

Operatic relations between Portugal and London during the Napoleonic period

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Introduction

When Lisbon's Teatro de São Carlos opened its doors for the first time on 30th June 1793, the opera to be performed had an Italian title, *La ballerina amante*, the composer was Italian, Domenico Cimarosa, the entire cast was Italian and had come to Lisbon directly from Italy. The scores which served as a basis for the version of the opera given in Lisbon had also come from Italy. Except that one of the leading singers made a brief sortie to Madrid and one of the lesser ones remained in the Iberian peninsula for much of the rest of his life, all returned to Italy at the end of their contracts.

This scenario of an operatic scene almost entirely dependent on Italy, sporadically making links with neighbouring Spain, is typical not only of the Teatro de São Carlos in the last years of the eighteenth century but also the first quarter of the nineteenth. And if we examine the situation over the same period at Oporto's Teatro de São João, from its opening in 1798, from the little we can ascertain from the fragmentary information we possess, the picture, though with rather stronger links with Spain and with Lisbon, remains highly dependent on Italians.

The one notable exception to this pattern coincides with the 'Napoleonic period', a period difficult to define clearly, for while the French invasions of Portugal are limited to the period November 1807 to April 1811, the perceived threat began long before and the political and military consequences continued till after Napoleon's final defeat at Waterloo in June 1815.

In the first place, the occupation of Lisbon by French troops from 30 November 1807 till the signing of the Treaty of Sintra on 30 August 1808 had certain direct consequences on opera in the city, for the French had come not only with a military and economic brief but also a cultural one. This is particularly noticeable in the case of Luigi Gianella's *Ifigenia in Aulide*, performed at the São Carlos on 16 January 1808. The composer, who came from Paris, his usual abode, to Lisbon at the time of the production, had set a libretto by Stefano Vestris, who, as he tells us in an 'Avertissement' at the beginning of the printed edition, had gone to considerable pains to produce a text suited to an 'Age of Reason'.¹ This opera, then, had not merely been composed in and brought to Lisbon from Paris, but had quite specific cultural propaganda intentions.

Secondly, and centrally, in this article, there is considerable evidence for links between Portugal and London. Prior to the 1st French invasion of Portugal, this would seem to have to do, on the one hand, with the desire of singers, in particular, to go to a city that offered a stability which continental Europe lacked, and, on the other, the increasing difficulty the management of London's King's Theatre must have had in contracting singers, as Napoleon tightened his grip on the rest of the Continent; following the invasions, the British became *de facto* rulers of Portugal until the return of the Royal Family from their Brazilian exile in July 1821, so it is scarcely surprising that there should, at least at first, have been links beyond those of a purely military-political nature.

The exodus to London

The first performers to go on to London from Lisbon – Marianna Vinci and Luigia Gerbini – are, perhaps, something of an exception in that their journey took place rather before the others I shall be mentioning. What is important, however, is that their journey was in the direction that it was and not the reverse. After leaving Lisbon in Lent 1801, Vinci appeared at the King's Theatre, London, in at least two operas later that year: Andreozzi's *La principessa filosofa* (5 May) and Salieri's *Angiolina* (29 December). However, her London career seems to have been rather short-lived. While the Swedish Pastor Carl Israel

¹ Cf. David CRANMER, *Opera in Portugal 1793-1828: A Study in Repertoire and its Spread*, diss., 2 vols., University of London, 1997, Vol. I, pp. 49-50.

Ruders in Lisbon felt she had a 'lovely voice, clear and strong',² his opinion was not shared in London by Edgcumbe Mount-Edgcumbe, who described her as 'a *great* woman, with great pretensions, aiming at much, and failing in everything'.³

As for Gerbini, there is a gap in our knowledge of her movements after her departure from Lisbon in Lent 1801. She was a violinist as well as a singer and may well have been giving concerts, singing or playing or both, before she appeared on stage at the King's Theatre, London, in December 1802. Among the operas in which she sang the following year was Marcos Portugal's *Fernando nel Messico*, in the role of Telasco. However, both the choice of opera and the score used would have been Elisabeth Billington's – the composer had written the opera for her in Venice in 1798 and she possessed the autograph score, which now resides in the British Library. As a singer, critics were divided about Gerbini. Again there is a disagreement between Ruders, who considered her voice 'clear, strong and agreeable'⁴ and Edgcumbe, who described her as a 'bad singer, without voice'.⁵ They did, however, agree on her considerable gifts as a violinist.

When Vinci and Gerbini left Lisbon, the Teatro de São Carlos was about to enter what was one of the greatest periods of its history, with two companies – a *buffa* company with such great singers as the bass Giuseppe Naldi and the soprano Elisabetta Gafforini, under the direction of the leading Italian composer Valentino Fioravanti, and a *seria* company, with the castrato singer Girolamo Crescentini (for a further year), the soprano Angelica Catalani and the tenor Domenico Mombelli, directed by Marcos Portugal. At the end of the 1805-6 season, however, the company began to break up. Significantly for us, while Gafforini took the traditional option of returning to Milan, both Catalani and Naldi chose otherwise, accepting contracts in London. It is really this that marked the

² Carl Israel RUDERS, *Portugisisk Resa, beskrivfen i bref til vänner*, 3 vols., Stockholm, 1805/1807/1809, Letter 13 August 1800; C. I. RUDERS, *Viagem em Portugal (1798-1802)*, trans. António Feijó, preface & notes by Castelo Branco Chaves, Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, 1983, p. 117. English translation in D. CRANMER, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 32.

³ Richard EDGCUMBE, *Musical Reminiscences of an Old Amateur for Fifty Years from 1773 to 1823*, 4th edition (...continued to the present time, and including the festival in Westminster Abbey), London, 1834, p. 111.

⁴ C. I. RUDERS, *Portugisisk Resa*, Letter 28 March 1800; C. I. RUDERS, *Viagem em Portugal*, p. 93; trans. D. CRANMER, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 31.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 111.

beginning of a break in the normal patterns of movement that was to continue for about ten years, and was to lead not only to an interchange of singers between Lisbon and London, but also of composers, a librettist, an impresario, and most importantly, perhaps, elements of the repertoire.

Giuseppe Naldi (Bologna, 2 February 1770 – Paris, 14 December 1820), originally a lawyer, also a cellist, had come to Lisbon in the Spring of 1803. As *primo buffo*, he sang in all of the comic productions of the next three years, including, among a good many others, Portugal's *Le donne cambiate* (for which the composer wrote a new duet for Naldi and Gafforini), Trento's *Gli assassini*, Farinelli's *Teresa e Claudio* and a number of operas by Fioravanti, namely *La capricciosa pentita* (confusingly under the title of *L'orgoglio avvilito* and nothing to do with the composer's opera of that name), *Il matrimonio per susurro* and *Camilla*. With the exception of *Le donne cambiate*, Naldi sang all of these works at the King's Theatre, London, after he moved there in Lent 1806. Of these, he is likely to have been directly responsible for the transmission of *Camilla* (though he changed role) and *Il matrimonio per susurro*, in both of whose Lisbon premieres he had sung, Trento's *Gli assassini* (given in London as *Roberto l'assassino*) and Farinelli's *Teresa e Claudio*.

According to Edgcumbe, Naldi was 'an excellent buffo',⁶ though he probably refers here as much to Naldi's acting as his singing, for at another point he remarks: 'This excellent actor was a good musician, and, as far as his powers allowed, a good singer, but his voice was weak and uncertain.'⁷ While in London, Naldi was also a notable performer in the Mozart productions of the second decade of the nineteenth century, namely *Così fan tutte* and *Il flauto magico* in 1811, and *Le nozze di Figaro* in 1812, as well as subsequent revivals of *Così* and *Figaro* in the years that followed, and *Don Giovanni* in 1818. A number of engravings and lithographs of him printed in London portray him in role, for example one of him as *Roberto* in Trento's opera (for the *Lady's Magazine*, c. 1809) and another of him as *Figaro* (for the *British Stage*, 1818) and there were a number of other non-role portraits of him printed there.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 113-14.



GIUSEPPE NALDI.

*Drawn on Stone by M. Gauci,
from a Portrait by M. Bouton.*

Printed by C. Hullmandel.

Fig. 1 Lithograph of Giuseppe Naldi by M. Gauci, from a portrait by M. Bouton, London, c. 1807.
(Author's collection)

The legendary Angelica Catalani (Senigallia, 10 May 1780 – Paris, 12 June 1849) was a mere twenty-one years old when she arrived in Lisbon, having already sung leading roles in Venice, Florence, Rome, Milan and elsewhere. Contracted as *prima donna seria* and first appearing at the Teatro de São Carlos in Nasolini's *La morte di Cleopatra* on 27 September 1801, she immediately caused a sensation,⁸ bringing her into direct conflict with the outstanding castrato Girolamo Crescentini, who had hitherto enjoyed a virtual monopoly on public acclaim. Suffice it to say that he returned to Italy after the Carnival 1803 season, while she remained until Carnival 1806.

On 23 December she sang the role of Semiramide in Marcos Portugal's *La morte di Semiramide*, the first of several operas he would create for her dazzling voice: it was followed by *La Zaira* (19 February 1802), *Il trionfo di Clelia* (Winter 1802), *La Sofonisba* (Carnival 1803), *L'Argenide* (13 May 1804), *La Merope* (Winter 1804), *Il duca di Foix* (Winter 1805), *Ginevra di Scozia* (also 1805) and *La morte di Mitridate* (Carnival 1806). Among the other operas she performed in at the São Carlos was Nicolini's *I baccanali di Roma* in 1804, written for her at La Scala, Milan, in Carnival 1801, and which she had repeated at Genoa that Spring, on her way to Lisbon. It was also from this opera that she borrowed the recitative and aria 'L'amante forse → Se la patria è mia rivale' to insert in Act II of the 1802 production of Cimarosa's *Gli Orazi e i Curiazi*, replacing the original aria 'Se pietà nel cor serbate'.

During her stay in Lisbon, Catalani was treated royally, mixing with the social elite and marrying the French diplomat Paul de Valabrègue, her neighbour in the Largo do Barão de Quintela,⁹ on 14 April 1805 at the Encarnação Church. It was another diplomat, His Britannic Majesty's Minister Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, Lord Robert Fitzgerald, who seems to have been responsible for her being contracted for London's King's Theatre.¹⁰

⁸ There are countless descriptions of her voice. Among the more relevant to the present context, see C. I. RUDERS, *Portugisisk Resa*, especially the letter of 1 October 1801 (C. I. RUDERS, *Viagem em Portugal*, pp. 107-15), and R. EDGCUMBE, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-9 and 100.

⁹ For details of this and her family life in Lisbon, see D. CRANMER, «Madame Catalani em Lisboa: a mulher e a sua família», in *Arte Musical*, IV Série, Vol. I, N.º 4 (Julho 1996), pp. 163-68. The marriage certificate is reproduced on p. 165 of the article.

¹⁰ T. A. BULL, *The Residence of the British Ambassador in Lisbon*, Lisbon, The British Historical Society of Portugal, 1995, p. 72.

It must surely have been her marriage to Valabrègue that led her to travel to London via Paris, singing before Queen Maria Luisa of Spain in Madrid, in March 1806, giving a concert at Bordeaux in April, performing to Napoleon at St. Cloud in May and giving a series of recitals in Paris between July and September. It was Napoleon's wish that Catalani should remain in Paris, but she left in secret to honour her contract with the King's Theatre, taking a boat to Southampton. She made her London debut in Portugal's *La morte di Semiramide*, a work she would repeat there countless times at least till 1812, further performing it at the Crow Street Theatre, Dublin (scenes 1807, complete 1808) and the Théâtre Italien, Paris (1816). The aria 'Son regina', from this opera, was to become a virtual signature tune for the singer, remaining for many years in her repertoire in concert as well as on the stage.

Nor was it only *Semiramide* that Catalani brought to London. Of Marcos Portugal's operas, she was also responsible for productions of *L'Argenide* (given as *Argenide e Serse*) in February 1807 and *La morte di Mitridate*, which opened on 16 May 1807, repeated in Dublin the following year and once more at the King's Theatre in 1809. Other than Portugal's operas, the only work that followed her from Lisbon to London (and Dublin) was Nasolini's *La morte di Cleopatra*.

Whereas in Lisbon, Catalani was strictly confined to *opera seria*, as indeed she was initially in London, she later appeared there in a number of comic roles, such as Cecchina in the revival of Piccinni's *La buona figliuola* (1810) and Susanna in the 1812 production of Mozart's *Le nozze di Figaro*.

As well as Francesco Bartolozzi's engraving of Catalani, made during her stay in Lisbon, but published in London in 1802,¹¹ there were innumerable prints of her produced during her stay in London, both in role and out. Among these are Heath's portrait of her as Argenide, published in the Lady's magazine in 1807, and an anonymous, undated (but almost certainly also 1807) full-length engraving of her as Semiramide.

¹¹ Ernesto SOARES, *Francisco Bartolozzi e os seus discípulos em Portugal*, Gaia, Edições Apolono, 1930, pp. 37-8, who informs us that it was reprinted, presumably in Lisbon, with the motto 'NO SEU BENEFICIO DO ANNO DE 1804'. Fioravanti's *La pulcella di Rab* was composed for her benefit during the Carnival season that year. The engraving is reproduced (without motto) in Manuel Ivo CRUZ, *O Teatro Nacional de S. Carlos*, Lisbon, Lello e Irmão Editores, 1992, p. 44.



Fig. 2 Angelica Catalani 'in the Character of Argenide, in the Opera of *Il Ritorno di Serse*', engraved by Heath, London, 1807. (British Museum, Dept. of Prints and Drawings, 1933-10-14-568, reproduced by permission.)

If Vinci and Gerbini represent a 'first wave' at the beginning of the century, and Naldi and Catalani a second, leaving Lisbon for London at the end of the Carnival 1806 season, the third and final wave followed the 1st French invasion and its liberation by Portuguese and British troops in August 1808.

As was mentioned in the introduction to this article, the French invasion was more than just a military-political phenomenon. In the context of their cultural brief, opera was certainly encouraged. The British involvement in liberating the country, on the other hand, was a much more mercenary affair, with the strict aim of restoring Portugal to the allied fold, so that normal trading could be resumed. Robert Porter, in a letter dated Lisbon, 19 October 1808, is quite explicit on this point:

I am told that an application had been made to the British commandant here to sanction the re-establishing the corps d'opera: but he with the true spirit of the cause he had engaged in, refused having anything to do with it. Our object in occupying Portugal was far different from the French; we did not wish to distract their attention by vain shows; but if possible, to concentrate all their thoughts on the grand object of maintaining the freedom we had given them.¹²

Opera did, however, resume, and when R. B. Fisher was in Lisbon, in late 1808 and early 1809, and therefore still within the 1808-09 season, begun under French occupation, he described the singing and dancing at the São Carlos as 'extremely good'.¹³

The effect of the British lack of interest was thus only properly felt when the season came to an end, at Carnival 1809, when most of the company left Lisbon for London, not only the five principal singers (Dorotea Bussani, Luigia Calderini, Angiola Bianchi, Diomiro Tramezzani and Prospero Pedrazzi) but also the composer (Pietro Carlo Guglielmi).

Guglielmi (Naples/Rome c. 1763 – Naples, 21 February 1817) and Bussani (Vienna, 1763 – ?, after 1810) had arrived together in Lisbon,

¹² [Robert Ker PORTER], *Letters from Portugal and Spain Written During the March of the British Troops under Sir John Moore...*, London, Longman, 1809; limited facsimile edition, Cambridge, Ken Trotman Ltd., 1985, p. 51.

¹³ R. B. FISHER, *A Sketch of the City of Lisbon, and its Environs, with some Observations on the Manners, Disposition, and Dharacter of the Portuguese Nation*, London, 1811, p. 50.

probably from Rome, at about the time of the French invasion and his *L'amante di tutte, fedele a nessuna* was performed at the São Carlos in the Winter of 1807. He also composed for the theatre an oratorio *Il trionfo di Davide* for Lent 1808 and a patriotic cantata to celebrate the birthday of Queen Maria I on 17 December that year.¹⁴ In London, he must certainly have supervised the production of *La serva raggiratrice*, a version of *La serva bizzarra*, performed at the King's Theatre on 16 May, in which Bussani sang the role of Chiarina. This was their last collaboration in a close association that had continued for some 20 years.¹⁵ Guglielmi also composed three new operas for the King's Theatre: *Sidagero* (20 June 1809), *Romeo e Giulietta* (20 February 1810) and *Atalida* (20 March 1810) before returning to Naples.

Luigia Calderini was a *prima donna* at the São Carlos for two seasons, singing, among others, the title role in Gianella's *Ifigenia in Aulide*, during the French occupation. She is only known to have sung in two productions at the King's Theatre – *Sidagero* and *Romeo e Giulietta* (as Giulietta), both by Guglielmi. How well she sang in Lisbon is unknown, but Edgcumbe was extremely damning about her London appearances, describing her as 'in every way disagreeable'.¹⁶

Angiola Bianchi, a Venetian contralto, performed secondary roles in Lisbon during the 1807-8 and 1808-9 seasons, before going on to London, where she sang occasionally at the King's Theatre up to 1814. Edgcumbe considered her 'respectable'.¹⁷ The engraving by G. S. Facius, after a painting by I. Naish, published in London, shows her to have been a very pretty woman.

¹⁴ Uniquely, the libretto (*I-Rsc*, *P-Cul*, *P-Ln*) is trilingual, in Italian, Portuguese and English. RISM siglas used in this article are as follows:

I-Pac Parma, Conservatorio Arrigo Boito

I-Rsc Rome, Conservatorio di S. Cecilia

P-Cul Coimbra, Faculdade de Letras (Sala Dr. Jorge de Faria)

P-Lan Lisbon, Arquivos Nacionais/Torre do Tombo

P-Ln Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional

P-Pm Porto, Biblioteca Pública Municipal

¹⁵ From Carnival 1799 at the Teatro Alibert, Rome, to 1809 at the King's Theatre, London, composer and singer are always to be found together at the same theatre at the same time. As Bussani was married, their relationship may have been purely professional and platonic, but the coincidence is very striking.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 104.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*



ANGIOLA BIANCHI

Published by the Proprietor

Fig. 3 Angiola Bianchi, engraved by F. S. Facini, from a portrait by I. Naish, London, c. 1809. (British Museum, Dept. of Prints and Drawings, Burney Collection, Vol. I, N.º 254, reproduced by permission.)

Diomiro Tramezzani (Milan, c. 1776-?), an outstanding tenor, like Bianchi, sang for two seasons at the São Carlos, performing, among other roles, Demofonte in Marcos Portugal's opera of that name, given to celebrate Napoleon's birthday on 15 August 1808. His debut at the King's Theatre seems to have been in Guglielmi's *Sidagero* and he remained in London till at least Spring 1815. After a somewhat meteoric career, at its peak during the years he was at Lisbon and London, his voice suffered a sharp decline in around 1817. Edgcombe had a high opinion of him, describing him as 'one of the most agreeable tenors I ever remember to have heard'¹⁸ and adding 'He had a very handsome person, and was full of animation and feeling. His voice was of the sweetest quality, of that rich, touching *cremona* tone peculiar to the Italians, and his singing, if not of the first order, or very scientific, was always pleasing, and full of expression.'¹⁹ The engraving by Gaetano Bartolozzi, printed in London in 1810, attests to his pleasing appearance.²⁰

Prospero Pedrazzi, a tenor in mostly comic works and a minor composer, first sang in Lisbon in 1803, performing at the São Carlos, though not always regularly, for three seasons. A note in the register of members of the musicians' guild, the Irmandade de Santa Cecília, indicates that he enrolled on 3 August 1804, but was expelled for disciplinary reasons, little over a month later, on 14 September, though, tantalizingly, giving no further details. In Spring 1806 he moved to Oporto, singing at the Teatro de São João during the next two seasons.²¹ It is not clear when he returned to Lisbon, but he did take part in Pietro Carlo Guglielmi's cantata on 17 December 1808. His only known appearance at London's King's Theatre was in the same composer's *La serva raggiratrice*, which opened there on 16 May 1809.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

²⁰ The engraving is signed 'G. Bertolozzi', the spelling being a common variant of 'Bartolozzi'. He was son of Francesco Bartolozzi.

²¹ The fact that Pedrazzi did not sing in Fioravanti's *La capricciosa pentita*, given under the misleading title *L'orgoglio avvilito* (Fioravanti composed another opera with that title), though the libretto (*I-Pac*, *Rsc*, *P-Ln* Fundo do Teatro de S. Carlos, *P-Pm*) indicates that this took place in 1806, suggests that the production occurred during the Carnival season, when Pedrazzi would still have been in Lisbon.



Diomiro Tramezzani.

Printed and Published by the Art Director April 1810, Sublime Hotel London, Sq.

Fig. 4 Diomiro Tramezzani, engraved by Gaetano Bartolozzi, London, 1810. (Author's collection)

Pedrazzi also composed a comic opera, *L'amore senza interesse*, for the Teatro de São Carlos, which, according to the libretto printed for the production, was performed in the Winter season of 1809. What is curious is that the cast named is almost identical to that of Guglielmi's cantata of December 1808, including Dorotea Bussani, Angiola Bianchi and the Pedrazzi himself, all of whom, as we have seen, left Lisbon at Carnival 1809. While gaps in their respective biographies mean that it is conceivable they all returned to Lisbon for this single production, on their way back to Italy, it would be utterly unprecedented and contrary to the production system current in Lisbon and elsewhere. Much more likely is a misprint in the libretto, the production actually having taken place in the Winter 1808 or Carnival 1809 season.²²

The mass exodus from Lisbon to London left the Teatro de São Carlos bereft of a company that could in even the most minimal sense maintain opera at the kind of level of the previous few years, and it is in this context that we must see the departure of the theatre's poet, the librettist Giuseppe Caravita. He had first come to Portugal, from Spain in 1797, to write, and to sing minor roles at the Teatro do Corpo da Guarda, Oporto, and continued in both functions at the Teatro de São João for its inaugural 1798-99 season.²³ At the end of this season he moved to the Teatro de São Carlos, where he wrote and adapted libretti for over ten years. He remained in Lisbon until at least early 1810 before moving to London.²⁴ From 1811 he was working at the King's Theatre. It is likely that the scores of Portugal's *L'oro non compra amore* and *Artaserse*, and Fioravanti's *Camilla* which now reside in the Parry Library at the Royal College of Music, all of which were to libretti by Caravita, were brought to London by the librettist.²⁵

²² Since the libretto (*I-Rsc, P-Ln*) also gives 1809 as the date of *printing*, Carnival 1809 would be the more probable.

²³ The Teatro São João was inaugurated on 13 May 1798.

²⁴ Assuming that Pedrazzi's *L'amore senza interesse* was in fact performed by early 1809, Caravita's last libretto in Lisbon was for Marcos Portugal's cantata *La speranza*, performed to celebrate João, the Portuguese Prince Regent's birthday. However, his name appears as a witness at the wedding of Joaquim José Moreira to Justiniana Leucádia de Brito, which took place at the Encarnação Church, Lisbon, on 2 February 1810.

²⁵ See D. CRANMER *Opera in Portugal 1793-1828*, Vol. I, especially p. 225.

There remains a further figure, connected with the Teatro de São Carlos, who left Lisbon for London at around this time – one of the theatre's financial backers at the time of its construction in 1792-93, the entrepreneur João Pereira Caldas. Having fled the French, he set up a wine business in Clifford Street, near Piccadilly. In 1811, at a time of serious financial difficulty at the King's Theatre, he was approached by Henry Francis Greville, a retired colonel and opera dilettante, who had already put on concerts and opera at various London venues and wished to rival the King's at the Pantheon. Caldas was responsible for engaging the performers, among whom were three disaffected members of the company from the King's – Teresa Bertinotti, Angiolina and Carlo Cauvini – and the singer Giuseppe Bertini. During 1812 they staged a double bill of Marcos Portugal's *Le donne cambiate* (with the title *Il diavolo a quattro*) and Mayr's *Il caretto del venditore d'aceto* beginning on 27 February and the first two acts of Mozart's *Le nozze di Figaro*, for three nights from 2 May. Though this venture was short-lived and indeed by May was already on the point of collapse, its repercussions for Portugal would be significant.²⁶

Recruitment from London

A lack of sources, particularly the lack of printed libretti, makes it extremely difficult to ascertain what level of operatic activity continued over the next few years. What is important to us here, however, is that as the tide turned, it was to London that the Teatro de São Carlos looked to recruit new performers. A document apparently dating from the 1811-12 season indicates that to recruit a new *prima donna*, principal tenor and principal bass, it would be necessary to look in England, Malta or Sardinia²⁷ – other more usual alternatives, and particularly Italy, being under Napoleon's rule at that time.

It is from a London journal, *The Morning Chronicle* of 25 November 1812 that we learn that the soprano Teresa Bertinotti, who, as we have just seen, had recently been singing in London, had arrived in Lisbon and

²⁶ I would like to thank Rachel Cowgill for drawing my attention to Pereira Caldas' involvement at the Pantheon and the circumstances surrounding it, and in particular for making available to me relevant sections of her doctoral dissertation *Mozart's Music in London 1765-1829*, prior to its approval by the University of London, 2000.

²⁷ *P-Lan*, Ministério do Reino, 992-12.

had begun performing at the São Carlos.²⁸ We cannot be certain who travelled with her, other than her husband, the violinist and composer Felice Radicati, but we may reasonably assume that her companions from the Pantheon, Carlo and Angiolina Cauvini, and Guiseppe Bertini, as well as Giuseppa Collini, who had sung at the King's Theatre from 1809 to 1811, also came to Lisbon at this time – for in 1814, the earliest we have any information about the São Carlos company, these four are found performing with her.²⁹

Let us take a brief look at the singers, who formed this company.

Teresa Bertinotti (Savigliano, Piedmont, 1776 – Bologna, 12 February 1854) grew up in Naples from the age of two, married Felice Radicati in Turin in 1801 and retired from the stage following his tragic death in a horse and carriage accident (19 March 1820). One of the leading sopranos of her generation, she enjoyed consistently good reviews, Edgcumbe considering 'she had a pleasing voice and a good manner of singing'.³⁰ She had come to London from Amsterdam, first singing at the King's Theatre in Federici's *Zaira* on 22 December 1810. Among the operas performed there the following year was the London premiere of Mozart's *Così fan tutte*, which opened on 9 May for her benefit night. She sang the role of Fiordiligi, repeating the role at the Crow Street Theatre, Dublin, on 31 August. While she was in London, her portrait was painted by Foster and engraved by Hopwood, published there in July 1812.

Probably Milanese, Carlo Cauvini was a well-regarded singer, Edgcumbe considering him 'a very respectable tenor'.³¹ He had likewise come from Amsterdam, having earlier performed in Milan and Varese. In the latter, he had sung in a rare Italian production of *Così fan tutte* (Autumn 1805). At the King's Theatre from 22 January 1811, he sang Ferrando in the production of *Così* and Guglielmo in Dublin, before shifting to the Pantheon.

²⁸ Cited in T. J. WALSH, *Opera in Dublin 1798-1820: Frederick Jones and the Crow Street Theatre*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1993, p. 125, and note 10, p. 268.

²⁹ The *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* of 26 June 1816 mentions all five as being in the company in Spring 1814. We also have concrete evidence of Bertini's presence the previous year, his benefit night on 19 June 1813 being announced in the *Gazeta de Lisboa* of that day.

³⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 104.

³¹ *Ibid.*



SIGNORA BERTINOTTI
RADICATI.

Published for the Proprietors by Geo. Goult & Co. 25, St. Dunstons, London.

Fig. 5 'Signora Bertinotti Radicati', engraved by Hopwood, from a painting by Foster, London, 1812. (British Museum, Dept. of Prints and Drawings, Burney Collection, Vol. I, N.^o 234, reproduced by permission.)

Nothing is known of the career of his wife, the Milanese soprano Angiolina (more properly Angela) Cauvini prior to her first appearance at the King's Theatre, likewise on 22 January 1811. However, she was the Despina of the London production of *Così fan tutte* and Dorabella in the Dublin performances, prior to her spell at the Pantheon. She and Giuseppa Collini were described by Edgcumbe as 'two very pretty women, and pleasing actresses'.³²

Collini was, according to the same author, a contralto, often taking travesty roles.³³ Like Bertinotti and Cauvini, she had come to London from Amsterdam, though earlier, first performing at the King's Theatre on 6 January 1809 in Fioravanti's *La capricciosa pentita*. Between then and June 1811, among the nearly 20 operas in which she performed were the premiere of Pucitta's *La caccia di Enrico IV*, on 7 March 1809, and the 1811 production of *Così fan tutte* (as Dorabella).

As for the *basso buffo* Giuseppe Bertini, he likewise came to London from Amsterdam, but other than his performances at the Pantheon, it seems he did not sing opera, at least in public, in London.

In the light of what we know of these singers, the few productions at the São Carlos during 1814 for which there is concrete evidence,³⁴ can scarcely be surprising. In addition to Martini's *Una cosa rara*, for Carlo Cauvini's benefit night on 18 June, the Birthday of João, Prince Regent, on 13 May was celebrated with Pucitta's *La caccia di Enrico IV*, Bertini's benefit night, on 25 June, with Portugal's *Le donne cambiate*³⁵ and Angiolina Cauvini's, on 23 July, with Mayr's *Il caretto del venditore d'aceto*.³⁶ With the possible exception of *Una cosa rara*, the company would almost certainly have brought the scores for these operas with them from London.³⁷

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

³⁴ In all cases from the *Gazeta de Lisboa*. No libretti were printed that year.

³⁵ With the title *O mestre Biajo sapateiro*. Bertini would have played the role of Biagio.

³⁶ Given with the title *O vinagreiro*.

³⁷ Surprising though it may seem, this is even true of *Le donne cambiate*. The Teatro de São Carlos did not retain scores that were used there, since they always belonged to the impresario or the singers of the time and were removed by the owner when they left the theatre. Marcos Portugal was in Brazil by this time, so the work could not have been borrowed or copied from him. While it is conceivable that Pereira Caldas had obtained the score from Lisbon, in which case Bertini would merely have been bringing the work back, as it were, it is far more likely, given the usual routes of circulation and particularly the routes of circulation for this opera, that it would have come directly or indirectly to London from Italy. That being so, the score used would have had nothing to do with the 1804 São Carlos production or indeed any other in Lisbon.

But if the evidence for a member of the company possessing the above-mentioned scores is circumstantial, the same cannot be said of Mozart's *Così fan tutte*. In this instance we know that Felice Radicati actually possessed a copy, for he had a further copy made from it in London for the ballet master Armand Vestris.³⁸ For reasons that will become apparent, we may assume that Radicati's copy came to Portugal.

It would seem that at the end of the 1814-15 season, that is to say at Carnival 1815, the company moved on, some going their separate ways, others remaining together. Bertinotti travelled with her husband to Bologna. Bertini's movements have been impossible to trace, but he did not form part of the São Carlos company after this date.

The Cauvinis (with an extra member of the family, born in Lisbon)³⁹ and Collini moved on to Oporto, and it is to here that we must now turn. A correspondent of the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, describing the 1815-16 season there, tells us in rather unflattering terms what he thought of the Teatro de São João's company and repertoire:

This company, so lacking from every point of view, has the nerve to put on Mozart's *Così fan tutte*, Paer's *Griselda* and other equally important works: but unquestionably they destroy them to the vexation and misery of the *cognoscenti*. That the public in Oporto includes few such people can easily be guessed from the fact that it does not mind these distortions and patronises them.⁴⁰

The fact that *Così fan tutte* was performed there can be no coincidence, given the company's history of connection with the opera that we have already seen (note also, that the version of the opera given in London, was not exactly pure either). Almost certainly, Carlo Cauvini must either have had a copy of Radicati's score made, or equally if not more likely, Radicati sold his copy to Cauvini – neither Radicati nor Bertinotti is known to

³⁸ Cf. T. J. WALSH, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

³⁹ Constantino Onorato Natale, born 24 December 1813 and baptised at the Loreto Church, Lisbon, 5 January 1814 (*Liv.º 5.º Baptizad[os] 1797 até 1817*). His godmother was one Carolina Cauvini, likely to have been his father's sister. It was very usual at this period to travel in extended family groups. See D. CRANMER, 'Madame Catalani em Lisboa...', for the example of Angelica Catalani's family.

⁴⁰ Cited in full in D. CRANMER, *Opera in Portugal 1793-1828*, Vol. 1, p. 89. See also the Portuguese translation in Manuel Carlos de BRITO & D. CRANMER, *Crónicas da vida musical portuguesa na primeira metade do século XIX*, Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1989, p. 44.

have had any connection with the opera thereafter.⁴¹

But if *Così fan tutte* was performed in Oporto, why was it not given at the São Carlos, in Lisbon, when even more of the London cast were together? The answer is that it must have been, only that our sources from late 1812 to Carnival 1815 are so fragmentary that we lack the concrete evidence. Indeed, it would be quite reasonable to suppose that it was performed for one of Bertinotti's benefit nights during that period, just as it had been in London.⁴²

Conclusion

With the arrival of a new company in Lisbon in the spring of 1815, contracted once more in Italy – made possible by the collapse of Napoleon's empire – normal relations with Italy resumed and the operatic links with London came to an end. Among the works that the fresh wind blew in were the first of Rossini's operas to be performed in Portugal: *Tancredi* and *L'italiana in Algeri*.

In Oporto, the Cauvinis remained till at least 1818 before returning to Italy. Collini seems to have moved on in around 1816, appearing in London in 1820-21 before returning to Lisbon. She sang in a single production at the São Carlos in 1824 and appeared in a Portuguese *farsa*, *O maníaco*, at the Teatro da Rua dos Condes in 1825. There were no further operatic links between Oporto and London.

⁴¹ Carlo Cauvini had also sung *Griselda* before, at Varese, in the Autumn season of 1806. However, as he does not seem otherwise to have been associated with this opera, it would be fanciful to suggest he transmitted the work in the way that we have seen not only with *Così fan tutte* but with the operas that Catalani and Naldi brought from Lisbon to London.

⁴² As *prima donna* she would certainly have been entitled to benefit nights. Sadly for us, while the *Gazeta de Lisboa* announced the benefits of Bertini, the Cauvinis and Collini, it did not do so for Bertinotti.