

## Chapter 7

# Musician, Neapolitan, Migrant: Origins of the Seventeenth-Century Diaspora of Neapolitan Music and Musicians

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Musical migrations are but one part of the larger history of the massive movements of peoples across the Mediterranean Sea, a subject sadly in fashion in these times of new epic—and often tragic—migrations. Indeed, it is impossible to study the musics of the Mediterranean without addressing migration, though the inevitable twinning of those subjects can be fraught. Martin Stokes has recently described some problems in post-structuralist Mediterranean music studies (in particular ethnomusicological ones) as follows:

It is not surprising, then, that the Mediterranean area is the site of a number of powerful fantasies about migrants and migrant culture, in which music [...] has played a particularly important role. Metropolitan north-western Europeans love the idea of these migrating sounds. But they are very unsure about those who travel with them.<sup>1</sup>

Mediterranean mobilities are integral to the history of Western music, both at the level of individual moves and the collective migrations of musicians from one area to another. Not by chance many conferences, international projects, and publications of the last few years have addressed music and migration and even diasporas of musicians across the planet, examining in particular the five centuries from the onset of globalization in the early modern age to present times.<sup>2</sup>

My attention here will be devoted to Naples, a major center of music-making in early modern Europe and one strategically situated at a crossroads of the Mediterranean Sea. The importance of music to Neapolitan identity beginning in the sixteenth century is reflected in the creation of Europe's first public music schools there in the seventeenth century and, later on, in the massive emigration of Neapolitan musicians across the whole of Europe. If we accept the systemic perspective in which, according to Leslie Page Moch, "migration itself is conceived as a socially constructed, self-perpetuating system, that

includes home and destination—a responsive system that expands, contracts, and changes according to circumstance,”<sup>3</sup> then Neapolitan musicians belong to the fourth type of the migration posited by Charles Tilly: career migration.<sup>4</sup> In such a scenario, workers move toward employment opportunities through systems established by trades, mercantile networks, armies, and so forth. Tilly defines career migration as distinct from local, chain, and circular migration because “the needs and geography of the hiring institution rather than village contacts or family needs determined the timing and the destination of moves.” Of all the various types of migration, career migration tends to precipitate the greatest mobility and result in the most definitive moves, making it a particularly stark case for study.

But it is important to remember that career migration was not unique to Neapolitan musicians. Any textbook on the history of Western music has a chapter devoted to the impressive mobility of Franco-Flemish musicians throughout Southern Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and as early as 1829 François-Joseph Fétis and Raphael Georg Kiesewetter noted the parallels between this southward migration of northern-trained musicians and the second massive diaspora of “Italian” musicians who moved in the opposite direction, from south to north, in subsequent centuries.<sup>5</sup> In 1941 Paul Henry Lang devoted part of a chapter of his influential *Music in Western Civilization* to “The Renaissance Migration of Flemish musicians.”<sup>6</sup> Finally, Reinhard Strohm returned to the issue yet again in his pivotal book *The Eighteenth-century Diaspora of Italian Music and Musicians* of 2001:

The eighteenth-century musical diaspora has a curious pre-history. The entire seventeenth century must be considered as its preparatory stage ... early cultivation of opera is its main driving force, and the Italian Renaissance its parent source. The music of the Italian Renaissance, however, was nourished by another—perhaps the only other—great musical migration in Western history: the arrival of musicians from the Low Countries in Italy in the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries. Did eighteenth-century Italian musicians somehow ‘pay back’ what Italy owed to her Northern mentors? Was there something like a macro-historical exchange taking place? This possibility is the more suggestive as the two processes seem to be exactly contiguous: Italian musicians began to cross the Alps in that generation in the late sixteenth century when the Netherlanders ceased to arrive. The two phenomena are of course not related in such a simple way [...] The migration of the ‘Netherlanders’ to Italy connected the musical cultures of the two most urbanised regions of early modern Europe and

was triggered by metropolitan courts (the papal court and those of Milan and Naples). Similarly, the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century musical migration corresponded to the rapid urbanisation of the Central and Northern European courts in this period...<sup>7</sup>

More recently, Stanislav Tuksar, has advanced a similar argument:

These musical-cultural transfer and acculturation processes were part of broader phenomena that occasionally emerged on a continent-wide scale at least from the time of Franco-Flemish migrations to Italian Renaissance princely courts during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and were continued by the impressive Czech musical ‘invasion’ of the German-speaking countries during the eighteenth century, the Italian ‘conquest’ during the late eighteenth century, of the musical domain of the Czarist Russia and the modern ‘infusion’ of Japanese, Korean and Chinese musicians into European and North-American music institutions.<sup>8</sup>

In all of these passages, the migration of Franco-Flemish musicians is compared to a generalized “Italian” diaspora. But even if Italians from all regions spread throughout Europe during the centuries from 1500 to 1800, we should note the great number of musicians who came from Naples and proudly identified themselves as “Napolitani.” In spite of the impressive literature of the last fifty or so years devoted to the music of Naples and to Neapolitan composers—especially, but not only, in opera studies—very little research has been carried out on the emigration of Neapolitan musicians per se, despite its scale, duration, and importance to the history of Western music.<sup>9</sup>

Before the creation of the so-called “Neapolitan school,” the most eminent music teachers in Southern Italy were Flemish. The long wave of the diaspora from Flanders and Northern Europe arrived in Naples at the height of the splendid Aragonese Age at the end of the fifteenth century: among the dozens of foreign singers and instrumentalists in the Neapolitan royal chapel we find composers such as Bernardus Ycart, Alexander Agricola, and the theorist Johannes Tinctoris. But Flemish masters also arrived in the most remote provinces. In Bari, Jean de Willebroot (Joan Franzese) was chapelmaster at the Basilica di San Nicola from 1535 until his death in 1566,<sup>10</sup> and the celebrated Jacquet Berchem established permanent residence in Monopoli beginning in 1553.<sup>11</sup> Later on Federico Wynant “Fiamengo” dedicated his first book of madrigals (Venice 1597) to the archbishop of Trani, in Apulia, his employer.<sup>12</sup> Both Roland

de Lassus and Philippe de Monte made their professional debuts in Naples, before moving on to international careers at the top musical establishments of the day.<sup>13</sup> In 1586 Jean de Macque arrived in Naples from Rome, entering the service of the Prince of Venosa, the father of Carlo Gesualdo, who was able to refine his musical training with the future Flemish master of the Neapolitan royal chapel.<sup>14</sup>

Given these broad outlines, it may indeed appear—as Strohm put it—that “something like a macro-historical exchange” took place between Flemish and Neapolitan composers at the end of the sixteenth century. And yet, on closer analysis, the situation is not that simple. The growing interest in music in Renaissance Naples was born of a frustration: the loss of the city’s rank as the capital of the Aragonese kingdom, a demotion that occurred in 1503 when the town came under the rule of Spanish viceroys. The following decades saw numerous laments for this loss and the resulting demise of the Golden Age of arts and culture, including the dissolution of the largest music chapel in Europe. The Spanish viceroys swiftly forbade the Neapolitan nobles, for fear of revolts, to practice their favorite occupations: the handling of arms and riding horses. By contrast, music was not forbidden, therefore young Neapolitan aristocrats began to cultivate the art of singing, playing instruments, and dancing. Music-making became a means to assert cultural hegemony in the face of their Spanish rulers, and men of letters (such as Sannazaro and the followers of Pontano) revived the ancient musical myth of Partenope, the Siren founder of Naples, to justify the semi-professional musical activities of noblemen.<sup>15</sup> The effects of these choices are evident if one considers the twenty-five or so aristocratic Neapolitan composers active in the period 1530–1630, a number unparalleled in other European cities. The case of Carlo Gesualdo, Prince of Venosa, is only the most famous. For instance, Ferrante Sanseverino, Prince of Salerno and a man considered as something of an alternative sovereign of Naples for much of the century, was at the center of a circle that invented the *canzone villanesca alla napoletana* or *villanella*, a sort of political song using the Neapolitan language as an emblem of group identity. When Sanseverino and his musical entourage were exiled by viceroy Pedro de Toledo after the revolt of 1547, the *villanella* spread across Europe, where it became a light and popular alternative to the madrigal, losing some of its political implications even if still associated with Naples and its language.<sup>16</sup>

Meanwhile, the myth of the Siren Partenope captured the popular imagination of Neapolitans, who believed themselves to be a people destined for music. Giovan Battista Del Tufo, a Neapolitan in exile in Milan around 1588, expressed

the sentiment beautifully in these lines on “Neapolitans, true Musicians,” from a poem devoted to the city:<sup>17</sup>

Ne la musica poi,  
 oh, che gran cose sentireste voi  
 di notte e di giorno, e sopra gli strumenti,  
 con mille gran concerti  
 darvi cantando con le voci aviso  
 de la dolce armonia del paradiso  
 [...]  
 che nel comporre o nel cantar son tanti  
 quelli napolitani dolcissimi cantanti,  
 Giosquin, Moral, Giacchetti od Adriani,  
 Zerlin, Felippi, Orlandi e Cipriani;  
 anzi tutti son buon, perfetti e rari  
 per insegnar agl'altri onde vien detta  
 la musica perfetta  
 [...]  
 E tra quei cittadini o cavalieri  
 vi son così gentil musici veri,  
 tanto nell'arpe e quanto ne le lire,  
 che placarebbon de le Furie l'ire...

This self-awareness of being born for music was communicated by Neapolitans to foreign travelers who came to Naples during the seventeenth century, and so the myth spread across Europe of a city where all the inhabitants sang and played in a natural way, perhaps due to the Gulf climate.<sup>18</sup>

But it was not only the myth of Neapolitan musicality that fostered and sustained the migratory waves of Neapolitan musicians who moved throughout Europe beginning in the late seventeenth century. Naples was famed for its public music schools, called conservatoires. This Neapolitan invention promoted the idea that the “Neapolitan school” was unrivaled in the training it provided students. The story of this invention is well known: In the early decades of the seventeenth century, Naples experienced such a tremendous surge in population that it became the most populous city in Europe after Constantinople.<sup>19</sup> Of its approximately 400,000 inhabitants, almost 10 percent belonged to religious orders in a capital that had over 500 churches and convents.<sup>20</sup> The potential institutional patrons of sacred music in Naples were innumerable,

and music became so important that many charitable institutions, particularly the orphanages (called in Naples *conservatorii*), specialized in providing professional training in music. The oldest of these institutions was the Santa Casa dell' Annunziata, which had been founded to provide dowries to needy girls: here music flourished beginning around 1550. Of the city's dozen male orphanages, four specialized in musical training, which allowed boys without family to find secure jobs in choirs. The increasing level of musical activity in the city created a demand that exceeded the supply of professional musicians formerly trained, in Naples as elsewhere, in religious institutions or the homes of private masters. This soon changed the charitable mission of four Neapolitan conservatoires (Santa Maria della Pietà de' Turchini, Santa Maria di Loreto, Sant'Onofrio and Poveri di Gesù Cristo, each identified in public processions by the color of their wards' robes),<sup>21</sup> which began to accept non-orphaned boys sent by families throughout the kingdom in the hope that they might gain some secure employment during a period of significant economic crisis. Exactly as had happened in Flemish lands during the fifteenth century, the security of a music career was close to that of clerics (not by chance, many musicians, especially singers, were also priests). As early as around 1630, the four conservatoires were full of young music students, many of whom were not orphans and whose fees were paid by their families or by noble patrons. If we figure that approximately one hundred new students were admitted every year to each of the four conservatoires, the total number, at the end of the seventeenth century, of new professional musicians launched on the public market after eight-to-ten years of instruction was around 4,000. Eventually, demand made it difficult to gain entrance to the conservatories, and families living in the provinces were forced to find new ways to provide their children with quality musical training. The more fortunate boys entered the households of noblemen and rich bourgeois: this was the case in particular for the famous castrato singers, many sent by families from the provinces to Naples (before or after castration) to improve their families' income with the promise of a successful career.<sup>22</sup>

Families from the lower and middle classes used to entrust their children to a well-respected *maestro*, paying him to assure admission to one of the four conservatories. In a special contract signed by the family or their representative, it was specified that a young boy was left in the charge of the *maestro* for a fixed number of years in exchange for which, in addition to an initial payment, the boy promised to give the teacher part of his future earnings. After a period of training, the private pupil was presented to the conservatoire where the teacher was employed, and after finishing the full cycle of studies he

started his professional career with the continued help of his teacher, who was of course invested in his pupil's success and the eventual financial gains that would fill his own pockets. My reconstruction of this system (very similar to a mafia racket) shows that it was dominated for the entire second half of the seventeenth century by Francesco Provenzale (1632–1704), the most influential Neapolitan composer of his time. Thanks to the benefit of hundreds of students and thanks to the multiple appointments he obtained as chapelmaster in the most highly esteemed religious institutions of the city, Provenzale was able to find positions for many of his pupils, enlarging his income until he became one of the richest musicians of his age.<sup>23</sup>

This process ended by saturating the market for professional musicians during the seventeenth century thanks to the almost industrial levels of production of the four conservatories.<sup>24</sup> The hundreds of churches in the city, its musical institutions, palace establishments, and many confraternities, had all been provided with at least one organist and a few singers, and finally they could not accept more new musicians. For this purely economic reason—a typical motivation for migration—singers, composers and instrumentalists from Naples eventually spread across Europe in an impressive diaspora. In the first decades of the eighteenth century, the favorite destinations were of course the richest courts and capitals with their free market for music. Gradually the displacement of new masses of musicians, generation after generation, forced the most recently arrived to seek out less known and increasingly peripheral territories as yet untouched by their contemporaries, until they arrived at the limits of Europe, where the less fortunate or more adventurous embarked for the New World.

As suggested by Reinhard Strohm, two types predominated among the many Italian musicians (including Neapolitans) who organized “self-motivated trips” in order “to do business outside of Italy”: “the operisti working in a travelling opera troupe, and the individual virtuosi of certain instruments who gave concerts and joined court orchestras.”<sup>25</sup> Neapolitan castrati were among the first to mobilize, with individuals beginning to travel abroad quite early in the seventeenth century.<sup>26</sup> But it was only at the very end of the century that *virtuosi* such as *Matteuccio* (Matteo Sassani) and *Nicolino* (Nicola Grimaldi) built international reputations with long periods spent abroad.<sup>27</sup> The following generation of migratory Neapolitan castrati are legends of eighteenth-century operatic myth: Carlo Broschi, a.k.a. *Farinelli*, Gaetano Majorana, a.k.a. *Caffarelli*, Giuseppe Millico, a.k.a. *Moscovita*, Giuseppe Aprile, a.k.a. *Scirolino*, and so on. As for the instrumentalists, many Neapolitans made lucrative careers as string

players, and it is curious to note that many of them occasionally crossed paths.<sup>28</sup> To the categories articulated by Strohm, we should add a third one: the Neapolitan composers that were invited to produce operas for the most important European theaters or employed as chapelmasters. They were perhaps the most linked to the ideology of their local background, as members of a “Neapolitan School.” Since the early Renaissance, musicians traveling across Europe had regularly identified explicitly with their birthplace. But whereas many Northern European musicians presented themselves or were considered “Flemish,” no matter what their origins, Italians were more specific. Even musicians living in the Kingdom of Naples indicated the town where they were born, and during the second half of the sixteenth century, printers issued “municipal” collections of music composed by musicians from the same town.<sup>29</sup> Later, though, when the conservatoire system in Naples became so successful, even musicians born elsewhere, after completing their training, presented themselves as “Neapolitans”: the most obvious case is Pergolesi, a native of Jesi in the Marche region, but there are hundreds of celebrated “Neapolitan” composers born far from Naples.<sup>30</sup> Another extreme case is Vicente Martín y Soler, the Valencian composer known in Vienna at the time of Mozart as “Signor Martini.”

The prestige associated with being “Neapolitan,” which clearly extended to foreigners who studied in Naples, may provide one explanation for the protectionism of local musicians, who felt threatened by the constant influx of foreigners. Beginning around 1650, the great number of professionals who had been educated in the conservatoires decided to create guilds to ensure special privileges and mutual protections that were exclusively for “true” Neapolitans. The most important organization was the *Congregazione dei Musici Napoletani* (created in 1649), but special privileges for Neapolitans were introduced by many other private or religious institutions as well.<sup>31</sup>

Another typical feature of the “Neapolitan School” was the transmission of musical knowledge from one generation to the next according to established rules.<sup>32</sup> This process started in the third decade of the seventeenth century, when the four conservatoires were operating at full capacity. Despite the hundreds of pupils, each institution employed only a few teachers: one master for all wind instruments, one for all string instruments, and a third one that taught both singing and composition (which involved full knowledge of keyboard techniques including figured bass realization and *partimento*). The singing instructor was the most important staff member at the conservatoire, and he was expected to transmit specific rules of composition. Thus began a didactic chain in which each gifted pupil became, in turn, the master of a new



generation. The main protagonists of this chain during the seventeenth century (sometimes working in two or more conservatoires at the same time) were Giovan Maria Sabino, Giovanni Salvatore, Erasmo di Bartolo (Padre Raimo), Antonio Nola, and especially Francesco Provenzale. Provenzale's pupils Gaetano Veneziano, Gaetano Greco, and Nicola Fago went on to establish a new didactic chain in the eighteenth century that included highly respected composers: Leonardo Leo, Domenico Sarro, Leonardo Vinci, Giambattista Pergolesi, Nicola Porpora, Gaetano Latilla, Niccolò Piccinni etc. Their work gave rise not only to the establishment of specific teaching methods, but also, progressively, to the codification of stylistic features and compositional formulas that eventually gave the Neapolitan school its musical identity. Musicologists are only now fully beginning to recognize the importance of didactic practices such as *partimenti* in the transmission and formation of compositional technique and style.<sup>33</sup> After eight to ten years of training at conservatoire, composers then went on to develop the Neapolitan style in their professional careers, initially in the sacred music they composed for the city's many religious institutions, and subsequently, around 1700, in opera.

The diaspora of Neapolitan composers gradually dissipated in the second half of the eighteenth century, losing its cultural prestige as a natural consequence of a crisis in Naples itself, one created by the massive success of the conservatoire system. As future employment prospects for hundreds of students became increasingly uncertain, fewer and fewer students entered the old conservatories. By contrast with the myth of the "Neapolitan School" still widely propagated by musical migrants from Naples, foreign travelers who visited the city expressed growing disillusionment and often described music at the Neapolitan conservatories as in decline during the second half of the eighteenth century.<sup>34</sup> In 1743 the Conservatorio dei Poveri di Gesù Cristo, where Pergolesi studied under Vinci, was closed. At the end of the century, Sant'Onofrio was merged with Loreto, and the remnants of these two conservatories were absorbed into the only one that survives, Pietà dei Turchini, which was renamed Real Collegio di San Sebastiano at the beginning of the nineteenth century. After 1826, the Collegio was transformed into the Conservatorio di San Pietro a Majella, still active today.

Even after the crisis of the local conservatoire system and the critiques made by travelers, singers, instrumentalists, and composers educated in Naples continued to circulate throughout Europe and the colonial world. Moreover, the three structural elements of the Neapolitan educational program (solfege, partimenti and elaborated counterpoint) became fashionable in the main

European musical capitals: Vienna, London, and Paris. French presses issued several editions of *Solféges d'Italie* featuring members of the Neapolitan School, and Luigi Cherubini established the Paris Conservatoire Nationale according to the model of Neapolitan singing methods, launching what was then considered the first "modern" conservatoire.<sup>35</sup>

Neapolitan musicians abroad tended to reproduce the protection and aid mechanisms they had experienced in Naples during their years of study. Few of them were in fact "Neapolitan" natives: for the most part they came from the different provinces of the kingdom, and their arrival in Naples would have been smoothed by communal organizations of their fellow "foreigners." Since the sixteenth century, these communities had developed forms of assistance for fellow countrymen that could welcome a young person upon arrival from the province and protect him until he entered the world of work through a chain of solidarity. This community welfare might be supplemented by the protections of the noble feudal lords of the territory of origin of the young musician apprentice. The pamphlet *Memorie dell'abate don Bonifacio Pecorone della città di Saponara musico della Real Cappella di Napoli* (published in Naples 1729) provides many details about these protectionist organizations. The protagonist was born in Saponara (today Grumento Nova, in Basilicata) and started his career in Naples with the help of fellow countrymen and the Sanseverino family, princes of Saponara.

A very similar form of assistance developed in the main cities of Europe where migration led not only musicians but all kinds of citizens from the Kingdom of Naples to settle and establish communities of mutual support. In many cases, Neapolitan ambassadors and their Italian circles provided the most substantial support. But often former viceroys or foreign ambassadors or simple travelers who had been in contact with the Neapolitan environment would, upon returning to their homelands, help the musicians they had met in Naples or their pupils.<sup>36</sup>

Ethnomusicologists have long been engaged with investigating how music contributes to our understanding of migratory phenomena and cultural hybridity. Again in the words of Martin Stokes: "Patriarchal secular nation-state building projects [...] have, in crucial regards, collapsed. Senses of national belonging are now being adjusted to different spatial and temporal orders, in which migrancy is acknowledged, and often seen as a resource rather than a national embarrassment."<sup>37</sup> These expanded perspectives have brought the Mediterranean Sea into new focus, with the important result that the Arab Middle East is now being explored within the new field of diaspora studies.<sup>38</sup> History, too,

provides compelling cases for analysis, but many still await the anthropological and sociological perspectives traditionally shut off from musical historiographies that tend to concentrate on individuals rather than groups. The collective migrations of Neapolitan musicians that I have been describing offer ample opportunities to reclaim histories of cultural mobility, both migratory and diasporic. As observed by Strohm, Italian displacements during the eighteenth century followed both patterns: many musicians emigrated in “a collective and simultaneous move from and to a specific region,” while others dispersed in diaspora, “a ‘scattering’ of individuals into all directions with no overall pattern.” Strohm’s solomonic description sees in the moves of Italian musicians both a true “musical diaspora,” as well as “an ‘emigration,’ an almost collective move of Italians, not into specific countries but into all regions of Europe.”<sup>39</sup> In this sense, Neapolitan musicians are a prime example of the two kinds of move.

## Notes

1. Stokes, “Migrant/migrating music and the Mediterranean,” 29–30. The case under consideration by Stokes, an ethnomusicologist and cultural historian specializing in Turkish music, is the ambiguous place of Malta, where Western and Arabic musical influences overlap. Stokes likens the situation to that of the music produced by Turkish immigrants in Europe, especially Germany, and questions basic conceptual categories such as identity and transformation. Also see his earlier contributions as co-editor (with Schulze and Campbell) of *Nationalism, Minorities and Diasporas: Identities and Rights in the Middle East* (1996).

2. I provide an overview and commentary on recent scholarship in “Travellers and Migrants: Musicians around Europe in the Early Modern Age,” the introduction to Katalinić, ed. *Music Migrations in the Early Modern Age*, 13–29, to which should be added zur Nieden and Over, eds., *Musicians’ Mobilities and Music Migrations in Early Modern Europe*. Major international projects of particular note include: the MUSICI project (2010–2013), which studied foreign musicians active in Venice, Rome and Naples during the period 1650–1750, and the “Music Migrations project” (MusMig), supported by the European Community Fund HERA, which included scholars from Croatia, Slovenia, Germany and Poland. The MUSICI project has produced an online database (<http://www.musici.eu/index.php?id=3>) and two books of conference proceedings: Giron-Panel and Goulet, eds., *La musique à Rome au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, and Goulet and zur Nieden, eds., *Europäische Musiker in Venedig, Rom und Neapel*. The MusMig project has also produced an online database (<http://www.musmig.eu/database/>), as well as the two aforementioned volumes of conference proceedings: Katalinić, ed., *Music Migrations in the Early Modern Age*, and zur Nieden and Over, eds., *Musicians’ Mobilities and Music Migrations in Early Modern Europe*.

3. Moch, *Moving Europeans*, 16–17.

4. The four standard migration patterns were described in Tilly, “Migration in Modern European History,” 5–14.

5. Kiesewetter and Fétis, *Verhandelingen over de vraag*. This book, published in a bilingual edition, Flemish and German, begins as follows: “Man wird von Jugend auf so sehr an die Vorstellung gewöhnt, alle Musik sey von Italiën aus über Europa verbreitet worden, und die Italiener die Lehrer der übrigen Völker in dieser Kunst gewesen, dass man auf eine sonderbare Art überrascht wird, wenn man irgendwo zum ersten Mal erfährt, dass es Niederländer waren, welche, zu einer Zeit, wo in Italien und in andern Ländern kaum noch schwache Versuche einer Verbindung mehrerer Stimmen zu einem Harmonischen Gesang

Kunst auftraten [...] und wohl durch anderthalb Jahrhunderte an den Höfen und in den Capellen eben so geschätzt und gesucht waren, als es in den uns näher liegenden Zeiten die Italiener nur immer gewesen sind" (p. 1).

6. Lang, *Music in Western Civilization*, chap. 9, section "Migration of Flemish Musicians," 190–94. Lang himself migrated to the U.S. from his native Hungary (then part of the Austrian empire), but "his immigration was voluntary and enthusiastic" and this "set him apart from the wave of forced emigrants that was about to land on America's shores," especially from Germany (Josephson, "The German Musical Exile and the Course of American Musicology," 12).

7. Strohm, *The Eighteenth-Century Diaspora of Italian Music and Musicians*, xvii. For some remarks of my own that anticipate arguments I pursue in this essay, see Fabris, "Travellers and Migrants: Musicians around Europe in the Early Modern Age," 13–29.

8. Tuksar, "Croatian musicians in Venice, Rome and Naples," 210.

9. For the period before 1800, one of the first sets of studies emerged from a conference I co-organized in Lecce in 1985, proceedings published as Bozzi and Cosi, eds., *Musicisti nati in Puglia ed emigrazione musicale fra Sei e Settecento*. On the subsequent period see Frasca, *Italian Birds of Passage*.

10. See Fabris, "Vita musicale a Bari dal Medioevo al Settecento," 34.

11. In Monopoli, Berchem married Giustina de Simeonibus, member of a noble family, and their daughter Horsilia was born in November 1553, terminus *ante quem* for his arrival in the Apulian town. Even if Berchem was not officially engaged as chapelmaster in Monopoli, he composed and performed music there until his death in 1567. See Morgante, "La cappella musicale del Duomo di Monopoli nel Rinascimento," 27–34; and the Introduction by Galliano Ciliberti to the modern edition of Berchem, *Il primo libro dei madrigali a quattro voci* (1555).

12. Larson and Pompilio, "Cronologia delle edizioni musicali napoletane del Cinque-Seicento," 117.

13. See Larson, "Condizione sociale dei musicisti e dei loro committenti nella Napoli del Cinque e Seicento," 72. Lassus spent the years 1549–1551 in Naples, in the house of Giovanni Battista d'Azia marquis of Terza; in the period before 1554, Monte was living in the house of Cosimo Pinelli and of Nardo Antonio Della Porta, teaching among others the young Giovanni Battista Della Porta. Larson also lists Ghiselin Danckerts in the house of Pierluigi Carafa and Giaches de Wert "ragazzo da cantare" (choirboy) in the house of Maria di Cardona. On Wert see MacClintock, "New light on Giaches de Wert."

14. See Lippmann, "Giovanni de Macque tra Roma e Napoli," and D'Alessandro, "Giovanni de Macque e i musicisti della Real Cappella napoletana," 21–156.

15. See Fabris, *Partenope da Sirena a Regina*.

16. Fabris, "The Role of Solo Singing to the Lute," 133–45.

17. "In music, then / oh, what great things would you hear/ by night and day, and upon instruments, / with a thousand great concerts, / their voices giving you a taste / of the sweet harmony of paradise [...] in composition as in song / those Neapolitans / are most sweet singers, / as they were Josquin [Desprez], Cristobal de Morales, Jaquet [de Mantua] or Adrian [Willaert], / Joseffo Zarlino, Philippe [de Monte], Roland [de Lassus] or Cipriano [de Rore]; all good, indeed perfect and rare / to teach to others whence comes / the perfect music [...] And among those townsfolk or gentlemen / are such true musicians, / on the harp as on the lyre, / as would placate the anger of the Furies [...]": Del Tufo, *Ritratto o modello delle grandezze, delitie e meraviglie della nobilissima Città di Napoli*, 141.

18. See for instance John Evelyn, who noted during his visit to Naples in 1645: "The country people [are] so jovial and addicted to music that the very husbandmen universally play on the guitar, singing and composing songs in praise of their sweethearts, and will commonly go to the field with their fiddle..." (*The Diary of John Evelyn*, 1:239).

19. The first documentary study of the four Neapolitan conservatories was Giacomo, *I quattro antichi conservatorii musicali di Napoli*. Also see Robinson, "The Governor's Minutes of the Conservatory S. Maria di Loreto, Naples"; Del Prete, "La trasformazione di un istituto benefico-assistenziale in scuola di musica"; Olivieri, "Aggiunte a *La scuola musicale di Napoli di F. Florimo*"; Pozzi, "Vita musicale e committenza nei conservatori napoletani del Seicento"; Fabris, *Music in seventeenth-century Naples*; and Gjerdingen, "The perfection of craft training in the Neapolitan Conservatories."

20. See Di Maio, *Società e vita religiosa a Napoli nell'età moderna* (1656–1799).

21. For a brief overview of the foundation and first years of the four Neapolitan conservatories, see Fabris, *Music in seventeenth-century Naples*, 26ff. See also Di Benedetto and Fabris, "Naples."

22. The bibliography on Italian castrato singers is huge. Among recent titles: Barbier, *The World of the Castrati*; Freitas, *Portrait of a Castrato: Politics, Patronage, and Music in the Life of Atto Melani*; and Feldman, *The Castrato. Reflections on Natures and Kinds*.

23. Fabris, *Music in seventeenth-century Naples*, 66–69, 80 and passim. Updated information in Fabris, “Provenzale, Francesco (Antonio).”

24. For an economic study of the “creative industry” of music in Naples, see Clemente and Del Prete, “Cultural Creativity and Symbolic Economy in Early Modern Naples.”

25. Strohm, “Italian Operisti North of the Alps. c.1700-c.1750,” in *The Eighteenth-Century Diaspora of Italian Music and Musicians*, 16ff.

26. Donatello Coxa, an alto, was the first important Neapolitan castrato of international reputation: in 1628 the viceroy invited him to leave Venice, where he was already famous on theatrical stages, to enter the Neapolitan Royal Chapel, where he served until his death during the plague of 1656.

27. Sassani was first invited to Vienna by the emperor on November 1695, then he passed to Spain in the service of the king. Grimaldi moved first to England in 1708, where in 1711 he performed the title role in *Rinaldo*, Handel’s first opera for London. He returned to Naples in 1717, famous and honored with the title of “cavaliere.” Both were members of the Royal Chapel, the most important musical institution in Naples.

28. Giovanni Antonio Piani and Angelo Ragazzi served in the same Imperial Chapel where the son of Nicola Matteis was also active; the cello player Salvatore Lanzetti married the daughter of one of the Bezozzis, who were virtuoso oboists, while Michele Mascitti’s clan exercised considerable influence in the Neapolitan musical scene (his uncle was the virtuoso Pietro Macchitelli, who had helped other members of the family such as Giovanni, Francesco, and Nicola Sabatino to launch their careers). On Neapolitan players of violin and other instruments see Olivieri, *The ‘Fiery Genius’: The Contribution of Neapolitan Virtuosi*. Giovanni Antonio Piani was better known as Jean-Antoine Des Planes because he started his career in France. In 1704 he was already living in France, but then he spent most of his life in Vienna at the Imperial Court Chapel between 1720 and 1760, where he was the most highly paid instrumentalist. Angelo Ragazzi, after a period in the service of the Royal Chapel in Barcelona, followed Charles VI to Vienna when he became emperor in 1717, remaining in his service until 1722. On his music output see Di Benedetto, “The Sonate a Quattro of Angelo Ragazzi (1736).” Michele Mascitti spent the greater part of his life in Paris after a period of training in Naples with his uncle Pietro Marchitelli. He also visited Germany and the Netherlands. In Paris he published nine books of sonatas between 1704 and 1738, which exerted considerable influence on the next generation of French violin composers. In 1739 he was naturalized as French. See Dean, *The Music of Michele Mascitti*. On the cello tradition and other Neapolitan instrumentalists see Olivieri, “Cello Playing and Teaching in Eighteenth-Century Naples,” and idem, “Condizione sociale dei musicisti nella Napoli del ‘700: Pietro Marchitelli.”

29. See Piperno, *Gli “Eccellentissimi Musici della Città di Bologna.”*

30. Cerreto, *Della pratica musica vocale, e strumentale*, 154–56, publishes a list of “Nomi de i Musici Napolitani, e Compatrioti, che sono stati in questa città di Napoli dall’anno 1500 infino al dì d’oggi”; several individuals in the list are styled as “per antichità napolitano.”

31. On this protectionist attitude see Veneziano, “Strategie di accoglienza nei circuiti professionali. I musicisti “forestieri” nelle istituzioni napoletane.” In addition to the case studied by Veneziano (the musical chapel at the Pio Monte della Misericordia), the same strategy is evident in the discounted admission fees Neapolitans paid to the conservatories, who charged foreigners higher sums.

32. See Gjerdingen, “The perfection of craft training in the Neapolitan Conservatories.”

33. Niccolò Piccinni provides information about the typical eight-to-ten-year program of study in the Neapolitan conservatoires: students started with solfège (to develop melodic skills), then partimenti (improvisation at the keyboard) and the highest course of counterpoint. See Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style*; idem, “Partimento, que me-veux tu?”; idem, “Images of Galant Music in Neapolitan Partimenti and Solfeggi”; idem, “Partimenti written to impart a knowledge of counterpoint and composition”; Sanguineti, *The Art of Partimento*; Van Tour, “The lost art of partimento”; idem, *Counterpoint and Partimento: Methods of Teaching Composition in Late Eighteenth-Century Naples*; and Paraschivescu, *Die Partimenti von Giovanni Paisiello Ansätze zu ihrem Verständnis*. A very useful resource is the website managed by Robert Gjerdingen at Northwestern University on Solfeggi and Partimenti: <http://faculty-web.at.northwestern.edu/music/gjerdingen/aboutSeries/aboutSeries.htm>.

34. The disillusionment with Neapolitan music is evident in the travelogues of Donatien Alphonse François marquis de Sade, *Voyage en Italie*, in *Ceuvres de Sade*; and Burney, *Journey to Naples in The Present State of Music in France and Italy*.

35. Among other essays, see Mamy, “L’importation des solfèges italiens en France à la fin du xviiiè siècle.”

36. There are no comprehensive studies of this subject. The specific cases can be drawn from the biographies of the most important musicians: think of the role of Abbot Galliani, a Neapolitan intellectual and diplomat, in Piccinni’s call to Paris and Paisiello’s to Russia.

37. Stokes, “Migrant/migrating music and the Mediterranean,” 35.

38. See especially Ma’oz and Sheffer, eds., *Middle Eastern Minorities and Diasporas*.

39. Strohm, *The Eighteenth-Century Diaspora of Italian Music and Musicians*, xvi.

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