

*The Orchestra of the Cappella Reale, Naples*

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**1 History, Context, and Neapolitan Court Life<sup>1</sup>**

The most prestigious musical ensemble of early-modern Naples remained the Royal Chapel or, as it has been more precisely referenced, the Cappella Reale di Palazzo.<sup>2</sup> Conceived to serve directly the ruling authority of the capital city – whether the viceroy (Spanish or Austrian) or monarch (Carlo di Borbone, then his son and heir Ferdinando), membership in this elite organization represented the “seal of a specialized craft, goal of a ‘ladder of advancement’ means by which to attain a legal, financial, [and] professional status.”<sup>3</sup> Membership in the Cappella Reale offered prestige, financial security, and access to the broader networks of music culture in Naples, attracting the best musicians within and beyond the physical confines of the capital. Similar to the metaphorical allusions to power of stage drama, encomiastic cantatas performed before operas, and displays of grandeur within the myriad *feste* sponsored by the court, the Cappella Reale existed to underline demonstrations of authority and sovereignty. This core mission often took the guise of inward-facing events (private celebrations and/or performances) as well as public displays including religious processions, civic ceremonies, and visits of foreign dignitaries. The Cappella Reale also maintained an intimate rapport with ecclesiastical authorities and establishments, above all the Cappellano Maggiore and the primary churches of the city as well as the archbishop for public events in the Cathedral of San Gennaro. Management of the ensemble remained in tune with the liturgical calendar of the church, often imparting a carefully curated political ideology

<sup>1</sup> This Element reflects the first stage of a monograph currently in course of creation and focused on the Cappella Reale, its activities and musicians during the Bourbon reign (1734–1800).

<sup>2</sup> See Guido Olivieri, *String Virtuosi in Eighteenth-Century Naples: Culture, Power, and Music Institutions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2024); Guido Olivieri, “La musica strumentale a Napoli.” in Francesco Cotticelli and Paologiovanni Maione, eds., *Storia della musica e dello spettacolo a Napoli: Il Seicento* (Naples: Turchini edizioni, 2020), 1493–1535; Guido Olivieri, “Condizione sociale dei musicisti nella Napoli del ‘700,” in Pierpaolo DeMartino, ed., *Napoli Musicalissima: Studi in onore del 70.mo compleanno di Renato Di Benedetto* (Lucca: LIM, 2006), 45–68; Guido Olivieri, *Marchitelli, Mascitti e la musica strumentale napoletana fra Sei e Settecento* (Lucca: LIM, 2023); 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); Francesco Cotticelli and Paologiovanni Maione, eds., *Storia della musica e dello spettacolo a Napoli: Il Settecento* (Naples: Turchini edizioni, 2009); Francesco Cotticelli and Paologiovanni Maione, eds., *Le istituzioni musicali a Napoli durante il vicereame austriaco (1707–1734): Materiali inediti sulla Real Cappella ed il Teatro di S. Bartolomeo* (Naples: Luciano editore, 1993); Ulisse Prota-Giurleo, “Breve storia del Teatro di Corte e della musica a Napoli nei secoli XVII–XVIII.” In Felice De Filippis and Ulisse Prota-Giurleo, eds., *Il Teatro di Corte del Palazzo Reale di Napoli* (Naples: L’Arte Tipografica, 1952), 19–146; Ulisse Prota-Giurleo, *I teatri di Napoli nel secolo XVII*, ed. Ermanno Bellucci and Giorgio Mancini, 3 vols. (Naples: Il quartiere, 2002); Anthony R. DelDonna, *Instrumental Music in Late Eighteenth-Century Naples: Politics, Patronage and Artistic Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021).

<sup>3</sup> Cotticelli and Maione, *Le istituzioni musicali a Napoli*, 8.

to the sacred sphere. Given the group's prominent political placement and religious, social, and artistic standing, a series of enduring and densely intertwined administrative and organizational mechanisms emerged between the prevailing temporal authority (Spanish, Austrian, or Bourbon) and the ensemble as well as vested stakeholders such as the Catholic Church. These structures remained stable throughout the early modern period, especially during the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, select and often fundamental elements of organization, and even more importantly taste and direction, remained within the purview of the ruling establishment and were often imposed unilaterally by such temporal powers.<sup>4</sup>

### The Birth of the *Regno di Napoli*

The present inquiry focuses on the Cappella Reale during the initiation and long reign of the Bourbon dynasty, namely Carlo di Borbone (r. 1734–59) and his heir Ferdinando (r. 1759–98; 1799–1806; 1815–16).<sup>5</sup> In particular, it places the focus on the second half of the eighteenth century (1750–1800), a time which has been characterized as an *età d'oro* (or “golden age”), occasioned by political stability and peace, economic prosperity, a rising profile within continental affairs, and above all, artistic, especially musical, excellence. The renown of Naples as a capital of music took flight in the prior century, and by the time that the eighteen-year-old Carlo di Borbone ascended the throne of the newly established and independent kingdom in 1734, musical practices had already achieved European renown.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, fundamental questions remain about the continued artistic, political, and social roles of the Cappella Reale as well as its enduring constitution, membership, and artistic responsibilities in the second half of the eighteenth century. Of particular interest is how Carlo di Borbone (and his range of advisors) maintained continuity to, or selectively jettisoned past administrative structures and policies (of his Spanish and Austrian predecessors) to suit not only his myriad agendas, but also the highest artistic standards. In addition, a consideration of how the founding of the orchestra of the Teatro di San Carlo (1737), newly established in the early years of Carlo's reign, impacted the operation and status of the ensemble as well as its membership. Following Carlo's departure

<sup>4</sup> Olivieri, *String Virtuosi in Eighteenth-Century Naples*, 25.

<sup>5</sup> 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); Tommaso Astarita, *Between Salt Water and Holy Water: A History of Southern Italy* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2006).

<sup>6</sup> See Francesco Coticelli and Paologiovanni Maione, eds., *Storia della musica: Il Seicento*, (Naples: Turchini edizioni, 2020) and *Storia della musica: Il Settecento*.

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for Madrid to inherit the Spanish throne,<sup>7</sup> the Neapolitan Kingdom entered a period of regency (1759–67), which hosted the transition to Ferdinand's rule. Scant attention has been given to this episode in the history of the Cappella Reale, and one scholar has indeed asserted that the ensemble all but ceased to exist during this phase of manifest change within Neapolitan political life and culture.

The broad span of Bourbon rule in the eighteenth century witnessed significant change and marked differences in philosophy, priorities, and orientation between father and son. Nevertheless, the foundation of the independent monarchy addressed the longstanding, inherent issues of foreign rule from afar and evident liabilities of appointing a viceroy. Carlo di Borbone immediately centralized power in the capital city and transparently challenged the autonomy of the vast feudal institutions as well as barons in the surrounding *paesi* that had exercised substantial sway over economic affairs.<sup>8</sup> The extensive moral, social, and financial influence of the Catholic Church, its vast network among local institutions and nobility (local and foreign, especially Carlo's mother Elisabetta Farnese) and dispensation from taxation presented complex considerations for the crown and its advisors. These competing forces, both internal and external, endured throughout the century and, for both Carlo and Ferdinando, they remained inherently linked. An evident continuity between their respective tenures emerges in the expressed objective to consolidate then extend the independence of the kingdom, to modernize the physical, political, and social infrastructures, and to affirm then assert Naples as a principal stakeholder in European affairs. The latter coincided with the expansion of commerce and trade as well as the building of a naval fleet and professional army. In regard to local affairs, there were significant challenges to the fiscal freedoms long accorded to the church and the feudal barons. In particular, both father and son reduced the financial privileges (marked by a highly controversial suspension of the *Chinea*)<sup>9</sup> and authorized the expulsion of the Jesuits. The Bourbons

<sup>7</sup> See Pietro Napoli Signorelli, *Vicende della cultura delle Due Sicile*, vol. 7 (Naples: Vincenzo Flauto, 1811), 3; Mirella Mafri, *Il re delle speranze: Carlo di Borbone da Madrid a Napoli* (Naples: Edizioni scientifiche italiane, 1998); Giuseppe Caridi, *Essere re e non essere re: Carlo di Borbone a Napoli e le attese deluse 1737–1738* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2006); Rosa Mincuzzi, ed., *Lettere di Bernardo Tanucci a Carlo III di Borbone (1759–1776)* (Rome: Istituto per la storia del Risorgimento italiano, 1969); Luigi Barreca, *Il tramonto di Bernardo Tanucci nella corrispondenza con Carlo III di Spagna, 1776–1783* (Palermo: U. Manfredi, 1976).

<sup>8</sup> Girolamo Imbruglia, ed., *Naples in the Eighteenth Century: The Birth and Death of a Nation State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); in particular Giovanni Montroni, "The Court: Power and Social Life," 22–43; Maria Grazia Maiorini, "The Capital and Provinces," 4–22.

<sup>9</sup> See Girolamo Lioy, "L'abolizione della Chinea," *Archivio storico per le province napoletane*, Anno VII – Fascicoli I–IV (Naples: Valchiere Francesco Giannini 1882), 263–292; 497–530; 713–775.

reduced the jurisdictional reach of the feudal barons, in favor of fostering entrepreneurial systems and even founded the silk colony of San Leucio, which promoted individual and equal rights.<sup>10</sup> The longstanding and broad-based collaboration with local intellectuals bore significant results for cultural reforms. Advisors such as the Count of Santo Stefano, Marchese Montealegre, Bernardo Tanucci, Celestino Galiani, Gaetano Filangieri, and Antonio Genovesi (to name only a select few) were attuned to modern, contemporary society as well as progress. Within their respective sectors of expertise, they engaged in constructing systems beneficial to the kingdom, designed to achieve the initiatives of Carlo and Ferdinando, albeit transparently grounded in Anglo-French “enlightened despotism.” One evident outcome occurred in 1752, when the University of Naples, Federico II became the first institution in Europe to establish a chair in economics and commerce, occupied by Genovesi. The physical transformation of the capital and immediately adjacent areas remained a priority beginning with the expansion of the Palazzo Reale, the construction of the Teatro di San Carlo, as well as the residences of Portici, Capodimonte, and Caserta. The rediscovery of Pompeii and Herculaneum fueled tourism and the visits of foreign intellectuals undertaking the Grand Tour.<sup>11</sup> Their respective dynastic marriages also imparted tangible impacts, albeit differing in political, social, and artistic outcomes, for Carlo and Ferdinando. The arrival of Maria Amalia in 1738 marked a period of cohesion in which past traditions of mere representation became transformed into concrete acts. For Ferdinando, his long union to Maria Carolina proved to be politically disastrous, but also occasioned an unprecedented and sustained phase of broad artistic patronage.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> See Nadia Verdile, “Maria Carolina e la Colonia di San Leucio,” in Mirella Mafri, ed., *All’ombra della corte*, (Naples: Frideriana Editrice Universitaria, 2010), 83–95; Nadia Verdile, *L’utopia di Carolina: Il codice delle leggi leuciane* (Naples: Regione Campania, 2007).

<sup>11</sup> See DelDonna, *Instrumental Music in Late Eighteenth-Century Naples*, 1–10; Cesare De Seta, “Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century” in Andrew Wilton and Ilaria Bignamini, eds., *Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Tate Gallery Publishing, 1996), 13–19; Johann Wolfgang van Goethe, *I miei giorni a Napoli* (Naples: Edizioni Libreria Dante & Descartes, 2016).

<sup>12</sup> See essays in Giulio Sodano and Giulio Brevetti, eds., *Io, la regina: Maria Carolina d’Asburgo-Lorena tra politica, fede, arte e cultura*, Quaderni 33 (Palermo: Mediterranea – ricerche storiche 2016); Cinzia Recca, ed., *The Diary of Queen Maria Carolina of Naples, 1781–1785: New Evidence of Queenship at Court* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017); Mafri, *All’ombra della corte*; Raffaele Ajello, “I filosofi e la regina: il governo delle Due Sicilie da Tanucci a Caracciolo (1776–1786),” *Rivista Storica Italiana* 13 (1991): 398–454, 657–738; Giovanni Astuto, “Dalle riforme alle rivoluzioni: Maria Carolina d’Asburgo: una regina austriaca nel Regno di Napoli e di Sicilia,” *Quaderni del Dipartimento di Studi Politici* 1 (2007): 27–51.

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## An Emblem of Power and Musical Excellence

For Carlo di Borbone, the Palazzo Reale became the gravitational center of the city and by extension of the kingdom itself, at whose foundation remained the “material spaces of the palace, theater, and *cappella*.”<sup>13</sup> These physical areas created a synergy, providing crucial and longstanding continuity among ceremonial, artistic, and religious spheres of interest, policy, and governance. At the center of these activities and initiatives promulgated by the court (as well as their intrinsic functions) remained the ensemble and musicians of the Cappella Reale. In the early years of his reign, Carlo preserved continuity to administrative mechanisms and artistic standards established by both his Spanish and Austrian predecessors. In addition, he had inherited a Cappella whose personnel had been largely assembled by Alessandro Scarlatti and Francesco Mancini.<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, he did not hesitate either to impart change or to express dissatisfaction when issues occurred with the ensembles.<sup>15</sup> Insights into Carlo’s engagement with the Cappella are expressed within surviving materials spanning diverse *fondi* in the Archivio di Stato di Napoli.<sup>16</sup> The correlation of such documents provides detailed insights into the administrative policies of governance, compensation, and personnel, often intersecting with professional standards, values, and the larger purposes of the ensemble. For the musicians of the Cappella Reale, many of the past frameworks remained in place. Providing leadership (both artistic and often administrative) at the head of the Cappella remained the *primo maestro* and his second the *vice-maestro*. The ensemble continued, moreover, to be organized according to regular “Plans” (referenced as either *pianta* or *planta*) noting the specific constitution of voices and instruments. Ordinary members held a *piazza* awarded either through a *concorso* (e.g. public competition) or direct appointment by officials, signifying their full-time, permanent status, while part-time members or supernumeraries were often times unpaid and longstanding adjunct musicians. The latter served as substitutes for missing members, often for reasons of health or specific needs of the ensemble. The passage from unpaid

<sup>13</sup> Maione, *Le istituzioni musicali a Napoli*, 26–36; Prota-Giurleo “Breve storia del Teatro di Corte,” 110–113.

<sup>14</sup> See Ralf Krause, “Documenti per la storia della Real Cappella di Napoli nella prima metà del Settecento,” *Annali dell’Istituto italiano per gli studi storici* 11 (1993): 235–257; Ralf Krause, “Das musikalische Panorama am neapolitanischen Hofe: zur Real Cappella di Napoli im frühen 18. Jahrhundert,” *Analecta Musicologica* 30 (1998): 271–293.

<sup>15</sup> See Maione, *Le istituzioni musicali a Napoli*, 26–30.

<sup>16</sup> Archivio di Stato di Napoli, Fondo *Cappellanno Maggiore* (select volumes), *Casa reale antica* 343 II B *categorie diverse*, *Ministero degli affari ecclesiastici* and *Tesoreria antica Scrivania di Razione e Ruota dei Conti* (select volumes).

supernumerary to ordinary status did occur, but involved a lengthy, frequently unguaranteed process that occurred only when a position was rendered available, customarily through the death of a full-time member. The aforementioned organizational norms can be extrapolated from a range of primary archival sources. Table 1 presents the *organico* for the Cappella Reale from 1737, which also coincides (later in the year) with the inauguration of the Teatro di San Carlo.<sup>17</sup>

The mere existence of this register confirms, as asserted elsewhere, that Carlo di Borbone had indeed mandated a detailed accounting of musicians each month and, as such, verification of their continuous engagement within the ensemble. This roster provides no more than the month of service, followed by the entire listing of members and a declaration of accuracy. This affirmation specifies, “I the undersigned with trustworthiness as First Governor and Treasurer of the Monte of Musicians of the Royal Chapel of the Royal Palace [declare] that in the past month of April of the current year 1737 that the underwritten *virtuosi* have served with complete compliance in all events occurring in said Royal Chapel and such musicians are as noted.”<sup>18</sup> Differing from a *pianta*, it does not provide the specific role, compensation, or status (as ordinary or supernumerary) for the musicians listed. Nevertheless, it does confirm that in 1737, the Cappella consisted of fifty-two members led by Mancini and Domenico Sarro as *primo* and *vice-maestro* respectively. More importantly, it reveals that under Bourbon rule, the Cappella continued to be conceptualized as four “choirs” embodying four distinct components: voices (soprano, alto, tenor, and bass, with a clear emphasis on the soprano), strings (violins, violas, cellos, and basses), winds (oboe and bassoon), and brass (*corni da caccia* and trumpets).<sup>19</sup> The musicians that performed on the aforementioned wind and brass instruments undoubtedly doubled when necessary. The presence of the bassoon section (led by long-term member Salvatore Lizio) typically took its place as part of the continuo group. Taken altogether, this folio (and those that follow) confirm that the Bourbon court had retained the organization of the ensemble as had been expressed in earlier *pianze* crafted by either the Spanish or Austrian administrations.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Archivio di Stato di Napoli, *Casa reale antica* 343 II B *categorie diverse*.

<sup>18</sup> *Casa reale antica* 343 II B *categorie diverse*, folio 1r.

<sup>19</sup> The present folio omits the names of brass instrumentalists; however, this likely signifies supernumerary status. Piano and de Muro initiate their longstanding service to the Cappella in the rosters that follow this document.

<sup>20</sup> See Olivieri, *String virtuosi*, Krause, “Documenti per la storia della Real Cappella di Napoli” and Maione, *Le istituzioni musicali a Napoli*.

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**Table 1** Cappella Reale di Napoli, 1737

Name	Role
Francesco Mancini	Primo Maestro di Cappella
Domenico Sarro	Vice-Maestro di Cappella
Matteo Sassoni	Soprano
Domenico Gizzi	Soprano
Gaetano Majorano (Caffarelli)	Soprano
Nicola Ricchetti	Soprano
D. Francesco Guardia	Soprano
Domenico Melchiorre	Contralto
Pietro Giordano	Contralto
D. Nicodemo Nicolai	Contralto
Francesco Alarcon	Contralto
Tommaso Scarlatti	Tenor
D. Alessandro Inguscio	Tenor
Diego Natoli	Tenor
Lorenzo Baldacchini	Tenor
D. Francesco Caffarano	Bass
Giovanni Battista Palomba	Bass
Gioacchino Corrado	Bass
Geronimo Piano	Bass
Nicola Alborea	Violin
Carlo Giardino	Violin
Giuseppe Avitrano	Violin
Giuseppe Salernitano	Violin
Giacomo Vittozzi	Violin/Cello
Antonio Infantes	Violin
Domenico de Matteis	Violin
Giovanni Sebastiano	Violin
Domenico Salernitano	Violin
Vito Antonio Pagliarulo	Violin
Carlo Antonio Giannassi	Violin
Crescenzo Pepe	Violin
Francesco Supriani	Cello
Francesco Aversano	Contrabass
Gioacchino Bruno	Contrabass
Gaetano Besozzi	Oboe
Giuseppe Besozzi	Oboe
Giovanni Comes	Oboe



Table 1 (cont.)

Name	Role
Salvatore Lizio	Bassoon
Filippo Brandi	Bassoon
Paolo Pierro	Bassoon/Oboe
Nicola Ugolino	Lute
Matteo Sarao	Lute
Salvatore Toto	Lute
Leonardo Leo	First organist
Pietro Scarlatti	Organist
Giuseppe Vitigliano	Organist
Giovanni Veneziano	Organist
Giuseppe de Bottis	Organist
Andrea Basso	Organist
Antonio Raicola	Organist
Tommaso de Martino	Organaro

Table 2 Cappella Reale di Napoli, 1750

Name	Role
Giuseppe di Majo	Primo Maestro di Cappella
D. Giuseppe Marchitti	Vice-Maestro di Cappella
Domenico Gizzi	Soprano
Gaetano Majorano (Caffarelli)	Soprano
Giovanni Manzuoli	Soprano
Giuseppe Passari	Soprano
Nicola Ricchetti	Soprano
D. Francesco Guardia	Soprano
Francesco Bilancione	Treble
Biaggio Bisucci	Treble
Giovanni Tedeschi Amadori	Contralto
D. Nicodemo Nicolai	Contralto
Francesco Alarcon	Contralto
Gennaro de Magistris	Tenor
Francesco Tolve	Tenor
Gregorio Babbi	Tenor
Tommaso Scarlatti	Tenor
D. Alessandro Inguscio	Tenor



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Table 2 (cont.)

Name	Role
D. Michele Forni	Bass
D. Francesco Caffarano	Bass
Giovanni Battista Palomba	Bass
Geronimo Piano	Bass
Carlo Giardino	Violin
Giuseppe Avitrano	Violin
Giuseppe Salernitano	Violin
Giacomo Vittozzi	Violin/Cello
Antonio Infantes	Violin
Domenico de Matteis	Violin
Nicola Fiorenza	Violin
Saverio Carcais	Violin
Francesco Paciotti	Violin
Crescenzo Pepe	Violin
Costantino Roberto	Violin
Nicola Fabio	Violin
Aniello Santangelo	Violin
Gaetano Salernitano	Violin
Giuseppe Romano	Violin
Francesco Supriani	Cello
Francesco Giampriano	Cello
Gioacchino Bruno	Contrabass
Andrea de Florio	Contrabass
Giovanni Comes	Oboe
Gaetano Besozzi	Oboe
Giuseppe Besozzi	Oboe
Ferdinando Lizio	Bassoon
Salvatore Lizio	Bassoon
Giovanni de Muro	Tromba
Nicola Ugolino	Lute
Matteo Sarao	Lute
Giuseppe de Bottis	Maestro di cappella soprannumerario
Giuseppe Vitigliano	Organist
Domenico Merola	First Organist
GianFrancesco di Majo	Organist
Tommaso de Martino	Organaro

By 1750 and continuing further into Carlo's reign, these folios reveal that the Cappella Reale sustained constant change, not simply replacing older members but also demonstrating a clear awareness and sensitivity to internal balance and practical needs. Table 2 presents the *organico* from January 1750,<sup>21</sup> noting a slight expansion in numbers within the ensemble (fifty-three in total, albeit with two noted as absent).

Even more noteworthy is that the core of the ensemble remained consistent with twenty-eight members from 1737 still active in the Cappella. There had also been a change in leadership with Giuseppe di Majo serving as *primo maestro* and Giuseppe Marchitti as *vice-maestro*.<sup>22</sup> Two of the most famous castrato voices of the eighteenth century continued to serve the Cappella, namely Domenico Gizzi and Gaetano Majorano, the latter better known by his stage name of “Caffarelli.”<sup>23</sup> The ensemble displays consistent numbers of strings (albeit some noted as “violin” undoubtedly played viola), winds, and brass. Although these data provide basic statistics and demonstrate continuity in the ensemble, it is in correlative primary sources that specifics emerge about administrative policies. In particular, volumes within the Fondo *Ministero degli affari ecclesiastici*, emanating from the office of the Cappellano Maggiore, contain a broad array of information. For example, even prior to di Majo's ascension, one entry from 1742 reads:

In light of the death of Domenico Salernitano, who served as violinist in the Royal Chapel with the compensation of 7 ducats per month, having recourse to the King with the appended eleven supplications by different petitioners for his position; And by order of His Majesty, they are provided to [Your Royal Majesty] in order to receive from the Maestro di Cappella Domenico Sarro who will inform us with his opinion whether it is necessary to replace this position of violin with a vocalist, or another instrument, or [whether] it is superfluous [and] therefore to delete it. . . . Royal Palace 29 April 1742.<sup>24</sup>

This entry highlights Salernitano's generous compensation,<sup>25</sup> while also outlining that a noteworthy eleven supplicants had requested his position within the ensemble. Even more interesting is that the *primo maestro* Sarro had been

<sup>21</sup> *Casa reale antica* 343 II B categorie diverse, f. 148v.

<sup>22</sup> See *Tesoreria antica*, # 67, f. 29 and 30r respectively.

<sup>23</sup> See Martha Feldman, *The Castrato: Reflections on Natures and Kinds* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2016); Winton Dean, “Caffarelli [Cafariello, Cafarellino, Gaffarello],” *Grove Music Online*. 2001; Accessed June 11, 2024. [www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000004540](http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000004540).

<sup>24</sup> Archivio di Stato di Napoli; Fondo *Ministero degli affari ecclesiastici*, vol. 39; f. 61v.

<sup>25</sup> The standard currency and denomination for the Kingdom of Naples was the ducat (ducato). A single ducat could be divided into 5 tari, further into 10 carlini, and finally into 100 grana. These currencies were replaced in the nineteenth century by the national standard of the lira. Allowing for inflation and cost-of-living adjustments, a single ducat from 1770 was equivalent to 4.37 lire in 1860, 10,472 lire in 1988, and 42,900 lire in 2000. The conversion to the euro currency in Italy occurred in 1999; the subsequent exchange rate was imposed as 1 euro equaling