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# **The Presence of Italian Music in the Croatian Lands in the 1600–1800 Period — A General Survey**

## **Introduction**

This paper will offer a survey of relevant data concerning the presence of Italian music in the Croatian historical lands during the 1600–1800 period. In this, two differentiations will be effectuated. Firstly, the notion of the Croatian historical lands with the physical and socio-cultural reality it denotes encompasses territories of the continental Central-European provinces of Slavonia and Croatia proper, and the coastal Mediterranean provinces of Dalmatia and Istria, as well as the territory of the ancient Republic of Dubrovnik, all three stretching along the eastern shores of the Adriatic Sea. Their individual historical courses during the periods of the Baroque and Classicism (1600–1800) offer at least three various models of exposure to the influence of Italian music (including cultural transfer and modes of reception): 1) the model of prevalently Venetian, but also central and southern Italian influence (in Istria and Dalmatia), called the subordination model; 2) the model of mixed Italian and Central-European influence (in the Republic and City of Dubrovnik), called the rivalry model; and, 3) the model of minor Italian influence (in Slavonia and Croatia proper), called the free market model. Accordingly, the notion of „Italian music“ will be individualised to a certain extent into Venetian music and music originating from other Italian regions of the Peninsula (e. g. Puglia, Naples, etc.).

## **The First Model—Subordination: Istria and Dalmatia**

In this respect, the territories of Istria and Dalmatia had followed different although, in certain aspects, similar destinies since the late Middle Ages and the early Renais-

sance. Istria, being physically the closest territory to that of the Venetian Republic, was divided between the western coastal part, influenced and politically dominated by Venice, and the central and eastern part governed by the Hapsburg rulers, throughout the period between the 14th and 18th centuries. On the other hand, during the long centuries of the late Middle Ages, Dalmatia experienced sometimes dramatical shiftings—partially or in totality—between Byzantium, the Hungarian-Croatian kingdom with the various ruling houses of the Arpad, Anjou and Luxemburg dynasties, and Venice. It was finally subjected to the administrative rule of Serenissima from 1409, and 1420 respectively, and remained in that status until the fall of the Venetian Republic in 1797.

**Istria.** Due to somewhat unclear, more recent historical events, Istria has been practically left without major musical sources from earlier periods, and there are no more than scattered data on activities of certain composers and other persons dealing with music at our disposition today, these having been collected from secondary sources. Concerning the period under our consideration, the most interesting seems to be its very beginning—the first half of the 17th century. In Capodistria (today Kopar in Slovenia), two learned societies were active: the „Accademia Palladia“ between 1567 and 1637, and, from 1646, the „Accademia de Ricorsi“. Although both were founded as provincial imitations of those active at the heart of the Venetian Republic (e. g. „Compagnia della calza“), dealing largely with poetry and theatrical performances, some of their members—mostly local Istrian Venetians—showed interest in music, too: Giovan Battista Zarotti published *Dieci de' Cento dubbi amorosi* in Padua in 1621, influenced by Plato's view on music; Ottonello de' Belli wrote a pastoral play *Selve incoronate* (Venice, 1693), influenced by G. B. Marini, with music playing an important role in it; two composers, Marsilio Casentini and Gabrielo Puliti (who bore the title of „Accademico armonico detto l' Allegro“) composed a series of music pieces (madrigals, mascherate, etc.) using verses produced by this Accademia poets.<sup>1</sup> Gabrielo Puliti's (Montepulciano, c. 1575- c. 1643) activities as composer and practical musician have been investigated recently, showing that, during the 1604–28 period, he was organist and instrumentalist in several Istrian towns (Muggia, Koper/Capodistria, Labin/Albona, Piran/Pirano, Pula/Pola, Rab) and the most prolific Franciscan composer of the Dalmatian Province: he published at least 36 volumes in all of both sacred and secular music (with 15 surviving), introducing north-Italian early Baroque monody to the peripheral areas of the Venetian Republic.<sup>2</sup> The Bishop from the small Istrian town of Pićan, Antonio Zara

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ivano Cavallini, Kazališna i glazbena aktivnost Paladijske akademije u Kopru, in: *Glazbeni barok u Hrvatskoj*, E. Stipčević, ed., OGV, Osor 1989, pp. 97–113; Ennio Stipčević, *Hrvatska glazbena kultura 17. stoljeća*, Književni krug, Split 1992, pp. 21–22.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. E. Stipčević, *op. cit.*, pp. 76–79.

(b. 1574), a philosopher, theologian and writer in Latin, left two chapters dedicated to music in his work *Anatomia* (Venice, 1615), *De Musica Practica* and *De Musica Theorica*, which have remained uninvestigated as yet.<sup>3</sup>

**Dalmatia.** To the contrary, the situation in Dalmatia—as reflected in today’s archival materials and in secondary literature—reveals a much more direct and abundant influx of music artefacts (scores, instruments, books on music, etc.), personalities dealing with music (composers, performers, etc.) and ideas on music (e. g., stylistic determinants of early Baroque monody, Pre-Classicism, etc.), originating from Venice and its sphere of interest.

**Music artefacts.** Music collections and archives in the coastal towns of Krk, Zadar, Korčula, Cres, Omiš and Split—those that have been thoroughly investigated up until now—keep manuscripts and prints of music by, for example, G. Croce (RISM siglum: HR-KRfk), E. Radesca di Foggia (HR-KRfk), O. Tarditi (HR-KRfk), B. Marcello (HR-ZAk), D. Franzaroli (HR-CRf), A. Corradini (HR-CRf), G. B. Martini (HR-CRf), B. Cordans (HR-CRm), F. Vallotti (HR-CRm), A. Cortona (HR-Sk), B. Dal Bello (HR-Sk), G. M. Carcani (HR-Sm), P. Bianchi (HR-Sm), A. Mauro (HR-Sm), P. M. L. Panormitano (HR-Sm), C. F. Pollarolo (HR-Sm), and some others.<sup>4</sup> These scores or sheets of music have been preserved as unique copies and there are almost no documentary traces of their provenience.<sup>5</sup> However, it could be assumed for the majority of these artefacts that they have been preserved at least at the location where they have been used after being written, purchased, or brought there in other ways. In addition, no specific principles or regularity can be identified as underlying their presence in the collections—for example, some church collections contain secular works,<sup>6</sup> and some museums keep church music compositions<sup>7</sup>—although it has been stated that the manuscripts consist mostly of church music, and prints of secular music.<sup>8</sup> This points to the overall prevailing practice that the priests or monks in the parish or monastery churches were more prone to copying music they needed, and that the economic status of their supporters in secular music circles allowed the purchase of more expensive prints.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 23.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Vjera Katalinić, Pregled izvora o glazbenoj kulturi baroknog razdoblja na tlu SR Hrvatske, in: E. Stipčević, ed., *Glazbeni barok u Hrvatskoj*, chap. 1. 3 (Skladbe), pp. 31–36.

<sup>5</sup> Only a few marginal remarks have been found; for example, the one on Corradini’s manuscript in Cres, revealing the author as a „magister musices et organista a Velgia“, i. e. on the nearby island of Krk. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 34.

<sup>6</sup> For example, the Franciscan monastery archives at Košljun (Krk) keeps Radesca di Foggia’s collection of canzonette, madrigals and arias (second book from 1606) and Tarditi’s collection of arias for solo voice with a spinetto or chitarrone accompaniment from 1646. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 33.

<sup>7</sup> For example, the Split Town Museum keeps Bianchi’s *Nisi Dominus*, Panormitano’s *Miserere* and Pollarolo’s *Laudate pueri*. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 36.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 34.

A special case is „the most extensive source of the 17th-century instrumental music preserved in Croatia, the so-called *Orguljska tabulatura iz Hvara* (Organ Tablature from Hvar)“,<sup>9</sup> which contains 79 compositions in all. The author of the three organ Masses in it is the Late Renaissance Italian composer Claudio Merulo, and the unknown copyist (most probably the local organist Inocentij Jerković) copied three of Merulo's Masses from the 1568 edition of his *Messe d'intavolatura d'organo* for his use in the Hvar Cathedral.<sup>10</sup>

**Music instruments.** In general, earlier music instruments have been relatively poorly preserved in Croatia. For the period and area under our consideration, a special case was the organ-building activity of Petar Nakić/Pietro Nacchini, the organ builder from Dalmatia,<sup>11</sup> who established the north-Italian (or more precisely: Neo-Venetian/Dalmatian) organ-building school,<sup>12</sup> with at least 350 (or even up to as many as 500) instruments, built mostly throughout northern Italy, and to a lesser extent in Dalmatia. He certainly built two organs in Istria (in the parish church of Piran, now in Slovenia; and in the Basilica in Poreč) and 11 organs in Dalmatia (in the Franciscan monasteries at Zaostrog, Makarska, Zadar and Šibenik; in the cathedrals in Rab and Zadar; in parish churches in Nerežišća and Supetar, both on the island of Brač; in two other churches in Split and Zadar; and in the Benedictine nunnery in Zadar).<sup>13</sup> What remains uncertain is his authorship of some other organs in Istria (Lovreč) and in Dalmatia, such as those in churches in Postire and Rab, as well as two in the small town of Perast in Boka Kotorska, now in the state of Montenegro.<sup>14</sup> The case of Nakić/Nacchini is unique by its features of a mutual cultural transfer between the two sides of the Croatian-Italian Adriatic cultural pattern.

**Books on music.** Musico-theoretical works have not yet been a specific subject of research in Croatia. This is largely due to the fact that they have been kept separate from music collections and regarded as literary and not music artefacts. As most of the general libraries in the monasteries and churches, which make up the majority of funds containing books produced earlier than 1800, have not been registered and catalogued

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<sup>9</sup> Tatjana Čunko, *Orguljska tabulatura iz Hvara*, in: *Rad HAZU*, Vol. 455, Zagreb 2005, p. 36.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> Nakić/Nacchini was born in 1694 in the Dalmatian village of Bulići, and died in 1769 in Conegliano via Treviso in northern Italy.

<sup>12</sup> This school was continued by the activities of his pupils Francesco Dazzi and Gaetano Callido, and to a certain extent by Franc Ksaver Križman (Franz Xaver Christmann). Cf. Guy Oldham—Umberto Pineschi, Nacchini Pietro, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, London etc. 2002, Vol. 17, p. 587; Ladislav Šaban, Umjetnost i djela graditelja orgulja Petra Nakića u Dalmaciji i Istri, *Arti musices*, 4, 1973, pp. 5–45; Ivan Faulend-Heferer, Nakićeve orgulje iz 1762. u samostanskoj crkvi sv. Frane u Šibeniku. Tehničko-akustička analiza. Restauracija, *Arti musices*, 4, 1973, pp. 47–99;

<sup>13</sup> Cf. L. Šaban, *op. cit.*, pp. 44–45.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 45.

according to scholarly librarianship criteria, it is still not possible to establish an even approximate estimation on the number, profile and quality of books concerning music issues. Thus, the proportions and then-contemporary needs for such music titles, both for education and for all other purposes, still remain a closed book for today's researchers. However, an initial attempt was made some 20 years ago, when a small number of printed titles—the majority of them by Italian authors—in nine libraries all around Croatia was identified, three among them in Dalmatia. The Hvar Cathedral collection keeps two early 17th-century titles,<sup>15</sup> two further titles were discovered in the Franciscan monastery in the central-Dalmatian town of Makarska,<sup>16</sup> and one in the Franciscan monastery library in Sinj.<sup>17</sup>

**Composers, performers.** During the 17th and 18th centuries, a considerable number of Italian composers came to live temporarily or permanently in Dalmatia and Istria, the most prominent and/or productive among them being Tomaso Cecchini, G. Puliti, Carlo Antonio Nagli, Benedetto Pellizzari, Joseph a Macerata, Bonaventura Rinaldi, Claudius a Longiano, and others. They were following the logic of finding and applying for the professional posts available, and those coming from Venetian territory were able to do so more easily, enjoying certain privileges.<sup>18</sup> As Puliti has already been mentioned in the part of this text dealing with Istria, I will give a brief insight into the lives, activities and importance of the three other most important ones.

**Tomaso Cecchini** (Soave near Verona, c. 1583—Hvar, 1644) came to Dalmatia as early as in 1603 as an accomplished composer.<sup>19</sup> He stayed there continuously (however, with a possible break between 1607 and 1613) until his death, serving at first as maestro di cappella at the Split Cathedral, and during the 1614–1644 period, in the same function and as organist, at the Hvar Cathedral. A very prolific composer, Cecchini published no less than 27 volumes with more than 100 compositions during his lifetime. All published in Venice between 1613 and 1635, they contain both sacred (*canti spirituali*, motets, psalms, Masses) and secular music (madrigals, canzonette,

<sup>15</sup> These are: Giovanni Maria Artusi's *L'Artusi, ovvero delle imperfezioni della moderna musica* (1600) and Serafino Razzi's *Santuario di laudi o vero rime spirituali* (1609). Cf. V. Katalinić, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

<sup>16</sup> These are: Giuseppe Frezza dalle Grotte's *Il Cantore Ecclesiastico* (the 1713 edition) and Zaccaria Tevo's *Il musico testore* (1713). Cf. V. Katalinić, *ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> This is the same Frezza dalle Grotte's title mentioned in Footnote No. 14, but the 1733 edition. Cf. V. Katalinić, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

<sup>18</sup> For example, the announcements regarding the search for new maestri di cappella and organists at the Split Cathedral, i. e. the Metropolitan and most important church in Dalmatia, were published throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> and even far into the 19<sup>th</sup> century almost exclusively in Italian newspapers (in Trieste, Venice, Milan, etc.), thus getting only Italian musicians as candidates. This practice also continued during Austrian rule in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, only with the addition of Vienna to the list of Italian towns. Cf. Miljenko Grgić, *Glazbena kultura u splitskoj katedrali 1750. –1940*, Croatian Musicological Society, Zagreb 1997, pp. 86–91.

<sup>19</sup> For a detailed account on Cecchini see in: Josip Andreis, *Music in Croatia*, Institute of Musicology, 2nd ed., Zagreb 1982, pp. 59–65.

arias, cantatas, sonatas). His „concise and somewhat restrained... style was probably shaped by taste in Dalmatia and the size and ability of the performing bodies at his disposal“.<sup>20</sup> His compositional and probably also performing activities fully deserve the qualification of being a cultural transfer in both material and spiritual aspects: they are now judged as a major contribution to „... the rapid spread of the monodic style into the peripheral regions of the Venetian Republic“.<sup>21</sup> What seems especially interesting is his dealing with instrumental music, the first known of its type in Dalmatia: some of his sonatas for the „istrumenti bassi, & soprani“ from 1628 (making part of his op. 23) „... declare their lineage from the patterns exemplified by Gabrieli and some of his younger fellow-citizens, while his espousal of the variation-type and of a melodic language... denotes the influence of the western hinterland of the *Serenissima Repubblica*“<sup>22</sup> (i. e. Brescia, Mantova, Cremona, Verona).

**Carlo Antonio Nagli** (Rimini, end of the 17th c. — Venice, 1756) arrived in Dalmatia in 1707 and was active as maestro di cappella at the Split Cathedral, probably throughout the 1707–26 and 1738–43 periods. He later moved to Venice. Little is known about his life<sup>23</sup> and only very few compositions by this composer have been preserved (two Masses and four Credos, all in Paris), among them one hymn to S. Doimo [Domnius], the Patron Saint of the town of Split (from 1740; today in the City Museum of Split).

**Benedetto Pellizzari** (? — Split, 1789) arrived in Dalmatia in 1753. He is considered today to be „one of the most outstanding, but also most puzzling personalities in the history of Split maestri di cappella“.<sup>24</sup> He served as maestro di cappella in Split for a full 36 years and produced the greatest opus among all his fellow composers active during the 17th and 18th centuries: more than 300 Pellizzari compositions in about 400 versions have been preserved in the music archives of Split Cathedral, and a small number of them have been found scattered in various church collections along the whole of the eastern Adriatic shores—from Dubrovnik to Cres. His output consists almost solely of church compositions, the most numerous among them being Masses (71), motets (about 50), Lezioni, responsories, Vesperae, passions, litanies, hymns, pastorals, etc. Being no stylistic innovator himself, he did, however, introduce some new forms in the music practice of the Split Cathedral. Starting as a Late Baroque composer, Pellizzari gradually evolved in his mature oeuvre towards a Pre-Classical sensibility

<sup>20</sup> Bojan Bujčić, Cecchino Tomaso, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, London etc. 2002, Vol. 5, p. 328.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> Marco Di Pasquale, Tommaso Cecchini's 'Sonate per gl'istrumenti, bassi, & soprani' from His Opus 23 (1628), in: *Zagreb i glazba 1094–1994*, ed. by S. Tuksar, HMD, Zagreb 1998, 123.

<sup>23</sup> There is not even any mention of him in the latest, most relevant world music encyclopaedias such as *Grove*, *MGG* and the Italian *UTET*. The data mentioned here were taken from: J. Andreis, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

<sup>24</sup> M. Grgić, *op. cit.*, p. 34. All subsequent data on Pellizzari have been taken from Grgić's book, pp. 33–38.

of the galant-style type. His life has not been investigated as yet,<sup>25</sup> and only his Masses have been musicologically evaluated up to now.<sup>26</sup> It seems that his role as a music teacher played a decisive role during the greater part of the second half of the 18th century, setting standards for professional music-making in the Split of his time.

As the history of music in Dalmatia during the period under our consideration has not been investigated in its totality, other data concerning our topic of interest could be enumerated only partially. Thus, a recently published study on the presence of maestri di cappella and organists from northern Italy active between 1600 and 1800 at the Split Cathedral has shown that among 29 musicians in all, 18 were Italians from different regions: Giacomo Bertoni, Tomaso Cecchini (from Verona), Gasparo Ferrero, Antonio Donoso, Marc'Antonio Romano (from Rome), Claudio Baldi, Francesco Cavallari (from Cingoli), Giuseppe Bonpensiero, Girolamo Speruti (from Milan), Francesco Gasparini (from Molfetta near Bari), Alessandro Basco (from Venice), Gaetano de Stephanis (from Chieti), Pietro Benedetti, Giuseppe Damniani, Lorenzo Berti (from Mondavi), Bernardo Spinola, Carlo Antonio Nagli (from Rimini), and Benedetto Pellizzari (from Vicenza).<sup>27</sup> Further, two major Split music collections (those of the City Museum and the Cathedral) show that they keep 21 works by 13 other Lombardy and Po Valley composers alone; they are: Ferdinando Bertoni, Francesco Bianchi, Giovanni Maria Calegari, Giuseppe Antonio Capuzzi, Giuseppe Maria Carcani, Carlo Ferrari, Giuseppe Gazzaniga, Felice Giardini, Vincenzo Martini, Stanislao Mattei, Carlo Francesco Pollarolo, Giuseppe Sarti and Antonio Tozzi.<sup>28</sup> Apart from church compositions by Carcani, Pollarolo, Calegari and Mattei, all the others belong to the secular sphere (concertos, duos, trios, quartets, sonatas, arias, cavatinas, etc.), thus revealing this small repertory as „... a kind of counter-balance to the otherwise predominantly sacral Split *Cappella* repertoire“,<sup>29</sup> performed probably by local groups of advanced amateurs. To this, a complementary list of other Italian 18th-century composers should be added, whose compositions are kept in the City Museum of Split music collection: Bac.r (sic) Berzesi, Cesare Betteli, Domenico Bettoni, Pietro Bianchi, Luigi Boccherini, Giovanni Giuseppe Cambini, Domenico Cimarosa, Benedetto Faccioli, Giuseppe Farinelli, Bonaventura Furlanetto, Andrea Luchese, Alessandro Mauro, Giovanni Paisiello, Antonio Panelli, Pietro Maria Leone Panormitano, Vincenzo Priori, Baldassare Ungherini, and Agostino Zoppi. Of special interest among their works is a small group of mid-

<sup>25</sup> Pellizzari, too, has no entry in the latest, most relevant world music encyclopaedias, as mentioned in connection with Nagli in Footnote No. 21.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Magda Poklepović, *Identifikacija misnih stavaka u djelu Benedetta Pellizzarija*, Diploma work, Academy of Music, Zagreb 1994 (Ms).

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Stanislav Tuksar, The Composers of Lombardy and the Po Valley and the Preserved Repertories of the 17th and 18th-Century Split „cappella musicale“, in *Barocco padano 3*, Atti dell'XI Convegno internazionale sulla musica italiana nei secoli XVII-XVIII, A. M. I. S., Como 2004, pp. 181–83.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 187–89.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 190.

18th-century cello concertos by Ungherini, Priori and Panelli, incompletely preserved, which along with some cello pieces by Boccherini and by some Mannheim-school composers points to the activity of one or more unknown cello virtuoso(s) in Split, probably during the 1750s and 1760s, well-acquainted with the most recent output of music for his/their instrument.<sup>30</sup>

Also of special interest are a few collections of compositions by single Italian authors, preserved in Dalmatia in the quasi-totality of their oeuvre. One of them, recently discovered,<sup>31</sup> is kept at the Franciscan monastery in Cres, on the northern Adriatic island of the same name. It consists of 66 sonatas (one-movement pieces such as rondos, pastorals, marches, adagios, etc.) for organ and cembalo by a certain Lorenzo Agostini (? , c. 1750—Praglia?, after 1812) from Vicenza, who proved to be „a very elusive personality“.<sup>32</sup> They were copied in 1801 by Benedetto Fiandrini from Bologna and came via unknown channels to Dalmatia, being originally used as didactic works for music pupils in the „Liceo Pratalense di Belle Arti“. These keyboard pieces are of no great artistic value or interest, but testify to other types of music ties between Dalmatia and the Italian lands, which could appear as a useful methodological indication for investigators in transnational music sources: to treat unexplored areas beyond today's national boundaries as potential places in which to find what they are looking for.

## Second Model — Rivalry: Dubrovnik

The independent Republic of Dubrovnik (Ragusa) underwent turbulent historical, socio-economical and cultural events during the 1600–1800 period. The first half of the 17th century was a continuation of the Renaissance 'Golden Era'—both economically and culturally. However, the catastrophic earthquake of 1667 caused a radical break with the previously brilliant evolution of the tiny Adriatic City-Republic: more than half of the population died in the cataclysm, and it took decades (practically the rest of the 17th century) until the Ragusan society recovered and built up the new socio-economical infrastructure. The 18th-century period—which ended in 1806 and 1808 respectively, with the dissolution of the Republic's independence by Napoleonic troops—brought a new flourishing of Enlightenment culture, but its spiritual and material values were in general of a lesser artistic potency (especially in fine arts and literature) than those of the Late Mediaeval, Renaissance and early Baroque times.

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<sup>30</sup> Cf. S. Tuksar, *Katalog muzikalija u Muzeju grada Splita / Catalogue of Music Manuscripts and Prints in the City Museum of Split*, JAZU, Zagreb 1989.

<sup>31</sup> All data mentioned here were taken from: Lilian P. Pruett, Lorenzo Agostini: Composer of the Keyboard Repertory in Cres, Franciscan Monastery, in: *Zagreb i glazba 1094–1994*, ed. by S. Tuksar, HMD, Zagreb 1998, 233–242.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 233.

In music, the Rector's band—as the main performing body in the City and the State—underwent a substantial shift in its composition, appearance and repertoires: while during the early 17th century it was still a group of musicians active within Renaissance frames, towards the end of the 18th century it was transformed into an average Classicist orchestra with about 20–30 players. From a general prospective, there are strong indications throughout the whole period under consideration that its management maintained a careful balance in recruiting musicians from domestic, Central- and Western European areas on the one hand, and those recruited from various Italian musical circles (Venetian, Roman, Neapolitan) on the other. Concerning the Italian component itself, it clearly preferred Central- and South Italian circles to the Venetian one, possibly following a certain anti-Venetian socio-political resentment. In this—especially after the events following the 1667 earthquake—the sphere of music obviously followed the general political tendencies, although the Dubrovnik musical circles manifested certain autonomy during the second half of the 18th century, showing greater inclination towards the then-dominant Central-European Classicist stylistic idiom in both local compositional output and performing practice.

**Music artefacts.** The preserved Dubrovnik musical archives and collections (the Franciscan Monastery, Historical Archives, Cathedral, Jesuit Collegium, Bishop's Seminary, and the Scientific Library, along with some private collections such as the Gozze family archives, etc.) keep more than 10, 000 compositions in total, written by more than 2, 000 composers, largely during the period between 1750 and 1900. Because of the great fire that followed the 1667 earthquake, only one piece of music has been found in Dubrovnik up to now from the previous period: Lodovico Viadana's op. 11 from 1600, published by Vincenti in Venice.<sup>33</sup> The recovery period of the Late Baroque up to the mid-18th century is quasi- symbolically presented by the scarcity of its preserved artefacts: barely more than ten prints and less than 20 manuscripts have survived, with Italian music prevailing.<sup>34</sup> Prints clearly witness to the above-mentioned orientation: they come largely from Bologna and Naples, even from London and Amsterdam, and, to a much lesser extent, from Venice.<sup>35</sup> Of special interest here are the Corelli and J. Guglielmi sources of music in Dubrovnik. Almost all of Corelli's published music collections have been found, but without indications of who purchased or performed it. This Dubrovnik enigma somewhat matches the unrevealed secret of the presence of the cello literature from the mid-18th-century Split. Recent discovery in the Franciscan Monastery archives of almost the entire opus known today (10 works) by Jacopo

<sup>33</sup> Cf. V. Katalinić, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

<sup>34</sup> They consist of printed works by G. B. Borri, A. Corelli, P. Degli Antonni, F. Durante, N. A. Porpora and C. Tassarini, as well as manuscripts by G. A. Banner, J. Guglielmi G. B. Martini, A. Scarlatti, C. Tassarini, Torreggiani, G. A. Valenti and L. Leo. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 32–33 and 35.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 32–33.

(Marc' Antonio) Guglielmi (1681–1742), from the Tuscan town of Massa, some of them in autograph form,<sup>36</sup> somewhat resembles the above-mentioned case of Agostini in Cres in its mysterious appearance in Dubrovnik. The last blooming period from about 1760 to 1820 shows an astonishingly different picture concerning music artefacts, both in quantity and structure. By far the richest and the most representative Dubrovnik music collection is that at the Franciscan Monastery archives with more than 6000 items and more than 8000 compositions, consisting of both monastery repertory and the music legacy of the City and the Republic. It was largely formed between the 1840s and 1880s.<sup>37</sup> In a particular statistical case study concerning only manuscripts from the 1700–1820 period, a clear insight can be gained into the presence of Italian music in Dubrovnik. First of all, among those 1700–1820 period manuscripts there are 253 Italians among the 322 composers, that is, 79% in all.<sup>38</sup> Of their 1642 preserved compositions (also including 213 pieces by anonymous authors), 1072 were composed by Italian composers, making about 62% in all.<sup>39</sup> Further, 95 pieces (arias, duets, trios, overtures, etc.) have been found, belonging to 63 mostly late 18th-century operas by 20 authors.<sup>40</sup> There were 13 Italians among the composers, with 39 operas in all. Most of these operas were performed for the first time in Venetian opera houses (19), followed by Neapolitan ones (11), and then by those from Milan (2), Florence (2), and Vicenza, Rome, Padua, Trieste and Caserta with one each; but the majority of the material also carries a note of the date and place, as well as the names of the singers, which offers us much more precise and somewhat different information about the channels through which the Ragusan opera-goers purchased their materials: these originate from 28 performances given in Venetian theatres (S. Benedetto, S. Samuele, S. Moisè, La Fenice), seven in Neapolitan opera houses (Teatro dei Fiorentini, S. Carlo, Real Teatro), five in

<sup>36</sup> Cf. V. Katalinić, Guglielmi Jacopo, *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Personenteil 8, Bärenreiter-Verlag, Stuttgart 2002, col. 203–204.

<sup>37</sup> The monastery librarian and organist Vandjo Kuzmić (1807–80) brought music gathered from other Dubrovnik monasteries and churches to the Monastery, as well as from aristocratic and bourgeois houses and collections. Cf. S. Tuksar, Opis fonda i rane tiskovine, in: *Samostan male braće u Dubrovniku*, Kršćanska sadašnjost Zagreb—Samostan Male braće u Dubrovniku, Zagreb 1985, pp. 773.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. V. Katalinić, Glazbeni arhiv samostana Male braće u Dubrovniku. Rani rukopisi od početka 18. stoljeća do 1820, in: *Samostan male braće u Dubrovniku*, Kršćanska sadašnjost Zagreb—Samostan Male braće u Dubrovniku, Zagreb 1985, p. 663.

<sup>39</sup> As already stated, Dubrovnik music lovers turned more during the Classicist period to Central-European music, so that W. A. Mozart (with 38 works), Ignace Pleyel (45), J. Haydn (26), C. Stamitz (7) and some other Austro-German „Kleinmeister“ were successfully matching some Italian church music (e. g. B. Cordans with 63 works) and opera (e. g. G. Paisiello with 39 works) composers, as well as domiciled or naturalized Ragusan Italians such as D. Antonietto (42) or T. Resti (47). Cf. V. Katalinić, *ibid.*; S. Tuksar, Late 18<sup>th</sup> and Early 19<sup>th</sup> Century Diffusion of the First Viennese School Music in Croatian Lands: Factography and Some Socio-Cultural Aspects, u: *Glazba, riječi i slike / Music, Words and Images. Svečani zbornik za Koraljku Kos*, ed. by Vjera Katalinić—Z. Blažeković, HMD, Zagreb 1999, pp. 195–209.

<sup>40</sup> They are: D. Cimarosa, G. Farinelli, D. Fischietti, J. Gelinek, Ch. W. Gluck, F. Gnecco, A. E. M. Grétry, P. A. Guglielmi, P. C. Guglielmi, J. Haydn, J. S. Mayr, W. A. Mozart, S. Nasolini, G. Paisiello, N. Piccinni, M. A. Portogallo, A. Rola, G. Sarti, V. Trento and N. A. Zingarelli. Cf. V. Katalinić, *Glazbeni arhiv samostana Male braće u Dubrovniku...*, pp. 654–58.

Genoa (probably S. Agostino), four in Rome (*L'Argentina*, Teatro alle Dame) and two in Bologna (unknown theatre).<sup>41</sup>

Thus, it can be stated that during the slow process of its recovery after the total damage caused by the 1667 earthquake, the preserved Dubrovnik music artefacts (surviving the latest earthquake in 1979 and the damage done to the City during the latest war in 1991–95) have given evidence supporting the hypothesis on the existence of at least two processes in the purchase and consumption of music in the City, which could be labelled as being in rivalling positions. In this, the first would arise from the competition created between musicians who came from different Italian regions to Dubrovnik, to earn their living there as professional performers, composers and music teachers. They came both from Venice or other cities in Veneto, and from Naples, Rome, Bologna, Florence, or from elsewhere in other Italian lands, in a much more balanced ratio than was the case in Dalmatia. The other rivalry situation, which marks only the period from 1750s on, emerged from the fact that the Central-European Classicist style and taste gained more and more ground, even in the most southern part of the Eastern Adriatic belonging to the Western cultural pattern (i. e. in the Dubrovnik Republic), but did not completely prevail, thus still leaving free space for the deeply rooted pro-Italian taste and general cultural inclinations. A limited number of preserved French musical and literary-theatrical artefacts in Dubrovnik, originating from the last decades of the 18th century, speak in favour of yet another concealed rivalry among the Mediterranean cultures, again as a factor in diminishing Italian influence and importance.

**Music instruments.** It is certain that, along with the sheet music and books on music, the 1667 earthquake destroyed all the instruments that were in function in Dubrovnik churches, monasteries, public institutions and private homes. No traces have been left of the organs built for City churches in the 15th, 16th and early 17th centuries. However, in 1689 (only 23 years after the earthquake!) the organ builder from Venice, Carlo Beni, was invited to build with his team two new instruments (contemporary monastery archival datum: „et duo Organa parvum et grande, constructa fuerunt“) in the Franciscan church, which remained in function, with numerous repairs, until 1882. Other orders followed, especially when new Baroque churches were erected at the beginning of the 18th century (the Jesuit Church, the Cathedral), but all of them had been altered by repairs to such an extent that the only surviving instrument from the independence period was the organ at the Sisters of St Claire convent. It was first presented by the French to a church in the nearby town of Cavtat, and ended up in the

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<sup>41</sup> Cf. V. Katalinić, *ibid.*, pp. 659–60 and 663.

village church of Čilipi some 20 km to the south of Dubrovnik, in 1937.<sup>42</sup> In addition, no names of organ builders have been registered, but it is supposed that one of them might have been Moyses de Moyses (?–1747) from Trieste.

**Books on music.** For reasons similar to those mentioned in the section on Dalmatia, musico-theoretical works have not as yet been a specific subject of research in Dubrovnik either. What was registered in the same already quoted action some 20 ago, dealing with the Italian provenience, ought to be reduced to four titles, all found in the Franciscan Monastery library: two tutors by anonymous authors for singing, published in Rome and Florence respectively;<sup>43</sup> and two theoretical works, one by Francesco Gasparini from 1715 dealing with harmony on the cembalo,<sup>44</sup> and the other by Giuseppe Pizzati, from the 18th century but undated, on acoustical problems.<sup>45</sup> It is expected that further investigation and systematization of the literary heritage in Dubrovnik kept in its libraries, which is under way within a broader project of renovation and restoration after the 1991–95 war, will bring to light a much richer repertory of books on music.

**Composers, performers.** The main sources of data concerning musical culture in Dubrovnik during the period under consideration—two Miho Demović's books,<sup>46</sup> based on archival work *in loco*—give either a small list of those active in the first half of the 17th century before the 1667 earthquake (first book), or an extensive overview of musicians, both composers and performers, active in various functions, especially towards the end of the period (second book). The small list covering the first period simply gives the names of prevalently domestic musicians and four Italians: a certain Nuncio Gorzano, active as organist in the church of St Blasius in 1617–24, and Secondo Brugnoli, possibly an organist in the Cathedral immediately preceding the year of 1667,<sup>47</sup> and two „tibicines“: Petrus Negrini (in 1627) and Leonardo Belhuomo (1627).<sup>48</sup> The extensive overview gives the names of 25 18th-century composers and their short

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Miho Demović, *Glazba i glazbenici u Dubrovačkoj Republici od polovine XVII. do prvog desetljeća XIX. stoljeća*, JAZU, Zagreb 1989, p. 37.

<sup>43</sup> Their titles are: *Breve instruzione alli giovani per imparare con ogni facilità apprendere il canto fermo*, Roma 1665, Gioseppe Maria Stella; *Regole del canto corale*, Florence undated (17th c.). Cf. V. Katalinić, *Pregled izvora...*, p. 38.

<sup>44</sup> F. Gasparini, *L'armonico pratico al cimbalo*, Venice 1715, Antonio Bortoli; cf. *ibid.*

<sup>45</sup> G. Pizzati, *Tavole degli Esempi appartenenti alla Scienza de'suoni e dell'armonia*, sl., s.d.; cf. *ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> M. Demović, *Glazba i glazbenici u Dubrovačkoj Republici od početka XI. do polovine XVII. stoljeća*, JAZU, Zagreb 1981, and the title cited in footnote 40.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. M. Demović, *Glazba i glazbenici u Dubrovačkoj Republici od početka XI. do polovine XVII. stoljeća*, pp. 275–76.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 281.

biographies, accompanied with descriptions of their activities.<sup>49</sup> Among them 15 were Dubrovnik-born, naturalized Italians or other Croats, and 10 Italian „Kleinmeister“, who came to spend part or the rest of their lives in Dubrovnik:

- **Carlo Costa** (?–?), musician in the Duke’s orchestra and composer of church music;
- **Aloysius Anderlini** (?–?; from Pisauro, Marche), Franciscan, choir leader, copyist and composer of church music;
- **Domenico Antonietti** (?–?), violin player in the Duke’s orchestra and composer of dance music;
- **Giuseppe Valenti** (?–?), Cathedral choir leader, music teacher and composer of church music;
- **Antonio Santoro** (?–?; probably from Naples), violinist and composer;
- **Antonio Bertolini** (?–?), violin player in the Duke’s orchestra, instrument builder (harp) and composer of chamber music;
- **Agostino Belloli** (?–?), singer, instrumentalist and composer of church and secular music;
- **Angelo Bonifazi(o)** (?–1813), singer, instrumentalist, conductor and composer of mostly instrumental music; later moved to Split;
- **Angelo Maria Frezza** (?–1834), violinist and composer of instrumental and church music;
- **Tommaso Resti** (?–1830), the most prolific of all composers active in Dubrovnik: composer of some 60 works, consisting of church music (Masses, motets, etc.), secular arias (cavatins, cantatas, canzonas, rondos, etc.), chamber music (quartets, one symphony, etc.), pieces for organ, etc.<sup>50</sup>

All these musicians, as composers, could be labelled as „Kleinmeister“ but none of them could match their output with the majority of their contemporaries, whose music has been preserved as part of the repertory performed and consumed in the Dubrovnik of their time. They doubtlessly testify to the decline of the artistic and aesthetic level in Dubrovnik compositional output. On the other hand, the preserved performing material—including highly sophisticated pieces by top composers of the epoch—offers material proof that the performing aspect, as well as the aesthetical aspirations of the audiences, maintained the highest criteria, habitual in more ancient times.

**Impresarios.** It was part of the definition of the role of an 18th-century impresario to organize operatic or theatrical performances in general, as well as the tours of his

<sup>49</sup> Cf. M. Demović, *Glazba i glazbenici u Dubrovačkoj Republici od polovine XVII. do prvog desetljeća XIX. stoljeća*, pp. 169–234.

<sup>50</sup> For all these data cf. *ibid.*, pp. 223–231.

company. In principle, the same occurred with all those people who were organizing tours and coming to Dubrovnik, at least starting from 1726 and continuing their activities up to the mid-19th century.<sup>51</sup> The long list of Italian impresarios and their „compagnie“ was established by Demović in 1989. The names of those whose performances included operatic works are: Galli (1729), Francesco Berti (1750), Francesco Majgumiti (1751), Pietro Columbini (1777), Gaetano Pierini from Venice (1777–78), Francesco Alessi (1778–79), Pietro Antonio Rossi (1778), Gregorio Cicuzzi (1781–82), Antonio Brambilla<sup>52</sup> (1785–86), Johannes Guadagni (1786), Francesco Alexio (1792–93), Angelo Bonifazi(o) (1794–96), Johannes Bottari (1795), Gaetano Garignani (1795); companies lead by unknown impresarios gave guest performances in 1748, 1756, 1757 (*Compagnia de Recitanti Virtuosi*), 1773, 1776, 1791, 1792 (*Societas virtuosorum*), and 1797.<sup>53</sup> The first decade of the 19th century, and the last one of Dubrovnik Republic's existence, witnessed the densest period of visits by operatic companies led by the impresarios Stefano Nisi, Agostino Belloli, Filippo Troiani, F. Alexio, and some other non-Italians.<sup>54</sup>

What makes the role of some of these impresarios special is the fact that some of them, like Angelo Bonifazi(o) and Agostino Belloli, remained either in Dubrovnik or in Dalmatia to organize local theatrical performances in situations where domestic impresarios did not exist, or in order to make their living by participating in other music events.

### Third Model—Free Choice: Slavonia and Croatia Proper

The continental provinces of Slavonia and Croatia proper—forming, since 1527, part of the Hapsburg Empire throughout the whole period of the 17th and 18th centuries—manifested to a far lesser extent the exposure to Italian musical culture. Most of the 17th century was spent in efforts to foster Counter-Reformation music activities in order to establish Catholic song books in the vernacular. One of the most striking examples of 16–17th-century Italian music presence in continental parts of Croatia was the large (403 pages) anonymous tablature manuscript from 1616 (found in the town of Varaždin), containing compositions for organ, including pieces by Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli. Unfortunately, the collection had been lost by the beginning of the 20th century.<sup>55</sup> The first part of the 18th century witnessed the publication of several important collections of church songs (for example, three editions of the *Cithara Octochorda*, in 1701, 1723 and 1757, respectively) and musico-theoretical tutors (for example, *Fundamentum cantus gregoriani seu choralis* by Mihael Šilobod-Bolšić, in

<sup>51</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 137.

<sup>52</sup> Brambilla was the first to publish librettos for their Dubrovnik performances.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 136–43.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 143–44.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. J. Andreis, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

1760), compiled by local musicians and other authors. Another important function for regional musical culture was exercised by written Franciscan cantuals, copied and/or found in the provincial towns of Slavonski Brod, Klanjec, Krapina, Našice, Požega, Varaždin and Vukovar.<sup>56</sup> During the second half of the 18th century, secular music life started to be organized by the local gentry or the towns (Varaždin, Zagreb), but relying almost completely on Central-European musical ties. The visiting musicians and composers came almost exclusively from Austria or the Czech lands (for example, Leopold Ebner, Jan Křtitel Vanhal, Joseph Pleyel, etc.). In fact, the only area under a certain Italian influence was the sphere of church music, where artefacts of Roman Catholic provenience could be found in different monastic and parish church archives (manuscript and printed church books), for example in the towns of Samobor, Požega, Ilok, Našice, Slavonski Brod, Vukovar, and Zagreb. Printed tutors for performing and composing church and secular music by Italian authors (e. g. Andrea di Modonna, G. d'Avella, F. Gasparini, G. Frezza dalle Grotte, F. Tettamanzi, J. B. de Martinis) have been found in the monasteries and churches situated in the Slavonian towns of Ilok, Našice, Osijek and Požega.<sup>57</sup>

What was called a model of free choice here turned out to be a prevailing orientation towards the Germanic lands, with stronger Italian orientation only in church circles, dictated by ecclesiastical or monastic pragmatic interests.

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In summarizing the experience of the topic articulated as the presence of Italian music within the 1600–1800 period in the Croatian lands, it can be stated that there existed three models of musico-cultural transfer, influence and presence—labelled as models of subordination, rivalry and free choice—showing how Italian music penetrated another ethnic area (Slavic, Croatian) in its neighbouring vicinity. In this, various socio-economical factors and historical variables played their sometimes prevailing roles, but, in general, the subordination model (active in Istria and Venetian Dalmatia) displayed stronger and more one-sided inclinations towards the Venetian pattern; the rivalry model (active in the Dubrovnik Republic) manifested a more equalizing balance between different Italian patterns within themselves on the one hand, and other patterns (Central-European, French) on the other; and, finally, the free choice model showed the least inclination towards Italian pattern(s), except when internal special interests (of the Church) demanded it. However, strictly internal musical criteria (aesthetic relevance) were decisive whenever it was possible to maintain a minimum of free choice on the market of musical ideas, artefacts and personalities involved in music matters.

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<sup>56</sup> Cf. V. Katalinić, *Pregled izvora...*, pp. 22–28.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. V. Katalinić, *ibid.*, pp. 38–39.

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