

Introduction

The period ranging from the end of Habsburg rule (1796) to the Congress of Vienna (1814) is an equally interesting and problematic phase in the history of Lombardy. These two decades sit between two proportionally hyper-studied and hyper-celebrated epochs by both historians and musicologists, namely the Habsburg *buon governo* and the Milanese Enlightenment in the second half of the eighteenth century, and the centre-stage role that Milan assumed in the following century in the development and cultural articulation of the Italian nationalistic movement. By contrast, the years considered in this Element, which were characterized by the instability triggered by ongoing warfare, are difficult to label or group in a univocal way. We could attempt a division between a first republican phase (1796–7) and the Cisalpine Republic (1797–9), on the one hand, and, after a thirteen-month Austro-Russian interregnum (1799–1800), a second Cisalpine Republic (1801–2) that soon gave way to the Italian Republic (1802–5) and the Kingdom of Italy (1805–14). Such a division would, however, ultimately be inaccurate because of both the overall transience of political and cultural policies, and the various processes overarching the changes to the political frame. As a result, the scope of any cultural study on this period cannot be defined through labels or years, but rather must be defined through sociopolitical and sociocultural processes. The present Element focuses on public celebration up to the proclamation of the Italian Republic in 1802, when the weakening of the revolutionary impulse within a more tempered frame and the growing personal importance of Napoleon Bonaparte (President of the Italian Republic and later King of Italy) occasioned a structural shift in celebratory practices.

In addition to the proportionally limited attention dedicated to this period per se, cultural production during the Italian republics has suffered from a generalization under the labels of ‘occasional’ and/or ‘propaganda’ art. This generalization also affected musical-theatre works, which, despite a keen interest in the seventeenth-, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Milanese theatrical and operatic landscapes, have seldom or never been the objects of revival, publication or scholarly study. Furthermore, even less attention has been dedicated to the significant body of music produced for public celebration; the extreme scarcity of musical sources (arguably due to the fast pace of consumption, the strong links between pieces and specific occasions, and the controversial political value they embedded) did not make their study easier. In truth, while it is undeniable that much of the music produced on the republican stages retained a strong occasional and political character, it is equally true that the Napoleonic experiences reshaped Milan’s musical and theatrical world by either disrupting or accelerating many existing dynamics in terms of audiences, venues, institutions and occasions. It is thus important to study these experiences,

both on and off the traditional stages, not just in terms of intrinsic musical value, but also as complex cultural and social phenomena.

A study of sociocultural gatherings with a musical and/or sonorous performative component also offers us the chance for a deeper understanding of Milan's urban musical life, a field that has also suffered from oblivion next to the city's hyper-celebrated operatic scene. The present Element will borrow tools and frameworks from the fertile fields of ethnography, sound studies and urban musicology, approaching the soundscape of Napoleonic Milan as a macrocosmic musical composition resulting from the contribution of numerous performers, and retracing its earwitnesses and living musical practices in the labyrinth of silent sources that characterizes the inquiry on any sonorous object of the past.¹ Sound studies will also help us consider and interpret sonic objects as carriers of complex messages and as powerful forces capable of and aimed at influencing social identity and behaviour.² Such approaches have been often under-applied by scholars, who (with notable exceptions) prioritized codified musical components over sonorous/sonic ones, and standardized musical performances over the richness and complexity of the overall soundscape and, even further, sensory experience.³ By contrast, the soundscape and sonic profiles of urban locations have often revealed a gold mine of information, not only on the city itself but also on its population's cultural horizons, behaviours and sociopolitical and cultural associations.⁴ This Element will profit from developments in historical acoustemology and from the broadening of crucial concepts such as those of music making and music makers to explore the musical and sonic experience offered by the Milanese republican festivals and their associated listening and participatory elements, as well as their impact on social and cultural practices.⁵

¹ T. Carter, 'The Sound of Silence: Models for an Urban Musicology', in *Urban History* 29/1 (2002), pp. 12–13. C. Bithell, 'The Past in Music: Introduction', in *Ethnomusicology Forum* 15/1 (2006), pp. 4–7.

² R. M. Schafer, 'The Soundscape', in *The Sound Studies Reader*, ed. by J. Sterne (New York: Routledge, 2012), pp. 100–1.

³ D. Fabris, 'Urban Musicologies', in *Hearing the City in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by T. Knighton and A. Mazuela-Anguita (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2018), pp. 66–8. R. L. Kendrick, *The Sounds of Milan* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 3–4.

⁴ See, for example, R. Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), pp. 1–3. S. Schama, *Rembrandt's Eyes* (New York: Knopf, 1999), pp. 311–19. J. J. Carreras, 'Topography, Sound and Music in Eighteenth-Century Madrid', in *Hearing the City in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by T. Knighton and A. Mazuela-Anguita (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2018), pp. 90–2. F. Nevola, 'Locating Communities in the Early Modern Italian City', in *Urban History* 37/3 (2010), pp. 350–1. P. Canguilhem, 'Courtiers and Musicians Meet in the Streets: The Florentine Mascherata under Cosimo I', in *Urban History* 37/3, p. 465.

⁵ T. Carter, 'Listening to Music in Early Modern Italy', in *Hearing the City in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by T. Knighton and A. Mazuela-Anguita (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2018), pp. 25–33.

The music and other sonorous components of public celebration in Napoleonic Milan also allow us to enrich frameworks that have often been associated with the city and its cultural production, especially those of political participation and nationalism. With Milan becoming almost synonymous with the Italian nationalistic movement and one of the main theatres of both urban riots and politically informed art, it is important to reframe the origin of both Lombard (later Italian) patriotism and the use of music as a tool of expression and activism within. Such a revision will also contribute a rich case study to ongoing scholarly discourses, namely the problematization of many nationalistic and political/politicized aspects of nineteenth-century Italian culture (especially opera) and the increasingly successful application of the lenses of transnationalism, cosmopolitanism and mobility to cultural and musical discourses.⁶ These years also allow some reflection on the element of cultural negotiation embedded in many musical and cultural practices, from the frameworks designed by the French revolutionary theorists to the encounters between Parisian models and local specificities. While the focus will be on the experiences of public celebration and on their impact on the city, some comments on the broader consequences for music and opera production will also be offered. This Element will thus offer a re-evaluation of Milan's republican experiences and will offer a fertile terrain for further historiographical reflection.

Despite the research's focus on music, sounds and soundscapes, most of the primary sources consulted are, as already mentioned, silent and still, for instance chronicles, the press, iconography and administrative documents. The challenge of reconstructing a distant soundscape and musical practices without sonorous evidence allowed a comparative reading of sources that have rarely been included in the historiography of Milanese music or that have been labelled as propagandistic outputs. The description of Milanese events has also been supported by a parallel reading of many French/Parisian sources, which are traditionally more visible and explored. By reconstructing these forgotten or often dismissed experiences sitting at the intersections between political, cultural and historical processes, and between different gazes and sources, we hope to further their understanding not only as complex cultural products but also as a notable, yet still understudied, link in the historiographical chain.

⁶ See, among many others, the following. A. Körner, 'Beyond *Nationaloper*', in *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 25/4 (2020), pp. 402–19. A. Körner, 'National Movements against Nation States', in *The 1848 Revolutions and European Political Thought*, ed. by D. Moggach and G. Stedman Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 345–82. R. Parker, 'On Reading Nineteenth-Century Opera: Verdi through the Looking-Glass', in *Reading Opera*, ed. by A. Groos and R. Parker (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998), pp. 288–305. R. Parker, *Arpa d'or dei fatidici vati . . .* (Parma: Istituto Nazionale di Studi Verdiani, 1997). J. Rosselli, *The Opera Industry in Italy from Cimarosa to Verdi* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 164–8.

1 Republican Festivals in Northern Italy: Historical and Ideological Background

1.1 Culture and Identity in Lombardy between Two 'Nations'

The turn of the nineteenth century was a period of intense change for Northern Italy, which paved the way for much turmoil and instability, but also for fruitful political reflection. Such sudden and repeated change not only occasioned an increase in the region's political agency but also had a significant impact on its cultural and social geography and on the perception that its inhabitants had of themselves, not to mention the strong consequence on cultural production at all levels. Before delving in detail on the latter sphere, a solid historical, political and social background of these crucial years is necessary.

Given the role that Lombardy and its capital city, Milan, played in the political and cultural dynamics of the Risorgimento, it is tempting to consider them a traditional hub of Italian national sentiment; such a temptation must, however, be scaled down as historically inaccurate. Nineteenth-century histories of Italy and Italian literature, for example those of Sismondi (1804–8),⁷ Balbo (1846),⁸ Cantù (1865)⁹ and De Sanctis (1870),¹⁰ contributed towards the creation of a historiography that saw the foreign dominance on the Italian states as the main reason for the decadence that Italy had experienced throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This process, whose starting point was identified in the sixteenth century's political and religious crises, would see its natural conclusion with the Risorgimento, a true rebirth of 'national' freedom, culture and character.¹¹ Twentieth-century historians such as A. Banti demonstrated, however, that at the turn of the nineteenth century, concepts such as 'nation' and 'independence' were still very far from concretization across the majority of Italian (or even European) contexts.¹² In the case of Lombardy, the only sense of identity was related to the local/regional institutions; it is precisely the events surrounding the Napoleonic republics that triggered a first wave of both political mobility and reflection.¹³

In May 1796, when the French *armée d'Italie* led by Napoleon Bonaparte entered the city of Milan, Lombardy had been a province of the vast

⁷ J. C. Sismondi, *A History of the Italian Republics* (London: Longman, 1832). Please note that the dates provided in the text relate to when the works were written.

⁸ C. Balbo, *Sommario della storia d'Italia dalle origini fino ai nostri tempi* (Turin: UTET, 1860).

⁹ C. Cantù, *Storia della letteratura italiana* (Florence: Le Monnier, 1865).

¹⁰ F. De Sanctis, *Storia della letteratura italiana* (Naples: Morano, 1870).

¹¹ M. Verga, 'Decadenza', in *Atlante culturale del Risorgimento*, ed. by A. Banti, A. Chiavistelli, L. Mannori and M. Meriggi (Rome: Laterza, 2011), pp. 13–15.

¹² A. Banti, *Il Risorgimento italiano*, 4th ed. (Rome: Laterza, 2004), pp. iv–vi.

¹³ N. Del Bianco, *Il coraggio e la sorte* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 1997), pp. 10–12.

multinational Austrian monarchy for almost ninety years. With the exception of the War of the Austrian Succession in the 1740s, the region had experienced a period of uninterrupted peace, stability and economic and cultural growth.¹⁴ Milan had rapidly become one of the brightest centres of the Italian peninsula, with notable advancements in numerous scientific, cultural and social fields, and a cosmopolitan and refined society.¹⁵ Travellers visiting Milan from other Italian states, continental Europe and the British Isles in the central decades of the century reported enthusiastically about the city's grand appearance and flourishing economy, the abundance of cultural and scientific institutions, and its refined aristocracy with an active commitment to civic, cultural and social life and brilliant *salotti* and *accademie*.¹⁶

Like other provinces of the Austrian monarchy, Lombardy had also been included in the system of reforms of the Habsburg rulers – especially Joseph II (1741–90) and Leopold II (1747–92) – implemented throughout their dominion.¹⁷ As a result, Lombardy had a more centralized government, which aimed at limiting *Ancien-Régime* privileges and institutions, removing unnecessary intermediaries between the State and subjects, and creating a more effective administration.¹⁸ Many of these reforms, especially when the ‘enlightened despot’ par excellence Joseph II had dealt with issues of religion and local authorities, had generated painful tensions between the Lombard citizens and the Vienna court.¹⁹ Despite these conflicts (many also pacified during the reign of the more tempered Leopold), it was, however, a widespread opinion that the Austrian government had occasioned a very positive effect on a previously lethargic and obsolete

¹⁴ See, for example, the following. C. Capra, ‘Milano al tempo di Giuseppe Parini’, in *La Milano del Giovin Signore*, ed. by F. Mazzocca and A. Morandotti (Milano: Skira, 1999), pp. 15–33. F. Fava, *Storia di Milano*, vol. 2 (Milan: Meravigli, 1981). G. Gorani, *Storia di Milano dalla sua fondazione all'anno 1796* (Rome: Laterza, 1989).

¹⁵ A. Vicinelli, *Il Parini e Brera* (Milan: Ceschina, 1963), p. 64. M. Canella, ‘Aspetti e figure della cultura milanese nel percorso verso la modernità’, in *Il laboratorio della modernità*, ed. by Carlo Capra (Milan: Skira, 2003), pp. 79–81.

¹⁶ C. De Brosses, *Lettres familières écrites d'Italie en 1739 et 1740* (Paris: Perrin, 1885), pp. 95–107. A. Valery, *Historical, Literary, and Artistical Travels in Italy* (Paris: Baudry, 1839), pp. 56–8. A. Young, *Travels in France and Italy during the years 1787, 1788 and 1789*, ed. by T. Okey (London: Dent, 1915), p. 234. R. Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 44.

¹⁷ D. Beales, *Enlightenment and Reform in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (London: I. B. Tauris & Co., 2005), pp. 28–31.

¹⁸ S. Cuccia, *La Lombardia alla fine dell'Ancien Regime* (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1971), pp. 13–18. C. Capra, ‘Austriaci e francesi a Milano’, in *Il laboratorio della modernità*, ed. by Carlo Capra (Milan: Skira, 2003), pp. 15–16. D. Carpanetto, *L'Italia del Settecento* (Turin: Loescher, 1980), p. 238.

¹⁹ D. Carpanetto and G. Ricuperati, *Italy in the Age of Reason* (London: Longman, 1987), pp. 227–30.

society. In his *Storia di Milano* (covering Milan's history from its origins to 1792), for instance, Pietro Verri reflected on how Joseph II, although sometimes through hard and unpopular measures, had ultimately pursued his subjects' happiness; his 'enlightened and beneficial' government, continued Verri, 'promoted agriculture and manufactures, and spread education, wealth and prosperity across all social classes. [These were] happy times, then neither completely understood, nor cherished'.²⁰

Positive opinions on the Austrian government were still present even in the following century. While visiting Northern Italy in the 1830s, for instance, the intellectual Antoine C. P. Valery (1789–1847) noted how the Austrian government of the Lombardo-Veneto had been visibly beneficial in terms of education, legislation, trade and culture.²¹ Even the nineteenth-century philosopher and politician Carlo Cattaneo (a fighter in Milan's Five Days of 1848) notably proclaimed that it was thanks to the Habsburgs that Milan had managed to finally break free from the 'Spanish cadaver' to rejoin the ranks of living Europe.²² The Austrian government – Cattaneo continued – could not give Lombardy the political prominence of the age of the Sforzas, but it favoured the return to a glorious tradition of productivity and efficiency, with a positive impact on society and culture.²³ The second half of the eighteenth century can be considered the moment when Lombardy rose to become a propelling force for the cultural and political development of the whole country, with Milan assuming the leadership of a gradual process of cultural, moral and social renewal that had started with the dissolution of the Spanish government, and would reach its completion during the Risorgimento. The city became what historians have called 'Italy's watchtower' and 'the modernity workshop': from a drowsy provincial town, Milan turned into a centre of primary importance, found itself at the cutting edge within Italy and developed a strong European vocation.²⁴

In 1771, the Lombard capital had also gained further political prominence by becoming the seat of a Habsburg court: following his marriage to the Princess Maria Beatrice of House Este, Archduke Ferdinand Karl (1754–1806), Empress Maria Theresia's fourth-born son, had become governor of Austrian Lombardy,

²⁰ P. Verri, *Storia di Milano* (Milan: Oliva, 1850), pp. 269–79.

²¹ Valery, *Historical, Literary, and Artistical Travels in Italy*, pp. 57–8.

²² C. Cattaneo, *Notizie naturali e civili su la Lombardia*, vol. 1 (Milan: Giovanni Bernardoni, 1844), pp. xciv–xcix.

²³ M. Graziano, *The Failure of Italian Nationhood* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 44–5. Körner, 'National Movements against Nation States,' pp. 370–2.

²⁴ R. Schober, 'Gli effetti delle riforme di Maria Teresa sulla Lombardia', in *Economia, istituzioni, cultura in Lombardia nell'età di Maria Teresa*, ed. by A. De Maddalena, E. Rotelli and G. Barbarisi (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1982), pp. 208–10. Vicinelli, *Il Parini e Brera*, p. 237. Capra, 'Austriaci e francesi a Milano', pp. 13–14.

and had taken residency in Milan. Even though executive power was concentrated in the hands of government officers such as the *ministro plenipotenziario* (plenipotentiary minister), the presence of an Austro-Lombard court in a city that had not had one since the Sforzas had very strong consequences for issues of culture and identity.²⁵ In particular, the aristocracy, weakened by Joseph's reforms, reacted positively to courtly life and sociability.²⁶ Pietro Verri, for instance, commented 'from a provincial city we have become a capital. Now, all oligarchical veneration will be focused only on the monarchy: senators and officers will receive slighter bows, the patron Saints less worship'.²⁷ The Milanese court was bound to affect the relationship between the Austrian monarchy and Lombardy, creating the new notion of an 'Austro-Lombardian' context, and directly or indirectly affecting all aspects of Milan's social and cultural life.²⁸

While many of the reforms implemented by the Austrian government had direct consequences on Milan's functionality (e.g. in terms of public hygiene and lighting), the presence of a Habsburg archduke and his court meant that the city also had to adopt the exterior appearance of a capital, visually mapping out its mutated political and social role.²⁹ Rising stars of urban architecture such as Giuseppe Piermarini helped redesign many public spaces following the criteria of enhanced practicality and visual harmony. For instance, Piermarini designed or redesigned the headquarters of public institutions (e.g. the palace of Brera), functional spaces (e.g. Porta Ticinese's market square) and Piazza Fontana, the first Milanese square centred on a fountain rather than on a religious or institutional building (Figure 1).³⁰ After Joseph II's decrees in the 1780s suppressed many religious orders, several buildings were also destroyed or repurposed, with a strong impact on Milan's landscape and its perception: two notable examples are the Swiss Jesuit College (Collegio Elvetico), which became the headquarters of the Austrian government, and the church of Santa Maria alla Scala (the seat of the Imperial Chapel), which was deconsecrated and demolished to make way for the new Teatro alla Scala.³¹

Piermarini also designed the venues representing the court, promoting a sober neoclassical style very different from the Baroque one, and contributing to the

²⁵ Cuccia, *La Lombardia alla fine dell' Ancien Regime*, pp. 19–20. E. Riva, 'La corte dell' arciduca Ferdinando Asburgo Lorena', in *Il teatro a Milano nel Settecento*, ed. by A. Cascetta and G. Zanlonghi, vol. 1 (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 2008), pp. 73–4.

²⁶ G. De Castro, *Milano nel Settecento* (Milan: F.lli Dumolard, 1887), pp. 269–70.

²⁷ Verri, *Storia di Milano*, pp. 265–8. ²⁸ Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, p. 92.

²⁹ Vicinelli, *Il Parini e Brera*, p. 67. Carter, 'The Sound of Silence', p. 13.

³⁰ A. Scotti Tosini, 'Le trasformazioni della città', in *Il laboratorio della modernità* (Milan: Skira, 2003), pp. 38–40.

³¹ L. Robuschi, *Milano: alla ricerca della città ideale* (Cassina de Pecchi, Italy: Vallardi, 2011), pp. 111–14. See also D. Aspari, *Vedute di Milano* (Milan: n.n., 1792), Plate 15.



Figure 1 D. Aspari, ‘Veduta della Piazza Fontana, e Palazzo Arcivescovile’ (1788).

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reshaping of Milan’s cultural geography. He first expanded the Palazzo Ducale (ducal palace), Ferdinand’s main residence in the city centre, and adapted it to the Viennese taste, also reorienting its façade: the building remained in its original location next to the cathedral, but did not face it anymore (Figure 2). In doing this, not only did Piermarini create a residence appropriate to the archduke’s rank but he also provided a visible representation of the mutated balance between religious and civic, and old and new, authorities.³² The architect also curated the project for the *villa reale* (royal villa), the governors’ summer residence, erected in the neighbouring town of Monza on the model of Schönbrunn Palace.³³ Like Schönbrunn (and like Versailles, the palace of Ferdinand’s sister Maria Antonia), the *villa reale* fulfilled the roles of both summer residence and political-cultural pole, with Monza chosen for various reasons. The town occupied a key position on the road connecting Milan and Vienna and offered a salubrious climate, but it was also symbolically very powerful: its cathedral safeguarded one of the strongest symbols of power in the history of Christian and imperial Europe, the Iron Crown of Lombardy, which Napoleon would also use to declare himself King of Italy in

³² C. Cremonini, *Alla corte del Governatore* (Rome: Bulzoni, 2012), pp. 94–5.

³³ C. Mozzerelli, ‘La Villa, la corte e Milano capitale’, in *La Villa reale di Monza*, ed. by F. De Giacomi (Cinisello Balsamo, Italy: Silvana, 1999) p. 12. F. Basciagli, *Opera comica e opera comique al Teatro Arciduciale di Monza (1778–1795)* (Lucca: LIM, 2002), pp. 19–20.



Figure 2 F. Durelli, ‘Veduta del Palazzo Reale in Milano’ (1810).

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1805.³⁴ Thanks to the numerous buildings that Piermarini designed, the new style quickly circulated among the aristocracy: many important families had the *imperial regio architetto* (imperial and royal architect), as well as his pupils at the newly established School of Architecture at Brera, design both their Milan residences and pleasure villas.³⁵

Piermarini and his school also played a paramount role in the construction of La Scala, Milan’s opera house after the Regio Teatro Ducale, the city’s only public theatre annexed to the Ducal Palace, burned down in 1776.³⁶ Its planning and construction were strongly supported by Archduke Ferdinand, who wrote just the last chapter of a long story of cooperation between Milanese citizens and Austrian governors in terms of theatre patronage.³⁷ A musical-theatre enthusiast (to the point of being reprimanded by his mother for his excessive

³⁴ Valery, *Historical, Literary, and Artistical Travels in Italy*, p. 73.

³⁵ Scotti Tosini, ‘*Le trasformazioni della città*’, p. 40. Aspari, *Vedute di Milano*, Plate 6.

³⁶ See the [Ms plan of the Regia Ducal Corte], n.d., I-Mc, Fondo Somma (FS), folder 6. See also K. Hansell, *Opera and Ballet at the Regia Ducal Teatro of Milan, 1771–1776* (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1980), p. 6.

³⁷ V. Ferrari, *Il Teatro della Scala nella vita e nell’arte* (Milan: Tamburini, 1921), pp. 3–6. A. Palidda, ‘*Rediviva sub optimo principe hilaritas publica*’, in *Music and Power in the Baroque Era*, ed. by R. Rasch (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2018), pp. 273–80.

interest in artists)³⁸ and a passionate advocate of local social and cultural needs, the governor tirelessly liaised with the empress to erect a new opera house worthy of his capital, detached from his palace and greater than the Paris Opéra (which he had seen on his travels).³⁹ The construction of La Scala profited not only from the archduke's support but also from an ad hoc financial partnership between the Vienna court and the Milanese aristocrats; the former sponsored the demolition of the church of Santa Maria alla Scala and the construction of the outer walls and roof, while the latter contributed to the outstanding expenditure in proportion to the boxes they occupied in the Ducale, and received ownership of similar spaces in La Scala.⁴⁰

The theatre was inaugurated on 3 August 1778, winning praise from professionals, audience members and visitors alike thanks to its size, acoustics, décor, stage and functionality.⁴¹ The work chosen for its inauguration, the opera seria *Europa riconosciuta* by Vienna court composer Antonio Salieri, was not only a reference to the strong artistic partnership between Italy and Austria, but also a convincing showcase of the theatre's potential, which reassured the Milanese about their successful investment. While the libretto's dedication acknowledged the governors' support as a necessary condition for the very existence of the theatre, the scenic directions detail a powerful display of both musical and scenic effects, from Salieri's opening storm music to the sceneries of the Galliari brothers and the machines of Paolo Grassi.⁴² A second, smaller theatre profiting from similar support and financial partnership was erected on the area of the Scuole Cannobbiane (a religious school founded in the sixteenth century by Paolo da Cannobio) and inaugurated a year later (1779) as Teatro alla Cannobbiana. The construction of the two theatres represents an important moment in the history of Milan's cultural geography, as these established a first polycentric theatrical system that would gradually expand in the Napoleonic years.⁴³ The theatres

³⁸ A. Ritter von Arneth (ed.), *Briefe der Kaiserin Maria Theresia an ihre Kinder und Freunde*, vol. 1, (Vienna: Braumüller, 1881), pp. 56–63.

³⁹ See, for example, *Notizie storiche e descrizione dell' I. R. Teatro alla Scala* (Milan: Salvi, 1856), pp. 5–8. Ferrari, *Il Teatro della Scala nella vita e nell' arte*, pp. 10–13. G. Galbiati (ed.), *Il teatro alla Scala dagli inizi al 1794* (Milan: Biblioteca Ambrosiana, 1929), pp. 14–23.

⁴⁰ P. Cambiasi, *La Scala 1778–1889: note storiche e statistiche* (Milan: Ricordi, 1889), pp. 345–59. A. Bassi, *La musica in Lombardia nel 1700* (Bologna: Forni, 1992), pp. 74–5. R. Giazotto, *Le carte della Scala* (Pisa: Akademos, 1990), pp. 5–7. [Receipts], I-Mas, Atti di Governo, Spettacoli Pubblici (from now on, AGSP), P.A., folders 35 and 38.

⁴¹ See, for example, the following. P. Landriani, 'Osservazioni sull'Imperial Regio Teatro alla Scala in Milano', in *Storia e descrizione de' principali teatri antichi e moderni*, ed. by G. Ferrario (Milan: Ferrario, 1830), pp. 257–60. Young, *Travels in France and Italy*, p. 234. Valery, *Historical, Literary, and Artistical Travels in Italy*, p. 64.

⁴² M. Verazi, *Europa riconosciuta* (Milan: G. B. Bianchi, 1778), pp. 5–6 and 15.

⁴³ R. Carpani, 'Introduzione', in *Festa, rito e teatro nella gran città di Milano nel Settecento*, ed. by F. Barbieri, R. Carpani and A. Mignatti (Milan: Biblioteca Ambrosiana, 2010), pp. 892–3.