Colleagues in the United States have similarly contributed to the realization of this book. John Rice kindly read the original proposal and provided excellent recommendations. Mark Janello generously proofed all of the musical examples. Michael Robinson shared his expertise, provided observations, and patiently answered all of my queries. Georgetown University provided significant financial support through the Thomas E. Caestecker Endowed Chair. My colleagues in the Department of Performing Arts and in the College of Arts and Sciences remained supportive throughout this work; they include Soyica Colbert, Natsu Onoda Power, Frederick Binkholder, Bryan McCann, Tommaso Astarita, Francesco Ciabattoni Derek Goldman, Carlos Simon, Gianni Cicali, John Pfordresher, Billy Jack, Todd Porter, and many others. Emily Kim provided expert editorial skills, professional transcriptions, and her generous spirit throughout the process of writing and revision.

My family and friends have been an endless source of support in the often challenging processes of travel, research, and writing. In Naples, Pasquale Casillo, his wife, Loredana Vacca, and their son, Lorenzo, opened their home to me, filling my visits with unconditional love, support, and great music. My cousin Cristian Casillo, his wife, Rossella Mosca, and their daughter, Mariavittoria, remained constant sources of thoughtful hospitality and cheer. Gennaro Caruso and Annamaria Cirillo welcomed my visits and encouraged this book at each stage. Armando Traglia assisted patiently with reservations at the Archivio di Stato di Napoli, while Professor Luigi Guerriero offered his considerable expertise, indefatigable encouragement, and warm friendship (often involving *espresso*). I am also grateful to my friends the Incarnato family (Arturo, Maria, Gaetano, and Paolo), Salvatore Argenio, Claudia Sardi and my cousin Benedetto Casillo. In the United States, Michael and Marianne Hardee, Fr. Louis Cona, John and Donna Romito, Marian DelDonna, and James Topilow, MD, provided continuous encouragement.

Our parents, Robert and Rosa DelDonna and William and Linda Brooks, have been untiring in their love, support, and interest.

Finally, I dedicate this book to my wife, Tina, and our daughter, Alessandra. Our lives together remain filled with blessings underlined by your unconditional love.

Introduction

Naples: Networks of Culture

The mythical siren song of Naples, which drew travelers to the shores, manifested itself centuries later in the reality of the Grand Tour. Generations came, lured by the urban expanse and broad culture of the city as well as the natural beauty of the surrounding *paesi* and regions further south. In his own *Italienische Reise*, Goethe famously proclaimed:

> I won't say another word about the beauties of the city and its situation, which have been described and praised often. As they say here, "Vedi Napoli e poi muori! – See Naples and die!" One can't blame the Neapolitan for never wanting to leave his city, nor its poets singing its praises in lofty hyperboles: it would be wonderful even if a few more Vesuviuses were to rise in the neighborhood.[1]

The impact of his prolonged stay and immersion within local culture culminated in his further assessment that "Naples is a paradise: in it every one lives in a sort of intoxicated self-forgetfulness. It is even so with me: I scarcely know myself; I seem to myself quite an altered man. Yesterday I said to myself, 'Either you have always been mad, or you are so now.'"[2] The artist and archaeologist Arthur John Strutt, on his own tour of Naples and its surrounding antiquity in the early nineteenth century, responded to Goethe's well-circulated proclamation, "Here we are at last. The Italian proverb says "See Naples and die" but I say, see Naples and *live*; for there seems a great deal worth living for."[3] Although Goethe and Strutt underlined the natural beauty of the kingdom and its halcyon effect on virtually all who visited, Naples had long achieved a stature among the most important cultural capitals in contemporary Europe. Nowhere is this historical point more evident than in the dense musical infrastructure of the city, whose theaters, conservatories, churches, private (often aristocratic) homes, artistic associations, and diplomatic residences resounded with music in all genres as well as dance. The theatrical genres (heroic and comic opera as well as related vocal forms), instrumental music, and sacred

[1] Johann Wolfgang van Goethe, *I miei giorni a Napoli* (Naples: Edizioni Libreria Dante & Descartes, 2016), 34. All translations in this book are by the author.
[2] Ibid., 61.
[3] Arthur John Strutt, *A Pedestrian Tour in Calabria & Sicily* (London: T. C. Newby, 1842), 21–22.

spheres of activity have remained rich areas of investigation.[4] More recently, the long-standing and diverse traditions of dance, whether theatrical or social, have increasingly drawn the interest of scholars. This book focuses on social dance and the history of celebratory balls (*feste di ballo*) within the broad culture of Naples in the long eighteenth century. It offers a wide-ranging understanding of social dance genres and their myriad roles within Neapolitan society while elucidating evident ties to and distinctions from theatrical dance (whether in terms of content, usage, or choreography). This brief précis provides the opportunity to outline the landscape of contemporary practices in this understudied area of inquiry and to create a foundation for the present investigation of the *feste di ballo*.

I.1 Dance Culture in the Age of Absolutism

The deeply intertwined familial dynasties of Spain and France from which the Neapolitan kingdom emerged in the early part of the century also extended their influence to the cultural realm. With the construction of the eponymous Teatro di San Carlo in 1737, one of the first edicts of Carlo di Borbone replaced the comic *intermezzi* with theatrical dance.[5] The pivotal figure within the early dance culture of court and city remained Gaetano Grossatesta, *primo ballerino* at the San Carlo (1745–53) and then *sovrintendente* of the royal theater for another decade (1753–63), granting him broad authority over repertoire, personnel, and prevailing taste.[6] Nevertheless, in the first half of the century, the dance repertory revealed a heterogenous mix, not far removed from the *divertissements* of the prior century, through their subject matter focused on the exotic, mythological, and allegorical. This repertoire, primarily in the *grottesco* genre, featuring the highly athletic aerial style, retained magnificent scenes and costumes as

[4] See Francesco Cotticelli and Paologiovanni Maione, eds, *Storia della musica e dello spettacolo a Napoli: Il Settecento*, 2 vols. (Naples: Edizioni Turchini, 2009).

[5] See Rosa Cafiero, "Aspetti della coreutica fra Settecento e Ottocento," in Franco Mancini, ed., *Il Teatro di San Carlo, 1737–1987* (Naples: Electa, 1987), Vol. 2, 314; Roberta Albano, "La danza al Real Teatro di San Carlo sotto Carlo di Borbone," in Luca Cerullo, ed., *Carlo di Borbone. Un sovrano nel mosaico culturale dell'Europa* (Naples: Università degli Studi di Napoli, L'Orientale, 2017), 83–118.

[6] See Gloria Giordano and Jehanne Marchesi, "Gaetano Grossatesta, an Eighteenth-Century Italian Choreographer and Impresario, Part One: The Dancer-Choreographer in Northern Italy," *Dance Chronicle*, 23/1 (2000), 1–28; and "Gaetano Grossatesta, an Eighteenth-Century Italian Choreographer and Impresario, Part Two: The Choreographer-Impresario in Naples," *Dance Chronicle*, 23/2 (2000), 133–191.

well as virtuosic dancing.[7] The broad diffusion of pantomime ballet in the second half of the century exercised a profound effect on European dance traditions.[8] Its concentration on tragic topics stimulated the development of theories and concepts fostering connections to the visual arts, literature, and stage drama. Pantomime ballet also engaged with contemporary questions about the construction of dramatic narrative, the movement of the affections, and notions of mimesis.[9] This genre also promoted the circulation of artists, their repertory of ballets, and the associated libretti as well as provoking fundamental polemics between French and Italian traditions, embodied by the contributions of Jean-Georges Noverre and Gasparo Angiolini.[10]

Neapolitan dance culture remained closely attuned to its past (through the continued cultivation of the *ballo serio* and *ballo di carattere*)[11] and the developing present through the importation of the *ballet d'action*, as innovated by Noverre. The *ballet d'action* attained an unrivaled status at the San Carlo, introduced by Charles LePicq (Noverre's pupil), who assumed the role of *maestro di ballo* at the royal theater in 1773 and grew the *corps de ballet* to its largest contingent of the century. LePicq quickly became an intimate of the monarchs as well as dance tutor to their children. Retaining the themes of his mentor, LePicq's works presented mythological or historical subjects, relying on pantomime and *terre à terre* choreography, the latter devoid of traditional physical movements (leaps, jumps, or steps). Comprehension of LePicq's interpretation of the *ballet d'action* is derived from Noverre's treatise *Lettres sur la danse et sur les ballets* (1760).[12] The

[7] Rebecca Harris-Warwick and Bruce Alan Brown, eds, *The Grotesque Dancer on the Eighteenth-Century Stage: Gennaro Magri and His World* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2005), in particular, Salvatore Bongiovanni, "A Grotesque Dancer on the European Stage," 33–61, and "Magri in Naples: Defending the Italian Dance Tradition," 91–108.

[8] Carmela Lombardi, ed., *Il ballo pantomimo: Lettere, saggi, e libelli sulla danza (1773–1785)* (Turin: G. B. Paravia Scriptorium, 1998).

[9] Edward Nye, *Mime, Music, and Drama on the Eighteenth-Century Stage: The Ballet d'Action* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Stefani Onesti, *Di passi, di storie e di passioni. Teorie e pratiche dello teatrale nel secondo Settecento italiano* (Turin: Accademia University Press, 2016).

[10] Kathleen Kuzmick Hansell, "Theatrical Ballet and Italian Opera," in Lorenzo Bianconi and Giorgio Pestelli, eds, *Opera on Stage: Storia dell'Opera*, Vol. 5 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 177–301.

[11] José Sasportes, *Storia della danza italiana: dalle origini ai nostri giorni* (Turin: EDT, 2011); Arianna Beatrice Fabbricatore, ed., *Il virtuoso grottesco. Gennaro Magri Napoletano* (Rome: Aracne, 2020).

[12] See Jean-Georges Noverre, *Letters on Dancing and Ballets*, trans. Cyril W. Beaumont (Alton: Dance Books, 2004); Bruce Alan Brown, "Angiolini, (Domenico Maria) Gasparo," in Laura Macy, ed., *Grove Music Online*, www.grovemusic.com (accessed July 17, 2023).

terre à terre technique utilized pantomime and gesture set to "measured walking," not traditional dance movement, to convey the detailed narratives of the libretto. Contemporaries considered this distinct style as more expressive and inherently dramatic, and thus suited to the meticulous scenarios created for the *ballet d'action*. This approach did not, however, preclude pure dances, even the utilization of social genres, which were most characteristically presented in episodes that alternated with *terre à terre*.[13] LePicq's conception of the *ballet d'action* and choreographic style have been recorded in contemporary *giornali*, private correspondence, and also theatrical treatises circulated in Naples. The Neapolitan economist and theatrical expert Ferdinando Galiani confirmed LePicq's method and subsequent success, noting that

> the Neapolitans could not tell that he was dancing, in a theater as enormous and monstrous as ours, because he was not leaping at all. But since he has a very handsome figure, he set out to tame the Neapolitan ladies, and little by little the nation has been converted.[14]

Baron Grimm recounted that "In the ballets of Noverre, dance and measured walking are very distinct; one dances only in the great movements of passion, in decisive moments; during the scenes one walks in time, it is true, but without dancing."[15] The aesthetician and critic Francesco Algarotti likewise noted, "everything is the work of the pantomime: the feet dance very little, and every plot is a new drama three times the length of the opera."[16] Despite its success and LePicq's unparalleled influence upon local dance culture, controversies erupted behind the scenes not only because of content, length, and accorded resources, but also among its practitioners. In an attempt to consolidate resources (largely to the detriment of the *grottesco* tradition), align the styles more closely, and mitigate the excessive length of performances, representatives of the Crown proposed "that the two ballerinos of the Royal Theater, LePicq and Viganò, unite and dance together."[17] For his part, Viganò remained "ready to obey the command of the king, gladly joining to dance with LePicq . . . nevertheless, LePicq has

[13] See Kathleen Kuzmick Hansell, "Eighteenth-Century Italian Theatrical Ballet: The Triumph of the *Grotteschi*," in Harris-Warwick and Brown, eds, *The Grotesque Dancer on the Eighteenth-Century Stage*, 15–31.
[14] As quoted in Bongiovanni, "Magri in Naples," 99.
[15] As quoted in Hansell, "Eighteenth-Century Italian Theatrical Ballet," 27, footnote 22.
[16] Francesco Algarotti, *Saggio sopra l'opera in musica* (Rome: G. Pasquali, 1755).
[17] See Paola De Simone, "Nuove fonti d'archivio su Gennaro Magri, fra questioni teatrali e affari patrimoniali," in Fabbricatore, ed., *Il virtuoso grottesco*, 173–203.

persisted in not wanting to dance with Viganò."[18] This fundamental rupture required the further intervention of the Crown to achieve an eventual resolution. Nevertheless, such controversy underlined the privileged position of theatrical dance within the highest echelons of authority and the artistic culture itself of the capital city.

The presence of social dancing and in particular the role of the *feste di ballo* within the same artistic, political, and social spheres of the court cannot be overlooked. In a highly similar manner, this tradition kept abreast of contemporary artistic developments, while also being shaped as a malleable expression of regal power, one that could accommodate occasions of state and dynastic celebrations, while retaining its essential form as entertainment. In terms of the former, social dance developed significantly in transmission of its technique and theory throughout the eighteenth century. The fact that Naples remained the sole locus for two of the most important publications on contemporary social dancing must be noted. Giambattista Dufort's *Trattato del Ballo Nobile* (1728) acknowledged even prior to Bourbon rule that the genre of the minuet and also the *feste* tradition had long been rooted in local artistic culture. Gennaro Magri's *Trattato teorico-practico di ballo* (1779) drew upon his vast experience as one of the premiere practitioners of the *grottesco* style and his standing at the Neapolitan court as well as his first-person witness to the transformation of local dance culture with the arrival of LePicq and the *ballet d'action*. Magri's purview is that of a keen aesthetician whose contributions range from the normalization of techniques for social dancing, especially the contradance, to underlining its pedagogical, societal, and dynastic utility within the hothouse of contemporary dance against the broader backdrop of polemics *in fieri* within theatrical dance. The constancy and unabated cultivation of the *feste di ballo* in Naples offered a compelling point of reference and affirmation of its significance. These celebrations transcended mere standing as aristocratic pastime, facile entertainment, or element within the broad-based humanistic and formal education of the ruling elite. In comparison to stage genres, whose tragic-heroic form avowed unquestionably the *ancien régime*, or comic types that often dismantled its inherent pretensions, the *feste* posited deep ties to and played a fundamental role within the broader sector of autoreferential spectacle patronized by the absolutist monarchy. This tradition remained distinct, however, from the aforementioned contemporary genres, by

[18] Archivio di Stato di Napoli, Archivio Farnesiano, fasc. 1842, fo. 122.

virtue of the monarch's direct participation in its conception, illustration, and representation. Their physical embodiment as protagonists within the *feste di ballo* underlined a transcendent agency in a stunning first-person construction of Bourbon identity and authority throughout the long eighteenth century.

1 Celebratory Balls in the Kingdom of Naples

The establishment of the independent Kingdom of Naples in 1734 by Carlo di Borbone (r. 1734–59) set in motion the development of a broad ceremonial agenda aimed at defining not only a new political entity but also the social and artistic mechanisms that shaped the projection of its identity, authority, and associated images of sovereignty.[1] Carlo di Borbone possessed a rare social pedigree; specifically, he inherited from his father, Philip V, the long-standing, refined traditions of Habsburg Spain and Bourbon France. From his mother, Elisabeth Farnese, he learned cultural customs originating in the Duchy of Parma and Piacenza as well as Tuscany. Taken together, this inherited lineage, points of personal reference, and related frameworks provided wide-ranging yet detailed dynastic models and a vast catalogue of courtly rites. Scholars have long identified continuity with these traditions as well as prior existing models from the Spanish vice-regency of Naples within the organization of the new king's administrative and ceremonial life. These larger contextual currents also exercised a considerable impact on the establishment of his royal house, the conception of which drew clearly upon French dynastic traditions to which he traced his own heredity.[2] The most influential figure in this complex matrix of social, political, and cultural considerations was Emanuel Domingo de Benavides y Aragón (1682–1748), Tenth Count of Santiesteban del Puerto (the Count

[1] For bibliography on the Kingdom of Naples and Carlo di Borbone (Charles III), see Giuseppe Galasso and Rosario Romeo, eds, *Storia del Mezzogiorno*, 15 vols. (Naples: Edizioni del Sole, 1991–); Giuseppe Galasso, ed., *Storia del Regno di Napoli*, 6 vols. (Turin: UTET, 2006); Luciano Garella, ed., *Carlo. L'utopia di un regno* (Naples: Artstudiopaparo, 2016); Rosanna Cioffi, Luigi Mascilli Migliorini, Aurelio Musi, and Anna Maria Rao, eds, *Le vite di Carlo di Borbone: Napoli, Spagna, e America* (Naples: Artem, 2019). For English sources, see Tommaso Astarita, *Between Salt Water and Holy Water: A History of Southern Italy* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2006); Girolamo Imbruglia, ed., *Naples in the Eighteenth Century: The Birth and Death of a Nation State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). Earlier sources include Harold Acton, *I Borboni di Napoli* (Milan: Martello, 1962) and Michelangelo Schipa, *Nel regno di Ferdinando IV di Borbone* (Florence: Vallecchi, 1938).

[2] Attilio Antonelli, ed., *Cerimoniale dei Borbone di Napoli 1734–1801* (Naples: Artem, 2017), in particular, Pablo Vásquez Gestal, "La fondazione del sistema rituale della monarchia delle Due Sicilie (1734–1738)," 43–72, and Elena Papagna, "Cerimoniale e ceremonie di corte nel Settecento napoletano," 109–126.

of Santo Stefano),[3] who set in motion, and then codified, the system of rituals along three distinct yet deeply intertwined spheres of court life: public ceremonies, palace etiquette, and celebrations. It was by means of public ceremonies that the Crown engaged the kingdom, transcending rigid lines of distinction to forge social connections with its subjects, often through entertainment and associated spectacle. If these events faced outward toward the kingdom, then palace etiquette concentrated on the daily life of the monarchy – however, at times, also establishing connections to the citizenry. Bringing together into close rapport these areas were regular dynastic celebrations, inherently exclusive and reserved for the rarefied sectors of nobility, yet ultimately geared to enact and create a communal function. The thread of continuity and principal conduit for the expression of these interconnected functions of court life remained the dense artistic infrastructure of the capital city. Like his predecessors the Spanish and Austrian viceroys, the new king of Naples engaged a vast sector of contemporary artistic life to be the interlocutor, at times both verbal and nonverbal, with the city, the vast feudal holdings, and the Italian peninsula beyond.

The most evident public expression of Carlo di Borbone's cultural and social agendas manifested itself in the appropriation of the dramatic stage (primarily opera) embodied within the select, fashionable spaces of first the Teatro San Bartolomeo and then the Teatro di San Carlo.[4] These primary locales were complemented by events within the royal palace itself, whether in the Grand Sala, private apartments, or, later in the century, in the Teatro di Corte.[5] Equally broad and diffuse tools of political, social, and cultural expression were articulated in the numerous and variegated *feste* that often intersected with and remained cadenced to the court events, rituals, and

[3] For a discussion of Santiesteban, see Gestal, "La fondazione del sistema rituale."

[4] For the San Carlo Theater, see Mancini, ed., *Il Teatro di San Carlo*; Franco Carmelo Greco and Gaetana Cantone, eds, *Il teatro del re. Il San Carlo da Napoli all'Europa* (Naples: Edizioni scientifiche, 1987); Paologiovanni Maione and Francesca Seller, eds, *Teatro di San Carlo di Napoli. Cronologia degli spettacoli 1737–1799*, Vol. 1 (Naples: Altrastampa Edizioni, 2005); see also Francesco Cotticelli and Paologiovanni Maione, *Onesto divertimento ed allegria de' popoli. Materiali per una storia dello spettacolo a Napoli nel primo Settecento* (Milan: Ricordi, 1996); Cotticelli and Maione, eds, *Storia della musica e dello spettacolo a Napoli*; Francesco Cotticelli and Paologiovanni Maione, *Le istituzioni musicali a Napoli durante il viceregno austriaco (1707–1734). Materiali inediti sulla Real Cappella ed il Teatro di S. Bartolomeo* (Naples: Luciano, 1993); Benedetto Croce, *I teatri di Napoli*, 2 vols. (Naples: Berisio, 1968).

[5] See Franco Mancini, *Scenografia napoletana dell'età barocca* (Naples: Edizione scientifiche, 1964); Franco Mancini, *Feste ed apparati civili e religiosi in Napoli dal Viceregno alla Capitale* (Naples: Edizione scientifiche, 1968); Paolo Fabbri, "Vita e funzione di un teatro pubblico e di corte nel Settecento," in Mancini, ed., *Il Teatro di San Carlo*, Vol. 2, 61–76; Montserrat Moli Frigola, "Festeggiamenti reali al San Carlo (1737–1800)," in Greco and Cantone, eds, *Il teatro del re*, 173–196.

these shared physical spaces (as well as other locales in the orbit of the monarchs).[6] Similar to its Spanish and Austrian political precursors, the projection of Bourbon sovereignty, namely its ideology, identity, and authority, took root in diverse and multiform modes of artistic expression, yet was always articulated through a unified ideological vision. Of particular interest to scholars remains the broad range of *feste*, multi-intentioned and multiform rituals that generated artistic works. The origins of these customs extended back to the earliest aristocratic customs of Naples and its associated myriad ruling establishments.[7] Typically, the *feste* and any resultant works could be linked to religious, civic, and court occasions (inherently related themselves to Santiesteban's initiatives). During the reign of first Carlo di Borbone and then his heir and successor Ferdinando IV, the assortment of *feste* continued to develop unabated in number and diversity of scope until the end of the eighteenth century. This progression accelerated especially following the departure of Carlo di Borbone to Madrid to inherit the Spanish throne after the untimely death of his brother in 1759.[8] During the rule of Ferdinando IV (r. 1768–1825) and his Austrian consort Maria Carolina, the *feste* proliferated exponentially. This continued, precipitous

[6] The sovereigns maintained several different royal residences beyond Naples, including those of Caserta, Portici, Capodimonte, Carditello, Venafro, and Persano. See Various authors, *Civiltà del '700 a Napoli 1734–1799*, 2 vols. (Florence: Centro di, 1980), in particular, Giancarlo Alisio, "I Siti Reali," Vol. 1, 72–85, and Anthony Blunt, "Caratteri dell'architettura napoletana dal tardo barocco al classicismo," Vol. 1, 60–71.

[7] For earlier traditions of *feste*, see Pier Luigi Ciapparelli, "I luoghi del teatro a Napoli nel Seicento: le sale 'private,'" in Domenico Antonio D'Alessandro and Agostino Ziino, eds, *La musica a Napoli durante il Seicento* (Rome: Edizioni Torre d'Orfeo, 1987), 379–412; Roland John Jackson, ed., *A Neapolitan festa a ballo "Delizie di Posilipo boscarecce, e maritime" and Selected Instrumental Ensemble Pieces from Naples Conservatory Ms. 4.6.3* (Madison: A-R Editions, 1978); Mia Lombardi, "Pratiche coreutiche nella Napoli barocca," in Gaetana Cantone, ed., *Barocco napoletano*, Vol. 2 (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato-Libreria dello Stato, 1992), 391–403; Pier Luigi Ciapparelli, "Apparati e scenografia nella Sala Regia," in Cantone, ed., *Barocco napoletano*, Vol. 2, 369–370; Eduardo Nappi, "Antiche feste napoletane," in Various authors, *Ricerche sul '600 napoletano. Saggi e documenti 2001* (Naples: Electa, 2002), 76–90; Michele Rak, *Napoli civile: Il popolo civile, la Parte di Popolo e le loro arti in Napoli barocca* (Lecce: Argo, 2021); Dinko Fabris, "Feste a ballo alla corte vicereale di Napoli (1612–1680); Cronologia delle opere e feste teatrali rappresentate alla corte vicereale di Napoli fino al 1684," in Patrizia Di Maggio and Paologiovanni Maione, eds, *La scena del Re. Il Teatro di Corte del Palazzo Reale di Napoli* (Naples: CLEAN, 2014), 114–115.

[8] On August 10, 1759, King of Spain Ferdinand VI died, and the Spanish throne reverted to Naples and Charles of Bourbon. Charles left Naples for Madrid in October 1759, and he named his second son Carlo Antonio (later Charles IV) as his heir, and the Neapolitan throne passed to Ferdinand (1751–1825). Pietro Napoli Signorelli, *Vicende della cultura delle Due Sicile*, Vol. 7 (Naples: Vincenzo Flauto, 1811), 3; Mirella Mafrici, *Il re delle speranze: Carlo di Borbone da Madrid a Napoli* (Naples: Edizioni scientifiche, 1998); Giuseppe Caridi, *Essere re e non essere re: Carlo di Borbone a Napoli e le attese deluse 1737–1738* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2006).