is also the prescription that was given of Richard Wagner, the famous German composer. Wagner did not try to fit into the Italian musical style and the critic considered him rude and coarsely arrogant. As described in the previous chapter, Körner's story focusses on this exactly – the conscious production of a counter narrative – when describing the first Italian performance of Wagner in 1871, as a mode to create a distinct self and make a statement about the city.¹⁴² Clearly, the critic of *L'Italia Centrale* did not accept this alternative story.

The performance of Reggio's *Faust* improved during the next performances and most praise was given to the young but experienced conductor, who with very a limited number of instruments was able to perform an excellent show.¹⁴³ There followed some criticism on the orchestra later, as its performance became too relaxed and provoked outrage by the public. The performance, instead of becoming more perfect moved in the opposite direction.¹⁴⁴ Nonetheless, when *Faust* was performed again in the Carnival season of 1881-82, it was – in light of the most recent performances of other operas – a good act.¹⁴⁵ The impresario Enrico

¹³⁹ Huebner, 'Faust (ii)', 132.

¹⁴⁰ 'An eclectic opera par excellence, and if [it] not deserves all the censorship [or criticism] and immature abuses that it has loaded, with his usual rude and brutal arrogance, the too famous mister Wagner, you can't help but recognize that the same Wagner is always right when he claims that Gounod with his music was a continual thief of masterpieces by masters of all the schools, and particularly of the Italians.' In: 'Rivista Teatrale. Teatro Municipale – Faust, opera in cinque atti del M. Gounod', *L'Italia Centrale* (29 December 1874), 1.

¹⁴¹ 'At our *Teatro Municipale* [SE], it has been confirmed to us without doubt the value of it as a work of art.' 'Rivista Teatrale. Teatro Municipale – Faust, opera in cinque atti del M. Gounod', *L'Italia Centrale* (29 December 1874), 1.

¹⁴² Körner, *Politics of Culture in Liberal Italy*, 1-2.

¹⁴³ 'Rivista Teatrale. Teatro Municipale – Faust, opera in cinque atti del M. Gounod', *L'Italia Centrale* (29 December 1874), 2.

¹⁴⁴ 'Teatro', *L'Italia Centrale* (5 January 1875), 3.

¹⁴⁵ 'Rivista Teatrale. Teatro Municipale – Faust, opera in 5 atti del M. Gounod', *L'Italia Centrale* (27 December 1881), 1-2.

Caracciolo had produced a *Faust* that was worthy of praise and the orchestra under leadership of Alfonso Focillo ‘fece miracoli, ai quali in questa stagione non eravamo abituati.’¹⁴⁶ Eugenio Vicini played the character of Faust and was applauded for his performance and Giovanni Tanzini as Méphistophélès was even more satisfying.¹⁴⁷ During the 1884-85 season, *Faust* was received poorly, because many of the artists in *Faust* were not in their rightful place and the performance let many desires unfulfilled.¹⁴⁸

Not a lot of words are spoken about Gounod not being Italian, the opera is simply one among many. Nevertheless, even though Gounod was not an Italian, he was viewed as heavily influenced by them. If the box owners and the municipal council had the intention to ‘go beyond Italy’ and enter a more cosmopolitan world, the press at least, reviewed the opera from a national point of view. This was not a bad thing, as his work was considered a true work of art. Even so, there was a problem. The work might have been considered amazing, but it was only good because Gounod stole from Italian masters. This explanation is somewhat incomplete. Sorba has stated that there was a ‘desire to react to what was perceived to be an invasion of foreign composers [which] led to a veritable “obsession” with “Italianness” [sic.] in music.’¹⁴⁹ Though Sorba might have intended the usage to mean a kind of xenophobia, it definitely points to a process of Italianising - a process of appropriation of the external in order to make it your own – as well. Indeed, the opera was already successfully performed at La Scala in 1862, making it likely that by the time it was performed in Reggio, the opera had made headway all-over the Italian peninsula.

¹⁴⁶ ‘He made miracles, to which we weren’t accustomed this season.’ In: ‘Rivista Teatrale. Teatro Municipale – Faust, opera in 5 atti del M. Gounod’, *L’Italia Centrale* (27 December 1881), 1-2.

¹⁴⁷ ‘Rivista Teatrale. Teatro Municipale – Faust, opera in 5 atti del M. Gounod’, *L’Italia Centrale* (27 December 1881), 1-2.

¹⁴⁸ ‘Teatro Municipale’, *L’Italia Centrale* (11 February 1885), 2.

¹⁴⁹ Carlotta Sorba, ‘Between cosmopolitanism and nationhood’ 63.

TEATRO MUNICIPALE
Di Reggio nell' Emilia

GIOVEDÌ 29 DICEMBRE 1881, ORE 8 PREC.
Quarta Rappresentazione
DEL DRAMMA LIRICO IN CINQUE ATTI
FAUST

DEL MAESTRO CANTO-POESIA
PERSONAGGI

IL DOTTOR FAUST	mor	EUGENIO VICINI
MEFISTOFELE		GIOVANNI TANSINI
VALENTINO		VIRGILIO BLASI
WAGNER		EMILIO GRONDONA
MARGHERITA	mor	CATERINA BOTTARELLI
SIEBEL		MARIA PIA
MARTA		ERMINIA DE-SANCTIS-GHIA

Studenti - Soldati - Borghesi - Ragazzi - Matrone - La Scena succede in Allemagna

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Colla Rappresentazione di questa sera viene definitivamente chiuso l'Abbonamento.

Tip. Terruggini e C. L'IMPRESSA

Image 3 Announcement of Faust in the Teatro Municipale (1881) (ASRE)

TEATRO MUNICIPALE
di Reggio nell' Emilia

STAGIONE DEL CARNEVALE 1884-85.

Nella sera di Sabato 10 Gennaio 1885 alle ore 8 pomeridiane.

QUARTA RAPPRESENTAZIONE
DELL' OPERA IN 4 ATTI
LA FAVORITA

MUSICA DEL SIG. DONIZETTI

PERSONAGGI

ALFONSO XI, Re di Castiglia	Sig. SILLA CAROCCI
LEONORA di Guzman	Sig. SOFIA LORINI
FERNANDO	Sig. LODOVICO FAGOTTI
BALDASSARE Superiore del Con-	
vento di S. Giacomo	• ARISTODEMO SILLICH
Don GASPARE ufficiale del Re	• Carlo Casarini
INES, confidente di Leonora	Sig. Anita Vallini

Signori e Dame della Corte, Paggi, Guardie, Soldati, Cortigiani, Frati e Pellegrini.

L'azione è nel Regno di Castiglia. Epoca 1340.

MAESTRO CONCERTATO E DIRETTORE D'ORCHESTRA
MANLIO BAVAGNOLI

PREZZO DEI BIGLIETTI SERALI

Alla platea e ai palchi	L. 1, 00	Ai posti riservati (oltre l'ingresso)	L. 1, 50
Poi ragazzi, sottufficiali e soldati	• 0, 50	Alle loggie	• 0, 50

Reggio del Carnevale del Teatro e 8 Gennaio 1885.

Tip. Terruggini e C. L'IMPRESSA

Image 4 Announcement of La Favorita in the Teatro Municipale (1885) (ASRE)

Roberto il Diavolo

The third opera is *Roberto il Diavolo*, by Giacomo Meyerbeer (1791-1864). It was performed 32 times (Fiera 1877 and Carnival 1883-84). Meyerbeer was born in Berlin as Jakob Liemann Meyer, and he came from a well-established Jewish family. His first opera, *Jephtas Gelübde* (Munich, 1812), was not very successful. All the same, in 1816 he visited Italy for the first time and he stayed there for nine years. He moved and produced all-over the peninsula and his production of *Emma di Resburgo* (Venice, 1819) brought him much international success. A year later he produced *Margherita d'Anjou* for La Scala and it was soon to be staged in many European capitals. He surpassed this success with *Il rociato in Egitto* (Venice, 1824). By that time, he was approached by the director of the Paris Opéra to write *Robert le diable* in 1827. It was staged in Paris in 1831 and it is seen as the first of his four-main works, that includes *Les Huguenots* (Paris, 1836), *Le prophète* (Paris, 1849), and *L'Africaine* (posthumous, Paris, 1865). With these masterpieces, Meyerbeer gained a leading position in the international musical world. By the time of his death in 1864 he had earned a leading position at the royal court in Prussia.¹⁵⁰

Roberto le diable was originally performed in French and the libretto is written by Eurène Scribe and Germain Delavigne. The story is set in Palermo around 1250, and tells the story of Roberto. In the preface, the public learns that Roberto is the son of Berthe, the daughter of the Duke of Normandy. Berthe has succumb to the advances of a demon knight, who is in the service of Satan. Roberto takes after his father and is given the nickname 'the devil.' He commits many crimes and is banished from Normandy. He travels to Palermo where he falls in love with princess Isabella. She responses to his love, but he cannot control his behaviour and ends up in conflict with some local knights. He is saved by a stranger named Beltrame, who later turns out to be Roberto's father. Roberto tries to get back in the princess' good grace and there happens to be a tournament to receive her hand. At the opening scene, Rambaldo, a minstrel, sings for the knights who are waiting for the tournament to begin. He tells the story of Roberto the devil. Roberto is present and reveals his identity. Angry, Roberto condemns Rambaldo to death, only to commute the sentence when he learns of Rambaldo's engagement. Alice, Roberto's foster-sister, is Rambaldo's fiancée. They came to Sicily to find Roberto and present him the last will and testament of his mother. Roberto feels unworthy of touching the testament and asks Alice to keep it on her. Roberto then tells Alice of his love for Isabella and Alice appears before the princess to arrange a

¹⁵⁰ Some of Meyerbeers early operas were *Romilda e Costanza* (Padua, 1817) a *Semiramide riconosciuta* (Turin, 1819). Matthias Brozoska, 'Meyerbeer, Giacomo', in: Stanley Sadie, George Grove, John Tyrell (ed.), *The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, 29 volumes (New York – London, 2001), XVI:566-580.

reconciliation. Beltrame in the meantime persuades Roberto to gamble and he loses his armour and money. Isabella and Roberto then meet in the palace and she gives him a pardon and an armour to wear in the tournament. By an evil trick, Roberto is however told that his true rival, the Prince of Granada, awaits him in a nearby forest. When the actual tournament begins, Roberto is absent and the Prince of Granada wins Isabella's hand.

The third act takes place near a cavern. Beltrame is present and demonic voices tell him that he must win Robert's soul by midnight or he-himself will be called to hell and lose his son forever. Roberto then enters and Beltrame tells him he can regain Isabella by taking a magic but evil branch. Roberto is seduced by evil spirits to take the branch. In the next act, we see Isabella's room, on the night before her marriage. Roberto appears and uses the branch to make those around her fall asleep. Roberto does not deny the influence of dark powers and asks Isabella not to denounce him. Instead, Isabella prays for his mercy and Roberto breaks the stick and the evil powers that come with it. Those gathered are awoken and seize Roberto. He only escapes with Beltrame's help and enters the cathedral to prevent the marriage of Isabella to the prince. Beltrame gives Roberto the opportunity for revenge. All he needs to do is sign a document, giving his soul to Beltrame. To make him sign, Beltrame reveals to Roberto that he is his father and Roberto decides to sign it. Alice however appears stating that the Prince of Granada cannot enter the church and that Isabella is waiting for Roberto at the altar. She also carries with her the letter of Roberto's mother, in which Berthe warns him for the man that seduced her. Roberto does not know what to do, but midnight strikes and Beltrame is drawn to hell. Roberto is then finally led to Isabella.¹⁵¹

The opera was widely regarded a success and secured Meyerbeer's position as a composer.¹⁵² The first thing a critic notices about the composer and the opera during the Fiera 1877 performance in Reggio, is the following:

Giacomo Meyerbeer che, in omaggio all'Italia, la quale lo introduceva nel campo dell'arte, volle per tutta la vita conservare italianizzata la voce del suo prenome, iniziava splendidamente la sua carriera musicale con la *Romilda e Costanza*, la *Semiramide riconsciuta*, la [*Emma di Resburgo*], la *Margherita d'[Anjou]*, l'*Esule* e con quel *Cronciato* che trionfalmente faceva in giro di tutti i teatri della penisola. Tuttavia in queste opere, scritte per pubblici italiani e sopra libretti italiani, il Meyerbeer si appalesava piuttosto un imitatore di Rossini, la cui stella rifulge allora di tutto il suo splendore, che un compositore originale. Recatosi quindi in Francia e accomodando il genio suo al sentire e al gusto di quella nazione, sulle orme

¹⁵¹ Robert Ignatius Letellier, *Meyerbeer's Robert le Diable: The Premier Opéra Romantique* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2012), 17-19; Steven Huebner, 'Robert le diable', in: Stanley Sadie, *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, 4 volumes (New York, 1992), III:1357-1359.

¹⁵² Steven Huebner, 'Robert le diable', III:1357.

potentemente tracciategli da Spontini e da Rossini, che alle scene francesi avevano dato sublimi capolavori, concepì il suo *Roberto il Diavolo*, appalesandosi a un tratto compositore grande e originale.¹⁵³

Different from Gounod who ‘stole’ from Italian composers, Meyerbeer was more or less considered an ‘imitator’ of Gioachino Rossini (1792-1868). Even so, Meyerbeer’s Italian works were well received on the peninsula and – according to the review – when he travelled to France, he became a master in his own right. The sublimity of Meyerbeers efforts was to be found in *Roberto il Diavolo*, as the critic continues: ‘[i]l *Roberto*, che più di tutte le altre[,] sente la dimestichezza del compositore con la scuola italiana e i suoi lunghi amori con l’arte nostra, è anche perciò riuscita una delle più melodiche e più chiare, nonostante lo scarso interesse e la confusione del soggetto che adombra.’¹⁵⁴ The work was influenced by Italian composers, but at the same time had some very confusing – not to say disturbing – elements. The critic does not differ from the general opinion of that time. *Roberto le diable* is generally considered to be a metaphysical and philosophical work that was not completely understood by its contemporaries, but would be fully recognised in the twentieth century.¹⁵⁵

Nevertheless, the work was considered to be well performed and the author of the review even goes as far as to say ‘la buona esecuzione che ottiene varrà a creargli riputazione e credito presso i vicini che certo non mancheranno di accorrere nella nostra città per goderne.’¹⁵⁶ The opera and the way it was performed was the pride of the city, to be – in a way – an example and must see for other cities. There was, as Cormac Newark pointed to, competition between nearby opera houses.¹⁵⁷ A later report confirms the importance of this civic spirit: ‘[l]a nostra città è stata in questi giorni frequentata da forestieri, i quali vengono a

¹⁵³ ‘Giacomo Meyerbeer, who in homage to Italy, which has introduced him to field of art, wanted for his entire life preserve the Italianized voice of his first name, initiated magnificently his musical career with *Romila e Costanza*, *Semiramide riconosciuta*, [*Emma di Resburgo*], *Margherita d’[Anjou]*, *Esule* and with *Cronciato* that triumphantly did a round in all the theatres on the peninsula. However, in these opera’s, written for the Italian public and on Italian libretti, Meyerbeer showed himself quite an imitator of Rossini, who’s star shines brightly at that moment in all its splendor, an original composer. He then proceeded to France and accommodated his genius to the feel and the taste of that nation, in the trail influentially drawn by Spontini and Rossini, who in the French scene had given sublime masterpieces, conceived his *Roberto il Diavolo*, to reveal himself a great and original composer.’ In: ‘Rivista Teatrale. Teatro Municipale. Roberto il Diavolo. Opera-ballo in 5 atti del M. Meyerbeer al Teatro Municipale’, *L’Italia Centrale* (12 May 1877), 1.

¹⁵⁴ ‘The *Roberto*, who more than the others, feels the familiarity of the composer with the Italian school and his long love with our art, and also therefore results [to being] one of the most melodic and clear, despite the scares interests and the confusion with the subject that overshadows [it].’ In: ‘Rivista Teatrale. Teatro Municipale. Roberto il Diavolo. Opera-ballo in 5 atti del M. Meyerbeer al Teatro Municipale’, *L’Italia Centrale* (12 May 1877), 1.

¹⁵⁵ Brozoska, ‘Meyerbeer, Giacomo’, XVI:568.

¹⁵⁶ ‘The good performance that obtains worth at creating a reputation and credit with the neighbors that certainly will not fail them to rush to our city to enjoy it.’ ‘Rivista Teatrale. Teatro Municipale. Roberto il Diavolo. Opera-ballo in 5 atti del M. Meyerbeer al Teatro Municipale’, *L’Italia Centrale* (12 May 1877), 1.

¹⁵⁷ Cormac Newark, “‘In Italy we don’t have the means for Illusion’”, 205.

godersi il nostro spettacolo, di cui mostrano soddisfattissimi.’¹⁵⁸ The singers were praised, as all honor in the first place touched ‘alla Contarini, una cantante veramente privilegiata. Dotata di bellissima voce ed estesa [...] intonate sempre, rappresentata con modi veramente eletti il personaggio di Alice.’¹⁵⁹ Also Gaetano Ortisi, fulfilling the part of Roberto, ‘è in possesso d’una di quelle voci che per timbro e per sonorità si procacciano tosto la simpatia e l’ammirazione di chi l’ode.’¹⁶⁰

The opera was considered a success during the Carnival season of 1883-84, although a critic wrote that it would virtually be impossible to put on as great a show as the time before, because the funds were less, even though the proprietors of the *palchi* had to pay more.¹⁶¹ Indeed, the price of a *palco* rose from 60.10 lire (first order) and 66.10 lire (second order) in 1877 to 120,24 lire (first order) and 133,56 lire (second order) in 1883-84, but it has to be taken into account that a large group of proprietors did not pay.¹⁶² It is uncertain why this group did not pay. Even so, the review was not completely right, because the total amount of money accounted for by the proprietors was much higher during the Carnival season of 1883-84 than during the Fiera season of 1877 – 11340,40 lire in 1883-84, compared to the 5370,20 lire during 1877.¹⁶³ But the costs of production seems to have risen as well. This gap between income and spending still caused a problem for the performance, as the group of singers was much smaller, leaving two positions unfulfilled.¹⁶⁴ Even with fewer artists, the author of the article still expected it to become a great opera season.¹⁶⁵ The music itself was termed old,

ma sempre attraente capolavoro meyerberiano. Essa, come è noto ed è facile rilevare, possiede tutte le qualità di chiarezza e di spontaneità delle nostre immortali musiche, ha una impronta di capo a fondo schiettamente italiana e rossiniana, e a questi

¹⁵⁸ ‘Our city has in these days been frequented by strangers, who come to enjoy our spectacle, which shows itself to be most satisfying.’ In: ‘Teatro Municipale’, *L’Italia Centrale* (19 May 1877), 3.

¹⁵⁹ ‘To Contarini, a singer truly privileged. Equipped with a beautiful voice and ecstasy [...] always attuned, represents with a true elected the character of Alice.’ In: ‘Rivista Teatrale. Teatro Municipale. Roberto il Diavolo. Opera-ballo in 5 atti del M. Meyerbeer al Teatro Municipale’, *L’Italia Centrale* (12 May 1877), 1-2.

¹⁶⁰ ‘Is in possession of one of the voices of tone and of sonority that obtains immediately the sympathy and the admiration of those who hear it.’ In: ‘Rivista Teatrale. Teatro Municipale. Roberto il Diavolo. Opera-ballo in 5 atti del M. Meyerbeer al Teatro Municipale’, *L’Italia Centrale* (12 May 1877), 1-2.

¹⁶¹ ‘Rivista Teatrale. Teatro Municipale. Roberto il Diavolo. Opera-ballo in 5 atti del M. Meyerbeer’, *L’Italia Centrale* (28 December 1883), 1.

¹⁶² ASRE, ATV, I.17 RISPC, ISPA, Anno 1874 al 1877, Signori Proprietari dei Palchi e relativo Canone per N°18. Rappresentazioni Stagione di Fiera 1877; ASRE, ATV, I.17 RISPC, ISPA Anno 1878 al 1885. Signori Proprietari dei Palchi e relativo Canone per N°38. Rappresentazioni di Opera=Ballo Stagione di Carnevale 1883=84.

¹⁶³ ASRE, ATV, I.15 Registri riassuntivi degli spettacoli dati, degli artisti, degli incassi e delle spese. 2. Registro generale per il teatro Comunale (Nuovo). Fiera 1857-1906. 1 volume, Fiera 1877; ASRE, ATV, I.15.2., Carnavale 1883-84.

¹⁶⁴ Degani and Grotti, *Teatro Municipale di Reggio Emilia*, II:104, 130.

¹⁶⁵ ‘Rivista Teatrale. Teatro Municipale. Roberto il Diavolo. Opera-ballo in 5 atti del M. Meyerbeer’, *L’Italia Centrale* (28 December 1883), 1.

primitissimi pregi accoppia quello di una magistrale strumentazione e di una relevantissima efficacia drammatica.¹⁶⁶

If the emphasis was put on Italianising Meyerbeer and his work during the 1877 season, the 1883-84 season was a confirmation of this process. Of course, the performing artists themselves were also under scrutiny. Enrico Dondi – who, according to the newspaper, was a renowned artist both in Italy and abroad – fulfilling the part of Beltrame, was praised, because ‘[a]lcune sue note sono tante belle e tanto magistrali che è impossibile non rimanerne sopraffatti.’¹⁶⁷ Elena Boronat, playing the part of Isabella, was also considered a good singer, with a great voice and the ease with which she seemed to perform. Finally, the conductor, Manlio Bavagnoli, was congratulated. Although he was young, and it was his first performance in Reggio, he guided the orchestra ‘benissimo.’¹⁶⁸

Summarizing, in accordance with Gounod, the other non-Italian composer, it was necessary for the critics to give a certain *Italianità* to this opera of non-Italian birth. Nevertheless, it is remarkable to notice that this masterpiece originated in France, but the influence of Italian composers was again intensely present. The influence of Italian composers thus seemed a crucial factor, in order for this opera to blossom in Reggio. Whether this was also a conscious choice made by the cultural and political elite remains an – yet – unanswerable question.

Il Guarany

Il Guarany by Antônio Carlos Gomes (1836-1896) is the fourth opera – with 33 performances, spread over two seasons (Carnival 1878-79 and Carnival 1883-84). Gomes was a Brazilian composer who studied at the Imperial Conservatory of Music in Rio de Janeiro. There, he learned about the works of Rossini, Bellini, Donizetti and Verdi. His first two operas, *A noite do castelo* (Rio de Janeiro, 1860) and *Joana de Flandres* (Rio de Janeiro, 1863), were a great success. He was granted a government scholarship to study in Italy and in 1864 he started studying at the Milan Conservatory. He wrote two musical comedies, *Se sa*

¹⁶⁶ ‘But always attractive Meyerbeerian masterpiece. It, as is noted and is easy to reveal, possesses all the qualities of clarity and spontaneity of our immortal music, it has a completely plain Italian and Rossinian print, and in this very first quality it is combined with an excellent instrumentation and relevant dramatic effectiveness.’ In: ‘Rivista Teatrale. Teatro Municipale. Roberto il Diavolo. Opera-ballo in 5 atti del M. Meyerbeer’, *L’Italia Centrale* (28 December 1883), 1.

¹⁶⁷ ‘Some of his notes are very beautiful and brilliant that it is impossible not to be overwhelmed.’ In: ‘Rivista Teatrale. Teatro Municipale. Roberto il Diavolo. Opera-ballo in 5 atti del M. Meyerbeer’, *L’Italia Centrale* (28 December 1883), 1.

¹⁶⁸ ‘Rivista Teatrale. Teatro Municipale. Roberto il Diavolo. Opera-ballo in 5 atti del M. Meyerbeer’, *L’Italia Centrale* (28 December 1883), 2.

minga (Milan, 1867) and *Nella luna* (Milan, 1868), but his real success – both nationally and internationally – would come in 1870 with *Il Guarany*, that premiered at La Scala. He produced several other operas, with various success.¹⁶⁹ Most of his opera were written in Italy, nevertheless after his last opera, *Condor* (Milan, 1891), he moved back to Brazil and he died a few months later.¹⁷⁰

The plotline is based on the novel *O Guarani: Romance Brasileiro* by José de Alencar, the actual libretto is by Antonio Scalvini and Carlo D'Ormeville. The action takes place near Rio de Janeiro in 1560. Don Antonio de Mariz is a Portuguese nobleman living in Brazil and he has some guests over at his house who are hunters, among them are Don Alvaro and Gonzales. Both are in love with Don Antonio's daughter, Cecilia. She, was captured by the Aimorè, an Indian tribe, and subsequently rescued by Pery, son of the chief of the Guarany tribe. Pery appears on the stage and Don Antonio thanks him. Don Antonio then announces that Cecilia will marry Don Alvaro. Gonzales, who is also in love with Cecilia, plots against Don Antonio and Pery hears him. Pery tells Cecilia of this evil plan and they also declare their love for each other. Pery hears Gonzales conspire again. Gonzales' plan is to take the castle and abduct Cecilia. Becoming aware of Pery's presence, Gonzales seemingly puts his plans to bed. Nevertheless, as night approaches, Gonzales enters Cecilia's room to take her, but Pery intervenes and Gonzales fires a gun that wakes everyone in the castle. Pery singles Gonzales out as the leader of the traitors, but then the Aimorè attack the castle. Cecilia is taken prisoner and the chief of the Animorè wants to make her his queen. Pery is then brought in to the Animorè camp and, being recognized as a friend of the Portuguese, is sentenced to death. The Portuguese invade and capture the camp, and kill the chief. Don Alvaro is unfortunately killed. Gonzales makes new plans to take the castle, but is overheard by Don Antonio who decides to destroy his own castle so it cannot be taken from him. Pery offers his services, but Don Antonio refuses. Pery then suggests saving the princess. Don Antonio agrees, on the condition that Pery becomes a Christian. Pery and Cecilia escape, while Don Antonio sends himself and the traitors to death.¹⁷¹

The opera brought Gomes international fame and was performed all across Europe. It is widely regarded as Gomes' most important work and was renowned for its 'effective

¹⁶⁹ Gomes produced *Fosca* (Milan, 1873), which was initially a failure (although Gomes reworked it and it became a success in 1878) and *Lo schiavo* (Rio de Janeiro, 1889) which focussed on slavery and was successful. Gerard Béhague, 'Gomes, Carlos', in: Stanley Sadie, George Grove, John Tyrell (ed.), *The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, 29 volumes (New York – London, 2001), X:125-126, here: 126.

¹⁷⁰ Béhague, 'Gomes, Carlos', X:126.

¹⁷¹ Gerard Béhague, 'Guarany, il', in: Stanley Sadie, *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, 4 volumes (New York, 1992), II:559-560.

melodies, its dramatic construction, and not least its libretto.¹⁷² It has been emphasized that Gomes instilled ‘exotic’ parts in *Il Guarany*, but these components became normal and even characteristic of operas and music of the second part of the nineteenth century.¹⁷³ Even so, the opera was performed in Reggio in 1878-79, but ill-received:

Il Guarany ha avuto iera [sic.] sera un esito incerto e contrastato. Vi furono nondimeno applausi all’indirizzo della signora Caruzzi-Bedogni e del tenore. Se lo spettacolo giunse in fine senza inconvenienti gravissimi devesi principalmente alla signora Caruzzi-Bedogni, sopradetta. L’esecuzione in generale apparve immatura. Questa sera lo stesso spettacolo.¹⁷⁴

It was a tough premiere and although the second performance was better – ‘l’esecuzione in generale apparve migliore e più sicura e vi furono applausi alla Caruzzi-Bedogni e al tenore, i quali nel due primi atti, si mantennero nel favore del pubblico.’¹⁷⁵ – the rest of the evening was performed in silence and the thought expressed by *L’Italia Centrale* was that another opera would probably better fit the singers. When performed in 1884 it was again considered a failure, though much less than during the 1878-79 season. The orchestra was praised, as well as some of the singers.¹⁷⁶ After some performances, *L’Italia Centrale* reviewed the opera again. Elena Boronat – who had at the last minute taken over from Lola Morandi – fulfilling the part of Cecilia, did so tremendously as she learned her part ‘in due giorni e andò in iscena con una sola prova.’¹⁷⁷ Antonio Baroncelli, performing the part of Pery was greatly accredited for his expressive singing and finally, the orchestra was performing excellent.

Gomes himself was also taken apart for examination as

[i]l *Guarany* del M. Gomes è, com’ è noto, un opera [sic.] che mostra fin dove possa giungere un eclettismo bene inteso. Difatti essa non è che uno spicilegio di parecchie altre opera che il maestro brasiliano con molta abilità ha saputo mettere a contribuzione, da quelle di Rossini e Meyerbeer a quelle del Marchetti e del Petrella. Il Verdi vi ha la parte principale e non è trascurato il Donizetti.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷² Béhague, ‘Gomes, Carlos’, X:125; Béhague, ‘Guarany, il’, II: 560.

¹⁷³ Béhague, ‘Gomes, Carlos’, X:126.

¹⁷⁴ ‘*Il Guarany* had an uncertain and thwarting outcome yesterday evening. There was nevertheless applause at the address of miss Caruzzi-Bedogni and at the tenor. If the spectacle came to an end without grave inconvenience it must primarily be [because of] miss Caruzzi-Bedogni, above-mentioned. The execution in general appeared immature. This evening the same performance.’ In: ‘Teatro Municipale’, *L’Italia Centrale* (26 December 1878), 3.

¹⁷⁵ ‘The performance in general appeared better and more secure and there was applause for Caruzzi-Bedogni and the tenor, which in the first two acts, maintained the favor of the public.’ In: ‘Teatro Municipale’, *L’Italia Centrale* (28 December 1878), 3.

¹⁷⁶ ‘Teatro Municipale’, *L’Italia Centrale* (23 January 1884), 3.

¹⁷⁷ ‘In two days and she went on the stage with only one trial.’ In: ‘Teatro Municipale’, *L’Italia Centrale* (28 January 1884), 3.

¹⁷⁸ ‘*Il Guarany* [SE] of mister Gomes is, as is well-known, an opera that demonstrates how far a well understood eclecticism can come. In fact, it is not that it is an anthology of several other works that the talented Brazilian

Gomes was thus able to contribute to the long list of great – mostly Italian – composers, by whom literature describes he was equally influenced.¹⁷⁹ Gomes was another non-Italian composer who had to be Italianised, though it seems that this was far less important than in the other two cases. A reason for this can be found in the fact that Gomes was for a large part trained in Italy and composed most of his work in Italy for the Italian stage. His *Il Guarany* was widely regarded as ‘home-grown.’¹⁸⁰ More than the other two non-Italian composers, Gounod and Meyerbeer, he might have been thought of as having a kind of internal *italianità*. Not an imitator, but a genuinely Italian composer, a contributor to the Italian musical canon. Presenting this opera as a kind of cosmopolitan opera is virtually impossible to have been the purpose of the local cultural elite, as it was widely regarded Italian by birth.

Un Ballo in Maschera

The fifth opera is *Un Ballo in Maschera* by Giuseppe Verdi (1813-1901). It was performed 27 times (Carnival 1875-76 and Carnival 1882-83). Verdi was born in Roncole, then the Duchy of Parma. He soon moved to Busseto where he became actively involved in the city’s musical life. He gained a scholarship to study in Milan, was refused at the conservatory and then became a pupil at La Scala. After finishing his study, he moved back to Busseto to become *Maestro di musica* in 1836. His opera *Oberto, conte di San Bonifacio* (Milan, 1839) opened the gates to produce more operas for La Scala. He produced *Un giorno di regno* (Milan, 1840) – a failure – and *Nabucco* (Milan, 1842) – a success. After this, he produced and supervised numerous operas, and was constantly moving from one theatric centre to another. Among the operas produced during this time were *Ernani* (Venice, 1844) and *Macbeth* (Florence, 1847). He would remain on the Italian peninsula until 1847, when he moved to Paris. He returned when there were uprisings in Milan the following year. During this interregnum, he supervised *La battaglia di Legnano* (Rome, 1849) in the short-lived Roman Republic. Not long after that, he created *Luisa Miller* (Naples, 1849), *Rigoletto* (Venice, 1851), *Il Trovatore* (Rome, 1853) and *La traviata* (Venice, 1853). By the time of the premiere of this last opera he had become ‘the most famous and frequently performed opera composer in Europe [...]’.¹⁸¹

master has been able to contribute, to those from Rossini and Meyerbeer to those of Marchetti and Petrella. Verdi has the main part and Donizetti is not neglected.’ In ‘Teatro Municipale’, *L’Italia Centrale* (28 January 1884), 3.

¹⁷⁹ Béhague, ‘Gomes, Carlos’, X:125.

¹⁸⁰ Cormac Newark, “‘In Italy we don’t have the means for Illusion’”, 218.

¹⁸¹ Hellmut Federhofer, ‘Verdi, Giuseppe’, in: Stanley Sadie, George Grove, John Tyrell (ed.), *The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, 29 volumes (New York – London, 2001), XXVI:434-471, 446.

In 1859, *Un ballo in Maschera* was performed in Rome. The operas of Verdi's later years – among them *Un Ballo in Maschera* – did not have the same success as his earlier productions and after *Aida* (Cairo, 1871), he produced no new operas until *Otello* (Milan, 1887).¹⁸² Nevertheless, by that time Verdi had clearly established himself as the 'vate del Risorgimento', the bard of the Risorgimento and a profound symbol of the young nation state.¹⁸³ Nevertheless the connection between Verdi's music and his political conviction seems largely to have been made after the revolutionary events took place. *Ernani*, *I due Foscari*, *Macbeth*, *Attila* and *Nabucco* were performed at La Scala directly after the 1848 revolution, when censorship was high. It was only later that these operas were canonized as patriotic. Nevertheless, some connection was already present around the 1848 revolutions.¹⁸⁴

There are two versions of *Un ballo in Maschera*, one set in Boston, the other in Sweden. As the performance in Reggio is under consideration here, we take the story as based in Boston at the end of the seventeenth century. The libretto is written by Antonio Somma, based on Eugène Scribe's libretto *Gustave III, ou Le bal masqué*. The main character is Riccardo, earl of Warwick and governor of Boston. He prepares for a masked ball, when Renato – friend and confidant to Riccardo – arrives with word of a conspiracy against Riccardo. Riccardo is secretly in love with Renato's wife, Amelia. A judge enters requesting that Ulrica, a woman who is being accused of witchcraft, is exiled. After a brief discussion about banishing her, Riccardo decides to go disguised to her himself and asks his followers to do the same. Riccardo arrives at the house of Ulrica where a crowd has gathered to have their fortunes told. After some time, Amelia's servant enters with word of Amelia's arrival. Riccardo hides as the crowd leaves and he listens as Amelia confesses that she loves Riccardo and asks what can be done to find peace. Ulrica tells her that she must find an herb to make a potion. Amelia decides she will do so and Riccardo promises himself to follow her. After Amelia has left, Riccardo presents himself to Ulrica and asks to have his fortune told. She tells him that he will die soon by the hand of a friend – the first man to touch his hand. Riccardo laughs but Renato comes in and shakes Riccardo's hand.

In the second act, Amelia picks the herb when Riccardo appears and they declare their mutual love. Renato comes into the scene and warns Riccardo for an ambush. Riccardo asks Renato to take Amelia – now veiled – back to town, without removing the veil. As Renato

¹⁸² Some of Verdi's later operas were *Les vêpres siciliennes* (Paris, 1855), *Don Carlos* (Paris, 1867), *Simon Boccanegra* (Venice, 1857) and *La forza del destino* (Saint Petersburg, 1862 – later revised and performed in Milan, 1869). Hellmut Federhofer, 'Verdi, Giuseppe', XXVI:434-471.

¹⁸³ Federhofer, 'Verdi, Giuseppe', XXVI: 434, 461.

¹⁸⁴ Ibidem, 434-471; Roger Parker, 'Verdi politico: a wounded cliché regroups', *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 17:4 (2012), 427-436, here: 429-431.

and the veiled Amelia return to town, they run into the ambush. Amelia's veil drops and Renato assumes that she is romantically involved with Riccardo. He asks Samuel and Tom, the leaders of the conspiracy, to meet him the next morning. Amelia has disgraced Renato, and he wants to kill her. Renato then decides that it is not Amelia, but Riccardo that should die. Tom and Samuel enter and, knowing of their plot, he discusses this desire. They all want to kill him, but Renato is eventually picked to kill Riccardo. Then they receive the invitations to the ball, where the assassination is to be performed. Riccardo however comes to his senses and signs a paper that sends Renato and Amelia back to England. Then, a letter arrives, warning that someone will kill him during the ball. During the ball, Riccardo tells Amelia that she and Renato will return to England, even though he still loves her. At that point, Renato stabs Riccardo. Riccardo tells him that he has respected Amelia's purity. Renato is grabbed by guards, but Riccardo pardons everyone involved in the conspiracy and dies.¹⁸⁵

Un Ballo in Maschera was originally censored in some states, because the plot involved the assassination of the head of state, a king. By locating the opera in Boston, and turning the king into a governor, this danger was partly eliminated. *Un Ballo in Maschera* became one of Verdi's most popular operas, though outperformed by *Rigoletto*, *il trovatore* and *La traviata*.¹⁸⁶ The opera is described as a 'masterpiece of variety, of the blending of stylistic elements.'¹⁸⁷ Performed in Reggio in 1875-76, this opera and the performance were approved of:

Che non sa che *Un Ballo in Maschera* è una delle opere più belle che si abbiano, un'opera [sic.] quasi perfetta, un vero modello d'opera? Che piacere poterla ascoltare sufficientemente eseguita! E noi, l'altra sera, abbiamo avuto questa fortuna, rara in questa stagione, anzi, dirò così, fenomenale. Un continuo applauso accompagnò il *Ballo in Maschera* dal principio alla fine, e ciascuno degli esecutori n' ebbe la parte sua.¹⁸⁸

Not stolen or an imitation, the opera was a model, an example for other works. *Un Ballo in Maschera* was a masterpiece in its own right and executed perfectly in Reggio. The individual

¹⁸⁵ Roger Parker, 'Ballo in Maschera, Un', in: Stanley Sadie, *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, 4 volumes (New York, 1992), I:295-298.

¹⁸⁶ Roger Parker, 'Ballo in Maschera, Un', I:295.

¹⁸⁷ Federhofer, 'Verdi, Giuseppe', 453.

¹⁸⁸ 'Who does not know that *Un Ballo in Maschera* is one of the most beautiful works that they have, an opera almost perfect, a true opera model? What a joy to listen to when sufficiently executed! And we, the other evening, have had this fortune, rare in this season, on the contrary, I will say, phenomenal. A continual applause accompanied the *Ballo in Maschera* from the start to the end, and every of the performers had his own part.' In: 'Notizie d'Arti e Teatri – Teatro Municipale', *L'Italia Centrale* (22 January 1876), 3.

artists were equally praised. Giorgio D'Antonio was a magnificent Riccardo and all his parts were applauded, as were the songs by Gaetano Carbone, performing the part of Renato.¹⁸⁹

During the Carnival season of 1882-84 the opera was not received as warmly: '[i]l *Ballo in Maschera*, immaturo per alcuni artisti, improprio ai loro mezzi vocali per altri, ebbe ieri sera un esito infelice e terminò tra, solenni disapprovazioni.'¹⁹⁰ Some of the artists were not suited for the play and although some parts were applauded, overall it was ill-received. Before the second performance, the singer performing the part of Riccardo was replaced by Achille Corsi. Clearly the second performance was much better and the singers were much more confident: 'la signora Makaroff si mostrò più sicura nella sua parte ed ottenne applausi ben meritati nella sua aria, nei duetti col tenore e col baritono e nella scena finale.'¹⁹¹ Some parts were however still shaky, but the critic had confidence that under the guidance of the current director, this would improve.

Not a word is spoken about Verdi's *Italianità*, which is ever present with regard to the non-Italian composers, although in varying degrees. Verdi was the musical symbol – the bard – of the Risorgimento and he had an important role in the post-unification narrative, as already described in the first chapter of this thesis. In Reggio's opera house this was confirmed by the fact that his operas were also by far the most performed overall.¹⁹² The fact that Verdi was born on Italian soil also made it unnecessary to confirm him as being Italian. Nevertheless, with just 27 performances, *Un Ballo in Maschera* was the last of the most performed operas in Reggio.

¹⁸⁹ 'Notizie d'Arti e Teatri – Teatro Municipale', *L'Italia Centrale* (22 January 1876), 3.

¹⁹⁰ 'Teatro Municipale', *L'Italia Centrale* (19 January 1883), 3.

¹⁹¹ 'Miss Makaraff shows herself much more confident in her part and received well-deserved applause for her aria, the duets with tenor and with baritone and during the final scene.' In: 'Teatro Municipale', *L'Italia Centrale* (22 January 1883), 3.

¹⁹² Degani, and Grotti, *Teatro Municipale di Reggio Emilia*, II: 90-136.

Conclusion

It seems as if the focus of these last pages has been more on the *Italianità* of the composers and their work and less on the position of the narrative of Reggio in comparison to the master narrative. Let's now return to the latter by answering the question that was formulated in the beginning: how did the narrative of the cultural elite of Reggio Emilia relate to the master narrative as presented in the cultural policy of the Italian nation-state and how was the narrative's reception between 1875 and 1885? The question was split into two parts. The first step was to figure out who the elite was and how they decided on the city's cultural policy. The second part was on the operas and its reception.

When it comes to the first part of these questions, it has been demonstrated that Reggio was considered a stronghold of Italian liberalism, with moderate *ex patrioti* at the helm. Some members of the municipal council were involved in agriculture or active in an interest group, like the *Consorzio Agraria*. Then there were the leisure clubs like the *Società del Casino*, an elitist group that played a significant role in the city's cultural image. This club was physically connected to the opera house and also hosted musical performances. Enrico Terrachini, Prospero Liberati, Domenico Nobili, Francesco and Marco Gheradini and many others, were active in these various economic, political and cultural institutions. Thus, the economic, political and cultural elite was to a high extent interconnected. Some men from this elite also owned boxes in the *Teatro Municipale*. Around 30% of these box owners had a noble title and the largest group was part of the bourgeoisie, which also included members of the Jewish community. Individuals owned boxes in the theatre to show their (hierarchical) position in the local society.

Through opera these box owners were also able to express a collective position in society, because together they could to some extent influence which operas were performed during an opera season. It is nevertheless still too early to fully establish how far the influence on the program reached or to what extent the box owners were in agreement on what was to be performed. It can, for example, be distilled from one season that a large group of box owners were unwilling to pay their fee – the reason for which is unclear. Nevertheless, the operas of that season were still performed, be it with less artists. The municipal council also had an important say in this respect. Through either increasing or decreasing the *dote* the council was able to maintain a particular cultural policy, backing certain operas more than others. Concrete backing however requires more investigation into the actual amounts that were transferred. Even so, the establishment of the radical-socialist government in 1889 and the abolition of the municipal *dote* makes clear that opera was indeed an important signature

of the city's elite. The status quo had changed and opera was not the means of expression of this new elite. As a result, Reggio's identity was readjusted to the city's new cultural policy, in accordance with the rise of socialism.

Focussing on the second part of the questions – the operas that were performed in the *Teatro Municipale* and the reception of these operas – it must be concluded that, first of all, these operas were performed on all the major European stages. Secondly, the five most performed operas, which were selected for further research (*La Favorita*, *Faust*, *Roberto il Diavolo*, *Il Guarany* and *Un Ballo in Maschera*) were mostly judged on the merits of the performers, not on the composer's virtue, such becomes clear from an analysis of the commentary on these operas in *L'Italia Centrale*. From these reviews, it is known that visitors actively engaged in performances through scorns, cries or applause and that even some of the singers were local stars – think of Eugenio Vicini, Giuseppina Caruzzi Bedogni and Leopoldo Borgioli. The impresario also had an important position that could make or break a season, which likewise hinged on the pre-arranged contracts with the municipal council.

La Favorita and *Un Ballo in Maschera* were created by Italian composers, but do not carry the mark of being nationalistic, because they were not 'patriotic' operas, like Verdi's *Nabucco* or *La Battaglia di Legnano*. What is more, three out of the five most performed works came from non-Italian composers. These composers – Gounod, Meyerbeer and to a lesser extent, Gomes – were scrutinized in *L'Italia Centrale* because of their foreign descent. Sorba pointed in the direction of an obsession with Italianising music, and in the reviews of *L'Italia Centrale* these works and their composers were perceived as influenced by Italians. No words of the sort are written about either Donizetti or Verdi, who's *Italianità* were not doubted. It is unclear to what extent it was intended by the impresario, the box owners and the municipal council to stage non-Italian composers as an expression of a counter narrative. The fact that these operas were perceived as Italianised, rather gives the impression of the opposite.

Nevertheless, Reggio's identity was not solely built upon a master narrative framework, but also by actively engaging with the surrounding area. Reggio was elevated to the position of provincial capital and thereby gained a position different from, for example, Modena and Parma. Reggio's promotion was confirmed by the fact that the prefecture housed in the city, but was also expressed culturally. The theatre was an important site for formulating this cultural self-image, as the 1877 performance of Meyerbeer's *Roberto il Diavolo* did. From near and far people had to come – and did come – to see the opera performed, the city's pride.

Sometimes, the direct expression of ‘memory’ played a role in the commentary of a performance. When discussing *La Favorita*, for example, the author of the review pointed to the opera’s performance history. It was around this recollection of past events, repeated re-enactments that became components of the audiences’ life, that part of the identity of Reggio was built. The collective memory functioned as a framework for individual recollections that was confirmed in the audience’s collective response to an opera.

To conclude, Reggio’s cultural elite seems to have been in a conflicting position when it comes to opera. The *Teatro Municipale* joined in the large circulation of European operas from both Italian and non-Italian composers. The fixation with Italianising the latter and their work was a sure pre-condition. A reference to the master narrative was not made explicitly, but by expressing what was and what was not Italian the local press gave shape to the narrative. Reggio’s opera did not follow the path of Italian heroism and bravery expressed through the icons of Garibaldi and Vittorio, nor the sacrifice for the fatherland. It was simply unspoken when something was Italian or from Italian soul. This ‘something unspoken’ fits the basic premises of the master narrative of the Liberal Italian State, seeing the Italian nation as natural. Nevertheless, it was neither xenophobia, nor cosmopolitanism that moved the city, but the active engagement with the wider world, whilst keeping a sense of self.

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Appendix

Appendix 1: Box owners of the Teatro Municipale (1875-1885)

Season: Carnaval 1874-75

Order	Number	Full name
1	P (1.1)	Cav. Luigi Ferrari Corbelli
1	1	Avv. Cav. Giovanni Fiastrì
1	2	Ing. Giuseppe Cugini
1	3	Casa Re
1	4	Conte Corrado Palazzi
1	5	Conte Giacomo Prini
1	6	Attilio Gazzoli
1	7	Conte Prospero Liberati Tagliaferri
1	8	Conte Olimpio Cassoli
1	9	Conte Gherardo Malaguzzi
1	10	Dott. Eugenio Riva
1	11	Marchese Marco Gherardini
1	12	Conte Luigi Ferrari Corbelli
1	13	Porta d'ingressa
1	14	Porta d'ingressa
1	15	Conte Luigi Ancini
1	16	Conte Tiberio Villani
1	17	Dott. Antonio Viappiani
1	18	Eredi Chiaffi
1	19	Dott. Cesare Terrachini
1	20	Eredi Bergianti
1	21	Conte Domenico Sidoli
1	22	Ing. Massimo Davalli
1	23	Orazio Toschi
1	24	Eredi Viganò

Order	Number	Full name
1	25	Vincenzo Linari
1	26	Conte Fratelli Spaletti
1	P (1.2)	Direzione degli spettacoli
2	P (2.1)	Fratelli Bennizzi
2	1	Lucca Tirelli
2	2	Marchese Grimaldo Malaspino
2	3	Dott. Paolo Russini
2	4	Conte Franco Guicciardi
2	5	Fratelli Terrani/Ferrari
2	6	Conte Carlo Calisi
2	7	Conte Prospero Cassoli
2	8	Dott. Flavio Spadoni
2	9	Dott. Giovanni Sidoli
2	10	Conte Fratelli Spaletti
2	11	Cav. Amadio Levi
2	12	Ing. Luigi Davoli
2	13	Palco Di S.M.
2	14	Palco Di S.M.
2	15	Avv. Antonio Bedogni
2	16	Fratelli Liuzzi
2	17	Conte Spaletti
2	18	Cav. Luigi Sforza
2	19	Teresa Spaletti Trivella
2	20	Conte Enrico Rangone
2	21	Giovanni Dall'ara

Order	Number	Full name
2	22	Conte Antonio Vezzani
2	23	Eredi Cabbrietti
2	24	Ing. ... Maffei
2	25	Prospero Diana
2	26	Prefettura
2	P (2.2)	Municipale
3	P (3.1)	Avv. Giuseppe Cuppini e soci
3	1	Ernesto Duchi
3	2	Municipale
3	3	Augusto Levi
3	4	Fratelli Liuzzi
3	5	Isaia Rabbeno
3	6	Pubblica Sicurezza
3	7	Segretario Municipale
3	8	Ing. Franco Cartegano
3	9	Benedetto Tedeschi
3	10	Cevidalli e Sanguinetti
3	11	Giulio Carmi
3	12	Fratelli Baroni
3	13	Palco di S.M.
3	14	Palco di S.M.
3	15	Benedetto Tedeschi
3	16	Salonome Levi
3	17	Conte e Dott. Federico Ferri
3	18	Fratelli Livi
3	19	Cav. Amadio Levi

Order	Number	Full name
3	20	Gioachino Tedeschi
3	21	Giacomo Soliani
3	22	Lelio Tedeschi
3	23	Salomone Ravà
3	24	Ing. ... Carmi
3	25	Ing. ... Modena
3	26	Cav. Domenico Nobili e Soci
3	P (3.2)	Cav. Domenico Nobili e Soci
4	P (4.1)	Gaetano Predelli e soci
4	1	Gaetano Predelli e soci
4	2	Fratelli Fontana
4	3	Municipale
4	4	Giuseppe Bezzi E soci
4	5	Achille Tedeschi
4	6	Luigi Barbieri
4	7	Erudi Franceschini
4	8	Prospero Vergnani
4	9	Giovanni Toschi
4	10	Eredi Mazzoli
4	11	Eredi Bottazzi
4	12	Municipale
4	13	Municipale
4	14	Municipale
4	15	Municipale
4	16	Basilio Gradellini

Order	Number	Full name
4	17	Dott. Gian Paolo Zannoni e soci
4	18	Erudi e Antonio Prompolini
4	19	Andrea Ponti
4	20	Antonio Fantuzzi
4	21	Costante Ferrari
4	22	Municipale

Order	Number	Full name
4	23	Filippo Sangutzetti e soci
4	24	Filippo Sangutzetti e soci
4	25	Moisè Levi fu Simone
4	26	Moisè Levi fu Simone
4	P (4.2)	Vincenzo Zamboni

Source: ASRE, ATV, I.17 RISPC, ISPA Anno 1874 al 1877, Signori Proprietari dei Palchi e relativo Canone N°30 Rappresentazione Carnevale 1874=75.

Some names were illegible, dots have been added in its place.

Some titles have been abbreviated

- Avv: Avvocato (lawyer)
- Dott: Dottore (doctor)
- Ing: Ingegnere (engineer)
- Ev is an unknown abbreviation.

Season Fiera 1877

Order	Number	Full name
1	P (1.1)	Conte Luigi Ferrari Corbelli
1	1	Conte e Avv. Giovanni Fiastri
1	2	Enrico Cugini
1	3	Conte Marco Cassoli
1	4	Conte Corrado Palazzi
1	5	Conte Giacomo Prini
1	6	Attilio Gazzoli
1	7	Conte Prospero Liberati
1	8	Conte Olimpio Cassoli
1	9	Conte Gherando Malaguzzi
1	10	Dott. Eugenio Riva
1	11	Marchese Marco Gherardini
1	12	Conte Luigi Ferrari Corbelli
1	13	Porta d'ingressa
1	14	Porta d'ingressa
1	15	Conte Luigi Ancini
1	16	Conte Anna Villani
1	17	Dott. Antonio Viappiani
1	18	Carlo Chiaffi
1	19	Dott. Cesare Terrachini
1	20	Annelto Bergianti
1	21	Conte Domenico Sidoli
1	22	Ing. Massimo Davalli
1	23	Orazio Toschi
1	24	Eredi Viganò

Order	Number	Full name
1	25	Vincenzo Linari
1	26	Conte Fratelli Spaletti
1	P (1.2)	Direzione degli spettacoli
2	P (2.1)	Fratelli Bennizzi
2	1	Lucca Tirelli
2	2	Marchese Francesco Malaspino
2	3	Cavollino Russini
2	4	Conte ... Guicciardi
2	5	Fratelli Ferrari
2	6	Conte Carlo Calisi
2	7	Conte Enrole Cassoli
2	8	Dott. Flavio Spadoni
2	9	Dott. Giovanni Sidoli
2	10	Avv. Giuseppe Bongiovanni
2	11	Ev. Fratelli Levi
2	12	Ing. Luigi Davoli
2	13	Palco Di S.M.
2	14	Palco Di S.M.
2	15	Avv. Antonio Bedogni
2	16	... Liuzzi
2	17	Conte Fratelli Spaletti
2	18	Conte Luigi Sforza
2	19	Teresa Spaletti Trivella
2	20	Conte Enrico Rangone
2	21	Giovanni Dall'ara

Order	Number	Full name
2	22	Conte Antonio Vezzani
2	23	Eredi Cabbrietti
2	24	Ing. ... Maffei
2	25	Prospero Diana
2	26	Prefettura
2	P (2.2)	Municipale
3	P (3.1)	Avv. Giuseppe Cuppini e soci
3	1	Ernesto Duchi
3	2	Municipale
3	3	Augusto Levi
3	4	Cizmi Liuzzi
3	5	Isaia Rabbeno
3	6	Pubblica Sicurezza
3	7	Segretario Municipale
3	8	Ing. Franco Cartegano
3	9	Benedetto Tedeschi
3	10	Filippo Sanguinetti
3	11	Giulio Carmi
3	12	Conte Vincenzo Baroni
3	13	Palco di S.M.
3	14	Palco di S.M.
3	15	Benedetto Tedeschi
3	16	Salonome Levi
3	17	Conte e Dott. Federico Ferri e soci
3	18	Fratelli Livi
3	19	Ev. Fratelli Levi

Order	Number	Full name
3	20	Gioachino Tedeschi
3	21	Giacomo Soliani
3	22	Lelio Tedeschi
3	23	Salomone Ravà
3	24	Fratelli Carmi
3	25	... Modena
3	26	Conte Domenico Nobili e Soci
3	P (3.2)	Conte Domenico Nobili e Soci
4	P (4.1)	Gaetano Predelli e soci
4	1	Gaetano Predelli e soci
4	2	Fratelli Fontana
4	3	Municipale
4	4	Giuseppe Bezzi E soci
4	5	Giuseppe Olliva
4	6	Luigi Barbieri
4	7	Erudi Franceschini
4	8	Dott. ... Vergnani
4	9	Giovanni Toschi
4	10	Eredi Mazzoli
4	11	Dott. Marco Bottazzi
4	12	Municipale
4	13	Municipale
4	14	Municipale
4	15	Municipale
4	16	Angelo De Simoni
4	17	Dott. Gian Paolo Zannoni e soci

Order	Number	Full name
4	18	Conte Erudi e Antonio Prompolini
4	19	Andrea Ponti
4	20	Antonio Fantuzzi
4	21	Conte Costante Ferrari
4	22	Municipale

Order	Number	Full name
4	23	... Levi e soci
4	24	... Levi e soci
4	25	Moisè Levi fu Simone
4	26	Moisè Levi fu Simone
4	P (4.2)	Vincenzo Zamboni

Source: ASRE, ATV, I.17 RISPC, ISPA Anno 1874 al 1877, Signori Proprietari dei Palchi e relativo Canone per N°18. Rappresentazioni Stagione di Fiera 1877.

Some names were illegible, dots have been added in its place.

Some titles have been abbreviated

- Avv: Avvocato (lawyer)
- Dott: Dottore (doctor)
- Ing: Ingegnere (engineer)
- Ev is an unknown abbreviation.

Season: Carnaval 1880-81

Order	Number	Full name
1	P (1.1)	Cav. Luigi Ferrari Corbelli
1	1	Conte e avv. Giovanni Fiastrì
1	2	Enrico Cugini
1	3	Conte Marco Cassoli
1	4	Conte Corrado Palazzi
1	5	Conte Giacomo Prini
1	6	Attilio Gazzoli
1	7	Conte Prospero Liberati
1	8	Conte Olimpio Cassoli
1	9	Conte Gherando Malaguzzi
1	10	Dott. Eugenio Riva
1	11	Marchese Marco Gherardini
1	12	Conte Luigi Ferrari Corbelli
1	13	Porta d'ingressa
1	14	Porta d'ingressa
1	15	Conte Luigi Ancini
1	16	Anna Villani
1	17	Eredi fu dott. Antonio Viappiani
1	18	Carlo Chiaffi
1	19	Dott. Cesare Terrachini
1	20	Avv. Annelto Spadoni
1	21	Luigi Monzani
1	22	Ing. Claudio Davalli
1	23	Orazio Toschi
1	24	Fratelli Viganò

Order	Number	Full name
1	25	Vincenzo Linari
1	26	Conte Fratelli Spaletti
1	P (1.2)	Direzione degli spettacoli
2	P (2.1)	Fratelli Bennizzi
2	1	Lucca Tirelli
2	2	Marchese Francesco Malaspino
2	3	Cavollino Russini
2	4	Avv. Giuseppe Montblanc
2	5	Fratelli Terrani/Ferrari
2	6	Conte Carlo Calisi
2	7	Conte Enrole Cassoli
2	8	Dott. Flavio Spadoni
2	9	Dott. Giovanni Sidoli
2	10	Dott. Giuseppe Bongiovanni
2	11	Ev. Fratelli Levi
2	12	Conte. Ing. Luigi Davoli
2	13	Palco Di S.M.
2	14	Palco Di S.M.
2	15	Avv. Antonio Bedogni
2	16	Augusto Liuzzi
2	17	Conte Fratelli Spaletti
2	18	Conte Luigi Sforza
2	19	Teresa Spaletti Trivella
2	20	Conte Enrico Rangone
2	21	Giovanni Dall'ara

Order	Number	Full name
2	22	Conte Alessandro Vezzani
2	23	Eredi Cabbrietti
2	24	Ing. ... Maffei
2	25	Prospero Diana
2	26	Prefettura
2	P (2.2)	Municipale
3	P (3.1)	Conte e avv. Giuseppe Cuppini
3	1	Eredi Duchi
3	2	Municipale
3	3	Guglielmo Ottolenghi
3	4	Augusto Liuzzi
3	5	Isaia Rabbeno
3	6	Pubblica Sicurezza
3	7	Segretario Municipale
3	8	Ferdinando Valcavi
3	9	Benedetto Tedeschi
3	10	Eredi Sanguinetti fu Filippo
3	11	Giulio Carmi
3	12	Conte Vincenzo Baroni
3	13	Palco di S.M.
3	14	Palco di S.M.
3	15	Benedetto Tedeschi
3	16	Salonome Levi
3	17	Conte e avv. Federico Ferri
3	18	Fratelli Livi
3	19	Ev. Fratelli Levi

Order	Number	Full name
3	20	Gioachino Tedeschi
3	21	Giacomo Soliani
3	22	Lelio Tedeschi
3	23	Salomone Ravà
3	24	... Carmi
3	25	... Modena
3	26	Conte Domenico Nobili e Soci
3	P (3.2)	Conte Domenico Nobili e Soci
4	P (4.1)	Gaetano Predelli e soci
4	1	Gaetano Predelli e soci
4	2	Fratelli Fontana
4	3	Municipale
4	4	Giuseppe Bezzi E soci
4	5	Giuseppe Olliva
4	6	Luigi Barbieri
4	7	Erudi Franceschini
4	8	Dott. Fausto Vergnani
4	9	Giovanni Toschi
4	10	Eredi Mazzoli
4	11	Marco Bottazzi
4	12	Municipale
4	13	Municipale
4	14	Municipale
4	15	Municipale
4	16	Angelo De Simoni
4	17	Dott. Gian Paolo Zannoni e soci

Order	Number	Full name
4	18	Conte e Bw. Luigi Prampolini
4	19	Andrea Ponti
4	20	Antonio Fantuzzi
4	21	Eredi Ferrari fu Costante
4	22	Municipale

Order	Number	Full name
4	23	... Levi e soci
4	24	... Levi e soci
4	25	Moisè Levi fu Simone
4	26	Moisè Levi fu Simone
4	P (4.2)	Vincenzo Zamboni

Source: ASRE, ATV, I.17 RISPC, ISPA, Anno 1878 al 1885. Signori Proprietari dei Palchi e relativo Canone per N°30. Rappresentazioni d'opere serie impresa sociale Carnovale 1880-81.

Some names were illegible, dotes have been added in its place.

Some titles have been abbreviated

- Avv: Avvocato (lawyer)
- Dott: Dottore (doctor)
- Ing: Ingegnere (engineer)
- Ev is an unknown abbreviation.

Season: Carnaval 1882-83

Order	Number	Full name
1	P (1.1)	Conte Luigi Ferrari Corbelli
1	1	Conte e avvocato Giovanni Fiastri
1	2	Enrico Cugini
1	3	Conte Marco Cassoli
1	4	Conte Corrado Palazzi
1	5	Conte Giacomo Prini
1	6	Attilio Gazzoli
1	7	Conte Prospero Liberati
1	8	Conte Olimpio Cassoli
1	9	Conte Gherando Malaguzzi
1	10	Dott. Eugenio Riva
1	11	Marchese Marco Gherardini
1	12	Conte Luigi Ferrari Corbelli
1	13	Porta d'ingressa
1	14	Porta d'ingressa
1	15	Conte Luigi Ancini
1	16	Anna Villani
1	17	Eredi Viappiani
1	18	Carlo Chiaffi
1	19	Conte e Dott. Cesare Terrachini
1	20	Annelto Advocati
1	21	Luigi Monzani
1	22	Pietro Tirelli
1	23	Orazio Toschi
1	24	Fratelli Viganò

Order	Number	Full name
1	25	Vincenzo Linari
1	26	Conte Fratelli Spaletti
1	P (1.2)	Direzione degli spettacoli
2	P (2.1)	Fratelli Bennizzi
2	1	Lucca Tirelli
2	2	Marchese Franco Malaspino Tarelco
2	3	Cavollino Russini
2	4	Conte e avv. Giuseppe Montblanc
2	5	Fratelli Terrani/Ferrari
2	6	Conte Carlo Calisi
2	7	Conte Nicola Cassoli
2	8	Dott. Flavio Spadoni
2	9	Dott. Giovanni Sidoli
2	10	Conte Fratelli Spaletti
2	11	Ev. Fratelli Levi
2	12	Conte e Ing. Luigi Davoli
2	13	Palco Reale
2	14	Palco Reale
2	15	... Tedeschi
2	16	Augusto Liuzzi
2	17	Conte Fratelli Spaletti
2	18	Conte Luigi Sforza
2	19	Teresa Spaletti Trivella
2	20	Conte Enrico Rangone
2	21	Giovanni Dall'ara

Order	Number	Full name
2	22	Conte Alessandro Vezzani
2	23	Conte Carlo ...
2	24	Ing. Pietro Maffei
2	25	Prospero Diana
2	26	Prefettura
2	P (2.2)	Municipale
3	P (3.1)	Conte e avv. Giuseppe Cuppini
3	1	Eredi Duchi
3	2	Municipale
3	3	Guglielmo Ottolenghi
3	4	Augusto Liuzzi
3	5	Isaia Rabbeno
3	6	Pubblica Sicurezza
3	7	Segretario Municipale
3	8	Ferdinando Valcavi
3	9	Benedetto Tedeschi
3	10	Simone Carducci
3	11	Giulio Carmi
3	12	Conte Vincenzo Baroni
3	13	Palco Reale
3	14	Palco Reale
3	15	Benedetto Tedeschi
3	16	Salonome Levi
3	17	Conte e avv. Federico Ferri
3	18	Fratelli Livi
3	19	ev. Fratelli Levi

Order	Number	Full name
3	20	Gioachino Tedeschi
3	21	Giacomo Soliani
3	22	Lelio Tedeschi
3	23	Salomone Ravà
3	24	... Carmi
3	25	... Modena
3	26	Cav. Domenico Nobili e Soci
3	P (3.2)	Cav. Domenico Nobili e Soci
4	P (4.1)	Gaetano Predelli
4	1	Gaetano Predelli
4	2	Fratelli Fontana
4	3	Municipale
4	4	Giuseppe Bezzi E soci
4	5	Giuseppe Olliva
4	6	Luigi Barbieri
4	7	Erudi Franceschini
4	8	D. Fausto Vergnani
4	9	Giovanni Toschi
4	10	Eredi Mazzoli
4	11	Marco Bottazzi
4	12	Municipale
4	13	Municipale
4	14	Municipale
4	15	Municipale
4	16	Angelo De Simoni
4	17	Dott. Gian Paolo Zannoni e soci

Order	Number	Full name
4	18	Conte e Bw. Luigi Prampolini
4	19	Andrea Ponti
4	20	Antonio Fantuzzi
4	21	... Ferrari fu Costante
4	22	Municipale

Order	Number	Full name
4	23	Eredi Levi fu ...
4	24	Eredi Levi fu ...
4	25	Moisè Levi fu Simone
4	26	Moisè Levi fu Simone
4	P (4.2)	Vincenzo Zamboni

Source: ASRE, ATV, I.17 RISPC, ISPA, Anno 1878 al 1885. Signori Proprietari dei Palchi e relativo Canone per N°26. Rappresentazioni Carnevale 1882=1883.

Some names were illegible, dots have been added in its place.

Some titles have been abbreviated

- Avv: Avvocato (lawyer)
- Dott: Dottore (doctor)
- Ing: Ingegnere (engineer)
- Ev is an unknown abbreviation.

Season 1884-85

Order	Number	Full name
1	P (1.1)	Conte Alfonso Ferrari Corbelli
1	1	Eredi Fiastri
1	2	Enrico Cugini
1	3	Conte Francesco Cassoli
1	4	Conte Corrado Palazzi
1	5	Conte Giacomo Prini
1	6	Attilio Gazzoli
1	7	Conte Prospero Liberati
1	8	Conte Olimpio Cassoli
1	9	Conte Gherando Malaguzzi
1	10	Dott. Eugenio Riva
1	11	Marchese Francesco Gherardini
1	12	Conte Leone Ferrari Corbelli
1	13	Porta d'ingressa
1	14	Porta d'ingressa
1	15	Conte Giovanni Manodovi
1	16	Anna Villani
1	17	Eredi Viappiani
1	18	Carlo Chiaffi
1	19	Conte e Dott. Cesare Terrachini
1	20	D. Luigi Spadoni
1	21	Luigi Monzani
1	22	Pietro Tirelli
1	23	Orazio Toschi
1	24	Fratelli Viganò

Order	Number	Full name
1	25	Guglielmo Linari
1	26	Conte Fratelli Spaletti
1	P (1.2)	Direzione degli spettacoli
2	P (2.1)	Fratelli Bennizzi
2	1	Lucca Tirelli
2	2	Marchese Francesco Malaspino
2	3	Cavol... Russini
2	4	Avv. Giuseppe Montblanc
2	5	Fratelli Terrani/Ferrari
2	6	Conte Carlo Calisi
2	7	Conte Nicola Cassoli
2	8	Dott. Flavio Spadoni
2	9	Dott. Giovanni Sidoli
2	10	Conte Fratelli Spaletti
2	11	Ev. Fratelli Levi
2	12	Conte. Ing. Luigi Davoli
2	13	Palco Reale
2	14	Palco Reale
2	15	... Tedeschi
2	16	Augusto Liuzzi
2	17	Conte Fratelli Spaletti
2	18	Conte Luigi Sforza
2	19	Teresa Spaletti Trivella
2	20	Conte Enrico Rangone
2	21	Giovanni Dall'ara

Order	Number	Full name
2	22	Conte Alessandro Vezzani
2	23	Conte Carlo Sormani ...
2	24	Ing. Pietro Maffei
2	25	Prospero Diana
2	26	Prefettura
2	P (2.2)	Municipale
3	P (3.1)	Conte e avv. Giuseppe Cuppini
3	1	Eredi Duchi
3	2	Municipale
3	3	Guglielmo Ottolenghi
3	4	Augusto Liuzzi
3	5	Isaia Rabbeno
3	6	Pubblica Sicurezza
3	7	Segretario Municipale
3	8	Ferdinando Valcavi
3	9	Eredi Tedeschi fu Benedetto
3	10	Simone Carducci
3	11	Giulio Carmi
3	12	Conte Vincenzo Baroni
3	13	Palco Reale
3	14	Palco Reale
3	15	Eredi Tedeschi fu Benedetto
3	16	Salonome Levi
3	17	Conte e avv. Federico Ferri
3	18	Fratelli Livi
3	19	ev. Fratelli Levi

Order	Number	Full name
3	20	Gioachino Tedeschi
3	21	Giacomo Soliani
3	22	Lelio Tedeschi
3	23	... Ravà fu Salomone
3	24	... Carmi fu Isaia
3	25	... Modena fu B...
3	26	Fratelli Nobili e soci
3	P (3.2)	Avv. ... maviow... e soci
4	P (4.1)	Gaetano Predelli
4	1	Sudetto
4	2	Fratelli Fontana
4	3	Municipale
4	4	Giuseppe Bezzi E soci
4	5	Giuseppe Olliva
4	6	Luigi Barbieri
4	7	Erudi Franceschini
4	8	D. Fausto Vergnani
4	9	Giovanni Toschi
4	10	Eredi Mazzoli fu gio(vanni?)
4	11	D. Francesco Bottazzi
4	12	Municipale
4	13	Municipale
4	14	Municipale
4	15	Municipale
4	16	Angelo De Simoni
4	17	Dott. Gian Paolo Zannoni e soci

Order	Number	Full name
4	18	Conte e Bw. Luigi Prampolini
4	19	Andrea Ponti
4	20	Antonio Fantuzzi
4	21 Fu Conte Constante
4	22	Municipale
4	23	Eredi Levi fu ...

Order	Number	Full name
4	24	Eredi Levi fu ...
4	25	Moisè Levi fu Simone
4	26	Moisè Levi fu Simone
4	P (4.2)	Vincenzo Zamboni

Source: ASRE, ATV, I.17 RISPC, ISPA, Anno 1878 al 1885. Signori Proprietari dei Palchi e relativo Canone per N°28. Rappresentazioni Carnevale 1884=85.

Some names were illegible, dotes have been added in its place.

Some titles have been abbreviated

- Avv: Avvocato (lawyer)
- Dott: Dottore (doctor)
- Ing: Ingegnere (engineer)
- Ev is an unknown abbreviation.

Appendix 2: Opera's performed at the *Teatro Municipale* (1875-1885)

Opera's per season with information on composer, conductor, number of performances and the impresario.

Season	Opera	Composer	Conductor	Number of performances	Impresario
Carnaval 1874-75	Faust	C. Gounod	Achille Peri	16	Trevisan
Carnaval 1874-75	Jone	E. Petrella	Achille Peri	12	Trevisan
Carnaval 1874-75	Amore e vendetta	E. Marchio	Achille Peri	3	Trevisan
Carnaval 1875-76	Ruy Blas	F. Marchetti	Achille Peri	13	Conte De Franchis
Carnaval 1875-76	Un Ballo in Maschera	G. Verdi	Achille Peri	19	Conte De Franchis
Carnaval 1875-76	Maria di Rohan	G. Donizetti	Achille Peri	2	Conte De Franchis
Carnaval 1875-76	Il Trovatore	G. Verdi	Achille Peri	5	Conte De Franchis
Fiera 1876	Poliuto	G. Donizetti	Giuseppe Grisanti	8	Filippo Moreno
Fiera 1876	Norma	V. Bellini	Giuseppe Grisanti	6	Filippo Moreno
Fiera 1876	Cuor di Marinaro	C. Sessa	Giuseppe Grisanti	3	Filippo Moreno
D'estate 1876	La Forza del Destino	G. Verdi	Achille Peri *	11	Pietro Vianelli
Carnaval 1876-77	La Favorita	G. Donizetti	Achille Peri *	15	Giovanni Bolelli
Carnaval 1876-77	Rigoletto	G. Verdi	Achille Peri *	6	Giovanni Bolelli
Carnaval 1876-77	Lucia di Lammermoor	G. Donizetti	Achille Peri *	8	Giovanni Bolelli
Fiera 1877	Roberto il Diavolo	G. Meyerbeer	Emilio Usiglio	14	Filippo Moreno
Fiera 1877	Maria Menzikoff	F. Ferrari	Emilio Usiglio	4	Filippo Moreno
Carnaval 1877-78	Ernani	G. Verdi	Luigi Kyntherland	14	G. Ferreira Da Veiga
Carnaval 1877-78	Il Mercante di Venezia	C. Pinsuti	Luigi Kyntherland	6	G. Ferreira Da Veiga
Carnaval 1877-78	La Traviata	G. Verdi	Luigi Kyntherland	10	G. Ferreira Da Veiga
Carnaval 1877-78	Lucrezia Borgia	G. Donizetti	Luigi Kyntherland	1	G. Ferreira Da Veiga
Carnaval 1878-79	Il Guarany	C. A. Gomes	Giuseppe Galeazzo Galeazzi	20	Oreste Bosi
Carnaval 1878-79	Lucia di Lammermoor	G. Donizetti	Giuseppe Galeazzo Galeazzi	8	Oreste Bosi
Carnaval 1878-79	I Due Foscari	G. Verdi	Giuseppe Galeazzo Galeazzi	8	Oreste Bosi
Primavera 1879	Stabat mater	G. Rossini	L. Mantovani	-	-
Carnaval 1879-80	Nabucodonosor (Nabucco)	G. Verdi	Gaetano Cimini	17	Cesare Trevisan

Season	Opera	Composer	Conductor	Number of performances	Impresario
Carnaval 1879-80	Rigoletto	G. Verdi	Gaetano Cimini	6	Cesare Trevisan
Carnaval 1879-80	La Sonnambula	V. Bellini	Gaetano Cimini	3	Cesare Trevisan
Carnaval 1880-81	Jone	E. Petrella	Eduardo Furno	11	
Carnaval 1880-81	I Lombardi Alla Prima Crociata	G. Verdi	Eduardo Furno	10	Sociale Reggiana
Carnaval 1880-81	Saffo	G. Pacini	Eduardo Furno	9	Sociale Reggiana
Fiera 1881	La Favorita	G. Donizetti	Alfonso Focillo	12	Enrico Caracciolo
Fiera 1881	Giorgione	G. Magnanini	Alfonso Focillo	4	Enrico Caracciolo
Carnaval 1881-2	Faust	C. Gounod	Alfonso Focillo	16	Enrico Caracciolo
Carnaval 1881-2	Ruy Blas	F. Marchetti	Alfonso Focillo	10	Enrico Caracciolo
Carnaval 1881-2	La Favorita	G. Donizetti	Alfonso Focillo	4	Enrico Caracciolo
Carnaval 1881-2	Il Conte di Chatillon	N. Massa	Alfonso Focillo	4	Enrico Caracciolo
Fiera 1882	I Puritani	V. Bellini	Ricardo Bonicioli	11	-
Carnaval 1882-83	L'Africana	G. Meyerbeer	Reginaldo Grazzini	16	Direzione Teatrale
Carnaval 1882-83	Un Ballo in Maschera	G. Verdi	Reginaldo Grazzini	8	Direzione Teatrale
Fiera 1883	Luisa Miller	G. Verdi	Luigi Lögheder	6	Ciro Fabbri
Carnaval 1883-84	Roberto il Diavolo	G. Meyerbeer	Manlio Bavagnoli	18	Augusto Gironacci
Carnaval 1883-84	Il Guarany	C. A. Gomes	Manlio Bavagnoli	13	Augusto Gironacci
Carnaval 1883-84	L'Ebreia	F. Halévy	Manlio Bavagnoli	10	Augusto Gironacci
Carnaval 1884-85	I Promessi Sposi	A. Ponchielli	Manlio Bavagnoli	6	Giuseppe Piontelli
Carnaval 1884-85	La Favorita	G. Donizetti	Manlio Bavagnoli	11	Giuseppe Piontelli
Carnaval 1884-85	La Fata del Nord	G. Zuelli	Manlio Bavagnoli	9	Giuseppe Piontelli
Carnaval 1884-85	Faust	C. Gounod	Manlio Bavagnoli	3	Giuseppe Piontelli

The Maestro Concentrato is also direttore d'orchestra, since Fiera 1876, unless mentioned otherwise.

* Not direttore d'orchestra

- No data available

Source: Giannino Degani and Mara Grotti, *Teatro Municipale di Reggio Emilia: Opere in Musica, 1857-1976* 3 Volumes (Reggio Emilia, 1976), II: 90-136.

Opera's per season and the singers

Season	Opera	Singers 1	Singer 2	Singer 3	Singer 4	Singer 5	Singer 6	Singer 7	Singer 8	Singer 9	Singer 10	Singer 11
Carnaval 1874-75	Faust	Federico Paccardi - Tenore - Il dottor Faust	Franco Novara - Basso - Mefistofele	Sabatino Cappelli - Baritono - Valentino	Michele Grassi - Basso - Wagner	Carolina Soverini - Soprano - Margherita	Giuseppi na Iones - Mezzosoprano - Siebel	Maria Ciarlini - Mezzosoprano - Marta				
Carnaval 1874-75	Jone	Sabatino Cappelli - Baritono - Abrace	Maria Luisa Swift - Soprano - Jone	Vincenzo Matteucci - Tenore - Glauco	Giuseppi na Iones - Mezzosoprano - Nidia	Franco Novara - Basso - Burbo	Michele Grassi - Basso - Sallustio	Felice Martinelli - Basso - Clodio	Angiola Pedrazzi - Soprano - Dirce			
Carnaval 1874-75	Amore e vendetta	Carolina Soverini - Soprano - Maria	Giuseppi na Iones - Mezzosoprano - Elena	Alessandro Boetti - Tenore - Piero	Sabatino Cappelli - Baritono - Luciano	Giuseppe Saccardi - Basso - Il Signor Gernonimo						
Carnaval 1875-76	Ruy Blas	Laura Bellini - Soprano - Maria de Neubourg	Gaetano Carbone - Baritono - Don Sallustio de Bazan	Giovanni Ferrari - Basso - Don Pedro de Guevarra	Felice Martinelli - Tenore - Don Ferdinando de Cordova	Severino Mazza - Basso - Don Guritano	Maria Ciarlini - Soprano - Donna Giovanna de la Gueva	Giuseppe Toni - Tenore - Don Manuel Arias	Giorgio D'Antonio - Tenore - Ruy Blas	Maria Bianchi Fiorio - Contralto - Casilda	Venceslao Peterlini - Basso - Un usciere	
Carnaval 1875-76	Un Ballo in Maschera	Giorgio D'Antonio - Tenore - Riccardo	Gaetano Carbone - Baritono - Renato	Rosina Marangoni Fiorentini - Soprano - Amelia	Maria Bianchi Fiorio - Contralto - Ulrica	Laura Bellini - Soprano - Oscar	Severino Mazza - Basso - Silvano	Felice Martinelli - Basso - Tom	Giovanni Ferrari - Tenore - Un giudice			
Carnaval 1875-76	Maria di Rohan	Anacleto Brunetti - Tenore -	Gaetano Carbone - Baritono	Laura Bellini - Soprano -	Maria Bianchi Fiorio -	Felice Martinelli - Basso	Giuseppe Toni - Basso -	Giovanni Ferrari - Tenore -				

Season	Opera	Singers 1	Singer 2	Singer 3	Singer 4	Singer 5	Singer 6	Singer 7	Singer 8	Singer 9	Singer 10	Singer 11
		Riccardo	- Enrico	Maria	Contralto - Armando	- Visconte di Suse	De Fiesque	Aubry				
Carnaval 1875-76	Il Trovatore	Severino Mazza - Baritono - Il conte di Luna	Rosa Fiorentini Marango ni - Soprano - Leonora	Maria Bianchi Fiori- Contralto - Azucena	Giorgio D'Antoni - Tenore - Manrico	Gaetano Carbone - Basso - Ferrando	Laura Bellini - Soprano - Ines	Alessandro Lamponi - Tenore - Ruiz				
Fiera 1876	Poliuto	Sabatino Cappelli - Baritono - Severo	Venceslao Peterlini - Basso - Felice	Antonio Franco - Tenore - Poliuto	Carlotta Bossi - Soprano - Paolina	Antonio Furlan - Basso - Callistene	Giovanni Ferrari - Basso - Nearco					
Fiera 1876	Norma	Antonio Franco - Tenore - Pollione	Antonio Furlan - Basso - Oroveso	Carlotta Bossi - Soprano - Norma	Flaminia Munari - Mezzosoprano - Adalgisa	Clenice Ciarlini - Mezzosoprano - Clotilde	Giovanni Ferrari - Tenore - Flavio					
Fiera 1876	Cuor di Marinaro	Carlotta Bossi - Soprano - Margherita	Sabatino Cappelli - Baritono - Corrado	Cleonice Ciarlini - Mezzosoprano - Nina	Antonio Franco - Tenore - Don Rodrigo de Vargas	Giovanni Ferrari - Basso - Stefano	Venceslao Peterlini - Basso - Gabriele					
D'estate 1876	La Forza del Destino	Clodoveo Bedogni - Basso - Il marchese di Calatrava	Erminia Borghi-Mamo - Soprano - Donna Leonora	Massimo Ciapini - Baritono - Don Carlo di Vargas	Augusto Celada - Tenore - Don Alvaro	Sara Barton - Mezzosoprano - Preziosilla	Angelo De Giuli - Basso - Il padre guardiano	Davide Maiocchi - Baritono - Fra Melitone	Vittoria Potentini - Soprano - Curra			
Carnaval	La	Leopoldo	Giulia	Ernesto	Giuseppe	Giovanni	Candida					

Season	Opera	Singers 1	Singer 2	Singer 3	Singer 4	Singer 5	Singer 6	Singer 7	Singer 8	Singer 9	Singer 10	Singer 11
1876-77	Favorita	Borgioli - Baritono - Alfonso XI	Soarez Tavazza - Soprano - Leonora di Gusman	Bonacich - Tenore - Fernando	Salvarani - Basso - Baldassarre	Bardi - Tenore - Don Gasparo	Botti Borgioli - Soprano - Ines					
Carnaval 1876-77	Rigoletto	Giuseppe De Sanctis - Tenore - Il duca di Mantova	Leopoldo Borgioli - Baritono - Rigoletto	Virginia Pozzi Ferrari - Soprano - Gilda	Giuseppe Salvarani - Basso - Sparafucile	Candida Botti Borgioli - Contralto - Maddalena	Ida Mussini - Mezzosoprano - Giovanna	Giovanni Bardi - Tenore - Matteo Borsa				
Carnaval 1876-77	Lucia di Lammermoor	Leopoldo Borgioli - Baritono - Sir Enrico Ashton	Virginia Pozzi Branzanti - Soprano - Miss Lucia	Giuliano Bardi - Tenore - Sir Edgardo di Ravenswood	Giuseppe Salvarani - Basso - Raimondo Bidebent	Ida Mussini - Mezzosoprano - Alisa						
Fiera 1877	Roberto il Diavolo	Gaetano Ortisi - Tenore - Roberto	Antonio Garcia - Basso - Bertram	Felice Martinelli - Basso - Alberti	Tolentino Villanova - Tenore - Rambaldo	Bianca Julienne Dejan - Soprano - Isabella	Albina Contarini - Soprano - Alice	Tomaso Modenesi - Basso - Araldo				
Fiera 1877	Maria Menzikoff	Placido Cabella - Baritono - Alessandro Menzikoff	Albina Contarini - Soprano - Maria	Gaetano Ortisi - Tenore - Fedor d'Olgorenko	Luigia Ciarlini - Soprano - Olga	Bianca Julienne Dejean - Soprano - Caterina I	Tolentino Villanova - Tenore - Un esiliato					

Season	Opera	Singers 1	Singer 2	Singer 3	Singer 4	Singer 5	Singer 6	Singer 7	Singer 8	Singer 9	Singer 10	Singer 11
Carnaval 1877-78	Ernani	Augusto Castelli - Tenore - Ernani	Giambattista Capocci - Baritono - Don Carlo	Giovanni Marchetti - Basso - Don Ruy Gomez de Silva	Anna Creny - Soprano - Elvira	Maria Ciarlini - Soprano - Giovanna	Antonio Prette - Basso - Don Riccardo	Felice Martinelli - Basso - Jago				
Carnaval 1877-78	Il Mercante di Venezia	Leonia Levielli Coloni - Soprano - Porzia	Augusto Castelli - Tenore - Bassanio	Giovan Battista Capocci - Baritono - Antonio	Giovanni Marchetti -Basso - Shylock	Maria Ciarlini - Soprano - Anna						
Carnaval 1877-78	La Traviata	Isabella De Escalante - Soprano - Violetta Valéry	Gabriella Rubini - Mezzosoprano - Flora Bervoix	Augusto Castelli - Tenore - Alfredo Germont	Giovani Battista Capocci - Baritono - Giorgio Germont	Antonio Prette - Tenore - Gastone						
Carnaval 1877-78	Lucrezia Borgia	Giovan Battista Capocci - Basso - Don Alfonso	Isabella De Escalante - Soprano - Lucrezia Borgia	Augusto Castelli - Tenore - Gennaro	Gabriella Rubini - Contralto - Maffio Orsini	Antonio Prette - Tenore - Jeppo Liverotto	Alessandro Ungarelli - Basso - Antonio Petrucci	Giuseppe Toni - Tenore - Oloferno Vitellozzo	Felice martinelli - Basso - Gubetta	Clemente Scannavino - Tenore - Rustighello		
Carnaval 1878-79	Il Guarany	Achille Rossi Castagnola - Basso - Don Antonio di Mariz	Giuseppina Caruzzi Bedogni - Soprano - Cecilia	Emilio Arrighi Misseri - Tenore - Pery	Attilo Parolini - Baritono - Gonzales							
Carnaval 1878-79	Lucia di Lammermoor	Alessandro	Giuseppina	Emilio Arrighi	Achille Rossi							

Season	Opera	Singers 1	Singer 2	Singer 3	Singer 4	Singer 5	Singer 6	Singer 7	Singer 8	Singer 9	Singer 10	Singer 11
	oor	Camarlinghi - Baritono - Lord Enrico Ashton	Caruzzi Bedogni - Soprano - Miss Lucia	Misseri - Tenore - Sir Edgardo di Ravenswood	Castagno la - Basso - Raimondo Bidebent							
Carnaval 1878-79	I Due Foscari	Alessandro Camarlinghi - Baritono - Francesco Foscari	Emilio Arrighi Misseri - Tenore - Jacopo Foscari	Giuseppina Caruzzi Bedogni - Soprano - Lucrezia Contarini								
Primavera 1879	Stabat mater	Anna Creny - Soprano	Giuseppina Levi - Contralto	Emilio Arrighi Misseri - Tenore	Leone Abulcher - Basso							
Carnaval 1879-80	Nabucodonosor (Nabucco)	Filippo Bertolini - Baritono - Nabucodonosor	Giovanni Paroli - Tenore - Ismaele	Cesare Melzi - Basso - Zaccaria	Lidia Drog - Soprano - Abigaille	Giannina Chastel - Soprano - Fenena	Cesare Collini - Basso - Il gran Sacerdote di Belo	Carlo Ragni - Tenore - Abdallo	Ida Mussini - Soprano - Anna			
Carnaval 1879-80	Rigoletto	Gerardo Del Castello - Tenore - Il duca di Mantova	Girogio Sweet - Baritono - Rigoletto	Evelina Alma Fohstrom - Soprano - Gilda	Cesare Melzi - Basso - Sparafucile	Giannina Chastel - Contralto - Maddalena	Ida Mussini - Mezzosoprano - Giovanna	Felice Martinelli - Baritono - Il cavaliere Marullo	Cesare Collini - Baritono - Il conte di Monterone	Giovanni Paroli - Tenore - Matteo Borsa	Ida Mussini - Mezzosoprano - La Contessa	Ida Mussini - Mezzosoprano - Un paggio
Carnaval 1879-80	La Sonnambula	Filippo Bertolini -	Ida Mussini -	Evelina Alma	Giovanni Paroli -	Ersilia Ancarani	Felice Martinelli	N. Toni - Tenore -				

Season	Opera	Singers 1	Singer 2	Singer 3	Singer 4	Singer 5	Singer 6	Singer 7	Singer 8	Singer 9	Singer 10	Singer 11
	Ia	Basso - Il conte Rodolfo	Mezzosoprano - Teresa	Fohstrom - Soprano Amina	Tenore - Elvino	- Soprano - Lisa	i - Basso - Alessio	Un notaio				
Carnaval 1880-81	Jone	Domenico Belardi - Baritono - Arbace	Emma Dotti - Soprano - Jone	Terenzio Rocchi - Moreschi - Tenore - Glaucio	Camilla Ghiotti - Mezzosoprano - Nidia	Giuseppe Galvani - Basso - Burbo	Felice Martinelli - Basso - Sallustio	Ida Mussini - Mezzosoprano - Dirce				
Carnaval 1880-81	I Lombardi Alla Prima Crociata	Luigdi Donati - Tenore - Arvino	Giuseppe Galvani - Basso - Pagano	Ida Mussini - Soprano - Viclinda	Maria Erba - Soprano - Giselda	Felice Martinelli - Basso - Pirro	Giuseppe Toni - Tenore - Il Priore di Milano	Felice Martinelli - Basso - Acciano	Terenzio Rocchi - Moreschi - Tenore - Oronte	Ida Mussini - Soprano - Sofia		
Carnaval 1880-81	Saffo	Domenico Belardi - Baritono - Alcandro	Camilla Ghiotti - Contralto - Climene	Emma Dotti - Soprano - Saffo	Terenzio Rocchi - Moreschi - Tenore - Faono	Ida Mussini - Soprano - Dirce	Giuseppe Galvani - Tenore - Ippia	Alfonso Garulli - Basso - Lisimaco				
Fiera 1881	La Favorita	Eugenio Aleni - Baritono - Alfonso XI	Luisa Marziali - Soprano - Leonora di Gusman	Eugenio Vicini - Tenore - Fernando	Antonio Bagagiolo - Basso - Baldassarre	Giovanni Ferrari - Tenore - Don Gasparo	Lucia Vitucci - Soprano - Ines					
Fiera 1881	Giorgione	Cesira Bacchiani - Contralto - Caterina Cornato	Maria Lubicci - Soprano - Fede	Eugenio Vicini - Tenore - Giorgio Barbarelli	Eugenio Aleni - Baritono - Piero Luzzo	Antonio Bagaiolo - Basso - Luciano Sebastian						
Carnaval 1881-2	Faust	Eugenio Vicini - Tenore - Il	Giovanni Tanzini - Basso -	Virgilio Blasi - Baritono	Emilio Grondona - Basso	Caterina Bottarelli - Soprano	Maria Pia - Mezzosoprano	Erminia Ghia - Mezzosoprano				

Season	Opera	Singers 1	Singer 2	Singer 3	Singer 4	Singer 5	Singer 6	Singer 7	Singer 8	Singer 9	Singer 10	Singer 11
		dottor Faust	Mefistofele	- Valentino	- Wagner	- Margherita	prano - Marta	prano - Marta				
Carnaval 1881-2	Ruy Blas	Fanny Visconti - Soprano - Maria de Neubourg	Virgilio Blasi - Baritono - Don Sallustio de Bazan	Emilio Grondona - Basso - Don Pedro de Guevarra	Giovan Battista Pizzolotti - Tenore - Don Ferdinando de Cordova	Giovanni Ghia - Basso - Don Guritano	Ida Mussini - Soprano - Donna Giovanna de la Gueva	Giuseppe Toni - Tenore - Don Manuel Arias	Eugenico Vicini - Tenore - Ruy Blas	Maria Pia - Contralto - Casilda	Prospero Geminella - Basso - Un usciere	
Carnaval 1881-2	La Favorita	Virgilio Blasi - Baritono - Alfonso XI	Laura Caracciolo Strozzi - Soprano - Leonora di Gusman	Eugenio Vicini - Tenore - Fernando	Giovanni Ghia - Basso - Baldassarre	Giovani Battista Pizzolotti - Tenore - Don Gasparo	Ida Mussini - Soprano - Ines					
Carnaval 1881-2	Il Conte di Chatillon	Eugenio Vicini - Tenore - Enrico	Maria Pia - Mezzosoprano - Alma	Giovanni Tanzini - Basso - Alberto	Caterina Bottarelli - Soprano - Amalia	Virgilio Blasi - Baritono - Carlo						
Fiera 1882	I Puritani	Cesare Baracchi - Basso - Lord Gualtiero Walton	Lodovico Contini - Basso - Sir Giorgio	Giuseppe D'Aysin - Tenore - Lord Arturo Talbot	Ottorino Beltrami - Baritono - Sir Riccardo Forth	Giovanni Ferrari - Tenore - Sir Riccardo Forth	Giuseppina Magi - Soprano - Enrichetta di Francia	Antonietta Martinez - Soprano - Elvira				
Carnaval 1882-83	L'Africana	Enrico Re - Basso - Don	Oreste Sella - Basso -	Achille Corsi - Tenore -	Carlo Bagni - Tenore -	Astorre Giacomelli -	Maria Makaroff - Soprano	Giuseppe Riva - Basso - Il	Ida Mussini - Mezzoso	Margherita Lauri - Mezzoso	Camillo Fiegna - Basso - Il	Cesare Baracchi - Basso -

Season	Opera	Singers 1	Singer 2	Singer 3	Singer 4	Singer 5	Singer 6	Singer 7	Singer 8	Singer 9	Singer 10	Singer 11
		Pedro	Don Diego	Vasco de Gama	Don Alvaro	Baritono - Nelusko	- Selika	gran sacerdote di Brahma	prano - Anna	prano - Ines	grande Inquisitore	Un usciere
Carnaval 1882-83	Un Ballo in Maschera	Arturo Byron - Tenore - Riccardo	Filippo Bertolini - Baritono - Renato	Maria Makaroff - Soprano - Amelia	Ida Mussini - Contralto - Ulrica	Margherita Lauri - Soprano - Oscar	Camillo Fiegna - Basso - Silvano	Giuseppe Riva - Basso - Samuel	Oreste Sella - Basso - Tom	Csare Baracchi - Tenore - Giudice	Carlo Bagni - Tenore - Servo	
Fiera 1883	Luisa Miller	Ferdinando Fabbro - Basso - Il Conte di Walter	Michelan gelo Benfratelli - Tenore - Rodolfo	Elisa Baraldi - Contralto - Federica, duchessa di Osthein	Umberto Lepri - Basso - Wurm	Edoardo Cerni - Baritono - Miller	Adele Giannetti - Soprano - Luisa	Ida Mussini - Soprano - Laura				
Carnaval 1883-84	Roberto il Diavolo	Francesco Mazzolani - Tenore - Roberto	Enrico Dondi - Basso - Bertram	Italo Giovannetti - Tenore - Rambaldo	Elena Boronat - Soprano - Isabella	Gemma Morgantini - Soprano - Alice						
Carnaval 1883-84	Il Guarany	Giulio Fari - Basso - Don Antonio de Mariz	Lola Morandi - Soprano - Cecilia	Antonio Baroncelli - Tenore - Pery	Eugenio Pesci - Tenore - Don Alvaro	Constantino Borioni - Baritono - Gonzales	Augusto Felini - Tenore - Ruy Bento					
Carnaval 1883-84	L'Ebreo	Francesco Mazzolani - Tenore - L'ebreo	Enrico Dondi - Basso - Il Cardinale	Italo Giovannetti - Tenore -	Gemma Morgantini - Soprano -	Elena Boronat - Soprano - Rachele	Nunzio Melossi - Baritono -	Augusto Fellini - Baritono - Alberto	Cesare Baracchi - Basso - Un araldo			

Season	Opera	Singers 1	Singer 2	Singer 3	Singer 4	Singer 5	Singer 6	Singer 7	Singer 8	Singer 9	Singer 10	Singer 11
		Eleazaro	Gian Francesco di Brogni	Il Principe Leopoldo	La Principessa Eudossia		Ruggero					
Carnaval 1884-85	I Promessi Sposi	Silla Carobbi - Baritono - Don Rodrigo	Pietro Pedrazzi - Basso - L'Innominato	Mauro Pavesi - Basso - Il Cardinale Federico	Maria Zanon - Mezzosoprano - La Signora di Monza	Alessandro Martelli - Basso - Fra Cristoforo	Amalia Brandini - Soprano - Agnese	Giannina Monsour - Soprano - Lucia	Lodovico Fagotti - Tenore - Renzo	Mauro Pavesi - Basso - Griso	Pietro Pedrazzi - Tenore - Tonio	
Carnaval 1884-85	La Favorita	Silla Carobbi - Baritono - Alfonso XI	Sofia Vera Lorini - Soprano - Leonora di Gusman	Lodovico Fagotti - Tenore - Fernando	Aristodemo Sillich - Basso - Baldassarre	Carlo Casarini - Tenore - Don Gasparo	Anita Vallini - Soprano - Ines					
Carnaval 1884-85	La Fata del Nord	Giannina Monsour - Soprano - La Fata del Nord	Il Genio della Montagna	Lodovico Fagotti - Tenore - Il Signore del Castello	Maria Zanon - Mezzosoprano - Un paggio							
Carnaval 1884-85	Faust	Serafino De Luca - Tenore - Il dottor Faust	Aristodemo Sillich - Basso - Mefistofele	Silla Carobbi - Baritono - Valentino	Mauro Pavesi - Basso - Wagner	Emma De Ritti - Soprano - Margherita	Maria Zanon - Mezzosoprano - Siebel	Cecilia Perelli - Mezzosoprano - Marta				

Source: Giannino Degani and Mara Grotti, *Teatro Municipale di Reggio Emilia: Opere in Musica, 1857-1976* 3 Volumes (Reggio Emilia, 1976), II: 90-136.