



International Conference

MUSIC PATRONAGE IN ITALY FROM THE 15TH TO THE 18TH CENTURY

LUCCA, Complesso Monumentale di San Michele
16-18 November 2019

CENTRO STUDI OPERA OMNIA LUIGI BOCCHERINI
www.luigiboccherini.org

The present conference has been made possible
with the friendly support of the



INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

MUSIC PATRONAGE IN ITALY
FROM THE 15TH TO THE 18TH CENTURY

Organized by

Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini, Lucca

Lucca, Complesso Monumentale di San Michele

16-18 November 2019

Programme Committee

ROBERTO ILLIANO (Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini)

FULVIA MORABITO (Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini)

MASSIMILIANO SALA (Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini)



Keynote Speakers

IAIN FENLON (University of Cambridge)

REINHARD STROHM (University of Oxford)

SATURDAY 16 NOVEMBER

9.30–10.00 **Welcome and Registration**

10.00–10.15 **Opening**

- FULVIA MORABITO (Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini)

10.15–11.15 **Keynote Speaker 1**

- IAIN FENLON (University of Cambridge), «*Coelorum Imitatur Concentum*»: *Collective Patronage in the Academies of Early Modern Venice and the Veneto*



Coffee Break

11.45–12.45 **Keynote Speaker 2**

- REINHARD STROHM (University of Oxford), *Hosting Foreigners – and the History of Italian Music*



13.00 Lunch

15.00–16.30 **Patronage, Diplomacy and Power Relationships**

(Chair: **Reinhard Strohm**, University of Oxford)

- GALLIANO CILIBERTI (Conservatorio ‘Nino Rota’ di Monopoli), «*Les Goûts réunis*». *Diplomazia e mecenatismo musicale a Roma nel Seicento: il caso della Francia*
- DANIEL MARTÍN SÁEZ (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid), *The Galileo Affair through Opera: Ten ‘Galilean Operas’ between 1614 and 1638*
- CARRIE CHURNSIDE (Royal Birmingham Conservatoire), *When The Composer is also a Count: Patronage and Power Relationships in the Case of Pirro Albergati*



Coffee Break

17.00–18.30

- THOMAS NEAL (New College School, Oxford), *Palestrina and His Patrons: A Case Study of Music Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Rome*
- ADRIANA DE FEO (Universität Wien), *Il casato di Hannover a Venezia e le scritture per Apostolo Zeno e Girolamo Frigimelica-Roberti*
- GRANTLEY McDONALD (Universität Wien), *Musical Life at the Court of Emperor Maximilian I through Italian Eyes*

SUNDAY 17 NOVEMBER

10.00–11.00 **Dedications and Patronage**

(Chair: **Iain Fenlon**, University of Cambridge)

- CRISTINA CASSIA (FHNW-Schola Cantorum Basiliensis), *Pietro Bembo and Music Patronage*
- ENNIO STIPČEVIĆ (Croatian Academy of Science and Arts), *A Praise to Dedications*



Coffee Break

11.30–13.00 **The Patronage System and the Social Status of the Musician**

- MANUEL LAFARGA MARQUÉS – PENÉLOPE SANZ GONZÁLEZ (Alicante Conservatory of Music ‘Oscar Esplà’), *Veronese and Diego Ortiz at San Giorgio: Profane Painters and Musicians and Sacred Places*
- ANNABELLE M. PAGE (University of Oxford), *Patronage «In Absentia»: Marcus Sitticus and the Music of Monteverdi*
- NADEZHDA IGNATIEVA (Moscow State Conservatory), *«Che sotto la protezione di così gran Principe vivranno eterna vita»: il contesto storico della discussione sulla seconda pratica*



13.00 Lunch

15.00–16.30 **Musical Patrons and Italian Cultural Life**

(Chair: **Roberto Illiano**, Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini)

- CESARE CORSI (Conservatorio ‘San Pietro a Majella’, Napoli), *‘Villani’ e ‘sirene’. Vita musicale, identità culturale e gruppi sociali a Napoli nella prima metà del Cinquecento*
- MARCELLO MAZZETTI (University of Huddersfield), *«I raggi della chiarissima casa Gambaresca»: Peering into Gambara Patronage in the Late Sixteenth-Century Brescia*
- ANA LOMBARDÍA (Harvard University’s Villa I Tatti), *Women Sponsoring Women: The Queen of Etruria as Patron, Composer, Collector and Promoter of Female Musical Networks*



Coffee Break

17.00–18.00

- GIUSEPPINA CRESCENZO (Goethe Universität Frankfurt am Main), *Tra sacro e profano: mecenatismo musicale e cantata sacra in Accademia a Roma intorno al 1700*
- MARIA BIRBILI (Universität des Saarlandes), *Music Patronage and Politics in the Early 19th Century: Rossini, the ‘Holy Alliance’, and the Use of «autoimprestito» as a Means of Ironic Distance*

MONDAY 18 NOVEMBER

10.00–11.00 **Manuscript Production and Music Publishing**

(Chair: **Fulvia Morabito**, Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini)

- LAURA OCH (Conservatorio ‘Evaristo Felice Dall’Abaco’ di Verona), *Musica per la chiesa, musica per la comunità. Una raccolta di messe e mottetti del compositore veronese Bentivoglio Levà, organista a Isola della Scala nel secondo decennio del Seicento*
- FABRIZIO LONGO (MIUR, Bologna), «*Ma che dirò in difesa della Musica da Platone calunniata?*» I «*Trattenimenti musicali*» per violino e basso di Gaetano Maria Schiassi



Coffee Break

11.30–13.00

(Chair: **Fulvia Morabito**, Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini)

- ANGELA FIORE (Università di Modena e Reggio Emilia), «*Sotto l’ale protettrici dell’Aquila Coronate*»: *copisti stampatori e mecenatismo della corte estense*
- MARINA TOFFETTI (Università di Padova), *Music Publishing and Patronage in Milan in the First Thirty Years of the Seventeenth Century*
- GABRIELE TASCHETTI (Università degli Studi di Padova), *Il rapporto fra compositore, dedicante e dedicatario e gli aspetti economici della pubblicazione di raccolte musicali nel primo Seicento: il caso delle dediche delle opere di Tomaso Cecchini veronese*



13.30 Lunch

KEYNOTE SPEAKERS

• **IAIN FENLON (University of Cambridge), «Coelorum Imitatur Concentum»: Collective Patronage in the Academies of Early Modern Venice and the Veneto**

Much musicological writing concerned with the patronage of music in early modern Italy has concentrated on the activities of courts (with the major centres of Ferrara, Florence, Mantua and Milan occupying the centre of the stage), or major ecclesiastical institutions such as basilicas, cathedrals and collegiate institutions (Rome, Venice). In such discussions, contextualized considerations which frame performance in a synthesis with other cultural forms, in particular architecture both permanent and temporary (as in the case of ephemeral structures for entries and other dynastic events including funeral rites), usually characterise music as one element in a rhetorical system designed to project power for propagandistic purposes. Similar motivations also colour studies of private patronage of music in the period, which differs in its social reach, characteristically being restricted to an exclusively elite audience. This paper considers the social and cultural parameters of a third arena in which an analogous, overlapping but in some respects rather different form of patronage took place, namely academies and related if less formal environments in Venice and the Veneto during the sixteenth-century. Largely through the efforts of local elites and members of the aristocracy, intellectual activities which encompassed the composition, performance, and sometimes the printing and publication of music were established according to models which were subsequently emulated in many places throughout Europe.

• **REINHARD STROHM (University of Oxford), *Hosting Foreigners – and the History of Italian Music***

There can be little doubt that the musical patronage system of Italy in the early modern period was eminently useful and attractive to foreign musicians and music lovers. We also know that Italian musicians were welcomed in other European countries in the centuries after c. 1550, first predominantly in Central Europe and England, then increasingly in other countries until the end of the 18th century and beyond. There was, first, a ‘convergence’ of foreign music, musicians and audiences on Italy, and second, an Italian musical ‘diaspora’ spreading to other countries. This lecture explores how these two branches of the musical Italian interaction with foreigners may be historically connected, and how the specifically Italian contribution to European music is characterised by this phenomenon. If the Italian Renaissance of the 16th century was a central knot connecting the two historical movements, it remains to be explained what socio-cultural circumstances led Northern musicians to the peninsula already in the 1390s, and, on the other hand, what was left of an Italian ‘Renaissance’ appeal in the minds of travelling musicians and their employers by the 1790s. Was it an Italianate patronage practice that kept this unique exchange system alive for four centuries, or did a European imagination of Italy’s artistic genius survive amidst changing social practices and economies? The lecture will consider biographies of some musicians and audience members, the development of some courtly and civic institutions, and selected pages of music composed in Italy by foreigners, and elsewhere in Europe by Italians.

CONTRIBUTORS

Patronage, Diplomacy and Power Relationships

• **GALLIANO CILIBERTI (Conservatorio ‘Nino Rota’ di Monopoli), «Les Goûts réunis». Diplomazia e mecenatismo musicale a Roma nel Seicento: il caso della Francia**

Nel XVII secolo il ruolo delle ‘Nazioni’ ebbe a Roma un’importanza fondamentale nella promozione delle arti e della musica. Ambasciatori, cardinali, personale amministrativo proveniente da tutta Europa ma ben inserito nelle cariche istituzionali dell’Urbe furono protagonisti nell’incentivare iniziative musicali di grande rilievo e nel promuovere la produzione artistica *in loco*. Tutto ciò costituì l’espressione non solo di un sistema di ‘propaganda’ o di una visione agonistica tra le diverse ‘Nazioni’ (si pensi alla competizione tra la Francia e la Spagna) ma anche della difesa di identità intrinseche. La Francia creò un vero e proprio *réseau* di chiese nazionali (Bretoni, Borgognoni, Lorenesi, ecc.) con a capo S. Luigi dei Francesi e il convento della Trinità dei Monti. L’affermazione della presenza francese nella Città Eterna vide alternarsi vittorie e sconfitte: l’abbandono dei riti liturgico-musicali ‘autoctoni’ verso gli anni Venti del Seicento fu, ad esempio, compensata da un lato dall’incremento del culto dei santi nonché dalla canonizzazione di nuovi e dall’altro dalla sopravvivenza di pratiche musicali ‘locali’ relegate a momenti particolari e in istituzioni religiose specifiche (Trinità dei Monti). Inoltre processioni, iniziative celebrative ufficiali (specchio degli accadimenti politici e personali della corona), fecero da contraltare ai divertimenti privati di taluni ambasciatori. La musica inserita in questo contesto poliedrico non risultò solo un mezzo meramente ‘quantitativo’ (espressione esclusiva di un aristocratico mecenatismo privato finanche istituzionale) o diplomatico ma soprattutto identitario. La musica ‘romana’ commessa e prodotta all’interno del sistema mecenatistico francese a Roma, costituì una sorta di ‘metalinguaggio’ per molti nazionali francesi che videro sovente nella liturgia ad essa collegata la difesa e l’aggregazione di una comunità consapevole all’interno di una città complessa e a volte pericolosa come Roma nel Seicento.

• **DANIEL MARTÍN SÁEZ (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid), The Galileo Affair through Opera: Ten ‘Galilean Operas’ between 1614 and 1638**

In 1610 Galileo Galilei published his *Sidereus Nuncius*, in the same court where, two decades earlier, Emilio de’ Cavalieri and Laura Guidiccioni had performed the first fully-sung pastoral play, a genre that reached its culminating point in 1600, during the nuptials of Maria de Medici and Henry IV, when two melodramas were made. In 1613, Galileo had already described the phases of Venus, certain anomalies in Saturn, the mountains of the Moon, the satellites of Jupiter and sunspots, among other things. This caused a commotion in Europe, both in Catholic and Protestant countries. It is not surprising that opera, a genre open to metaphysics and cosmology from its origins, received Galileo better than any other art. That same year, as is well known, the new Galilean physics found its first theatrical representation in a Florentine *barriera*, which was transformed into an opera the following year in Rome before a public of religious personalities. Here, the *stelle medicee*, the greater emblem of Heliocentrism and the power of the Grand Dukes of Tuscany, appeared on the stage, acting and singing. From that moment on, the Medicean Stars emblem was used in the edition of several printed Florentine sources, even after the condemnation

of Copernicanism of 1616, including some religious operas made during the regency of Cristina de Lorena (whose relationship with Galileo had been so important) and Mary Magdalene of Austria. Galileo's connection with opera will find its peak in the middle of the Thirty Years' War, where an important Galileo's opponent, Orazio Grassi, wrote the libretto of a magnificent melodrama. After the trial of 1633, during the papacy of Urban VIII, we find new operas related to Galileo sponsored by the papacy. They were written by Cardinal Giulio Rospigliosi, the future Pope Clement IX, and offer an image of Galileo (on the part of the Church) more ambivalent than is sometimes supposed. We will analyze ten 'galilean' operas according to the religious, political and scientific context in which they were born, as a unique example to understand the complexity of the Modern Age.

• **CARRIE CHURNSIDE (Royal Birmingham Conservatoire), When The Composer is also a Count: Patronage and Power Relationships in the Case of Pirro Albergati**

Count Pirro Albergati (1663-1735) played a substantial role in the musical life of Bologna at the turn of the eighteenth century. He was a friend of a number of composers, including Arcangelo Corelli and Giacomo Antonio Perti, and dedicatee of works by Giovanni Maria Bononcini and Giuseppe Jacchini. Papers held in the Albergati Archive (now housed in Bologna's Archivio di Stato) give an insight into his activity as a patron, including payment lists to musicians for some of the frequent musical entertainments he hosted. But perhaps more interesting are the ways in which he negotiated patronage as a composer himself. In some cases this is straightforward, such as presenting his family crest in lieu of the standard dedication (as in his *Cantate morali a voce sola*, Op. 3, of 1685). But, as a member of a relatively minor noble family, he was also anxious to gain recognition from those in more prominent positions, including the Hapsburgs in Vienna. Archival documents reveal Albergati's planning and the strategies he employed, drawing on his family's historical connections and his network of contacts, in order to obtain permission to dedicate his *Pletro armonico*, Op. 5 to Leopold I and in the (vain) hope of receiving an honorary title from Charles IV in return for his oratorios. As such, it provides an interesting case study of the power relationships of patronage when the composer is also a count.

• **THOMAS NEAL (New College School, Oxford), Palestrina and His Patrons: A Case Study of Music Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Rome**

As one of the central musical figures of the late sixteenth century, Giovanni Pierluigi 'da Palestrina' (ca. 1525-1594) provides a rich and varied source for investigating models of patronage in late sixteenth-century Rome. While the composer's longstanding patronage by Guglielmo I Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua has been well documented and analysed by scholars, Palestrina's relationships with his other patrons — both institutional and private — have received comparatively little attention. In this paper I will identify, describe, and analyse a range of examples of patronage spanning Palestrina's career, including: sponsorship for education and training; permanent employment in a church or other public institution; temporary or seasonal employment, both public and private; financial backing for publishing ventures; and short-term freelance work. I will demonstrate how Palestrina relied on a range of sources of patronage and employed a variety of *modus operandi*; I will also suggest ways in which Palestrina's relationships with his benefactors influenced and affected his musical output.

• **ADRIANA DE FEO (Universität Wien), Il casato di Hannover a Venezia e le scritture per Apostolo Zeno e Girolamo Frigimelica-Roberti**

I legami tra Venezia e la dinastia di Hannover si estesero lungo più di due secoli toccando il loro apice con i lunghi soggiorni in laguna del Duca Ernst August (1629–1698) e dei suoi fratelli Georg Wilhelm (1624–1705) e Johann Friedrich (1625–1679). Gran parte delle commissioni furono legate alla composizione di *serenate in macchina* o serenate sull'acqua, con sontuose macchine sceniche spesso rappresentate proprio davanti al loro palazzo affacciato sul Canal grande; ma furono anche rivolte alle rappresentazioni nei teatri di Ansbach e Braunschweig. La scrittura del *Narciso* (1697) di Apostolo Zeno, rappresentato ad Ansbach, è da inquadrare nelle strette relazioni artistiche e diplomatiche che la città lagunare intratteneva con numerose corti europee, tra cui il casato di Hannover. Per questa commissione Zeno, che solo da poco più di un anno si era affacciato alla poesia per musica, costruì un testo dal carattere arcadico-pastorale, genere particolarmente in voga nella Venezia di fine Seicento; egli definirà i due protagonisti dal carattere «nobile e novo», per un'opera conforme alla rappresentazione a corte. La messa in musica fu di Francesco Antonio Pistocchi, maestro di cappella del margravio di Brandeburgo, che interpretò anche il ruolo eponimo ed ebbe una fondamentale funzione di intermediazione. Dalla committenza legata agli Hannover nacquero anche alcune tragedie in musica di Girolamo Frigimelica-Roberti rappresentate nel Teatro di S. Gio. Grisostomo. In particolare *Ottone* (1694), dedicata a Ernest August duca di Brunswick e Lüneburg, e la tragedia pastorale *Il pastore d'Anfriso* (1695) dedicata a Carl Philip principe margravio di Brandeburgo, dopo la prima veneziana del carnevale, vennero messe in scena anche a Braunschweig nel 1697. La relazione intende mettere a confronto i libretti del *Narciso* e delle tragedie in musica di Frigimelica-Roberti contestualizzandoli nell'ambito del vivace clima culturale nella Venezia di fine Seicento e della committenza legata ai rapporti artistici e diplomatici intercorsi tra gli Hannover e la città lagunare.

• **GRANTLEY McDONALD (Universität Wien), Musical Life at the Court of Emperor Maximilian I through Italian Eyes**

Maximilian I has long been recognised as a leading musical patron in the years around 1500. Although most of the sources describing the musical life of his court survive in Austrian and German archives, important documentary evidence also survives elsewhere. The present paper will examine information regarding music at Maximilian's court as reflected in diplomatic correspondence from Mantua, Milan, Rome, Venice and elsewhere. Such correspondence provides information about Maximilian's attempts to present benefices in Italy to musicians at his court, including such personalities as Isaac and Senfl, about the exchange of personnel and musical materials, and about music surrounding ceremonial occasions staged by Maximilian in Italy, such as his proclamation as Roman Emperor Elect at Trent in 1508.

Dedications and Patronage

• **CRISTINA CASSIA (FHNW-Schola Cantorum Basiliensis), Pietro Bembo and Music Patronage**

Pietro Bembo was undoubtedly one of the most distinguished figures in the cultural life of Renaissance Italy. Thank to his studies and career, he travelled across Italy and met many prominent political and cultural figures: popes, rulers, men of letters and artists. Nowadays Bembo is mainly appreciated for his contributions to Italian literature, both with his own works (in

particular with *Gli Asolani* and the *Prose della volgar lingua*) and with his involvement into the critical editions of texts by Francesco Petrarca and Dante printed by Aldus Manutius. However, his interests were multifaceted. His concern for visual arts is well documented and has been largely investigated. Among Bembo's friends and acquaintances there were few well-known painters, as Raffaello, Giovanni Bellini and Tiziano, who portrayed him in different moments of his life. Furthermore, Bembo owned a rich collection of paintings, including masterpieces inherited from his father. Regarding to music, only Bembo's indirect influence on the language of the madrigal has gained extensive attention from scholars. On the contrary, Bembo's own interest for music and musicians has passed almost unnoticed. However, Bembo seems to have played an active role also in this field. Girolamo Cavazzoni's dedication of the *Intavolatura... libro primo* to Pietro Bembo dated 1542 explicitly stated a relation of patronage, which involved also Girolamo's father, Marc'Antonio. This dedication has already been cited by a few scholars, who tried to establish when and where (Urbino, Rome or Padua) the two Cavazzoni were in Bembo's service. However, they did not broaden the focus on other musicians who could possibly have been supported by him. This paper, taking into account the hints offered by musical sources and Bembo's letters, aims therefore to offer a broader insight into Bembo's interest in music and, in particular, into his possible relations of patronage with musicians and composers of his time.

• ENNIO STIPČEVIĆ (Croatian Academy of Science and Arts), A Praise to Dedications

The paper addresses some phenomena of musical patronage in late 16th-century Italy that fit into the wider context of cultural and other relationships with the eastern Adriatic coast, especially Dubrovnik, a free city-state at that time. The central dramatis personae in this essay are a young poet in love and, naturally, a mysterious lady. Dominko Zlatarić, playwright and poet from Dubrovnik, is primarily remembered for his Croatian translation of Tasso's *Aminta*, printed in Venice in late 1580 under the title *Ljubimir*, a few months prior to the original. The earliest printed text by Zlatarić dates back to 1579. The same year Cesare Simonetti, today a virtually unknown poet, published his first collection of poems *Rime* with a foreword dedication «Alla Fiore Pescioni» (Cvijeta Zuzorić), written by young Zlatarić, at that time a student at the University of Padua. The learned Dubrovnik poetess and beauty, the most famous woman of the Croatian Renaissance who spent her life living in Dubrovnik and various Italian cities, was an object of admiration in works by Italian and Croatian writers of the High Renaissance. The paper explores the avenues through which this dedication, printed in a collection of poems, resounded and gained popularity among contemporary Italian composers. A relatively large number of late 16th-century musical pieces (ca. 25) by various Italian composers (Vecchi, Agostini, Guamu, etc.) dedicated to the beauty from Dubrovnik proves that relationships between poets, composers, musicians and their patrons were often complex and surprising.

The Patronage System and the Social Status of the Musician

• MANUEL LAFARGA MARQUÉS – PENÉLOPE SANZ GONZÁLEZ (Alicante Conservatory of Music 'Oscar Esplà'), Veronese and Diego Ortiz at San Giorgio: Profane Painters and Musicians and Sacred Places

Diego Ortiz, the Spanish *maestro de cappella* of the Naples' Viceregal Court, seems to be portrayed next to Paolo Caliari Il Veronese in his famous canvas *The Wedding at Cana*, which was delivered with some delay to Benedictine abbey of San Giorgio Maggiore, on 6

October 1563. Several evidences allow us to conjecture his presence: the obvious resemblance to the only known portrait (engraved) in his *Trattado de glosas* (Rome, 1553); the edition of his second book in 1565 Venice; and other new related historical and musicological findings. He is the only character at the musical ensemble which remains unidentified and the only one who has been repeatedly ignored in the literature to our days. Some authors referred him, following the unproven 1771 Zanicchi the Younger's theory, as 'Tintoretto', *making no mention* of the *soprano* player's identity. Indeed, new evidence points to Ortiz was not dead in 1570, but he went to Rome with the Colonna's family as *famigliare*, at least until 1576.

• **ANNABELLE M. PAGE (University of Oxford), Patronage «In Absentia»: Marcus Sitticus and the Music of Monteverdi**

The Prince-Archbishop of Salzburg, Marcus Sitticus of Hohenems, was firmly aligned with Italian musical culture. His links with Mantua lead to a vast influx of music when he came to power in 1612, and he became an active patron of works by Mantuan musicians. Some scholars remain reluctant to discuss the impact of Claudio Monteverdi upon this transference of cultural capital. The patronage offered by Sitticus to the newly acquired Mantuan music could well have been prompted by the presence of Monteverdi, a prominent composer of the new operatic genre, as the pair met in Mantua during a portion of Sitticus' Northern Italian travels. Indeed, Monteverdi's employment at Mantua overlapped with the nascent stages of the Mantua-Salzburg musical exchange. The potential acquisition and performance of the opera *L'Orfeo*, as well as other Monteverdian music, and the pieces which bore the mark of his influence, all point to a 'patron by proxy' role adopted by Sitticus. To exclude Monteverdi from the exploration of Salzburg's new music scene could transpire to be to ignore one of the most central incentives to the Mantua-Salzburg exchange. Monteverdi's opera could hold political significance in being the bargaining chip which won Mantua this special opportunity to become closely allied with the court of Sitticus. This paper will aim to assess the significance of Monteverdi in the cultural exchange between Mantua and Salzburg. Moreover, Monteverdi's involvement, even *in absentia*, with the Mantua-Salzburg relationship opens up the discussion of his critical reception.

• **NADEZHDA IGNATIEVA (Moscow State Tchaikovsky Conservatory), «Che sotto la protezione di così gran Principe vivranno eterna vita»: il contesto storico della discussione sulla seconda pratica**

La controversia tra Monteverdi e Artusi è considerata un'importante chiave di volta nella storia della musica; viene spesso valutata dal punto di vista del cambiamento della mentalità musicale dei compositori, dell'emergere di un nuovo stile, dell'emancipazione delle dissonanze, ecc. Però i suoi aspetti non-musicali, cioè le circostanze storiche e il rapporto di Monteverdi con i Gonzaga, ci danno qualche spunto per riflettere. Artusi nel suo trattato *L'Artusi, ovvero delle Imperfezioni della moderna Musica* ha messo in dubbio la professionalità di Monteverdi. Ha detto, senza nominare Monteverdi, ma citando passaggi dal suo madrigale *Cruda Amarilli* che tali composizioni sono «Castelli in Aria, chimere fondate sopra l'Arena» e sono fatti senza e contro «le buone Regole», cioè «a caso». In effetti Artusi ha posto Monteverdi sullo stesso piano dei dilettanti della musica. Nelle pagine del suo trattato del 1600, Artusi ha nominato tre volte i compositori di spicco del suo tempo e del passato, tra cui Gastoldi, Pallavicino e Wert, i quali erano i maestri di cappella di Mantova. Anche Pallavicino e Wert

hanno scritto il madrigale *Cruda Amarilli* sullo stesso testo. Alfred Einstein ha notato per primo la vicinanza melodica delle frasi iniziali nelle relative opere di Marenzio, Pallavicino e Monteverdi, come se i compositori partecipassero a una gara. James Chater ha redatto la lista completa dei ‘concorrenti’, oltre ai compositori soprannominati, ha incluso Wert e Sigismondo d’India. Visti nell’ottica in cui Artusi ha criticato Monteverdi anche i Madrigali *Cruda Amarilli* di Wert e di Pallavicino non sono privi di imperfezioni. Perché allora Artusi ha criticato in questa disputa un compositore e non ha criticato i suoi più venerandi colleghi mantovani? Può darsi che Artusi non conoscesse le opere di questi autori, oppure trovasse alcune giustificazioni per il loro uso delle dissonanze; ma molto probabilmente Artusi faceva due pesi e due misure. Non disponiamo delle prove dirette di alcun nesso tra gli attacchi di Artusi e la concorrenza tra i compositori mantovani, né si può discutere solo ipoteticamente. Ma si può presumere che Artusi fosse stato ispirato dalla lotta per la carica di maestro di cappella dei Gonzaga.

Musical Patrons and Italian Cultural Life

• **CESARE CORSI (Conservatorio ‘San Pietro a Majella’, Napoli), ‘Villani’ e ‘sirene’. Vita musicale, identità culturale e gruppi sociali a Napoli nella prima metà del Cinquecento**

All’inizio del Cinquecento, con la fine del regno aragonese, Napoli perse la sua autonomia politica e divenne parte della monarchia sovraregionale spagnola. A questa nuova dimensione corrispose una crisi dell’identità politica e la necessità di una sua nuova definizione che impegnò e interessò i gruppi sociali e il nuovo potere vicereale. La committenza musicale napoletana della prima metà del Cinquecento segue da vicino queste dinamiche. La scomparsa di una corte in grado di avere un ruolo egemone portò al costituirsi di una pluralità di piccole corti signorili in grado di riunirsi a volte in cartello. Al tempo stesso l’iscrizione del regno all’interno di una monarchia sovraregionale proiettò la committenza signorile napoletana al di fuori di una dimensione locale. Nonostante questa situazione o forse proprio in relazione a essa, la vita musicale napoletana della prima metà del Cinquecento è contrassegnata da una straordinaria vitalità: dalla nascita di nuovi repertori musicali destinati a una grande diffusione (la canzone villanesca) e al costituirsi di una identità culturale specifica attraverso la musica (il mito della sirena Partenope). Questi fenomeni trovano origine e hanno spiegazione proprio nel contesto prima descritto.

• **MARCELLO MAZZETTI (University of Huddersfield), «I raggi della chiarissima casa Gambaresca»: Peering into Gambara Patronage in the Late Sixteenth-Century Brescia**

Although for the last three decades music historiography has been reconsidering the role of Brescia within a broader musical landscape, there is still a lack of scholarship on noble patronage within Terraferma’s territories devoid of courts. In a city like Brescia, where a strong aristocracy built up a complex web between religious and civic institutions, the role of music as an instrument of assertion of power should not be underestimated. My paper will focus on some members of the Brescian Gambara family who surrounded themselves with musical goods *à la mode* and with a great number of musicians, who were appointed as family tutors and/or composers of sacred and secular works dedicated to the family. In this complex web, important names for the history of keyboard music come to light such as Maschera,

Costanzo Antegnati and Merulo. A central role was played by noblewomen of the Maggi and Gambara families choosing and buying instruments, hiring music teachers, organising private challenges and games based on poetry-music-dance synergies. I will outline the career of the count Francesco Gambara, who developed his musical and artistic preferences in Brescia by hosting at his palace the Accademia dei Rapiti, and in Bologna by attending the Accademia dei Gelati. These connections shed light on the genesis of important musical works by Banchieri and Bottrigari which Francesco Gambara directly patronised. The Gambara family is also an excellent case study for investigating how the patronage influenced ecclesiastic institutions. E.g. the importance of the Gerolamini order in Brescia becomes clear if we consider that Pietro Lappi worked at Santa Maria delle Grazie as a kapellmeister and, benefitting from Gambara sponsorship for over thirty years, he could hire some of the most famous musicians of his time. Lastly, I will discuss the reflection of Gambara patronage on music genres and forms strictly related to Brescia by considering some works of the Brescian Canons Regulars F. Canale and G. Paolo Caprioli.

• **ANA LOMBARDIA (Harvard University's Villa I Tatti), Women Sponsoring Women: The Queen of Etruria as Patron, Composer, Collector and Promoter of Female Musical Networks**

Studies on the music patronage of noblewomen during the long eighteenth century are increasingly ample, but sources on female composition and musical gatherings are scarce. The music collection of Maria Luisa of Bourbon (1782-1824), Infanta of Spain, Queen Consort of Etruria, and Duchess of Lucca, allows us to fill this lacuna. She collected over 2000 scores with the most modern repertoire of the time, of which at least 600 are preserved in Parma's Biblioteca Palatina. Together with works by popular musicians of the time (e.g. Rossini and Donizetti) and arrangements thereof, it contains instrumental music by hitherto unknown female composers, such as the Queen herself, who wrote four orchestral symphonies (the earliest by a Spanish woman), and the Italians Nunziata Roberti, Nunziata Mazzini and Anna Marchi, who wrote piano sonatas and trios. Their compositions are not isolated from the novelties of the 'male' public-sphere music, but reflect an interest in modern genres (e.g. the piano trio) and complex compositional techniques (e.g. program music). The delicate manuscripts containing these works, which are decorated in a typically 'feminine' fashion, feature dedications to the Queen and other high-class ladies. All this strongly suggests that the Court of Etruria, based in Florence from 1801 to 1807, was the venue of intimate musical gatherings for ladies, welcoming the participation of both amateur and professional composers and performers. This case study confirms the importance of private spaces and musical collections to reassess the role of women in the music patronage system, and opens a new perspective on female sociability in early-nineteenth century Italy, unveiling the existence of mutual-support networks.

• **GIUSEPPINA CRESCENZO (Goethe Universität Frankfurt am Main), Tra sacro e profano: mecenatismo musicale e cantata sacra in Accademia a Roma intorno al 1700**

The musical production of the Accademia degli Incolti, founded within the Nazarene College of Rome in 1658 and named «Colonia Inculca d'Arcadia» in 1741, mainly consists of sacred cantatas. Despite their theological and biblical contents, they were often commissioned for more secular than religious contexts. On the other hand, the performances of the sacred

cantatas were not only a musical but also a social and political event, as it is evident by contemporary witness and by documents consulted in the Incolti's archive. Who were the patrons who supported the performances of sacred cantatas in the Academy? How the patrons favored the spread of this musical genre in Rome between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries? Is there a strong connection between the contents of the sacred cantatas and the sociopolitical development of the epoch? How was a sacred cantata in the academy structured? My study, following modern analytical standards of sociological research, aims to give answers on these questions reconstructing the process by which the 'sacred' genre of the academic cantata, commissioned by a private and religious institution, accept an important social function as 'public' performance. From our study of archive documents, we know that it is possible to detect a strong connection between the Accademia degli Incolti, the Papacy and the families of Rome's aristocratic nobility. Aspects of historically informed performance will be contextualized by modern re-proposals of this repertoire. The study is part of my Ph.D. project at the University of Frankfurt am Main concerning the sacred cantata in Italy around 1700.

• MARIA BIRBILI (Universität des Saarlandes), Music Patronage and Politics in the Early 19th Century: Rossini, the 'Holy Alliance', and the Use of «autoimprestito» as a Means of Ironic Distance

Throughout the Baroque and Classicist era, opera traditionally depended on patronage, with opera productions predominantly taking place in the European courts. In the patronage system the composers had to more or less closely follow the requests of their patrons, and it is very interesting to examine how artistic geniuses such as Mozart and his outstanding librettist Da Ponte dealt with a system that essentially repressed their creativity in different aspects, and how they managed to get a libretto approved (*Le nozze di Figaro*) that had its provenance in a French play (*La folle journée, ou Le mariage de Figaro*) banned in the court of Vienna for political reasons. France during the period of the *Lumières* was a little bit more forgiving than Vienna under Joseph II. Hence in the eve of the French Revolution when the opera *Thémistocle* by (François André Danican) Philidor was performed in front of the royal family in Fontainebleau, it occurred that the libretto in two instances proclaimed the idea of a *roi citoyen*, suggesting constitutional monarchy in a politically charged climate in front of Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette. After the French Revolution, Spontini's *Fernand Cortès*, an opera commissioned by Napoleon with the intention to glorify the Napoleonic expedition in Spain, failed to satisfy the French emperor due to its complex dramaturgy and the maturity of the political analysis expressed in the libretto by Étienne Jouy. Thus during the premiere of the first version of the opera, on 28 November 1809, Napoleon left the theater before the end of the performance, a reaction that caused the first version of *Fernand Cortès* to disappear from the stage after only a few performances. After a short discussion of the realities of music patronage in late 18th-century and early 19th-century France, my paper will examine how Rossini dealt with the 'Holy Alliance': not just in his two cantatas commissioned by Metternich in Italy, but also in the unmistakable hints of political commentary and satire when making fun of the Congress of Vienna in his other œuvre de circonstance commissioned by the Bourbons in Paris, *Il viaggio a Reims*. It will be discussed how Rossini almost did not accept Metternich's invitation to attend Verona in the fall of 1822, when Metternich even took the pain to send Rossini a passport. The fact that both Rossini cantatas for the celebration of the 'Holy

Alliance' consist entirely of *autoimprestiti* from previous works, while Rossini chose to re-use the revolutionary Coro dei Bardi from his Neapolitan opera *La donna del Lago* in the cantata *La Santa Alleanza* are very significant and eloquent as a passive-aggressive gesture. By the third decade of the 19th century, as my paper will illustrate, the patronage system was dead. Also thanks to the developing Italian publishing business with the emergence of giants such as the Milan Casa Ricordi, the opera business became primarily a capitalist endeavor, with substantial repercussions on the legal and financial status of composers and their works.

Manuscript Production and Music Publishing

• **LAURA OCH (Conservatorio 'Evaristo Felice Dall'Abaco' di Verona), *Musica per la chiesa, musica per la comunità. Una raccolta di messe e mottetti del compositore veronese Bentivoglio Levà, organista a Isola della Scala nel secondo decennio del Seicento***

In alcuni centri della Terraferma veneziana le amministrazioni locali salariavano stabilmente vari musicisti (maestri di cappella, organisti, cantori, strumentisti) incaricati di provvedere al cerimoniale sonoro sia civile sia religioso, secondo modalità dettate dalle consuetudini del posto. Nei primi decenni del sec. XVII il comune di Isola della Scala, centro agricolo e importante postazione difensiva del contado veronese, contribuiva in larga misura alle spese per il culto, assoldando con uno specifico mansionario anche i musicisti addetti alle funzioni liturgiche. Nel 1619 ebbe luogo la consacrazione della nuova chiesa parrocchiale, la cui fabbrica, protrattasi per oltre quattro decenni, non fu esente da un contenzioso fra il comune e la parrocchia. In quello stesso anno l'organista locale, il veronese Bentivoglio Levà, pubblicò una raccolta di messe e mottetti dedicandola al parroco della chiesa ricostruita. Tale concomitanza conferma la convergenza fra la committenza ecclesiastica e il patronato municipale della musica, che a Isola della Scala operarono con modalità differenti, ma con ambiti di intervento in buona misura sovrapponibili. La raccolta musicale edita dall'organista veronese comprende quattro messe e otto mottetti a tre e a quattro parti, tutti con basso continuo. Le peculiarità stilistiche di tali composizioni musicali attestano che nei centri periferici della terraferma veneziana le nuove tendenze concertanti e solistiche si propagarono precocemente, raggiungendo un numero molto ampio di uditori grazie alle esecuzioni nell'ambiente ecclesiastico. Alcune indicazioni sull'uso di parti vocali e strumentali *ad libitum* contribuiscono a documentare alcune modalità operative diffuse fra i musicisti dell'epoca.

• **FABRIZIO LONGO (MIUR, Bologna), «Ma che dirò in difesa della Musica da Platone calunniata?» I «Trattenimenti musicali» per violino e basso di Gaetano Maria Schiassi**

Dopo più di quarant'anni è da poco ricomparso un quadro del primo settecento appartenente all'Archivio di Stato di Massa in Toscana; la tela, che negli anni '70 del secolo scorso era risultata sgradita al direttore, era stata rimossa per stazionare in corridoi e sgabuzzini fino a trovare posto su una parete della casa del custode, dove era rimasta senza che più nessuno se ne interessasse. Eppure vi era rappresentato il duca Alderano Cybo Malaspina (Massa 1690 – *ivi* 1731), nobile locale di tale lignaggio da poter prendere in moglie una Gonzaga. Il duca amava le arti e lo troviamo celebrato in diverse opere, tra cui i *Trattenimenti Musicali* à violino e basso del 1724 di Gaetano Maria Schiassi (Bologna 1698 – Lisbona 1754) nella cui unica copia conosciuta, custodita nel Museo della musica di Bologna, è raffigurato un blasone dei Cybo

Malaspina. Sul frontespizio della sua raccolta, Schiassi si dichiarava esplicitamente bolognese e, all'epoca dell'edizione, era già aggregato all'Accademia Filarmonica di Bologna; tuttavia sembra dovesse molto al Duca per averlo incoraggiato e sostenuto negli studi, probabilmente affidandone la preparazione al suo virtuoso di violino Francesco Ciampi, fino a prenderlo a servizio nella propria cappella musicale. Dal 1727 Schiassi si allontana da Massa per spostarsi al servizio del principe Filippo d'Assia-Darmstadt governatore di Mantova, presso cui si trattiene solo per pochi anni prima di trasferirsi a Lisbona dove concluderà la sua fortunata carriera.

• **ANGELA FIORE (Università di Modena e Reggio Emilia), «Sotto l'ale protettrici dell'Aquile Coronate»: copisti stampatori e mecenatismo della corte estense**

Il presente contributo si prefigge di indagare l'azione mecenatistica svolta dai duchi d'Este attraverso la produzione di manoscritti musicali così come di musica a stampa durante il XVII sec. A Ferrara prima e a Modena poi, i duchi d'Este svolsero un ruolo significativo in campo musicale. Il deposito di questo interesse prioritario verso l'arte musicale è in buona parte rappresentato dalla collezione di fonti musicali custodite oggi presso la Biblioteca Estense Universitaria di Modena. Inoltre, carteggi e documentazione archivistica della casa d'Este svelano l'organizzazione e le dinamiche di produzione e committenza musicale della corte. Grazie a Francesco II (1674-1694), infaticabile promotore delle arti, l'attività musicale della corte conobbe il momento più intenso. Nel governo del giovane Francesco la musica divenne strumento di costruzione del consenso e affermazione pubblica del potere del 'principe'. Il duca intrattenne rapporti con i più significativi musicisti del tempo e incentivò esecuzioni musicali in diverse istituzioni cittadine legate alla corte. Aiutato da segretari personali, informatori, bibliotecari, Francesco II radunò anche una numerosa serie di copisti regolarmente stipendiati in grado di assicurare un accurato servizio di copia della migliore musica in circolazione. Ma il duca rivolse particolare attenzione anche alla stampa musicale, grazie agli 'stampatori ducali di musica' come Cristoforo Canobi o Fortuniano Rosati. L'attività degli stampatori ducali si caratterizzò per le pubblicazioni di antologie di cantate, di musica sacra, di opere teoriche di autori modenese e non, ma permise anche la circolazione di molta musica strumentale di autori attivi presso la corte tra cui Giovanni Battista Vitali, Giuseppe Colombi, Tommaso Pegolotti etc. Il contributo si inserisce all'interno di un progetto di ricerca più ampio dedito alla catalogazione e valorizzazione della raccolta musicale estense presente presso la Biblioteca Estense Universitaria avviato nel 2018 e patrocinato dalle Gallerie Estensi di Modena.

• **MARINA TOFFETTI (Università di Padova), Music Publishing and Patronage in Milan in the First Thirty Years of the Seventeenth Century**

After Venice and Rome, Milan has been for centuries one of the main centers of production of printed musical books in Italy. Between 1550 and 1560 the Milanese and the Roman production had begun to grow. A considerable increase in the Milanese production came when the Tini began their activity. In the first thirty years of the seventeenth century Venice continued to be the main center; but in Rome, Milan and Naples the production of musical editions was very much in progress. As in Venice, even in Milan the music publishing was managed by a few prominent figures: Tini, Besozzi, Lomazzo and Tradate. At first one of the Tini heirs entered into partnership with Besozzi, then with Filippo Lomazzo; then Lomazzo alone printed 30 editions from 1613 to 1630. At the same time, Tradate printed

about 30 musical editions; and in 1619 Giorgio Rolla started his activity, which continued until the mid-seventeenth century. As in the rest of the peninsula, even in Milan after 1630 the production of musical editions would have started to decrease and after the mid-seventeenth century it would have contracted further. The first thirty years of the seventeenth century therefore represents the period of maximum flowering in Milanese music publishing. The present paper will examine the phenomenon of Milanese music patronage in the first thirty years of the seventeenth centuries, starting from a systematic rereading of the dedications of all music collections printed in Milan at that time. In addition to revealing interesting information on the relationships between their writers, the composers and the dedicatees of the collections, these pages have helped to illuminate some of the biographical traits of the same music printers and publishers — some of which, like Filippo Lomazzo and Giorgio Rolla, were also active as musicians, composers and editors of anthological collections.

• **GABRIELE TASCHETTI (Università degli Studi di Padova), Il rapporto fra compositore, dedicante e dedicatario e gli aspetti economici della pubblicazione di raccolte musicali nel primo Seicento: il caso delle dediche delle opere di Tomaso Cecchini veronese**

La copertura delle spese di stampa di un'opera è una delle questioni fondamentali della produzione musicale. Nelle dediche delle raccolte a stampa sono numerosissimi i riferimenti elogiativi ai protettori che hanno favorito la pubblicazione delle musiche di un compositore. Nella maggioranza dei casi le dediche lasciano intendere ben poco dell'aspetto più specificamente finanziario. Il caso di Tomaso Cecchini (Soave?, ca. 1583 – Lesina, 1644), compositore attivo sulla costa dalmata nella prima metà del Seicento, offre alcune informazioni e numerosi spunti di riflessione sull'argomento. In alcune delle sue raccolte le dediche a nobili o ecclesiastici locali sono firmate dallo stesso compositore; in altre sono firmate da terzi e si rivolgono a personaggi ai vertici delle gerarchie ecclesiastiche. Le dediche di queste opere, diverse per tipologia e a volte ricche di riferimenti ad aspetti rilevanti della storia della cultura, aiutano a formulare ipotesi sull'intreccio di relazioni che Cecchini seppe costruire per garantirsi un appoggio economico. Alcuni documenti d'archivio conservati presso le istituzioni ecclesiastiche in cui Cecchini fu attivo e a cui dedicò alcune sue raccolte permettono inoltre di verificare quanto affermato nelle dediche circa la generosità dei dedicatari, consentendo una visione più precisa del tipo di sostegno che egli ricevette per la pubblicazione delle sue musiche. Il caso di Tomaso Cecchini è stato indagato sulla scorta di quanto già emerso sul mecenatismo musicale di altre istituzioni ecclesiastiche. Dinamiche simili a quelle riscontrate nelle dediche delle sue raccolte sono osservabili anche in relazione ad altre istituzioni ecclesiastiche del nord della penisola, come la Veneranda Arca di S. Antonio, che finanziò — e si vide dedicate — alcune raccolte di musiche dei maestri di cappella attivi presso la Basilica Antoniana di Padova. Si conoscono inoltre i dettagli relativi al contratto che la Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano stipulò con gli stampatori Rolla per la produzione di quattro prestigiosi volumi di musiche per l'uso liturgico che furono stampati e dedicati a Federico Borromeo nel 1619. Il caso specifico preso in esame arricchisce dunque in maniera significativa il quadro complessivo di quanto già noto in riferimento a questo particolare aspetto del mecenatismo musicale.

