

Gaetano De Angelis: 19th-Century *primo mimo* at the teatro San Carlo and ballet bibliophile

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> Fig. 1. Filippo Del Buono's costume design for Gaetano De Angelis as Bellial; *Figurino* No. 8 prepared for Giovanni Briol's *Miranda ossia La Figlia dell'Inferno*, Teatro di San Carlo, 26 January 1864.

Dallo *screening* in chiave coreutica del ricco materiale documentale presente nella Collezione dei figurini teatrali Carlo Guillaume, conservata a Napoli nella Sala Sigismondo della biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica "San Pietro a Majella", è possibile rintracciare molteplici quanto fondamentali elementi storico-analitici per la storia del ballo ottocentesco sulle Reali scene partenopee dei Teatri di San Carlo e del Fondo.¹

The *figurini* (costume sketches) housed in the library of Naples' Conservatory of Music "San Pietro a Majella" number 8258 separate pieces, of which 5370 are devoted to dance that was performed at some point over a forty-year period stretching from 1831 to 1871.³ While costume designs for a variety of *primi ballerini* and *prime ballerine* constitute part of this incredibly rich treasure-trove of images, the collection also includes costume sketches for scores of humble *corifei* – members of the *corpo di ballo* whose names were not included in Neapolitan ballet *libretti* for much of the *Ottocento*.⁴ Intriguingly, approximately one hundred of these dance-related images depict costumes designed specifically for the now-forgotten mime Gaetano De Angelis, one of the longest-serving *mimi* in the history of Neapolitan theatrical dance. In a short article such as this, it is impossible to address every *ballo* in which De Angelis appeared. Thus, I have chosen to present a representative sampling that gives insight into the overall shape of his career and indicates the kind of roles he was assigned. This information will be divided by decades to underscore the impressive length of his performing career. For a more complete listing of ballets in which he appeared, see the list of *figurini* (costume designs) that feature him in the Appendix, which is similarly organized chronologically and by decades.

As will be documented hereafter, Gaetano's relationship with the nineteenth-century *Reali Teatri* began as a pre-teen student in the *Scuola di Ballo* as early as 1830 and extended until at least 1889. The

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name «Signor De Angelis» also figures in scores of ballet *libretti* (scenarios) as a performer of principal (i.e., named) roles; nevertheless, his name is invariably absent from citations of the *primi ballerini* listed in these same *libretti* in the section entitled *Ballabili*, which featured character dances and *pas de deux*. There we find instead such well-known couples as Paolo Samengo and his wife Amalia Brugnoli, Giovanni Briol and his spouse Luigia Colombon, Alessandro Fuchs and his partner Luisa Taglioni-Fuchs, Francesco and Adélaïde Merante, or visiting artists whose names were certain to command large audiences, such as Fanny Elssler. Even though De Angelis's fame was not on par with that of these *ballerini*, a contextualized study of

his career as a mime may illuminate our understanding of the Neapolitan *ballo*, particularly in the areas of gender balance, casting patterns, and the importance of the royal onomastic tradition under the Bourbon monarchy.⁵ Wedding visual information from the Carlo Guillaume Collection to primary sources such as *libretti*, archival documents and newspaper accounts allows us to track De Angelis's rise within the company, highlights little-known facts about the history of the company's school, and suggests that, in addition to being a collector of *libretti*, the mime may have actually published several himself. The final years of De Angelis's career coincided with the waning role of mime within the European repertory as ballets moved in the direction of increased cast size and dazzling spectacle, which shift will also be addressed.

Costume designs such as those in the Carlo Guillaume Collection were intended to convey information about



Fig. 2. Filippo Del Buono, costume sketch for Gaetano De Angelis in his character as Opera Stage Manager; *Figurino* No. 12 for *L'Avaro*, Teatro di San Carlo, 9 April 1837. This costume – including long pants, lengthy frock coat, walking shoes, cane, and top hat – underscores that the performer was a mime rather than a *ballerino* in ballet slippers.

the performers' attires – from color, style, and fabric to supporting props, such as canes, scepters, wigs, beards, hats, shoes, and so on. Facial features, however, tended to be generic rather than strictly faithful to a given performer's actual likeness. Thus, despite scores of *figurini* ostensibly featuring Gaetano De Angelis, his actual likeness is shrouded in mystery and likely will remain so until a carte-de-visite photograph of him is identified. Nevertheless, his *persona* and suggestions regarding his personality are manifested in archival documents that demonstrate an unwavering commitment to his chosen profession. In this regard, a particularly telling episode, dating from 1861 and revealing a high degree of self-confidence, transpired not within the context of the San Carlo's ballet company but in relation to its *Scuola di Ballo*. So first, I shall present a succinct story of the school's organization and then a much more extended history of one of its most-accomplished students.

* Founded officially in 1812 during the short French reign of Joachim Murat as king of the Two Sicilies, the *Reale Scuola di Ballo* (known today as *La Scuola di Ballo del Teatro di San Carlo*) takes understandable pride in being the first of its kind in Italy and one of the oldest in Europe. (The ballet school at Milan's La Scala was founded in 1813, a year later).⁶ To accomplish its original mandate to produce superior dancers for the city's royal theaters (i.e., the Teatro del Fondo and the San Carlo), the Neapolitan school was to be divided, as initially proposed on 28 October 1811, into two schools or levels:⁷ a *scuola generale o primitiva* (general school for beginners), entrusted to the French-trained dancer and choreographer Pierre Hus (1766-1833),⁸ and a *scuola particolare o di perfezionamento* (an advanced school for the perfection of ballet and pantomime), under the direction of the Frenchman Louis Henry (1784-1836), who had already been operating a *corso di perfezionamento* out of his own lodging since 1 June 1811.⁹ When the school was formally organized in early 1812, the second (advanced) school was subdivided into two sections, with one assigned to Louis Henry and the other given to Salvatore Taglioni (1789-1868), who was already serving as *primo ballerino* and *primo pantomimo* at the San Carlo.¹⁰ Thirteen years later, in 1825, a separate school for training in *la mimica* (pantomime) was added and initially assigned to the aged choreographer Gaetano Gioja (1768-1826), who died the following year. The composite *Scuola di Ballo* flourished for several years until it was closed, for reasons that are not entirely clear, by order of Ferdinand II on 3 March 1840. It did not reopen until two decades later, during the era of Italian unification when control of Naples passed from the Bourbons to the king of Piedmont-Sardinia. Following a decree of 18 October 1860, the school was formally reorganized on 17 April 1861.¹¹

Upon the reopening of the school, its courses were supervised by Paolo Samengo (1797-1863) and Salvatore Taglioni, who although retired as a choreographer continued to teach classes. What has been overlooked until now is that when the *Scuola di Ballo* was scheduled for reopening in the spring of 1861, Gaetano De Angelis, *primo mimo* of the Royal Theaters in Naples, applied to (re)establish a separate school specifically for mime and offered his services as its director. His petition, dated 30 April 1861, was addressed to his Excellency, the Minister of Public Education in Naples (*Il Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione di Napoli*). In the request De Angelis cited the



Fig. 3. Felice Cerrone, costume design for Gaetano De Angelis as the Spanish knight Don Diego Garcia de Paredes; *Figurino* No. 4 for Salvatore Taglioni's *Ettore Fieramosca: Ballo storico diviso in prologo e cinque parti*, Teatro di San Carlo, 19 August 1837.

existence of distinct schools of mime in Milan and Turin and his perceived need for focused training in the art of mime, which was deemed necessary for choreography of the period. The only additional expense, he argued, would be the maestro's salary. The proposal, which I have lightly edited for clarity, reads as follows:

Eccellenza,
Gaetano De Angelis, primo mimo dei Reali Teatri, espone quanto segue:
Dovendosi riaprire le scuole di ballo, egli fa conoscere a V[ostra] E[ccellenza] che parimente farebbe bisogno anche quella di mimica, come esiste in Milano e Torino, così gli allievi potranno riescire abili ancora in quest'arte, tanto necessaria alla coreografia.

Tale insegnamento altra spesa positiva non aumenterebbe, che la sola paga del maestro.

Il suo accennato si propone di prendere un tale assunto, con la Speranza di fare onore alla scuola come a se stesso.

Egli tutto confida nella saviezza e bontà dell'E[ccellenza] V[ostra] ed attende un risultato.¹²



Fig. 4. Filippo Del Buono, costume design for Gaetano De Angelis as Quantecong, «genwio protettore di bambini»; *Figurino* No. 10 for Giovanni Briol's *Il Gobbo del Giappone*, Teatro del Fondo, November 1841.

The response to his request will be provided hereafter. In addition, in the reflections that follow, I shall address three questions: (1) Who was Gaetano De Angelis, who to date has been overlooked in standard histories of Italian dance? (2) How was he prepared to serve as a teacher and lead the school of pantomime he was proposing? and (3) How was his career influenced by the changing role of mime in Italian ballets during the last decade of the Italian *Risorgimento* (1861-1871) and beyond?¹³

The earliest document regarding Gaetano De Angelis in Naples' *Archivio di Stato* dates from the spring of 1830 and refers to him as a student enrolled in the *Reali Scuole di Ballo*. In order to take an exam, he needed to purchase proper attire. A notation records that he was reimbursed six *Carlini* for shoes and socks: «per scarpe, e calze in occasione dell'esame delle dette Reali Scuole eseguite ne' giorni 29, e 30 April 1830».¹⁴ Payments to cover basic expenses point to the fact that most of the students in the ballet school, at least as initially founded, did not come from well-to-do families. In fact, one of the stated goals in the proposal for the original *Scuola di Ballo* was to recruit morally upright students (as certified by the police) from poorer families and to give these *allievi* the opportunity to create a career on stage and improve their financial lot. Gaetano's name appears twenty-second in a non-alphabetical list of 57 reimbursed students, 44 of whom were males and only 13 of whom were females. These numbers provide the first indication or predictor of how

male-dominated the cast lists would be in Neapolitan *balli* of the period. In addition, the much higher number of male students appears in sharp contrast to the situation at the Paris Opéra's Dance Conservatory, where female students dominated and where the *ballet-pantomime* for which French students were being trained was more likely to be a *ballet-féerie* or subsequently, in the 1840s, a *ballet fantastique* than anything resembling a Neapolitan male-oriented *ballo storico* or *ballo eroico* full of soldiers, warriors, and noblemen. Consequently, females dominated the Paris conservatory and the three quadrilles that formed the Opéra's *corps de ballet*.

The year 1830 appears to be when Gaetano first associated with the school, as a second document from 1863 records that he had been associated with the Teatro di San Carlo, either as a student or as a member of the ballet company, for 33 years (i.e., since 1830).¹⁵ Thirty-three years of service, at least for a mime, was by no means the most recorded: in 1863 Luigi Fazio was listed at 39 years of service, Francesco Esposito at 41 years, and Gaetano Monaco at 43 years. Although the year of Gaetano's birth is not known, students to be admitted to the school had to be between the ages of 7 and 12. Accordingly, someone who started the school in 1830 would have been born between 1818 and 1823. De Angelis continued to perform until at least 1889, which means his association with the San Carlo eventually covered 59 years, during which we have documented evidence of at least 52 years of performances (1837-1889). Such a lengthy record paralleled in many respects that of the better-known Aline Dorsé at the Paris Opéra, whose performances as a dancer and mime stretched from the early 1820s to the mid-1870s.¹⁶

How was Gaetano De Angelis prepared so that by 1861 he esteemed himself qualified to serve as the maestro of a school of pantomime? First, he was trained by the celebrated dancer, pantomime, teacher, and choreographer Salvatore Taglioni; second, he appeared in prominent mimed roles in a very large number of choreographed works by S. Taglioni and other notable choreographers, as detailed hereafter; third, he had experience teaching private lessons, in addition to his public performances; and fourth, he was an avid collector (and presumably a reader) of Neapolitan ballet *libretti* that included a host of mimed roles and historical plots.

The earliest records of De Angelis performing at the Teatro di San Carlo in named roles are found in images and a *libretto*, all dating from



Fig. 5. Filippo Del Buono, costume design for Gaetano De Angelis as Zamor, the Tartar khan's confidant; *Figurino* No. 5 for Giovanni Briol's *Idamea*, Teatro di San Carlo, 12 June 1842.

1837, when presumably he would have been between the ages of 14 and 19.¹⁷ The earliest image (Fig. 2) is a costume sketch by Filippo Del Buono, who is described in *libretti* as the «Pittore pe' figurini del vestiario» (designer for the sketches for the wardrobe). The design is for Gaetano De Angelis in his role as «Direttore del Palcoscenico all'Opera» (Stage Manager at the Opera) in the ballet *L'Avaro* (The Miser), which debuted on 9 April 1837 and whose choreographer remains unknown. Del Buono provided 25 costume sketches for a cast that included such characters as Monsieur Bombardò, Madamigella Susetta (danced by Marianna Danese-Izzo), an opera *impresario*, flatterers of a *ballerina*, a marquis, a journalist, as well as knights and ladies, a satyr, nymphs, Cupid, and *amorini* (eight young Cupids). While no *libretto* appears to have survived, the names and roles of the characters, not to mention the title that echoes Molière's celebrated comedy *L'Avare*, suggest that Gaetano's first documented part was in a *ballo comico*.



Fig. 6. Filippo Del Buono, costume design for Gaetano De Angelis as an intendante (high-ranking official) of Lodovico di Godesberg; *Figurino* No. 6 for Salvatore Taglioni's *Carlo di Rovenstein*, Teatro del Fondo, 16 April 1843.

Four months later, De Angelis reappeared on San Carlo's stage on 19 August 1837 in what was clearly a *ballo storico* based on Massimo D'Azeglio's popular novel *Ettore Fieramosca* (1833). The homonymous *libretto* listed 25 named roles, including that of the Spanish knight Don Diego Garcia de Paredes, mimed by Gaetano. A costume design by Felice Cerrone for this role (Fig. 3) is extant in the Carlo Guillaume Collection. It shows a mustached performer wearing military apparel appropriate for a mime: a helmet, a cuirass, puffed striped shirt and trousers, colored hose, and a pair of black boots (rather than ballet slippers); the performer also carries an arquebus. Over a year later, Naples' *Programma giornaliero* for 25 November 1838 lists De Angelis as still performing in the same role as a Spanish soldier, a portent of similar roles to come.

For the remainder of the decade of the 1830s De Angelis's name is absent from extant ballet *libretti* and costume designs that I have been able to review. His roles as a teenage performer likely were limited to crowd scenes in which he appeared as one of dozens of *corifei* or members of the *corps de ballet*, whose names as a rule are not listed (as noted previously) in Neapolitan ballet *libretti*.¹⁸ He would have been seen on stage among the many pages, knights, soldiers, sailors, farmers, villagers, courtiers, noblemen, minor olympic gods, or fauns who populated historical and mythological ballets of the era. Whatever the case, it is only three years later, in 1841, when Gaetano presumably would have been between the ages of 18 and 23, that we find additional documentation of his specific roles. The significance of his

stage career becomes evident as *libretti* and programs for almost a half-century (1841-1889) record the types and range of roles that De Angelis performed in ballets of various genres and historical settings. What follows is a chronological listing by decades (to underscore the longevity of his career) of many of his roles, integrated with archival documents pertaining to his career and costume designs prepared specifically for him. Except where noted, the ballets discussed were performed on the stage of the Teatro di San Carlo.

THE 1840s. The decade of the 1840s was a busy period for De Angelis, with military and regal roles coming thick and fast. In a ballet *libretto* for the 20 May 1841 production of S. Taglioni's history ballet *Marco Visconti: Azione storica divisa in otto quadri*, De Angelis mimed an apparently age-appropriate role, that of a squire.¹⁹ (Knights' *scudieri* or squires traditionally ranged in age from 14 to 21). He was cast in the role of Galeotto, «scudiere di Lodrisio [Visconti]», who in turn was the relative and confidant («parente e confidente») of Marco Visconti, the ballet's protagonist; the main action was set in 1329 in Visconti-controlled Milan. Two months later, for the 31 July 1841 performance for the birthday («Fausto Giorno Natalizio») of Her Majesty Maria Teresa d'Austria, queen of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, Salvatore Taglioni choreographed *La Foresta d'Hermanstadt: Azione romantica divisa in sette parti*, and De Angelis performed as the mercenary Storc, one of two Wallachians hired by Osvaldo («Vallacchi assoldati da Osvaldo»), the *confidente* of Almarico, «Palatino di Hermanstadt». In this case, the action took place in Hermanstadt, in part in a forest on the border of Transylvania and Hungary, sometime in the 15th century. In these initial roles De Angelis was cast as a virile military type, as opposed to a comic mime or a sensitive lover.

As was the tradition at the Teatro di San Carlo under the Bourbons, a theatrical performance for members of the royal family was held not only for the monarch's birthday but also for his or her *onomastico* (the feast day of the saint for whom one is named). For example, October 15th was the feast day of St. Teresa, and to honor the queen (Maria Teresa d'Austria) Giovanni Briol chose a female heroine and choreographed *Olga di Cracovia: Ballo romantico diviso in tre epoche e otto quadri* for the «Fausto Giorno Onomastico». In a role intended to pay homage to and flatter the queen, the choreographer's wife, Luigia Colombon-Briol, was privileged to star in the title role. Her name appeared first in the list of 10 named roles; last on the list was that of



Fig. 7. Filippo Del Buono, costume design for Gaetano De Angelis as the King's Commissioner; *Figurino* No. 22 for Salvatore Taglioni's *L'Assedio di Leyda*, Teatro di San Carlo, 30 May 1843.

«Signor De Angelis», who played the role of Ritalzo, gypsy chieftain («Capo dei Gitanos»). The initial action was set in Cracow, Poland, which contributed to the *couleur locale* so characteristic of a ballet in the Romantic period.²⁰

Other examples of roles and costumes that exhibited *couleur locale* quickly followed. For example, the following month, in November 1841, Giovanni Briol choreographed a four-act ballet, *Il Gobbo del Giappone* (The Hunchback of Japan), for the Teatro del Fondo; in that work De Angelis appeared on stage in a samurai-style costume and holding a pole weapon (Fig. 4) as Quante-Cong, genie-protector of children («genio protettore di bambini»). Seven months later, on

12 June 1842, the same choreographer produced *Idamea: Balletto in tre atti*, in which De Angelis assumed one of five named roles – that of Zamor, confidant of the Tartar khan Timorkan; as such, De Angelis wore a Far Eastern warrior's garb, including a turban helmet (see Fig. 5).

Salvatore Taglioni's *L'Orgogliosa pentita: Ballo fantastico in quattro parti* debuted on 25 October 1841, with De Angelis cast as Artur, squire to the French knight Ernesto. There were nine named roles, three for females and six for males. To be cast as one of only six named men was a clear honor. In *La Zingara: Azione romantica divisa in prologo ed otto quadri*, based on Victor Hugo's extremely popular novel *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* and choreographed by Salvatore Taglioni for 12 January 1842, Ferdinand II's birthday, De Angelis was cast in the minor role of an officer of the archers («Un Ufficiale di Arcieri»). His name appeared last in the list of 14 characters in the eight scenes



Fig. 8. Filippo Del Buono, costume design for Gaetano De Angelis as Guglielmo Prichard, commander of the ship *Antelope*; *Figurino* No. 2 for Giovanni Briol's *I Viaggi di Gulliver*, Teatro del Fondo, 16 April 1843.

and just before the anonymous list of ladies, pages, people, gypsies, beggars, guards, and archers («Dame, Paggi, Popolo, Zingari, Mendicanti, Guardie, Arcieri»). The prologue took place in the vicinity of Reims in 1466; the action of the eight scenes occurred in Paris in the year 1482 and included the usual cast of the original novel's main characters, such as Esmeralda, Phoebus, Frollo, and Quasimodo. Although not a major player in the plot, De Angelis was important enough that his costume was specifically designed. Such attention to detail is one of many indications of the care with which productions were staged at the Royal Theaters.

On 31 July 1842 for the queen's annual birthday celebration, Giovanni Briol prepared *La Conquista del Messico: Ballo storico in sei atti*, which featured a cast of 12 named roles, only two of whom were for female dancers. Five males were cast as Spanish soldiers; and of the seven dancers who were cast as native Mexicans, five of them were also

males. De Angelis appeared on stage as a valorous tribal chief named Guatimozen, who came to the aid of his emperor Montezuma.

On 16 April 1843, Salvatore Taglioni's *Carlo di Rovenstein: Azione mimica in sei atti*, set in a German castle in 1501, debuted at the Teatro del Fondo. Although the name of De Angelis did not appear in the *libretto* for this ballet, Filippo Del Buono designed an impressive costume (Fig. 6) for the mime in his role as a bearded intendant of Lodovico di Godesberg.

For the feast day of St. Ferdinand on 30 May 1843, which was the king's *onomastico*, Salvatore Taglioni choreographed *L'Assedio di Leyda: Azione storica divisa in tre parti e sette quadri*, set in Leyden in 1574. Of the 11 named roles, nine were for males; De Angelis was cast as Diego De Guito, commissioner of the Spanish king and for whom an appropriately regal costume was designed (Fig. 7). Not quite three months later, on 18 August 1843, the *Impresa de' Reali Teatri* prepared a list of names of the *corps de ballet*, showing 90 «corifei, allievi e figuranti», who were divided as follows: 65 coryphées (37 males and 28 females in the *corps de ballet*), 14 students (6 males and 8 females), and 11 extras (9 males and 2 females).²¹ Note, once again, that there were more males than females in the *corpo di ballo*, a fact likely due to the high number of *balli storici* and *azioni storiche* that were performed for the royal family and that involved military members and male courtiers. In the non-alphabetical list of 65, the name of Gaetano De Angelis was numbered sixteenth.²²

At the Teatro del Fondo in 1843, two choreographers included De Angelis in their productions. First, on 1 July, Giovanni Briol produced *I Viaggi di Gulliver: Balletto comico in tre parti*, based on Jonathan Swift's four-part satirical work (published anonymously in 1726). De Angelis was cast as Guglielmo Prichard (Fig. 8), commander of the ship Antelope, one of six named roles in Part 1 and one of seven named roles in Part 2. Second, on 29 September, for Salvatore Taglioni's *Il Sarto di Sondrio: Ballo semiserio in otto atti*, even though De Angelis is not mentioned by name in the *libretto*, Filippo Del Buono created a costume design (Fig. 9) for him as a swashbuckling soldier with black leather boots, a plumed hat, and richly embroidered pants, blouse, and cape.

During the summer of 1843 De Angelis also performed as Teodoro, former Duke of Naples and one of nine named characters, in Giovanni Briol's *Stefano, Duca di Napoli: Ballo storico*. The ballet debuted at the San Carlo on 31 July 1843 for the birthday of Maria Teresa



Fig. 9. Filippo Del Buono, costume design for Gaetano De Angelis; *Figurino* No. 3 for Salvatore Taglioni's *Il Sarto di Sondrio*, Teatro del Fondo, 29 September 1843.

d'Austria. Del Buono prepared two costume designs for De Angelis, one for the first act (Fig. 10) and one for the mime's appearances in all subsequent acts (Fig. 11).

On 15 October 1843 Giovanni Briol choreographed *Gerardo di Nevers: Ballo in cinque atti* for the auspicious name day («Fausto Giorno Onomastico») of Maria Teresa d'Austria. Of the 10 named roles, De Angelis was one of six male performers. He appeared on stage as the Count of Dammartin, a grandee at the court of Louis VI, king of France, and father of Clotilde, the fiancée of Gerardo, Count of Nevers (the ballet's protagonist). This role for De Angelis marked the first time he was cast not just as a noble figure but also as a gray-haired father. Del



Fig. 10. Filippo Del Buono, costume design for Gaetano De Angelis as Teodoro, former Duke of Naples; *Figurino* No. 10 in Act I of Giovanni Briol's *Stefano, Duca di Napoli*, Teatro di San Carlo, 31 July 1843.

Buono prepared two costumes for the mime's roles (Figs 12 and 13). He must have performed admirably because of what transpired a month later. On 17 November 1843, four coryphées (Giovanna Marranzo, Maria Forti, Luigia Grassi, and Raffaele Bruno) chose not to renew their contracts. The *Impresario* presented a list of those who might be considered to replace these *corifei* in their respective parts. First on the list was Gaetano De Angelis, described in the document as excellent for the roles («ottimo per le parti»);²³

On 12 January 1844, for the annual birthday celebration of Ferdinand II, Antonio Guerra choreographed *Le Spose veneziane: Gran ballo storico in otto quadri*. De Angelis was assigned a minor role (one of two family members of the Venetian Doge, Pietro Candiano III) and was listed last of the 11 named characters in the ballet. Soon, however, De Angelis was cast in more mature roles, such as that of another father. For example, on 30 May 1844, for Ferdinand II's *onomastico*, Alfonso Demasier choreographed *Il Genio della montagna: Ballo in tre atti*. De Angelis was one of seven named characters (four males and three females) and was cast as Gualtiero (Fig. 14), father of Emma, the protagonist and promised bride of Olinto.

On 13 June 1844 in Salvatore Taglioni's *Il Coscritto: Balletto comico in 3 atti*, De Angelis mimed the part of Girolamo, one of 10 named roles (eight males and two females). The next month, on 9 July, he was honored at a «Serata a favore dell'altro primo mimo Gaetano De Angelis» at the San Carlo.²⁴ Three months after that, the saint's day for the Duke of Calabria, Francesco Maria Leopoldo, hereditary prince of the Two Sicilies, fell on October 4. For that occasion in Salvatore Taglioni's *La Coppa de' fidanzati: Azione storica in sette quadri*, set in Egypt in the vicinity of the pyramids, De Angelis enjoyed the prestigious role of

Fares – caliph of Giza (Fig. 15), father of the female protagonist Nestalia, and first of six named roles (five males and one female).

The Neapolitan broadside *Programma giornaliero degli spettacoli, balli, feste, concerti ed altri divertimenti pubblici*, dated 9 October 1844, confirms De Angelis's success in continuing in the role as Fares. In typical fashion for one of Salvatore Taglioni's ballets, the half-dozen named mimes conveyed the story, while the more purely balletic actions took place in various *quadri* (scenes) under the general rubric of *Ballabili* (dances or *divertissements*): first, *Gran danza di Schiave ed Egiziani* (grand dance of slaves and Egyptians, performed by coryphées of both sexes); next, *Marcia danzante* (danced march, again by coryphées of both sexes); then a *ballabile* by coryphées in conjunction with four principal dancers; a *passo a tre* (*pas de trois*), which featured Egidio Priora and *prime ballerine* Elena Grekowska and Luisa Taglioni (see Fig. 16, pp. 6-7 of the *libretto* for Salvatore Taglioni's *La Coppa de' fidanzati*). Like most mimes, the name of De Angelis, however prominent his role in Neapolitan cast lists, does not appear among the dancers mentioned by name in the section entitled *Ballabili*; this was true even if Gaetano danced among the *corifei* in the balletic *divertissements*. Instead, under the rubric *Ballabili* are found only the names of the *primi ballerini*, who performed solos or in *pas de deux*, *pas de trois*, or *pas de quatre*.

The following year, for Salvatore Taglioni's *Il Cid: Ballo in sei quadri*, set in Seville and produced on 12 January 1845 for Ferdinand II's birthday («natalizio») celebration, Signor De Angelis's name again appears first (in a cast list of seven), this time for his role as Don Fernando, king of Castille.²⁵ The costumes for such a kingly role were appropriately regal (see Figs. 17 and 18). As will be seen hereafter, it was not uncommon for a ballet performed for a royal personage to include a similarly titled noble in the production: a king in a ballet dedicated to the king; a duke in one performed in the presence of a duke. In this ballet Fernando also recalls the name of Ferdinando. The *ballabili* included a *Danza Nobile*, a *Gran Marcia*, and a *Nuovo Passo a due* (new *pas de deux*), danced by Egidio Priora and Elena Grekowska. A month later, on 8 February, Alfonso Demasier choreographed *Bonaventura ovvero Le Due parrucche: Balletto comico in quattro atti*, and De Angelis mimed another royal role, the part of Count Alfredo, one of ten named roles (evenly balanced, with five males and five females).

In the spring of 1845, De Angelis appeared as a military figure in ballets by two different choreographers in two different genres. On



Fig. 11. Filippo Del Buono, costume design for Gaetano De Angelis as Teodoro, former Duke of Naples; *Figurino* No. [11] in Acts 2 through 7 in Giovanni Briol's *Stefano, Duca di Napoli*, Teatro di San Carlo, 31 July 1843.

20 May, Alfonso Demasier produced *Cadet barbiere: Balletto comico in tre atti* and cast De Angelis as Selicout, «capitano reclutante» (recruiting captain), which was one of ten named roles (for eight males and two females). Ten days later, on 30 May, Giovanni Galzerani choreographed *Gli Abencerraghi ed I Zegrindi ovvero La Conquista di Granata: Azione mimica divisa in sei parti* for Ferdinand II's *onomastico*. Once again, De Angelis enjoyed pride of place. First in a list of nine named characters (7 males and 2 females), he mimed the coveted role of Fernando, king of Spain (see Fig. 19). A few weeks after that, in mid-June, «Il Pirata» announced that at the Teatro di San Carlo, «signor Gaetano De Angelis» now enjoyed the rank of «altro primo mimo» (other *primo mimo*).²⁶ Likewise, a week later, «Bazar di novità artistiche, letterarie e teatrali» registered that at the San Carlo there was the «altro primo mimo Gaetano de Angelis».²⁷ On 31 July, for the queen's birthday, Giovanni Galzerani choreographed a ballet with a female protagonist: *L'Eroina danese: Azione mimica in sei parti*, set in the 9th century. Of the eight named roles, however, only one was for a female; the other seven were for males, and De Angelis mimed the role of Acone, a Swedish general (see Fig. 20).



Figs. 12 & 13. Filippo Del Buono, costume designs for Gaetano De Angelis as Count of Dammartin; *Figurini* Nos. 2 and 3 for Giovanni Briol's *Gerardo di Nevers*, Teatro di San Carlo, 15 October 1843.

That autumn, in a *libretto* for 15 October 1845, De Angelis appeared as Abisarre, father of the protagonist Erissena (one of seven named roles, five for males and two for females), in Salvatore Taglioni's *Erissena: Ballo in sei atti*, set in India in a city on the Ganges. The next year, «Teatri arti e letteratura» published a list of dancers at the San Carlo, including «Altri mimi: Gaetano de Angelis-Cesare Jorio-Felice Giordano-Cesare d'Antonio».²⁸ The list is repeated in «Il Pirata», where Gaetano de Angelis is listed first in the *Compagnia di Ballo's* list of «altri mimi».²⁹ That list immediately preceded the one for the *corifei*.³⁰ In contrast to the Opéra in Paris, where the *corps de ballet* was divided hierarchically into three *quadrilles*, and coryphées were minor soloists who led the *quadrilles*, the San Carlo's company during this period continued to employ the designation *corifei* for the entire *corpo di ballo* without any hierarchical subdivisions.

In a tradition dating back to the eighteenth century, when there were four different styles of theatrical dance («la danse noble for the serious, the demi-caractère for the half-serious, the comique, and the grotesque»),³¹ the roles depicting noblemen in nineteenth-century ballet were often cast on taller members of the ballet company who stood out and were considered suitable for 'serious' or 'heroic' roles. Although we do not know the height of Gaetano De Angelis, he of-

ten portrayed such roles. On 4 October 1846 for the «Fausto Giorno Onomastico» of the Duke of Calabria, Francesco Maria Leopoldo, Gaetano mimed the role of another stately duke. Similarly, in Salvatore Taglioni's *Margherita Pusterla: Ballo storico-romantico diviso in prologo ed otto quadri*, Gaetano was cast as Luchino Visconti, Duke of Milan, who enjoyed pride of place in the list of a dozen «Personaggi degli otto quadri». The action was set in 1340 on Lake Como, in Milan, and on the banks of the river Adda. Exactly one year after the debut of *Margherita Pusterla*, on 4 October 1847, in Giovanni Briol's *Matilde e Malek-Adhel: Ballo in dieci quadri*, De Angelis mimed the role of the noble Count of Leicester. The scene was set variously in the island of Cyprus, Ptolemais (ancient Palestine), Damietta (Egypt), and a nearby desert in circa 1150.

In this decade, De Angelis continued to appear intermittently in ballets on the stage of Naples' second theater, the Teatro del Fondo. For example, when Giovanni Briol choreographed *La Giovane russa: Ballo semiserio in quattro atti* in 1847 for that theater, Gaetano was cast as Sawanoff, a wealthy Russian farmer and former soldier. The main cast consisted of 10 named performers, only three of whom were female. That same year Salvatore Taglioni composed and directed *La Straniera: Ballo romantico in sei atti* for the same theater and cast De Angelis as Il Signore di Montolino, tutor of the Count of Ravenstal and father of Isoletta, promised bride of Arturo, Count of Ravenstal. The action took place in the castle of Montolino in Brittany towards the beginning of the 13th century. Of the eight principal performers in the ballet, five (i.e., the majority) were males.



On 6 January 1848, 23 members of the *corps de ballet* at the *Reali Teatri* refused to show up for a rehearsal in protest of their salaries being delayed and their having to obtain loans at high rates of interest from usurers (loan sharks). Gaetano De Angelis was one of those performers who went on strike during a year of political instability up and down the Italian peninsula.³² The following week, however, for the birthday of Ferdinand II on 12 January, in an indication of how strong the onomastic tradition remained in Naples, De Angelis assumed one of nine named roles (six for males and three for females) in Giovanni Briol's *Olema: Gran ballo in sei quadri*. He was cast as the «Sommo Bramino di Cachemir» (High Brahmin of Kashmir, India), and Del Buono prepared an elegant full-length costume (Fig. 21) for his priestly role.

The following year, on 30 May 1849, for a ballet choreographed for

the *onomastico* of Ferdinand II, Gaetano was assigned the regal role of Agramante, king of Africa. Consequently, the name of De Angelis appeared first in a list of eight named performers in Salvatore Taglioni's work based on Ariosto's *Orlando furioso: Bradamante e Ruggiero: Azione fantastica in sette quadri*. To be cast in the role of a duke for a performance on the duke's saint's day and in the role of a king for a ballet on the king's saint's day suggests the high degree of confidence that the choreographer and theater management placed in Signor De Angelis because of the implied connection between the living royalty and the royalty depicted on stage. That did not mean, however, that all his roles were major. In Filippo Izzo's *La Esordiente: Nuovo balletto in 3 atti*, which debuted on 3 September 1849, De Angelis mimed the minor role of «un direttore» (a director), which was one of eight named roles (seven for males and one for a female).

THE 1850s. The list of mimes at the Teatro di San Carlo in the 1850s mirrors that of the previous decade.³³ In «L'Italia musicale», we find among the *mimi* the following: «Gaetano De Angelis, Federico Fusco, Cesare Iorio, Felice Giordano, Cesare d'Antonio».³⁴ The genre of ballets offered in the new decade, however, tended towards the light-hearted, settings in foreign lands, the carnivalesque, and what the French termed the *ballet fantastique*. On 15 May 1850, the mime-turned-choreographer Federico Fusco choreographed the light-hearted *La Pioggia ed il collegiale: Balletto comico in un atto e due scene* and cast his fellow mime De Angelis as Crisostomo, father of the college



Fig. 14. Filippo Del Buono, costume for Gaetano De Angelis as Gualtiero; *Figurino* No. 1 for Alfonso Demasier's *Il Genio della montagna*, Teatro del Fondo, 30 May 1844.

girl Giorgina and one of seven named roles (six for males and one for a female). In the summer of 1851, De Angelis was cast as the nobleman Baron Poliski in Andrea Palladino's *La Baronessa Poliski: Azione mimo-danzante in 4 atti*, set in Poland. The following year De Angelis accepted the minor role of Sandrida in fellow mime Fusco's another attempt at choreography, *Batilde Wolman: Ballo fantastico in quattro atti*, produced for the Teatro del Fondo. The ballet, in which the female protagonist (unhappy in love) invoked witches for assistance, did not enjoy much success: «L'argomento non ha commosso il nostro Pubblico, e nonostante che le condizioni di *Batilde* facessero pietà, pure fu duro e disapprovò l'aver ella cercato in aiuto suo le streghe, potendo forse togliersi altrimenti da quel difficile incarico».³⁵

On 31 July 1852, De Angelis appeared on stage as the Greek prince Erimano's squire, one of six named roles, in Filippo Izzo's *La Protetta d'amore: Ballo fantastico in tre atti* back at the Teatro di San Carlo. In

December 1852 in the newspaper «Il Buon gusto», Gaetano de Angelis is listed at Napoli's *Reali Teatri* in the *Compagnia di ballo* among the *mimi*, although not as the «Primo mimo assoluto», or even among the *Primi mimi*.³⁶ Likewise during this same period, in the newspaper «Lo Scaramuccia», his name appears first in a simple list of mimes: «Mimi, sigg. Gaetano de Angelis, Federigo Fusco, Cesare d'Antonio, Felice Giordano».³⁷

On 12 January 1853 Gaetano De Angelis was cast as another nobleman, Conte Pinneberg in Salvatore Taglioni's *Olfa: Ballo fantastico diviso in un prologo e quattro epoche*. Two months later, on 27 March, Filippo Izzo choreographed *La Esordiente ossia Un Carnevale a Parigi: Balletto in tre parti*, and De Angelis was cast as an official («un ufficiale»), one of seven named roles in Part 1 (six for males and one for a female). The following month, on 17 April, Filippo Izzo produced *La Fidanzata scozzese: Ballo di mezzo carattere in quattro atti* and cast De Angelis as Williames, one of a dozen named roles (10 for males and two for females). The ballet was well received («fu accolta con dimostrazioni di simpatia»), even though the *pas de deux* by Francesco Merante and his wife was not («il passo però non piacque gran fatto»).³⁸

The next year, on 12 January 1854, in *Hulda, Leggenda islandese del secolo VIII: Azione fantastica in sei quadri*, choreographed by Alessandro Fuchs and Salvatore Taglioni, De Angelis enjoyed the role of Rogvaldo, father of the protagonist Hulda, in action set in the eighth century. Three months later, on 16 April, Filippo Izzo choreographed *Le Asutzie amorose: Balletto buffo in due atti* for the Teatro del Fondo and cast De Angelis as Dorivaldo, one of a dozen named parts (eight for males and four for females). A shift in his status within the company seems to have occurred that spring. On 30 May, De Angelis was honored to be listed first among the *primi ballerini e mimi* in Salvatore Taglioni's *L'Araba*. On 31 July, in Federico Fusco's *Azurina: Azione fantastica in tre atti*, De Angelis mimed the role of Kapaarre, follower of the protagonist Azurina, «Fata e signora dell'isola del piacere». The first and second acts were set on Pleasure Island («Isola del piacere»), and the third act took place in a village in Poland. On 4 October, De Angelis appeared on stage as Epitamoro in Filippo Izzo's *Parione in Persia: Gran ballo fantastico in cinque parti*. Commenting on the tedious length of this production, «The Musical World» recorded, «The ballet is in five acts, so that we most positively decline to enter into the argument». That said, the critic judged the ballet «extremely successful»; the scenery, «magnificent»; the mu-



Fig. 15. Filippo Del Buono, costume design for Gaetano De Angelis as the Caliph Fares; *Figurino* No. 1 for Salvatore Taglioni's *La Coppa de' fidanzati*, Teatro di San Carlo, 4 October 1844.

sic, «lively and well written».³⁹ As with most reviews of Italian ballets in this period, only the *primi ballerini* (Luisa Taglioni and Francesco Merante) were cited by name.

On 12 January 1855, for Ferdinand II's *onomastico*, Salvatore Taglioni choreographed *Naâma: Ballo fantastico in due epoche e cinque parti*, based on Perrault's tale of Sleeping Beauty, and cast De Angelis in first place as the Duke of Luxembourg. On 18 February, the *ballerino* Alessandro Fuchs undertook to choreograph *Katty: Ballo diviso in quattro parti e sei quadri*, but in this case Gaetano mimed the part of Scarbinski, a shopkeeper, one of 11 named roles, all but one of which were for men. The sole female role (of Katty) was naturally reserved

for Fuchs' wife, Luisa Taglioni-Fuchs. On 16 May, Filippo Izzo produced at the Teatro del Fondo *Un Sogno o La Bella fanciulla di Gand: Azione mimica in sette parti*, in which De Angelis was cast as the rich goldsmith Cesario (one of 10 named roles, six for men and four for women). On 29 June, Filippo Izzo choreographed *I Paggi del conte di Provenza: Ballo di mezzo carattere in tre atti* and cast De Angelis as Dorival, one of ten named roles (five for men and five for women). On 31 July, for the *onomastico* of Maria Teresa d'Austria, De Angelis mimed one of only four named roles, that of Carlo, one of two invalid soldiers who worked as a hotelier and was the

father of Alfonso in Salvatore Taglioni's *Raimondo o Il Vecchio soldato: Ballo in tre parti*. That autumn, on 4 October 1855, for the feast day of Francesco Maria Leopoldo, the hereditary prince, De Angelis was cast in the role of Thor, «filosofo e gran Sacerdote Scandinavo» (a philosopher and Scandinavian high priest), in Salvatore Taglioni's *Groa: Ballo fantastico diviso in prologo e tre parti*. The ballet was set in Scandinavia, and De Angelis enjoyed one of five named roles in the Prologue. «Il Pirata» in October 1855 recorded that the San Carlo's mimes remained the same: «mimi signori Gaetano De Angelis, Cesare D'Antonio e Felice Giordano».⁴⁰

On 23 March 1856, Salvatore Taglioni reproduced Joseph Mazilier's *I Bucanieri: Ballo in tre parti e cinque scene* and cast De Angelis as the Viceroy, one of seven named roles (five for men and two for women). A half-year later, on 1 October, the San Carlo's *primo mimo assoluto* Giovanni Pingitore reproduced Pietro Hus's' *I Matti per forza*

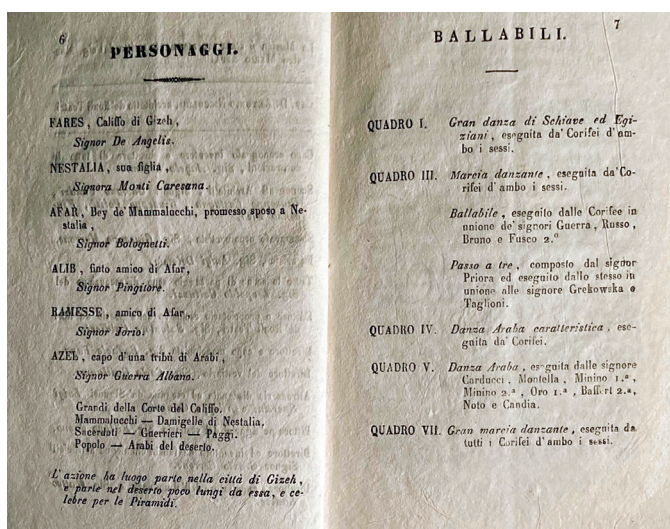


Fig. 16. From the libretto of Salvatore Taglioni's *La Coppa de' fidanzati* (Napoli, Flautina, 1844, pp. 6-7), showing the cast list («Personaggi») and the danced divertissements («Ballabili»). From the Debra H. Sowell and Madison U. Sowell Dance Collection.

ossia *L'Avarizia punita: Ballo comico in tre atti* and cast De Angelis as the Colonel, one of 11 named roles (nine for men and two for women). A month later, on 7 November, Salvatore Taglioni choreographed *Lauretta e Lubino: Ballo di mezzo carattere in tre atti*. In that ballet De Angelis mimed the role of D'Orbac, the intendant of the Duke, one of nine roles (six for men and three for women). The following spring, on 12 April 1857, Salvatore Taglioni's *Il Vecchio della foresta: Ballo storico in due parti e cinque quadri* debuted with De Angelis as Jago, one of eight named characters (five males and three females). Later that year some clarifications were made as to the order of the mimes. In *Notizie interne, estratte dal Giornale del Regno delle Sue Sicilie* (19 September 1857), we read for the «Prospetto di appalto per lo Real Teatro S. Carlo dal 4 Ottobre corrente anno 1857 a tutto Sabato di Passione 1858», under the rubric «Compagnia di ballo», the following: «PRIMO MIMO ASSOLUTO signor Gennaro Bolognetti. PRIMO MIMO signor Giovanni Pingitore. PRIMO MIMO con l'obbligo di supplire al primo assoluto signor Gaetano de Angelis». In other words, De Angelis was still a *primo mimo*, but he had the right to substitute, when needed, for the *primo mimo assoluto*. His status appeared unchanged at the end of the following year when we read in «La Fama» of the «primi mimi assoluti Domenico e Costanza Segarelli e Gennaro Bolognetti, primi mimi Gaetano De Angelis, Gaetano Petito e Leopoldo De Novellis, mimo caratterista Luigi Fazio».⁴¹

The description «mimo caratterista» (character mime) for Luigi Fazio recalls the category of 'character' performers but also raises the question of what categories of mime existed in mid-nineteenth-century ballet productions in Naples. In one archival document, which also lists Fazio as «primo mimo caratterista», we read that Nicola Fusco was «primo mimo amoroso», while Leopoldo De Novellis and Gaetano De Angelis were each listed individually as being simply «parte de' mimi» (with no descriptive adjective).⁴² Given that 'amorous' characters, in the tradition of *commedia dell'arte*, were often comic figures on stage, it may be that Fusco as an 'amorous' also fell into the category of a 'comic' mime.⁴³

THE 1860s. Whether or not that is the case for Fusco, De Angelis usually portrayed soldiers, noblemen, and fathers and consequently may be categorized as a mime more in the 'noble' (serious or heroic) genre. For example, on 10 July 1860, Ferdinando Walpot's *Margherita Gautier: Nuovo ballo mimo-danzante in 3 atti e 6 scene* debuted with De Angelis as the distinguished Dottor Granville, one of seven



Fig. 17. Filippo Del Buono, first costume design for Gaetano De Angelis as the King; *Figurino* No. 1 for Salvatore Taglioni's *Il Cid*, Teatro di San Carlo, 12 January 1845.

named roles (five for men and two for women). However, in Dario Fissi's *Rigoletta: Balletto semiserio in tre atti* produced for Winter 1861, De Angelis was cast as a non-royal figure, that of the artist Cabrion, friend of Carlo Duresceul, secretary of the royal notary Don Jacopo; furthermore, the scene was set in Paris in the last days of Carnival in 1700. Then, in *Salvator Rosa: Azione mimica in 4 atti*, based on Jules Perrot's *Catarina*, De Angelis was cast once again as a duke – the «Duca di Colle Albano», one of eight named roles (six for men and two for women).

As noted earlier, the decade of the 1860s marked a politically volatile period in Italian history. Garibaldi's 1860 invasion of Sicily and

then the mainland, the overthrow of the Bourbon monarchy, and the establishment of the Kingdom of Italy in 1861 introduced especially dramatic changes – some good and some bad – to Naples. On 2 November 1860, 42 employees of the *Reali Teatri*, including Gaetano De Angelis, signed a petition to the Minister of Public Education complaining that they were being taken advantage of by usurers who were charging a most scandalous 60% interest rate («uno scandalosissimo interesse del 60 per cento») and who were sequestering their salaries from the Royal Treasury before the performers could be paid.⁴⁴ As a result, the employees found themselves in desperate need of funds to care for their families («a poter tirare innanzi la loro vita con le famiglie») and requested that they be paid directly before the funds could be sequestered (illegally from their viewpoint) by unscrupulous usurers. This unusual request was granted,⁴⁵

but not all requests received the same positive response, which brings us to De Angelis's petition to head a *Scuola di Mimica*.

On 30 April 1861, De Angelis submitted his request, quoted earlier, for appointment as maestro of a separate school of mime. The recorded response consisted of a one-line annotation in the margin of the application. It read that the position of maestro of mime was not being considered in the competition: «La piazza di maestro di mimica non è considerata nel concorso». Why mime was not considered worthy of having its own separate maestro at the start of the 1860s will be addressed at the end of these reflections. Despite the decision not to appoint De Angelis as the director of a school of (panto)mime, he soldiered on and continued his remarkable service at the San Carlo for almost three more decades, the highlights of which will be cited hereafter.

A few months after his petition was turned down, in the Summer



Fig. 18. Filippo Del Buono, second costume design for Gaetano De Angelis as the King; *Figurino* No. 2 for Salvatore Taglioni's *Il Cid*, Teatro di San Carlo, 12 January 1845.

season of 1861, De Angelis mimed the role of Don Giulio Genoino, partner of Masaniello in Filippo Izzo's homonymous ballet *Masaniello: Gran ballo storico diviso in sei parti*, set in 1647 and based on Daniel Auber's famous opera *La Muta di Portici*. In Winter 1862, listed first in the cast list for Lorenzo Viena's *Pedrilla: Ballo in cinque atti*, set in Spain, was De Angelis as Don Alvaro, count of Carola, father of Don Carlo, and one of eight named roles. In Autumn 1862, he mimed the role of Sab, a young Negro, in Giuseppe Rota's *Bianchi e Neri: Azione storica-allegorica in sei quadri*, set in America and based on Harriet Beecher Stowe's 1852 novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. The role of Sab in its Autumn 1863 debut at Milan's La Scala had been undertaken by the widely acclaimed mime Effisio Catte, and it was undoubtedly an honor for De Angelis to follow in Catte's footsteps. In Filippo Izzo's *Giovanni da Procida: Gran ballo storico in sei parti*, also in 1862, De Angelis mimed the relatively minor role of Ugo di Brenne, «Capitano». The action took place in Palermo in 1281-82 during the reign of Carlo d'Angiò, «Re delle Sicilie».

On 28 October 1862, the *Impresa* issued a petition to have male employees of the *Reali Teatri* exempted from service in the *Guardia Nazionale* (National Guard). Gaetano De Angelis was one of a dozen men in the First Legion included in this request, which was granted. We know that during this period he was giving private dance lessons because of a certificate of progress, dated 18 August 1863, that he made for a female student: «Certifico io sottoscritto gualmente la nominata Giulia Campanile, Allieva Corifea dei Reali Teatri è data da me lezione di ballo e la stessa progredisce nello studio. In fede del vero ne lascio il presente da me sottoscritto. Napoli, 18 Agosto 1863, Gaetano De Angelis».⁴⁶

In 1863 De Angelis also assumed what was for him an unusual role in that it was amorous: he was cast as Acson, the secret lover of Jenny, who in turn was the lover of the Prince, who was the antagonist of the heroine Emma in Lorenzo Viena's *Emma: Ballo romantico in cinque atti*. In another departure from his usual roles, on 26 January 1864 De Angelis appeared as an evil spirit when he was cast as the devil Bellial in Giovanni Briol's *Miranda ossia La Figlia dell'Inferno: Ballo fantastico in 6 quadri* (see Fig. 1). In Winter 1864 in *Velleda: Azione coreografica in cinque quadri* by Giuseppe Rota, De Angelis mimed the role of Eliodoro, an officer. The action was set in Ephesus at the time of the emperor Valeriano and his favorite Velleda. In Filippo Izzo's *Il Corazziere di Brest: Azione mimica in tre atti* for Carnival 1865, De Angelis



Fig. 19. Filippo Del Buono, costume design for Gaetano De Angelis as Accone, a Swedish general; *Figurino* No. 9 for Giovanni Galzerani's *L'Eroina danese*, Teatro di San Carlo, 31 July 1845.

enjoyed the role of Alfonso Desnoyes, colonel of the cuirassiers («colonello dei corazzieri»). The action was set in the port city of Brest, France, in the present.

In *Anna di Masovia: Azione mimica in 5 atti*, originally choreographed by Giuseppe Rota but staged by Giuseppe Bini for Rome's Teatro Apollo for Carnival 1866, Gaetano De Angelis traveled north to Rome and enjoyed lead billing (first in the list of eight named roles) as a nobleman and father in the role of Dasichuwik, «Duca di Masovia, padre di Anna». The action took place in Masovia, a province of Poland. In May 1867, in preparation for the arrival of Prince

Amedeo and his bride in Naples, six members of the «Società Artistico-Musicale del Teatro S. Carlo», including Gaetano De Angelis, wrote to the Prefect of the city and province of Naples asking for financial support to stage a «piccolo divertimento all'Augusta Altezza». ⁴⁷ At the beginning of October 1867 «Il Teatro» listed Gaetano De Angelis as simply one among the San Carlo's mimes. ⁴⁸ In Autumn 1869, De Angelis was cast as the noble Marquis of Tavannes in Giuseppe Rota's *La Contessa d'Egmont: Ballo in cinque atti*, reproduced by Giuseppe Bini and set in Paris in the first half of the eighteenth century.

THE 1870s. Hippolyte Monplaisir (1821-1877), a French dancer, ballet-master, and choreographer became well-known in Italy in the 1860s for several of his ballets, some of which made their way to Naples. In his celebrated *Brahma: Ballo in un prologo e sette atti*, presented at the San Carlo in March of 1869, the named roles were gender-wise more evenly balanced than in

most of the ballets in which De Angelis had previously performed. Of the 13 named roles, six were for females and seven were for males. De Angelis was cast as Heder-Ali, chief of the Thuggs (a sect of stranglers). In Monplaisir's *Estella: Ballo di mezzo-carattere in 4 atti e 5 scene* for the season of Lent in 1870, De Angelis mimed the role of De Busy, an officer. The action took place in the surroundings of Paris in 1770. In *Alfa ed omega: Azione ciclica in cinque atti ed otto quadri*, also by Monplaisir, performed in Winter 1872, De Angelis mimed two roles: that of Palemone, father of Cosroe in «L'Età dell'oro» (The Age of Gold) and, in «L'Età di ferro» (The Age of Iron), that of Giordano, servant of the Duke of Vannoe and father of Ivonne, vassal of the Duke and fiancée of Eric, another of the Duke's vassals.

For Carnival and Lent 1876-77, De Angelis performed as Barone Wolfango, the adoptive father of the orphan Gretchen, in Luigi Danesi's *Gretchen: Ballo romantico-fantastico in 7 quadri*. For Carnival



Fig. 20. Filippo Del Buono, costume design for Gaetano De Angelis as the High Brahmin of Kashmir; *Figurino* No. 4 in Giovanni Briol's *Olema* (12 January 1848).

and Lent 1876-77, De Angelis was the head pirate («Capo dei pirati») in Ferdinando Pratesi's *Ermanzia: Ballo in sette scene*. For Carnival and Lent 1877-78, De Angelis mimed the role of Andrea Costa, one of eight named roles, in Luigi Manzotti's *Rolla: Ballo storico in 6 atti e 7 quadri*, set during the time of Cosimo I de' Medici. The *libretto* was published by G. De Angelis e Figlio, raising intriguing possibilities.⁴⁹ For Carnival 1878, De Angelis was Bravatura in Ferdinando Pratesi's *La Figlia del Corsaro: Ballo in 6 quadri*. For Lent 1878, De Angelis was Duke of Gonzales in Ferdinando Pratesi's *Bianca di Nevers: Ballo in 5 atti ed un prologo in due scene*.

THE 1880s. For the 1880-81 season, De Angelis was cast as Tommaso, the father of Alain, in Paolo Taglioni's version of *La Fille mal gardée: Nuovo ballo di mezzo carattere in 4 quadri*, reproduced by Giuseppe Mendez and published by G. De Angelis e Figlio. For Lent 1882, De Angelis was cast as a miner («Minatore») in Manzotti's *Pietro Micca: Ballo storico in otto quadri*, the ballet that made Manzotti famous after it was first staged in Rome in 1871 and produced at La Scala in 1875. During Carnival and Lent 1882-83, De Angelis appeared in Luigi Danesi's *Arduino d'Ivrea: Azione coreografica storico-fantastico-allegorica in due parti ed otto quadri*, as «Un Capo di pirati»; then he was Charlemagne in Antonio Pallerini's *Le Due gemelle: Azione coreografica in un prologo e sei atti*. That *libretto* was also published by G. De Angelis e Figlio and dated 1882. For Lent in 1884, De Angelis was Ozia, governor of Bethulia, in Ferdinando Pratesi's *Giuditta: Ballo in sei atti e sette scene*. In the 1884-85 season, De Angelis appeared as Lentulo, proconsul of Corinth, in Antonio Pallerini's *Nerone: Azione mimica in cinque atti*. In 1885 the mime performed as Jadmone, a rich Egyptian merchant and slaveowner, in Raffaele Grassi's *Rodope: Azione coreografia in 6 quadri*. For Carnival and Lent 1885-86, De Angelis was Andrea Costa, the Genoese senator, in another Manzotti spectacle, *Rolla: Ballo storico in sei atti e sette quadri*, reproduced by Achille Coppini. In Raffaele Grassi's *Teodora: Azione coreografica in tre parti e dodici quadri* for the Carnival-Lent 1887-88 season, De Angelis was cast in three roles: General Giustino; Teocrito, «Capo della fazione Verde»; and Andramiti, «Carnefice». The ballet was set in the year 519 A.D. In 1889, Gaetano De Angelis is simply listed as «Uno Schiavo» (a slave) among the large cast in Luigi Danesi's grand spectacle *Messalina: Grandiosa azione storica geografica*. The printer was given as De Angelis, G. & Figlio (see Figs. 23 and 24).

It is important to recall that Gaetano De Angelis did not limit him-



Fig. 21. Filippo Del Buono, costume design for Gaetano De Angelis as the High Brahmin of Kashmir; *Figurino* No. 4 in Giovanni Briol's *Olema* (12 January 1848).

self to performing. He also collected the *libretti* or scenarios of ballets that preceded and coincided with his time as a student and performer. His role as a book collector came to my attention some two decades ago when my wife and I acquired his personal collection of seven bound volumes of ballet *libretti*, containing the cast lists and plot summaries of 198 different works. It appears that during his lengthy service as a mime he personally collected, organized, and had bound together these *libretti* (Fig. 22), which range in publication dates from 1788 to 1834. More than half of the ballets were produced for the Teatro di San Carlo, and about 40 were for the Teatro del Fondo. Outside of Naples, two *libretti* date from 1788, one by Onorato Viganò for *Rinaldo, ed Armida o sia La Conquista di Sionne*, produced at Rome's Teatro Argentina, and one by Domenico Ricciardi for *Capitan Sander nell'Isola Carolina*, presented at Venice's Teatro San Samuele. Pierre Gardel's *Télémaque dans l'isle de Calypso* (Paris, 1790) is among a handful of French ballet examples in the De Angelis collection. A few, dating between 1807 and 1824, were for ballets at Milan's la Scala and Palermo's Teatro Carolino. Among the choreographers most frequently represented were Gaetano Gioja, Antonio Guerra, Louis Henry, Pietro Hus, Salvatore Taglioni, Armand Vestris, and Salvatore Viganò, all of whom created works rich in the *ballo pantomimo* tradition, one that relied on extensive mimed passages to convey complicated narrative plots. These ballets would have been works in the style that shaped Gaetano's assumptions about the necessary characteristics and possible themes of Italian nineteenth-century mimed works. The genre descriptors attached to individual ballets in the collection De Angelis assembled reveal the wide range of *balli* with which he was familiar. In addition to the *ballo pantomimo* and *ballo storico*, we find the *ballo magico*, *ballo anacreontico*, *balletto comico*, *ballo tragico*, *ballo di mezzo carattere*, *ballo mitologico*, *ballo campestre*, *ballo eroico*, and variations on these genres.⁵⁰ This remarkable assemblage of ballet scenarios suggests that De Angelis brought into his home, into his intellectual life, and into his career a rich historical and cultural tradition that encompassed mime but also stretched beyond the borders of mimed dance. The plots of these *balli* treat ancient history, classical dramas, mythology, legends, the crusades, Shakespeare, and literary history, as well as themes related to love and death, vengeance and forgiveness, virtue and vice, freedom and imprisonment.

Why might a mime such as De Angelis go to the expense and trouble of collecting so many examples of ballet *libretti*? One answer relates to a successful mime's need for a broad humanistic education. Since at least the era of Lucian of Samosata in the second century AD, knowledge of history, mythology, and the liberal arts played a key role

in the training of outstanding mime dancers. Lucian wrote at length in his dialogue on mimed dancing what he thought a dancing mime should know and master:

Dimostrerò per altro le qualità che deve avere un bon Ballerino, per far vedere, che quest'arte non è delle più facili. Perché bisogna che il Pantomimo o professore di ballo, che è quello di cui intendo parlare, sappia molte cose come la Poesia, la Geometria, la Musica e la Filosofia stessa... Bisogna che abbia ancora l'arte di esprimere le passioni, e i moti dell'anima che insegna la Rettorica, e ch'ei prenda dalla Pittura, e dalla Scultura le diverse positure, e atteggiamenti di modo Ma soprattutto à bisogno della memoria; perché conviene che... sappia il presente, il passato, e l'avvenire, e che gli abbia sempre presenti al suo spirito per poterli rappresentare nelle occasioni. Deve poi sapere particolarmente esplicare le apprensioni dell'animo, e scoprire i suoi sentimenti coi gesti, e il movimento del corpo.... Per sua materia, l'istoria antica o piuttosto la favola gliene fornisce sufficientemente.⁵¹

The Italian translation of Lucian that I quote dates from the last quarter of the eighteenth-century and was dedicated to Antonio Muzarelli (1744-1821), «inventore ed esecutore di balli» (inventor and choreographer of ballets). This particular edition contains thoughtful annotations that include references to the contemporary (late eighteenth-century) debates about what constituted the ideal ballet. In addition, the translator provides lengthy explanatory notes about the necessity of solid training in the liberal arts if a modern-era mime is to achieve recognition and renown.

L'art du geste, connu chez les Romains sous le nom de Saltatio, se nommoit ORCHESIS chez les Grecs. On l'appeloit aussi Chironomia, [...] qui signifie règle de la main.⁵²

L'antica Chironomia, ossia l'arte di gestire con le mani non si usò unicamente dagli oratori pel computo, ma eziandio dalle persone di teatro per rappresentare qualunque azione in pantomima al compasso della musica.⁵³

Io tengo pur sempre che l'arte la più propinqua alla verità e al buon gusto debba esser la mimica.⁵⁴

Grâce à la mimique, un ballet se transforme en comédie et acquiert alors tout l'intérêt d'un ouvrage traversé savamment par une intrigue.⁵⁵

'Gesture' that is, visible bodily action that is considered to be a part of a person's willful expression, has recently begun to draw much scholarly attention.⁵⁶

The history of mime, miming, and mimicry – referring to the theatrical employment of hand gestures, facial expressions, and body posture and movements to suggest feelings, actions, character, or plot development – and its relation to dance (and, in particular, to ballet) is long and complex.⁵⁷ Scholarly debates have raged over the relationship, if any, between ancient Rome’s pantomimus (pantomime) – a mute dancer who donned a closed-mouth mask and performed stories by means of body movements and gestures – and medieval mimes, whether the itinerant jester who performed improvised mimes or the silent participant in mystery plays who mimed the actions.⁵⁸ The connection of an-



Fig. 22: Seven bound volumes containing 198 ballet libretti from the personal collection of Gaetano De Angelis. From the Debra H. Sowell and Madison U. Sowell Dance Collection.

cient theater to shows and farces of the Renaissance (which heralded a rebirth of interest in classical antiquity) and to Baroque-era performances of masked troupes of *commedia dell'arte all'improvviso* (1550-1750) is clearer. Similarly complex, however, is the story of the influence of the *commedia dell'arte* on the ballet d'action espoused by John Weaver (1673-1760) in England, Franz Hilverding (1710-1768) in Austria, Gasparo Angiolini (1731-1803) in Italy, and Jean-Georges Noverre (1727-1810) in France and across Europe. Ballet d'action emphasized theme (the subject matter, whether mythological or historical) and plot (how the story was told) over choreographed dancing. Mime was essential to this type of plot-oriented ballet, and Neapolitan ballet enjoyed a long history of employing mime, one that stretched from the period of Gennaro Maggri's 'grotesque' style of dancing in the 1770s through scores of *balli pantomimi* choreographed Gaetano Gioja and Salvatore Taglioni.

As we have seen, Gaetano De Angelis was professionally trained in dance and mime in Naples at the *Reale Scuola di Ballo* and displayed his excellence in miming in a career that spanned over a half-century. As a *primo mimo* (and even before), he was often cast in serious (non-comic) roles as a military figure, father, or nobleman. As a book collector, he enjoyed ready access to balli based on ancient history and mythology, which constituted essential elements in a mime's repertory. As a private teacher of dance, he had pedagogical experience. Nevertheless, he was denied the position of «maestro di mimica»

when the *Scuola di Ballo* was reopened in 1861 because there was no longer such a position. Why would that be the case, given the historical importance of mime to traditional Italian ballet? It appears that the public attitude towards the extensive use of pantomime in the latter period of the Italian *Risorgimento* was increasingly negative. The theater critic Francesco Regli opined as early as 1855 that historical and ‘fantastic’ ballets were no longer desired by the public and that mimes were a dying breed. He penned:

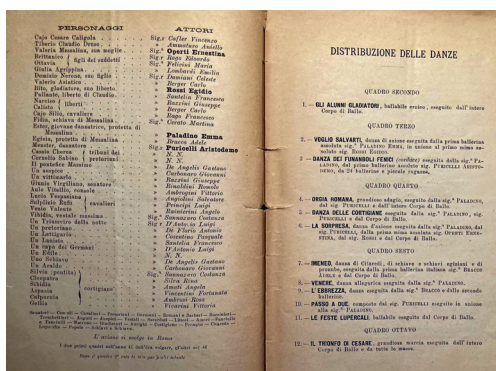
La coreografia italiana, più che la musica e la drammatica, è sì al basso caduta, che la direste moriente. I balli storici, i balli del genere di Viganò e di Gioia, non si vogliono più, e inutile a momenti divengono i mimi, i quali, se così proseguiamo, dovranno arruolarsi, per non perire di fame, come secondi ballerini ... o corifei. I balli, detti fantastici, non sono che una cattiva mischianza di classico e di romantico, di poesia e di prosa: i voli, gli Olimpi, i diawwvoli, una capra che attraversa la scena, un cavallo che al rompersi d’un ponte cade in un fiume, pochi banditi, poche zingare, contadini senza la semplicità del contado, e l’inevitabile allestimento di una cena o d’un pranzo che non s’incomincia e non si finisce, formano un ballo fantastico!⁵⁹

Although miming certainly continued in narrative-oriented Italian ballets throughout the period of Italian unification and beyond, Regli’s commentary presaged the future direction of ballet in Italy after 1871 when the country was finally unified, and the production of Pietro Micca introduced Italy and the world to Manzotti’s vision of large-scale ballets with explosive special effects. The future lay not in tightly knit narratives with six-to-ten named characters but rather in grandiose productions involving a plethora of performers. It lay not in ballets based on ever-more-distant historical events and ever-more-obscure myths so dear to Salvatore Taglioni and, by extension, to Gaetano De Angelis. The future lay in technologically enhanced productions that privileged spectacle and special effects on a massive scale. In the 1880s casts of hundreds – including throngs of working-class men (*tramagnini*), dozens of low-grade dancers with waving arms arrayed behind a large corps de ballet, and hosts of perfectly aligned children – appeared on Italian, European, and American stages in myriad productions of Manzotti’s celebrated *Excelsior* (1881).⁶⁰ The era of mimes conveying a long and complicated historical narrative through hand gestures, facial expressions, body posture, and choreographed movement in perfect rhythm with music was a relic of the past by the time De Angelis completed his career portray-

ing a humble slave on a stage with a cast larger than any that his teacher Salvatore Taglioni had ever conceived as manageable. This is not to say that mime was no longer needed, but that the teaching of mime ebbed and flowed according to needs in a particular production or by a specific choreographer, whether in Naples, Milan, or Paris.⁶¹ The difference in mimed actions on the ballet stage in Italy in the last quarter of the nineteenth century was that it had to be done in synergy with an exceptionally large corps de ballet and a number of technological innovations on stage.

In conclusion, notwithstanding major named roles in numerous

Neapolitan productions over more than a half-century (1837-1889) and despite his having been overlooked by almost all historians of Italian dance, Gaetano De Angelis offers a useful case study in understanding the fortunes of mimi and of mime itself in the nineteenth-century Neapolitan ballo. If his personal bound collection is a trustworthy indication, De Angelis came of age in the tradition of pantomimic ballets. In *libretti* documenting his decades of performing, he



Figs. 23 & 24. Title page and cast list from the *libretto* for Luigi Danesi's *Messalina* (Naples: G. De Angelis e Figlio, 1889). The title page shows the publisher as G. De Angelis e Figlio, and the cast list shows Gaetano De Angelis as «Uno Schiavo» (a slave). From the Debra H. Sowell and Madison U. Sowell Dance Collection.

enjoyed considerable success as a mime, rising to the level of *primo mimo* at the Teatro di San Carlo. Moreover, he seems to have exemplified the tradition of typecasting, repeatedly embodying soldiers, aristocrats, and paternal figures in discrete narratives with casts usually featuring fewer than a dozen named characters. Above all, Gaetano's commitment to the mime tradition is attested to by his attempt to found and lead a separate school of mime within the *Reale Scuola di Ballo* when it was reestablished in 1861. Ultimately, however, despite decades of preparation and commitment, that attempt failed, as one man's vision could not stem the tide of changing theatrical tastes.⁶²

TEATRO S. CARLO

NAPOLI

STAGIONE DI CARNEVALE-QUARESIMA 1888-89

Impresa Giunti-Sassone-Pignatelli

MESSALINA

GRANDIOSA AZIONE STORICA GOREOGRAFICA

DEL

CAV. LUIGI DANESI

con Musica del Maestro

GIUSEPPE GIAQUINTO



NAPOLI

SOCIETÀ IN ACCOMANDITA A. BELLISARIO E C.

R. STABILIMENTO TIPOGRAFICO COMM. G. DE ANGELIS E FIGLIO

Portamedina alla Pignasecca, 44

Note

1 PAOLA DE SIMONE, *Soggetti storici, letterari o di pura fantasia, censura, annotazioni, autori e interpreti: Dai figurini della Biblioteca del Conservatorio “San Pietro a Majella” nuove coordinate e organici per l'Ottocento coreutico a Napoli*, in *Danza e ballo a Napoli: Un dialogo con l'Europa (1806-1861)*, a cura di Paologiovanni Maione e Maria Venuso, Napoli, Turchini Edizioni, 2021, p. 379.

2 All the *figurini* used as illustrations in this essay come from the *Raccolta di figurini dei Reali Teatri di Napoli*, housed in the biblioteca del Conservatorio “San Pietro a Majella” di Napoli. A *figurino*'s number refers to its original numbered position of the costume designs for a specific ballet. Traditionally a costume designer such as Filippo Del Buono started with designs for the principal characters and then proceeded with sketches for the minor roles. For access to the complete online collection, see <https://www.internetculturale.it/it/41/collezioni-digitali/26307/raccolta-di-figurini-dei-reali-teatri-di-napoli> (consulted 18 July 2023).

3 Ivi, pp. 381-82. According to Francesco Melisi on the website *Internet Culturale: Cataloghi e collezioni digitali* (see <https://www.internetculturale.it/>), the *figurini* taken as a whole, including opera and ballet productions, actually cover the period from 1824 to 1880.

4 Standard practice in ballet *libretti* for the Teatro del Fondo and the San Carlo was to identify only performers who mimed named roles and the *prime ballerine* and *primi ballerini* who danced in the *ballabili*. By contrast, *libretti* for ballets performed in Milan and Paris invariably included the names of members of the *corps de ballet*.

5 My premise is that the *ballo pantomimo* as performed in Naples during the *Ottocento* is worthy of further scrutiny from the viewpoint of what the mimes contributed. Therefore, I propose not to follow the usual trajectory of the dance historian who analyzes the career of a *primo ballerino* or *prima ballerina di rango francese*, a star who dazzled audiences with dramatic leaps or dancing *en pointe*. Rather, as a student of dance iconography and, with my wife, an inveterate collector of Italian ballet *libretti* of the *Ottocento*, I shall examine images, *libretti*, and archival documents to understand the unique contributions of a *primo mimo* who was, like my wife and myself, also a ballet bibliophile – a serious collector of books about ballet.

6 As will be shown, the history of Naples most prestigious *Scuola di Ballo* is not one of continuous operation. See, *inter alia*, ALBERTO TESTA, *Duecentocinquanta anni di balletto al Teatro di San Carlo*, in *Il Teatro di San Carlo 1737-1987: L'Opera, il ballo*, a cura di Bruno Cagli e Agostino Ziino, Napoli, Electa, 1987, pp. 333-44.

7 ROBERTA ALBANO, *Il Teatro di San Carlo*, in NADIA SCAFIDI-RI-TA ZAMBON-ROBERTA ALBANO, *La Danza in Italia: La Scala, La*

Fenice, Il San Carlo dal XVIII secolo ai giorni nostri, Roma, Gremese, 1998, pp. 188-89; which relies in part on the research found in ROSA MARESCA, *Le scuole di ballo del Teatro San Carlo dal 1812 al 1840: I documenti dell'Archivio Storico di Napoli*, «Chorégraphie», v/10 (1997), pp. 85-112.

8 For the story of the Hus family and Pierre's contributions, see JEAN-PHILIPPE VAN AELBROUCK, *A Dynasty of Actors and Dancers: The Hus Family; On the Tracks of Augusto and Pietro, Ballet Masters in Turin, Naples and Milan*, in *Times of Change: Artistic Perspectives and Cultural Crossings in Nineteenth-Century Dance*, ed. Irene Brandenburg, Francesca Falcone, Claudia Jeschke, and Bruno Ligore, Bologna, Piretti Editore, 2022, pp. 129-40.

9 An excellent resource on Louis Henry's contributions in Naples is found in ANNAMARIA COREA, *Louis Henry e il balletto a Napoli in età napoleonica*, Lucca, LIM, 2021.

10 Salvatore was Marie Taglioni's uncle. For a review of the genealogy and contributions of the Taglioni family, see MADISON U. SOWELL-DEBRA H. SOWELL-FRANCESCA FALCONE-PATRIZIA VEROLI, *Îcônes du ballet romantique: Marie Taglioni et sa famille*, Rome, Gremese, 2016.

11 ALBANO, *Il Teatro di San Carlo* cit., pp. 194 and 197. The decade of the 1860s in Italy marked the culmination of national unification. In 1860, Garibaldi and his 'Thousand' landed first in Sicily and then moved on to Naples, where they overthrew the Bourbon monarchy and consigned the southern territories to Victor Emmanuel II, king of Piedmont-Sardinia. In early 1861 a national parliament convened and proclaimed the Kingdom of Italy, with Victor Emmanuel II as king.

12 *Richiesta di Gaetano De Angelis alla Reale Scuola di Ballo di San Carlo*, April 1861, ASNa, Soprintendenza dei Teatri e degli Spettacoli, Fascicolo 57. For research at the state archives in Naples, I am indebted to Antonietta Tarantino, who patiently searched for and photographed dozens of documents on my behalf. I also express appreciation to my wife, dance historian Debra H. Sowell, and to Professor Francesca Falcone for reading earlier drafts of this essay and offering valuable suggestions and corrections. Any errors that remain, however, are mine alone.

13 In addressing these questions, I do so primarily as a collector and bibliophile interested in cultural history, as opposed to a scholar formally trained in dance history. Cultural historians of theatrical dance review and analyze records of the past, such as ballet cast lists and documents found in Naples' *Archivio di Stato*. The primary goal is to understand the continuum of events and the roles that individuals played in influencing or forming a particular culture.

14 *Notamento degli Alunni delle Reali Scuole di ballo alli quali si son pagati Carlini sei per ciascuno per scarpe, e calze in occasione dell'esame delle dette Reali Scuole eseguito nei giorni 29, e 30 Aprile 1830, 1830, ASNa, Soprintendenza dei Teatri e degli Spettacoli, Fascicolo 54.*

15 *Real Teatro S. Carlo: Ruolo dei corifei, mimi e figuranti, individui tolti dal ruolo per effetto della Epurazione, 1863, ASNa, Soprintendenza dei Teatri e degli Spettacoli, Fascicolo 66.*

16 See MADISON U. SOWELL, *Nineteenth-Century Ballet in Paris: A Tale of Two Alines*, in *Toute littérature est littérature comparée: Études de littérature et de linguistique offertes à Roy Rosenstien par ses collègues, ses disciples et ses amis*. Textes recueillis par Danielle Buschinger, Martine Marzloff, Patricia Gillies et Marie-Geneviève Grossel, Amiens, Presses du "Centre d'Études Médiévales de Picardie", 2021, pp. 569-582; and MADISON U. SOWELL, *Aline 1 and Aline 2 in Disdéri's Dancers and Carte-de-Visite Ballet Photography in the French Second Empire*, Benevento, Kinetès, 2023, pp. 104-113.

17 The role of ballet *libretti* as primary source material for dance history has been well documented. See FLAVIA PAPPACENA, *Il 'libretto' come fonte di documentazione*, in *Il Libretto di ballo: Riflessioni storiche e teoriche in omaggio ad Alberto Testa*, a cura di Patrizia Veroli con la collaborazione di Mattia Scarpulla, Bologna, Massimiliano Piretti, 2017, pp. 3-15. Italian ballet *libretti* have for a long time formed a major part of the Debra H. Sowell and Madison U. Sowell Dance Collection and now number over 1300 separate scenarios.

18 The names of the Royal Theater's complete *Compagnia di Ballo* began appearing in the Neapolitan *Programma giornaliero degli spettacoli, balli, feste, concerti ed altri divertimenti pubblici* as early as 16 March 1845. That issue recorded 24 *ballerine corifee* and 6 *allievi*; 33 *ballerini corifei* and 6 *allievi*; 10 *figuranti*, all males but one. Gaetano De Angelis was listed thirteenth in the non-alphabetical list of male coryphées. In a supplement to the 4 April 1845 edition of the *Programma giornaliero*, however, we find the name of Gaetano De Angelis as second on the list of five «Altri mimi e caratteristi». The *primi mimi* on that date were Gennaro Bolognetti, Giovanni Pingitore, and Alfonso Demasier.

19 Salvatore Taglioni's ballet *Marco Visconti* recalled the homonymous romantic-era novel by Tommaso Grossi, published to wide acclaim in 1834. For the story of Grossi's novel set as a ballet by another Italian choreographer, see MADISON U. SOWELL, *Il Fondo Cortesi di libretti e figurini: Lo strano caso di Marco Visconti*, in *Il Libretto di ballo* cit., pp. 147-165.

20 As Stephen Ullmann noted decades ago in *Style in the French Novel* (Cambridge University Press, 1957), p. 41, «In the programme of

the Romantic movement, the quest for local colour occupied a prominent position». In fact, the introduction of *couleur locale* into ballets of the *Ottocento* was part of a much larger artistic movement that embraced not only written works but also pictorial and performing arts.

21 *Notamento no. 3 che contiene i nomi dei corifei, allievi e figuranti*, 18 August 1843, ASNa, Soprintendenza dei Teatri e degli Spettacoli, Fascicolo 64. The *corifei* were listed in this order: Gaetano Benvenuto, Giuseppe Robbio, Francesco Coppola, Giovanni Ponsiglione, Carlo Collini, Camillo Lauro, Vincenzo Ponsiglione, Luigi Buono, Giuseppe Razzini, Federico Fusco, Pietro Pirotta, Giuseppe Bini, Luigi Esposito, Enrico Bottiglieri, Luigi Comito, Gaetano De Angelis, Albano Guerra, Cesare D'Antonio, Antonio Sannino, Albina Guerra, Gaetana Oro, Elisabetta Oro, Clementina Giorgetti, Carolina Montella, Angela Craversif, Elisabetta Bastert, Angela Biondi, Teresa Biondi, Luisa Ricci, Rosa Jaccarino, Francesco Guerra, Innocenzio Serra, Luigi Gabrielli, Costanza De Simone, Nicola Fusco, Antonia Bastert, Giovanni Guidi, Vincenzo Russo, Rosalia Carducci, Francesco Minino, Marianna De Luca, Luigi Pompei, Raffaele Bruno, Alfonso Tata, Cesare Jorio, Adelaide Minino, Michela Minino, Federico Minino, Giovanna Marranzo, Maria Carrese, Antonia Lama, Maria Forti, Carolina Altieri, Enrichetta Fazio, Luisa Bernaducci, Luigi Fazio, Luigia Grassi, Antonia Forti, Anna Guarini, Rosa Guarini, Teresa Capozzo, Rachela De Vito, Giuseppe Montuovo, Giovanni Bolognetti, Celestino De Martino, and Elisabetta De Simone. The *allievi* were listed as Raffaella Vitaliano, Luigi Montella, Marianna Noto, Luca Nardone, Domenica Candia, Francesco Ballaspi, Carmela Spinelli, Salvatore Spina, Nicola Vielzel, Giovanni Carbonaro, Marianna Pascarola, Carolina Marelli, Teresa Alizerano, and Elisabetta Alizerano. The *figuranti* were listed as Luigi Anepeta, Felice Giordano, Carolina Borgia, Gaetano Florio, Antonio Florio, Luigi Ledini *padre*, Luigi Ledini *figlio*, Francesco Esposito, Gaetano Monaco, Giuseppe Anepeta, Angelo Guidi.

22 Lists of *corifei* in Naples were not presented alphabetically; names appeared to be ordered according to seniority in the company.

23 *Documento che attesta la sottoscrizione del contratto di Gaetano De Angelis*, 17 November 1843, ASNa, Soprintendenza dei Teatri e degli Spettacoli, Fascicolo 64.

24 There was likely some sort of financial benefit, in addition to the recognition, for an 'evening in favor of' a particular performer. As at other European theaters, there also existed in Naples the tradition of 'benefit' evenings, in which a performer received the money accrued from the evening's ticket sales.

25 FELICE DE FILIPPIS-RAFFAELE ARNESE, *Cronache del Teatro di S. Carlo*, (1737-1960), 2 voll., Napoli, Politica Popolare, 1963, II, p.

217, list Paolina Monti-Caresana as *prima ballerina* and De Angelis as *primo ballerino* of *Il Cid*.

26 «Il Pirata: Giornale di letterature, belle arti e teatri», x/103 (17 June 1845), p. 419.

27 «Bazar di novità artistiche, letterarie e teatrali», v/51 (25 June 1845), p. 216.

28 «Teatri arti e letteratura», 24/1180 (17 September 1846), p. 23.

29 «Il Pirata: Giornale di letterature, belle arti e teatri», xii/23 (18 September 1846), p. 98.

30 The company list was released or made available to a number of national newspapers, as it also appeared in «La Gazza: Giornale di amena letteratura», 2 ed., i/11 (August 1846), p. 703.

31 EDMUND FAIRFAX, *The Styles of Eighteenth-Century Ballet*, Lanham (MD), Scarecrow Press, 2003, p. 84.

32 *Segnalazione della mancata prova dei corifei*, 6 January 1848, ASNa, Soprintendenza dei Teatri e degli Spettacoli, Fascicolo 64. See JENNIFER HOMANS, *Apollo's Angels: A History of Ballet*, New York, Random House, 2010, p. 230: «What did all of this [political instability] mean for ballet? First, chronic instability. La Scala closed abruptly (ostensibly for restoration) between 1848 and 1851; La Fenice shut its doors for seven years between 1859 and 1866, and its ballet school closed briefly in 1848 and permanently in 1862. At the San Carlo in Naples the dancers were not paid in 1848 and went on strike. Their ballet master, Salvatore Taglioni, was accidentally shot during the uprisings, and although he regained his health, the ballet did not: the Neapolitan court, which had funded ballet, retreated and after 1861 was no more – poor Taglioni died impoverished and forgotten».

33 The complete list of costume designs created between 1837 and 1871 for Gaetano De Angelis is found in the appendix to this article. Due to limitations of space, we have had to limit the number of illustrations.

34 «L'Italia musicale: Giornale dei teatri», ii/72 (5 October 1850), p. 300.

35 «Il Pirata: Giornale di letteratura, belle arti e teatri», xvii/104 (27 June 1852), p. 415.

36 «Il Buon gusto», ii/18 (19 December 1852), p. 72.

37 «Lo Scaramuccia: Giornale teatrale», i/9 (1853), n.p.

38 «La Fama del 1853: Rassegna di scienze, lettere, arti, industria e teatri», xii/36 (5 May 1853), p. 144.

39 «The Musical World», xxxii/43 (28 October 1854), p. 711.

40 «Il Pirata: Giornale letterario-artistico-teatrale», xxi/29 (7 October 1855), p. 115.

41 «La Fama: Giornale di scienze, lettere, arti, industria e teatri», xvii/102 (23 December 1858), p. 407.

42 *Stato Generale delle Masse contenenti professori di Orchestra, Coristi, e Cofirgei a Servizio del R. Teatro San Carlo nel mese di Maggio 1862*, ASNa, Soprintendenza dei Teatri e degli Spettacoli, Fascicolo 66.

43 In Treccani's online encyclopedia (<https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/innamorati/>), we read this definition of *innamorati*: «Personaggi seri della commedia dell'arte, che vi appaiono più tardi delle maschere o in genere dei personaggi comici, giovando a dare coerenza consistente all'intreccio che poté svilupparsi con maggiore complessità intorno ai loro amori contrastati. Non portavano maschera e vestivano alla moda [...]. Quando si costituirono i ruoli furono detti amorosi e amorose, nelle compagnie a ruoli doppi distinti in primi e secondi amorosi». Translation: «Serious characters of the *commedia dell'arte*, who later appear as masks or comic characters in general, helping to give consistent coherence to the plot that could develop with greater complexity around their thwarted loves [...]. When the roles were formed, they were called *amoroso* and *amorosa*, in companies with double roles distinguished in *primi* and *secondi amorosi*». In sum, the *amoroso* or *amorosa* is one of the classic roles in comic theater and is based on figures found in the *commedia dell'arte* and the theater of Carlo Goldoni as the *primo amoroso* or *prima amorosa*.

44 *A Sua Eccellenza, il Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione*, 2 November 1860, ASNa, Soprintendenza dei Teatri e degli Spettacoli, Fascicolo 65.

45 *Risposta del Ministro alla lettera del 2 novembre 1860*, 5 November 1860, and *Risposta del Consigliere di Luogotenenza alla lettera del 5 November 1860*, 13 November 1860, ASNa, Soprintendenza dei Teatri e degli Spettacoli, Fascicolo 65.

46 *Certificazione redatta da Gaetano De Angelis nei confronti di una corifera sua allieva*, 18 August 1863, ASNa, Soprintendenza dei Teatri e degli Spettacoli, Fascicolo 56.

47 *Al signor prefetto della città e provincia di Napoli*, 11 May 1867, ASNa, Soprintendenza dei Teatri e degli Spettacoli, Fascicolo 67.

48 «Il Teatro: Giornale di letteratura, musica, drammatica e coreografia», 1/35 (3 October 1867), p. 141.

49 OPAC SBN (Catalogo collettivo delle biblioteche del Servizio Bibliotecario Nazionale) lists 11 works published in Naples by G. De Angelis e Figlio or by Cav. G. De Angelis e Figlio between 1876 and 1891. While it is not certain if the mime Gaetano De Angelis is the publisher G. De Angelis, the latter's publications deal with ballets, music, and/or festivals, all subjects of interest to Gaetano as a performer and as a book collector.

50 For an analysis of genre classification in relation to Italian ballet *libretti* of the nineteenth century, see DEBRA H. SOWELL, *Rethinking*

the Repertory: Genre Descriptors in 19th-Century Ballet Libretti, in *L'Italia e la danza – Storie e rappresentazioni, stili e tecniche tra teatro, tradizioni popolari e società: Atti del Convegno Internazionale*, Accademia Nazionale di Danza, Roma, 13-15 ottobre 2006, (a cura di) Alessandro Pontremoli e Giannandrea Poesio, Rome, Aracne, 2008, pp. 147-159; and DEBRA H. SOWELL, *Romantic Topography and Modern Technology: Charting the Nineteenth-Century Repertory*, in *Topographies: Sites, Bodies, Technologies*, 32nd Annual Conference of the Society for Dance History Scholars, Stanford and San Francisco (CA), Society for Dance History Scholars, 2009, pp. 225-232.

51 LUCIAN OF SAMOSATA, *Della Danza: Dialogo di Luciano con annotazioni*, Florence, Gaspero Pecchioni, 1779, pp. 21-22.

52 FRANÇOIS-HENRY-STANISLAS DE L'AULNAVE, *De la Saltation Théâtrale, ou Recherches sur l'Origine, les Progrès, & les Effets de la Pantomime chez les Anciens*, Paris, Barrois l'ainé, 1790, p. 19.

53 VINCENZO REQUENO, *Scoperta della chironomia ossia Dell'arte di gestire con le mani*, Parma, Fratelli Gozzi, 1797, p. 51.

54 GIOVANNI GIACOMO ENGEL, *Lettere intorno alla mimica*, trad. it. G. Rasori, 2 voll., Milano, Batelli e Fanfani, 1820, I, p. 20.

55 Georges Bell (a cura di), *Petipa*, in CHARLES GEOFFROY, *Nouvelle Galerie des artistes dramatiques*, 2 voll., Paris, Librairie Théâtrale, 1855, II, n.p.

56 ANDREA DE JORIO, *Gesture in Naples and Gesture in Classical Antiquity*, trad. ing. Adam Kendon, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 2000, p. XIX.

57 Nonverbal communication characterizes all societies, whatever the nation's spoken language(s) or geographical location(s). When nonverbal signing occurs within the context of or in combination with music, the dramatic effect increases. It is not surprising, therefore, that the use of one's face, hands, and body to communicate has been from antiquity to modern day an essential part of an outstanding stage performer's craft. An exhaustive bibliography related to dance in the context of mime and pantomime lies beyond the scope of this article, which focuses on Gaetano De Angelis, a prominent nineteenth-century Neapolitan mime who performed in dozens of pantomimic ballets. Major book-length studies on the history of the mime-dance nexus include PETER D. ARNOTT, *The Ancient Greek and Roman Theatre*, New York, Random House, 1971; RICHARD C. BEACHAM, *The Roman Theatre and Its Audience*, Cambridge (MA), Harvard University Press, 1991; ALLARDYCE NICOLL, *Masks, Mimes, and Miracles: Studies in the Popular Theatre*, New York, Cooper Square Publishers, 1966; LILLIAN B. LAWLER, *The Dance in Ancient Greece*, Middletown (CT), Wesleyan University Press, 1964.

58 Thomas Leabhart (a cura di), *Mime*, in *International Encyclopedia of Dance*, a cura di Selma Jeanne Cohen, 6 voll., New York, Oxford University Press, 1998, iv, p. 423, notes that the classical mime of ancient Greece and Rome «derived perhaps from religious ceremonies and popular entertainments of Egypt and Mesopotamia, continued in the mystery plays of medieval Europe, the work of wandering minstrels, court masques, and the players of the *commedia dell'arte*».

59 FRANCESCO REGLI, *Ai miei amici: strenna letterario-musicale pel nuovo anno 1855*, Torino, Forz e Dalmazzo, xix (1855), pp. 72-73.

60 See HOMANS, *Apollo's Angels* cit., pp. 231-242, for an extended discussion of Italian ballet in the last thirty years of the *Ottocento*, with particular emphasis on Manzotti's role in the direction it took. Homans believes that *Excelsior* «all but killed Italian ballet and represented a sad betrayal of the legacies of Viganò and Blasis.... [Manzotti's] ballets struck a strong chord with the public, even as they also exhibited an utter lack of critical and artistic judgment» (Id., p. 237). That said, *Excelsior* itself featured mimes prominently in the personification of Obscurantism and Civilization.

61 For insight into the teaching of mime at the Paris Opéra circa 1860, see OLIVIA SABEE, *Re-envisioning the Paris Opéra's Corps de Ballet, 1856-1860*, in *Times of Change* cit., pp. 177-189. It appears that Henri Mathieu taught an advanced level ballet class, «for girls only, in two sections of ninety minutes each, as well as a separate pantomime class that met Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays for one hour».

62 I dedicate this essay to the memory of my recently departed friend Giorgio Di Genova (1933-2023), a distinguished art historian, critic, and curator, and the author of the multi-volume *Storia dell'arte italiana del '900*.

Appendice

Figurini (costume designs) for Gaetano De Angelis in the *Raccolta di figurini dei Reali Teatri di Napoli*, biblioteca del Conservatorio di Napoli “San Pietro a Majella”.

1830s

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 12 for Gaetano De Angelis as Director of the Opera Stage in the anonymously choreographed ballet *L'Avaro*, Teatro di San Carlo, 9 April 1837.

Felice Cerrone, *Figurino* No. 4 for Gaetano De Angelis as the Spanish knight Don Diego Garcia de Paredes in Salvatore Taglioni's *Ettore Fieramosca: Ballo storico diviso in prologo e cinque parti*, Teatro San di Carlo, Summer (19 August) 1837.

1840s

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 10 for Gaetano De Angelis as Quante-Cong in Giovanni Briol's *Il Gobbo del Giappone*, Teatro del Fondo, November 1841.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 5 for Gaetano De Angelis as Zamor, confidant of Timorkan, in Giovanni Briol's *Idamea*, Teatro di San Carlo, 12 June 1842.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 6 for Gaetano De Angelis (not mentioned by name in *libretto*) as Intendant of Lodovico di Godesberg in Salvatore Taglioni's *Carlo di Rovenstein*, Teatro del Fondo, 16 April 1843.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 22 for Gaetano De Angelis as the King's Commissioner in Salvatore Taglioni's *L'Assedio di Leyda*, Teatro di San Carlo, 30 May 1843.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 2 for Gaetano De Angelis as Guglielmo Prichard, ship commander of the Antelope, in Giovanni Briol's *I Viaggi di Gulliver*, Teatro del Fondo, 1 July 1843.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 10 for Gaetano De Angelis as Teodoro, former Duke of Naples, in Act 1 of Giovanni Briol's *Stefano, Duca di Napoli*, Teatro di San Carlo, 31 July 1843.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 11 for Gaetano De Angelis as Teodoro, former Duke of Naples, in Acts 2 through 7 in Giovanni Briol's *Stefano, Duca di Napoli*, Teatro di San Carlo, 31 July 1843.

Filippo Del Buono *Figurino* No. 3 for Gaetano De Angelis in Salvatore Taglioni's *Il Sarto di Sondrio*, Teatro del Fondo, 24 September 1843.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 2 for Gaetano De Angelis as Count of Dammartin in Giovanni Briol's *Gerardo di Nevers*, Teatro di San Carlo, 15 October 1843.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 3 for Gaetano De Angelis as Count of Dammartin in Giovanni Briol's *Gerardo di Nevers*, Teatro di San Carlo, 15 October 1843.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 1 for Gaetano De Angelis as Gualtiero in Alfonso Demasier's *Il Genio della montagna*, Teatro del Fondo, 30 May 1844.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 1 for Gaetano De Angelis as the Caliph Fares in Salvatore Taglioni's *La Coppa de' fidanzati*, Teatro San di Carlo, 4 October 1844.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 1 for Gaetano De Angelis as the King in Salvatore Taglioni's *Il Cid*, Teatro di San Carlo, 12 January 1845.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 2 for Gaetano De Angelis as the King in Salvatore Taglioni's *Il Cid*, Teatro di San Carlo, 12 January 1845.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 1 for Gaetano De Angelis as Fernando, King of Spain, in Giovanni Galzerani's *Gli Abencerraghi ed i Zegrindi ovvero La Conquista di Granata*, Teatro di San Carlo, 30 May 1845.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 9 for Gaetano De Angelis as Acone in Giovanni Galzerani's *L'Eroina danese*, Teatro di San Carlo, 31 July 1845.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 1 for Gaetano De Angelis as Zorai in Salvatore Taglioni's *Erissena*, Teatro di San Carlo, 15 October 1845.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 19 for Gaetano De Angelis in Filippo Izzo's *Un Sogno, o La Bella fanciulla di Gand*, Teatro del Fondo, 1845.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 1 for Gaetano De Angelis as the Count in Act 1 of Alfonso Demasier's *Buonaventura, ossia Le Due parrucche*, Teatro del Fondo, Carnival 1846.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 2 for Gaetano De Angelis as the Count in a hunting outfit in Alfonso Demasier's *Buonaventura, ossia Le Due parrucche*, Teatro del Fondo, Carnival 1846.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 1 for Gaetano De Angelis as Lucchino in Salvatore Taglioni's *Margherita Pusterla*, Teatro di San Carlo, 4 October 1846. The ballet was performed 58 times.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 2 for Gaetano De Angelis as Lucchino in Salvatore Taglioni's *Margherita Pusterla*, Teatro di San Carlo, 4 October 1846.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 1 for Gaetano De Angelis as Il Signore di Montolino in Salvatore Taglioni's *La Straniera*, Teatro del Fondo, 1847.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 23 for Gaetano De Angelis in Giovanni Briol's *La Giovane russa*, Teatro del Fondo, 4 April 1847.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 15 for Gaetano De Angelis as the Count of Leicester in Giovanni Briol's *Matilde e Malek Abdel*, Teatro di San Carlo, 4 October 1847.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 3 for Gaetano De Angelis as Calcante, high priest of the Greek fleet, in Salvatore Taglioni's *Ifigenia in Aulide*, Teatro di San Carlo, 19 November 1847.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 4 for Gaetano De Angelis as the High Brahmin of Chashmere, in Giovanni Briol's *Olema*, Teatro di San Carlo, 12 January 1848.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 7 for Gaetano De Angelis in Giovanni Briol's *La Recluta in Africa*, Teatro di San Carlo, 18 February 1848.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 10 for Gaetano De Angelis as Peterson in Salvatore Taglioni's *Il Vampiro*, Teatro di San Carlo, 14 October 1848.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 2 for Gaetano De Angelis as Don Lopez in Lucien Petipa's *Paquita*, 11 December 1848.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 3 for Gaetano De Angelis as the evil genie Moluk in Giovanni Briol's *Schariar, ossia Le mille ed una notte*, Teatro di San Carlo, 12 January 1849.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 4 for Gaetano De Angelis as the evil genie Moluk in Giovanni Briol's *Schariar, ossia Le mille ed una notte*, Teatro di San Carlo, 12 January 1849.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 1 for Gaetano De Angelis as the African king Agramante in Salvatore Taglioni's *Bradamante e Rugiero*, Teatro di San Carlo, 7 June 1849.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 1 for Gaetano De Angelis as Candiano in Salvatore Taglioni's *I Candiano*, Teatro di San Carlo, 15 October 1849.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 2 for Gaetano De Angelis as Candiano in Salvatore Taglioni's *I Candiano*, Teatro di San Carlo, 15 October 1849.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 3 for Gaetano De Angelis as Candiano in Salvatore Taglioni's *I Candiano*, Teatro di San Carlo, 15 October 1849.

1850s

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 19 for Gaetano De Angelis as Parigino in Filippo Izzo's *Melissa, ossia I Viaggiatori all'isola incantata*, Teatro di San Carlo, 3 February 1850.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 9 for Gaetano De Angelis as Antonio Carafa and Giovio Pontano in Salvatore Taglioni's *Il Ritorno di Alfonso d'Aragona dalla guerra d'Otranto*, Teatro di San Carlo, 30 May 1850.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 1 for Gaetano De Angelis as Baletaras in Salvatore Taglioni's *La Fedeltà premiata*, Teatro di San Carlo, 4 October 1850.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* (without number) for Gaetano De Angelis as the Duke in Filippo Izzo's *La Regina delle Rose*, Teatro di San Carlo, 15 November 1850.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 2 for Gaetano De Angelis as Ali in Salvatore Taglioni's *La Stella del marinaio*, Teatro di San Carlo, 17 February 1851.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 16 for Gaetano De Angelis as Head Drummer in Filippo Izzo's *Elvira d'Isberga o Adele*, Teatro del Fondo, Spring 1851.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* 16 for Gaetano De Angelis as the Baron Poliski in Andrea Palladino's *La Baronessa Poliski*, Teatro di San Carlo, 15 July 1851.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 1 for Gaetano De Angelis as Lord of Stralford in traveling clothes in Filippo Izzo's *Il Cacciatore nero*, Teatro di San Carlo, 10 November 1851.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 2 for Gaetano De Angelis as Lord of

Stralford in Filippo Izzo's *Il Cacciatore nero*, Teatro di San Carlo, 10 November 1851.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 5 for Gaetano De Angelis as the Duke of Brabant, father of Princess Emma, in Antonio Cortesi's *On-dina ossia La Fata delle acque*, Teatro di San Carlo, 12 January 1852.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 7 for Gaetano De Angelis as Iusuf in Salvatore Taglioni's *Bassora ossia Il Fantasma d'Arafat*, Teatro di San Carlo, 30 May 1852.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 8 for Gaetano De Angelis as General Cleante in Filippo Izzo's *La protetta d'Amore*, Teatro di San Carlo, 31 July 1852.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 1 for Gaetano De Angelis as D. Alvaro De Sanchez in Filippo Izzo's *Gli Spagnoli in Africa*, Teatro di San Carlo, 4 October 1852.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 2 for Gaetano De Angelis as D. Alvaro De Sanchez in Filippo Izzo's *Gli Spagnoli in Africa*, Teatro di San Carlo, 4 October 1852.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 8 for Gaetano De Angelis as Bajurca in Federico Fusco's *Giskano*, 20 November 1853.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 1 for Gaetano De Angelis as the Count of Pinneberg, Epoca 1, in Salvatore Taglioni's *Olfà*, Teatro di San Carlo, 12 January 1853.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 13 for Gaetano De Angelis in Filippo Izzo's *Camelia*, Teatro di San Carlo, 4 October 1853.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 14 for Gaetano De Angelis in Filippo Izzo's *Camelia*, Teatro di San Carlo, 4 October 1853.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 7 for Gaetano De Angelis as Williams/Norround in Filippo Izzo's *La Fidanzata scozzese*, Teatro del Fondo, 1853-54.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 1 for Gaetano De Angelis as Mohamed Emiro in Salvatore Taglioni's *L'Araba*, Teatro di San Carlo, 30 May 1854.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 17 for Gaetano De Angelis as the Generalissimo of the French Army in Giuseppe Giaquinto's *Le Astuzie amorose*, Teatro del Fondo, 13 June 1854.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 3 for Gaetano De Angelis as Kapparre in Nicola Fusco's *Azurina*, Teatro di San Carlo, 31 July 1854.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 4 for Gaetano De Angelis as Kapparre in Nicola Fusco's *Azurina*, Teatro di San Carlo, 31 July 1854.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 1 for Gaetano De Angelis in Filippo Izzo's *Parione in Persia*, Teatro di San Carlo, 4 October 1854.

Filippo Del Bono, *Figurino* No. 1 for Gaetano De Angelis as the Duke in Salvatore Taglioni's *Naama, Regina delle Api*, Teatro di San Carlo, 12 January 1855.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 2 for Gaetano De Angelis as Carlo in Salvatore Taglioni's *Raimondo o Il Vecchio soldato*, Teatro di San Carlo, 31 July 1855.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 4 for Gaetano De Angelis as Thor, philosopher and high priest, in Salvatore Taglioni's *Groa*, Teatro di San Carlo, 4 October 1855.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 12 for Gaetano De Angelis as the Vice-Re in Salvatore Taglioni's *I Bucanieri: Ballo in tre atti*, Teatro del Fondo, Easter 1856.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 5 for Gaetano De Angelis in Pietro Hus's *I Matti per forza, ossia L'Avarizia punita*, reproduced by Giovanni Pingitore, Teatro di San Carlo, 17 May 1856.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 5 for Gaetano De Angelis as Ernesto in Giuseppe Rota's *Il Trionfo dell'innocenza*, Teatro di San Carlo, 30 May 1856.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 2 for Gaetano De Angelis as D'Orbac in Salvatore Taglioni's *Lauretta e Lubino*, Teatro del Fondo, 1856.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 3 for Gaetano De Angelis in Salvatore Taglioni's *Lauretta e Lubino*, Teatro del Fondo, 1856.

Giacomo Pregliasco, *Figurino* No. 24 for Gaetano De Angelis as Oberon in Davide Costa's *Oronos*, Teatro di San Carlo, 22 January 1857.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 3 for Gaetano De Angelis as Jago in Salvatore Taglioni's *Il Vecchio della foresta*, Teatro del Fondo, 1857.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 4 for Gaetano De Angelis as Jago in Salvatore Taglioni's *Il Vecchio della foresta*, Teatro del Fondo, 1857.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 8 for Gaetano De Angelis as a Bandit in Giuseppe Rota's *Il Giuocatore*, Teatro di San Carlo, 4 October 1857.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 28 for Gaetano De Angelis as Dalmás in Giuseppe Rota's *Edmondo Dantes*, Teatro di San Carlo, 4 October 1858.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 22 for Gaetano De Angelis as Faria in Giuseppe Rota's *Edmondo Dantes*, Teatro di San Carlo, 4 October 1858.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 18 [19] for Gaetano De Angelis as Guardian of the Mosque in Davide Costa's *Pelagio*, Teatro di San Carlo, 12 January 1859.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 25 for Gaetano De Angelis as Pagolo in Andrea Palladino's *Benvenuto Cellini*, Teatro di San Carlo, Spring 1859.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* 11 for Gaetano De Angelis as Borea in Andrea Palladino's *Elzebel: Ballo Fantastico*, Teatro di San Carlo, 8 September 1859.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 10 for Gaetano De Angelis as Daniele Zeno, master of the arsenal, in Giuseppe Rota's *Ida Badoero*, Teatro di San Carlo, 4 October 1859.

1860s

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 7 for Gaetano De Angelis as Dottor Granville in Ferdinando Walpot's *Margherita Gautier*, Teatro del Fondo, Summer 1860.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 26 for Gaetano De Angelis as a Pirate in Davide Costa's *Folgore o Il Demone seduttore*, Teatro di San Carlo, 13 January 1861.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 1 for Gaetano De Angelis as the Doge in Davide Costa's *Megilla*, 14 March 1861, Teatro di San Carlo.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 14 for Gaetano De Angelis as the Duke in Jules Perrot's *Salvator Rosa*, Teatro di San Carlo, 28 May 1861.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 15 for Gaetano De Angelis as the

Duke in Jules Perrot's *Salvator Rosa*, Teatro di San Carlo, 28 May 1861.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 4 for Gaetano De Angelis as Don Alvaro in Lorenzo Viena's *Pedrilla*, Teatro di San Carlo, 5 January 1862.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 5 for Gaetano De Angelis as Don Alvaro in Lorenzo Viena's *Pedrilla*, Teatro di San Carlo, 5 January 1862.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 5 for Gaetano De Angelis as Ugo di Brenna in Filippo Izzo's *Giovanni da Procida*, Teatro di San Carlo, 14 March 1862.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 7 for Gaetano De Angelis as Sab in Giuseppe Rota's *Bianchi e Neri*, Teatro di San Carlo, 13 November 1862.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 8 for Gaetano De Angelis as Bellial in Giovanni Briol's *Miranda ossia La Figlia dell'Inferno*, Teatro di San Carlo, 26 January 1864.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 13 for Gaetano De Angelis as Chief of the Gypsies in Filippo Izzo's *La Rosa*, Teatro di San Carlo, 10 March 1864.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 2 for Gaetano De Angelis as Eliodoro in Giuseppe Rota's *Velleda*, Teatro di San Carlo, Autumn 1864.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 3 for Gaetano De Angelis as Eliodoro in Giuseppe Rota's *Velleda*, Teatro di San Carlo, Autumn 1864.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 4 for Gaetano De Angelis as Eliodoro in Giuseppe Rota's *Velleda*, Teatro di San Carlo, Autumn 1864.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 2 for Gaetano De Angelis as the Prince in Agrippa Pinzuti's *Un Sogno d'Ines*, Teatro di San Carlo, Lent 1865.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 3 for Gaetano De Angelis as the Prince in Agrippa Pinzuti's *Un Sogno d'Ines*, Teatro di San Carlo, Lent 1865.

Filippo Del Buono, *Figurino* No. 5 for Gaetano De Angelis as Kiralfi, the fiancé of Kermiola, in Federico Fusco's *Fede*, Teatro di San Carlo, 7 April 1867.

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Anonymous, *Figurino* No. 1 for Gaetano De Angelis as Odin in Pasquale Borri's *La Dea del Walhalla*, Teatro di San Carlo, 28 May 1871 and 15 January 1872.

Anonymous, *Figurino* No. 62 for Gaetano De Angelis as the Chief Minister in Pasquale Borri's *La Dea del Walhalla*, Teatro di San Carlo, 28 May 1871 and 15 January 1872.

Anonymous, *Figurino* No. [63] for Gaetano De Angelis as the Chief Minister in Pasquale Borri's *La Dea del Walhalla*, Teatro di San Carlo, 28 May 1871 and 15 January 1872.

