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**D. FILIPPO
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Fra-Nuove di Nullo Spazio, con
CLEMENTE III.
follomente a guerra.

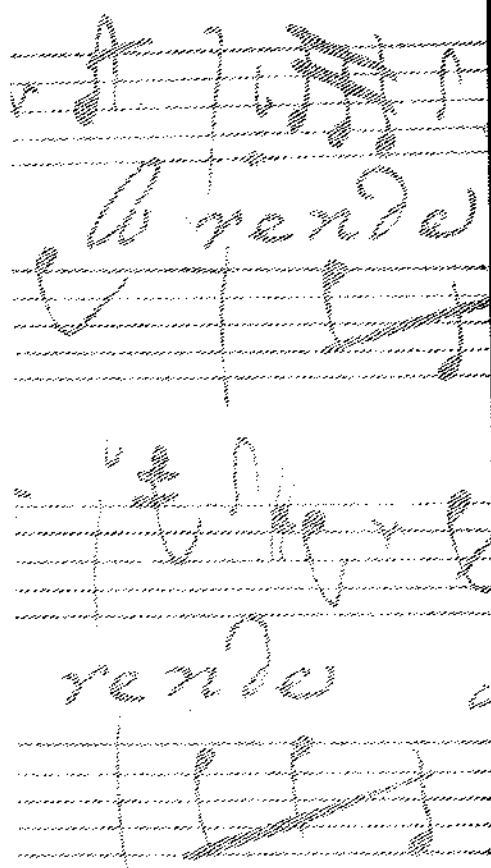
1830

* AGGIUNTA, agli Stampi, di un'appendice
CON LE LETTERE DI ABBONAMENTO
di tutti gli abbonati, e di tutti
gli altri, per le quali, si possono
ricevere, in ogni tempo, i volumi
e i fascicoli, e le altre
opere, e le altre
opere, e le altre



**Glazbene migracije
u rano moderno doba:
ljudi, tržišta, obrasci i stilovi**

**Urednica
Vjora Katalinić**



HMD

**GLAZBENE MIGRACIJE U RANO
MODERNO DOBA: LJUDI, TRŽIŠTA,
OBRASCI I STILOVI**

**MUSIC MIGRATIONS IN THE EARLY
MODERN AGE: PEOPLE, MARKETS,
PATTERNS AND STYLES**

Urednica – Editor
VJERA KATALINIĆ

ZAGREB

2016.

Travellers and Migrants: Musicians around Europe in the Early Modern Age

Dinko Fabris (Naples)

The association of music and migration was considered a peculiar phenomenon of the early twentieth century, in particular for the national groups arriving to the United States from European countries such as Italy,¹ Ireland,² the Balkans³ and others; or later migrations which occurred as a consequence of racial persecution, such as that of Jews from German or Russian lands.⁴ More recently, similar cases have been studied regarding migration from Europe to Australia and on a smaller scale also with internal migrations in Asia, Africa or the Americas.⁵ This field has been widely investigated by ethnomusicologists and entire conferences and books have been produced on the topic, with the growing involvement also of specialists of

¹ On the music performed by emigrants from southern Italy see Simona FRASCA, *Italian Birds of Passage: The Diaspora of Neapolitan Musicians in New York*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

² See the programme held in 2002 by the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. under the title *Celtic Roots: Stories, Songs and Traditions from Across the Sea*, with the reference bibliography, at <https://www.loc.gov/loc/kidslc/live-celticroots.html>.

³ See Carol SILVERMAN, *Romani Routes: Cultural Politics and Balkan Music*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.

⁴ See for instance the various contributions collected in *Driven Into Paradise: The Musical Migration from Nazi Germany to the United States*, ed. by Reinhold Brinkmann and Christoph Wolff, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London: University of California Press, 1999. The Introductory Thoughts to the volume quote an impressive bibliography and interesting data on ca. 132 000 immigrants from Germany/Austria to the United States of America in the period 1933–1941, 470 declared to be musicians (18, footnote: 28). In the Appendix of this book there is an interesting list of “Musicologists who emigrated from Germany, Austria, and Central Europe”, ca. 1930–1945, 341–344. Among many titles see *Musik im Exil: Folgen des Nazismus für die internationale Musikkulture*, ed. by Hanns-Werner Heister, Claudia Maurer Zenck and Peter Petersen, Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1993; *Musik in der Emigration 1933–1945: Verfolgung, Vertreibung, Rückwirkung*, ed. by Horst Weber, Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1994.

⁵ Among the many recent publications see Lê TUẤN HÙNG, *Vietnamese Music in Australia: A General Survey*, in electronic format: <https://sonicjournal.wordpress.com/2014/01/09/vietnamese-music-in-australia/>; Su ZHENG, *Claiming Diaspora: Music, Transnationalism and Cultural Politics in Asian/Chinese America*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2010. There are also studies on the connections between the Nazi persecutions and the music Diaspora in Asia and Americas. Already the International Musicological Society quinquennial Congress held in London in 1997 included a Study Session 39 entitled “‘To the ends of the earth’: Refugee musicians in East Asia and Latin America, 1933–1945”, with Horst Weber (Germany), Taina Mäkelä (Germany), Ricardo Miranda (Mexico), Ryuichi Higuchi (Japan) and Xu Buzeng (China) as specialists. Examining the exodus of musicians from Europe which started with the Nazi takeover in Germany, the Session investigated cases in Argentina, Mexico, Shanghai and Japan. The conclusion was that migration towards those countries can be considered an important step in the development of the modern

popular music and of the so-called "world music".⁶ Discussion of the subject of 'Music and Displacement', however, can be applied to the entire history of the globe and involves many categories of movement: from simple mobilities and dislocations to the several forms of migration and diaspora (as indicated in the subtitle of the recent book *Music and Displacement* edited by Erik Levi and Florian Scheduling).⁷ Not by chance has attention been dedicated to the diaspora of the "black Atlantic", involving the birth of so-called "black music".⁸

A pivotal contribution to the definitions and terminology applied to the history of European music is *The Eighteenth-Century Diaspora of Italian Music and Musicians* conceived and edited by Reinhard Strohm (2001).⁹ In the Introduction, Strohm makes a clear distinction in between a (music) migration – "a collective and simultaneous move from and to a specific region" – and a dispersion or diaspora – "a 'scattering' of individuals into all directions with no overall pattern".¹⁰ Even if in the common understanding the term diaspora is associated with the dispersion of an entire population, such as the Jewish people, Strohm arrives at the solomonic solution that the Italian displacement during the eighteenth century was a true "musical diaspora", but "was also an 'emigration', an almost collective move of Italians, not into a specific countries but into all regions of Europe".¹¹ On this point recent research on non-European countries arrive at a similar conclusion.¹²

globalization of Western music. See the reports in: *Musicology and Sister Disciplines: Past, Present, Future: Proceedings of the 16th International Congress of the International Musicological Society, London, 1997*, ed. by David Greer, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, 555-557.

⁶ For a methodological assessment see Bruno NETTL, Displaced musics and immigrant musicologists: ethnomusicological and biographical perspectives, in: *Driven Into Paradise: The Musical Migration from Nazi Germany to the United States*, ed. by Reinhold Brinkmann and Christoph Wolff, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London: University of California Press, 1999, 54-65. The recent book *Migrating Music*, ed. by Jason Toyne and Byron Dueck, Abington: Routledge, 2011, investigates the relationship between music and cosmopolitanism using new media and contemporary contexts, but in a way which differs from the common understanding of "world music".

⁷ *Music and Displacement: Diasporas, Mobilities, and Dislocations in Europe and Beyond*, ed. by Erik Levi and Florian Scheduling, Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2010.

⁸ The most recent standard reference on this topic in Cultural Studies is Paul GILROY, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993. This area received further development at the conference *Remapping the Black Atlantic: Diaspora (Re)Writings of Race and Space*, held in 2013 by the Center for Black Diaspora at the DePaul University, Chicago. A European extension of the Center for Black Music Research, created at the Columbia College of the University of Chicago in 1983, is active since 2010 at the University of Salento, Lecce, with the aim of studying the music connected with slaves arrived in Italy and other European areas from Africa before the Atlantic Diaspora.

⁹ *The Eighteenth-Century Diaspora of Italian Music and Musicians*, ed. by Reinhard Strohm, Turnhout: Brepols, 2001 contains eight chapters written by Norbert Dubowy (on Italian musicians in German court chapels), Theophil Antonicek (Italians in Austria), Simon McVeigh (Italian violinists in London), Rudolf Rasch (Italian presence in the Dutch Republic), Marina Ritzaref and Anna Porfireva (Italian Diaspora in Russia), Elena Ceranini (Italian Canzonetta in London), Michele Calella (Italian Opera in France) and Reinhard Strohm (Italian "Operisti" North of the Alps).

¹⁰ *The Eighteenth-Century Diaspora of Italian Music and Musicians*, xv.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² See *Musical Performance in the Diaspora*, ed. by Tina M. Ramnarine, Abington: Routledge, 2013. The book examines the contribution of musical performances to the analysis of diaspora, using cases from Aboriginal and Jewish communities in Australia, Kazakh-Mongolia connections, Diwali in New Zealand, etc.

To the previous categories, others can be added, with the aim of studying topics as "Music and Identity",¹³ or the impact of "Tourism on local traditions".¹⁴ The Swiss-Italian scholar Marcello Sorce Keller is among the few to have traced a specific methodology in the field of "Music and Migrations".¹⁵ This topic was also one among the many research projects initiated by the Study Group on the Anthropology of Music in Mediterranean Cultures founded by Tullia Magrini and later chaired by Sorce Keller, under the auspices of the International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM).¹⁶ The basic question of the research on this topic, pursued for the most part by ethnomusicologists is: how can music be used in understanding the anthropological and sociological phenomenon of migrations?

¹³ See *Migration und Identität. Wanderbewegungen und Kulturkontakte in der Musikgeschichte*, ed. by Sabine Ehrmann-Herfort and Silke Leopold, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2013, special issue of *Analecta Musicologica*, vol. 49. "Musics Cultures Identities" was also the general title of the 19th quinquennial Congress of the International Musicological Society held in Rome 2012, where several papers were presented on migrations and musics, for instance the Study Sessions "Music, multiple identities, migration" (China and Hong Kong), "Migrations, yesterday and today: identity and music" (Italian migration in Latin America), "Diasporas" (cases from Italy, Turkey, Lithuania, and Argentina). See the programme printed in Rome, 2012, available online: http://bibliomediateca.santacecilia.it/bibliomediateca/cms.view?&munu_str=0_6_2_1_0&numDoc=532.

¹⁴ *The Globalization of Musics in Transit. Music Migration and Tourism*, ed. by Simone Krüger and Ruxandra Trandafoiu, New York-London: Routledge, 2014. In fact, Part One of the book is devoted to "Music and Tourism" while Part Two to "Music and Migration" with an Afterword by Timothy D. Taylor on Identities and Tourisms in Globalized Neoliberal Capitalism, 318-326. The aim of the book is outlined in the introductory essay by both editors titled 'Touristic and Migrating Musics in Transit', 1-33.

¹⁵ "I see enormous potential in the study of musical memories, tastes, and activities among migrant groups". Cf. Marcello SORCE KELLER, Can we use music to understand migration? A research interest explained to my good old friend Michael Saffle, *The Sound of Interdisciplinarity: For Michael Saffle*, special issue of *Spaces of Identities*, 6/3 (2006), available online: <http://soi.journals.yorku.ca/index.php/soi/article/view/7982/7116>. In addition, Marcello SORCE KELLER, 'Thoughts on Music and Migration', in: *Italy in Australia's Musical Landscape*, ed. by Linda Barwick and Marcello Sorce Keller, Melbourne: Lyrebird, 2012, 225-231.

¹⁶ After creating the Study Group in 1992, Tullia Magrini has collaborated in the organization of several conferences on the Anthropology of Mediterranean Music, producing books and proceedings such as *Antropologia della musica e culture mediterranee*, Bologna: Il Mulino, 1993; *Uomini e suoni. Prospettive antropologiche nella ricerca musicale*. Bologna: Clueb, 1995; *Music and Gender: Perspectives from the Mediterranean*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003; *Musical Anthropology of the Mediterranean: Interpretation, Performance, Identity*, ed. by Philip V. Bohlman, Marcello Sorce Keller and Loris Azzaroni, Bologna: Edizioni Clueb, 2009 (including an Encomium Tullia Magrini (1950-2005), 19-28). In 1996, a first conference on "Musicisti del Mediterraneo: Storia e Antropologia", involving Magrini's group and many historical musicologists, has been held in Bari (see the report by Philip V. Bohlman, under the title "Music, Myth, and History in the Mediterranean: Diaspora and the Return to Modernity", published online: <http://www.umbc.edu/eoi/3/bohlman/index.html>). After the death of Tullia Magrini a conference was held in her memory in Venice in 2007 under the title "Cosmopolitan Cities and Migrant Musics" and the Study Group was chaired by Sorce Keller until 2014, and subsequently by Ruth Davis (Cambridge University). The first Joint Conference of the ICTM Mediterranean Music Study Group and IMS was held in Naples in June 2016 with the title "Musicians of the Mediterranean: Narratives of Movement" (see the report by Philip Bohlman, under the title "Music, Myth, and History in the Mediterranean: Diaspora and the Return to Modernity", published online: <http://www.umbc.edu/eoi/3/bohlman/index.html>). For another contribution to this topic see Martin STOKES, Migrant/Migrating music and the Mediterranean, in: *Migrating Music*, ed. by Jason Toyne and Byron Dueck, Abington: Routledge, 2011, 28-37.

From the point of view of historical musicology, we should reverse the question. Can we use the anthropological methods applied to migrations to understand the status of musicians and their music in the past? Limiting our discussion to Europe in the Modern Age, and leaving aside the very special case of Roma and Tzigane musicians – which is understood more as a form of nomadism¹⁷ – historical musicologists can follow the same categories used by ethnomusicologists in different periods and regions: from Mobility, Dislocation, and Tourism to Migration and Diaspora. In the spirit of Peter Burke's "cultural approach", I would give emphasis to the parallel careers of the musician "travellers" and the professionals forced to move to one or more foreign countries to survive, with several intermediate categories and cases.

Professional musicians and the Italian Grand Tour: the centripetal movement

Starting in the early seventeenth century, no cultured visitor from beyond the Alps failed to record in his personal diaries the marvellous auditory emotions experienced in Italy. Music was always a peculiar component of the so-called European Grand Tour, or simply Grand Tour, even if it was scarcely mentioned in travel literature before the eighteenth century, when we first find travellers' journals explicitly dedicated to musical journeys in particular through Italy, as in the letters from Rome and Naples by the President de Brogues or Charles Burney's travel books.¹⁸ The evident connection of the Grand Tour with the etymology of modern Tourism has much to do with the already mentioned categories of Mobilities and Dislocations.¹⁹ 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 French "Nouvelle Histoire"). In the same way, musicologists interested in approaching travel literature as a resource

¹⁷ Irén KERTESZ WILKINSON, Il nomadismo e la musica: il caso degli zingari, in: *Enciclopedia della Musica Einaudi*, vol. 3: *Musica e culture*, ed. by Jean-Jacques Nattiez, Turin: Einaudi, 2003, 732-756; the same author has also published: *Study of Roma (Gypsy/Sinti/Traveller) Music and Ethnomusicological Theories*, with a CD in *World Music. Globalizzazione, Identità Musicali, Diritti, Profitti*, Rome: Squilibri, 2003, special issue of *EM Rivista degli Archivi di Etnomusicologia dell'Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia*, vol. 1. In addition: Carol SILVERMAN, Global Balkan Gypsy Music. Issues of migration, appropriation and representation, in: *Migrating Music*, ed. by Jason Toyne and Byron Dueck, Abington: Routledge, 2011, 185-208; Carol SILVERMAN, *Romani Routes: Cultural Politics and Balkan Music*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2012, with updated bibliography.

¹⁸ *Lettres d'Italie du Président de Brogues*, 2 vols, Paris: Mercure de France, 2005. The letters (unpublished until 1836) were sent from Rome and Naples in 1739-1740 when, aged 30, Charles de Brogues undertook his ten-month Grand Tour of Italy. Charles Burney published the account of several travels throughout Europe, made in preparation for his *General History of Music* (later also published in 4 volumes: London, 1776-1789): *The Present State of Music in France and Italy*, London 1771 and *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands and United Provinces*, London 1773.

¹⁹ See John TOWNER, The grand tour: A key phase in the history of tourism, *Annals of Tourism Research*, 1 (1985), 297-333.

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). Travel literature as a proper discipline is today well established in the academic milieu and we can use an impressive bibliography of hundreds of original journals, diaries, and memoirs both in original and in modern editions.²⁰ Research on the mobility of European musicians as part of a wider history of *mentalité* will very much profit of this resource.²¹

Peter Burke provides again the best methodological base for our research, dividing the historical sources available on Italian cities into two groups of documents, those produced by 'outsiders' or those by 'insiders'. The New History has reversed the usual historiographical perspective, considering the 'alien eye' (of foreign travellers) as the preferred source, compared to documents produced by 'insiders' (natives or those resident in the local community). But it is not possible to disregard the 'inside eye', not only because foreign travellers were never neutral observers, but also because all documents offer only circumstantial evidence of a local conception of the world.²² Since music was considered of primary importance in Italian society during the Renaissance and Baroque for both insiders and outsiders alike, the external as well as the internal viewpoints share in defining a historical mentality, a territory rarely explored as yet in musicology.

One stimulating aspect of travelling musicians is their observations of the "strange" musical practices encountered in different towns and countries compared to those of their places of origin. In the years 1612–1626 Pietro Della Valle, a Roman composer and traveller known as 'the Pilgrim', visited Turkish, Persian and Indian lands. Later on, he became a reputed music theorist, which can explain his accurate descriptions, for example, of the music and dances of the Dervishes.²³ Another trav-

²⁰ The first book devoted to studying the importance of music in Travel literature of the seventeenth century is *Passaggio in Italia. Music on the Grand Tour in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. by Dinko Fabris and Margaret Murata, Turnhout: Brepols, 2015. It contains 15 essays by different scholars and a bibliography. I will summarize here the basic ideas from my Introduction to the volume, 'Italian Soundscapes: souvenirs from the Grand Tour', 23–34.

²¹ Among the reference books on the anthropological approach to the mobility of musicians across Europe in the modern age, I can suggest Antoni MAĆZAK, *Viaggi e viaggiatori nell'Europa moderna* (first written in Polish in 1978), Bari: Laterza, 1992 (English edition: *Travel in early modern Europe*, Cambridge: Politi Press, 1995); Peter BURKE, *The historical anthropology of Early Modern Italy. Essays on perception and communication*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1987; Attilio BRILLI, *Il viaggio in Italia. Storia di una grande tradizione culturale*, Bologna: Il Mulino, 2006.

²² Peter BURKE, *op. cit.* I will also refer to the Italian transl.: *Scene di vita quotidiana nell'Italia moderna*, Bari: Laterza, 1988. After proposing a short list of the most important seventeenth-century travellers to Italy (starting with the British 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." Cf. P. BURKE, *op. cit.*, 16.

²³ Remo GLAZOTTO, *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; Severina PARODI, *Cose e parole nei "Viaggi" di Pietro Della Valle*, Florence: Accademia della Crusca, 1987; Chiara CARDINI, *La porta d'Oriente: lettere di Pietro della Valle: Istanbul 1614*, Rome: Città Nuova, 2001.

eller highly competent in music was Bernardo Bizzoni, who accompanied the collector Marquis Vincenzo Giustiniani during his Northern trip in 1606, writing a journal well known to historians of art and letters full of information about music: later on, he became a friend of the eminent organist Girolamo Frescobaldi.²⁴ Indeed, very few professional musicians wrote diaries or accounts of their European travels, but many sent letters that in some cases are quite accurate in describing foreign countries and musical events. There is a diary of his trip to Venice by the Dutch composer and theorist Constantijn Huygens, made in 1620, where he declares to have discovered the range of modern Italian *concertato* music.²⁵ The case of André Maugars, one of the finest French viola da gamba virtuosos, is an exception: he wrote his famous *Lettre sur la musique* during his staying in Rome in 1639, published upon his return to Paris.²⁶

Young musicians from several countries travelled to Italy as part of their educational patterns. It was almost a rule for an English musician during the century of Henry Purcell to be sent to Italy to complete his musical training or just to update his taste with the latest novelties. The list includes the names of George Jeffreys, Nicholas Staggins, Pelham Humfrey and Nicholas Lanier, the latter also a good painter. Quite frequently Polish and other Eastern European students in Italian universities became musicians and returned home with large collections of instruments, printed books and manuscripts. This centripetal movement from Europe to Italy has been recently investigated in full by the MUSICI project, formulated in the years 2010–2013 by young French and German female scholars with a specific focus on foreign musicians active in three Italian cities: Venice, Rome and Naples.²⁷ The MUSICI project has introduced new perspectives to current music historiography in studying the dynamic processes of traveller-musicians, such as *sociability*, the *histoire croisée* and the *transfer culturels*. Since the chronological limits of the project were 1650–1750, it is not surprising that the most impressive presence of foreign musicians has been found after 1700 and very few before this date.²⁸ Among the participants in the MUSICI

²⁴ *Europa 1606. Diario di viaggio di Bernardo Bizzoni*, ed. by Anna Banti, Milan: Rizzoli, 1942. Bizzoni's letters on Frescobaldi in the years 1607–1608 are published in: Dinko FABRIS, *Mecenati e musicisti. Documenti sul patronato artistico dei Bentivoglio di Ferrara nell'epoca di Monteverdi (1585–1645)*, Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana 1999, 192–210.

²⁵ The *Diary* of Huygens (autograph manuscript in French in the Royal Library in The Hague) is published in: Jacob Adolf WÖRPF, *Constantijn Huygens' journaal van zijne reis naar Venetie in 1620*, *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap*, 15 (1894) 62–152. See Rudolf RASH, 'Italia decolor'? Constantijn Huygens and Italian music, in: *Passaggio in Italia. Music on the Grand Tour in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. by Dinko Fabris and Margaret Murata, Turnhout: Brepols, 2015, 85–108.

²⁶ André MAUGARS, *Response faite à un curieux, sur le sentiment de la musique d'Italie* (Rome, 1639), facsimile ed. and English transl. by Hugh Wiley Hitchcock, Geneva: Editions Minkoff, 1993.

²⁷ "Musicisti europei a Venezia, Roma e Napoli (1650–1750): musica, identità delle nazioni e scambi culturali". Official languages: Italian, German and French.

²⁸ Aside the open database consultable online (<http://www.musici.eu/index.php?id=3>), the MUSICI project has produced two books of conference proceedings: *La musique à Rome au XVIIIe siècle: études et perspectives de recherche*, ed. by Caroline Giron-Panel and Anne-Madeleine Goulet, Rome: Ecole Française de Rome, 2012 and *Europäische Musiker in Venedig, Rom und Neapel. Les musiciens européens à Venise, à Rome et à Naples*, ed. by Anne-Madeleine Goulet and Gesa zur Nieden, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2015, special issue of *Analecta musicologica*, vol. 52. The methodology of the project is outlined in the Introductory essays: Gesa ZUR NIEDEN, *Frühneuzeitliche Musikermigration nach Italien. Fragen, Verflechtungen und Forschungs-*

conferences were also members of the subsequent Music Migrations project (MusMig) supported by HERA and including scholars from Croatia, Slovenia, Germany, and Poland, in some way connected with the aims and methods of the previous French-German project. In the Conclusions of his paper on Croatian musicians in Italy, published by MUSICI, Stanislav Tuksar has anticipated in fact the finalities of the MusMig project: "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."²⁹

This diachronic summary of five centuries of music migrations in Europe allows me to return to my point of departure, to observe a special case of a musical Diaspora occurring in early eighteenth-century Naples.

Migrations and Diaspora from Naples: the centrifugal movement

Before the massive dissemination of Italian music and musicians around Europe during the eighteenth century, there were already several categories of Italian musician responsible for the strong presence of Italian music outside Italy in the seventeenth century:

- actor-musician members of the troupes of the *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 Neapolitans Matteo Sassano at the court of Spain, and Nicolino Grimaldi in London);
- *Maestri di cappella* (such as Marco Scacchi in Poland, Antonio Draghi in Vienna, Giovanni Priuli in Graz, Carlo Pallavicini in Dresden, and many others).

gebiete einer europäischen Kulturgeschichte der Musik, 9-30; Anne-Madeleine GOULET, Les musiciens européens à Venise, Rome et à Naples (1650-1750). Éléments pour une comparaison des mobilités musicales, 31-48; Michael WERNER, Musikgeschichte als "Histoire croisée". Zu den Verflechtungen des Musiklebens, 49-67. The database is described in the article by Michela BERTI and Torsten ROEDER, The "Musici" Database. An interdisciplinary cooperation, 633-645.

²⁹ See Stanislav TUKSAR, Croatian musicians in Venice, Rome and Naples during the period 1650-1750, in: *Europäische Musiker in Venedig, Rom und Neapel*, ed. by Anne-Madeleine Goulet and Gesa zur Nieden, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2015, 193-210: 210. For the MusMig project "Music migrations in the early modern age: the meeting of the European East, West and South", see the website <http://heranet.info/musmig/index> and the present book of proceedings of the Conference held in Zagreb in 2014 under the title "Music Migrations in the Early Modern Age: People, Markets, Patterns and Styles".

Italian musicians emigrated everywhere in Europe, even to places very far from the Italian lands. Their pervasive presence affected what a traveller from those places could expect before beginning 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 an important role in disseminating the new taste for Italian music and spectacle, preparing the arrival of the fashion for Italian opera. The itineraries of *commedia dell'arte* troupes not only went in the opposite direction to that of foreign travellers to Italy (north from Naples to Rome, Florence, Bologna, Ferrara, Venice), but they also touched the most important capital cities of Europe: Paris, Madrid, London, Germany, as well as eastern Europe and Flanders. All of the Italians in these categories, however, left no diaries or notes of their travels. They were part of a dynamic phenomenon of circulation but only in selected case can we call them migrants, since many came back to Italy and almost all the Italian musicians permanently resident abroad received convenient contracts and honors to stay.

It is probably true that "there was never a period when musicians were not migrants and successful composers did not travel" as Michael Chanan says,³⁰ but the individual fate of travelling musicians is not the same as the collective migration of hundreds of professional musicians leaving their native lands forever to settle in other countries or even continents. I will consider as a case the massive phenomenon of the diaspora of Italian musicians calling themselves "Neapolitans", which spread all around Europe from the end of seventeenth century to the beginning of the nineteenth century. This was a true music Migration which extended over more generations, similar to the phenomenon which characterized the fifteenth century - and produced by a similar economic situation - involving musicians born in northern Europe and spreading all around the continent under the denomination of "Flemish musicians". In his influential book *Music in Western Civilization*, printed first in 1941, Paul Henry Lang devoted an entire chapter to "The Renaissance Migration of Flemish musicians",³¹ but as early as in 1829 François-Joseph Fétis and Raphael Georg Kiesewetter did compare the Flemish migration to the second massive diffusion of Italian musicians all around Europe.³²

"Man wird von Jugend auf so sehr an die Vorstellung gewöhnt, alle Musik sey von Italiën aus über Europa verbreitet worden, und die Italiuener 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 un in andern Ländern kaum noch schwache Versuche einer Verbindung meh-

³⁰ Michael CHANAN, *From Handel to Hendrix: The Composer in the Public Sphere*, London: Verso, 1999, 165.

³¹ Paul Henry LANG, *Music in Western Civilization*, New York: Norton, 1941.

³² The book was published in a bi-lingual edition (Flemish and German), as the Proceedings of a joint lecture presented at the Koninklijk-Nederlandsche Instituut in 1826: Raphael Georg KIESEWETTER - François-Joseph FÉTIS, *Verhandelingen over de vraag: welke verdiensten hebben zich de Nederlanders vooral in de 14e, 15e en 16e eeuw in het vak der toonkunst verworven; en in hoe verre kunnen de Nederlandsche kunstenaars van dien tijd, die zich naar Italiën begeven hebben, invloed gehad hebben op de muzijkscholen, die zich kort daarna in Italiën hebben gevormd?*, Amsterdam: Muller en Comp, 1829, 1.

rerer Stimmen zu einem Harmonischen Gesang Kunst auftratenb [...] 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."

In recent times the comparison has been recalled and fully analyzed by Reinhard Strohm in the already mentioned book on the *Eighteenth-Century Diaspora of Italian Music and Musicians*:³³

"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..."

Strohm goes further in outlining other common elements between the two music migrations such as the professionalism of the people involved (the Netherlanders and Italians), who were mostly without families – clerics in the fifteenth century, castratos or unmarried female singers, as well as priests or single male *virtuosi*.

In spite of the impressive literature devoted in the last fifty years or so to Naples and to Neapolitan composers – especially, but not only, in opera studies – very little research has been carried out on the phenomenon of the emigration of Neapolitan musicians. I can quote here the pioneer conference on the *Emigrazione musicale fra Sei e Settecento* which I organized in Lecce in 1985 (proceedings published in 1988).³⁴ The conference was devoted to musicians born in Apulia in the southern part of Italy which, from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, gained the strange primacy of being the place of origin of the majority of the eminent composers, singers and instrumentalists educated in Naples and who were, for that reason, called "Neapolitans". Again, this phenomenon has a very similar prequel in the early Renais-

³³ *The Eighteenth-Century Diaspora of Italian Music and Musicians*, xvii.

³⁴ *Musicisti nati in Puglia ed emigrazione musicale fra Sei e Settecento. Atti del convegno di studi di Lecce 1985*, ed. by Detty Bozzi and Luisa Cosi, Rome: Torre d'Orfeo, 1988. Among the 27 contributors, Ivano Cavallini and Vjera Katalinić published about, respectively, the presence of Apulian musicians in Trieste and in Croatia.

sance. As Apulia was part of the territory of the Kingdom of Naples and had the majority of feudal titles, many liege lords recruited young boys in their own lands to be educated in the capital town at their expense, which would later be proof of and a display of their power and artistic taste. The boys were found by talent-scouts in the choirs already active in any church, even peripheral ones, of the Kingdom that in many cases had been founded or directed by Franco-Flemish or Netherlander chapel-masters who had spread everywhere during the seventeenth-century. Apart from the very famous examples of the young Roland de Lassus or Philip de Monte who made their artistic debuts in Naples, we find important musicians active in Bari (Johannes de Wittenbroot) or in Monopoli (Jacquet Berchem).

During the two centuries of Spanish domination, from 1503 to 1707, Naples attracted a great number of young boys from the provinces of the kingdom, with the promise of a successful career to improve their families' income. The capital town offered more chances of being commissioned by the government offices or the various degrees of the nobility, but the most secure career-path for the boys in Naples was that offered by the ecclesiastical system: out of a population of 400 000 citizens at the beginning of the seventeenth century – an incredible number, second only to Constantinople at the time – some 10 per cent were in some way associated with the Neapolitan church. In the same period the significant consumption of music in the city was also a consequence of strong religious activities, with over 500 churches, chapels or monasteries.³⁵ At the beginning of the seventeenth century, some of the many charitable institutions called *conservatorii* (orphanages) began to specialize in teaching music to their boys, following the only one already active in the previous century, the Santa Casa dell'Annunziata, which was reserved for girls. The increasing levels of musical activity in the city created a demand that exceeded the supply of available professional musicians. This soon fundamentally changed the nature of those charity institutions, which began to accept non-orphaned boys sent by families from throughout the Kingdom of Naples in the hope that they would enter a musical career. In this way Naples invented the first public school of music in Europe (just before Venice, where four Ospedali for girls were opened) which, not by chance, was called a "Conservatoire", a name which has remained until today.³⁶ There were four male *conservatorii* devoted entirely to music in Naples: the Santa Maria di Loreto (the oldest), Sant'Onofrio a Capuana, Santa Maria della Pietà dei Turchini and Poveri di Gesù Cristo.³⁷

³⁵ See Romeo DI MAIO, *Società e vita religiosa a Napoli nell'età moderna (1656–1799)*, Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1971.

³⁶ See Dinko FABRIS, *Music in seventeenth-century Naples. Francesco Provenzale (1624–1704)*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007, chapter 3: The Four Conservatoires, 79–94.

³⁷ A first documentary study of the four Neapolitan conservatoires was Salvatore DI GIACOMO, *I quattro antichi conservatorii musicali di Napoli. MDLIII–MDCCC*, 2 vols.: (I) *Il Conservatorio di Sant'Onofrio a Capuana e quello di S.M. della Pietà dei Turchini*, Palermo-Milan: Sandron, 1924; (II) *Il Conservatorio dei Poveri di Gesù Cristo e quello di S. M. di Loreto*, Palermo-Milan: Sandron, 1928. Some additions have been made in recent years: Rossella DEL PRETE, *La trasformazione di un istituto benefico-assistenziale in scuola di musica: una lettura dei libri contabili del conservatorio di S. Maria di Loreto in Napoli (1586–1703)*, in:

As early as c.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 consider that approximately 100 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 the eight to ten year educational process, was around 4000. The high number of students made it difficult to gain entrance to the conservatories, and families living in the provinces were forced to find new solutions to assure the best musical training for their children. The more fortunate boys entered under the patronage of a noble man or a rich bourgeois: this was the case in particular for the reputed castrato singers. Families from the lowest or middle parts of the society used to entrust their children to a well-respected *maestro*, paying him to assure their admission to one of the four conservatoires. It was a special contract signed by the families or their representative, where it was specified that a young boy was left in the charge of the *maestro* for some years and in exchange, besides an initial payment, the boy is expected to give the teacher a 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 interested from the first in the eventual financial gains of the pupil in part coming directly back into his pockets. I have reconstructed this system, very similar to a mafia racket, which was dominated for the entire second half of the seventeenth century by Francesco Provenzale, the most influential Neapolitan composer of his time. Thanks to the benefits of hundreds of students and thanks to the multiple charges he obtained as chapel master in the mostly 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.³⁸

This process ended as a result of the saturation of the market for professional musicians during the seventeenth century due to the almost industrial levels of production of the four conservatoires. The music institutions and the private palaces, the many chapels and confraternities and also the hundreds of churches who had all been provided with at least one organist and a few singers, were not able to accept

Francesco Florimo e l'Ottocento musicale, ed. by Rosa Cafiero and Marina Marino, Reggio Calabria: Jason, 1999, vol. 2, 671-715; Guido OLIVIERI, Aggiunte a *La scuola musicale di Napoli* di F. Florimo: i contratti dei figlioli della Pietà dei Turchini nei protocolli notarili (1677-1713), in: *Francesco Florimo e l'Ottocento musicale*, vol. 2, 717-752; Raffaele POZZI, Vita musicale e committenza nei conservatori napoletani del Seicento. Il S. Onofrio e i Poveri di Gesù Cristo, in: *Trasmissione e ricezione delle forme di cultura musicale. Atti del XIV Congresso della Società internazionale di musicologia, Bologna, 1987*, ed. by Angelo Pompilio, Donatella Restari, Lorenzo Bianconi and F. Alberto Gallo, Turin: Edizioni di Torino, 1990, vol. 3: Free papers, 915-924; D. FABRIS, *Music in seventeenth-century Naples. Francesco Provenzale (1624-1704)*.

³⁸ D. FABRIS, *Music in seventeenth-century Naples. Francesco Provenzale (1624-1704)*. The actual birth-date of Provenzale, until recently believed to have been 1624, has now been established as 1632. See Dinko FABRIS, Provenzale, Francesco, in: *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, Rome: Treccani, 2016, *sub voce* (online version).

any more new musicians. For this purely economic reason – as usual in processes of migration – the impressive diaspora of singers, composers and instrumentalists from Naples spread all around Europe. In the first decades of the eighteenth century, the favorite destinations were of course the richest courts and capital towns with their free music market: Paris, London, Vienna, Amsterdam.³⁹ Slowly the displacement of new masses of musicians, generation after generation, forced the most recently arrived to find new and increasingly peripheral territories less known or untouched by their contemporaries, until they arrived at the “finisterrae” at the limits of Europe, from Saint Petersburg, Moscow and Sweden to Madrid and Lisbon. At the end of the process, the less fortunate or more adventurous embarked for the New World, building music chapels and opera theatres in such far-flung places as the newly-founded towns of Latin America.⁴⁰

As proposed by Reinhard Strohm, there are two types of Italian musician 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”.⁴¹ As examples of the first category, it is probably impossible to complete a list of the many castrato or female singers from Naples who travelled around Europe with established opera troupes or often also travelled alone under the invitation of specific patrons, courts, agents or theatres. A paradigmatic case is that of Carlo Broschi, alias Farinelli, who decided quite early to leave a successful itinerant career on the main European stages, transferring himself to Spain from 1737 (aged 32) to 1759, before returning to Italy for the remaining part of his life. The second category is well represented by the examples of violinists such as Nicola Matteis,⁴² Giovanni Antonio Piani (Des Planes),

³⁹ On those markets and Italian musicians see the various essays collected in: *The Eighteenth-Century Diaspora of Italian Music and Musicians*, ed. by Reinhard Strohm, Turnhout: Brepols, 2001.

⁴⁰ The Diaspora of Neapolitan composers ended gradually in the second half of the century as a consequence of the natural crisis of such a massive educational system in Naples. Due to the lack of certainty about future employment prospects for hundreds of students, fewer and fewer students entered the old Conservatoires. In contrast to the myth of the “Neapolitan School” widely diffused by the music migrants from Naples, the growing disillusionment of foreign travellers is evident, who often describe the decline of the musical level in the Neapolitan conservatories during the second half of the eighteenth century. In 1743 the Conservatorio dei Poveri di Gesù Cristo, where Pergolesi studied under Vinci, was closed. Also, at the end of the century Sant’Onofrio merged into Loreto and the relics of those two Conservatories were absorbed by the only surviving, Pietà dei Turchini, which was renamed Real Collegio di San Sebastiano at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Then after 1826 the Collegio was transformed into the Conservatorio di San Pietro a Majella, still active.

⁴¹ Reinhard STROHM, Italian operisti north of the Alps c.1700–c.1750, in: *The Eighteenth-Century Diaspora of Italian Music and Musicians*, 16–17.

⁴² There are no documents on the early life of Nicola Matteis, but he described himself as “Napolitano” in his printed works. He arrived in London around 1670 and introduced there the new Italian style of Corelli. Also active as a guitar and mandolin player, he became very famous and rich, publishing several books of music for violin, songs and the treatise *The False Consonances of Musick* (published in 1682 in double impression, Italian and English). His place was taken in the beginning of the new century by his homonymous son Nicola Matteis, who transferred in turn to Vienna, where he encountered big success

Angelo Ragazzi and Michele Mascitti,⁴³ the cello player Salvatore Lanzetti,⁴⁴ and the various hautboy virtuoso members of the Besozzi family.⁴⁵ It is curious to note that the paths of many of the musicians of the Neapolitan Diaspora occasionally crossed: Piani and Ragazzi served in the same Imperial Chapel where the son of Nicola Matteis was also active; Lanzetti married the daughter of one of the Besozzis, while Mascitti's enlarged family was for a long time establishing a strong influence on the Neapolitan music milieu (his uncle was the virtuoso Pietro Macchitelli, who had helped other members of his family such as Giovanni, Francesco and Nicola Sabatino to start a successful career).

until his death in 1737. See Dinko FABRIS – Antonella GAROFALO, *Henry Purcell*, Palermo: L'Epos, 1999, 161-165 (including relevant bibliography).

⁴³ On the virtuoso violin tradition in Naples see Guido OLIVIERI, *The 'Fiery Genius': The Contribution of Neapolitan Virtuosi to the Spread of the String Sonata (1684–1736)*, PhD Thesis, Santa Barbara: University of California at Santa Barbara, 2005. Giovanni Antonio Piani was better known as Jean-Antoine Des Planes because he started his career in France. Son of a Bolognese trumpeter, he was born in Naples in 1678 and then studied at the Conservatorio della Pietà dei Turchini from 1691. In 1704 he was already living in France, but then he spent most of his life in Vienna at the Imperial Court Chapel in between 1720 and 1760, where he was the most highly paid instrumentalist. Only his 12 Sonatas of opus 1 survive (published first in Paris 1712, then reprinted in other European cities). See the Introduction to Giovanni Antonio PIANI, *Sonatas for Violin Solo and Violocello with Cembalo*, ed. by Barbara Garred Jackson, Madison: A-R Editions, 1975; Guido OLIVIERI, *op. cit.*, 177-189. Another reputed violin player in the Imperial Court Chapel during the same period (1740–1750) was Angelo Ragazzi, who studied in Naples with Giovanni Carlo Cailò at Conservatorio di Loreto and entered the Royal Chapel in Naples in 1704 (aged 24). After a period in the service of the Royal Chapel in Barcelona, he followed Charles VI as new Emperor in Vienna from 1717, remaining in his service until 1722, when he returned to Naples to replace his own teacher Cailò. On his music output see Renato DI BENEDETTO, *The Sonate a Quattro of Angelo Ragazzi (1736)*, in: *International Musicological Society Congress Report, Copenhagen, 1972*, ed. by Henrik Glahn, Søren Sørensen and Peter Ryom, Copenhagen: Wilhelm Hansen, 1972, 356-365; G. OLIVIERI, *op. cit.*, 228-239. Michele Mascitti (ca. 1664–1760), born in Villa Santa Maria (Abruzzo), spent the greater part of his life in Paris after a period of training in Naples with his uncle Pietro Marchitelli, also celebrated violinist. He also visited Germany and the Netherlands. In Paris he published nine books of Sonatas between 1704 and 1738, considered very influential on the subsequent generation of French violin composers. In 1739 he was naturalized as French. Cf. Robert Henry DEAN, *The Music of Michele Mascitti (ca. 1664–1760): A Neapolitan Violinist in Paris*, PhD Thesis, Iowa: University of Iowa, 1971; G. OLIVIERI, *op. cit.*, 145-66.

⁴⁴ Considered one of the first cello virtuosi of European reputation, Domenico Lancetti (later on the name was transformed to Lanzetti) was born in Naples around 1710, where he studied at the Conservatorio di Loreto, and died in Turin in 1780, after travelling to Lucca, London, Sicily, France, and Germany. He published a method (Amsterdam 1779) and six books of Sonatas for cello opus 1 in Paris in 1736, the same year of his performance at the Concerts Spirituels (in the first ever solo cello concert performed there). This book is considered among the most extraordinary sources of music for the instrument in the first half of the century. See Mary CYR, *Style and Performance for Bowed String Instruments in French Baroque Music*, Farnham: Ashgate, 2013, 188.

⁴⁵ Originating in Turin, the most important members of the Besozzi family were all present in Naples in the first decades of the eighteenth century, both as noted players and teachers. Many left the southern capital after 1738, achieving the highest reputation all around Europe: Antonio and Carlo moved to Dresden, while Gaetano to London and Paris. It is interesting to explore their motivations for leaving Naples: in the case of Antonio Besozzi, it is reported he "was forced to leave Naples in 1736 because of a scandalous marriage with 'una donna di pessima fama'". See Bruce HAINES, *The Eloquent Oboe: A History of the Hautboy 1640–1760*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001, 409-410.

The process of establishing the social control of career success through family support is typical of southern Italy from early modernity to the present day.⁴⁶ The typical southern family-network has been examined in depth by Roberto Pagano in his pivotal study of Alessandro Scarlatti and his son Domenico.⁴⁷ The father was born in Sicily in 1660 and he applied the southern model of protection to his son who was born in Naples in 1685, a city where Alessandro, thanks to the protection of the Spanish viceroy, had become the most powerful musician since his arrival in 1683. Pagano has interpreted Domenico's decision to permanently transfer after 1720 to the Iberian Peninsula for the rest of his life as a reaction to the stifling presence of his father's authority. Scarlatti's is in fact a strange case of self-motivated emigration to a place where success could not be guaranteed. But this choice has probably assured the survival of the marvelous output of Domenico's keyboard sonatas. From another point of view, maybe our modern idea of a successful career does not correspond to the reality of the past, since Scarlatti was joined in Madrid by other great protagonists of his time, such as the already mentioned castrato Farinelli and famous painters such as Amigoni and Giaquinto.

Domenico Scarlatti was a keyboard virtuoso, but also a composer. This is a category not explicitly contemplated by Strohm among the two types of Italian musician involved in the eighteenth-century Diaspora. There were so many composers emanating from Naples because composition was the most important part of musical training in the four ancient conservatories of the city. The training in composition was organized into three steps during the eight-to-ten year programme of study: solfège, partimenti and counterpoint.⁴⁸ This intensive programme enabled hundreds of young musicians educated in Naples to manage any kind of composition in a quick and admirable way. It is not by chance that the eminent European composers

⁴⁶ See Italo PARDO, *Managing existence in Naples. Morality, action and structure*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

⁴⁷ Roberto PAGANO, *Alessandro and Domenico Scarlatti. Two lives in one*, English edition by Frederick Hammond, New York: Pendragon Press, 2006; new enlarged edition as *Alessandro e Domenico Scarlatti. Due vite in una*, Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2015, 2 vols.

⁴⁸ On Solfeggi and Partimenti, as fundamental part of the training in composition at Naples conservatories, see Robert GJERDINGEN, *Music in the Galant Style*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007; Robert GJERDINGEN: Partimento, que me-veux tu?, *Journal of Music Theory*, 51/1 (2007), 85-135; Robert GJERDINGEN: Images of Galant Music in Neapolitan Partimenti and Solfeggi, *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis*, 31 (2009), 131-147; Robert GJERDINGEN, The perfection of craft training in the Neapolitan Conservatories, *Rivista di Analisi e Teoria Musicale*, 15/1 (2009), 29-52; Robert GJERDINGEN, Partimenti written to impart a knowledge of counterpoint and composition, in: *Partimento and Continuo Playing in Theory and Practice*, ed. by Thomas Christensen, Robert Gjerdingen, Giorgio Sanguinetti and Rudolf Lutz, Leuven University Press 2010, 43-70; Giorgio SANGUINETTI, *The Art of Partimento: History, Theory, and Practice*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2012; Peter VAN TOUR, The lost art of partimento, *Early Music*, 41/2 (2013), 340-341; Peter VAN TOUR, *Counterpoint and Partimento: Methods of Teaching Composition in Late Eighteenth-Century Naples*, Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2015; Nicoleta PARASCHIVESCU, *Die Partimenti von Giovanni Paisiello Ansätze zu ihrem Verständnis*, PhD Thesis, Leiden: Universiteit Leiden, 2015. In addition see the website managed by Robert Gjerdingen at the Northwestern University, Chicago, on Solfeggi and Partimenti: <http://faculty-web.at.northwestern.edu/music/gjerdingen/aboutSeries/aboutSeries.htm>.

active during the eighteenth-century were educated by Neapolitan teachers or using the methods of the "Neapolitan School" such as solfège and partimenti. Among the many reputed Neapolitan composers travelling around Europe, I will mention here just a few relevant cases: Giuseppe Porsile, a past student of the Conservatorio dei Poveri di Gesù Cristo, served the Chapel Royal in Barcelona from 1706 and then followed Charles VI as the new emperor to Vienna, where he remained as the chapel master from 1722 to his death in 1750. Nicola Porpora, also educated at the Poveri di Gesù Cristo, started his career in Naples as an opera composer and teacher at two conservatoires, where the young Farinelli was among his pupils. He settled in Venice in 1725 as master at the Ospedale della Pietà, and in 1729 became the main antagonist of the great Handel on the London operatic stage until the crash of his company in 1734. He spent a period in Dresden alongside the German Naples-trained Hasse, and after 1752 he went to Vienna where he taught singing and composition to Marianna Martinez, friend of Metastasio, and Joseph Haydn. After 1759 Porpora went back to Naples where he died in 1768. A similar career established the celebrity of Niccolò Jommelli: after a strong reputation gained in Venice and Rome, he was elected chapel master and director of the court opera theatre in Stuttgart from 1754 to 1768, where he learned the modern German usage of a rich orchestral palette, which he later employed in his Italian *melodrammi*. Back in Naples, he was not able to maintain his reputation as an innovator in music and was overtaken by the new generation. Egidio Romualdo Duni, trained in the Conservatorio di Loreto, made his operatic debut in Rome in 1735 and was in competition with Pergolesi. Then he transferred to London, where he wrote the last arias sung in public by Farinelli and after 1737 he travelled to the Netherlands, enrolled as a student at the University of Leiden and published instrumental works (but also sought treatment for mental illness by the celebrated Flemish doctor Boerhaave, a story influencing later a comedy by his friend Goldoni). Not counting the many Italian cities visited to prepare his operas, Duni was elected chapel master in 1743 at the Church of San Nicola in Bari and was then hired in Parma as a teacher and opera composer, where he met Goldoni. The Francophile court of Parma was a good place to start his French adventure, and from 1756 he settled in Paris where he wrote almost two dozen French operas, gaining the reputation of being the 'father of French Opéra-comique'. When Duni died in 1775, his successor in Paris Niccolò Piccinni, whose father had been the vice master of Duni in Bari: not by chance was Piccinni's international fame launched with the same *Buona figliola* first set by Duni on a libretto by Goldoni. In Paris Piccinni was an antagonist of Gluck (the 'Querelle célèbre') and later he was considered a true French composer, until his death in Paris in 1800. His place was then taken by one of his pupils in Naples, Giovanni Paisiello, who in turn was almost at the end of an extraordinarily successful career abroad: in 1776 he went to the court of the czarina Catherine II in Saint Petersburg, remaining until 1784, and then passed through Warsaw and Vienna (where he composed an opera for the emperor), before entering the service of the King of the two Sicilies. Paisiello was preceded in his Russian adventure by another "Neapolitan", Tommaso Traetta, who also started his interna-

tional career in Parma with Goldoni and later was associated with Gluck's reforms in Vienna, before arriving in Saint Petersburg in 1768. Traetta and Paisiello were only two among a chain of Neapolitan musicians invited to Russia, later also including Domenico Cimarosa, who arrived in Saint Petersburg in 1787.

I quoted here just a few cases among the hundreds of traveller-composers educated in Naples during the eighteenth century.⁴⁹ Their extreme mobility is one evident feature in common. Another common trait is the ostentation of the place of origin: all the musicians cited were called (and called themselves) "Napoletano", proud to show this emblem of skill and experience in music. This is the last topic involved in the processes of migration and the formation of diasporas of musicians: the preservation of identity.⁵⁰ It is not by chance that people who were not born in southern Italy and even not educated in Naples on certain occasions also presented themselves as Neapolitans or as Italians, as it was considered the best self-introduction possible for a musician. This was the case of Vicente Martín y Soler, born in Valencia in 1754, and who only visited Naples from 1777 to 1785 while already a professional. Later in Vienna, he became simply "il signor Martini" (as he is styled in Da Ponte *Memorie* and in the printed librettos of his successful Viennese operas).⁵¹ The last period of Martín's life from 1788 to his death in 1806 was spent in Russia, where he was known as "Martini". The favour of the czarina was so evident that she wrote the libretto for the first of the three operas Martín wrote in Russian. He was probably successful there partly because he was considered to be a Neapolitan, and he certainly benefited from the respect afforded his real Neapolitan predecessors at the Russian court.

⁴⁹ For biographical information and discussion of the works of all those and other eminent Neapolitan composers of the eighteenth century see Michael F. ROBINSON, *Naples and Neapolitan Opera*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972 (It. transl. *L'Opera napoletana*, Venezia: Il Mulino, 1984); Reinhard STROHM, *Die italienische Oper im 18. Jahrhundert*, Heinrichshofen: Wilhelmshaven, 1979; Lorenzo MATTEI, *La scena napoletana e il contesto europeo: l'opera seria*, in: *Storia della musica e dello spettacolo a Napoli. Il Settecento*, ed. by Francesco Cotticelli and Paologiovarni Maione, Naples: Turchini Edizioni, 2009, vol. 1, 75-138. In addition the reference dictionaries are: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (all available in updated online versions), *sub voce*.

⁵⁰ On the problems connected to the definition of 'Identity' I refer to one of the opening lectures read at the Rome Conference in 2012 (see note 13), then published on the IMS Journal: Francesco REMOTTI, *Identity Barriers and Resemblance Networks*, *Acta Musicologica*, 84/2 (2012) 137-146.

⁵¹ On this specific case see Dinko FABRIS, "Il Signor Martini": Una cosa rara en Italia, in: *Los siete mundos de Vicente Martín y Soler. Actas del Congreso Internacional de Valencia 2006*, ed. by Dorothea Link and Leonardo Waisman, Valencia: Institut Valencià de la Música-Generalitat Valenciana, 2010, 167-183.

Sažetak

Putnici i migranti: glazbenici diljem Europe u rano moderno doba

Glazba povezana s migracijama smatrala se osobitim fenomenom ranog 20. stoljeća, posebno za nacionalne skupine koje su stigle u Sjedinjene Američke Države iz nekoliko europskih zemalja kao što su Irska, Italija, balkanske zemlje i druge, ili, kasnije, kao posljedica rasnih progona kao što su oni židovskih glazbenika iz Njemačke ili ruskih zemalja. U novije vrijeme sličan se slučaj može promatrati s migrantima iz Europe u Australiju te, u nešto manjoj mjeri, s unutarnjim migracijama u Aziji, Africi ili objema Amerikama. Ovo su područje detaljno istraživali etnomuzikolozi te su ovoj temi posvećene brojne konferencije i knjige. Međutim, rasprava o glazbi i raseljavanju nacionalnih skupina može se primijeniti na cjelokupnu svjetsku povijest i uključuje mnoge kategorije kretanja: od jednostavne mobilnosti i razmještanja do nekoliko oblika migracija i dijaspora (kao što se navodi u podnaslovu knjige *Glazba i raseljavanje [Music and Displacement]* iz 2010. godine, koju su uredili Erik Levi i Florian Scheduling). Ovome se mogu dodati još neke kategorije, npr. glazba i identitet ili utjecaj turizma na lokalne tradicije (o čemu se isto raspravlja u nedavno objavljenim publikacijama). Švicarsko-talijanski znanstvenik Marcello Sorce Keller jedan je od rijetkih koji prati specifičnu metodologiju na području glazbe i migracija. Osnovno pitanje u ovoj vrsti istraživanja, kao što su to postavili etnomuzikolozi, jest mogućnost upotrebe glazbe u razumijevanju antropološkog i sociološkog fenomena migracija.

Sa stajališta historijske muzikologije trebamo preokrenuti pitanje: možemo li upotrijebiti antropološke metode primijenjene na migracije kako bismo razumjeli status glazbenika i njihove glazbe u prošlosti? Fokusirajući našu raspravu na Europu u rano moderno doba i ostavljajući po strani posebne slučajeve Roma i ciganskih/romskih glazbenika – koji se više podrazumijevaju kao nomadi – možemo promatrati iste kategorije koje rabe etnomuzikolozi u različitim razdobljima i regijama: od mobilnosti, raseljavanja i turizma do migracije i dijaspore. U duhu "kulturnog pristupa" Petera Burkea, želio bih naglasiti usporedne karijere glazbenika koji su jednostavno bili "putnici" – većinom kao sudionici tradicije *Grand Tour* – te profesionalaca koji su bili prisiljeni odseliti se u jednu ili više stranih zemalja kako bi preživjeli, s nekoliko međukategorija i slučajeva. Posebno ću opisati masovni fenomen dijaspore talijanskih glazbenika koji su se nazivali "Napolitanci", proširenih po cijeloj Europi od kraja 17. do početka 19. stoljeća. To je bila prava glazbena migracija koja se protezala kroz nekoliko generacija, slično kao ona flamanska koja je okarakterizirala 15. stoljeće, a stvorila ju je slična ekonomska situacija: u oba je slučaja glazbeni ukus odredio hiperinflaciju visoko obrazovanih profesionalnih glazbenika (u slučaju Napulja s osnutkom prvih glazbenih škola, odnosno četiri konzervatorija aktivna tijekom 17. i 18. stoljeća, čiji je broj u 19. stoljeću smanjen na samo jedan). Neuobičajeno velik broj skladatelja, pjevača i instrumentalista obrazovanih u Napulju od kraja 17. stoljeća daleko je premašio kapacitete metropole i Napuljskog Kraljevstva da im ponudi zadovoljavajuće zaposlenje. To je dovelo do stvaranja impresivne dijaspore, što je zauzvrat pridonijelo stvaranju mita o "napuljskoj školi".