

PASSAGGIO IN ITALIA

MUSIC ON THE GRAND TOUR IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY



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MUSIC ON THE GRAND TOUR IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Edited by

Dinko Fabris and Margaret Murata



STIMU

Foundation for Historical Performance Practice

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I
ITALIAN SOUNDSCAPES:
SOUVENIRS FROM THE GRAND TOUR
Dinko Fabris (Naples, Italy)

Music was always a strong component of the appeal of Grand Tour,¹ even if it was less mentioned in travel literature before the eighteenth century, when we first find travellers' diaries explicitly dedicated to musical journeys through Italy, as in the letters from Rome and Naples by the President De Brosses or Charles Burney's *Musical Journey*. Nevertheless, during the entire seventeenth century no cultured visitor from beyond the Alps failed to record his marvellous auditory experiences in his Italian notebook. As we assembled this intriguing and stimulating book, involving so many eminent specialists from different countries, we aimed to find several possible topics, by beginning with a set of questions:

1. Did foreign visitors truly find in Italy the musical treasures that they expected?
2. What were the kinds of music that most impressed them, and why?
3. Was there a hierarchy among the Italian cities with respect to music, as was the case for the visual arts, or with respect to their historic pasts?
4. What did visitors think about Italian musicians, as distinct from their interest in Italy in general?
5. What aspects of their musical experiences did they take back to their home countries?
6. Compared to professional musicians, how much did such travellers contribute to the diffusion of the most up-to-date Italian music throughout Europe?

Travellers' diaries have been often used by modern scholars interested in reconstructing the cultural and artistic images of Italian cities by quoting excerpts, including descriptions of monuments, palaces, libraries, collections, sacred and secular festivities, and the like. In such instances, historians extract bits of evidence from a context that in general was not intended as historical documentation but intended primarily to be read as 'literature'. It means that local historians or specialists in different fields of the humanities have often exploited this type of information without a proper methodology or appropriate caution. In the last half-century, the new socio-anthropological approach of the 'new history' has deeply modified this situation. 'Travel literature' is today considered as any archival resource. The three centuries that embrace the Italian Grand Tour (from the middle of the sixteenth to the nineteenth century) fall perfectly well within the historians' notion of the *longue durée*, one of the concepts of the *Annales* School, introduced as early as 1949 in the pivotal book by Fernand Braudel entitled *Les Empires de la Méditerranée*.² In the same way, musicologists interested in approaching

¹ The phrase 'Grand Tour' appeared for first time in the 1698 London edition of Richard Lassels, *An Italian Voyage* (see note 20 below) and was adopted later in most eighteenth-century travel books. The modern bibliography on the topic is impressive, starting from Edward Godfrey Cox, ed., *A Reference Guide to the Literature of Travel, including voyages, geographical descriptions, adventures, shipwrecks and expeditions*, University of Washington Publications in Language and Literature, vols 9, 10, 12 (Seattle: University of Washington, 1935-1949; repr. NY: Greenwood Press, 1969), I: *The Old World*; to the useful handbook Jennifer Speake, ed., *Literature of Travel and Exploration: An Encyclopedia*, 3 vols (London: Routledge, 2003). A genial description, ac-

ording to different social classes of travellers, is Peter Rieterbergen, *Europe: a Cultural History*, 2d edn (London and NY: Routledge, 1998), chap. 10, subtitled 'Migration, travel and the diffusion and integration of culture in Europe'. I thank Margaret Murata for her collaboration in editing this chapter.

² See Fernand Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II* (Paris: Colin, 1949). The *longue durée* is with *histoire globale* one of the topics of the *Annales* School. See Fernand Braudel, 'Histoire et sciences sociales. La longue durée', *Annales* 13 (1958): 725-53.

travel literature as a resource for musical evidence have begun to examine the persistence of phenomena within the *longue durée* and their dynamics in a chosen area (a town, a chapel, a theatre).

The Italian Soundscape

One anecdote given by a foreign witness about a concert in a Roman church or a singer in a Venetian palace or during a banquet in Pitti Palace in Florence, can help reconstruct what Reinhard Strohm first defined with the equation ‘Townscape/Soundscape’, but only as a documentary fragment, never as a ‘monument’ in itself, to use Jacques LeGoff’s words.³ After twenty years or so devoted to various aspects of music patronage, at the beginning of the present century, the ‘soundscapes’ of early modern European cities formed for the first time the prominent object of a group of musicologists from Spain, Italy, France and the U.K., self-named ‘Urban Musicology’. (Its first product, the proceedings of the conference in Valencia 2000, *Musica y cultura urbana* was published in 2005).⁴

Among the guidelines of this study group is the methodological approach adopted by Peter Burke in his studies on Renaissance Italy.⁵ Burke divides the historical sources available on Italian cities into two groups of documents, which he calls ‘outsiders’ and ‘insiders’.⁶ The ‘New History’ has reversed the usual perspective, considering the ‘alien eye’ (*i.e.*, the testimonies of foreign travellers) as the preferred source, compared to documents produced by ‘insiders’ (archival resources *in situ*).⁷ But at the same time, it is not possible to disregard the ‘inside eye’, not only because foreign travellers were not neutral and objective observers, but also because *all* documents offer only circumstantial evidence of a local conception of the world. (This aspect, from a Burkian perspective, is a recent consequence of earlier intuitions in the field of structural anthropology, in particular those in Claude Lévi-Strauss’s pivotal book *Le Regard éloigné*.⁸) Since music and spectacle were crucial elements in Italian society during the Renaissance and Baroque for both insiders and outsiders alike (the two perspectives adopted by Peter Burke), the external as well as the internal viewpoints share in defining a historical mentality,⁹ a territory rarely explored as yet in musicology.

In considering the Grand Tour as part of a grander history of *mentalités*, I am indebted in fact to two non-musicological books, both published with popular aims: Antoni Mączak’s *Daily Life Travelling across Europe in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, first written in Polish in 1978 (translated into Italian in 1992), and *Il viaggio in Italia. Storia di una grande tradizione culturale* recently published by Attilio

³ I am not using the term ‘soundscape’ in the sense first adopted by R. Murray Schafer in his works *The New Soundscape* (1969) and *The Tuning of the World* (1977), which today have wide applications in the fields of composition, analysis, eco-acoustics, ethnomusicology and, in general, in what is deemed ‘World Music’. I use ‘soundscape’ instead as it has been adopted more recently, in particular for musicologists adopting anthropological methods, following the influential book by Reinhard Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985; rev. 1990), whose first chapter is entitled ‘Townscape-Soundscape’. See also Tim Carter, ‘El sonido del silencio: modelos para una musicología urbana’, in Miguel Ángel Marín López, Andrea Bombi, Juan José Carreras, eds, *Música y cultura urbana en la Edad Moderna* (Valencia: Universidad de Valencia, 2005), 53–68.

⁴ See Marín Lopez et al., *Música y cultura urbana en la Edad Moderna*; see also the report by Tim Carter, ‘Urban Musicol-

ogy’, *Early Music*, 28 (2000): 313–14 and *Sounding the Town*, special issue of *Urban History*, 29 (2002): 92–102.

⁵ Peter Burke, *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy. Essays on Perception and Communication* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), chapter III.14, 191–206 (Italian edn Roma-Bari: Laterza, 1988).

⁶ Burke, *Historical Anthropology*, chapter I.2, 15–25.

⁷ See Traian Stoianovich, *French Historical Method: The Annales Paradigm* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1976); Jacques Le Goff, *La nouvelle histoire* (Paris: Retz, 1978); Peter Burke, *New Perspectives on Historical Writing* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991).

⁸ Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Le Regard éloigné* (Paris: Plon, 1983); see also Carter, ‘El sonido del silencio’.

⁹ French historians have proposed important links with ethnology. See Jacques Le Goff, ‘Les mentalités. Une histoire ambiguë’, in J. Le Goff and Pierre Nora, eds, *Faire de l’histoire* (Paris: Gallimard, 1974), 76–94.

Brilli, the eminent Italian specialist of travel literature at Siena University.¹⁰ The two books are complemented by Peter Burke's *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy*, which, not by chance, was translated into Italian under the more intriguing and popular title *Scene di vita quotidiana nell'Italia moderna*.¹¹ Thanks to these three books, we can assemble an impressive bibliography of hundreds of original journals, diaries, memoirs, and their modern exegeses. Even if Brilli's book is not only the more recent but also the only one devoted entirely to reconstructing the history and meaning of the golden age of the Italian Grand Tour, he scarcely refers to sources and experiences related to the seventeenth century, because the mythological vision of the golden age of Grand Tour belongs rather to the entire eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth. Mączak's book not only is quite old in its original compilation but it, too, refers to Italy only in small part, including it in a general 'European' discussion from a relevant Polish vision. Nevertheless, the core of Mączak's discussion is the seventeenth century (his book is dedicated to Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary* the most influential of early travel-guides, published in London 1617), and Italy is without doubt the protagonist of the story.

In Burke's book, the true *manifesto* of the anthropological history of early modern Italy, travellers are never treated as the protagonists, but they constitute half of the sources established as fundamental in the essay: they are Burke's 'alien eye'. After drafting a short list of the most important seventeenth-century travellers to Italy (including the 'British contingent' of Coryate, Moryson, Evelyn, Burnet, Addison, etc.), Burke assumes that 'These witnesses deserve to be taken seriously', even if 'taking them seriously does not of course mean believing every word they wrote. Like other types of historical document, the accounts of travellers abroad need to undergo critical examination to reveal both specific inaccuracies and general bias'.¹² In similar words, Jonathan Swift let his traveller hero Lemuel Gulliver confess:

I could heartily wish a law was enacted that every traveller, before he were permitted to publish his voyages, should be obliged to make oath before the Lord High Chancellor that all he intended to print was absolutely true to the best of his knowledge, for then the world would no longer be deceived, as it usually is; while some writers, to make their works pass the better upon the public, impose the grossest falsities on the unwary reader.¹³

Burke's invitation to use the traveller's eye (and our case, ear!) as a 'historical document' with caution is very important in applying it to our musicological field. In fact frustration often results from the total absence of music among the main topics described by foreigner travellers to Italy in the three modern books I mentioned, except for Mączak's brief discussion of music in taverns,¹⁴ an argument quite peripheral to the interests of musicologists today. Nevertheless, the 'New History' has provided us with a methodological context, within which musicologists proceed, as so often, by analogy.

The alien eye

In addition to the rich bibliographies included in the books I have cited, the main sources on the Grand Tour in Italy are quite well investigated and catalogued, thanks to pioneering works such as Boucher de la Richarderie's *Bibliothèque universelle des voyages* (1808), Alessandro D'Ancona's bibliographical appendix to the edition of Montaigne's *Journal de voyage* (1889), Ludwig Schudt's *Italien-*

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¹⁰ Antoni Mączak, *Życie codzienne w podróżach po Europie w XVI i XVII wieku* (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1978/80; Italian edn as *Viaggi e viaggiatori nell'Europa moderna* Roma-Bari: Laterza 1994; English edn as *Travel in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1995); and Attilio Brilli, *Il viaggio in Italia. Storia di una grande tradizione culturale* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2006). Another Italian book on the same topic does not offer in fact any methodological per-

spective: Cesare De Seta, *L'Italia del Grand Tour. Da Montaigne a Goethe* (Naples: Electa, 2001).

¹¹ Peter Burke, *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy*, see note 5.

¹² Burke, *Historical Anthropology*, 16.

¹³ Jonathan Swift, *Gulliver's Travels* (London, 1726; mod. ed. London: Chancellor Press, 1985), 279.

¹⁴ Mączak, *Viaggi e viaggiatori*, 102-105.

reisen im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert (1959), and catalogues of travel books by collectors like Angelo Tursi in Turin or Luigi Vittorio Fossati Bellani in Rome.¹⁵

Richard Lassels, who first used the phrase ‘Grand Tour’, published his celebrated *Voyage of Italy* in 1670 after his fifth trip there: a good example of a reiterate experience within a *longue durée*.¹⁶ One of the most important features of a traveller’s records is his comparative approach, i.e., the ability to describe only few impressions received by a musical event or product experienced in an Italian town and compare it with another event or product in another town in Italy or at home. This aptitude is in some way anthropological *ante literam* and supplies us modern scholars with more information than a straight description of a single event. A clear example is the well-known comparison made as early as 1608 by Thomas Coryate, between a theatre in Venice and a playhouse in London:

I was at one of the Play-houses where I saw a Comedie acted. The house is very beggarly and base in comparison to our stately Play-houses in England: neyther can their Actors compare with us for apparrell, shewes [shoes] and musicke. Here I observed certaine things that I never saw before. For I saw women acte, a thing that I never saw before. though I have heard that it hath beene sometimes used in London, and they performed it with as good a grace, action, gesture, and whatsoever convenient for a Player, as ever I saw any masculine Actor. Also their noble & famous Cortezans came to this Comedy, but so disguised, that a man cannot perceive them. For they wore double maskes upon their faces, to the end they might not be seene. ... They [the courtesans] were so graced, that they sate on high alone by themselves in the best roome of all the Play-house. If any man should be so resolute to unmaske one of them but in merriment onely to see their faces, it is said that were he never so noble or worthy a personage, he should be cut in pieces before he should come forth of the roome, especially if he were a stranger. I saw some men also in the Play house, disguised in the same manner with double visards, those were said to be the favourites of the same Cortezans: they sit not here in galleries as we doe in London. For there is but one or two little galleries in the house, wherein the Cortezans only sit. But all the men doe sit beneath in the yard or court, every man upon his severall stoole, for the which hee payeth a gazet.¹⁷

A half century later, in contrast, another English traveller, the merchant Robert Bargrave, gave a completely different description of the Venetian theatres, without comparing them to the playhouses in England or elsewhere:

Above All [in Venice], surpassing whatsoever theyr Inventions can else stretch to, are theyr Operas ... represented in rare musick from the beginning to the end, by select Eunuchs and women, sought out through all Italy on purpose: whose Persons are adorned as richly and aptly as the best contrivers can imagine: theyr many various Scenes set out in rare painting, and all magnificent costlynness, intermixing most incomparable apparitions and motions in the aire and on the Seae, governed so by Machines, that they are scarce discernable from the reall things they represent ... and so farr was I from being weary of it, I would ride hundreds of miles to see the same over again: nay I must needs confess that all the pleasant things I have yet heard

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¹⁵ In the 1970s, Emanuele Kanceff (Università di Torino) founded the ‘Centro di ricerche sul viaggio in Italia’, publishing a journal (*Bollettino del CIRVI*) and a series of critical editions of travel accounts (‘Biblioteca del viaggio in Italia’ Università di Torino/Geneva: Slatkine). The catalogue is online: <http://www.cirvi.it/ita/bvi>.

¹⁶ Richard Lassels, *Voyage of Italy: or a Compleat Journey through Italy*. In two parts, printed at Paris [Vincent du Moutier] and are to be sold in London... 1670. The auto-

graph MS is ca. 1660. See Edward Chaney, *The Grand Tour and the Great Rebellion. Richard Lassels and ‘The Voyage of Italy’ in the Seventeenth Century*. Biblioteca del viaggio in Italia, vol. 19 (Geneve: Slatkine, 1985).

¹⁷ Thomas Coryate, *Coryats Crudities* (London: W.S., 1611; facsim. repr. London: Scolar Press, 1978), 247 (lines 18–31) and 248 (lines 4–18). A *gazet* was a Venetian coin of small value.

or seen, are inexpressibly short of the delight I had, in seeing this Venetian Opera; and as Venice in many things surpasses all places elce where I have been, so are these Operas the most excellent of all its glorious Vanities.¹⁸

Of course, there is a strong difference between the poor Venetian *stanze di comedia* for the spoken drama that Coryate attended at the beginning of the century and the splendid golden age of opera under Cavalli's reign. But in both cases, the cultivated traveller made a comparison that clarified in his mind the novelty of his experience in Italy.

Another illustration of this comparative attitude is exemplified by the French traveller Jean-Jacques Bouchard in 1632, when he compared the music in Roman churches with those in Naples.

Pour les musiques [de Naples], elles ne peuvent estre comparées à celles de Rome pour ce qui est de la grande quantité ni de la bonté de voix, n'y aiant de bien excellent qu'une haute contre nomé Donatello [Coya], et une taille nomé Onofrio [della Gioiosa]; le reste estant fort mediocre, sur tout pour les dessus qui ont tous naturellement là une voix esclatante et penetrante, privée de la douceur de celles de Rome, les haute contre reussissant mieux qu'à Rome mesme ainsi que l'on a observé au país. Pour le concert, il n'est ni si bon ni si plein qu'à Rome; car le plus qui ait paru en tout ce temps là, ç'a esté quatre choeurs, mais fort mal fournis; et le plus qui se chante d'ordinaire est à quatre voix simples, et encore le plus souvent à trois et à deus et à une, et c'est là principalement qu'excelle la musique napolitaine par l'invention de mille fugues, pauses et reprises, et surtout par les mouvements bizarres et allegres, chantants la plus part des motets sur des tons gais et folastres et en airs du país, qui est une maniere de chanter tout à fait differente de celle de Rome, qui est molle, melancholique et modeste, avec quelque ordre et suite.¹⁹

Given its rich legacy, travellers were prompted to make comparisons not only between nations but also with respect to the past and present arts in Italy. According to Lassels' *Description of Italy* of 1654:

If the Ancient Italians had their famous Architects, Statuaries, Painters and Musicians: the moderne Italians have their Michael Angelo and Raphael in painting; their B[e]rnini and Fiamingo in Sculpture; their Palladius in Architecture; their Loretto, Domenichini, Nicolini, and Bonaventura in Musick.²⁰

This roster of contemporary Roman singers along with the best-known artists of early modern Italy is justified by the same Lassels in the following enthusiastic description of the Roman 'soundscape' before 1654.

I heard divers times a Nunn sing with such perfection both of skill and voyce, that (and I speak it truly) a journey to Rome were spent to heare that woman sing thrice. If ever my soul was touched to the quick with any musick it was with this and yet I had heard Cavalier Loreto,

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¹⁸ Michael Tilmouth, 'Music on the Travels of an English Merchant: Robert Bargrave (1628–61)', *Music and Letters*, 53 (1972), 143–59: 156. The description pertains to Carnival (February) in 1656; coming to Venice the year before, on April 1655, Bargrave was captivated by the music sung at 'the two Nunneries of Beggars and of Bastards' (the Conservatori dei Mendicanti and della Pietà) and gave a very competent description of the technical features of the singing there, including range, graces and expression (p. 155).

¹⁹ Jean-Jacques Bouchard, *Journal. II: Voyage dans le Royaume*

de Naples. Voyage dans la Campagne de Rome, ed. Emanuele Kanceff, 2 vols (Turin: Giappichelli, 1977), 2: 184.

²⁰ Lassels's *Description* (National Library of Scotland, Adv. MS 15.2.15) in Chaney, *The Grand Tour*, Appendix I, 149–231: 150. Three of the singers cited were in the Cappella Sistina: soprano Loreto Vittori, bass Bartolomeo Nicolini, and soprano Bonaventura Argenti. The identification of 'Domenichino' remains doubtful, since a different singer 'Domenico' is cited later: one of the two could be Domenico Palombi, who also served in the papal chapel.

Bonaventura, Domenico, Domenichini, and brave Nicolini. I am not affrayd to confesse this se[e]ing a great writer sayth, that to hate musick is a signe of Reprobation: and if so; to love must be a marke of Predestination, at least of an harmonious soul.²¹

One main problem any historian encounters in the travel literature were the prejudicial stereotypes of Italy that seventeenth-century foreign travellers learned from books or personal accounts of their predecessors: starting the Grand Tour, they often found exactly what they already wanted to know.²² Even if this attitude was wide spread among European travellers (as the dozens of quotations in the books by Maćzak and Brillì testify), the British ones seem to be the most obstinate. In the words of a modern guide, Paul Barker's *The Fortunate Pilgrims*:

The average English traveller remained insular even in Italy, whose society he had no wish to penetrate, and, as a result ... he usually responded in a stereotyped way to the ruins and to the people. ... He brought back to England collections of paintings, statuary and furniture, redesigned his houses and public buildings and planned his gardens under the influence of what he had seen.²³

This peculiar British or 'insular' attitude is well described by the fictional Gulliver while discovering the beauty of the native music in the Kingdom of Brobdingnac. It disgusted him at first impact, but after he interposes some distance, the metaphor is clear:

The King, who delighted in music, had frequent concerts at Court, to which I was sometimes carried ... but the noise was so great that I could hardly distinguish the tunes. I am confident that all the drums and trumpets of a royal army, beating and sounding together just at your ears, could not equal it. My practice was to have my box removed from the places where the performers sat as far as I could, then to shut the doors and windows of it and draw the window curtains, after which I found their music not disagreeable.²⁴

Very few of Gulliver's compatriots share his wise judgement that 'nothing is great or little otherwise th[a]n by comparison'. One of the consequences of such prejudicial views was that when some visitors returned so keen for the new paths or new information (including music) they had found in the less-explored parts of Italy, their excess of enthusiasm was taken as a negative result of the Grand Tour. Such travellers were considered so much changed as to justify the aphorism "An Englishman italianate is a devil incarnate".²⁵

Musician travellers

On the opposite side, we can examine diaries of Italian travellers abroad, who, in a similar way, compared the strange usages encountered in various northern European towns with Italian ones. Let me just recall here only three of the great seventeenth-century Italian travellers: the Roman Pietro Della Valle 'the Pilgrim' – who in the years 1612–1626 visited Turkish, Persian and Indian lands,²⁶ the Florentine Lorenzo Magalotti—the future cardinal who visited France and England in 1668–69 accompanying Archduke Cosimo of Tuscany,²⁷ and the Neapolitan Gian Francesco Gemelli Careri, the first

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²¹ *Ivi*, 207.

²² Lassels in fact penned his 1654 *Description* in lieu of his accompanying a Scotsman to the Continent.

²³ Paul Barker, *The Fortunate Pilgrims* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1964), 110.

²⁴ Swift, *Gulliver's Travels*, ed. cit., 112.

²⁵ Maćzak, *Viaggi e viaggiatori*, 238.

²⁶ See Remo Giazotto, *Il grande viaggio di Pietro Della Valle il "Pellegrino" (1612-1626). La Turchia, la Persia, l'India con il*

ritorno a Roma (Rome: Torre d'Orfeo, 1988). The same topic is the basis for the compact disc *Pellegrino. Il viaggio di Pietro della Valle*, ensemble XVIII-21 Musiques des Lumières, dir. Jean-Christophe Frisch, Arion 2006: ARN 68716.

²⁷ Lorenzo Magalotti, *Relazioni di viaggio in Inghilterra, Francia e Svezia*, ed. by Walter Moretti (Bari: Laterza, 1968); cf. also Anna Maria Crinò, *Un principe di Toscana in Inghilterra e in Irlanda* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1969).

Italian to have planned and probably completed a full tour of the globe in the years 1693–98.²⁸ In each author we can find also the tendency to compare music, theatres and spectacles abroad with respect to their native culture. But we have to consider that the first one, Pietro Della Valle, was also an important musician and music theorist, which can explain the accurate descriptions he inserts, for example, of the music and dance of the Dervishes. Another traveller highly competent in music was Bernardo Bizzoni, a Frescobaldi associate, who accompanied the collector Marquis Vincenzo Giustiniani during his Northern trip in 1606, writing a journal well known to historians of art. But more important for music historians are Bizzoni's autograph letters sent during his travels.²⁹ Very few professional musicians wrote diaries or accounts of their European travels, but many sent or published letters that in some cases are quite accurate in describing foreign countries and musical events. Among them we may recall Girolamo Frescobaldi from Antwerp (Dedicatory letter of his 1608 book of *Madrigali*), Pietro Paolo Melii from Prague and Vienna (detailed political news in the years 1617–19 to the Marquis Bentivoglio in Ferrara), and Francesco Rasi from Prague and Nuremberg (to the Duke of Mantua in 1613). The latter was sickened by the cold weather of the North to the point of declaring to his friend Michelangelo Galilei, the Tuscan luteplayer established in Munich, 'ermo proponimento di non uscir mai più d'Italia'.³⁰

As we have said earlier, music was not usually included in the seventeenth-century 'Baedeker' for the Grand Tour, as were the monuments or works of art, and it means that travellers (even Englishmen) were not prejudiced as listeners toward any special kind of Italian music. But music was part of the educational training of any cultivated European gentleman and, therefore, travellers were often able to give elaborate descriptions of musical events experienced in Italy. André Maugars was already considered one of the finest French viola da gamba virtuosos when he wrote his famous *Lettre sur la musique* during his staying in Rome in 1639.³¹ In his guitar treatise published in 1674, the Spanish virtuoso Gaspar Sanz recalls as fundamental his trip to Rome and Naples where he met Carissimi and other composers.³² Heinrich Schütz, the most important of the German students of the Gabriellis and Monteverdi in Venice, wrote a letter in 1632 giving an impressive list of music books recently published in Naples that testifies to his wide knowledge of Italian music. A few years later a young German musician (tentatively identified as Froberger) was sent to Northern Italy to copy as many scores as possible; he accomplished his charge, compiling in three years the monumental collection of sixteen volumes in Old German organ tablature known as the *Intavolatura di Torino*.³³ Many of the Polish and other Eastern European students in Italian universities were musicians (in particular at Padua) and returned home laden with large collections of instruments and books, printed or manuscript.³⁴ It was almost a rule for an English musician during the century of Henry Purcell to be sent to Italy to complete

²⁸ Giovan Francesco Gemelli Careri, *Il giro del mondo*, 6 vols (Naples, 1699–1700), several reprints during the eighteenth-century but no modern editions. See also Careri's *I viaggi di Europa* (Naples, 1693; second enlarged edn, 1701).

²⁹ *Europa 1606. Diario di viaggio di Bernardo Bizzoni*, ed. Anna Banti (Milan: Rizzoli, 1942). Bizzoni's letters on Frescobaldi and Luzzaschi are published in Dinko Fabris, *Mecenati e musici. Documenti sul patronato artistico dei Bentivoglio di Ferrara nell'epoca di Monteverdi (1585-1645)*, (Lucca: Lim, 1999), 192–210 (letters no. 86, 92, 93, 94, 155, 160 in the years 1607 and 1608).

³⁰ For Frescobaldi see Oscar Mischiati, 'Catalogo delle edizioni originali delle opere di Girolamo Frescobaldi', *L'Organo* 21 (1983): 62; for Melii, see Fabris, *Mecenati e musici*; for Rasi, see Warren Kirkendale, *The court musicians in Florence*

during the Principate of the Medici (Florence: Olschki, 1993), 582.

³¹ André Maugars, *Response faite à un curieux*, etc. (Paris?, ca. 1640; facsim. repr. Geneva: Éditions Minkoff, 1993).

³² See *Los Guitarristas. Gaspar Sanz*, transcr. Rodrigo de Zayas (Madrid: Alpuerto, 1985; "Colección Opera Omnia"), x–xii. Sanz travelled to Rome and Naples between 1669 and 1672.

³³ On the *Intavolatura di Torino* see Oscar Mischiati, 'L'intavolatura d'organo tedesca della biblioteca nazionale di Torino. Catalogo ragionato', *L'Organo*, 4 (1963): 1–154.

³⁴ See Emanuele Kanceff and Richard Lewanski, eds, *Viaggiatori polacchi in Italia*. Biblioteca del viaggio in Italia, vol. 28 (Geneva: Slatkine, 1988).

his musical training or just to update his taste with the latest novelties. The list includes the names of George Jeffreys and Nicholas Lanier, the latter also a good painter who fell in love with Artemisia Gentileschi during his first Italian trip in 1625.³⁵ Nicholas Staggins travelled to 'France, ... Italy & other Forrin Parts' at the expense of King Charles II, and Pelham Humfrey obtained a fellowship of 450 pounds 'to defray the charge of his journey into France and Italy' where he discovered the latest scores by Lully and Carissimi.³⁶

In reverse, in the same period, Italian music came to England directly through Italian musicians, such as Carlo Ambrogio Lonati or Nicola Matteis, just as many others spread the new musical taste of Italy everywhere in Europe.

Five categories of Italian musicians were most responsible for this dissemination:

- Actor-musicians in the troupes of *commedia dell'arte*
- Violin players (such as Lonati and, later, many of Corelli's pupils and successors)
- Lute or guitar players (such as Piccinini in Spain, Galilei in Bavaria, Matteis in England and Corbetta in France)
- Singers; in particular, the first castratos invited abroad (for example the Tuscan Atto Melani sent to Paris, Giovanni Andrea Angelini Bontempi from Perugia in Dresden, the Neapolitan Matteo Sassano at the court of Spain)
- *Maestri di cappella* (such as Marco Scacchi in Poland, Antonio Draghi in Vienna, Giovanni Priuli in Graz, Carlo Pallavicini in Dresden, and many others)

Italian musicians emigrated everywhere in Europe, even in places very far from the Italian lands. Their pervasive presence affected what a traveller from those places could expect, before starting his trip to Italy. The nature of this contribution abroad varied according to the impact of the musicians' social roles. Actor-musicians, for instance, played a much more important role in disseminating the new taste for Italian music and spectacle than has been considered until now.³⁷ The itineraries of *commedia dell'arte* troupes not only went in the direction opposite from foreign travellers to Italy (north from Naples to Rome, Florence, Bologna, Ferrara, Venice), but they also often touched the capital cities of Europe: Paris, Madrid, London, Germany, as well as in eastern Europe and Flanders. Vincenzo Albrici and Pietro Reggio, disseminators in England of Carissimi and Luigi Rossi's works, arrived in London with one of the Italian comedy troupes.³⁸ All of the Italians in these categories, however, left no diaries or notes of their travels; their traces nevertheless remain in a significant number of scores that tell us something about their marvellous enterprise.

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³⁵ See Michael L. Wilson, *Nicholas Lanier. Master of the King's Music* (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1994). We know about the love affair with Artemisia through an English traveller, Richard Symonds, who met Lanier in Italy.

³⁶ See Jonathan Wainwright, 'Purcell and the English Baroque', in Michael Burden, ed., *The Purcell Companion* (London: Faber & Faber, 1995), 23.

³⁷ On this aspect of the role of *commedianti*, see Siro Ferrone, *Attori, mercanti, corsari. La commedia dell'arte in Europa*

tra Cinque e Seicento (Turin: Einaudi, 1993), and the letters edited in *Comici dell'arte. Corrispondenze*, 2 vols (Rome: Le Lettere, 1993); Dinko Fabris, *Mecenati e musicisti*; and Sergio Monaldini, *L'orto dell'Esperidi. Musicisti, attori e artisti nel patrocinio della famiglia Bentivoglio (1646-1685)*, (Lucca: Lim, 2000).

³⁸ See Dinko Fabris and Antonella Garofalo, *Henry Purcell* (Palermo: L'Epos, 1999), 157, with reference to music and archival sources.

Travel literature and musicology: a conclusion

Notwithstanding the importance of travellers' reports, though frequently used in studies of seventeenth-century Italian music, musicology itself has never dedicated a field of research specifically to travel literature. In reality, it has been eighteenth-century musical studies that have focused on personalities like Charles Burney or on so many travelling musicians, such as Mozart and his trips to Italy. The lack of similar striking cases in the seventeenth century relegated this territory to a hinterland, which, however, has been usefully farmed by art historians and other disciplines. Given this situation, it is premature to propose a specific methodology to investigate music of the *Seicento* in the journals of visitors, yet it is still possible to single out several lines of musicological research with respect to the sources available. The theme of the 2006 conference in Utrecht, 'Passaggio in Italia', had exactly this aim: to create a first collection of case studies and approaches that would be useful to further exploration. We offer this collection to serve as an important point of reference in opening new directions for research for those already interested in the European travel and in what we call today our 'sister disciplines'. Our 'passaggio in Italia' intentionally traces the itinerary of seventeenth-century travellers from the north of Europe who crossed the Alps to visit an obligatory series of sites. They prepared by reading guides or descriptions by those who preceded them: from Venice to Florence, then on to Rome and at the extremity, Naples, not to be missed. Much more numerous were obviously other intermediate stops that were decided according to the occasion, chosen from hundreds of possibile variants. Italy did not exist as a unified nation, but she presented herself as the sum of her many cities rich with art and antiquities. This is then the itinerary of the volume, with the sole license of a few themes that anticipate their widespread appearance throughout Europe in the course of the century: the birth of the aria and so-called 'monody', explored in terms of rhetoric, symbolism, and performance (by John Griffiths and Richard Wistreich, respectively, as lute song and vocalism in Monteverdi). These conditions so influenced seventeenth-century musical taste as to create, for example in Holland, a outright mania for one of the most famous arias of Caccini, 'Amarilli, mia bella' (as shown in a richly illustrated case study of *contrafacta* by Natascha Veldhorst). Another Dutch case, that of Constantijn Huygens, introduces us instead to Venice in the 1620s, dominated by the personality of Claudio Monteverdi (in the chapter by Rudolf Rasch). The *Serenissima* is explored in several connections as imaginary experiences between music and visitors: the academic performances of a singer (Barbara Strozzi studied by Wendy Heller); the role of professional actors in the first phase of the development of the Venetian opera theatre (analyzed by means of rhetorical correspondences by John Hill); the reconstruction of the brief but intense career of the still-mysterious opera composer Francesco Lucio (by Beth Glixon); and the activities of a practising musician and his most illustrious colleague, Francesco Cavalli, revealed in the Contarini musical sources (by Hendrik Schulze). The journey to Florence brings into view only one case, but an extremely significant one: the famous wedding intermedi of 1589, which were heard by a French traveller (in a hitherto unpublished account offered by Iain Fenlon). Thus we arrive in Rome, the essential stop on the Grand Tour for both the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, for its strong religious associations and the incomparable abundance of its antiquities. While we are here missing the points of view from visitors of other religions to the Eternal City,³⁹ it was inevitably music of the Roman oratories that first struck foreign visitors as the potent sonority of the Counter-Reformation (see the chapter by Arnaldo Morelli), which by extension is confirmed by the impact of the operatic libretti written by Giulio Rospigliosi, who became Pope Clement IX (Jean-François Lattarico). Later, not only vocal music, but the instrumental music of Arcangelo Corelli could proclaim the New Rome, as we see in the convincing parallels made by

³⁹ At the original conference in Utrecht, 2006, Silke Leopold spoke on this topic, discussing Lutherans who visited Rome in the *Seicento*, followed by a complementary presentation in

October 2007 at the conference Handel in Rome, organized by the German Historical Institute in Rome, published in *Analecta Musicologica* 44 (2010): 9-27.

Franco Piperno between the violinist-conductor-composer and late Roman Baroque architecture. The chapter 'più viaggiante' of our volume, the one that travels the most, is Louise Stein's on three Spanish visitors or visiting residents, which allows us an ideal end to our Grand Tour, passing from Venice to Rome and finally reaching Naples. Her last case study, moreover, presents an exceptional traveller, the Marquis del Carpio, who organized grand spectacles as Spanish ambassador in Rome and upon arriving in Naples in 1683 as viceroy brought with him the most important Roman artists, among them Alessandro Scarlatti.

In this aural collection of impressions from Italy, there are, naturally, many lacunae and omissions. As a partial remedy for these, Margaret Murata's analytic reconstruction of performance situations (indoors and outdoors) serves as an introductory essay, with an abundance of observations from the varied travel writings of the century: from a Frenchman in André Maugars, an Englishman in John Evelyn, Germans in the journal of the bishop of Bamberg, the Dutch noble François Aerssen van Sommelsdyck, and even a Russian military officer (Piotr Tolstoy). Murata moreover lengthens the list of musical stops by including cities such as Turin and Genoa. So many other intermediate stops—including the sounds of rural life in the countryside—could have been added, as could have been so many other countries from which visitors came.⁴⁰ For readers who profitably search this volume, much more still remains to be found. E viaggiate felici.



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⁴⁰ For example, the Polish travellers mentioned in note 34, or travellers to Hungary and Bohemia. For the latter, consider the case of Prince Johann Christian von Eggenberg, who was in Venice during Carnival of 1693 with his entourage, and returned with a series of libretti and manuscript scores of works he had heard there, which are still in the Prague archives. See

the journal of his trip in *Reiserechnungen von 7ten Oktober 1692 bis 30ten May 1693*, cited in Lucie Chvátlová and Ladislav Švestka, 'The Eggenberg and their Opera Interests', in *The Baroque Theatre in the Château of Český Krumlov* (Prague: The Theatre Institute, 1996), 101-122 (with references to musical observations in the travel journal).