Music and patronage in the Courts of Southern Italy

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CHAPTER 24

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The Absence of Musical Sources

To write about the patronage of music in southern Italy, excluding the city of Naples, during the Renaissance is a harder undertaking than it is in the case of the other arts, above all because of the almost complete loss of written sources from the period. Of all human expressions, music has always been the most ephemeral and fleeting, even though medieval Europe invented a system of writing to record musical sounds unknown in other continents: musical notation. In reality the system emerged within the Church hierarchy as a way of ensuring that the faithful throughout Christendom sang exactly the same texts to the same intonations. This is the reason why so many liturgical manuscripts containing musical notation can be found even in what were the remotest areas of the Kingdom, where, furthermore, towns like Benevento and Bari became specialized centres, with their own *scriptoria*, for the production of this kind of manuscript.[1] As a result, if we want to start from the current state of knowledge in this field, then we should recognize that the only documented musical patronage anywhere in southern Italy for the whole of the Renaissance period was that of the churches and monasteries for which hundreds of musical liturgical manuscripts were produced and have survived to the present day (often richly decorated with miniatures and capital initials which meant that they were thought worth preserving).[2] It is unfortunate that no single database exists containing even a basic census of all musical liturgical manuscripts produced

1 For Benevento see Kelly 2011; on Bari see Fabris 1993, 19–29. A specific case where the production of liturgical musical manuscripts was common to both *scriptoria* is the *Exultet* rolls on which Cavallo 1973 is still the fundamental study.

2 The studies by Giacomo Baroffio are an indispensable guide to this type of musical source. Baroffio's work constitutes what is in effect an *Iter Liturgicum Italicum* of liturgical manuscripts with music, including the smallest surviving fragments. Publication began in 1988 in the journal *Le Fonti musicali in Italia* and has continued to the present day in different publications (including Baroffio 1999) and the findings are continually updated on the author's website: http://www.hymnos.sardegna.it/iter/iterliturgicum.htm.

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before 1700; these constitute a mine of information on specific local practices right across the territory (thanks also to the frequent additions of modes, sequences, simple—or, more rarely, complex—polyphonies, local chants and so forth). Liturgical manuscripts with musical notation are still not considered to be 'music books' in the accepted sense of the term, meaning there is no special field for them as part of the music database on the 'Internet Culturale' pages of the Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo Unico (ICCU) for Italian libraries. What information we have for southern Italy is fragmentary and mixed. So far only Puglia as a region has completed a census of the approximately 200 codices which have been recorded there (along with numerous fragments); for the rest of southern Italy there are only exhibition catalogues, single studies of particular localities, and projects still awaiting completion (such as the census in Calabria currently in progress).[3] However, from the, albeit partial, data which is available to us, it is possible to extract references to musical liturgical manuscripts which were produced within the ambience and under the influence of various courts in provincial southern Italy or which are linked to the names of noble patrons.

Another field of investigation, which is valuable precisely because of the lack of written musical sources, is visual iconography. This branch of musicological studies, which has only been part of academic research for a few decades, explores historical visual images of musical performance and instruments and connects them to particular cultural ambiences and patrons. The most striking example of this, which has been surprisingly little studied, is the fresco cycle depicting musical subjects in the church of Santa Caterina in Galatina, a late medieval pictorial treasure house in Salento. The music-making depicted in the cycle forms part of an elaborate system of visual information on various aspects of human life, what is in effect a visual encyclopaedia of human knowledge at the time.[4] The cycle was commissioned by the court of the Orsini Del Balzo family, related to the Enghien family, a leading court in the vast Principato of Taranto. Between the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th century the Orsini possessed "a fiefdom which rivalled in every regard the royal court and the monarchy".[5] Within the fresco cycle, which is a kind of ideolo-

3 In addition to the list of towns and cities (and associated bibliography) provided in the already cited *Iter Liturgicum Italicum* on the website of Giacomo Baroffio, various studies and catalogues contain information on musical liturgical manuscripts dating from before 1700 and coming from several centres in the Neapolitan provinces: Arnese 1967; *Codici liturgici in Puglia* 1986; Putaturo Murano and Perriccioli Saggese 1991; Pietrafesa and Verrastro 1991; Di Lorenzo 2000; *I codici liturgico-musicali in Calabria* forthcoming.

4 An initial musicological study of the fresco cycle in Castaldo 2006.

5 Vetere 2006, IX.

gical manifesto for the Orsini family, no fewer than forty scenes depict musical symbols. Practically all the musical instruments played at the time in Europe are shown (figs. 86–87).

The fact that these instruments are depicted with extraordinary attention to their physical detail as artefacts and also, on occasion, to how they were played, has led scholars to see in the frescoes an echo of the music which was actually performed in the court of the Del Balzo d'Enghien family, who commissioned the fresco cycle. Yet so far—as with other southern Italian courts of the time which are also linked to painted depictions of music—no written sources have been identified in connection with the Galatina cycle which confirm that musicians were employed on a permanent basis to perform music for the enjoyment of the court.

Another element in the musical iconography found in the Kingdom of Naples—across the whole of Puglia and a large part of Basilicata—between the 15th and 16th centuries is the abundance of sculpted *presepi* or Nativity scenes which show, with astonishing realism, figures playing musical instruments.[6] The earliest such *presepi* showing musical scenes are attributed to the artist Stefano da Putignano or his imitators in the early decades of the 16th century (in Polignano and Grottaglie) but the outstanding example is found in the cathedral at Matera. Here, in 1534, the cathedral chapter commissioned the sculptors Sannazzaro d'Alessano and Altobello Persio da Montescaglioso to create a Nativity scene 'similar to' the one in the cathedral of Cerignola (which was destroyed in an earthquake in 1723).[7] The *presepe* in Matera is still in good condition and shows the Christ Child being lulled to sleep by human and celestial musicians. The human musician is placed outside the grotto—a shepherd seated in the middle of his flock playing a large set of bagpipes (two chanter pipes are visible). On the border between the two levels in the scene, represented by the rocks of the grotto, a small angel hangs in suspension, joyfully sounding a row of tuned small bells. Inside the grotto itself, around the Holy Family, there are no fewer than six angel musicians, dressed elegantly in Renaissance costume and shown, in realistic detail, performing on instruments which are wonderfully observed and reproduced, as though it were a frozen

6 See the list and description in Fabris 1991. On the general artistic characteristics of Puglian *presepi* see also Gelao and Tragni 1992. Gelao suggests that in their realistic depiction of the figures in the scenes (including the angel musicians who are always dressed like noble pages of the period) Puglian sculptors may have been influenced by the Neapolitan works of the Modenese sculptor Guido Mazzoni, who appears to have followed the duke Alfonso of Calabria to Puglia during his two-month journey in the region in 1492.

7 A description of the *presepe* in Matera and bibliography in Fabris 1991 and Gelao and Tragni 1992.

image of an actual Christmas concert which took place in 1534. Looking from left to right we see an angel playing a frame tambourine with bells, a group of instruments made up of a *buttafuoco* (or dulcimer with percussed strings) and a recorder, an angel with a psaltery and another with a hurdy-gurdy, then two more angels playing respectively a viola *da braccio* and a viola *da mano* (an instrument known in Spain as a *vihuela*). The choice of instruments depicted (which exclude all the most common instruments of the time, such as the lute, viola da gamba, harp, clavichord, and, indeed, the organ) represent what could plausibly have been an actual concert; these were all instruments which would have been known to the inhabitants of Matera and which they would have heard being played in street processions and on feast days. The ensemble evidently represents the cosmic harmony which has been re-established by the birth of Christ and the depiction obviously was so popular that almost identical copies were made twice in the following decades: in the Nativity scene in the cathedral of Tursi—which belonged to the same diocese as Matera—and then in the cathedral of the nearby town of Altamura, which is dated 1587 and where the angels have the same instruments, clothes, and even faces (fig. 88).[8]

Musicians at the Feudal Courts of Southern Italy

From the end of the 13th century, under Angevin rule, there was increasing musical activity at the royal court in Naples with the presence of important theorists, composers, and performers, but it was the later Aragonese court which promoted the city as a leading capital of European music in the second half of the fifteenth century. The cappella of the Aragonese court was one of the largest and most prestigious of the period, with over forty choristers and instrumentalists of different nationalities (including at least one female singer, Anna Inglese).[9] As a result of the feudal barons and their agents who reported on the legendary performances taking place in the capital, in various parts of the Kingdom circles sprang up which emulated the musical practices in Naples, using musicians who worked for the Church or belonged to the households of the nobility and were summoned from the capital. There were also foreign musicians who had come to the capital hoping to find work but then, faced with the intense competition, were obliged to look elsewhere in the other cities and towns of the Kingdom, where throughout the 16th century

8 Fabris 1991; Gelao and Tragni 1992, 63–75.

9 The classic work on this subject is Atlas 1985. For a list of musicians in the service of the Aragonese court not mentioned in Atlas see Fabris 1996.

there were numerous *maestri di cappella* from northern Europe categorized generically as 'fiamminghi' or the Flemings. An investigation into these peripheral emulations of the music at the Aragonese court can call on different kinds of sources—archival documents, chronicles, literary texts, printed editions containing dedications to noble patrons of music—but there is an almost complete lack of any written music.[10] Furthermore, the research is made more complex by the dispersal of documents or is forced to rely on the chance discovery of sources, which do not reflect adequately the actual dimensions of the phenomenon. The present essay will provide only some examples of musical activity which took place in peripheral courts and also in the noble palaces of the Kingdom's denizens, which however serve to illustrate how widespread the practice of music was throughout southern Italy during the Renaissance.[11] On the other hand, we will not refer to examples of families who held feudal territories in different provinces but for whose musical activity there is only evidence relating to their palaces in Naples. For example the d'Avalos family, after they had acquired the marquisate of Pescara and Vasto, played an important role in the patronage of music in Abruzzo but there is insufficient testimony of this before 1700.[12] Vittoria Colonna, the marquess of Pescara and wife of Ferdinando Francesco d'Avalos, is well-known for her passionate interest in music (especially in the court she created around her in the castle of Ischia),[13] which was shared by Alfonso d'Avalos, her cousin and her husband's successor,

10 All surviving music sources from the Aragonese age (not all connected directly with the Court of Naples) are listed and commented in the recent thesis by Elmi 2019, with reference to the previous bibliography.

11 A very useful distinction between the production and consumption of music on the part of the Neapolitan 'urban' aristocracy as opposed to the Kingdom's 'feudal' aristocracy is offered in Elmi 2019 (Chapter two: "Poetry and Song among Aristocratic Circles in the Kingdom of Naples": *Naples's Urban Aristocracy; The Kingdom's Feudal Aristocracy; Neapolitan Networks in the Aragonese Kingdom; Music and Self-Fashioning among the Neapolitan Nobility*). Dr Elmi is the first musicologist to have begun to undertake comprehensive programmatic research into the music in peripheral areas of the Neapolitan Kingdom during the Renaissance; the project is currently in progress thanks to a 'Fulbright US Scholarship to Italy' in collaboration with the History of Music chair which the present author holds at the University of Basilicata.

12 As Marco Della Sciucca has explained, a reconstruction of musical life in Vasto before 1566, when the town was burnt and razed by Turkish troops, is impossible. The town was sacked again in 1590 by the brigand Marco Sciarra. Della Sciucca 2014, text available online at the website: http://www.abruzzomusicaantica.org/musica_in_abruzzo.php. The text lists the titles of the 16th-century music editions which were dedicated to the marquises of Vasto, members of the d'Avalos family, as evidence of the family's ties with its feudal territories in Abruzzo.

13 See Donati 2019 (including an updated bibliography on Vittoria Colonna).

who was also the author of two celebrated madrigal texts which were set to music by several 16th-century composers. We know of traces—on occasion substantial ones—of musical activity in the fiefdoms of great lords such as the Sanseverino family, with two branches in Salerno and Bisignano respectively.[14] The reconstruction of the music which was performed at the court of Pietrantonio Sanseverino di Bisignano is especially interesting; as Cesare Corsi points out, Pietrantonio had organized his various feudal territories "into a compact and coherent block, a sort of state within the State (including an area between Basilicata and northern Calabria which stretched from the Ionian to the Tyrrhenian coast)", choosing Cassano as his 'capital', a town on the Ionian sea which was located at the centre of a network of family castles including Morano and Corigliano, among which the court, including its musicians, moved.[15] After 1540—at exactly the same time as the Neapolitan palace of the prince of Salerno, Ferrante, was at the pinnacle of its reputation for the musical spectacles organized by aristocratic musicians in his household—Pietrantonio reorganized his cappella, which also gave a stimulus to activities in remote provinces of the Kingdom. He invited, among others from Venice, a very well-known Flemish musician, Ihan Gero, to be his *maestro di cappella* between 1540 and 1558. Corsi believes Gero served as a model for a series of composers from the Sanseverino 'state' between Basilicata and Calabria, who published many collections of polyphonic music of high artistic quality, normally unthinkable so far from the capital: the Calabrian Giandomenico Martoretta, who, though he was later active in Sicily, is known to have had links to the Sanseverino family; Giovanni Battista Melfio, who was born in Bisignano and was in the service of the Carafa family in Basilicata (either in Stigliano or Aliano), who were closely related to the Sanseverino; Sebastiano Melfio, a canon at Tursi; and above all Marc'Antonio Mazzone from Miglionico near Matera, a priest and a respected figure in literature as well as being the author of important musical publications. Unfortunately, surviving sources do not contain enough information to reconstruct what musical life was actually like in the courts of the Sanseverino di Bisignano family in Calabria (and Basilicata) during the Renaissance. The family's castle in Saponara (present-day Grumento Nova, in Basilicata), built by the Normans, was in a later period the scene of festivities

14 For both branches of the family the earliest, fragmentary, documents on their musical activities in the 16th century, drawn from the archival collection 'Diversi della Regia Camera della Summaria' in the Archivio di Stato in Naples, have been examined in Corsi 2001 (with a register of the musical documents relating to Ferrante Sanseverino prince of Salerno between 1518 and 1542).

15 Corsi 2001, 12–14.

and theatrical spectacles, above all during the time of Aurora Sanseverino, a famous poet and patron of musicians, who was born in the castle in 1669.[16]

In the case of the Acquaviva d'Aragona family, there were several branches who patronized musical activity in different towns and cities. Marco Della Sciucca has provided information on the musicians who worked for different dukes of Atri from the Acquaviva d'Aragona family.[17] Andrea Matteo III Acquaviva d'Aragona, duke of Atri and prince of Teramo, was one of the first Neapolitan noblemen to take a serious interest in music, following the advice of leading intellectuals who, in the confusion created after the fall of the Aragonese dynasty and the restrictions imposed on the nobility by the Spanish viceroys, encouraged them to cultivate the arts of singing, dance, and playing musical instruments, as a sign as it were of the cultural superiority of the Neapolitans.[18] Andrea Matteo was also the first Neapolitan to publish a treatise on music, as an appendix to his translation of the *De musica* attributed to Plutarch (Naples: De Frizis 1526), which foreshadowed a similar treatise by another aristocratic Neapolitan musician, Luigi Dentice, published in 1552.[19] Andrea Matteo had asked the printer De Frizis to set up his press in the family palace in Naples, just as Carlo Gesualdo was to do later with the printer Giovan Giacomo Carlino in his castle in Gesualdo. The topics discussed in Acquaviva's treatise are not completely original (it is an anthology of thinking about music from Aristotle and Boethius to Tinctoris and Gaffurio) but the fact that he wrote such

16 The castle was rebuilt and enlarged at the beginning of the 18th century, as the description of 'Saponara' in Pacichelli 1702, 296, shows: "[…] The room is well-suited to entertaining in comfort several baronial guests […] There is a charming theatre for musical dramas or theatrical pieces". The castle was almost completely destroyed in the 1857 earthquake, which also meant that few documents relating to court life in earlier periods have survived. On Aurora Sanseverino see Magaudda and Costantini 2001. An 'insider' view of musical patronage in the Sanseverino di Bisignano family between Saponara and Naples can be found in the autobiography of the singer Bonifacio Petrone also known as Pecorone (Naples 1729). Pecorone (ed. Fabris) 2017.

17 "[In addition to the cathedral and the other churches in Atri for music in the sixteenth century] there was the ducal court, the other important centre of cultural life in the town. It was a resident court, much more so than the D'Avalos court in Vasto": Della Sciucca 2014.

18 See Fabris 1996; Fabris 2016.

19 The first description of the 1526 treatise in Fabris 1988, 70, 74–75 and 86 (with reference also to the two manuscript copies in the Vatican Library and a Dutch reprint in 1609). On the treatise and the Acquaviva musical court in Atri see Della Sciucca 1996. The printed edition was preceded by a manuscript edition of Plutarch's text on its own, intended for limited circulation among the nobility and dedicated by Acquaviva to Traiano Caracciolo, prince of Melfi. See Galiano 1999, 503. On Andrea Matteo III's commissioning of books see the essays by D'Urso and Abbamonte in this volume.

a work shows how deeply rooted an interest in music was among the Kingdom's aristocracy by this period. In 1519, also printed by De Frizis and commissioned by the duke, a book of motets was published as well as an *Officium*, both of which were possibly intended for use in the cathedral in Atri, where precisely in this period there were the beginnings of intense musical activity. Andrea Matteo died in 1529 in his feudal castle in Conversano in Puglia, where later, in the second half of the 17th century, his successors are known to have held a large number of spectacles involving music.[20] Following Andrea Matteo, two outstanding figures in the family were Giovan Antonio Donato, who had studied music, and especially his son Giovan Girolamo, a poet and musician who gathered together in Atri "an extremely lively court" including the composers Cesare Tudino, Ippolito Sabino and Rinaldo Del Mel. There was also Alberto Acquaviva d'Aragona, to whom Tudino, Sabino and Philippe Rogier, the King of Spain's *maestro di cappella*, dedicated works.

Other dedicatees of musical works from the Acquaviva family in the same decades were the counts of Conversano—and churchmen—Ottavio and Claudio, the son and the brother respectively of Giovan Girolamo. An important episode in the family history was the marriage of don Giulio Acquaviva count of Conversano and donna Dorotea Acquaviva the sister of the duke of Atri in 1687, which united the Conversano and Atri branches of the family. The wedding was celebrated at Conversano with festivities worthy of the capital, with a performance of *Berenice*, an opera composed for the occasion by Gaetano Veneziano (born in Bisceglie and a successful musician in Naples, where he became organist of the Royal Chapel). The opera was preceded by a Prologue and an 'Antiprologo' with texts by Domenico Antonio Mele, a writer employed by the Acquaviva family. This transplantation into the provinces of what was a typical Neapolitan festivity, complete with opera, was not in fact the first instance of such an event; a few years before—and a few miles from Conversano—a similar celebration had been organized in 1682 to mark the wedding of the marquis of Avigliano Giovanni Battista, son of the new prince of Acquaviva, Carlo I de Mari, with donna Laura Doria del Carretto, related to the dukes of Tursi. A proxy marriage in Genoa was followed by a grandiose festivity in Acquaviva (today 'Acquaviva delle Fonti' in the province of Bari). The model for these celebrations was already 'Neapolitan', with the performance

20 Frequent references to public celebrations with music are found invariably from the end of the 16th century in the city's *Avvisi* and *Giornali*. Magaudda and Costantini 2011 (the two authors had earlier carried out a partial exploration of the same phenomenon in Puglia and Abruzzo: Magaudda and Constantini 1988 and 2000).

of two operas by Alessandro Scarlatti (*L'honestà negli amori* and *Tutto il mal non vien per nocere*), with new music composed for the 'Antiprologo' and the Entr'acte by Giovanni Cesare Netti, who was born in nearly Putignano but had, like Veneziano, become a prominent musician in Naples as the organist of the royal cappella and the 'maestro del Tesoro di San Gennaro'. Netti's early death in 1686 was perhaps the reason why Veneziano was commissioned to compose the music for the subsequent festivities at Conversano.[21]

In addition, we should mention the Carafa, dukes of Andria and counts of Ruvo,[22] and many other families whose musical activities are recorded in the chronicles and newspapers of the Kingdom.[23] It is almost always invariably the case, however, that what surviving documents we have refer to music performed in the family palaces in Naples rather than any musical activity the families commissioned in their provincial fiefdoms.

Music Collections by Musicians from the Same Town: The Case of Puglia

As is well-known, a large proportion of documents dating from before 1600 which were once housed in the State Archives of Naples have been destroyed: the recent deposit of the private archives of noble families is inadequate compensation for their loss. In trying to find traces of musicians who were active in the period in the Kingdom of Naples it is possible to use alternative sources, often those found in archives outside the main centres or indeed outside Italy. Interesting if fragmentary information on music can be gleaned by chance in reading various lists and works by earlier scholars who in the past had access to these documents: for example, the index of musicians and actors in the fifth

21 On these cycles of festive events in the Puglian courts of Conversano and Acquaviva see Mastronardi 1990 and 1999. On the musical component of the festivities Fabris 2009a, and Giovanni Cesare Netti, *Cantate e serenate a una, due voci e basso continuo* (Naples 1676–1682), ed. 2019 (Appendix). Other information on festive events and the circulation of musicians in various towns in the province of Bari can be found in Fabris 1993, to which can be added, on Acquaviva delle Fonti, Liuzzi 2002, 46–67.

22 They belonged to a different branch of the Carafa family (but from the main stock, the 'Carafa della Stadera') in regard to the princes of Stigliano, of which the richest and most powerful member in the first half of the 16th century was Luigi Carafa, who as we have seen was related to the Sanseverino di Bisignano and the Orsini. Fabrizio Carafa, second duke of Andria (succeeding Antonio, who died in 1565), married a daughter of Luigi Carafa of Stigliano, thus uniting, at least provisionally, the two branches.

23 See the information in Magaudda and Costantini 1988, 2000, 2001, and 2011.

volume of Filangieri's *Documenti per la storia, le arti e le industrie* includes the names of various figures from different places across the Kingdom between the mid-15th and mid-16th century, such as Angelo de Giovanni from Bari, Pietro di Gaeta, Giacomo, Matteo and Salvatore di Capua, Ottavio Cortese from Ascoli, Don Giovanni Battista Cesario from Salerno, Giuseppe Barrone from Seminara near Palmi, Fabrizio Gaetano from Sessa, and so on.[24] It is striking that many of the names cited by Filangieri were, at different times, singing masters in Cava, where for centuries musical activity was associated both with the local Benedictine abbey and with the famous theatrical performances which took place during the Aragonese period.[25] There are also the names of various wind instrumentalists, such Tommaso Ferrillo from Giugliano, an apprentice player of fife and flute together with his partner Menichello Menaro,[26] as well as an interesting section on makers of organs, harpsichords, violins, lutes, guitars, and even bagpipes, as well as of strings for instruments. The activities of these craftsmen meant that the Kingdom's music market was practically self-sufficient and did not have to rely on imports.[27]

Capua is especially interesting. As Bianca de Divitiis has shown, during the Renaissance period the town pursued a policy of constructing its historical and cultural self-identity, part of which involved promoting the importance of its most famous Roman monument, the great amphitheatre. Various men of letters were commissioned to write texts praising the edifice, among them the town's schoolmaster Girolamo Aquino, who wrote a poem entitled *Superbi Sassi* ('Proud stones') which was set to music ("in arte di canto figurato") for six voices, again on commission from the town's 'Eletti' or councillors, by Don Cristofaro Calderino in 1577.[28]

In the courtyard of the palace of the Vulpano family in Bitonto, which in 1530 became the residence of the Spanish nobleman Diego Sylos when he married

24 Filangieri 2002, v, 583–584. See also Ceci 1937; Strazzullo 1954–1955.

25 Croce 1916, 16–20 (on the theatrical performances in Cava from the Aragonese period to Charles v's visit to the town in 1535).

26 Filangieri 2002, 296. The notarial deed included by Filangieri, signed 28 October 1474, says: "[Tommaso Ferrillo of Giugliano, fife player] together with Menichello Menaro will learn to play the fife and the flute, and in partnership with the same will for the period of fifteen years travel around performing and sharing the takings". ("[Tommaso Ferrillo di Giugliano, pifferajo] insieme a Menichello Menaro imparara a suonar di piffaro e di flauto, e fa società col medesimo per anni 15 per andare attorno suonando, dividendone il guadagno".)

27 Ibid., 598–599 ("Organai, liutai, violai, costruttori di cornamuse, fabbricanti di corde armoniche, costruttori di cembali").

28 Biblioteca del Museo Provinciale Campano, Archivio Comunale di Capua 19, fol. 197^{v} (20 January 1563); quoted in de Divitiis 2018, 71.

the last descendant of the family, one of the scenes among several symbolic figures carved on a fine early 15th-century bas-relief depicts Orpheus playing the lyre surrounded by animals enchanted at the sound.[29] This reference to the most celebrated classical myth involving music reflects the constant presence of music-making in the palace itself, for which however no written documents have yet been found.[30]

The town of Monopoli illustrates a different type of patronage, on the part of a foreign governor rather than a local aristocratic family. In 1553, following the viceroyal governor Andrea Marzato, the Flemish composer Jachet Berchem, among the leading musicians of the time, came to Monopoli from northern Italy. Berchem dedicated his *Primo libro de gli madrigali*, published in Venice in 1555, to his patron Marzato and in a short space of time became a point of reference for music activities throughout the whole area, marrying a local woman and settling in Monopoli where he lived until his death in 1567.[31] In Naples Flemish musicians had played leading roles in the extraordinary artistic flowering which took place under the Aragonese and were subsequently, throughout the 16th century, frequently present in the capital's aristocratic palaces, from where it is possible they made occasional journeys to the families' respective fiefdoms in the provinces. Examples included the youthful page Alardino of Uparch, recruited into his service in 1540 by the prince of Salerno,[32] Giaches de Wert who spent his childhood at the feudal Cardona court in Avellino,[33] as well as the better-known figures of Lasso, Monte, Macque, and others. In the Kingdom's provinces, we have already had occasion to mention various musicians from northern Europe who worked for the feudal nobility in Abruzzo and Berchem was not the first Fleming to travel as far as Puglia. Sometime before 1396 Johannes Ciconia was probably in Trani in the service of his patron since he composed a motet in honour of the town's

29 For the Vulpano palace see de Divitiis in this volume.

30 On musical activities in Bitonto until 1700 see Fabris 1993; Gesuita and Gesuita 2000. The bas-relief showing Orpheus is reproduced and commented on in Sylos Labini 1990, 89.

31 Morgante 1991, I: "Historia d'un musico fiammingo che volle divenir … 'pugliese'", 1–165. The text summarises earlier bibliography up to 1991, also by the same author, and offers facsimiles and transcriptions of documents as well as the photographic reproduction of the whole of the *Primo libro de gli madrigali a quatro voci di Jachet Berchem* (Venice: Scotto, 1555), with the dedication to Andrea Marzato. An important update is found in the essay by Ciliberti 2010, 7–46 (Introduction to the critical edition of Berchem's *Il primo libro de gli madrigali a quatro voci*, with the identification of the individuals to whom single madrigals are dedicated by the composer).

32 Corsi 2001, 10–11.

33 MacClintock 1966, 596 ff.

patron saint, St Nicholas the Pilgrim. In the Basilica of San Nicola in Bari the appointment of one 'Joanne Franzese' (the Flemish musician Jean Willebroot) is recorded in 1535; Willebroot remained in service until his death in 1566, despite his repeated threats to go and work for the rival cathedral in Bari or even as far as Barletta.[34] A final example is another Fleming, Federico Wynant, who in Trani on 1 March 1597 signed the dedication of his *Primo libro di madrigali a cinque voci* to the town's archbishop Giulio Caracciolo, in gratitude for his patronage. Frederic Wynants (who in Italy used Federico Wynant as the form of his name) was still a boy when he had become a chorister in Philip II's "Capilla Flamenca". In the dedication of the 1597 book of madrigals Wynant thanks Caracciolo, his ecclesiastical patron, for "deigning to accept me into your service, and for bringing me from Spain to Italy where, in your house, you have made it possible for me to understand and to learn the style and the beauty of Italian musical composition, something I have long and exceedingly desired since I was a boy, when I followed these exercises in the royal cappella of our most sovereign king [...] Trani 1 March 1597".[35]

Musical patronage on the part of ecclesiastics and prelates who were appointed to Puglian sees, where no alternative music activity is recorded, is worth further study: examples include the bishop of Monopoli Antonio Porzio—many years after the presence of Berchem in the town—to whom the 'Roman abbot' Francesco Antonio dedicated his work *Nuove laude spirituali* (Naples: Stigliola, 1594); the bishop of Andria Antonio Franco, who was the dedicatee of Giovan Antonio Cirullo's *Quinto libro di madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice: Raverii, 1607); and the bishop of Minervino Giacomo Antonio Caporali, to whom Giovan Battista Sandoli in Trani dedicated his *Mottetti e messa* (Naples: Carlino, 1613).

The foreigners who in various ways contributed to musical activity in Puglia were not only Flemish. In marrying in 1530 Isabella de Capua, princess of Molfetta and Giovinazzo, Ferrante Gonzaga acquired for his family—the same Gonzagas who ruled the famous duchy of Mantua—a centre in southern Italy which was both important and remunerative. Even though Hoste da Reggio, who styled himself "Maestro della Musica dello Illustrissimo et Eccellentissimo

34 Documents in Fabris 1993, 27–28; 34. Jean Willebroot probably came from a family of musicians from which three members with the same name were employed in the Flemish royal cappella at the time of Charles V. See Van Doorslaer 1939, 96–105.

35 Two copies of this edition survive today, in the Landesbibliothek of Kassel in Germany and in the rich collection of Italian music in Christ Church Library in Oxford. There are no documentary sources on Wynant's activity in Trani.

Don Ferrante Gonzaga" and dedicated his *Secondo libro delli madrigali a quattro voci* to the princess in 1554, was not a musician from southern Italy, it is possible that he visited the fiefdom in Puglia.[36] When Ferrante died in 1557 Cesare Gonzaga succeeded him as prince of Molfetta: the local composer Matteo Rufilo dedicated his *Primo libro di madrigali a cinque voci* to him in 1561 (two years later, in 1563, he dedicated his *Primo libro di madrigali a cinque voci* to a minor figure, signing the dedication from Ariano, of which Gonzaga was the duke).[37] In 1615 Cesare's grandson Cesare II, the son of the new prince of Molfetta Ferrante II Gonzaga, was the dedicatee of a music book published by the composer Giovan Lorenzo Missino, a native of the town.[38] Thus a number of personal links lay behind the persistent musical connections of Puglia to northern Italy, including, above all, with the specialized musical printing houses in Venice.

The reason why foreign musicians such as Berchem may have been attracted by the remote Adriatic region of Puglia was the cultural climate which emerged on Bona Sforza's return to the region. She was the duchess of Bari but, as the wife of Sigismund I the Old, she had been queen of Poland for many years in Cracow, where she had introduced the artistic splendours of Renaissance Italy, including music.[39] Bona and her mother, Isabella of Aragon, had been from the early years of the 16th century leading figures not only in the gossip of the time, for their unrestrained sexual behaviour, but also in large-scale and widely publicized festivities and spectacles, both in Naples and in their feudal territories.[40] In the Spanish novel *à clef*, *La question de Amor*, which narrates the celebrations organized by the Neapolitan nobility on the occasion of Ferdin-

36 *De l'Hoste da Reggio Maestro della musica dello Illustriss. et Eccellentiss. Don Ferante Gonzaga. Il secondo libro delli madrigali a quattro voci* (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1554, copy in the Accademia Filarmonica in Verona), dedicated "Alla Illustrissima et Eccellentissima Signora la Principessa Isabella di Capua Gonzaga". See De Gioia Gadaleta 2005, accompanied by a CD of music with the title of 'Alla corte di Isabella De Capua'.

37 Rufilo 1561. The only known copy in Florence, Archivio della Santissima Annunziata, dedicated to Don Cesare Gonzaga, Principe di Molfetta, but dated from Naples on 4 December 1560.

38 Missino 1615. The dedication is dated from Molfetta on 25 November 1614. The year before Missino had dedicated, from Naples, an edition of motets for 2,3,4,5 and 6 voices indicated as 'Liber Primus' to Francesco Bovio "patrizio bitontino" (referring to his role as *maestro di cappella* in the cathedral of Bitonto). Missino 1614. From this collection of sacred music only the part of the 'Basso per sonare' survives today in Conversano, Archivio Capitolare della Cattedrale, as indicated in Del Medico 2009, 34–35.

39 See Fabris 2009a (with related music bibliography). On the multifaceted personality of Bona, see also Calò Mariani and Dibenedetto 2000.

40 See especially Fabris 2000, I, 135–137.

and of Aragon's visit to the city in 1506, Bona is shown at the centre of dances and musical performances of *romances* and songs for voice and lute.[41]

The lute is the musical instrument which seems to be most closely associated with the court at Bari. In the first book printed in Bari in 1535, the *Operette del Parthenopeo Suavio*, two woodcuts of musical subjects, both showing a lutenist at the centre, from the beginning of the century are re-used (figs. 89a–b).[42]

The lute was a favourite instrument at the court in Cracow in the second half of the 16th century and some of the leading virtuosos of the instrument were active there, such as Valentin Bakfark, Diomedes Cato and the Polish musician Dlugoraj. But as early as 1541, a few years after the Bari edition of Suavio's work had been published, the Polish ambassador on a visit to the castle in Bari noted the progress made by some "pueri Poloni" who had been sent by Queen Bona to her Puglian duchy in order to learn to sing and to play the lute.[43] This episode shows that all the time she was in Poland Bona did not fail to attend to her court in Bari and made sure it maintained an exceptionally high level of artistic quality in musical matters. This has led some to think that the virtuoso Giacomo Gorzanis may have been trained as a musician in Bari. Gorzanis moved to Trieste in 1553—the year Bona returned to Italy via Trieste—and it is possible he went there in the hopes of joining her court. In the books of lute music he published in Venice from 1561 onwards, he describes himself as "cieco, Pugliese" (a blind man from Puglia), declaring his southern Italian origins with pride.[44]

41 *Question de Amor* (ed. Perugini) 1995. On the musical content and the identification of the figures of Isabella and Bona Sforza in the novel see Fabris 1996 and Colella 2016.

42 Carmignano 1535. The two woodcuts appeared for the first time in the 1507 Venetian edition of the *Opere* of Antonio Tebaldeo and in the 1512 edition of the *Opera Nova del facundissimo giovane Pietro Pictore Aretino*.

43 In the *Diario di viaggio dell'ambasciatore di Bona Sforza, Jan Ocieski* (in the original manuscript in Latin: *Itinerarium*) the entry for February 1541 reads: "Pueri Poloni videntur musicae operam dare, nam et cantu et cithararum pulsatione bene profecisse iudicantur". Cited for the first time (from information received from Bronislaw Bilinski) in Fabris 1987, 141.

44 Biographical and artistic information on Gorzanis is summarised in Bagarič 2009 and in part in English in Bagarič 2012. The *Opera Omnia* of Gorzanis are currently being published in the series 'Monumenta Artis Musicae Slovenje' (edited by Tomaž Faganel, Metoda Kokole, and Dinko Fabris). Volumes published so far: *Il primo libro di napolitane* [1570]; *Il secondo libro di napolitane* [1571], vol. 51 (2007); *Intabulatura di liuto. Libro primo* [1561], vol. 53 (2011); *Il secondo libro de intavolatura de liuto* [1562], vol. 58 (2014), the first two volumes are edited by Alenka Bagarič, the third by Bor Zuljan. The series will be completed with an edition of the remaining three books of music for the lute.

A similar and contemporary case to that of Gorzanis, which also sheds light on musical patronage in 16th-century Calabria, concerns the music academies in Rossano from which one of the leading composers in the second half of the century emerged, Gaspare Fiorino, the author of several books of songs and villanelles which were successful across Europe.[45] Bona had inherited the Calabrian fiefdom of Rossano after her mother Isabella died in 1524 and initially attempted to sell it but the energetic opposition of the inhabitants of the town to her plan persuaded her and her husband Sigismund to grant significant benefices to the local monasteries instead. It is thought that the three liturgical choirbooks with musical notation, dated 1540 and 1541, which survive today in the Museo Diocesano in Rossano, were commissioned with the resources the convent had received and that Bona's involvement may have established the cultural environment from which the academies emerged.[46] During the few years she spent in Bari after her return from Poland, Bona continued to support the arts and music in order to ensure that her court was culturally worthy of her royal status. After she died in 1557, musical life in Bari, far from going into decline, suddenly took on a remarkable new lease of life, with a vitality which was quite unique in southern Italy outside Naples. The ancient rivalry between the two main churches in Bari, the Basilica of San Nicola (which was a so-called 'Palatine' church and therefore not subject to the archbishop's jurisdiction) and the cathedral, seemed to encourage a sudden intensification of musical activity which is reflected in the first published anthologies of compositions by local musicians, almost all of whom were employed in either the basilica or cathedral cappella.

The first product of this local musical ferment was the publication in Venice in 1574 of two books of *Villanelle a tre voci de diversi musici di Barri*, edited by a musician born in Corato, Giovan Giacomo de Antiquis, whose surname however, like that of Gorzanis, suggests his family originated from further north up the Adriatic coast (fig. 90).[47]

Over the following years no fewer than forty musicians from Bari are named as the authors, either singly or in association with others, of editions of villan-

45 On Gasparo Fiorino 'della città di Rossano', one of the most highly regarded composers of villanelles of the time. See *Villanella napolitana* (ed. Borsetta) 1999.

46 Guida 2000. On the feudal possession of Rossano see also Di Dario Guida 2000.

47 On de Antiquis and the collections of musicians from Bari edited by him see Fabris 1993, 43–45, 96 and footnotes p. 102. The only surviving copy of both books of the *Villanelle alla napolitana* (Antiquis 1574) is held in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. Pr.51 and can be consulted online: https://stimmbuecher.digitale-sammlungen.de/view?id=bsb00084750.

elles as well as of highly elaborate madrigals, of Masses and motets for church use and in some cases of instrumental *ricercari* or music for organ and harpsichord.[48]

In the same years that the first anthologies of music by 'musicians from Bari' were appearing, there was a remarkable flowering of musical activity in Lecce and Terra d'Otranto, which produced a series of anthological publications in Venice. Again, these reflected the activity in a particular town or area even though this was not always made explicit in the titles. The series opened with two publications of works by Francesco Baseo, 'Maestro di cappella nel Duomo di Lecce': *Il primo libro di canzoni villanesche a quattro voci* (with eighteen pieces by Baseo and some by Fabio Pelusu 'da Leccie') which appeared in 1573, and *Il primo libro dei madrigali* in 1581; then there were *Il primo libro dei madrigali a cinque voci* (1575) and the *Terzo libro dei madrigali a cinque e sei voci* (1581) by the friar Benedetto Serafico from Nardò (no copy survives of the second publication); *Il primo libro di canzoni alla napolitana a tre, quattro e cinque voci* and *Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* published by Don Agostino Scozzese 'di Leccie' in 1579 and 1584 respectively; and then various publications of pieces by Antonio Mogavero from Francavilla. The first three composers were all ecclesiastics from the area round Lecce which, in the absence of archival documentation on musical practices in that urban context, would seem to show that in 16th-century Puglia church institutions were responsible for musical education.[49] All the information we have comes from the editions themselves, which, although they were all printed in Venice, have dedicatory letters addressed to local patrons.[50] The works of Francesco Antonio Baseo, for example, are dedicated to Antonio Mettula (who belonged to a family originally from Manfredonia but admitted into the rank of nobility in Lecce) and Ferrante Caracciolo duke of Airola and 'preside' of Terra d'Otranto. Scozzese dedicates his pieces to Giacomo De Leone, from a Genoese commercial family who had moved to Salento while Benedetto Serafico

48 See the list of printed works between 1561 and 1700 in Fabris 1993, Appendix 92–96 (with reference to previous bibliographies, in particular RISM and 'Nuovo Vogel', and an indication of the institutions where surviving copies are held).

49 Brindisino 1997 including a complete catalogue of surviving musical sources for Salento, both sacred and profane, from 1573 to 1630 (pp. 240–2590). See also on the same cultural ambience Scozzese (ed. Degli Atti) 2008; Mogavero (eds. Ruggiero and Mogavero) 1993.

50 An initial reconstruction of the links between musicians from Terra d'Otranto and Terra di Bari with the local minor aristocracy and wealthy urban middle class can be found in Pompilio and Vassalli 1988.

from Nardò—well-known in Naples, where he had ties to Francesco Orso da Celano and his fellow Puglian Stefano Felis—addresses his publications to the prince Nicolò Bernardino Sanseverino di Bisignano and even to Francesco de' Medici, duke of Tuscany. We also have information on the musical entertainments which were organized by Baseo in the Mettula family residence, and the relations with other families in Lecce and Salento of composers from Bari, such as Colanardo De Monte,[51] while Scozzese provides an example of the practice in the opposing direction in dedicating his last known publication in print to Cesare Labini, the 'sindaco' of Bitonto, whose two sons Scozzese had tutored.[52] In his dedication to Labini, dated from Bitonto on 25 October 1584 Scozzese writes: "Among the other praiseworthy qualities which I have known, contemplated and admired in your lordship this has not been the least: your great love of Music and those who practise it, for whose profession your house can be seen as a true refuge, safe port, and honoured residence. I have witnessed for myself the intense delight you take in music, the care you take for your sons to be educated in it, and the way you reward and honour more than others all who teach this expertise". Besides these lay patrons, church patrons were also important for composers 'di Barri' (Bari), as we have seen in Monopoli, Trani, and Molfetta. The promotion of musical activity within the diocese on the part of the archbishop of Bari, Antonio Puteo, was of fundamental importance for local composers. Puteo took the cathedral 'maestro di cappella' Stefano Felis with him to Prague where he was sent as papal nuncio, thus giving Felis the opportunity to meet the celebrated Filippo de Monte, the Emperor's 'maestro di cappella', as Felis himself recounts in the dedication of his *Sesto libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice: heirs of Scotto, 1591):[53] "[…] during my stay in Prague with the most reverend Archbishop of Bari and papal Nuncio to the Emperor Rudolph, in whose service there was the prince of music Filippo di Monte, I composed various madrigals, which were praised by him […] and which were inspired by his presence which I admired as the True Idea ('*Vera Idea*' or model [of music]) […]". In contrast, for the musicians in Salento the period of seven years in which the controversial archbishop of Lecce, Annibale

51 Nardo Di Monte 1580. Only the Altus partbook survives in the Bologna, Biblioteca del Conservatorio, today Museo Internazionale della Musica, dedicated from Bari on 15 April 1580 to Giacomo Antonio Mancarella, a lawyer in Lecce from a local noble family.

52 Scozzese 1584. A complete copy is held in Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket.

53 In the 1591 publication Felis also includes a piece by Monte as well as madrigals by his fellow citizens of Bari Rodio and Effrem (complete copy in the British Library, London). On the life and works of Stefano di Maza Gatto (or Stefano Felis) see Pompilio 1983, 5–15; Fabris 1993, 46–56, 92, and 104.

Saraceno, was absent from his post, suspended by the Roman Curia, offered them a vital opportunity to enjoy greater freedom to publish editions of their music.[54]

Thus, the close of the 16th century saw the end, after just two decades, of the flourishing of local composers from Bari and Lecce with their successes in publishing so many of their works in Venice. In the 1590s a new musical ferment filled the Kingdom's capital city with the arrival of numerous musicians attracted there by the possibility of work, starting with the Fleming Jean de Macque, who had been invited by Fabrizio Gesualdo, the father of the famous composer, prince Carlo Gesualdo. De Macque became the leading composer in Naples until his death in 1614. Carlo Gesualdo's importance was fundamental: on one hand, he revived after half a century the legendary model of the prince of Salerno, Ferrante Sanseverino, whose Neapolitan palace had been the centre for the finest musicians in the city, making it a rival court to that of the Spanish viceroys, while on the other hand, Gesualdo transformed himself into a 'prince of music', neglecting all the other activities appropriate for a nobleman of his rank and, in the last decade of his life, shutting himself away with his court of musicians in gilded isolation in the feudal castle of Gesualdo (Avellino). He had the best music printer in Naples, Giovan Giacomo Carlino, move to the castle and work exclusively for him for several years, thus helping to reduce his own contacts with the capital even further.[55] Carlo's sister, Isabella Gesualdo, who was married at the age of fifteen to Alfonso de Guevara, count of Potenza and the Grand Seneschal of the Kingdom, also continued to promote limited musical activity in her husband's castle in Basilicata (she herself played the harp). Widowed after a few years of marriage, she entrusted her two daughters by de Guevara to the care of her brother Carlo and remarried in 1586 to Ferdinando Sanseverino di Bisignano, count of Saponara, moving to the new fiefdom. The circle around Gesualdo, at first in his palace in Naples and later in the castle in Gesualdo, attracted the most prominent musicians we have already encountered as members of the group active in Bari: Rocco Rodio, Stefano Felis, Pomponio Nenna, Mutio Effrem.[56] Only a few years after, also

54 Brindisino 1997, 232. She emphasizes "the extreme fragility of Annibale Saraceno's period as archbishop of Lecce […] under whose administration of the diocese the recorded musical output of the three polyphonic composers from Salento reached its peak".

55 The most complete and up-to-date work on the sources for Carlo Gesualdo and his family is Cogliano 2015. On Gesualdo's music the study by Glenn Watkins, the leading Gesualdo scholar, remains unsurpassed: Watkins 1991.

56 For all these musicians see Fabris 1993, with a list of their works and related bibliography. See also new documentary sources in Sisto 2008 and D'Alessandro 2008. It is noteworthy

Giovanni de Antiquis was active in Naples, appointed the first music teacher in the Conservatorio dei Poveri di Gesù Cristo.[57] This marked the end of the brief but miraculous flowering of music, not centred round a court, in Puglia; thereafter Naples resumed its role as the exclusive focus of attraction for musicians.

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and perhaps significant that in the church of San Nicola di Bari in the town of Gesualdo (which still exists today) Muzio Effrem chose to have his son Giovanni Battista baptised in 1601.

57 'D. Gio: de Antiquis di quarato [Corato]' was listed in the payment registers for San Nicola di Bari from January 1565 onwards and remained in the employment of the basilica until 1585. Nothing is known about him after that date until 1606 when he reappears in Naples, the first official music teacher in the Conservatorio dei Poveri di Gesù Cristo, where "he was appointed to teach the children music and to give them exercises to teach them how to sing" until 1608 (cited in Di Giacomo 1928, 144). Before he left Bari, in 1605, de Antiquis made a will (Bari, Archivio di Stato, Notaio Pietro Ponsi). He must have died between 1608 and 1618; the latter date is attached to a legacy in his name in San Nicola di Bari. Fabris 1993, 102.

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