Music in Seventeenth-Century Naples
Francesco Provenzale (1624–1704)

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MUSIC IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY NAPLES
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List of Abbreviations

AS = Naples, Archivio di Stato

Sp.S. = Banco dello Spirito Santo
S.S. = Banco di S. Salvatore
S.G. = Banco di S. Giacomo
B.P. = Banco del Popolo
A. = Banco dell’Annunziata
P.G.C. = Banco dei Poveri
P. = Banco della Pietà

ASD = Naples, Archivio del Seminario Diocesano

Ne = Naples, Conservatorio di Musica S. Pietro a Majella
Loreto = Fondo Antichi Conservatorii: S. Maria di Loreto
14 = Libro Maggiore, 1668–78
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41 = Polizze, 1693–95
255 = Polizze, 1684–87

Nf = Naples, Congregazione Oratoriana dei Padri Filippini (Girolamini)

Nn = Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale
List of Abbreviations

N7dolori = Naples, Chiesa di S. Luigi, Archivio della Confraternita dei Sette Dolori
37. = Conti del Razionale, 1686–1711

Teso r o = Naples, Archivio del Tesoro di S. Gennaro
30/22-39 = Spese mensili per la Chiesa 1684–99
66/1603 = Conclusioni 1673–85
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103–4 (2124) = Giornale dalli 6 Maggio 1678 per tutto li 22 Decembre 1692

SSP = Naples, Biblioteca della Società Napoletana di Storia Patria
MS XXV Q.1–4: Riassunto de’ regali Ordini rimessi nella Regale Camera della Sommario da’ principj del XVII secolo sino all’anno 1722 divisi in Tomi IV, Manoscritto per Biaggio Giuliano Segretario di essa Regale Camera dal 1685 sino al 1704, e pel di lui successore Segretario continuato sino al 1722

D. = Ducati

FP = Francesco Provenzale

All the documents quoted here are to be found in various archives and libraries in Naples, for the most part in the Archivio Storico del Banco di Napoli, where the research has been conducted in a systematic way. I wish to thank Anna Nappi and the former director of the Archivio Dr. Edoardo Nappi for their kind collaboration. Note that for the years 1650–79 and 1701–04 there is no record of Provenzale in the accounts of the Banco del Popolo. In 1997–98 the books by Poveri and Salvatore were not entirely accessible to the public, but it seems that there are no references to Provenzale there either. For other library abbreviations, the RISM siglum has been adopted. The dates are given in arabic (day) and roman (month) styles. The asterisk indicates folios not numbered in the original documents.
Naples has played an essential role in the history of early modern Europe. In a similar way, music and musicians from Naples were among the protagonists of the history of European music, in particular between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries. However, until now extensive and systematic research on Neapolitan music has been limited to the fifteenth century (Allan Atlas’s book on the Aragonese court (Cambridge, 1984)) and to opera in the eighteenth century (among others, Robinson 1972a). No books are available on music during the two centuries of Spanish domination in Naples, albeit a few unpublished dissertations, short articles and three conference proceedings (Musica e cultura a Napoli dal XV al XIX secolo (1983); La musica a Napoli durante il Seicento (1987); Fonti d’archivio per la storia della musica (2001)).

When I set about this work, I intended to conduct a systematic research into music during the whole two-century-long period of Spanish rule in Naples (1503–1707). Fascinated and inspired by the classic historical enterprise launched by Fernand Braudel in 1949, I was very keen to approach over the longue durée, the origin and persistence of phenomena and dynamics in this area of the Mediterranean, whose fruits would mature later during the eighteenth century. And it was a priority for me to discover the urban ‘soundscape’ of such an important capital as was Naples during this pivotal period in the history of European society. From the beginning I adopted the methods and perspectives of anthropological history to make sense of the heterogeneous documents and information collected over several years. Nevertheless, the imbalance between the few documents surviving from the sixteenth century and the enormous bulk of information from the seventeenth forced me to reduce my investigation to the seventeenth century alone for the purpose of the present work. But even by reducing the time span to 100 years, the mass of documents and music to be examined and organized was discouraging.

For this reason, I have chosen to focus on the case-study of a typical composer and teacher active in seventeenth-century Naples, Francesco Provenzale. Provenzale can be considered no ordinary musician, however; this analysis will bear witness to the widespread opinion of his day that he was the most important Neapolitan composer and teacher of his age. This assessment resulted not only from the impressively high quality of his surviving music, but also from his role as a highly influential teacher and, to a certain extent, as an impresario, that is, a leading organizer of the musical activities in late seventeenth-century Naples.

Provenzale’s personality is set in its natural ‘soundscape’ of Spanish Naples, the densely populated city that precisely during the long life-time of the musician (1624–1704) faced some of the worst episodes in its tormented history, including
the Masaniello Uprising, the plague, the eruptions of Vesuvius, and the revolution in Messina. I was able to exploit the notable bibliography on Naples during the seventeenth century, a period rediscovered in particular by art historians following the exhibition Civiltà del Seicento a Napoli (Naples, 1984). I then started to divide the historical ‘sources’ into two groups of documents which, in line with Peter Burke, I have called ‘outsiders’ and ‘insiders’. By adopting the methodologies of social anthropology, one can gain insight into what life must have been like in seventeenth-century Naples. The ‘New History’ has reversed the usual perspective, considering the ‘alien eye’ (i.e., the testimonies of foreign travellers) as the preferred source compared with documents produced by ‘insiders’. This is a recent consequence of intuitions in the field of structural anthropology. But at the same time it is not possible to disregard the ‘inside eye’, not only because foreign travellers were not neutral and faithful observers, but also because documents produced within offer circumstantial evidence of the local conception of the world. Also music and spectacle were important elements in Italian society during the Renaissance and Baroque ages for both insiders and outsiders alike. The perspectives adopted by Peter Burke (who included Masaniello’s Naples among the case-studies in his book on early modern Italy) are reflected in this work in the first chapters, where the meticulous descriptions of the Neapolitan feasts reported in 1632 by the French traveller Jean-Jacques Bouchard are compared with the local awareness of their institutions and their traditions characterizing Neapolitan writers (Capaccio, the journalists Confuorto and Fuidoro, and music theorists). In both cases, the external as well as the internal viewpoints share in defining the history of mentality, a territory rarely explored as yet in musicology.

During Provenzale’s age, Naples was like an island, where the dynamics of patronage and production and the consumption of music and spectacle were part of an entropic and self-sufficient mechanism with few or no links with the main Italian or European cultural centres. Before the election of Alessandro Scarlatti as maestro at the viceregal court in 1684, music and musicians from Neapolitan territories never circulated abroad (with a few exceptions, including Provenzale’s early operatic activity linked to Venice). And the reverse is similar, with only occasional cases of foreign musicians coming south: the only important non-Neapolitan composers active in Naples were the Venetians Caresana and Ziani. The chain of maestri that I describe as the core of the teaching system during the seventeenth century was composed entirely of Neapolitans: Sabino, Salvatore, Raimo and Provenzale and his pupils. The musicians trained in the four conservatories and the music written by their teachers was therefore destined by the system to remain unknown beyond Neapolitan territories (with a few exceptions). This, plus the self-awareness of Neapolitans of being naturally disposed to music (the ‘sons of the siren Parthenope’), provoked that sensation of diversity recorded in every traveller’s description of the music in Naples.

It is well known to historians that the main problem of using local documents is that ‘insiders are rarely conscious of their own cultural codes. They take for granted much of what the historian most wants to discover’. By collecting external and internal information, it has been possible for me to reconstruct many
common or extraordinary feasts of the Neapolitan civil and liturgical calendars, but very little information, if any, is available on the technical aspects of the music or on the lives and personalities of composers and players. Also the musical iconography of seventeenth-century Naples is extremely poor: no portraits appear to survive of Provenzale, despite his being one of the most eminent musicians of the century. Moreover, after his death not a single obituary appeared in the *Giornali di Napoli*, which are usually so full of references to musical events.

Given the lack of information available by way of traditional channels, I turned my attention to two series of documents involving Francesco Provenzale as primary sources: first, his own surviving music, which has been fully examined for the first time and organized into a *catalogue raisonné*, and secondly, the impressive mass of about 600 documents, mostly unpublished and relating to his financial activities preserved in the Archivio Storico del Banco di Napoli (which I have edited in full in Appendix A of my doctoral thesis).

Further scrutiny of this kind of material in relation to other musicians or institutions might in the future shed more light on the peculiarities of this economic system. I am well aware of the dangers of exploiting documentary fragments to explain the past. The historical facts gleaned from this collection of documents, which concern more than forty years of Francesco Provenzale’s professional activities, can never provide an exhaustive or necessarily true economic or social history of Neapolitan music. I have made no attempt here, for example, to compare the financial and social status of this composer with the standard models traced for Spanish Naples by such historians as Calabria or Muto. Nevertheless, documents of an economic nature have doubtlessly been useful—apart from making a biographical contribution—in recognizing the special network of complex relations established by Provenzale with a plethora of Neapolitan musicians and the main musical institutions in the city. For similar reasons, I have devoted a preliminary comparative study of the handwriting of Provenzale and of many of the copyists among his collaborators, which is only in part reflected in this work.

This case-study of Provenzale is at all times strictly bound to the urban context in which he operated, coherent with the anthropological nature of this work. It is, therefore, an attempt to go beyond the more classical ‘life and work’ approach. In recent times, Royal Holloway has been a point of reference, not least for its study group on ‘Urban Musicology’, with the participation of colleagues from Spanish and Italian universities. The first results of its activities have been published over the last two years. I should like the present work to be considered as a partial contribution to this new perspective in musicological studies, dedicated to cities and their music.
Notes

1 See Braudel 1949. The *longue durée* is with *histoire globale* one of the topics of the Annales School. See Braudel 1958.


3 See an early retrospective bibliography in Cochrane 1986.

4 Burke 1987, Chapter I.2, 15–25.


6 Lévi-Strauss 1983; see also Carter 2000c.


8 French historians have proposed important links with ethnology. See Le Goff 1974.

9 The word ‘consumption’ in music must be considered in the sense pointed out in Andrew Wathey’s contribution to the conference *Produzione, circolazione e consumo: per una mappa della musica sacra dal tardo Medioevo al primo Seicento* (Venice, Fondazione Levi, 28–30 October 1999). See also Claudio Annibaldi, preface to *La musica e il mondo: mecenatismo e committenza musicale in Italia tra Quattro e Seicento* (Bologna, 1993), 9–42 and Annibaldi 1998.

10 On diversity as an ethnological topic see Beattie 1972. See also Lévi-Strauss 1961.

11 Burke 1987, 15.

12 On the danger of the realistic reinterpretation of interdisciplinary sources, see Carter 2000c.


14 See Le Goff 1978.


16 For further guidelines on an anthropological analysis of Neapolitan society, see Galasso 1982; Niola 1995 and 1997; Pardo 1996.

Acknowledgements

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A Visitor’s Tour Through Seventeenth-Century Naples

The ‘Grand Tour’ of Italy was an essential item in the cultural formation of every young Northern gentleman from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. The main itinerary covered Northern Italy down to Rome: Naples and the South were much more rarely visited, and normally as an extension to the Roman part of the trip, usually out of some particular curiosity. Travelling to Naples was certainly not undertaken for the sake of the art or architecture—the city was little esteemed even in ancient guidebooks—but perhaps for its climate, for its nature and for the beauties of its gulf. But from the sixteenth century onwards, Naples also became a ‘city of music’, thanks not least to the fascination of its musical myth of the singing siren Parthenope.

Eighteenth-century travellers were to be enthusiastic in describing music experienced in Naples, although in some cases their reports make clear the disappointing gap between their experience and their expectations of what was thought to be the musical capital of Europe. However, one cannot deny the identification of Neapolitan music with the nation’s language that seems to have cancelled the difference between social classes, suggesting that all Neapolitans belonged to a common culture.

Since the first decades of Spanish domination, Naples had become a place of fascination for Spanish writers and artists: Miguel de Cervantes speaks of ‘Nápoles la ilustre’, and the heroes of seventeenth-century *picara* literature, such as Stefanello González, dream of dying in ‘Napoli la bella’. There are also numerous diaries by English travellers to Naples. However, it is French sources which best describe the Neapolitan ‘soundscape’ during the earlier years in the life of Francesco Provenzale.

On the evening of 17 March 1632, a French traveller and his companions arrived in Naples, entering through the Porta Reale. They took lodging in an inn near the Via Toledo, the great street built by viceroy Don Pedro de Toledo in the first half of the sixteenth century to join the Palazzo Reale with the *decumani* of the city. This traveller, Jean-Jacques Bouchard, was to be the writer of one of the most important descriptions of Spanish Naples, since during the eight months which he spent in the city he noted down all his impressions in his diary. In order to construct the ‘soundscape’ familiar to Provenzale as a child, I will use this outsider’s view in parallel with other contemporary sources such as Neapolitan guides for travellers, used by foreigners such as Bouchard in order to prepare for their visit.
The traveller tends to record eagerly everything that constitutes ‘diversity’ and ‘exoticism’ regarding the unique atmosphere of a place and in comparison with his previous experiences. In Naples, however, a native awareness of this ‘diversity’ also existed, for many ‘festivities and popular gatherings of our country’ are proudly described in the city’s guidebooks. These Neapolitan festivities, in which social classes appear to be united, are chiefly fixed points in the liturgical calendar. The festivities gave rise to much admiration for their pomp and richness, at times surprising for religious functions, especially on the night of Christmas both in the Cathedral and the chapel of the royal palace ... Likewise the functions of Holy Week should be seen and admired, as well as the various representations of the Holy Sepulchre and all the Quarantore in the city on those days as indicated in the calendar. On the feast of Pentecost and the following day we are permitted to view the enjoyable spectacle from the Ponte della Maddalena and beyond, of the huge crowds returning from Montevergine and from the Madonna dell’Arco.

The main feasts are Christmas, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost with its octave (the procession of the Four Altars), the feasts of S. Antonio Abate, S. Giovanni and S. Gennaro, plus Corpus Christi, Piedigrotta, Battaglino and many others. Added to these are such civil celebrations as Carnival, and occasional festivities such as royal birthdays and name-days, political celebrations and even funerals. An early directory of typical Neapolitan festivities had been provided by the anonymous Storia de cient’anno arreto attributed to Velardiniello Musico (widely diffused even before its earliest appearance in print in 1590) including the evening of S. Giovanni celebrated near the sea, the feasts at Formiello, S. Giuliano and the Easter celebrations at Posillipo, Mergellina and S. Pietro alle Due Frati. Other such later lists were to be much more extensive.

Franco Mancini’s adoption of a clear distinction between civil and religious festivities, and fixed and occasional ones, is straightforward but too rigid (Mancini 1968). Instead, I propose to follow Bouchard, surveying the annual calendar of Neapolitan celebrations in both categories, examining the main festivals diachronically. The reader may find it useful to consult a map of the city’s institutions (see Miotte 1648, Figure 1). Bouchard’s 1632 journal does not cover the entire calendar year, but it is unusually detailed in describing the daily round of Neapolitan religious and civic festivities, of which there are a remarkable number. His entries give the impression of having been made directly from experience in the field, from the public squares to the churches, from the Palazzo Reale to the villages outside the city. Bouchard’s account can also be considered a reliable witness to the city’s traditions and practices that continued more or less unchanged during the two centuries of Spanish domination.

From Lent to Holy Week

Bouchard arrived in Naples when Lent was in full swing; this was one of the richest periods in the liturgical year in terms of public festivities. His first entries follow the rhythm of the festivities celebrated in the main churches (‘voir les

Bouchard notes that ‘les festes, en cette villa, sont plus solennelles encore et superbes qu’à Rome’, and that all is carried out with the greatest pomp and with spectacular apparati and displays of silverware, in particular in services celebrated by monks (pp.182 f.). But he probably arrived in Naples too late to see the most splendid Baroque apparati of Lent, focused, as in Rome, on the Quarantore. We do not know precisely when this typical Counter-Reformation practice was introduced to Naples, but it was not earlier than the last decades of the sixteenth century. According to Mario Borrelli, it was a Neapolitan invention, adopted for the first time in the Ospedale degli Incurabili and then in the Casa Filippina soon after its opening: ‘From Naples [the Quarantore] was introduced in Rome on the last three days of Carnival, and from Rome the usage spread across Italy and abroad, particularly under the auspices of the Compagnia di Gesù.’ It may have replaced earlier Neapolitan rites: ‘A stately and rich altar setting was introduced with a multitude of lights and other ecclesiastical ornaments, many more than was the custom in Naples, which accompanied the acts of devotion with several sermons and various consorts of music made up of voices and instruments.’ Already in the first years of the seventeenth century, there is substantial evidence of these Neapolitan devotional celebrations, which were in fact magnificent occasions to display rich colours, lights and sounds. The golden age of the Neapolitan Quarantore is recorded up to the middle of the seventeenth century, when the fashion for polychoral writing prompted a new way of composing the Quarantore with music for four choirs, an invention by Father Raimo di Bartolo. A stately and rich altar setting was introduced with a multitude of lights and other ecclesiastical ornaments, many more than was the custom in Naples, which accompanied the acts of devotion with several sermons and various consorts of music made up of voices and instruments.

After Lent, Bouchard moves on to describe the preparations for Easter, characterized, like all the city’s social life, by a remarkable disregard for the conventional restrictions during Lent and Holy Week (as, for example, in terms of food). Holy Week begins on Palm Sunday (in 1632, on 4 April). Court convention required the viceroy to ‘aller en cavalcade prendre la palme’ to Monteoliveto, but in 1632 he was ill. The first powerful moment in the Neapolitan soundscape during this period was on Ash Wednesday, with the musical rendition of Tenebrae by the Real Cappella in the viceregal palace (‘la plus belle musique que se fasse’; p. 186). But in 1632, entrance to the chapel was reserved only for the ladies in the entourage of the vicereine. Instead, Bouchard was able to attend earlier that same evening a performance of Tenebrae at the Oratorio di S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini, which involved most of the musicians of the Real Cappella: ‘La musique fut assez bone, mais courte, car ils ne chanterent que les respons et antienes et une seule leçon’.

On Maundy Thursday, his attention shifted to the direct competitors of the viceregal musicians, the cappella of the archbishop’s palace, where ‘se fait une grande solennité’. In general, the celebrations of Holy Week followed closely the pattern of Spanish court ceremony. However, the Maundy Thursday ceremony, wherein the viceroy in person washed the feet of twelve paupers in the archbishop’s chapel, was full of symbolic significance for the city. In this period,
too, Naples was full of battenti (flagellants), whether individuals or groups, who created a strongly theatrical and dramatic atmosphere. Bouchard was also dazzled by the lights around the tombs in the churches, and he was struck by the musical execution of Tenebrae in the Gesù Nuovo, ‘où les Jesuites ont attiré tant de noblesse que les six dernières leçons furent chantées par six princes. La musique fut fort bonne’ (p. 187).

On Good Friday, Bouchard delighted in discovering the rich apparati and silverware adorning the tombs of several churches (S. Chiara, Gesù Nuovo, S. Paolo Maggiore, Monteoliveto). That evening, he managed to hear the Real Cappella perform Tenebrae in the ancient residence of Castelnuovo, even if ‘la musique fut assez mediocre, horsmis à la fin, qu’il y eut un echo repetant trois et quatre fois, qui fut excellent’ (p. 187). It was a long day: after the Office, Bouchard spent the night walking through the streets to observe the most remarkable procession of Naples, the Misterij della Passione, with statues carried by 1,000 members of the Spanish Confraternita della Solitaria in a throng of torches and choruses of voices with musical instruments.

Perhaps in part because of his antipathy to Spanish traditions, Bouchard considered this famous procession less moving than the one called ‘della Resurrectione’ or ‘del Battaglino’, held on the following day, Saturday, by the Reggente of the city (pp. 190–91). This was a spectacular and very expensive display of colour and astonishing light and sound:

la magnificence estoit en la quantité de cierges et de musiciens et joueurs de toute sorte d’instruments, dont il y avait au moins 15 ou 16 gros choeurs … pour cette grande multitude de liminaires et musiques qui fait dans les tenebres de la nuit un effet mille fois plus admirable que l’on ne saurait s’imaginer, l’on peut dire que cette procession ci merite d’estre mise au nombre des choses [les] plus remarquables et singulieres de l’Europe.

The origins of this procession—which one viceroy called ‘the most grandiose, sumptuous and majestic to be celebrated in all of Italy’, perhaps for its similarity to state ceremonial—are well known. In 1616 Pompeo Battaglino, a member of the confraternity of the Santissima Concezione a Montecalvario, decided to organize an imposing procession which was so impressive that it took his name. In order to maintain the reputation of this popular event, it was necessary to obtain public funds: by 1653, Philip IV of Spain himself decided to guarantee an annual payment of 600 ducats in order to retain this procession (the same amount was donated by his successors until the middle of the eighteenth century). Occasionally the Battaglino procession was exceptionally held in summer (in addition to the one at Easter), as for example in 1630, to celebrate the arrival in Naples of the King of Spain’s daughter Margaret en route to Hungary.

Returning to Bouchard’s journal of 1632, on Easter Sunday (11 April) there was another Spanish procession to the Palazzo Reale, plus the massive pilgrimage by most of Naples’s inhabitants to the Madonna di Pugliano, on the road to Mount Vesuvius some six kilometres from the city. Bouchard notes the multitude of boats
full of people elegantly dressed, and also the role of musicians and singers similar to the Spassi di Posillipo in summer (pp. 194–95):

Ce n’estoit autre chose que danses, festins, musiques de guitarres, cornemuses et hautbois, foires et autres resjouissances, qui paroissoint d’autant plus belles qu’elles se faisoient parmi les ruines qu’a causé le Vesuve tout autour de cette eglise.

The days following Easter were equally full of smaller celebrations in rapid succession: Bouchard (p. 196) tends to give only the title of each one, including on Monday 12 April, the Madonna dell’Arco, and on Tuesday 13 April, a feast at Posillipo, S. Maria al Faro and the Chiesa di Nazaret. It is curious that Bouchard had so little interest in one of the most famous festivities in Naples, that of the Madonna dell’Arco. He seems to have been more attracted by less important events characterized by popular dances with traditional instruments, such as he describes at the Chiesa di Nazaret on the Collina di Camaldoli opposite Posillipo:

Ce n’estoint que musiques, banquets et dances que les païsans font se mettant dix ou douze en rond, se tenant les uns aus autres avec de longues servietes, et vont ainsi tout du long du chemin faisant mille figures devant leurs dames qui precedent, montées sur de petits annes qu’elles bardent la plus part de tapis de Turquie.

May and June

The festivities in the month of May begin with the second of the three celebrations dedicated to the patron-saint of Naples, S. Gennaro (on the first Saturday of the month). This feast, associated with the ‘Traslazione della testa di S. Gennaro’ (‘translation of S. Gennaro’s head’), started with a procession paid for in turn by each of the seggi (seats) of the city: in 1632, the responsibility fell to the Seggio di Portanuova. The most spectacular moment of the feast once again took place in the evening, after supper: in the interior of a temporary ‘theatre’ an altar was built on which was placed the head of S. Gennaro (a silver bust) and those of twelve other patron-saints of the city. The archbishop finally offered the relic of the saint’s blood to be kissed by the viceroy and his wife ‘après quelques motets chantez par la musique du viceroi’ (p. 201). Bouchard also compares this ritual with that of the other feast of S. Gennaro in September and describes the ‘fameus miracle du sang’.

The month of May is dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and ‘Tous ce mois il passe en semblables allegresses spirituelles’ (p. 204). Still more solemn were the festivities organized in the countryside around Naples. In the first few days of May, among other less impressive events, Bouchard records the procession organized by the Santa Casa dell’Annunziata—shifted exceptionally from 25 March because of the clash with Easter in 1632—with its declared aim of finding husbands for the girls protected by the Santa Casa.

June 1632 began with festivities for Pentecost. On the Monday after Pentecost came the event on the Collina di Poggioreale known as the ‘Acqua della Bufala’, during which countrywomen would dance separately from men. In the same day in the city of Naples, there were two other festive processions, one to Madonna di
Costantinopoli and the other to Spirito Santo, the latter procession consisting of nuns and virgins like that of the Santa Casa dell’Annunziata. More important was the Thursday after the first Sunday of Pentecost, Corpus Christi. This was one of the most important celebrations in the Neapolitan liturgical year, consisting of a procession that was strongly symbolic (repeated on the octave). The focus of the rite was a pallium borne on six spears (like a baldachin) carried by the five representatives of the noble seggi and one by the Eletto del Popolo. The procession ended in front of a temporary altar similar to a triumphal arch, called the ‘Catafalco di Pennino’ (or ‘di Pendino’), in Piazza di Sellaria. The procession lasted six hours and included the archbishop and the viceroy on foot. The procession on the octave (one week later) was richer still and ended at the Palazzo Reale, where the viceroy reviewed his soldiers on parade. The same evening the Spaniards made another smaller procession with luminarie around the national church of S. Giacomo. This kind of procession ‘s’en fit tous les jours de la semaine de fort belles’ (p. 399), in particular those organized by single confraternities, ‘Tout le reste du mois de Juin’—says Bouchard—‘se passe en semblables processions’.

The last festivity of June was the vigil and feast of S. Giovanni Battista (23–24 June). In every street temporary stages were built for ‘plusieurs belles representations de jeunes enfants qui dancent et chantent vestus en anges, ou en deitez antiques’. Needless to say, the scenes represented included the Gulf of Naples with its sirens, which in connection with the beheading of S. Giovanni is another typical mix of all the symbolic elements of a Neapolitan feast.

More explicit than Bouchard, in this case, is a local reporter who registered the exceptional sonic impact of the feast of S. Giovanni in 1624:

And among the other noteworthy things a catafalque was created with many choruses of angels, which were accompanied by flutes and other musical instruments all in harmony with the voices of the angels and by spiritual hymns which deafened the place. And once the song of the first set had finished, a cloud opened from which other angels likewise came down singing and playing. And once they had descended all the while continuing their harmonious sound, we saw the first angels who had sung rise up on the cloud. In this way, whilst in the presence of His Excellency [viceroy Duke of Alba] and his entourage, they continued to play their music, continually offering various innovations.

In Naples, the catafalco was not restricted just to Corpus Christi. During the seventeenth century, it became the main architectural and visual focus of several festivities characterized by popular devotion. The effect was magnified by machines, lighting and the participation of choirs of voices and instruments, paid for by young students of the Neapolitan conservatories. Among the musicians who wrote compositions for this summer festivity was Alessandro Scarlatti, who took part at least in the celebration of 7 June 1701.

On Thursday for the eighth day of Corpus Domini they held the usual procession of the Spanish nation in their own church of S. Giacomo, which was more pleasing, rich and sumptuous than usual ... The music was equally impressive, with a famous serenade by the illustrious Scarlatti, maestro di cappella, with selected voices and noble instruments.
The Spassi di Posillipo

The summer months of July and August (officially, from the first Sunday after S. Giovanni to the Natività della Vergine in September) are characterized by the great festivals by the sea, known since the sixteenth century as the Spassi di Posillipo. According to Bouchard they were ‘la chose la plus magnifique de Naples, et qui luy est presque singuliere’ (p. 423). An early description of these festivals is found in Tommaso Costa’s Le otto giornate del Fuggilotio. Following the outline of Boccaccio’s Decameron, Costa describes a week of festivities in the year 1571. The location is the highly symbolic ‘villa della sirena’ (where Palazzo Donn’Anna was later built), the protagonists a gathering of noble interlocutors all hiding behind academic names. The sea is crowded with boats carrying singers and musicians engaged in musical duels.

During the seventeenth century, the Spassi (referring to the long coastal walk from Naples to the headland of Posillipo) took place on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Sundays from sunset to midnight, and could be repeated on the evenings of all public festivities. A rigid ceremonial protocol prevented any problems created by the crowds of nobility: only aristocratic ladies could use coaches to reach the shoreline, while the men arrived by sea on boats (feluche) whose flags revealed the degree of their nobility. Bouchard recognized two large boats beside those around the galley of the viceroy, from which Italian musicians of the Real Cappella engaged in a musical contest with Spanish musicians in the personal service of the viceroy.

It was said of the severe viceroy, the Duke of Alba (c.1622), that ‘he did not want much conversation, but he liked the music and the Spassi di Posillipo’. Some seventeenth-century Neapolitan musical prints survive that can be associated with the Spassi di Posillipo. For the most part they contain villanellas or canzonettas of the type already cited by Costa, as, for example, Girolamo Montesardo’s I lieti giorni di Napoli: concertini italiani in aria Spagnuola a due, e tre voci (Naples, Gargano and Nucci, 1612), Orazio Giaccio’s Armoniose voci: canzonette in aria spagnola, et italiana, a tre voci (Naples, Carlino, 1613: only the third edition of 1620 survives) and Laberinto amoroso: canzonette a tre voci (Napoli, Gargano and Nucci, 1618), plus similar collections by Biffi, Lambardi and Trabaci, as well as dance books such as the guitar tablature collection printed in Naples by Foriano Pico in 1608 (a questionable date and probably a misprint for 1658 or 1668). Giaccio’s second book begins with a typical ‘canzonetta da feluca’—‘Su la riva del mare, / belle ninfe e sirene, / mirate la mia Filli’—while another canzonetta, ‘Vienni bella Lavinia, / a rallegrart’ in questo lieto giorno’
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(from his first book of 1613), is subtitled ‘Invita la sua Donna a goder le bellezze di Posillipo’.

The most remarkable in this set of sources is the collection of Giuseppe Biffi da Cesena entitled *Della Ricreazione di Posillipo a tre, a quattro, et a cinque voci* (Naples, Sottile, 1606). By simply following the sequence of titles in this collection one may recreate an academic musical evening in Posillipo of the kind described by Costo a few years before and typical of early collections of *villanelle alla napolitana* designed for meetings of academies. An opening song offers an invitation to dance and sing (‘Vogliam cantar, signori’, ‘Seguite il canto mio’, etc.), followed by references to the cries of animals (pig, parrot, duck, ass, dog, hen), and ‘balletti cantati’, songs in Neapolitan sometimes with allusions to instruments playing, all concluded with a classical madrigal, *Io son ferito ahi lasso*, judged ‘artificioso, si canta a misura larga’.

Some seventy years later, when Provenzale was already at the height of his career, Pompeo Sarnelli, a famous clergyman, published in the appendix of his collection of tales *Posilecheata* (Naples, Bulifon, 1684), a *Scompetura [= Conclusion] de la Posilecheata overo Festa de Posileco de 26 de luglio 1684*. This is one of the most detailed descriptions of the new spectacular taste introduced during the *Sparsi* by the viceroy Gaspar de Haro Marquis del Carpio.

Sarnelli’s description, in the first person singular, documents the route completed by a *feluca* to Posillipo. As in the case of Bouchard, Sarnelli is astonished at the impressive crowd there that seems to have left Naples completely deserted. Before the famous Palazzo Donn’Anna, which at that time would have acted as a summer theatre and the ideal place for courtly serenatas during the *Sparsi*, there appears in the sea the first ‘triumphal float’, with sea-horses ‘who seemed alive’. Around it are the usual sea-monsters, nymphs and gods, ‘le quale co varie sorte de stromiente sonavano e cantavano de museca che a l’àjero sereno de la sera facevano n’armonia de stopore’ (‘who with various kinds of instruments played and sang music which created such admirable harmony in the tranquil air of the night’).

A little further ahead, at Mergellina, there appeared to all the public ‘na machena granne in forma de teatro’ (‘a large machine in the form of a theatre’), overflowing with vegetables. The viceroy’s galley, surrounded by two others, corresponds exactly to the earlier description by Bouchard. There is a final surprise to break the enchanting moonlight: a firework display that reminded those present of an eruption of Vesuvius. As Bouchard concludes, ‘En somme, je ne crois pas qu’il y ait aujourd'hui lieu plus delicieux et où se facent plus de galanteries que cette coste de Pausilype’ (p. 425).

The other summer festivities also took place close to the sea, often including boat races as in Venice, to Chiaia (15 August) and to Posillipo (24 August, for the feast of S. Bartolomeo), and on the feast of S. Lucia (the first Sunday of September). Marking the end of summer, the most imposing of the popular festivities was that of the Madonna di Piedigrotta (8 September) ‘où la mattinée tout le peuple de Naple concourt, dansant, jouant’. On the afternoon the place was crowded with coaches since ‘toute la noblesse de Naples vient par terre’. There is evidence for this feast already during the Aragonese age, but it was even more
prominent during the Bourbon period around the middle of the eighteenth century.  

September and October

With Piedigrotta, the Neapolitan summer and its Spassi came to an end. Bouchard does not describe the other festivities for the Natività della Vergine on 8 September (and its octave on the 15th). But he resumes his narrative for September with a description of the solemn celebration of the martyrdom of S. Gennaro on the 19th, a further opportunity for the customary veneration of the saint’s head and blood just as in May. Bouchard does not mention music in the context of this feast, although it was a favourite occasion for musical performances of sacred dramas. As an example, in 1662, and in spite of an archiepiscopal prohibition ‘to represent in public the actions of the saints with voices’, floats were prepared full of allegorical characters (such as Catholic Religion, Faith, Hope, Charity, Martyrdom), ‘all represented with sweet melodies by the musicians … the martyrdoms, death and miracles of the saint’. Similarly, in 1664 a sacred drama concerning the martyrdom of S. Gennaro, produced by the Conservatorio di Loreto, probably marked Francesco Provenzale’s début in the genre of oratorio. According to the journalist Fuidoro, the new manner of celebrating the main patron-saint of Naples with stage works focusing on special effects (lights, machines and music) had been introduced in 1660, the year in which Cosimo Fanzago’s obelisk bearing the statue of S. Gennaro was erected. The festivities of 1663 were also described by Fuidoro:

On the feast day of the saint, the viceroy went to the archepiscopal Palace at the 24th hour to kiss the saint’s precious blood which had already liquified … there was a very stately theatre where the spire with the bronze statue of the saint stood, for which the city had paid some 3,000 ducats the previous year. And every night there were more than 4,000 lights and 140 wax torches at the spire with two choirs of music, in front of which were wooden seats where nobles, common people and citizens seated themselves wherever they wished.

Music and illuminations continued to have equal importance on the three evenings of September celebrating the patron-saint. As late as 1713, Provenzale’s pupil Nicola Fago delivered a gold medal to the castrato Nicolino Grimaldi, who had sung on all three evenings of the feast, in the name of the Governatori del Tesoro di S. Gennaro.

The first procession in October, dedicated to the Vergine del Rosario, was in fact the historical commemoration of the victory over the Turks at Lepanto in 1571, celebrated by the court on 7 October both in S. Giacomo, the Spanish national church, and with a public procession by the Confraternità della Trinità degli Spagnoli. This procession was formed by girls dressed as angels or saints, in several groups starting with statues of the misteri, behind which ‘ces fillettes vont chantant chansons spirituelles en italien’, passing between ranks of soldiers firing
arquebuses, ‘et ce meslange de voix feminines et d’arquebuses, come aussi de filles et de soldats, fait une belle vue et done grande consolation’ (p. 437).48

November and December

Bouchard left Naples with his companions at the beginning of November, but fortunately enough the main festive events of the successive weeks can be followed by way of another contemporary source. In 1632 the feast of the Immacolata Concezione (8 December) was judged memorable by the compiler of the *Etiquetas* of the viceregal court, José Raneo. The celebration for the vigil had been established during the viceroyship of the Count of Monterey, with the active collaboration of his wife. The day’s procession finished late and for this reason, during the evening *festino* in the Palazzo Reale there was no time to represent a full *comedia* but just three *intermedi* ‘dos de Italianos y uno de Españoles’ (p. 86).

On the Feast of the Immaculate Conception there was a service and sermon in the presence of the Eletti della Fidelissima Città in the convent of S. Maria La Nova, while in the afternoon there was a procession of the nobility with horses and coaches, the vicereine’s being followed by royal trumpeters. Second Vespers was celebrated instead at the Palazzo Reale, in a less solemn but equally spectacular form, with the erection of the *Quattro altari*. No Neapolitan aristocratic lady would be absent ‘por ser la fiesta tan grandiosa’. The following procession with the icon of the Virgin ended in the square in front of the Palazzo Reale with fireworks, artillery fire and finally a serenata and ball (‘sarao’) inside.

Bouchard’s departure deprives us of any extensive information about the main festivities of the months between Advent and Lent: the feasts of S. Niccolò da Bari (6 December) and S. Lucia (13 December), the third feast of S. Gennaro (16 December), the Christmas cycle through to Epiphany and finally the feast of S. Antonio Abate (14 January), marking the beginning of Carnival. Also, the festivities discussed above do not include all the occasional events that both before and after 1632 filled the Neapolitan calendar with still more celebrations. I shall summarize these additional feasts subdividing them into three categories: Carnival itself, political and civil festivities for special saints, and occurrences celebrated by the viceregal court.

Carnival

By the time of the viceroyship of the Marchese del Carpio Gaspar de Haro, Naples had acquired a widespread reputation beyond its borders, not just for its summer serenatas but also for Carnival: in 1687 city journals emphasized the arrival of the Duke of Modena in order to observe ‘le cose curiose di questa città e godere li spassi carnavaleschi’.49 As in almost all Southern Italy, the Carnival season began in Naples on the feast of S. Antonio Abate (17 January) and it reached a climax on the last Thursday, last Sunday and last Tuesday before Ash Wednesday. It was down to the viceroy and his court to begin the feast in the district of S. Antonio Abate (with its splendid fourteenth-century church),50 while at the same time processions of maskers and coaches set off from the Porta Capuana. Fixed
elements of the Neapolitan Carnival during the Spanish age were masks, both satirical and lascivious, and above all the pillage of carts bearing food, prepared at the expense of the city’s guilds. By the late seventeenth century, these *cuccagne* had been transformed into veritable temporary stages that were to attract both the astonishment and the disapproval of eighteenth-century travellers.\(^5^1\) An episode narrated in the city’s journals exemplifies the ‘foolish’ excesses of the Neapolitan Carnival. In 1680, ‘the mad people from the Incurabili appeared at the Palace in masks and led by Master Giorgio, who went in an open carriage elegantly dressed; they performed several dances of their kind, that is to say mad’\(^5^2\).

This reflects a typical Neapolitan *topos* during the Renaissance and Baroque periods, the relationship between popular celebration and madness. In his eight months spent in Naples, Bouchard (p. 268) gained the impression that:

> Tous les Napolitains sont estrangement escervelez, et ont tous un grain de folie. C’est une espece d’esprit justement come ceus de Gascogne, et ne vis jamais deus nations mieus se ressembler que ce deus là.

Madness seems particularly present in the world of the Neapolitan musicians. An example is Peter van Harleem, an organist of Flemish origin active in the Santa Casa dell’Annunziata at the end of the sixteenth century:\(^5^3\)

> Pietro Flamengo, who by adverse fortune became delirious and foolish of mind, did not lose his skill in playing for a living despite such an infirmity, for virtue holds such power (despite unjusts and ignorants).

Half a century later, Neapolitan journals record a new case:\(^5^4\)

> Onofrio Gioioso, one of the foremost musicians of our time who sang tenor, such as only God could create, suffered a delirious frenzy and became melancholic and said that he was dead and therefore no longer wished to sing and yet he lived.

The Naples lunatic asylum called the Incurabili was famous, and its residents played a significant role in Carnival festivities. In the third decade of the seventeenth century a song collection appeared entitled *L’hospedale degli infermi d’amore* by Pietro Antonio Giramo. The author gained some notoriety for his airs about being ‘mad for love’, with cantatas bearing such titles as *La pazza* and *Il pazzo*.\(^5^5\) The tradition had earlier literary roots in the works of Ariosto and in the academic games (*veglie*) typical of Siena. This Renaissance heritage was widely diffused in Europe during the seventeenth century by *commedia dell’arte* troupes representing the madness of Lelio, Delia, Cintia, Flaminia and Leonora, all deriving from the role of the *pazza* of which Isabella Andreini was the pioneer (this tradition also influenced operatic *finte pazze*). Giramo’s *Il pazzo*, datable to around 1630, summarizes the elements typical of Neapolitan Carnival games. After having tried to *solfeggiare*—in the typical formula of the villanella (‘Voglio cantar à la Napoletana e n’autri poco à la Calavresella’) —the protagonist asks for a ‘ballo de’ pazzi’ to be performed (See Ex. 1.1).
Quite apart from any anthropological implications of this comic scene (the songs and dances performed in order to cure the madness recall the musical rituals of *tarantismo*), it is interesting to note that Giramo’s model was imitated, some decades later, by another Neapolitan, Simone Coya. In his collection *L’amante impazzito* (Milan, 1679), Coya introduces songs to be performed to dance patterns ‘alla napoletana’, ‘alla siciliana’, ‘alla pugliese’ and so forth.

But the Neapolitan Carnival was not just a period of madness. The soundscape of this Neapolitan season is in many respects analogous to that of religious festivities. On the floats sponsored by the various guilds, for example, there were invariably young students of the different conservatories, often dressed as angels or flying in special machines: witness the ‘figliuoli of Loreto’ on the float of the butcher’s guild (1681), or the musicians playing on a float (1686), elaborating upon the traditional *topos* of the maritime foundation of the city:

There followed a triumphal float simulating the sea with Neptune seated on top surrounded by many sirens and nymphs, and upon arriving below the balconies of His Excellency [the viceroy] and singing several motets in his praise, they began throwing down great quantities of various kinds of fish which supplied many for Lent.

Ex. 1.1 Pietro Antonio Giramo, *Il pazzo* (c.1630)
In 1618, a group of musicians dressed as shepherds (‘bellissima musica de’ pastori’) danced with Pan while a cupid sang. In 1653, the mascherata was arcadian in theme, with some 300 shepherds and nymphs playing various instruments listed in detail by chroniclers. But most of the references in contemporary accounts are generic, just citing ‘cori di musica’. Drawings of the period, such as those of Carl’Antonio Sammarco, who provides us with pictures from the 1708 Neapolitan Carnival (the arrival of the new Austrian viceroy), are also of significant value.

Saints’ days

The early seventeenth century saw a remarkable increase in collective devotion in Naples. Between 1630 and 1699, twenty-one new patron-saints were added to the traditional eight of the city. Moreover, every religious order present in Naples tried, for the purposes of propaganda, to institute great public festivities for their own saints, even if they were not included in the official liturgical calendar. It seems that Neapolitans could not (and indeed cannot) stand aside from spectacular celebration, even if the religious propagandists tried to limit it. Almost every new festivity became accepted and transformed, often as a sign of the identity of one small community or quarter, in a process of appropriation drawing from the local to the city as a whole. In 1624 in the church of S. Maria della Salute, the Dominicans introduced the practice of singing collectively the ‘Rosario a chori’. An imposing ‘Rosario a chori’ was sung at the Madonna del Carmine by thousands of popolani in order to celebrate Masaniello’s death in 1648. On 29 May 1629 the feast of S. Francesco di Paola was celebrated with choruses of children with musical instruments: it was the prelude to a practice that from the middle of the seventeenth century would become typical of the appearance in processions of paranze of young students of the conservatories. Even a straightforward beatification such as that of Francesco Saverio on 27 November 1619 was celebrated with great magnificence and elaborate musical accompaniment. Other solemn festivities gained particular renown in the second half of the century: for the beato Gaetano Thiene (1654 and 1660), S. Pietro di Alcantara (1669), S. Rosa da Lima (1671), S. Francesco Borgia (1671), S. Francesco Xaverio (1657 and 1688) and S. Pasquale Baylon (1691). The year 1662 saw the institution of a new festivity in S. Maria La Nova, conceived this time by the viceroy.

The viceroy held chapel at Santa Maria Nuova, where he instigated the festivity with music and preaching for eight days in recognition of the pope’s ratification of the dispute of the Immaculate Conception.

The organization of the festivities for the many saints of each quarter was in the hands of the respective confraternities who had assumed the protection of the area. Here is the description of one of these as seen in the Chiesa di S. Giuseppe in Via Medina by a successor of Bouchard, Grangier de Liverdys (19 March 1661):
Mass was sung with great solemnity during which delightful music never ceased; this was accompanied by organs and other instruments which created a fascinating harmony. This Mass was heard by the Joiners, who were present in ceremonial dress, and there were lit candles which made the silverwork shine wonderfully.

Celebrations of power

The occasions celebrated by the viceroy and his court multiplied during the seventeenth century, as they did throughout the Spanish dominions. These festivities were on a par with those dedicated to Spanish saints and masterpieces of power propaganda, celebrating the birthdays and name-days not only of Spanish monarchs but also of several members of the royal family.

In Naples these festivities, already listed in the *Etiquetas di Raneo* of 1634, increased noticeably after the end of the Masaniello Uprising in 1648. The name-days and birthdays of the dauphin, later King of Spain Charles II (1661–1700), were festive occasions of primary importance. Viceroy Peñaranda was the first to introduce the celebration of Charles’s name-day, 6 December. The significance of the feast of S. Anna, the name both of the Queen and of the Queen Mother, was noted by Pompeo Sarnelli when describing a festivity at Posillipo on 26 July 1684 organized by viceroy del Carpio:

In this place, he [viceroy del Carpio] ordered there to be two wonderful feasts each summer at the sea for name-day celebrations of both queens, mother and ruler.

Celebrating S. Anna by the seaside at Posillipo must have been introduced no earlier than 1663, but the feast appears to have become widespread by 1665, and in 1666 it was celebrated in the church of the Gesù Nuovo.

The feast of S. Anna was celebrated with music for four choirs and rather sumptuous apparatus ... And in many other churches in Naples, a feast was celebrated so that there was less music in many churches not withstanding the large number of musicians in Naples.

Less fortunate were Peñaranda’s attempts to encourage the celebration of comparable feasts for the members of his own viceregal family. But such festivities connected to the court, even though not traditional, became more or less fixed, and were in time a significant part of the Neapolitan calendar.

Other celebrations were instead episodic and unrepeatable. To this category belong weddings of monarchs or members of the royal family, funerals of the same or of important figures of the Neapolitan aristocracy, rejoicings for recovered royal health and finally military and political events such as the repression of the Masaniello or Messina uprisings, the capture of Belgrade and Buda and the signing of treaties and dynastic successions.

The celebrations of funerals in Naples involved a highly spectacular ritual, with the erection of *catafalchi* (great Baroque machines) around which were processions with choruses of singers and instrumental music. At the most important funerals paraded ‘soldati vestiti a bruno e trombeta con la sordellina dentro’ (1686), while
for the royal *esequie* of 1691 there were ‘buglers who played the pipe and muffled drums and black banners’. Visits of important figures and ambassadors at least partly compensated for Neapolitan frustration at not having seen a Spanish monarch after the visit of Charles V in 1535–36 until Charles V visited the city in 1702 to great rejoicing. Francesco Provenzale, in his position as Scarlatti’s substitute as *maestro della Cappella Reale*, was witness to these festivities, which were also the last of the period of Naples’s Spanish dominion.

**Mapping Neapolitan Musical Institutions**

Baroque Naples was different from other European capitals, chiefly because of the absence of a stable prince-governor. The viceroys changed so frequently that it was very difficult or even impossible to establish consistent patterns of patronage associated with a single individual. The musical institutions situated close to the seat of viceregal power were only partially affected by the predilections of successive viceroys, for all that they benefited from their position. Thus, for example, the Cappellano Maggiore had undisputed authority in the matter of recruiting singers and instrumentalists for the various official duties at the Palazzo Reale and the Castelnuovo. The only obvious case of significant interference of a viceroy, in the appointment of new musicians and of the *maestro* of the Real Cappella in 1683, led to a strike by some singers faithful to Francesco Provenzale, whom, they felt, had been unfairly excluded from the competition in favour of viceroy Del Carpio’s candidate, Alessandro Scarlatti, for all that Provenzale in fact dominated civic musical life. But in general, respect was paid to the rule of merit: musicians who held the most important positions tended to have the most power. The more important *maestri* were also often allocated positions in lesser chapels or on an occasional basis. This is not to say that the system worked by way of privilege or that musicians’ careers were controlled excessively by extra-musical concerns. Rather, as notarial documents reveal, power was accumulated in the hands of a few *maestri* according to well-defined systems, as we shall see in the case of Provenzale.

The pyramidal organization of the political power of the time (see Table 1.1) is also reflected in the organization of Neapolitan musical bodies and of musical events. At the top, the most important musical institution was the one in direct contact with the viceroy, that is, the Real Cappella. Similarly, the most prestigious events were those relating to the court in the Palazzo Reale: *festini*, balls, comedies and operas, plus religious celebrations, birthdays, marriages and occasional ceremonies.

The other steps of the pyramid reflect the status of the institutions involved in the government of Naples: the Duomo with the archbishop as the religious leader of the city; the Eletti, holding five noble ‘seats’ (*segni*) and one popular; the most important religious institutions connected to different orders always in competition with each other (Jesuits, Filippini, Theatines, Dominicans, Franciscans, etc.); then charitable institutions (from which emerged the conservatories), confraternities and other popular devotional or lay associations. The city’s theatres also take their place
### Table 1.1 Structure of the several offices in the Government of Naples
(from Comparato 1974, tables 1–2, modified)

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<td>Collegi dei Dottori</td>
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<td>c.20 Cantori + c.12–14 Musici</td>
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on the map of Neapolitan institutions—even though their activities were limited to the traditional opera seasons (Carnival and spassi estivi)—at the interstices of various social layers and networks.

It is clear that only a few Neapolitan musical institutions were closely linked to the centre of viceregal power; the greater part of them seem instead to reflect the identity of the city, providing the popolo with an image of notable prestige. The many public festivals, with processions and performances that filled the Neapolitan calendar, were occasions to exhibit the prestige gained by different institutions, also providing opportunities for a direct comparison of, and competition between, the maestri and their musical forces. We must remember that popular institutions (charitable institutions like the conservatoires and the confraternities or the separate chapels of churches and convents) were supported almost entirely by private donations from the faithful; thus public display was crucial to encouraging and further increasing such support.

This discussion, of course, only reveals an over-simplified collection of data, which may constitute a danger. There are indeed, however, advantages to be gained from the scrutiny of longer-term social and economic phenomena, as is the case with Spanish-dominated Naples. All the same, one disadvantage of so flexible a system was the frequent change in taste and styles during the rapid evolution and the natural cyclical structure of single institutions whose own history lies embedded within the macro-history of the city. An investigation of a socio-anthropological type covering the whole of such institutions would imply the need to verify it also in terms of economic history. Thus the concepts of production, commissioning, consumption of music and relevant costs cannot be based on sample evidence alone, for all that such sampling has provided the only exhaustive data available to date. For present purposes, however, I shall summarize the most important information on the internal history of the principal Neapolitan musical institutions so as to construct a tentative map of musical production and consumption in seventeenth-century Naples.

On observing the location of the most important musical centres in the city (Figure 2), it is immediately clear that there is a division between the institutions associated with the viceroy—all located around the Castelnuovo and the Palazzo Reale—and the religious institutions associated with the opposing power of the Palazzo Arcivescovile, all located in an imaginary quadrangle radiating outwards from the Duomo. The houses of the most important religious orders (Girolamini, Jesuits, Theatins, Franciscans, Dominicans) face each other. The five institutions devoted to musical instruction occupy crucial points within this quadrangle, with the exception of the Conservatorio dei Poveri di Gesù Cristo, situated close to the Duomo and to the Oratorio dei Girolamini. The Conservatorio di Loreto and the Conservatorio di Sant’Onofrio (the latter close to the Santa Casa dell’Annunziata), lie farthest away towards the edge of the city, while the one closest to the centre of viceregal power is the Conservatorio della Pietà dei Turchini. This map therefore gives us an immediate sense of the dynamics and connections of musical institutions vis-à-vis the centres of civic power.
The Real Cappella

The structure of the most prestigious musical institution in Naples, the Real Cappella, remained almost unchanged over the centuries, remaining close to its model, the Aragonese court in the fifteenth century. The musical ensembles of the Aragonese kings comprised the singers and ‘ministriles’ (instrumentalists) of the royal chapel and the wind-instrument players of the Castelnuovo, to which were added other instrumentalists in the most solemn ceremonies. These ensembles did not suddenly disappear with the collapse of the dynasty in 1503, even if few documents concerning the singers of the Real Cappella survive for the first half of the sixteenth century. In 1540, the Real Cappella was moved by viceroy Pedro de Toledo into the new Palazzo Reale built close to the Castello.

The surviving documentation concerning the continuing activity of the Real Cappella improves from May 1555, when it was probably re-established by the viceroy with the title ‘di Palazzo’ to distinguish it from the older cappella of the Castello. The first maestro of the new cappella was the Spaniard Diego Ortiz, who arrived with other Spanish musicians at the court of Pedro de Toledo with the title of ‘homo d’arme’.

Ortiz’s successor in 1570 was also a Spaniard, Francisco Martinez de Loscos (d. 1583), while the subsequent maestri of the Real Cappella were two Flemings: Bartolomeo Roy (d. 1599) and Jean de Macque (d. 1614).

The destruction of the Tesoreria account books in the Archivio di Stato in Naples prevents us from knowing the precise composition of the cappella in this period, but Salvatore Di Giacomo compiled a list of at least ninety-three musicians for the years 1555–1603. At the time of viceroy Duca di Alba, in 1558, the Real Cappella directed by Ortiz (and including as organist the famous Spanish theorist Francisco Salinas) counted at least fifteen members, at an annual cost of 834 ducats. In 1592, the ensemble comprised twelve members (costing 958 ducats per annum, including the Cappellano Maggiore).

On the death of Macque in 1614, Giovan Maria Trabaci was elected as the first Italian maestro. The cappella then comprised twenty-six singers (seven sopranos, four altos, four countertenors, six tenors, six basses) and twelve instrumentalists (six players of the viola da braccio plus players of the cornet, trombone, lute and harp and two organists). Apart from a reform (to reduce costs) introduced by viceroy Cardinal Zapata in 1621, the structure of the Real Cappella (which had in the meantime moved into the new viceregal palace built in 1602) remained more or less the same until the time of Scarlatti. We have reasonably full details of the cappella for the period of the next maestri, the Neapolitans Andrea Falconieri (d. 1656) and Filippo Coppola (d. 1680) and the Venetian Pietro Andrea Ziani (d. 1684). Its duties were of course associated primarily with the activities of the viceregal court but only in part linked to the viceroy’s tastes and habits, for the ceremonial rules were strictly applied: court manuals (such as the Etiquetas copied by Raneo in 1634) and travellers’ accounts (for example, Bouchard’s of 1632) give us clear information on the participation of the cappella or its individual members in the various ceremonies of the Neapolitan liturgical or civic calendar; so do journals, civic proclamations, letters and descriptions. Often, the prefaces of opera
librettos reveal the involvement of members of the Real Cappella in theatrical productions not only in the Palazzo Reale but also in the Teatro S. Bartolomeo and elsewhere in the city. Still more frequent was the participation of the cappella in public ceremonies in the city’s churches and squares.

Throughout the seventeenth century, the cappella consistently comprised some twenty singers compared with twelve to fourteen players, with one keyboard player (organ and harpsichord). The average pay ranged from a minimum of 12 ducats per annum for a singer to about 180 ducats for the maestro di cappella. The most radical changes to the cappella occurred in the last years of the seventeenth century, in response to the need for it to take ever more frequent part in performances of opera.

On Ziani’s death, in 1684, Alessandro Scarlatti was elected maestro. He had arrived in Naples one year before, summoned by viceroy del Carpio. Scarlatti was often absent from his post directing the cappella, lured by the attractions of an international career and by the need to improve both his own and his family’s fortunes. But he was always re-admitted as maestro whenever he returned. Francesco Provenzale became, in the last years of his life, Scarlatti’s substitute and often took over the direction of the cappella during Scarlatti’s lengthy absences.

The Fidelissima Città, the Tesoro di San Gennaro and the Cappella del Duomo

For all that the city of Naples was under viceregal control, it had an autonomous body of self-government comprising the six Eletti. The responsibilities of the Eletti included the organization of public feasts, whether sacred or secular, of the Fidelissima Città, including processions, the allegorical carri and Carnival celebrations. The music that accompanied such ceremonies—the most important of which were the three evenings in September for the feast of S. Gennaro—was delegated to a maestro di cappella elected expressly for the occasion. Thus in 1665 Francesco Provenzale was elected as ‘Maestro di cappella della Fidelissima Città’. He held the office until 1699, when he was replaced by his pupil Gaetano Greco. The Eletti also supervised in part the celebrations of the rite inside the Duomo, in the famous Cappella del Tesoro di S. Gennaro (inaugurated in 1646). The earliest information about the cappella of the Tesoro, which was created expressly for the celebrations of the saint, dates from the 1660s when the maestro di cappella was Filippo Coppola. The Duomo had its own music chapel, dependent on the Archbishop of Naples, which clearly was in direct competition with the Real Cappella. Moreover, just as the viceroy had his maestro and his musicians ‘di camera’, so too did the archbishop for private use in his palace. For example, in 1673 the archbishop’s maestro was Giacomo Guastoni, who was also in service at the Conservatorio de’ Poveri di Gesù Cristo. In the Duomo, there was an organ on each side of the nave; the earliest was constructed by the Neapolitan organ-builder Giovan Francesco De Palma in 1548, with doors painted by Vasari; the other was made in 1652 by the Neapolitans Pompeo and Martino Di Franco, with doors painted by Luca Giordano. This supports the notion that music for two choirs was a regular feature of celebrations in this church. The Duomo’s maestri di cappella always enjoyed great prestige, from Stefano Felis at the end of the sixteenth
century to Angelo Durante at the beginning of the eighteenth. However, we lack a complete history of the *cappella*.

*The Annunziata*[^98]

The Santa Casa dell’Annunziata was a charitable institution founded in the sixteenth century to accommodate and educate orphans or abandoned children. Gradually, thanks to the favour of noble patrons and music-lovers, the Annunziata specialized in the musical education of children and in the performance of music within the church. A first *maestro di canto* is documented as being there from 1557; in 1561–68 the choir comprised just eight singers. In 1563 Giandomenico Del Giovane da Nola was appointed *maestro di cappella*, together with six more singers. In 1580 the *cappella*, still directed by Nola, now had between eighteen and twenty-four singers, with three organists and players of the trombone, cornet and viola da gamba. On Nola’s death in 1592, Camillo Lambardi became *maestro*, and the *cappella* was expanded still further to host some of the best musicians active in the city, in particular the organists Jean de Macque and Scipione Stella, succeeded by Giovan Maria Trabaci and Ascanio Maione. In the same period, the teaching activities of the Annunziata intensified, with music being taught not only to the (male) orphans but also to the girls and the nuns of the female section. But this also coincided with a period of financial difficulty, and the *cappella* was reduced to using occasional musicians (‘sabbatarii’) brought in just for the most important ceremonies, who were usually members of the Real Cappella. In this way, we should note that Macque and Trabaci, after their office in the Annunziata, became *maestri* in the viceroy’s chapel. In 1604 there were just nine singers and two organists, with five ‘sabbatarii’. However, the Annunziata continued to employ some of the best known (and most published) Neapolitan musicians, as well as the first castratos in the city.

After the death of the last famous *maestro* Filippo Coppola, in 1680 the musical establishment at the Annunziata went into crisis due to financial difficulties (the Banco dell’Annunziata would eventually crash in 1702) and competition from the conservatories: the *cappella* was reduced to a small group of singers and string players, with other musicians bought in just on an occasional basis. The duties of the *maestro di cappella* also became reduced, limited to the direction of music during the most important feasts, and in 1700 the post of *maestro di canto gregoriano* was abolished.

*The Casa Filippina dei Girolamini*[^99]

The Philippine oratory in Naples was founded in 1586 at the express request of Filippo Neri, and from its earliest years its musical activity was of some significance, not least because of the presence (until 1596) of the Roman composer Giovenale Ancina. In 1612, after years of disagreement, the Neapolitan Casa Filippina finally separated itself from the one in Rome, taking a different name still in use to the present day, the Oratorio dei Girolamini. From 1632, the
liturgical services with music were regulated by precise rules, under the direction of a *musicae praefectus*.

Soon, and in addition to its charitable and didactic activities, the Girolamini would have a musical *cappella* able to compete with the most important civic musical institutions. It also employed extra musicians for the most solemn ceremonies: in 1694, payments were made for ‘quattro chori de musica, quattro organisti, diciassette voci, cioè cinque soprani e quattro per ciascuna altra sorte di voce, sette violini, due viole, uno contrabasso, uno arcileuto, due fagotti’.

The Girolamini supported the publishing of numerous collections of *laude* and *frottole*, plus the staging of oratorios and of sacred musical dramas. Its activities also expanded by virtue of its close relations with the nearby Duomo and the Tesoro di S. Gennaro, and also the Conservatorio dei Poveri di Gesù Cristo. One of its most famous *maestri*, Erasmo Di Bartolo (‘Padre Raimo’), is considered the instigator of four-choir writing in Naples; he strongly influenced his followers Salvatore and Provenzale.

The confraternities

In common with other important Italian cities, several confraternities were established in Naples in the period immediately following the Council of Trent, providing mutual aid for various groups of artisans. These included the first confraternity for musicians, the Congregazione di S. Maria degli Angeli, founded in the Chiesa di San Nicola alla Carità alla Regia Dogana in 1569. This included thirty-two musicians, among them five wind players from the Castelnuovo. Its capitoli were renewed at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and the confraternity benefited from the strong leadership of the lutenist and theorist Scipione Cerreto. But only later in the seventeenth century did the practice extend to embrace the whole community of professional musicians in Naples. Another musical confraternity, dedicated to ‘Gregorio Magno e Leone, et di S. Cecilia’, was created in 1644 in the church of Santa Brigida dei Padri Lucchesi (close to the Palazzo Reale, and not only in spatial terms) by the Roman Giacomo Caproli and with an initial enrolment of nineteen musicians. However, this confraternity seems to have ceased activity in 1649. In this year Domenico Cenatiempo from the Order of the Padri Pii Operai founded a larger and more representative Congregazione de Musici in the church of San Giorgio Maggiore, located at the point of a triangle encompassing the major musical institutions of the city, including the Duomo and Tesoro, the Girolamini and the Conservatorio dei Poveri di Gesù Cristo. It was reorganized in 1655, with a membership of some 150 musicians, but in the terrible plague of 1656 more than half lost their lives. The Jesuits tried to oppose this powerful assembly with its own congregation, but without any success. It was perhaps the very large number of musicians in the Congregazione di San Giorgio that prompted a split in 1667 between the ‘Maestri sonatori di corde’ and the ‘Sonatori di fiato e di tromboni’; the latter transferred to the Chiesa di San Nicola alla Carità, adopting the chapel of the original musical confraternity of 1569. This division was reasserted in 1681 and in 1721 (winds) and 1723 (strings). Even the musicians of the Real Cappella
had their own exclusive assembly, dedicated to S. Cecilia, for which documentation exists from 1655 (according to old Spanish practice, the musicians of the Palazzo took revenues from silk or tobacco). There was also a congregation for the makers of strings for lute and other stringed instruments. It seems that many Neapolitan musicians remained associated with San Giorgio Maggiore at least until 1701, the year in which an oratorio was performed by a member of the confraternity, Nicola Sabino, on the most important feast of musicians, S. Casimiro (4 March).

Apart from these professional confraternities, to which all the most important non-aristocratic musicians in Naples belonged, there were numerous artisan confraternities that patronized musical performances in their churches or religious centres or during public processions. Some of these had their own cappelle and maestri, while others relied on bringing in musicians, whether professionals or students from the conservatoires. It was one of these confraternities, that of the Cavalieri di San Luigi di Palazzo, that led to the commission of certainly the most famous sacred composition by a Neapolitan, Pergolesi’s Stabat Mater (1736), which marked the climax of the tradition of using this particular sequence in Naples.

Other churches

There were many other Neapolitan institutions, chiefly religious ones, that were active in music, especially from the end of the sixteenth century. They included churches associated with the foreign communities, in particular S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli (which, together with the other Spanish chapels of S. Diego and of the Solitaria, was responsible for one of the most important processions of the city with music and torches), and also those of the different religious orders: the Chiesa del Gesù Nuovo and the Collegio Gesuitico dei Nobili, S. Domenico Soriano, the Carmine Maggiore, S. Gregorio Armeno (which still owns an important collection of music), the convents of S. Maria la Nova (seat of a flourishing music school which included among its teachers Giovanni Piscione de Avellis and Attanasio da Pisticci) and of SS. Severino e Sossio, of S. Chiara and of Monteoliveto. Even the smallest chapels of the some 500 churches in Naples would seem to have used music if we are to believe the number of surviving organs.

Theatres and stanze di commedia

During the first half of the seventeenth century, Naples had only theatres for spoken plays (stanze di commedia), where both Italian and Spanish companies of the commedia dell’arte performed comedies. Around 1618 the Ferrarese troupe of Pier Maria Cecchini inaugurated the Teatro della Commedia Nuova ai Fiorentini (later known as Teatro de’ Fiorentini), while the Neapolitan Silvio Fiorillo (the creator of the character of Pulcinella and father of the first Scaramouche) was active in North Italian theatres. In the following decades, the Teatro de’ Fiorentini often hosted Spanish companies, receiving the name of ‘Commedia spagnola’.
There were also other *stanze* in the city, never used for musical performances: S. Giorgio dei Genovesi (destroyed in 1620), the ‘Stanza della Duchesca’, the ‘Giardino di Porta Capuana’, and the ‘Stanza Porta della calce’.110 In competition with the Fiorentini, in 1621 the governors of the S. Casa degli Incurabili opened the Teatro di S. Bartolomeo, where they offered plays by Neapolitan authors, often in Neapolitan. The Incurabili had the *jus repraesentandi*, receiving official support for its activity similar to the situation of the *corrals* in Madrid. From 1654 the Teatro S. Bartolomeo began to offer ‘opere in musica’, only after the opening of the Palazzo Reale to this kind of musical spectacle. In the case of works written for other non-Neapolitan opera houses, it was usually necessary to rework the original structure, in order to introduce the elaborate machines used by such scene-directors as the ‘architetto’ Giovan Battista Balbi and his Neapolitan followers, the members of Delle Chiavi family. When it was destroyed by fire in 1681 (its first fire), S. Bartolomeo had a typical rectangular structure, with three levels of boxes. It was rebuilt in 1682, then in 1696 (this time to be made larger and to increase the rows of boxes to five), and again in 1699 under the supervision of Ferdinando Galli-Bibiena. S. Bartolomeo served as the only opera theatre in Naples until the opening of the new Teatro de’ Fiorentini for opera in around 1707, and it was demolished just before the opening of the Real Teatro di S. Carlo in 1737.

The Palazzo Reale hosted the first attempts in opera in Naples in 1650, when viceroy Oñate invited the company of Febi Armonici to participate in the festivals after subduing the Masaniello uprising in 1648. The performances were given in the ‘Palonnetto’ pavilion, transformed into a theatre with boxes. Until the beginnings of the Bourbon age (1734), both the theatre in the Real Palazzo and S. Bartolomeo offered opera seasons. A seasonal open-air theatre in the Largo di Castello hosted comedies and later, parodies of *melodrammi*, sometimes involving puppets.

Apart from the theatres which opened to a paying public, there were private performances in palaces and gardens of the Neapolitan nobility. Indeed, the first real opera performed in Naples, *Galatea* by the Roman Loreto Vittori, was given in 1644 in the palace of the Prince of Cariati. The Villa Cicinelli of Prince Cursi, in the seafront of Mergellina, was the site of the première in 1674 of Provenzale’s *Stellidaura vendicante*. Many other similar performances in private palaces are reported in the *Giornali di Napoli*.111

*Musical instrument makers*112

This specific subject requires a more extensive discussion than is possible here. Except in the case of singers, musical instruments are the tools of the professional musician; thus evidence of instrument makers in Naples can reveal a great deal about musical life in the city.

Stefano Romano has produced a useful catalogue of organs built in Naples before 1700, of which only a small number survive.113 One can make a simple calculation. Given that no Neapolitan church was without an organ—and, after 1600, most had two, opposite each other—it seems that there were some 500
organs being used in the city. Organ-building had flourished in Naples since the Aragonese period, leading to the diffusion of Neapolitan organs throughout the Spanish dominions. As for other instruments, research is still in progress. The forty-four harpsichord makers and twenty surviving Neapolitan instruments of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries catalogued by Francesco Nocerino represent a very incomplete list given the wide diffusion of such instruments in private houses and even in the convents and monasteries. There were also in Naples famous makers of lutes, guitars and other stringed instruments (in the early seventeenth century some of them were German).

During the seventeenth century, the ‘Mastri fabbricatori di corde armoniche’ convened in an assembly to save their tradition in a moment of crisis due to the high costs of animal catgut and silk. Every cappella had people enrolled to maintain and repair instruments: an organaro and a cembalaro in the Real Cappella, but also a violinaro and a trombonaro in the conservatoires (in particular S. Onofrio and the Turchini). As for the importance of wind instruments during the seventeenth century, we need only mention the famous ‘Musici di Castelnuovo’, a band of wind players (‘Sonatori di tromboni, ciaramelle e cornetti’) for the most part members of the same family, the Anzalonis. Other important traces of wind instruments in Neapolitan society are the ‘Suonatori delle galee’, heard by Bouchard in 1632, and the diffusion of the sordellina (the Neapolitan pipe). The lack of systematic in-depth research into musical iconography in Spanish Naples prevents any comprehensive evaluation of the typology and diffusion of instrumental ensembles. We can reconstruct the latter, in part, only through documentary evidence (payments and rolls of the main chapels).

Music teaching

Music teaching took place in three forms in Naples: privately in the home; within religious institutions (including the seminaries); and in the conservatoires. They coexisted even as the conservatoires took shape in the first decades of the seventeenth century, but the latter never totally dominated. The legal wording of contracts for private teaching between a master and one or more pupils was also used—with some variations—within the conservatoires.

Keith Larson lists twenty-nine surviving contracts or payment registrations (1506–1640) for private music teaching in Naples. Just fourteen of these come from the seventeenth century, five dating from before the death of viceroy Pedro de Toledo; thus we do not have a representative enough sample to discern long-range trends. But we can get some idea of average fees paid to musicians by nobles or richer members of the middle class to teach their own children or relatives. Between 1551 and 1559, the payment ranged from 13 carlini to 15 ducats for one year’s lessons. The following years saw this rate increase significantly: in 1579 lessons cost 6 ducats per month; in 1612 the annual total was 40 ducats (and in one case was 30 ducats for five months, i.e., almost 70 ducats per annum).

Church-based music schools emerged in Naples, as elsewhere in Italy, as a consequence of the Council of Trent, but they also had an immediate impact on the production of civic music in ways that contrast significantly with other Italian and
European cities. The seminary in Naples, annexed to the Duomo, was founded in 1568 with a maestro di canto (paid 54 ducats per annum plus a room); it had fifty-five to sixty young pupils aged twelve or more, with a ‘large room in which to teach singing and music lessons, and for academies and recreation’.\textsuperscript{123} We lack documents on music in the seminary prior to 1647, the year in which the maestro di canto was paid 60 ducats. In the following decades, there was both a maestro di canto and a maestro di musica, paid respectively 48 and 36 ducats per annum.\textsuperscript{124}

Here, as in many other Neapolitan religious institutions, the study of music was just part of a more general education linked to the training of individuals destined to take a leading role in the Neapolitan Curia. The term ‘seminary’ was, oddly enough, used also to indicate the music school in the S. Casa dell’Annunziata from the second half of the sixteenth century, even if in this great institution there coexisted private teaching between maestro and pupil and lessons given to poor girls and nuns. From the end of the sixteenth century, all the most important religious houses (the so-called ‘ordini riformati’) opened similar schools that also provided the study of music or at least of singing. The most famous examples are the Oratorio dei Filippini, the various Jesuit institutions (in as early as 1603, sixteen young pupils of the Jesuit school in Naples performed and sang intermedi for a Latin tragedy) and the Franciscan convent of S. Chiara and the monastery of S. Maria La Nova. In the latter was employed Giovanni Piscione de Avellis, the author of the most important Neapolitan musical treatise of the seventeenth century, printed posthumously in Rome in 1657.\textsuperscript{125} Piscione’s successor as maestro in S. Maria La Nova, Attanasio da Pisticci, also wrote treatises on music theory and thus reinforced the significance of this institution as a centre for music teaching.\textsuperscript{126} This church and its annexed monastery were part of the numerous Franciscan buildings in Naples. This religious order was the most common among the sixty or so chapels in which musical activity is documented. It is not surprising that the authors of the surviving musical treatises published (or compiled) in seventeenth-century Naples were for the most part members of the Franciscan Order.

From the middle of the sixteenth century some of the many charitable institutions called conservatorii (orphanages, or hostels for reformed prostitutes and spinsters) began to specialize in teaching music, perhaps following the success of the S. Casa dell’Annunziata. This may have been encouraged by the fact that the increasing levels of musical activity in the city—not least because of the building of new churches and chapels—created a demand that exceeded the supply of available professional musicians. This soon fundamentally changed the nature of these conservatorii, which in turn began to accept non-orphaned boys sent by families from throughout the Kingdom of Naples in the hope that they would enter a musical career and thus have some security in a period of significant economic crisis. It is no coincidence that, similarly, the number of those taking up a religious vocation in Naples increased significantly, such that by the early seventeenth century priests and other religious people numbered some 30,000, roughly 10 per cent of the entire population. In addition to the aforementioned S. Casa dell’Annunziata, there were four conservatorii that gained a special reputation for music, although there were others, including several for women, that awaited further research.
The oldest was the Conservatorio di Santa Maria di Loreto, where payments were made for musicians already in 1545–49, even if the first maestri seem to have been appointed only in 1586–88. A maestro di cappella is recorded only from 1633, while there are payments for maestri of the cornet and violin from 1634. This institution had 104 ‘figliuoli’ in 1586, even if we cannot say that they were all music students. Most of the early maestri di cappella are obscure, but Francesco Provenzale held the position from 1663 to 1675. The success of the Conservatorio di Loreto under Provenzale was such that in 1667 no new pupils were admitted because the number of those enrolled exceeded 100, although by 1670 there were 150. From 1658 to 1703, the surviving registers list over 600 students, even if not all of them completed their studies.

The ‘convittori’ in the Conservatorio di Loreto paid some 10 ducats per annum until 1668, when the amount increased significantly to 30 ducats and then was reduced (after 1685) to about 23–25 ducats. Many students sought on the grounds of indigence a reduction in the fees (which was always granted).

The maestro di cappella was paid on average 10 ducats per annum from 1650; Provenzale received 12, with his two successors (who split the position) being paid 6 each. Besides the maestro di cappella, payments were made to other maestri, of which there were always at least two: one for wind instruments (in the first half of the century, for trumpet and trombone, then cornet or bassoon), and the other for violin (in some years also for lute and violoncello). Only rarely do we find other salary payments for maestri di canto and other specialists.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the Conservatorio di S. Onofrio a Capuana was founded by the confraternity of the same name which dated back to 1578. We have no information on specific musical activity before 1653, when eleven paying students and one ‘mastricello’ were registered, and when the first maestro di canto helping the maestro di cappella appears. Its early maestri were not very distinguished, but later in the century S. Onofrio was able to compete with the other conservatoires thanks to maestri such as Ziani, Caresana and Fago. In addition to the maestro di cappella we find maestri of the violin and cornet. During the seventeenth century, the Conservatorio di S. Onofrio specialized in providing young students with the opportunity of taking part in civic processions and in the performance of oratorios. Most of the registers and similar documents are lost, preventing a detailed statistical study as might be carried out for other Neapolitan conservatoires.

The Conservatorio di S. Maria della Pietà dei Turchini originated as an orphanage in 1583, in the Chiesa dell’Incoronatella. By the end of the sixteenth century, rooms had been acquired close to the church to accommodate young students, and the institution’s musical development from the early seventeenth century was quite exceptional. The first maestro di musica was just a priest, but his successor took on the mantle of official maestro di cappella: Giovan Maria Sabino was first in a succession of prestigious composers and teachers including, among others, Francesco Lambardi, Giovanni Salvatore, Provenzale and Fago. Like the other conservatoires, the Turchini had just one maestro for stringed instruments (usually a violinist save for the occasional presence of a lutenist), and one for all the wind instruments.
The average period of study was similar to that of the other conservatoires, and also to the figure given in 1770 by Charles Burney with reference to Niccolò Piccinni: students were generally accepted from the age of eight onwards, and they stayed for about ten years, entering their professional career around the age of twenty. It was possible for older students (up to the age of twenty) to enter, but in such cases, as today, they had to demonstrate that they had already acquired significant musical skills. The size of the student population can be gauged by a curious piece of information, the number of shoes ordered by the administrators. In 1682 there were 105 children ‘to provide shoes for’, and in 1684, 80. But it is not clear when and if the children had new shoes provided for them as they grew. The annual fee for the tuition in Turchini ranged from 12 ducats (in 1688) to 20 ducats (1711). At least 169 children were admitted from 1677 to 1713, to judge by the surviving contracts.

Since its foundation in 1599, the Conservatorio dei Poveri di Gesù Cristo was the only one subject to the direct control of the Curia Arcivescovile in Naples which initially considered it to be a seminary. The first music teacher was Giovanni De Antiquis in 1606, but it is only from 1633 that this position appears to have been stable. Around 1644 the conservatoire had a yearly budget of about 1,000 ducats for ‘various music and processions, esequies and services of the children’ (‘diverse musiche et processioni, esequie et servitii de’ figlioli’). From that period the maestri were famous enough to resist competition from the other conservatoires in Naples. Its strategic position, opposite the Chiesa dei Girolamini and close to the Duomo with the Cappella del Tesoro di S. Gennaro, supported a continuous artistic exchange. Here, too, there was just one maestro for stringed instruments and one for wind. The average number of students (again based on the purchase of shoes) for the years 1673–78 increased from about fifty to seventy (with an interesting distinction between the ‘provided shoes for forty big ones and eighteen small ones’ (‘calzata di 40 grandi e 18 piccoli’ in 1675), up to ninety in 1692.

There were other musical institutions similar to the main conservatoires but their activity was somewhat episodic and less influential. The most interesting case is the so-called Conservatorio di S. Gennaro dei Poveri, a poorhouse established by the viceroys after the 1656 plague and in which from 1670, there was also a ‘seminario’ of music for poor children that lasted just a few years. It was closed by 1702, and its students were transferred to the (non-musical) Conservatorio di S. Gennariello. Around 1673, fifteen children ‘who had come out of the Conservatorio di S. Gennaro’ (‘usciti dal Conservatorio di San Gennaro’) were admitted to the Conservatorio dei Poveri di Gesù Cristo, presumably to get better training in music.

We currently know very little about the female conservatoires in Naples, or music teaching in the female convents and other charitable institutions. But there is evidence to suggest that the phenomenon existed, if not on the scale of the more famous examples in Venice. For example, during the seventeenth century music was taught and performed in the conservatoire for girls close to the Chiesa dello Spirito Santo, a charitable institution managed directly by one of the most important Neapolitan public banks, the Banco di Santo Spirito, which in turn
depended on the rich and influential Confraternità dei Bianchi. Keith Larson notes that in the first decades of the seventeenth century in Naples, there were twenty-one similar conservatories for girls, and for some of them we know of musical activities, despite the not uncommon scandal connected to musical activity in the convents.

Historical studies of the cost of living in the Kingdom of Naples during the Spanish age have not yet focused significantly on music and musicians. However, we do have some incomplete data. For example, an analysis of the finances of the Conservatorio dei Poveri di Gesù Cristo for the years 1673–78 reveals 1,387 ‘servizi musicali’ (performances), half of which were for churches and chapels in Naples and its environs, 30 per cent for chiefly civic institutions, and 20 per cent for monasteries and convents, with an infrequent number also in private houses. Most involved singing Mass and, to a lesser extent, Vespers and motets. In the 30 per cent of cases we find the participation of children in processions; a few examples refer specifically to theatrical performances.

The places of performance in effect proceed around the whole map of sacred institutions in Naples and in nearby cities. Performances were commissioned by 26 Neapolitan institutions, and they took place in 106 locations, and this, it should be emphasized, represented the activity of only one of four Neapolitan conservatories over a six-year period. Documents published below, related to Provenzale and his circle, offer a preliminary contribution to the understanding of the role and value of a musician in Neapolitan society.

Music publishing

The total number of the musical editions printed in Naples during the two centuries of Spanish domination is 244, excluding reprints, lost or undatable editions, chantbooks commissioned by the Curia (including a series of liturgical books edited by Matteo Dello Schiavo in 1684–85) and the numerous editions by Neapolitan composers or dedicated to Neapolitan patrons issued elsewhere (until 1600, chiefly in Venice).

The general data offered by Angelo Pompilio reveal the relative insignificance of Neapolitan music prints compared with the 4,232 music books printed in Venice from 1551 to 1650. But the figure for Naples becomes more important given that the total of non-Venetian Italian music prints for this same period is just 1,284.

The Neapolitan output comprises 122 secular titles (108 in the years 1601–50) and 75 sacred ones (61 in 1601–50), plus 25 prints of instrumental music (13 for 1601–50) and 22 of music theory (16 for 1601–40). We have only 30 Neapolitan music prints from before 1600, 200 from the first half of the seventeenth century and 16 from between 1650 and 1700. Of course, other music books were available in Naples; quite apart from the normal mechanisms for book distribution throughout Italy in this period, a number of Venetian printers had their own official representatives in Naples (the reverse also occurred). It is clear that the predominance of editions of secular vocal music (villanellas and madrigals) until the sudden decline in 1634 is due chiefly to the presence in Naples of a high
number of aristocrats interested in music,\(^{142}\) while the other categories reflect principally (but not exclusively) commissions from religious and teaching institutions, which increased significantly during the first decades of the seventeenth century.

None of the Neapolitan print-shops focused exclusively on music.\(^{143}\) But we know about fifteen firms printing music during the entire seventeenth century:

Giacomo Stigliola (1593–1600)
Giovan Giacomo Carlino (alone or associated with A. Pace or C. Vitale: 1598–1616)
Giovanni Battista Sottile (1603–08)
Tarquinio Longo (1603–08)
Giovanni Francesco Paci (1656–1702)\(^{144}\)
Giovanni Battista Gargano and Lucretio Nucci (1609–21)
Giovanni Domenico Roncagliolo (1610)
Lazzaro Scoriggio (1614–36)
Costantino Vitale (1616–23)
Ottavio Beltrano (1620–47)
Egidio Longo (1640)
Cesare Luciolo (1650)
Pietro Paolini and Giuseppe Ricci (1650–54)
Novello and Giuseppe De Bonis (1679–1700)
Domenico Antonio Parrino and Michele Luigi Muzio (1696–99)

The most long-lived and prolific printers in the age of Provenzale, Beltrano and De Bonis, were both ‘stampatori arcivescovili’, and they were active in the same building in S. Domenico Maggiore as their predecessors Roncagliolo and Bonino.\(^{145}\)

We do not have many contracts relating to music printing in Naples. In 1587 the bookseller Scipione Riccio paid 43 ducats to print in Venice 200 copies of a book of *Mottetti e messe* (now lost). In 1689, Francesco Provenzale paid on his own behalf 42 ducats for 500 copies of his only printed work, the *Mottetti a due voci diverse*, dedicated to the Eletti della Fidelissima Città di Napoli as a sign of gratitude for his nomination as *maestro* of the Tesoro di S. Gennaro (only two copies survive).

We must also consider the production and circulation of musical manuscripts, the most important form of diffusion after the crisis in music printing in the 1620s. There is only occasional evidence concerning the cost of music paper, payments for copyists (for the most part pupils and *mastricelli* of the conservatories) and, generally, the role of manuscripts in the musical economy of Naples. Very few music manuscripts compiled in Naples before 1600 survive (leaving aside liturgical chantbooks, which should be considered separately).\(^{146}\) We know of two theoretical treatises, some works scattered in Italian libraries (and abroad) and some interesting examples surviving in the Archivio della Chiesa di S. Gregorio Armeno in Naples, including three anonymous polyphonic Masses.

During the seventeenth century, the production of manuscripts would seem to have increased significantly: there are more than 500 seventeenth-century compositions now preserved in the Archivio dei Girolamini in Naples, and they are
for the most part autographs of the greatest Neapolitan masters. To these we can add some hundreds of manuscripts, some preserved in Naples in the Conservatorio di S. Pietro a Majella, S. Gregorio Armeno and the Biblioteca Nazionale; others at Montecassino; some in the Milan conservatoire and many others elsewhere in Spain and the rest of Europe. Most of these manuscripts, inevitably, comprise sacred music, which was the predominant focus of Neapolitan musical life in the seventeenth century.

The value of the musician in seventeenth-century Naples

The number of musicians active in Naples in relation to the overall population in the sixteenth century is impossible to calculate given the lack of any systematic documentation. For the following century, however, an estimate may be attempted, based on the more consistent information concerning the various main musical institutions which has come down to us.

One useful source of evidence is the record of the numbers of people who died of the plague in 1656. These included 150 of the 300 musicians of the Congregazione di S. Giorgio Maggiore (50 per cent); 83 out of 100 at the Conservatorio di Loreto (83 per cent); all 300 of the Conservatorio della Pietà dei Turchini (100 per cent); and 20 out of 38 members of the Real Cappella del Palazzo (49 per cent). We can also draw some inferences from the numbers of new professionals admitted to the musical job-market in Naples. The average student population of the four conservatoires must have been more than 500 per annum. New entrants numbered over 100, but many presumably left before completing their studies (some 40 per cent never completed their eight years). Most of the professional musicians were priests, a supplementary advantage to finding a job in a city full of churches, as the autobiography by Bonifacio Pecorone (1729) well reveals.

As for the value of a musician in the financial setting of late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Naples, the data available are unfortunately so fragmentary as to provide only a bare indication. Historians who examined the now-lost account books in the Archivio di Stato in Naples and in other libraries before the Second World War were more interested in names and musical events than in mere listings of payments, but some useful information can still be gleaned from their findings. The total annual budget of the richest ensemble in Naples, the Real Cappella di Palazzo (including its non-musical members: Cappellano Maggiore, six chaplains, two diaconi, one sagrestano, two aiuti), was 834 ducats in 1558, 958 ducats in 1591, 8,000 ducats in 1594, 6,400 ducats in 1658 and 5,200 ducats in 1684. A document entitled Ristretto del bilancio generale dello esatto, e pagato delle intrate reali del Regno di Napoli per l’anno 1665 (MS in GB-Lbl Add. 20,924, f. 80 ff) shows that out of a total for the kingdom of 2,316,476 ducats, the cost of the Royal Chapel was just over 6,468 ducats per year. In the same register can be found the Spesa per il Culto divino e celebracione di messe nelli Castelli di Napoli e Regno, regie audienze, e Palazzo de Vicaria etiam nella Settimana Santa, for a total of 1,880 ducats (f. 85v), a significant proportion of the total budget of some 10,000 ducats at the viceroy’s disposal.
Difficult Decades

Provenzale’s career spanned some of the most difficult decades in the entire period of the Spanish domination of Naples. Between 1630 and 1700 catastrophes of every type, both natural and military, had severe consequences for the daily life of the city. Such events also strongly influenced artistic and musical activity and thus inevitably, the work of Provenzale himself.

In an appendix to the *Selva armoniosa. Libro secondo de’ mottetti a due con varie voci di Gio. Vittorio Maiello maestro di cappella della regal Chiesa di San Giacomo dell’Spagnoli di Napoli ... Novamente dato in luce* (Naples, Beltramo, 1632), there is an image of the Virgin Mary, under which is to be found the following invocation: ‘Virgo Maria per viscera misericordiae tuae libera nos à bello, fame, peste, & à fulgore, tempestate, & terraemotu’. War, famine, plague, eruption, storm and earthquake. Although this invocation is modelled on the *litanie delle rogazioni* which were popular throughout Southern Italy, the date of publication of Maiello’s book (1632) has particular resonances with an impressive series of catastrophes.

Eruption

Just one year after the terrible plague of 1630, there was the most terrifying eruption of Vesuvius since antiquity (on 16 December 1631), which threatened to destroy the entire city. This event further established the cult of S. Gennaro, long-time patron of the city (he appears in the oldest Neapolitan liturgies dating back to the fourteenth century), who had not been so popular until the eruption. In that year, for Neapolitan people ‘fulgore’ meant more than just normal lightning, instead referring to flaming lava. When the lava threatened to destroy the eastern side of the city, Archbishop Buoncompagni decided to carry the miraculous blood and head of S. Gennaro in procession. The city of Naples was spared and the population tended to consider this a miracle by the saint.147 One consequence, and the most significant for our story, was the creation of the Tesoro di S. Gennaro in the cathedral, with a musical ensemble purposely formed to add solemnity to the three annual feasts dedicated to the saint, including one on 16 December commemorating the eruption halted by ‘glorious Gennaro’. This new feast became a fixture in the Neapolitan calendar: hymns and polyphonic compositions were composed and dedicated to the most important patron-saint of the city.

Successive eruptions in July 1660 and 1661 (the latter less strong) did not have the devastating effect of the one in 1631.148 Nevertheless any new threat from Vesuvius justified renewed devotion to S. Gennaro. It is no coincidence that S. Gennaro’s *guglia* was inaugurated in 1660.149 It was planned by the architect Fanzago, and (according to Fuidoro) the feasts devoted to the saint in May and September acquired a renewed importance. Other eruptions in the years 1682, 1685, 1689 and 1694 (and in the following century no less terrible eruptions occurred in 1707 and 1767) further increased the cult. These events also influenced Neapolitan literature and the theatre. In Francesco Provenzale’s *Lo schiavo di sua
moglie (1672), Sciarrà, the Neapolitan gardener, says that he has lost his grandmother in a recent eruption (I.18):

Vavema è stata accisa
da lo truglio de Vaia ch’è caduto;
et io stongo atterruto
quando veo vecine
cose che so’ soggette alle ruine.

My grandmother has been killed
by the volcanic lava which has fallen;
and I am terrified
when I see around me
things that have been brought to ruin.

‘Glorious Gennaro’ was declared patron of the entire Kingdom of Naples in 1663. On this occasion, the Conservatorio di Loreto, directed by Francesco Provenzale, performed a ‘dramma sacro in musica’ devoted to the saint that came to be the first in a long series of similar sacred operas (as discussed below).

Storm

Storms might seem less of a danger than volcanic eruptions, but it must be remembered that a very large part of the Neapolitan lower classes lived almost on the street without a roof over their heads, while the predominant architecture of the city, with its buildings four to six storeys high, already noted by Capaccio in 1634 as the highest houses of Europe, was vulnerable to storms and earthquakes, especially given that these buildings were normally packed with inhabitants. Storms at sea also threatened supplies that were essential to providing for a large population crammed between the sea and the mountains. In the Chiesa del Carmine in 1679, for example, the Eletti della Fidelissima Città organized a solemn religious ceremony ‘with exquisite music, in gratitude for the storm that had passed’.150

Earthquake

The Naples area had been famous since Roman times as subject to intense seismic activity, as is clear in the area of Pozzuoli even today. Vesuvius may have erupted infrequently, but earthquakes were very common. Scipione Guerra’s Diurnali refer to three earthquakes in 1622 alone (25 February, 10 April and 6 November) and then to one on 9 March 1626.

On 5 June 1688 a disastrous earthquake once again sowed destruction in the city as it was preparing to enjoy the customary summer Spassi.151 Bulifon, after having meticulously listed the damage to the most important city churches, including the cathedral and the Casa Professa, adds a description of the festivity that the Jesuits were nevertheless preparing, quick to claim credit for saving the city from still worse damage.152

The feast of S. Francesco Xaverio is currently being celebrated with exquisite music, silverwork of incomparable richness and with all of these fathers’ accustomed magnificence. To everyone’s wonder, we have truly sensed the power of this honourable company.
Famine

Famine was not normally a single event that prompted specific festivities dedicated to celebrating escape from danger; rather, it was a never-ending problem for the population of Naples during the entire century. There were, however, particularly critical years caused by bad harvests in the Kingdom of Naples, on which the city depended, or consequent to wars and other natural catastrophes. The first phase of the Masaniello Uprising was prompted by high monetary inflation and the iniquitous taxes applied to all kinds of food. As anthropologists have already revealed, food plays a prominent role in Neapolitan festivities: carnival processions and other popular festivities in the city included floats associated with food providers (butchers, fishermen) and food or wine themselves. Moreover, the second half of the century saw the first *cuccagne*, pitiful contests between poor, starving citizens with food as a prize: it was usual to accompany every display of power with a generous distribution of food to the population. The *commedia dell’arte* character Pulcinella, who is forever hungry, created by the Neapolitan comedian Silvio Fiorillo at the beginning of the seventeenth century, is emblematic of a society desperate for food. The image also appears regularly in other secular and sacred theatrical works.

An intermezzo for an opera performed at the Neapolitan court theatre in 1673 (Boerio’s *Il disperato innocente*) introduces a typical comic scene based on a realistic situation (MS in *I-Nc Rari, 6.7.3, olim 33.2.22*). Of the four characters, the Calabrese, who as a soldier had fought against the Turks, declares that he is dying of hunger. While the Neapolitan invites him to lunch, the Spaniard appears and ruins the feast, triggering off a fight. In the end, the Boy succeeds in fooling all three, who remain without food.

Plague

The plague of 1630 hit Naples somewhat less severely than cities in Northern Italy. But the fact that it was followed so quickly by the 1631 eruption of Vesuvius created a collective psychosis that Naples was being punished for serious offences against God. This was not unusual. Although the plague in Palermo in 1624–25 was relatively mild, it established the reputation of S. Rosalia as a female patron-saint of the city. But her cult, concentrated on the great popular festivity in July (the ‘Festino di Santa Rosalia’ which still takes place today), had to wait for a further concatenation of events to root itself strongly elsewhere in the Kingdom, namely the end of the Masaniello Uprising and the liberation from the plague in 1656. Naples was the first city to dedicate specific musical compositions to S. Rosalia, with the purpose of spreading the cult beyond a Sicilian context; I shall return to this issue below when discussing *La colomba ferita*, the oratorio dedicated to her by Francesco Provenzale in 1670. S. Rosalia was to the plague what S. Gennaro was to the eruptions of Vesuvius: her power had already been seen in Palermo, exceeding in 1625 that of so important a saint as Andrea Avellino, to whom the Theatines had assigned the role of protector. Naples was the ideal location for confirming the protective role of the Sicilian saint when it was struck
by the plague. The city’s topography invoked all the symbolic elements associated with S. Rosalia: Vesuvius, already the goal of popular pilgrimages and full of caves reputed to have magical powers, corresponded to Monte Pellegrino in Palermo. The reason for her beatification was her withdrawal from the world; she died not as a martyr but as a perfect example of virginity. Naples already had some similar, if almost forgotten, saints who provided a model for the cult of the virgin Rosalia (a fact successfully exploited by the Jesuits, who saw themselves as being in competition with the Theatines in Palermo). For example, the longest-standing female patron-saint of Naples was S. Patrizia, a Greek who after a pilgrimage, not to a mountain but to the Holy City of Jerusalem, died a virgin in Naples, where she had founded a temple of virgins. The crucial point is that it was easy to merge the lives of these virgin saint-hermits with the traditional myth of the foundation of Naples involving Parthenope the virgin siren (who in turn was readily assimilated to the Virgin Mary).

When in 1656 the plague did indeed assume the dimensions of an unprecedented catastrophe, Naples promoted S. Rosalia to the highest rank, alongside S. Gennaro and a saint favoured in Jesuit propaganda, Francesco Saverio. In a painting of 1656 by Mattia Preti (now in the Galleria di Capodimonte, Naples), the three saints jointly pray to the Virgin Mary for intercession against the plague. The debilitating length of the epidemic (its acute phase extended from May to December 1656) and its catastrophic consequences in terms of loss of life had the effect of alienating these three saints from the affections of the Neapolitans. Francesco Saverio returned to favour only after 1660, by then mostly considered as a protector from earthquakes; the cult of S. Rosalia gained renewed strength around 1670, no more associated with the plague but instead famed for being the prime example of a virgin; S. Gennaro returned to take care of eruptions, to better effect. Therefore, as a result of the 1656 plague, the Jesuits missed an opportunity to gain advantage in their competition against the city’s other religious orders. But Naples lost a great deal more: nearly two-thirds of its population, some 250,000–270,000 inhabitants out of a total of 400,000–450,000 died in 1656.¹⁵³ We have already seen its effects on Neapolitan musicians.

The Neapolitans attributed the cause of the divine anger that produced the plague to viceroy Conde de Castrillo’s decision to remove some festivities fixed by long tradition in the civic calendar. Similar punishment had already been meted out to those who had tried to ‘cut the court festivities from the calendar’ (‘tor le feste di Corte dal calendario’). In order to avoid repetition of the danger, a great feast in S. Maria di Costantinopoli was immediately promulgated to celebrate the definitive conclusion of the epidemic in December 1656:¹⁵⁴ this entered the calendar, adding one more feast day to an already crowded month.

War

While Northern Italy was not immune to the effects of the Thirty Years’ War, the Kingdom of Naples had little direct contact with the conflict, for all that it had contributed significantly to it in economic terms. For the most part, the only military skirmishes involving Naples were attacks from pirates and bandits, and the
not infrequent clashes with the large Spanish garrison in the city. During Provenzale’s life, the closest the city came to war was during the Masaniello Uprising, lasting nine months from 6 July 1647 to April 1648. It was caused by excessive taxation on food and its origins lay in the popular feast of S. Maria delle Grazie (7 July). The consequences of the uprising for music and spectacle varied. The musicians of the Real Cappella were unintentional protagonists at its beginning.

Counsellor Antonio di Angelo and Fabrizio Cennamo, president of the Camera, were among those whose homes were burned … The mentioned Cennamo, who had risen from a lowly origin to so high a rank, was then struck by this mortal tragedy … It happened that a matter regarding the excise tax on silk, of which Cennamo was a commissioner, was being discussed in the Camera. The musicians of the royal chapel were favoured by Genoino, since he wished to hear them sing at his house every day, so he had the viceroy send them an order that they would be paid in full with revenue from the excise tax.

Cennamo openly opposed this matter as it would damage those who still had money invested there; this offended the musicians, especially one called Falconio, an arrogant man with bad habits and a low way of life, who said that Cennamo could not have a say because he was suspected by the people, as represented by Falconio and the other musicians.

Whereupon in order to extricate himself from this obligation, Cennamo, being a conceited man and eager to take control, together with the Counsellor di Angelo penned a memorandum to the viceroy, in which they said that their homes had not been burned down by the people, but by specific enemies who had paid the arsonists and were making a petition, which would give rise to a trial and would result in appropriate punishment for whoever had carried out the act.

Two musicians in the service of the Duke of Maddaloni were beheaded by the rioters. Following on the death of Masaniello, an enormous mass of popolani recited a ‘rosary a Cori’. After his death a cantata was composed in stile recitativo, to a text by Francesco Melosio (the composer is unknown) which takes as its subject Masaniello’s wife (Lamento di Marinetta per la morte di Masaniello suo marito). This piece shows some similarities with cantatas and arias attributed to Provenzale. It is also likely that the Masaniello Uprising forced some Neapolitan musicians into exile, especially those who had openly associated themselves with the rioters: the powerful circle of Neapolitan intellectuals and artists in Rome is a reflection of the situation. One of the most celebrated among them was the painter Salvator Rosa, who was also a musician raised in the workshop of a Neapolitan lute maker. Perhaps Provenzale, too, went into exile; this would explain the total absence of information about him prior to 1658, and also the clear influence of Roman vocal styles on his theatrical output. The end of the uprising did have some positive effects on Neapolitan spectacle, since, for example, the festivities that followed introduced the opera in musica for the first time in Naples. Other international Spanish successes, including the suppression of the uprising in Spain, the end of the Thirty Years’ War and the peace concluded with France created further impetus for Neapolitan festivities. The celebrations for the latter lasted from
1648 to 1650 and were a masterpiece of propaganda on the part of viceroy Oñate, even though they were officially dedicated to Don Juan of Austria, general-commander of the victorious army and the natural son of Philip IV of Spain. Andrea Falconieri, the new maestro of the Real Cappella who replaced Giovan Maria Trabaci, who had died as the uprising was in full swing, was one of the protagonists. In his Primo libro di canzone (Naples, Paolini & Ricci, 1650), dedicated to Don Juan of Austria, Falconieri published the greater part of the dances played during the festivities in the Palazzo Reale, with titles in Spanish and each dedicated to the leading dignitaries of Don Juan’s court.

Oñate entered Naples in March 1648, coming from Rome, where, as Spanish ambassador, he had learnt to recognize the efficacy of public spectacles for political propaganda. The coincidence of the festivities for the wedding of the King of Spain gave him the opportunity to produce on 4 July 1649, the scenic spectacle Partenope liberata, a celebration of the viceroy himself who had by now been liberated of Don Juan’s cumbersome presence (he had been appointed viceroy of Sicily). From then on, Oñate organized a spectacular event nearly every month; he was the first viceroy to coordinate the numerous popular festivities of the Neapolitan year to his own advantage. From 6 April 1650 he established a celebration in the Chiesa del Carmine to mark the end of the Masaniello Uprising. Between September and November 1650 the first performance of a Venetian opera took place at the Palazzo Reale, Didone et incendio di Troia. The pattern was now established, and in successive decades, save for interruptions owing to the plague, opera changed the nature of Neapolitan celebration beyond all recognition and had a profound effect on the careers of the most important Neapolitan musicians. From then on, the Neapolitan public still participated in battles, but only by way of stage fiction.

Bandits and pirates, however, remained a constant threat, and the coasts of the kingdom was particularly prone to attack by Turkish pirates. In 1620 the Turks occupied Manfredonia for three days, reducing it briefly to slavery; they returned in 1638, this time to the coast of Calabria. In 1672, during an attack on the coast of Bari, Turkish pirates captured a number of ships, and owing to the high number of prisoners they took, viceroy Astorga was forced to establish the Monte di redenzione dei cattivi to pay their ransom. In popular fantasy, the Turks were to remain the stuff of nightmares, exorcised in the famous Neapolitan Baroque Christmas cribs containing Turkish musicians with their characteristic ethnic instruments. The first masterpiece of the commedia per musica of the eighteenth century in the Neapolitan language, Li zite ’n galera by Leonardo Vinci (1722), focuses on a feared invasion by the Turks, ‘che tanta belle cose sanno fare, / e nfra ll’aute porzi sann’abballare’. During the seventeenth century Neapolitans continued to adopt oriental carnival costume and to perform Moorish dances, as they had done since the years of Lassus’s stay in Naples earlier in the previous century. The commedia dell’arte and, later, opera took possession of these characters and their grotesque transformations so as to produce strong comic effects. One of the characters in Provenzale’s Lo schiavo di sua moglie (1672) disguises himself as Selim, a Turkish slave; but a true slave actually served in the composer’s household.
Naples’s last contact with war was during the revolt of Messina (1674–78), which had less effect on daily life than on that of the viceregal court. In 1675 the situation had reached so crucial a point as to involve the intervention of the French fleet. Before the war ended, viceroy de Los Velez organized, among other things, a major propaganda exercise, the first production at the Neapolitan court of an opera sung entirely in Spanish. This was *El robo de Proserpina*, with a libretto by Manuel García Bustamante and an original score by an unknown composer, probably performed first in Madrid in 1674 and re-arranged for Naples by the *maestro* of the Real Cappella, Filippo Coppola (the same work was revived three years later with the new title of *Las fatigas de Ceres*, but it did not have any successors). The Spanish victory in Messina was greeted in Naples with huge festivities that were repeated until 1680, when they coincided with the celebration of the wedding of King Charles II of Spain.

Notes

1 On travellers to Naples in the seventeenth century, see Mozzillo 1982; Doria 1984; *Naples. A Traveller’s Companion* 1986.

2 See the remarks by Labat, Montesquieu, De Brosses, Burney etc., given in Robinson 1972.

3 See Cervantes’s *Viaje de Parnaso* (written in 1612) and the *Vita e imprese di Stefanello González uomo di buon umore* (1642), as well as Figueroa’s *El Pasajero* (Doria 1984, 7). Spanish literature of the *siglo de oro* is full of similar examples.


7 ‘Destano esse [the festivities] moltissima ammirazione per la pompa e la ricchezza, talvolta sorprendenti delle chiesastiche funzioni, specialmente nella notte del Santo Natale, così nella Cattedrale che ne la Real Cappella Palatina … Meritano eziandio esser vedute ed ammirate le funzioni della Settimana Maggiore, le diverse rappresentazioni del Santo Sepolcro, e tutte le *Quarantore* della Metropoli nel calendario indicate. La festa della Pentecoste e del seguente giorno ci porge lo gradito spettacolo di vedere dal ponte della Maddalena in avanti l’immensa folla che ritorna da Montevergine e dalla Madonna dell’Arco’: Celano 1692, I, 349; given in Mancini 1968, 11.

8 ‘Storia de ciento annees arreto di Velardiniello, stampa popolare (Venezia, 1590)’, 1914.

9 ‘Le femmene, la sera de San Gianni, gevano tutte insieme a la marina, a lavarse le gamme, senza panni, cantanno per la via la romancia’: ‘Storia de ciento annees arreto di Velardiniello, stampa popolare (Venezia, 1590)’, 1914. This passage disproves Parrino’s assertion that the first introduction of the feast of S. Giovannni occurred in 1595 to celebrate the arrival of viceroy Olivares (see Mancini 1968, 116).
This was a devotional extra-liturgical ceremony consisting of the public display of the Holy Sacrament for forty hours, divided into three days (the same time as spent by Jesus in the grave). On the origin and diffusion of the Quarantore in Rome, see Weil 1974.

‘A Napoli … fu poi introdotta in Roma li tre ultimi giorni di Carnevale, da Roma poi si è dilatata per l’Italia, e for d’Italia particolarmente dalla Compagnia di Gesù … Se introdusse de fare un solenne e ricco apparato di altare con moltitudine de lumi, et altri ornamenti ecclesiastici, più di quello che era stato solito farsi in Napoli, accompagnando l’oratione con diversi sermonj e con varij conserti di musica di voce e de instrumenti’: Borrelli 1968, 358–60. See also Rostirolla 1987, 656.

One example, in 1617, shows the typical Quarantore repertory for a performance attended by the viceroy: ‘Alle 22 hore è venuta [at Santi Apostoli] la signora Vicereina, e così Sua Eccellenza è uscita ad incontrarla e son venuti insieme dentro la chiesa con molte dame, e quindi dopo haver sentito un mottetto, se ne sono incarozzati la volta di Santa Maria della Vita’ (‘At 22 hours the vicereine came to Santi Apostoli, and thus His Excellency came out to meet her and they went into the church together with many ladies, and then after having heard a motet they went by carriage towards Santa Maria della Vita’) (Zazzera, Giornali, 26 February 1617, given in D’Alessandro 1983, 157).


‘La più grandiosa, sontuosa et maestosa che si celebri in tutta Italia’, according to viceroy Oñate in the middle of the seventeenth century (see Mancini 1968, 112).

On the celebrations for Madonna dell’Arco, one week after Easter, see De Simone 1979, 75 ff. (on traditional and popular dances); Rak and Giardino 1989 (on devotional rituals).

This procession is named ‘Quattro Altari’, because all four important religious orders took part in it: Filippini, Dominicans, Theatines and Carmelites (see Mancini 1968, 111 ff.).

The only remark of musical interest on this feast refers to the procession on the occasion of the octave of S. Sacramento. It takes place at the port where all the warships are moored ‘sonants leurs trompettes et cornets’ (Bouchard 1977, 401).

‘E tra le altre cose degne fu, che alla rua Francesca si fé un catafalco con molti cori di angeli, che con flauti ed altri istrumenti musicali accordavano quelli a’ canti degli angeli, che con inni spirituali assordavano quel luogo. E, finito il canto de’ primi, si vide aprire una come nube, da dove calarono altri angeli similmente cantando e suonando. E, discesi quelli e continuando la loro armonia, si videro inalzare nella nube i primi angeli che avevano cantato. Ed in tal modo, mentre assisté S. E. [viceroy Duke of Alba] con sua comitiva, continuarono la musica, sempre mutando cose nuove’: Diurnali di Scipione Guerra, 23 June 1624 (f. 81v), quoted also by D’Alessandro 1983, 158.
For Neapolitan *catafalchi* see Mancini 1968, 110–11.

28 ‘Giovedì per l’Ottava del Corpus Domini si fè dalla Natione Spagnuola nella propria chiesa di S. Giacomo la solita Processione, che più dell’usato riusci vaga, ricca e suntuosissima … Non vi mancò la Musica, in una famosa Serenata del Regio Maestro di Cappella Scarlatti, con scelte voci, e nobili strumenti’: *Gazzetta di Napoli of 7 June 1701*, quoted by Griffin 1983, 338–39; Griffin 1991, 3 (no. 144). It has not been possible to identify this cantata in the established catalogue of Scarlatti’s works.


30 Costa’s *Fuggilotio* had thirteen reprints from 1600 to 1788. A modern edition of only the *Prima giornata*, ed. by E. Imparato, was published in 1979; the full text is edited by C. Calenda (Rome, 1989). I consulted the Venice reprint, Barezzi 1602 (copy in GB-Lbl).

31 Bouchard 1977, 423. Bouchard gives more information on music in the rituals of *Spassi*: ‘sitost que la barque du viceroi paroist, toutes les autres s’escartent en mer, luy donant le bord de la marine, come aussi toutes les musiques cessent quand, le viceroi passant, la sienne chante; autrement, deus choeurs de musiques se rencontres, ils font à l’envi à qui chantera le plus haut et le mieux; il y a aussi grand debat à qui approchera le plus près de la barque où sera un choeur de musique, laquelle [en] tirera quelquefois des cinquante et cent autres barques après et autour de soy, si fort serrées les unes proches des autres qu’il semble que ce ne soit qu’un corps; et c’est un plaisir de voir et ouir le tumulte des mariniers et des rames quand la barque de la musique veut tourner, ou qu’il faut faire large au viceroi’ (p. 424); ‘C’est un plaisir indicible de voir toutes les marines, les promontoires et les escueils mesme de ceste coste bordez de ces petites gens, dont les uns banquettent, les autres chantent, autres dansent’ (pp. 424–25).


33 A complete list of villanella and canzonetta books printed in Naples is in Larson and Pompilio 1983. To this we should add such manuscript sources as *B-Be MS olim 17062, Canzonette italiane, e spagnole a tre, et quattro voci di Gio. Maria Trabaci, maestro della Cappella Reale di Palazzo, con alcun’altre spagnole de diversi Autori* (cited in Larson 1983, 66).

34 See Fabris 2003.

35 According to *Nuovo Vogel 1977*, I, 369, the only surviving copy in I-Bc is limited to two out of five partbooks (canto 1 and 2).

36 This corresponds to Palestrina’s five-voice madrigal printed in 1561 (*Palestrina Werke*, XXVIII-OC), already celebrated by Vincenzo Galilei in 1568 (*Fronimo*, Venice, 1568): ‘Quella mirabil canzone di quel grande imitatore della natura, Giannetto da Palestina, qual comincia *Io son ferito*’.


38 See Griffin 1983 and Griffin 1991 on the new Roman taste for serenatas and cantatas introduced at the time of Alessandro Scarlatti. On the artistic patronage of del Carpio see also the exhibition catalogue *Capolavori in festa* 1997.

39 On the Palazzo Donn’Anna as a theatre on the sea see Schipa 1969, 177–85; Cantone 1984, 349–53; Ciapparelli 1987, 401–04.

40 In the modern edition of *Posilecheata* (1986) E. Malato refers to Imbriani’s edition of the same work (Naples, 1885) in which was quoted a second feast in Mergellina on the following 25 August 1685, from a now lost reprint of *Posilecheata*. 
On 24 August 1686: ‘Il signor viceré fece festa a Posillipo con musica e fuochi artificiati (conforme ha fatto ogni’anno nella festività di detto santo) con grandissimo concorso non solo di cavalieri e dame, ma di popolo civile e minuto’ (Confuorto 1930, I, 157: italics mine). The first opera theatre in Naples is also dedicated to ‘San Bartolomeo apostolo’.

According to Mancini 1968, 120, this feast ‘non ebbe alcun peso sulla evoluzione dell’apparato festivo trattandosi di una parata militare’ (‘had no bearing on the development of the festival apparatus as it consisted of a military parade’).

‘En este mes se dispiden las falucas que se han tomado [for the viceroy and his court] para el passee de Possilipo’ (Raneo 1634, 71).


‘Il giorno della festa del Santo il viceré alle 24 ore andò all’arcivescovato a baciare il suo prezioso sangue, già liquefatto … dov’è posta la guglia con la statua di bronzo del santo, era un solennissimo teatro, nel quale l’anno passato furono spesi dalla Città docati tremila in circa; e vi erano più di quattromila lumi e centoquaranta torcie di cera ogni sera alla guglia con due cori di musica, avanti la quale erano scanni di legno, dov’erano sentati nobili, popolari e civili a loro senno’: Fuidoro 1934–39, I (1663), quoted by Strazzullo 1978, 183.

Strazzullo 1978, 195. See also Shearon 1993.

Raneo records a more recent military celebration: ‘Su Magestad, por su Real carta, ha mandado celebrar á los 7 deste mes fiesta en esta Ciudad de Naples y por todo el Reyno, por memoria de la Vittoria que tal dia como este tuvo el Serenisimo Señor Cardenal Infante Don Fernando de Austria en Orlingue quando passava S. A. á Flandes … y S.E. la començó á celebrar año 1635 en la Iglesia de Nuestra Señora de Constantinopla’ (Raneo 1634, 71).

On the symbolism of resonant signals in Baroque society (‘applausi, spari, fuochi d’artificio, etc.’), see Stefani 1974, Chapter 1: ‘La Festa’.

Confuorto 1930 (1687), quoted by Mancini 1968, 166 (description of ‘carri e maschere’).

Bullifon, on 17 January 1670: ‘secondo il solito si diede l’apertura al Carnevale nel borgo di S. Antonio Abate con un carro trionfale fatto dalla piazza del Popolo ben guarnito di pane, con coro di musica sopra … carro trionfale alla Porta Reale, detta dello Spirito Santo, a Palazzo, carico di cori di musica’ (‘According to the usual custom Carnival began in Borgo S. Antonio Abate with a triumphal float moving from Piazza del Popolo, well bedecked with bread and with a chorus of music on top … a triumphal float at the Porta Reale, called Spirito Santo, at the Palace, laden with choirs of music’). Quoted also by Mancini 1968, 171.

‘Le Carnaval que je passai à Naples [1776] fut peu brillant. J’en vis cependant assez pour juger les plaisirs de la nation, et la nation par ses plaisirs’: Sade 1996. He seems the only one not to be enthusiastic about the Neapolitan carnival. In the words of Sara Goudar: ‘L’étranger que le hasard, le commerce, ou la curiosité a attiré à Naples pour jouir du Carnaval est saisi d’étonnement. L’Allemend admire. L’Anglais qui, jusque–là a cru qu’il n’y a rien en Europe au dessus de la mascarade de Hey Market, cède à celle de Naples. Le Français convient que les bals de l’Opéra de Paris sont inférieurs à ceux de S. Charles: et tous conviennent que ce spectacle est un des plus superbes que la magnificence moderne ait encore présenté aux fastes du siècle’: Sara Goudar, Rélation

53 ‘Pietro Flamengo il quale preso da contraria fortuna divenne farnetico e scemo di cervello, nè per tal infirmità gli venne meno l’arti del sonare con che si guadagnava il vivere, tal posanza tiene la virtù (mal grado d’iniqui et ignoranti)’: L’Esercitio de Nicolò Taglia Ferro (1608), MS in I-Nf SM.XXVIII.1.66, f. 60.

54 ‘Venne una frenesia ad Onofrio Gioioso, musico del primi di questo tempo che cantava da tenore, che simile Idio lo può creare, et era d’umore melanconico, e diceva, che lui era morto, e perciò non voleva più cantare, e pur viveva’: Fuidoro 1934–39, I (June 1660).

55 Pietro Antonio Giramo is described as ‘napoletano’ in his musical sources. Apart from two compositions in collections printed in 1619–20, all his surviving monographic prints are preserved together in I-Fn: Arie a più voci ... primo libro di varie partite, op. 2 (Naples, Beltrano, 1630 on the colophon); Il pazzo con la pazza ristampato et uno Hospedale per gl’infermi d’amore (post 1630). The two cantatas, reprinted together in the last print cited, gained a certain reputation as La pazzia, for it is copied in several Roman manuscripts compiled around 1640: US-E MS Mus.1 (‘Pazzia venuta da Napoli del Giramo’); I-Rvat Chigi Q.VI.86; and F-Pn Rés. Vm7 59/102, II, f. 47 (Chi non mi conosce dirà, text by M. Savioni).

56 Simone Coya was possibly a relative of Donatello Coya, a famous castrato singer of the Neapolitan Real Cappella, killed by the plague of 1656. Simone was born in Gravina (in Apulia) and for a while he was imprisoned in Rome. He published L’amante impazzito (Milan, Camagni, 1679) and Mottetti a 1 e 2 voci con violini, op. 2 (only a manuscript copy survives in F-Pn Collection Brossard).

57 ‘Seguì un carro Trionfale fabbricato da Marinari a somiglianza del mare su la cima del quale sedeva il Dio Nettuno attorniato da molte Sirene, e Ninfe, e giunto sotto i balconi di S.E. [the viceroy] dopo aver cantato alcuni mottetti in lode della medesima, cominciarono a gittar da sopra a basso tanta quantità e diversità di pesci, che molti se ne provvidero per Quaresima’: Confuorto 1930 (26 January 1681); Parrino, Avvisi, 26 February 1686, 41 (quoted by Mancini 1968, 171).

58 ‘Portando tutti strumenti musicali nelle mani, cioè violini, chitarre, lire, cetre, tiorbe, tamburini, fischetti, sampogne, e cornetti, accompagnavano con la melodia i balli’ (‘Holding all their musical instruments, that is violins, guitars, lyres, zithers, theorbas, drums, pipes, bagpipes and cornets, they accompanied the dances with a melody‘): Notizia di quanto è occorso in Napoli dall’anno 1648 […] scritta dal Dr. D. Andrea Rubino (9 February 1653), 84, quoted together with Zazzera, Giornali (22 February 1618) by D’Alessandro 1983, 164.

59 In the context of the political propaganda of court festivals, full and detailed lists of musical events were not considered fundamental during the early Baroque age. See Carter 2000a, 89–104.

60 Carlo Antonio Sammarco, Giornale e sommario del giorno che entrarono in Capua l’Arme Imperiale con tutto quello che succede alla giornata dalli 11 di luglio 1707 per tutto la giornata doggi, MS in I-Nn XIII.B.87.
61 The eighth patron, S. Tomaso d’Aquino, elected on 19 January 1605, was the protagonist of a ceremony in which the Eletti della Città signed a contract with the saint ‘per lo quale si dichiarava ch’essi in nome di tutti gli altri accettavano S. Tomaso d’Aquino per ottavo protettore; e ciò fatto, con solenne giuramento la moltitudine del popolo confermò lo stesso con applauso e giubilo universale, cantandosi il Te Deum a suon d’organi, di campane, d’artiglieria’ (‘which declared that in the name of all the others, they accepted S. Tomaso d’Aquino as the eighth patron; and thus done, the populace solemnly swore and confirmed the same with applause and universal jubilation, singing the Te Deum to the sound of the organs, bells and the shooting of artillery’) (Cronicamerone di Antonio Bulifon, quoted in D’Alessandro 1983, 154).

62 Neapolitan noblewomen rebelled against this usage, considering it a scandalous vulgarization of the religion: Niola 1995, 16.

63 Niola 1995, 18.

64 Strazzullo 1978, 182. See also Capaccio 1631; listed in Santoro 1986, no. 466.

65 *Paranze* and *flotte* were the typical groups of conservatoire students to be seen during the procession in Naples. See Chapter 3.


67 La sacra *Sirena* o vero Partenope festante per la solennità del B. Gaetano Tiene fondatore della religione di RR. PP. Chierici regolari, celebrata l’anno 1654 a 7 d’agosto 1654; *Relazione delle feste celebrate in Napoli nella solennità del glorioso B. Gaetano Thiene fondatore de C. R. nell’anno 1660 1660*; Santoro 1986, nos. 2,477 and 2,236.

68 Breve ragnaglio delle feste fatte in Napoli per la canonizzazione di San Francesco di Borgia 1671; Santoro 1986, no. 360.


70 *Il Campidoglio festivo per la canonizzazione del glorioso S. Pasquale Baylon. Panegirico ... Giovanni di Santa Maria ... attuale diffinitor generale di tutto l’Ordine Serafico* 1691; Santoro 1986, no. 182.

71 ‘Il viceré fu a tener cappella a Santa Maria Nuova, dove istituì la festa con musica e prediche per otto giorni per la ratificazione fatta dal papa delle altre bolle della disputa dell’Immacolata Concezione’: Fuidoro 1934–39, II, 109 (1662).


73 Raneo 1634, *passim*. In *Diurnali di Scipione Guerra* (p. 171) in the year 1625 mention is made of the ‘festino’ in the Royal Palace for the Infante’s birthday.

74 Before Charles’s birth, his brother’s was already celebrated in Naples with impressive festivals in 1658–59. See Castaldo [1658]; listed in Santoro 1986, no. 631; Cirino 1659; Santoro 1986, no. 1,180.

75 Castaldo [1661]); listed in Santoro 1986, no. 628.

76 ‘Ordinò egli, in questo luogo, ogni estate, due meravigliosissime feste, sopra il mare, per solennizzare i nomi delle due Regine, madre e regnante’: *Posilecheata di Pompeo Sarnelli* [1684], quoted in Griffin 1983, 90.

77 Fuidoro 1934–39, I, 186 (1663) and 287 (1665). The celebrations for S. Anna would continue until the end of the century: see *Relazione della famosissima festa nel giorno della gloriosa S. Anna a 26 luglio 1699. Per solennizzare il nome, che ne porta la Maestà ... Maria Anna di Neoburgo ... fatta celebrare [da] Don Luigi Dela Cerda, e
D’Aragona Duca di Medina Celi ... viceré (Naples, Parrino, Cavallo and Mutti, 1699); Santoro 1986, no. 2,227.

78 ‘Festa di Sant’Anna, con musica a quattro cori ed apparato assai sontuoso...Ed in molte altre chiese di Napoli fecero festa, a segno che la musica venne meno in molte chiese non ostante la numerosa quantità di musici che sono in Napoli’: Fuidoro 1934–39, II, 21 (1666).

79 For the birthday of viceroy Peñaranda’s son see I presagi, drama allegorico che si recita dalla camera de più piccoli nel Seminario de Nobili della Compagnia di Giesù; in congratulatione del figlio maschio nato all’Eccellentissimo Signor Conte di Pegnoranda viceré, spiegato col suo argomento e scenario ... [da] Diomede Carafa d’Aragona (Naples, Passaro, 1661); Santoro 1986, no. 563.

80 In some cases viceroys took the occasion of the name-day of kings or queens to organize a self-celebration otherwise not appropriate. See La Fenice gloriosa, ovvero Pusillippo rinato alla venuta del gran Marchese d’Astorga nuovo viceré ... Descrittione d’una real festa fatta fare il di 24 1672 di luglio dal Conte D. Orazio d’Elci ... ad honore del ... nome della Regina (Naples, n.d. [1672]); Santoro 1986, no. 1,166.

81 See the Relazione by Provenzale’s collaborator Castaldo 1680. In addition: Il Sebeto festante per gli sponsali della Maestà Cattolica di Carlo Secondo nostro Signore con la Serenissima Maria Anna di Neoburgo ... Conte di San Stefano viceré 1689; Napoli alata. Introduzione al ballo de la torcia per le nozze regali famosamente celebrate dall’eccellenissimo Marchese de los Velez viceré (Naples, 1680); Parrino, L’ossequio tributario della Fedelissima Città di Napoli, per le dimostrazioni giulive, nei regi sponsali del ... Monarchia del nostro Re Carlo II. Machina festeggiante la ricuperata salute di Sua Maestà 1696); Santoro 1986, nos. 2,080 and 2,222.

82 Perrucci, La Sirena consolata. Serenata per la ricuperata salute della Maestà Cattolica di Marianna di Neoburgo portata in musica da ... Catalodo Amodei 1692; I Regni della Monarchia del nostro Re Carlo II. Machina festeggiante la ricuperata salute di Sua Maestà 1696); Santoro 1986, nos. 2,080 and 2,222.

83 See Chapter 5.

84 I giorni festivi fatti per la presa di Buda dall’arme austriache nella fedelissima città di Napoli dal ... Marchese del Carpio viceré ... e da suoi cittadini l’anno 1868. Descritti dal Dottor Biagio de Calamo (Naples, Troise, 1687); Santoro 1986, no.183.

85 See Mancini 1968. Some examples are Funerale fatto a ... Violante Blanch marchesa di San Giovanni ... Governatori della Real Chiesa dello Spirito Santo 1675; Funerale in morte del ... Antonio Miroballo celebrato nella Real Chiesa di San Giovanni a Carbonara 1695; Funerale poetico in morte del Capitano Gennaro Sparano 1647; Pompe funereal celebrati in Napoli nella Chiesa di San Paolo per la morte ... [di] Antonio Carafa della Spina ... ordinate da Adriano Carafa suo fratello 1694; Pompe funereal celebrati in Napoli per ... Caterina d’Aragona ... Luigi de la Cerda duca di Medina Coeli, viceré 1697; Santoro 1986, nos. 1,254–56, 2,145–46.

86 ‘trombettieri, che sonavano con la sordellina’ and ‘tamburri scordati e insigne negre’: Confuorto 1930, 1, 140 (1686) and 256 (1691). As late as in 1719 there is record of ‘Trombetti con le sordelline dentro’ (‘Racconto di varie notizie ... dall’anno 1700 al 1732’, ed. G. de Blassis, Archivio storico provincie napoletane, XXXI (1906), 454. On these sound signals see Stefani 1974. See also Elogii, inscrizioni, et imprese ... nelli funerali del re nostro signore Filippo Quarto 1665; Pompe funebri dell’universo nella morte di Filippo Quarto il Grande Re delle Spagne ... celebrate in Napoli alli XVIII di febraro MDCLXVI dall’eminentissimo Signore Don Pascale d’Aragona 1666; Santoro 1986, nos. 416, 1,643.
In January 1625 the *Diurnali di Scipione Guerra* (p. 164) record ‘Feste per l’arrivo a Napoli del Principe di Polonia, Re di Svezia, Duca di Moscovia’; on the arrival of the Principe di Modena *incognitus* for the Carnival 1687 see Mancini 1968, 166. An amount of 30.000 ducats was assigned to prepare for the arrival of the Duca di Savoia in May 1692: ‘Carta di Sua Maestà del primo maggio 1692. Intorno l’assistenza che stanno segnalate al Signor Duca di Savoia in questo Regno ordinando Sua Maestà che per quest’assistenza le accogli S. E. de D. 30.000 ... et anco ordina, che si vende il prodotto di quell’ importa la mettà, che si è ordinato di scontarsi dalli soldi, che tengono sopra l’effetto del tabacco li musici, e cantori, che considera siano due mila, e cinquecento Ducati, che uniti con li 6.660 del salarii della lettori publici importano 8.560’ (SSP, MS XXV Q 1 (vol. XLV), p. 528).

See the reports published by Antonio Bulifon: *Giornale del viaggio d’Italia dell’invittissimo, e gloriosissimo Monarca Filippo V Re delle Spagne, e di Napoli, nel quale si dà ragguaglio delle cose dalla M. S. in Italia adoperate dal dì 16 Aprile nel quale approdò a Napoli infino al 16 novembre in cui si imbarcò in Genova per far ritorno in Ispagna 1702; Lettera di N. N. a N. N. in cui gli dà ragguaglio distinto delle feste fatte in questa Fedelissima Città di Napoli per l’acclamazione del nuovo Monarca delle Spagne Filippo V 1701; Giornale del viaggio di Sua Maestà Cattolica Filippo V da Napoli a Milano 1702; listed in Mancini 1968, 248.

An important example of systematic research on the consumption of music in Neapolitan religious institutions was conducted by a team of students (from the Università di Venezia-Ca’ Foscaris) under the direction of David Bryant in 1996–97 (I wish to thank Dr Bryant for providing a print-out of his results).


He had examined the account books before their destruction, and his notes are the only document surviving: *I-Nn* MSS Di Giacomo XVII.14, ‘La Real Cappella Palatina. Ricerche nel R. Archivio di Stato di Napoli (Mandatorum viceregnali—Scrivania di razione e Ruota de conti)’.

Salinas was paid 4 ducats monthly while the *maestro* Ortiz received 16.6.6 ducats; see *Documentos escogidos del Archivo de la Casa de Alba* (Madrid, 1891), 444–46; Larson 1985, 141.

The viceroy let some members of the *cappella* go; see Larson 1985, 141.

The changes in the repertory and organization of the *cappella* were introduced by Scarlatti, who brought with him six Roman musicians from his operatic entourage; see Prota-Giureleo 1958a; Pagano 1972, 71–75.

The only work available until now on these three institutions, and chiefly connected to the Duomo, is Di Giacomo 1920 (see also *I-Nn* MS Di Giacomo XVII.11, ‘Ricerche nell’Archivio del Tesoro di S. Gennaro’). There are a few bibliographical additions in Larson 1985, 137–38.

There were frequently arguments between the two chapels, e.g., in 1658, when Cardinal Filomarino ‘voleva, che quando si facevano funzioni col viceré nella sua Chiesa Catedrale, havesse portata la battuta della musica il suo maestro di cappella, et non altri’ (‘wanted the music to be conducted by his maestro di cappella and no one else when functions with the viceroy took place in his cathedral church’). The solution was first found one year later after ‘col decidersi, che nel far cappella il viceré, tutti due i mastri di cappella, tanto il regio, quanto l’ecclesiastico, nel medesimo choro insieme
La città della festa

portassero la battuta’ (‘by deciding that when the viceroy held chapel, the maestri of both the royal chapel and the ecclesiastical chapel would conduct the same choir together’ (Notitia di quanto è occorso in Napoli dall’anno 1658 per tutto l’anno 1661 scritta dal dottor D. Andrea Rubino, quoted in D’Alessandro 1983, 152–53).


On the S. Casa dell’Annunziata, see D’Engenio Caracciolo 1624, 399; Francesco Imparato, Discorsi intorno all’origine, regimento, e stato, della gran’casa della Santissima Annunziata di Napoli 1629, 30; C. D’Addosio, Origine vicende storiche e progressi della Real S. Casa dell’Annunziata di Napoli (Ospizio dei Trovatelli) 1883; I-Nn MS XVII (MSS Di Giacomo); Di Giacomo 1922; Cammarota 1973, I; Larson 1985, 139–40; Columbro and Intini 2000, 17–27.


104 For description of the principal churches and information on music in them, see D’Engenio Caracciolo 1624; Bouchard 1977; Capaccio 1634; Raneo 1634; De Lellis 1654; Beltrano 1671; Galante 1872; Larson 1985, 118–40; Fabris 1987b; Costantini and Magaudda 2001.

105 The church was built in 1540 by viceroy Pedro de Toledo and, according to D’Engenio Caracciolo 1624, was served by ‘una cappella de Musici con buona provisione’.

106 Larson 1985, 120–22. See also Rostirolla 1987, 664–83. Since the end of the sixteenth century Jesuits had started musical and theatrical activity in Naples. As early as in 1603 they staged the first known tragedy with choruses and music, Stefonio’s Crispus; see Fumaroli 1975. After 1670 many librettos survive referring to dramas performed at the Neapolitan Collegio dei Nobili by noble students, with music; see for example Argomento del Ciro che si recita da’ signori del Collegio de’ Nobili in Napoli, sotto l’educateone de’ PP. della Compagnia di Gesù. Dedicato all’eccellentissimo Signor D. Pietro Antonio d’Aragona Duca di Cardona, e Sagorbe, Viceré, e Capitan Generale del Regno 1670 (copy consulted in I-Nn, listed in Santoro 1986, no. 111).

107 The music in the S. Gregorio Armeno archive has been catalogued by Domenico Antonio d’Alessandro: see D’Alessandro 1987, 529.

108 On music in Neapolitan convents and monasteries, see D’Engenio 1624; Beltrano 1671; Larson 1983; Larson 1985, 122–32; Fabris 1987a and 1987b; Croce 1891 (1916); Prota-Giurleo 1952a; Prota-Giurleo 1962; Bianconi and Walker 1975; Bianconi 1979; D’Alessandro 1984; Ciapparelli 1987; Gianturco 1993; Ciapparelli 1999.
For the companies of Cecchini and Fiorillo, and a map of the stanze in Baroque Naples, see Ferrone 1993, 71 ff. and passim. See also Ciapparelli 1987, 379.

See Griffin 1991.


Romano 1979.


The statutes of this confraternity are reproduced in Fabris 1983b.

Fabris 1983b; Pozzi 1990, 918–19.


See the source dated Naples 1603, Baldano, Libro per scriver l’intavolatura per sonare sopra le sordelline (Savona 1600) 1995. In the introduction there are many documents on the sordellina and on the buttafuoco, another Neapolitan instrument.


Larson 1985, 964.

During the entire Spanish period ducati (D.) were used in Naples as money of account, always rated at 10 carlini.


Piscione de Avellis 1657. On this maestro who died in 1640, see D’Andrea 1963.

Attanasio da Pisticci or de Pisticcio was maestro in S. Maria La Nova c.1655 and dedicated to Pope Alexander VII (1655–67) his manuscript and undated treatise Il teatro musicale (I-Nn MS XVIII.G.57). Pisticci had published at least four books of Mottetti a 2–3 voci, of which survive just the third and the fourth (Venice, 1633; 1637): see Larson and Pompilio 1983.

On the Conservatorio di Loreto, see Florimo 1880–82; Di Giacomo 1928; Hucke 1961b; Robinson 1972b; Dietz 1972; Del Prete 1999.

On the Conservatorio di S. Onofrio see Florimo 1880–82; Di Giacomo 1924; Pozzi 1990.

On the Conservatorio dei Turchini see Florimo 1880–82; Di Giacomo 1924; Olivieri 1999.

On the Conservatorio dei Poveri di Gesù Cristo see Florimo 1880–82; Di Giacomo 1928; Schlitzer 1939; Pozzi 1985; Pozzi 1987; Pozzi 1990.

The Conservatorio dei Poveri di Gesù Cristo was associated with the church of S. Maria della Colonna, which had a ‘Seminario’ with two teachers, ‘uno di grammatica e l’altro di canto’ (Aggiunta alla Napoli sacra di Carlo de Lellis, in De Lellis 1977, 453–54).
Pozzi 1990, 919 gives a document on the ‘Assistenza all’Annunziata con 85 figlioli’ to question the decrease of students in S. Onofrio in the last decade of the century claimed by Di Giacomo 1924, 51.

On the ‘Seminario di Musica’ in S. Gennaro dei Poveri, see Galante 1872, 448–51.

A first attempt is Caferio 1999, II, 753–54.


Cardinal Filomarino defended the playing of music in female convents and monasteries to prevent scandals. Nevertheless we find many episodes like the one quoted by Fuidoro 1934–39, I, 7 (1658): ‘avvenne nel 1658 ch’essendo venuto in Napoli monsignor Luigi d’Aquino, chierico di Camera di fresca età … andò un giorno a visitare le sue sorelle in numero di quattro, ch’erano monache, con dispensa d’Innocenzo X, nel monasterio, detto la Croce di Lucca e, mentre nel parlare a tempo il suo cameriere, al quale disse se avesse fatto accomodare il leuto, del quale istruimento si dilettava il cameriere di sonare, e replicando che quello che già era venuto dal maestro accomodato, è certo che non poteva portarlo al parlatorio delle monache senza commando del padrone. O si fusse sonato, o non, non posso afirmarlo, non avendo visto’ (‘In 1658 Monsignor Luigi d’Aquino, a young cleric from the Camera, had come to Naples and went one day with a dispensation from Innocent X to visit his four sisters who were nuns in the monastery known as the Croce di Lucca; and while he spoke at length with the person in service, whom he asked if he had set up the lute, an instrument which the servant enjoyed playing, he replied that it was already ready to use when it came from the maker, and it was clear that he could not bring it into the nuns’ parlour without the master’s order. I cannot confirm whether or not it was played for I did not see’) (cited in Fabris 1987a, 49).

Data examined in Pozzi 1987, 634 ff.; Pozzi 1990.

Toppi 1678 with additions by Nicodemo 1683; Giustiniani 1793; Lopez 1965; Lopez 1974; Omodeo 1981; Pompilio 1983; Larson and Pompilio 1983; Santoro 1986; Bellucci 1984; de Nitto 1984; Melisi 1985; ‘Neapel’ in MGG II.


The reference books are the Annali of Neapolitan printers edited in eight volumes by Manzi 1968–75 (La tipografia napoletana del ’500). See also Cardamone 1981 (Chapter 1); Larson and Pompilio 1983.

The collapse of music printing as a consequence of the ‘crisi degli anni 1620’ has been described in Bianconi 1982, Chapters 1, 5, 12 (see also Pompilio 1983, 81).

The impressive number of noble musicians or patrons of music in Naples has been studied by Larson 1983. This phenomenon is limited to the sixteenth century and first decades of the seventeenth (the age of Gesualdo). Of similar interest is also the role of the archbishops and religious institutions, while the patronage of viceroys on printing music books is inconsistent. See also Pompilio 1983, 94.

Pompilio 1983, 89.

The date of Foriano Pico’s guitar music print as published by Giovan Francesco Paci in 1608 could be a print error, for this printer was active only in the second half of the century. See Fabris 2003a.

Santoro 1986, 50.

On the surviving sources of the liturgical repertory see Arnese 1967; Miniatura a Napoli dal ’400 al ’600 1991.


149 The obelisk in the form of a spire (*guglia*), also called ‘piramide’, in the Largo dell’Arcivescovado near the cathedral (today Piazza Riario Sforza), was commissioned to Cosimo Fanzago by the Deputazione del Tesoro di S. Gennaro soon after the miracle in 1631. As with many Christian monuments in Baroque Rome, the pretext for the *guglia* was an original Roman marble column. Fanzago was able to assume in the project his previous experience as architect of *apparati effimeri* during the main popular feasts in Naples (the Catafalco del Pennino in particular). The *guglia* was inaugurated in 1660 and this model was promptly imitated for other similar monuments erected by the Theatines and the Dominicans; see F. Mancini, ‘L’arredo urbano ovvero perennità dell’effimero’, *Protagonisti nella storia di Napoli. Cosimo Fanzago* (Naples, 1996), 54–61.

150 ‘Con esquisita musica, in rendimento di grazie per la tempesta cessata’: Confuorto 1930, I, 4 (1679).

151 See Sigilliò 1688; Santoro 1986, no. 2,457.

152 ‘Presentemente sta celebrandosi la festa di San Francesco Xaverio con musica esquisitissima, ricchezza d'argento incomparabile, e con tutta la magnificenza a Padri ordinaria. In che veramente sè con maraviglia di tutti toccato con mano quanta, e quale sia la potenza di questa onorevole Compagnia’: Bulifon 1698, III, 78, ‘Ragguaglio del Tremuoto, successo li 5. Giuagno 1688, in Napoli’.

153 See Pasquale 1668; De Renzi 1867; Galasso 1982b, I, 43–50 (‘La peste’); Porzio 1984.


155 Donzelli 1647; Giraffi 1648; Amatore 1650; Capecelatro 1850; Villari 1967; Galasso 1982b, I; Fiorentino 1984.

156 ‘Erano fra coloro, cui erano state bruciate le case, il consigliere Antonio di Angelo, e Fabrizio Cennamo Presidente di Camera ... il quale Cennamo, essendo in lui caduta cotal mortale tragedia, da umilissimo stato salito in cotal grado ... avvenne che si trattò in Camera un particolare del dazio della seta, di cui era commissario il Cennamo: e favoreggiando il Genoino i musici della Real Cappella, i quali voleva udir cantare in sua casa ogni giorno, aveva fatto spedire loro un ordine dal viceré, che fossero pagati per intero di quello dovevano conseguire sopra le rendite di cotal dazio. Alla qual cosa, come contro quel che allora si osservava, e perchè ne risultava danno agli altri che vi avevano ancor denaro, vi si oppose apertamente il Cennamo; di modo che offesi i musici, e particolarmente uno detto Falconio, uomo arrogante, e di pessima e perduta vita, disse che egli non si poteva aver voto come sospetto dei popolari, del cui corpo erano esso Falconio e gli altri musici. Onde il Cennamo per torsi da cotal briga, essendo uomo superbo ed avido di commandare ... insieme col consigliere di Angelo dierono un memoriale al viceré, nel quale dicevano, che loro case non erano state bruciate d'ordine del popolo, ma per ordine dei loro particolari nemici, i quali avevano perciò pagata moneta agli’incendianti, e facevano istanza, che formadosi del tutto processo, si desse convenevol castigo a chi tale atto operato aveva’: Capecelatro 1850 (July 1647), 166–67.

157 Capecelatro 1850, 86.

158 The true name of Masaniello’s wife was Berardina Pisa. The music is found in *I-Bc* MS 47, ff. 87v–94v and the text alone, attributed to Melosio (a poet active in Rome), is in *I-Rvat*, Chigi MS G.VII.210, ff. 459–62v.

159 See Fabris 1987a, 57–60.

160 Fabris 1987a, 59–63.

161 One of the protagonists asks ‘Oje bello schiavo mio, / famme vedé abballare a la turchesca’ and the Turk Assan starts dancing; see *Li zite ‘n galera*, III.5 (in the libretto

Cf. Tributi ossequiosi della fedelissima città di Napoli per gl’Applausi festivi delle Nozze Reali del Cattolico Monarca Carlo Secondo Re delle Spagne con la Serenissima Signora Maria Luisa Borbone sotto la direzione dell’Eccellentissimo Signor Marchese De Los Velez Vicerè di Napoli. Relatione istorica raccolta dal Dottor Giuseppe Castaldo 1680; Continuacion de las festivas demostraciones por el feliz casamiento del Rey Nuestro Señor Carlos II celebrades en Nápoles A 18, y 22 de Febrero de 1680 1680.
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