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The Circulation of Sacred Music from Habsburg Naples (1707–1734)

In 1707, during the War of Spanish Succession, the kingdom of Naples passed under Habsburg rule. The Habsburgs had occupied Barcelona in 1705, and archduke Charles—pretender to the Spanish crown—had established his court there. Within six months from the conquest of Naples, he had invited several Neapolitan musicians to Barcelona. In 1711 the archduke was crowned in Vienna as Emperor Charles VI after the death of his brother Joseph I. Some of the Neapolitan musicians (Giuseppe Porsile, soprano Carlo Menga, tenor Vincenzo Campi, bass Gasparo Corvo, and the violinists Angelo Ragazzi and Domenico d'Apuzzo) followed him to Vienna in 1713, when the Barcelona court ceased to exist.¹ In Vienna, however, the well-regulated course of liturgical music was hardly influenced by the Neapolitan newcomers. Already Friedrich Riedel noticed that the immigrated Italians adapted themselves to a great extent to the somewhat standard forms of Viennese church style.²

The focus of my paper is, however, not the migration of Neapolitan musicians. I will discuss some of the collections of Neapolitan sacred music that

¹ See Andrea Sommer-Mathis, 'Entre Nápoles, Barcelona y Viena. Nuevos documentos sobre la circulación de músicos a principios del siglo XVIII', *Artigrama*, 12 (1996–1997), 45–78; on Ragazzi and Supriano see also Guido Olivieri, 'Tra Napoli e Vienna: musicisti e organici strumentali nel viceregno austriaco (1701–1736)', in Enrico Carelli and Markus Engelhardt (eds.), *Italianische Instrumentalmusik des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Analecta musicologica, 32; Laaber, 2002), 161–181. Álvaro Torrente has discussed the influence of the Neapolitan musicians on the local production of Francesc Valls; Álvaro Torrente, 'From Scala Aretina to Ut queat laxis: Polychoral Practice in the Political Context of Barcelona during the Spanish War of Succession', in Ian Fenlon and Juan José Carreras (eds.), *Polychoral Tradition in Italy, the Iberian Peninsula and the New World* (Kassel, forthcoming). I am grateful to Bruno Forment for his useful comments.

² Friedrich W. Riedel, *Kirchenmusik am Hofe Karls VI. (1711–1740): Untersuchungen zum Verhältnis von Zeremoniell und musikalischem Stil im Barockzeitalter* (Munich and Salzburg, 1977), 69. See also Georg Reichert, *Zur Geschichte der Wiener Messenkomposition in der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Ph.D. diss., Vienna, 1935) and Bruce C. MacIntyre, *The Viennese Concerted Mass of the Early Classic Period* (Ann Arbor, 1986).

travellers and musicians from other parts of the Empire built up during the twenty-seven years of Austrian rule (1707–1734). There were several ways by which Italian music could circulate in the rest of Europe. One is the migration of Italian musicians. Another one are the travels of foreign musicians—amateurs or professionals—to Italy. A third one is the international music trade. I will focus on the circulation of Neapolitan manuscripts within the last two modes of transmission, which were very much encouraged by the new political situation. In particular, I will concentrate on music collections in the Kingdom of Bohemia and the Austrian Netherlands.

THE KINGDOM OF BOHEMIA

I have chosen three examples for the circulation of Neapolitan music in Bohemia during the Habsburg rule over Naples.

A well-known case for the transmission of musical manuscripts from Italy to Bohemia is the collector's activity of Balthasar Knapp, who spent eight years in Naples and Rome (1709–1717) and was secretary to Prince Stefan Kinský. Part of his collection was acquired in 1717 by Kapellmeister Christoph Gayer (1668?–1734) for the use of Prague cathedral. Gayer had already bought some of the scores out of his own purse, but he encouraged the cathedral chapter to buy the whole lot for 300 guilders, as the chapel only had very little music by modern Neapolitan and Roman authors. The chapter allotted the sum of 200 guilders, and ordered the compilation of an inventory. Of this inventory we have no trace, and thus it is not possible to identify beyond doubt the Knapp manuscripts within the music archive of Prague cathedral (CZ-Pak). Many titles, in any case, are by Neapolitan composers (c.40 masses and 40 motets and psalms). Among these, I could identify at least 13 manuscripts of Neapolitan provenance. Gayer's personal collection instead was inventoried in 1737, and comprised no less than 1037 items. His widow or his son had sold it that year to the Knights of the Red Cross in Prague. It is difficult to judge how many Italian items in Gayer's collection were bought in 1717 from Balthasar Knapp, and how many before or afterwards. Already since his application for the post of Kapellmeister, he claimed that he corresponded with the best Italian musicians and that he could bring new repertoire to the cathedral chapel.³ The archive of the

³ On Knapp and Gayer see Antonín Podlaha, *Catalogus collectionis operum artis musicae quae in bibliotheca capituli metropolitani Pragensis asservantur* (Prague, 1923),

Knights of the Red Cross is unfortunately not accessible at present, so that it cannot be ascertained how many Neapolitan manuscripts are still preserved today in Gayer's legacy. In any case, either from Knapp or by way of correspondence, Gayer had gathered at the end of his life more than sixty titles by Neapolitan composers: Durante, Fago, Feo, Leo, Mancini, Sarri, Porpora, Vinci, and other less famous authors, such as Pisani and Ursini.⁴

Jan Rudolf, Bishop Sporck (1696–1759)—my second example—was a relative of the more famous Count František Antonín Sporck, who owned a private theatre in Prague. He had studied at the Jesuit college in Rome (1713–1716) and had become a canon of Prague cathedral in 1720. In 1725 he was sent again to Rome as a representative of Prague cathedral in the canonisation trial of John of Nepomuk (beatified 1721; canonised 1729). As a reward for his diplomacy, he was appointed bishop of Adriathea, and with this title he came back to Prague in July 1729.⁵ But before that, the cathedral chapter had sent a letter to Rome asking Sporck to buy some 'new artful music' (either in print or of new composition) for the first feast of St John of Nepomuk in Prague.⁶ In the cathedral archive there are today ten compositions bearing Sporck's name (e.g. 'Ex liberalitate Ill.mi DD. Episcopi Comititis de Spork Choro S. Viti Donato 1729', donated to the chapel of St Vitus by the generosity of Bishop Count Sporck; CZ-Pak 912). Three are anonymous (CZ-Pak 912, 889, 1302), five are Roman compositions (Giuseppe Amadori, CZ-Pak 4; Pietro Paolo Bencini, CZ-Pak 23, 24, 25; Francesco Grassi, CZ-Pak 414), one Bolognese and one Neapolitan (Giacomo Antonio Perti, CZ-Pak 31 and

especially pp. x–xvi; Jiří Štefan (ed.), *Ecclesia metropolitana Pragensis: catalogus collectionis operum artis musicae* (Prague, 1983–1985). The collection of the Knights of the Red Cross is catalogued on RISM A/II. On Gayer's collection see Vladimír Koronthály, *Hudební sbírka Kryštofa Gayera. Příspěvek k poznání hudebního života v barokní Praze* (Prague, 1981); Barbara Anne Renton, *The Musical Culture of Eighteenth-Century Bohemia, with Special Emphasis on the Music Inventories of Osek and the Knights of the Cross* (Ann Arbor, 1990).

⁴ The 1737 inventory is transcribed in the second volume of Jiří Fukač, *Křižnovický hudební inventář. Příspěvek k poznání křižnovické hudební kultury a jejího místa v hudebním životě barokní Prahy* (Brno, 1959).

⁵ On Jan Rudolf, see Heinrich Benedikt, *Franz Anton Graf von Sporck (1662–1738). Zur Kultur der Barockzeit in Böhmen* (Vienna, 1923), 211–213, on František Antonín, see Daniel E. Freeman, *The Opera Theater of Count Franz Anton von Sporck in Prague* (Stuyvesant, 1992).

⁶ Prague, Archiv Národního muzea, J.R. Sporck, cart. 3, vol. 16, no. 26, fol. 53r, Daniel Joseph Meyers to Jan Rudolph Sporck, 9 June 1728.

Francesco Mancini, CZ-Pak 868).⁷ All sources are in parts, and some are of Italian provenance (e.g. CZ-Pak 912).

Finally, my third example is the repertoire of the Cistercian monastery of Osek in the 18th century, which is documented in three inventories.⁸ The first dates from 1706 and does not interest us here, being prior to the Habsburg conquest of Naples. It can be cited, however, as negative evidence, as it does not list any Neapolitan composers. The second inventory was written in 1722 and updated over the following thirty years. The third catalogue is the only thematic catalogue, and was started in 1753 by Kapellmeister Nivard Sommer (1714–1758). The surviving scores are kept in the Museum of Czech Music in Prague (CZ-Pnm), but a few were acquired by Carl Friedrich Zelter for his Singakademie (D-B). Only *c.*20 manuscripts of Neapolitan music collected between 1722 and 1753 are preserved (*c.*12 masses and 6 motets and psalms), against *c.*100 lost manuscripts (*c.*40 masses and 60 motets and psalms). We cannot know if some of the scores were directly imported from Naples, because so much of the music is lost. None of the 14 manuscripts I personally examined in Prague and Berlin is of Italian provenance. Copies were prepared by the monks themselves. The purchase relied mainly on exchanges and loans. About the time when he started compiling the third inventory in 1753, Sommer used a blank page of the second inventory (fol. 41^{r-v}) to take note of the music he lent. The entries in this list mention *c.*45 composers, among which the Neapolitans Fago, Feo, Fiorillo, Pergolesi, Pignatelli, Porpora, Sarri, and Vinci. The borrowers were fellow Cistercian houses (such as Zbraslav, near Prague), but also the Knights of the Red Cross in Prague and a certain ‘Hieronimus’ in Dresden.

To summarize: today some 240 sources of Neapolitan sacred music are preserved that were collected in the Kingdom of Bohemia. Whereas at least 20 Neapolitan manuscripts from 1707–1734 are preserved, mainly from the collections of Knapp and Gayer, I know of just one that can be dated after 1734.⁹

⁷ See Štefan, *Ecclesia metropolitana Pragensis*; Podlaha, *Catalogus collectionis*, p. iii, had counted 11 works in 1923.

⁸ CZ-Pnm Osek, č. př. 65/52.1, 2, and 3. See Renton, *The Musical Culture*, quoted above, for a detailed description of their content.

⁹ Leonardo Leo, Kyrie and Gloria—A.1.7 after the catalogue by Ralf Krause, *Die Kirchenmusik von Leonardo Leo (1694–1744): ein Beitrag zur Musikgeschichte Neapels im 18. Jahrhundert* (Regensburg, 1987) from the Breslau ‘Chorherrenstift’ St Mary in the Sands (now in Warsaw University library, PL-Wu RM 4591). The title-page reads “Messa à Cinque Voci [...] Del Fù Sig: Leonardo Leo”, ‘by the blessed Leonardo Leo’ (the composer died in 1744).

THE AUSTRIAN NETHERLANDS

Another province came under Habsburg rule after the war of Spanish succession (1714), the Austrian Netherlands, today's Belgium. Also here, the interest in Neapolitan music was great. Sources in Antwerp, Kortrijk, and Mons (B-Asj, B-K, and B-Mse), for example, transmit sacred compositions by Durante, Mancini, Vinci, and others. As with the Kingdom of Bohemia, I will present three brief case studies.

Cornelis-Jan-Marie van den Branden (Antwerpen, 1690–Mechelen, 1761), an amateur musician, travelled through Italy in 1713–1714.¹⁰ He donated his collection to the cathedral chapter of Mechelen in 1739, containing 'several masses, symphonies, and other music collected with great pains and expenses in Italy'.¹¹ The catalogue ordered by the chapter on receiving the donation lists 224 manuscripts. Of the c.110 still preserved, at least 36 are with near certainty of Neapolitan provenance (judging by the hands of the scribes and the watermarks); 12 others are probably Neapolitan, but may also be Roman. Among the composers represented we find Durante, Fago, Feo, Mancini, Sarri, and some little-known authors such as a G. Ferrari and a Geronimo Scaro.

Jan Bernard van den Boom (1688–1769) was canon and cantor in the collegiate church of St. Michael and Gudule in Brussels (today's cathedral).¹² His obituary in the chapter archive mentions a trip to Rome in 1725, to see the 'lavish ceremonies of the church'. When he died, he left 10000 florins to take care of the music collection in St Gudule; the great amount of Italian

¹⁰ For the following, see Stefanie Beghein, 'Une collection musicale d'origine italienne (première moitié du 18^{ième} siècle) dans les archives archiépiscopales de Malines', *Fon-tes artis musicae*, 56 (2009), 150–161. He also left travel logs that await musicological investigation.

¹¹ "Varias missas, symphonias et multas alias partes musices in capitulo asservandas, ab eodem existentes in Italia summa industria et magnis expensis accumulatas"; B-MEaa Acta Capitularia 1735–1745, fol. 250, quoted after Beghein, 'Une collection musicale', 151f.

¹² On Van den Boom see Lewis Reece Baratz, 'Les œuvres de Joseph Hector Fiocco (1703–1741) dans la bibliothèque du chanoine Vanden Boom (1688–1769)', in Roland Mortier, Hervé Hasquin (eds.), *Musiques et spectacles à Bruxelles au XVIII^e siècle* [Etudes sur le XVIII^{ième} siècle, 18] (Bruxelles, 1992), 47–78, at 47–9; and Paul de Ridder, 'La collégiale des SS. Michel et Gudule (1047–1797)', in *Manuscrits musicaux de Sainte-Gudule* (Bruxelles, 1997), 17–36, at 24–25.

music was stressed in the obituary.¹³ Today, the Van den Boom collection holds 525 manuscripts. Strangely enough, none of the *c.*24 Neapolitan works I examined are sources of Italian provenance. Possibly, Van den Boom had bought Italian manuscripts, but ordered them to be copied for the use in the collegiate church. If this is the case, the original collection of Van den Boom is lost.

The third example from Belgium is the music archive of Liège cathedral of St Lambert, now part of the collection of Jean-Léonard Terry (1816–1882) in Liège conservatory.¹⁴ Among the 770 manuscripts in the collection, 10 are with near certainty of Neapolitan provenance, and a further 28 possibly too. I do not know of any personal collection that may have especially contributed to the Neapolitan presence in Liège. Also, the few dated sources lie quite far apart in time, and some are very late (two motets by Durante and Antonino Pio are dated 1750 and 1773; B-Lc Terry 101 and 692). International commercial relationships contributed at least in part to the Liège collection. Two Neapolitan scores from the mid-18th century—a ‘mottettone’ by Durante and the *Laetatus sum* by Pergolesi—bear traces of sealing wax (B-Lc 42814, olim Terry 85 and B-Lc 43612, olim Terry 260). The two manuscripts are not written on common music-paper, but on small, light letter-paper. It seems a safe conclusion that they were copied in Naples expressly to be sold abroad.¹⁵

In sum: *c.*150 sources for Neapolitan church music are today preserved in Belgian archives. Of these, more than 50 are manuscripts of Neapolitan provenance, and only *c.*5 are dated from after the end of the Habsburg rule over Naples.

¹³ ‘Anno 1725 eene reijse naer Roomen [...] te Sien alle de plechtigheden ende Ceremonien van de Kerckelijcke diensten, geluijdt ende andere &c. [...]’; ‘honderde nieuwe stucken van missen, motthetten, concerten, sonates alle van italiaensche meesters’; Bruxelles, Archives Générales du Royaume, Archives de Sainte-Gudule, n. 10120.

¹⁴ See Maurice Barthélemy, ‘Le Fonds Terry de la Bibliothèque du Conservatoire Royal de Musique de Liège’, *Fontes artis musicae*, 23 (1976), 124–126.

¹⁵ An anonymous mass fragment has the same format and paper; it possibly had also traces of sealing-wax on the missing last page (B-Lc 43585, olim Terry 234).

CONCLUSIONS

The parallels between the transmission types we observed in the Kingdom of Bohemia and in the Austrian Netherlands are quite striking. We find private collections by amateur musicians (Knapp, van den Branden), collections gathered in Italy by clergy not personally involved in the music chapels (Sporck, van den Boom), and finally music archives enlarged by exchange and international trade by Kapellmeisters exercising their office (Osek, Liège). In the following, I wish to sketch a comparison of the Neapolitan sources themselves and of the repertoire.

Parallels between the Belgian and the Bohemian transmission start already from codicological details. The scribe of the motet *O mortales* by Domenico Sarri (B-MEaa Sint-Rombouts. Muz. 18082) copied also some of the parts of the *Beatus vir* by the same composer in Prague (CZ-Pnm XV-F-175; see fig. 1). The copyist of the Mancini motets *Ad conflictum bel-latores* and *Plaude caelum victori* (B-MEaa Sint-Rombouts. Muz. 18.120 and 18.126) is also responsible for the score of the motet *Fulget phaeus* by the same author (CZ-Pak 874).

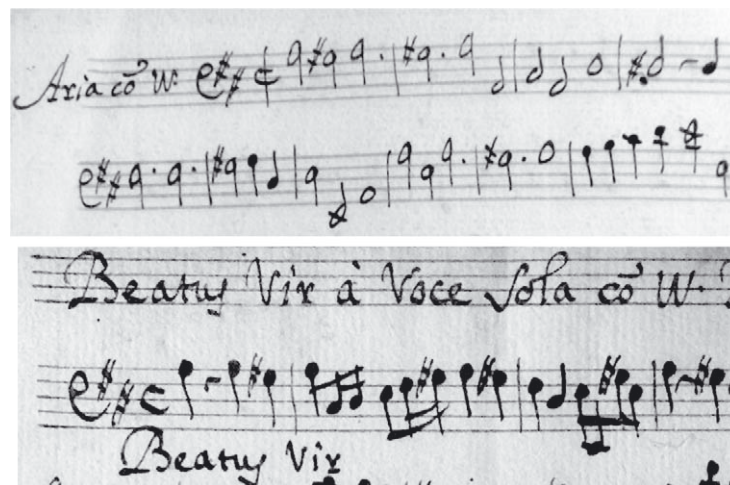


FIGURE 1. Two compositions by Domenico Sarri in the same Neapolitan hand (B-MEaa Sint-Rombouts. Muz. 18082 and CZ-Pnm XV-F-175)

TABLE 1: *Some concordances between sources of Neapolitan sacred music from the Austrian Netherlands and the Kingdom of Bohemia*

<i>Work</i>	<i>Habsburg transmission</i>	<i>Other sources</i>
Durante Kyrie and Gloria in B flat	B-MEaa Sint-Rombouts. Muz. 18.056 CZ-Pak 319a and 319b PL-Wu RM 5209	D-Dl Mus. 2397-D-10
Fago motet <i>Jubilare in luce</i>	B-MEaa (lost) PL-Wu RM 4335	—
Fago Kyrie and Gloria in D	B-MEaa Sint-Rombouts. Muz. 18.108 CZ Osek (lost); CZ-Pkřiž (lost); CZ-Pkřiž 35-D-150	D-Dl, Mus. 2200-D-1
Leo <i>Miserere</i> in C minor	B-Br Ms II 3882 CZ-Pu 59 R 21	Several
Mancini motet <i>Ad conflictum bellatores</i>	B-Bc 33854bis; B-MEaa Sint-Rombouts. Muz. 18.120; B-Mse FSE 199 CZ-Pak 878	—
Mancini motet <i>Plaude caelum victori</i>	B-MEaa Sint-Rombouts. Muz. 18.126 CZ-Pkřiž (lost)	F-LY (lost)
Pergolesi Kyrie and Gloria in D	B-Asj sj084; B-Bc 11051; B-Bc 33859; B-Bc D 192; B-Br Ms II 3887; B-Br Ms II 3888 CZ-Pak 947; CZ-Pkřiž XXXVI-B-15; CZ-Pnm XIII-F-5; CZ-Pnm XXXII-D-103	Several
Sarri motet <i>O mortales</i>	B-MEaa Muz. 18.082 CZ-Pak 1143; CZ-Pak 1545	—
Vinci motet <i>Laeta surge</i>	B-K St M muziek 154 CZ Osek (lost); CZ-Pkřiž XXXV-B-115	—

Concerning the repertoire, I wish first to point out that further concordances may result by taking into account the data on lost sources from inventories of Belgian collections (this kind of data was not considered here). Still, some concordances between Belgium and Bohemia can be observed in the table. I wish to comment on the concordances outside the ‘Habsburg’ transmission (in the table, the column on the right). Two Kyrie and Gloria masses by Durante and Fago are also preserved in Dresden. This, however, is hardly surprising, because in the first years after the establishment of the first Catholic court chapel in Dresden (1708) the services relied heavily on neighbouring

Bohemia, for the (Jesuit) clergy, the chapel boys and the musical repertoire.¹⁶ Pergolesi's Kyrie and Gloria in D major, and Leo's *Miserere* in c minor, were very well-known compositions in the 18th century, each preserved in literally dozens of manuscripts all over Europe: it does not come as a surprise to find them also in Belgium and Bohemia. The mention of a motet by Mancini in the inventory of the Lyon Académie des concerts (compiled 1754–1766) is somewhat surprising. The large-scale motet of Neapolitan tradition was apparently interpreted as an equivalent of the French grand motet.¹⁷ How the Neapolitan score might have come to Lyon, however, I cannot tell. But the most interesting information in my view is that four Neapolitan compositions preserved both in Bohemian and Belgian sources do not have any other concordances—not even in Naples itself—providing an instance of the 'rule of peripheral areas', which preserve repertoire superseded in the 'centre'.

In conclusion, the Habsburg transmission is relevant in many ways to musicology. The Habsburg transmission is first of all of paramount importance for the history of Neapolitan music itself. Many sources in Bohemia and Belgium are unique. The repertoire of Knapp and Van den Branden from the early Habsburg period is documented in Italy mainly in the Girolamini library (I-Nf) that has been closed since 1980.

The Habsburg rule was, moreover, a sort of catalyst. It was thanks to the Bohemian transmission that J.D. Zelenka and J.S. Bach were influenced by Neapolitan solemn forms for their own Catholic masses. Are there any traces of influence of Neapolitan church music on Belgian composers of the early 18th century? As yet there are but few recent studies on the sacred music of the 'century of misfortune'.¹⁸

Finally, pinpointing these transmission patterns of Neapolitan sacred music reveals how different the circulation of this repertoire was in comparison to opera. In the main narrative of music histories the success of Neapolitan

¹⁶ See e.g. the documents in Augustin Theiner, *Geschichte der Zurückkehr der regierenden Häuser von Braunschweig und Sachsen in den Schooss der Katholischen Kirche im achtzehnten Jahrhundert* (Einsiedeln, 1843); Wolfgang Horn, *Die Dresdner Hofkirchenmusik 1720–1745: Studien zu ihren Voraussetzungen und ihrem Repertoire* (Kassel and Basel, 1987).

¹⁷ The inventory entry is transcribed in Jean R. Mongrédien (ed.), *Catalogue thématique des sources du grand motet français: 1663–1792* (Munich, 1984), 219. On the Lyon repertoire see Thierry Favier, *Le motet à grand chœur (1660–1792): Gloria in Gallia Deo* (Paris, 2009), 404–436. On the Neapolitan large-scale motet see Claudio Bacciagaluppi, 'Dignas laudes resonemus di Pergolesi e il mottettone napoletano nel primo Settecento', *Studi musicali*, 38 (2009), 329–360.

¹⁸ See the contribution by Stefanie Beghein in the present volume.

opera in Venice in the 1720s is given as the turning-point when the 'Neapolitan school' took over the lead. The documented circulation of Neapolitan sacred music in the Austrian Netherlands and the Kingdom of Bohemia predates by one decade the events on the opera stage.