

TUBATORI E PIFFARI: CIVIC WIND PLAYERS IN MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE BERGAMO*

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On 5 February 1331, the councils of the commune and the people of Bergamo convened “in the usual way, to the sounds of bells and the voices of heralds,” for formal submission to King John of Bohemia.¹ This event marked the end of the city’s self-government as an independent commune. Yet old customs survived, and subsequent meetings for organization of defense were “convened by trumpets and bells.”² This first documentation of Bergamo’s civic musicians prefaces the city’s earliest complete surviving set of statutes (1331), but it suggests that city heralds playing the trumpet had fulfilled an important public role since the unremembered past.

Bergamo is a city of great antiquity. It stands about thirty-five miles northeast of Milan, on the last rocky ridge where the foothills of the Alps descend to the Lombard plain. Settlement began as early as 1200 BC and in the sixth century the town was occupied by the Etruscans and then the Gauls, who gave the city its original name *Bérghem*, latinized as *Bergomum* when Rome took the city in 196 BC.³ The city received Roman citizenship from Julius Caesar in 49 BC and thrived under the empire until sacked by the Goths, Huns, Vandals, and Alans in the fifth century. In the next three centuries, the city was controlled by the Goths and the Lombards; then under the Franks it became a part of the Holy Roman Empire. From 904 until 1098, the city was governed by its Bishop, who was finally deposed by a communal government, often ravaged by strife between Guelphs and Ghibellines, which began in 1206 and continued for over two hundred years, in spite of the elevation of a *podestà*, or governor, in 1264. The earliest surviving fragments of city statutes date from this period.⁴ Ghibellines invited the Visconti Dukes of Milan to take control in 1295, and the resulting bloodbath was only briefly resolved by John of Luxembourg, King of Bohemia, in 1331, when the second set of statutes, excerpted above, appeared.⁵

Only two years later, in 1333, the Visconti Dukes finally conquered the city and promulgated more new statutes at a meeting announced by bells and heralds.⁶ These statutes clearly describe the trumpet-playing heralds (*preconi et trombatores comunis*), whose proclamations “with a loud voice, the trumpet played” (*alta voce tubba [sic] sonata*) continued a venerable and long-lasting tradition.⁷ Like the earlier statutes, those of 1333 give no specific information about the musicians’ offices or duties. This begins to appear in 1353. The Statutes of 1353 contain no section dedicated to the musicians’ duties, but passing references to their functions and concerns abound. Judicial proceedings were announced or trumpeted *alta voce tuba sonata*.⁸ Proclamation with the trumpet came under increasing scrutiny.⁹ At this time, the making of trumpeted proclamations was restricted to those city servants who held the office (trumpeter-heralds); and successors to deceased city trumpeters and heralds were guaranteed the same salary as the one who had died. They were also required to maintain a horse for their duties.¹⁰

The statutes of 1374 increased the specificity of these provisions. They specify six trumpeters, at a salary of forty *soldi* (two *lire*) each per month—two months worth to be forfeit if at any time they were found to be without a horse, which they had to show to a city official once a month. For overnight trips outside the city, the trumpeters received eight *soldi* per day, plus horse expenses. For day trips, they received four *soldi* per day. Trumpeters could hold no other jobs or take any political position without approval of the governing council (*antiani*), and they wore livery indicative of their status, provided by the city at a cost of twelve lire per year, each trumpeter to have a tunic or mantle and a red cap or hood.¹¹

The statutes of 1391 are similar to those of 1374, although the number of trumpeters was reduced to four. They also received a salary increase to three *lire*, four *soldi* monthly.¹² The last set of Visconti statutes, from 1422, supplemented the salary with a scale of fees for proclamations, which emphasized their importance to the trumpeters' income. Proclamations for a private citizen within the city and suburbs earned two *soldi*, those beyond five or six miles earned eight *soldi*, and beyond seven miles, twelve *denari* per mile. Proclamations for the podestà earned the same, except for proclamations about goods for sale, which earned four *soldi* in the city and suburbs, ten *soldi* beyond five or six miles, and twelve *denari* per mile beyond seven miles.¹³ Other duties included public denunciation of criminals from the steps of the Civic Palace, and proclamation of new laws or consiliar decrees, *alta voce, tuba sonata*.¹⁴ The presence and function of the herald trumpeters had become well established, and even after Venetian acquisition of Bergamo, the trumpeters remained a significant presence in the community.

Bergamo's repudiation of the Visconti in 1428 in favor of Venetian overlordship thus produced little outward change for the civic musicians. Trumpeters and bellringers retained their position in the Statutes of 1430, although the number of each decreased to two, and the making of proclamations was opened to other civil servants.¹⁵ The remaining trumpeters also acquired a new duty, the announcement of land sales, with standardized fees of two *soldi*.¹⁶ The 1453 Statutes further codify proclamations with a set itinerary of nine locations in the city and the suburbs where the proclamations must be made. They also amplify the new fee scale: three *lire* for proclamations of land sales within the city or suburbs, two *soldi* for any other proclamation, additional location, additional piece of land advertised, or additional mile travelled beyond the city and its suburbs. These fees seem to have replaced any regular salary payments, at least for a time, so although there was little obvious change to the citizens of Bergamo, the changes for the trumpeters had some significance. The number of trumpeters shrank from four to two, and their payment changed from a regular monthly salary to a fee-for-service. But they continued to be vested in the livery provided them, and ordinary citizens continued to see liveried city heralds announcing news, land sales, legislation, and criminal proceedings *alta voce tuba sonata*.

The final legal codification in Bergamo during the Renaissance, in the printed statutes of 1491, seems to combine attributes of both prior Visconti and Venetian Statutes. Trumpeters' duties and pay are clearly spelled out. The number of communal trumpeters (called *tubatori*) rose to three; they played in any procession in the city and made proclamations in statutory locations.¹⁷ This duty was not restricted, however. Any city civil servant who

could play the trumpet with “long and resonant tones” was permitted to make proclamations.¹⁸ In these statutes, though, a new set of duties appears. Every Saturday and Marian Vigil, the trumpeters had to go to the church of Santa Maria Maggiore and play a “pleasant *serenata*” to the honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary. For all of this, the monthly salary was five *lire*, with other emoluments arising from real estate and other proclamation fees, which remained constant. Additionally, every year, each player received four *lire* for a pair of shoes decorated with the insignia of the city of Bergamo.¹⁹

The 1491 statutes also describe a second, new ensemble, a band of four *piffari* (elsewhere *tibiceni*, but here called *tubiceni*, another word for trumpeter—a common confusion in these documents and in modern readings of them). These also played in and after every procession in the city, as well as at the elevation of the blessed sacrament in festival masses; and on every Saturday or Marian Vigil, they too played a pleasant *serenata* or *matinata* before Santa Maria Maggiore. Their salary was only forty-five *soldi* per month, but they, too, received shoes yearly.²⁰ In addition to the city *piffari* and *tubatori*, there were also other musicians and musical groups in the city, which found it necessary to ban the playing of instruments at night and the singing of songs, especially opprobrious or infamatory ones, in streets or piazzas, anywhere in the city or suburbs.²¹ The growing presence, regulation, and patronage of (especially instrumental) music reflected in the 1491 Statutes is confirmed by the Actions of the City Council.

The earliest minutes, or *Azioni*, of the city council survive from the 1430s. Only one musician, Paulus Tubatore, is recorded here (see Table 1).²² Volume 2, from the 1470s, mentions five more, including two from Rumano and two from Crema, all of whom held the position of *tubatore* at one time or other.²³ From volume 3 (beginning in 1481) on, the records are continuous, and they provide an interesting comparison of the real musical support of the comune with the statutory one.²⁴ The musicians recorded in the *Azioni* are listed in Tables I and II.

Table 1
Bergamo City Trumpeters, 1436-1600

including all those entitled *Tubator(e)*, *Tubet(t)a*, *Trombetta*, *Pr[a]eco(ne)*. *Tubicin(e)*, *Tubicen(i)*, and *Trombone* are more ambiguous titles, but these musicians have been included here when indicated by the documentary context. (Parentheses indicate a date that may be mid-career.)

Name (as complete as possible)	Dates of Service	Comments
Paulus tubatore	(1436)	
Franciscus de Rumano	(1474)-1476	
Christoforus de Rumano	(1476)	
Antonius Gallus de Gualandris	1475-1499	1498- <i>tubicene superiore</i>
Antonius de Crema	1476	replaces Chris. de Rumano
Bernardinus de Crema	1476	
Franciscus de Crema	1484-1489	
Pandulfus de Crema	1481-1505	
Michael de Crema	1491	
Nicolaus (son of Pandulfus) de Crema	1499-1527	
Hieronimus (son of Nicolaus) de Crema	1523	
Antonius de Padua	1526-1528	replaces Nic. de Crema?
Martinus (son of Georgius) de Besutio	1500-1525	plays trombone (with <i>piffari?</i>) and trumpets proclamations
Matheus (son of Martinus) de Besutio	1508-1520	
Cerbonius (son of Martinus) de Besutio	1530-1548	then to Trento and Bavaria
	1557-1561	returns, then back to Germany
Joannes Antonius (son of Martinus) de Besutio	1525	
Joannes (son of Martinus) de Besutio	1548-1567	same as above?
Matheus (Mathias, nephew of Cerbonius) de Besutio	1557-1561	then back to Bavaria
Firmus de Besutio	1592-	
Hieronimus de Scandellis	1528	dies
Antonius (son of Hieronimus) de Scandellis	1530-1548	finally dismissed 1557
Joannes Angelus (son of Hieronimus) de Scandellis	1548-1551	substitutes for brother, Antonius

Almidanus (son of Bortolus) Officialis de Sancto Gallo	1551-1552	substitutes for Joannes Angelus de Scandellis
Joannes Petrus de Mutio	1530	
Baptista (son of Joannes Maria) de Mutio	1557-1569, 1594	resigns for other employment, but returns in old age
Mutius (son of Joannes Maria) de Mutio	1561-1591 (d.)	also serves as <i>balotino</i>
Perseus (son of Joannes Maria) de Mutio	1565-1579	becomes Capuchin monk
Maurus (nephew of Mutius) de Mutio	1589	substitutes for Mutius
Hieronymus (son of Betinus) de Morarijs	1536-1561	son of Betinus, <i>piffaro</i>
Achilles (son of Hieronymus) de Morarijs	1567-1592 (d.)	replaces Joannes de Besutio
Eneas (son of Hieronymus) de Morarijs	1577	substitutes for brother, Achilles
Hieronymus (son of Achilles) de Morarijs	1598-	replaces Maurus de Passeris
Marcus (son of Franciscus) Mantuani	1556	substitutes for Hieronymus de Morarijs
Julius de Capredoni	1569-1570	substitutes for Baptista de Mutio
(Franciscus Gaude)	1572-1580	<i>servator pallatij</i> with proclamation privileges
Marcellus Bonhomettus	1591 (d.)	
Maurus de Passeris	1591-1598	imprisoned, then exiled
Severinus nominatus Odoardus (brother of Maurus) de Passeris	1595-	

During the fifteenth century, first two, then three liveried trumpeters served the city's heraldic needs. They were sufficiently well paid, in the late fifteenth century, that practically all of them were attracted from outside Bergamo, from Rumano, Crema, and possibly France (Gallus) (see Table I). Making proclamations seems to have been these trumpeters' main function. Their *serenata* had only begun in the same set of statutes that initiated a similar *serenata* by the *piffari*. Otherwise, the trumpeters' musical repertory seems to have served only the social and legal needs of society, without any aspirations for polyphonic artistry, either written or improvised. Most, if not all, of the fanfares for proclamations list only a single player, and until the *serenata* there was no suggestion of occasional or art music.

The first possibility of any kind of art musical establishment is the creation of the *piffari* in 1490. Their specific mandate was to bring honor to the city by playing in processions, serenades, and at mass at a salary of forty-five *soldi* per month and a new pair of shoes every Christmas.²⁵ While the trumpeters played fanfares—solo music of a monophonic unwritten tradition, the *piffari* played music that probably had multiple voices. Polyphonic improvisation on a tenor likely comprised a significant proportion of the music performed, although some works may have been learned from written exemplars which do not survive.

And while the trumpeters played signal music, the *piffari* played occasional art music, to adorn festival processions, vespers, and masses. A musician with modern prejudices might expect that this latter would be more highly rewarded, but, not so—the *piffari* received less than half the salary of the *tubatori*. Such economics would not suggest the *piffari* held any attraction for outside musicians, and, indeed (See Table 2, the Bergamo Pipers, First Appearance) only one of the original *piffari* came from outside the city—Joannes dictus Cenebrinus from the small village of Triscurio. He found commuting difficult, and his erratic attendance featured in his dismissal.²⁶

Table 2
Bergamo Pipers, 1490-1600

Tibicin(e), *Piffaro*, *Sonatore (Piffari)*; musicians called *Tubicin(e)*, *Tubicen*, and *Trombone* have been included here when indicated by the documentary context. (Brackets indicate the author's presumed ending date for the ensemble.)

Name (as complete as possible)	Dates of Service	Comments
First Appearance		
Jacobinus dictus Cenebrinus de Triscurio	1490-1497	commuting problems, dismissed
Joannes de Goycis	1490-1496	petitioned to leave
Joanninus (Vaninus) de Morarijs	1490-1506	dismissed for inability
Joannes Stephanus (son of Pecini) de Vasallis	1490-1498	
Christinus dictus Pauper de Vasallis	1496 [-1515]	replaces J. de Goycis
Jacobus dictus Cerembrinus de Tanchredis	1497 [-1515]	
Martinus (son of Georgius) de Besutio	1500-1525	plays trombone (with <i>piffari</i> ?) and trumpets proclamations
Betinus (son of Vaninus) de Morarijs	1507 [-1515]	replaced his father; his son is Hieronymus Betini, <i>tubicine</i>

Second Appearance

Michael de Vasallis, <i>cornicen</i>	1527-	hired at SMM, not city, also to teach four students
Pompeio, <i>sonator</i>	1529	paid at Easter for <i>piffari</i> in procession
Christinus dictus Pauper de Vasallis	1538 [-1548]	
Ludovicus (son of Christinus) de Vasallis	1538 [-1548]	
Hieronymus (son of Betinus) de Morarijs, <i>piffaro, tubicine</i>	1538-1561	seems to have played in both capacities
Carbonius de Besutio, <i>tubicine</i>	1538 [-1548]	”
Antonius de Scandellis, <i>tubicine</i>	1538 [-1548]	”

Third Appearance

Apparently independent groups hired just for the Corpus Christi procession, led by:

Joannes Petro (Betino), detto Cremaschino de Grassis	1580, 1582, 1585, 1587, 1588, 1589, 1590, 1594, 1595, 1596
Antonius Talpino	1581
Unnamed group	1596, 1597, 1599

Nevertheless, in spite of some turnover, the group of four *piffari* continued to function for twenty-five years, and may be depicted in the only contemporary picture of instrumental music in Bergamo. This fresco, in the condottiere Bartolomeo Colleoni's suburban castle of Malpaga, purports to depict a banquet at which Colleoni entertained King Christian I of Denmark, on 12-13 March 1474. At the right end of the table, behind the diners, is a band of four wind players. From instrument size and hand positions, one appears to be playing a treble shawm and another an alto; a third may hold a tenor, but the fourth instrument has something, similar in appearance to a modern hot-water bottle, intervening between the mouthpiece and a mostly-observed shawm-like instrument—perhaps some sort of bladderpipe or droneless bagpipe with a shawm-type chanter. The family commissioned the fresco from Romanino nearly thirty years after the banquet, so the shawm band it depicts might have been modeled on the contemporary civic *piffari*, which initially seem to have comprised four woodwind or shawm players as in the picture.²⁷ Later, brass players, in the form of trombonists, crept in, although no one player played both brass and shawm. One Martinus de Besutio was hired in 1500 to play in both the *piffari* and the *tubatori*—but on trombone and trumpet, respectively.²⁸

The civic shawm band was short-lived. In 1503, they received a salary increase to

fifty-seven *soldi* per month, but only for the last six months of that year.²⁹ Nevertheless, in 1505, the approximate date of the painting, the council discussed the continuing pay inequalities among the bell-ringers (*campanarii*), the *tubatori*, and the *piffari*.³⁰ Nothing seems to have been done, and later, in 1508, a salary increase for the *piffari* was defeated.³¹ The group survived, however, until it was officially disbanded in 1515.³² Its termination did not come about for purely musical reasons. At this point, during the most terrible privation of the War of the League of Cambrai, during which Bergamo changed hands at least ten times in eight years and suffered repeated bouts of plague, the French and Spanish armies had extorted enormous ransoms, the Venetians had required more money, and there was none left in the impoverished city to pay the shawms.³³ (Somehow, they did manage to pay the trumpeters, who cost twice as much, but who also served as diplomatic emissaries.) The extremity of the city's plight is evident in the tradition that rescue from one siege for extortion of ransom was effected only by the miraculous apparition of the city's patron, Sant' Alessandro, to the Spanish Viceroy.³⁴

After this turbulence, it took over a decade for life in the city to approach normal. One sign that it was doing so is an unsuccessful attempt to reinstate the *piffari*.³⁵ (See Table 2, The Second Appearance). There were two groups of players documented by a single entry each. The first of these seems to be an attempt to start a wind ensemble at Santa Maria Maggiore in 1527. Michael de Vasallis, *cornicen*, was hired to play for five years at major feasts and to teach four students. Michael and his father (unnamed) were required to observe these duties.³⁶ This suggests some association with the Vasallis family of the *piffari*, so although *cornicen* suggests the *cornetto*, I have included Michael and his ensemble among the *piffari*. Notwithstanding, Michael never reappears in the records. But in 1529, the city books record payment of one Pompeo on Easter for performance by four *piffari*, possibly for a Good Friday procession.³⁷ Pompeo likewise disappears after this one entry, and there is no further evidence of instrumental ensemble music for nine years.

The most substantive attempt to reinstate the city *piffari* took place in 1538, when five players, all of noted local instrumental families, formed a new band.³⁸ The Vasallis players included one member of the former *piffari*, Christinus dictus Pauper, and his son, Ludovicus, so they were probably shawm players. The remaining three players, however, all come from lineages of trumpeters: Cerbonius de Besutio and Antonius de Scandellis, who were to become internationally known, and Hieronymus Betini (or son of Betino) de Morarijs, *piffaro*, *tubicen*. Two generations of Morarijs had been members of the original *piffari*; Hieronymus is the third recorded generation of the family, which continued thereafter to provide city trumpeters for at least two more generations. Hieronymus de Morarijs, Cerbonius de Besutio, and Antonius de Scandellis are described in this entry as *tubiceni* and were also the city trumpeters during this period, until Besutio and Scandellis left town in 1548. Pay for various members of the *piffari* continues sporadically until at least 1545, so I have assumed that the group's demise proceeded from the sudden departure of its two most accomplished members.

But this second appearance of the city *piffari* has a different composition than the first. We may assume that all or most of the players in the first group played the shawm

or other woodwind, at least until the hiring of Martinus de Besutio on the trombone; but in the civic wind band's second incarnation, only two players seem certainly to have been shawmists, Christinus dictus Pauper de Vasallis, and his son, Ludovicus. Given his family background, Hieronymus de Morarijs might also have had some ability in that direction, but his trumpet-playing colleagues are more likely have extended their range in the direction of the *tuba major* (trombone), or possibly the *cornetto*.³⁹ This ensemble, then, although called *piffari*, may have been a mixed loud band of shawms, trombones, and possibly slide trumpets or *cornetti*. *Piffari* seems to have become the conventional name for the civic wind band; understanding the application of the words *piffari*, and its Latin equivalent, *tibicines*, to the wind band; and *piffaro*, or its Latin equivalent *pive*, to a player therein clears up much confusion that can arise when, for instance, Hieronymus de Morarijs is elsewhere described as *piffaro* or *pive*, *tubicen*.⁴⁰ The first could refer to his status as a member of the wind band, and the second to his own instrument, although, of course, he may have played both. Thus, *piffaro* and its relatives may have two meanings. The first and obvious one is the shawm or a player thereof; the second, a member of the city wind band, no matter what instrument he plays.

Some of these words also invite confusion with common Latin words for trumpeter in these documents. *Tubator* and *tubetta* create no problems, but *tubicine* and *tubicen* are often confused with the equally common word for shawm player, *tibicine*. This was no less true for Renaissance scribes than it is for modern readers. In 1500, in the hiring of Martinus de Besutio, the marginal rubric is *tubicine*, which describes his instrument, the *tuba major* or trombone (described as such in the body of the entry), but he was hired on this occasion to play with the *tibicines* (or *piffari*). The scribe first wrote *tubicene* throughout but then twice corrected the *u* to an *i* later in the document when it referred to the group.⁴¹ Martinus de Besutio was the father of Cerbonius and several other trumpeters. He made proclamations and was required to have a horse, so he was mainly a herald/trumpeter. He was paid at the trumpeter's scale, much better than the other *tibicines*, but he was also the first player known to have played in both groups, as well as the first documented trombone player in Bergamo.

Martinus' family is but one of the many examples of extensive family ties among the wind players in Bergamo. The players from Crema spanned three generations, and new dynasties arose as well, including the Besutios (It., Besozzi—known in Bergamo since the twelfth century, but perhaps originating from one of two villages near Varese, Besozzo or Bisuschio⁴²). Other dynasties included the Scandellis, the Mutios, the Morarijs and the Passerijs among the *tubatori*, and among the *piffari*, the Vasallis. Over 80% of the wind players seem to have been related to one another. Nepotism was pervasive, and hiring practices encouraged it. Rarely was any candidate advanced for a position who was not a relative of its previous occupant or another wind player. Indeed, the extension of this privilege to non-musical city employees may eventually have contributed to the trumpeters' decline.

Unlike the *piffari*, the trumpeters' condition remained relatively stable throughout most of the sixteenth century. The official number of musicians stabilized at three, but it not infrequently dropped to two during most of the century. Tracing development of the

tubatori is thus more a matter of tracing the vicissitudes of the personnel than of recording new practices. (See Table I.) Nicolaus de Crema and Martinus de Besutio were the main trumpeters for the first quarter of the sixteenth century. Other players would come and go, but these two performed the bulk of the duties. Besutio was succeeded by various sons and ultimately grandsons, and their colleagues included members of the Scandellis and Morarijs families, with, of course, other transient players. Cerbonius de Besutio and Antonius de Scandellis were the most celebrated members of their respective families. They played in all known instrumental institutions in the city—the trumpeters, the *piffari*, and at Santa Maria Maggiore.⁴³ Dissatisfied with their pay, however, they, together with Cerbonio's nephew Matheus, left on short notice to serve in the wind band of Cardinal Cristoforo Madruzzo, Bishop of Trento.⁴⁴ Both were replaced by relatives.⁴⁵ In Trento, they played in the Cardinal's wind band with the three Tola brothers from Brescia; but soon all six players were taken by Mauritius, Elector of Saxony, who was passing through and desired "an Italian music."⁴⁶ These musicians accompanied the Elector on his trip to Spain, through several later battles documented in Cerbonius' "Chronicle," and finally back to Saxony.⁴⁷ In 1551 Joannes Angelus Scandellis went to Saxony, supposedly because his brother was ill, but both brothers ended up playing for the elector in 1555.⁴⁸ Antonius, Cerbonius, and Matheus remained there until 1557, when they returned to Bergamo, where Antonius and Cerbonius were hired briefly as trumpeters, and each of them received a cheese for playing in Santa Maria Maggiore.⁴⁹ Antonius returned to Dresden, again without leave, in 1557, upon which the city voted to replace him with two heralds (*precones*), Mathias de Besutio and Baptista de Mutio.⁵⁰ Shortly thereafter Cerbonius presented a very servile petition for reinstatement at Santa Maria Maggiore, which won him a salary of seventy-five *lire* per year.⁵¹ In 1561, Cerbonius and Matheus, accompanied by another musician, Lucius de Tertio, returned to Germany.⁵² All three men spent the rest of their lives playing in the chapel of the Duke of Bavaria under Lasso, where they were painted by Hans Mielich in 1570, not among the wind band, but playing strings!⁵³

The local decline of the Scandellis family and the diminishing number of Besutios left openings among the trumpeters to be filled by new families. Hieronymus de Morarijs had continued to play after his colleagues' departure, although he too spent 1556 with Cardinal Madruzzo in Trento.⁵⁴ In an attempt to lure him and his colleagues back, the City Council promised him, Besutius, and Scandellis three *scudi* apiece per month, but then lowered it after Scandellis' departure, until the players filed a complaint.⁵⁵ At the same time, the commune investigated a civil complaint initiated but not concluded by Hieronymus; this oversight left him open to a charge of perjury.⁵⁶ Luckily, he renewed and won the suit and at the same time won his settlement from the city, including his additional pay—by then over two years in arrears.⁵⁷ Luckily, because, the maximum penalty for perjury in criminal cases (and blasphemy against God or the Blessed Virgin) was amputation of the tongue.⁵⁸ Hieronymus' civil action did not really put him at risk of this penalty, disastrous for a wind player, but even the fine for the lesser offense was heavy and would have produced considerable hardship. In any case, Hieronymus won his suit, escaped penalty, and he, his sons, and grandson continued the family tradition for at least five generations.

Another family that entered service at this point is the Mutios, who served adequately but began an insidious tradition of association of the *tubatori* with other similarly ranked civil servants. Throughout the statutes and the city council minutes, the *tubatori* are surrounded by other groups of employees of similar pay and rank, mainly the bell-ringers (noted in Table 3), but also the *bullator* (who inspected weights, measures, and scales), the city clock repairman, and the torture master. The last three had obvious duties, but the *campanarii*, or bell-ringers', duties were as varied as the names of their position. They rang the great bell for the noon-time Ave Maria, curfew, city council meetings, and fire and other dangers, but they also collected ballots during the city council meetings (from which they took the name *balotini*) and carried messages to and from the city council members (from which they were called *servitori provisionum*). Like the trumpeters, the *campanarii* were liveried servants. Indeed, even after the trumpeters ceased receiving livery, the *campanarii* continued to do so. But, in spite of their prestige, their work required no musical talent, and the commingling of the two groups may have affected the quality of the trumpeters and the esteem they commanded. Joannes Maria de Mutio, *campanarius*, sired three *tubicini*, two of whom managed to succeed him as *campanarius* as well. This precedent led to the entry not only of other *campanarii*, but of even lowlier servants, into the company of trumpet-playing heralds, with questionable results.

Table 3
Related Civil Service Position—Campanarius (Bell-Ringer)

Servitore (Officiale) Provisionum, Balotinus

(Only those listed who, or whose family, also or later became Tubatori.
Parentheses indicate a date which may be mid-career.)

Name (as complete as possible)	Dates of Service	Comments
Joannes Maria de Mutio	(1547)-1571	father of Baptista, Mutius, and Perseus, <i>tubicini</i>
Perseus de Mutio	1570-1579	<i>campanarius</i> & <i>tubicine</i> until joining Capuchins
Mutius de Mutio	1579-1591 (d.)	
Marcellus Bonhomettus	1583-1591	
Firmus de Besutio	1589-1592	

On 19 April 1572 the council received a request from the trumpeters,

that the *trombetti* ... should do the cries [as required by] the statute, in which one sees clearly that no other person may make similar cries, if they are not *trombetti*... [Some might suggest that] some of the servants or officials of this city might do similar cries, even though they are not expert in playing

sustainedly and with resonance the sound of the trumpet as the statute requires.... They say that it makes no difference if they are inexpert, nor whether they know how to play as the statute requires, and as the *trombetti* of this magnificent community do; because to them it is acceptable if they honk once or twice on the trumpet, such that the people might just as well run away as come to hear the proclamation, in which case these proclamations would be heard by no one....⁵⁹

The Council agreed to ban proclamations by any servant other than *trombetti*, unless judged expert by the council, under a penalty of fifty *lire*. But they chose this time also to ban the *trombetti* from accepting any pay beyond the established fees for cries. Clearly abuses had crept in. Trumpeters were charging more than the fixed rates for their services, while jealously guarding their monopoly on these fees by trying to exclude other city officers, who apparently had a traditional right to make proclamations when necessary. Obviously motivated solely by self-interest, the trumpeters failed to describe clearly the origin of the controversy, which became apparent only the following month.

Franciscus Gaude, *servitor pallatii* (not even a *campanarius*) wrote,

Having been brought, in these past few days, to the attention of your most enlightened sirs by means of a supplication initiated by the *trombetti* of this magnificent city, which reported that proclamations came to be published ... by persons inexpert at playing the trumpet, contrary to the requirement of the statutes, where the words of the statute say that such cries must be executed with the prolonged and resonant sound of the trumpet, which has been advanced solely to procure their (the *trombetti*'s) interest in damage and prejudice against me, poor Francisco Gaude, public official of this magnificent community, for this aforementioned practice, by which I was earning my living, and that of my poor little children. In order to be re-awarded this privilege, which was taken from me for being inexpert in playing the trumpet, as described, and being eager to raise my poor little children by that office, I have made arrangements with a teacher, and I have learned to play the trumpet ... and, continuing to learn, to satisfy the decree made by the magnificent council of this city. I humbly implore your most excellent lordships, that you would deign to have pity and compassion on me, your most impoverished servant, and on my little children, and admit me to the privilege of being able to perform the office of making proclamations...⁶⁰

After ensuring that Franciscus could indeed play, which took about two months, the council certified him as competent to make proclamations with the trumpet, no doubt to the chagrin of the *trombetti*.⁶¹

For all its humanitarian quality, certification of a player after only two months of study suggests a low or decreasing regard for requisite talent and consequent prerogatives of the

civic trumpeters. This confirms a decline in the trumpeters' status in late sixteenth-century Bergamo already suggested by other information. They had stopped receiving the fourteen *lire* yearly livery allowance in 1557, as part of the higher monthly salary offer of thirteen *lire* or three *scudi* to Besutio, Scandellis, and Morarijs.⁶² The livery was never reinstated, even when its cost for a *campanarius* rose. The livery for which the city reimbursed fourteen *lire* in the first half of the century cost over 150 *lire* when the city bought it for *campanarii* in the 1580s.⁶³ It seems unlikely that the trumpeters furnished it on their own at those prices, especially on their meager salaries.

The players' salary had by no means kept pace with inflation. After Cerbonius and Matheus de Besutio departed the second time, the city council hired new trumpeters (including Cerbonius' brother Joannes) for nine *lire* per month instead of the three *scudi* (thirteen to fourteen *lire*) they had paid Cerbonius.⁶⁴ Even the raises they did ultimately receive in 1579 amounted to only thirteen *lire* per month, the same sum offered to the departing trumpeters over twenty years earlier. Obviously this pay did not keep pace with the terrible inflation fueled by Spanish New World gold and silver through which Europe suffered in the late sixteenth century. By the end of the century, the ownership of a *bordello* just down the street from the city hall by Firmus de Besutio, *trombetta*, may provide some indication of just how low the trumpeters' state had sunk.⁶⁵

Loss of the best musicians to aristocratic courts and important cities must also have hurt morale—not only Besutio and Scandellis, but when Hieronymus de Morariis went to work for Cardinal Madruzzo in Trento, and later left for Venice, and when Maurus de Passeris went to work for Count Francisco de Martinengo, between Bergamo and Brescia.⁶⁶ Finally, the rise of literacy and the printing of laws and other decrees undoubtedly whittled away at the need for the trumpeters' main remaining function, although the cries, or *gride*, continued to play a powerful role in seventeenth-century society, as described in Alessandro Manzoni's *I promessi sposi*, set in 1628. Nevertheless, verbal proclamations accompanied by a simple fanfare were beginning to be less essential than they had been a century earlier.

Yet it is difficult to see what the trumpeters themselves could have done for self-preservation and increased self-esteem. Although they might have developed their musical abilities and cultivated flexibility among other instruments, as Besutio and Scandellis had done in mid-century, there is no evidence that this would have loosened the city purse-strings. Neither the council nor the trumpeters considered re-expanding the trumpeters' duties to include playing ensemble music by reviving the city *piffari*. This is not to say that wind ensemble music was unknown in Bergamo. One of the duties of the second group of *piffari* in 1538-48 was to play at feasts, and this activity surely continued, whether or not the city sponsored it. And in the new sumptuary laws of 1539, the city forbade anyone but the bridegroom from hiring singers, players (*piffari*), or dancers for a *mattinata* on the wedding night, and limited the number of musicians or dancers to five.⁶⁷ Further revisions in 1551 ban all *mattinate* after the first wedding night; they also ban "a certain form of extortion" practiced by musicians who played in the streets at Christmas time.⁶⁸ This negative evidence proves that there was certainly wind ensemble music in Bergamo, although the city chose not to sponsor it.

Instead, for the last two decades of the sixteenth century, the council hired outside professionals to play in the Corpus Christi procession. (See Table 2, Third Appearance.) These players, most often from Crema (by their director's name) assuredly performed satisfactorily, for they were asked back again and again, but their very presence suggests a limited vision of civic musical patronage in Bergamo, a clear decline from the days when liveried civic musicians not only carried decrees around the city and province, but also formed a civic consort that played before every Festival and Sunday Vespers, at Mass and for every procession. The civic music of Bergamo had retreated from an important role as a civic ornament to a barrenly functional form.

Not that we should impose a value judgement on this development. Our own extensive training in part-music makes us partial to it, and the waves of nineteenth-century musical thought which have washed over us have taught us that complexity (like the *serenata* of the *piffari*) is good, but simplicity (like the herald's fanfare) is suspect. Perhaps we can undo some of this conditioning by conjuring up in the mind's eye a comparison between a liveried herald playing a solemn fanfare in long and resonant tones, and a bunch of unruly shawm and sackbut players leading bawdy songs at three in the morning. Decorous simplicity contrasts with rowdy sophistication.

The point is, of course, not that one or the other is better, but that, for reasons of economy, utility, or propriety, the city of Bergamo chose to patronize only strictly functional wind music after 1550 and allowed a promising tradition of wind polyphony to languish in the later sixteenth century. Bergamo's situation provides an interesting contrast to those of Bologna and Brescia, so well-described by Bruce Dickey and John Hill, both cities in which civic patronage of instrumental polyphony led to rich and long-lasting traditions whose importance is still recognized today.⁶⁹ Clearly, there was a wide range of patronage styles for civic wind music of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Only by further study will we fully understand this tradition in all its rich variety.

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NOTES

* This article originally appeared as a paper at the Early Brass Festival, Amherst, MA, in August, 1996. It is a preliminary assessment of civic wind music in medieval and Renaissance Bergamo, a subject which I hope to discuss more fully in a book in progress. I must acknowledge gratefully the assistance of Doctor Joseph DeFilippo of the Department of Languages at the University of North Dakota, who helped to check the Latin quotations. I am also grateful for the help offered by scholars and archives in Bergamo, especially at the Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai, where most of the documents herein cited are preserved. Bergamo has a long tradition of scholarly interest in its own past, which has spurred on my research. The primary inspiration for this study was Angelo Pinetti, "I 'piffari' del comune di Bergamo," *Bergomum* 3 (1909): 35-39.

¹"convocatis et congregatis ibidem consilio generali comunis et consilio populli, ... sonis campanarum et vocibus preconum solito more," from *Incipiunt statuta, provisiones et decreta serenissimi principis et domini domini Johannis Dei gratia Bohemie et Polonie regis, Luxemburgensis comitis*, Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica (hereinafter BG bc), Ms. Sala I.D.9,18 (hereinafter *Statuta Bergomi*, 1331), 2r, published in Claudia Storti Storchi, ed., *Lo statuto di Bergamo del 1331*, in *Fontes*, Fonti storico giuridiche, *Statuti*, I (Milan, 1986).

²*Statuta Bergomi*, 1331, ff. 12r-12v. Subsequent recensions appear as follows: *Statuta Bergomi*, 1333—*Hec sunt statuta comunis Pergami confecta et compilata tempore dominationis magnifici domini domini Azonis Vicecomitis*, BG bc, Ms. Sala, I.D.9,19; *Statuta Bergomi*, 1353—*Hec infra statuta et ordinamenta comunis novissime compilata et ordinata*, BG bc, Ms., Sala I.D.6,1; *Statuta Bergomi*, [1374] (of uncertain date during the rule of Bernabò Visconti, 1355-1374)—*Statuta Pergami*, BG bc, Ms., Sala I.D.7,29; *Statuta Bergomi*, 1391—*Hec sunt statuta et ordinamenta civitatis Pergami facta et compilata tempore ... domini Galeaz Vicecomitis*, BG bc, Ms., Sala I.D.9,6; *Statuta Bergomi*, 1422—*Hec sunt statuta et ordinamenta civitatis Pergami facta et ordinata tempore ... domini Filippi Marie*, BG bc, Ms., Sala I.D.7,34; *Statuta Bergomi*, 1430—[*Statuta Pergami*] ... *die vigesimotercio mensis augusti 1430, indictione octava*, apparently two copies, that used by Storti Storchi, BG bc, Ms., Sala I.D.7,35, and that used by me, BG bc, Ms., Sala I.D.9,33; *Statuta Bergomi*, 1453—[*Statuta Pergami*] ... *die sexto mensis septembris 1453, indictione prima*, BG bc, Ms., Sala I.D.9,8; *Statuta Bergomi*, 1491—*Statuta magnificae communitatis Bergomi* (Brescia, 1491), BG bc, Inc. 3.27. This last, the first printed collection of Bergamo's laws, is also their last complete recension in the Renaissance. The foregoing list is derived from one in Claudia Storti Storchi, "Aspetti della condizione giuridica dello straniero negli statuti lombardi dei secoli XIV-XV," *Archivio Storico Lombardo* 111 (1985): 64-66. Although earlier *Statuta* make only passing references to wind players, the *Statuta Bergomi* of 1353, [1374], 1391, 1422, 1430, 1453, and 1491 all make specific provisions for *tubatori*, *tubiceni*, or *tubette*. The *Statuta Bergomi* of 1491 provide for a city wind band as well, the *piffari*. Players of these instruments and their functions are occasionally documented in the *Azioni del concilio della città di Bergamo (Azioni)*, cited below. Pierluigi Forcella, *Musica e musicisti a Bergamo dalle origini ai contemporanei* (Villa di Serio, 1992), p. 20, notes that *trombatores* signalled proclamations, while *piffari* played in procession, a conclusion borne out by this research, with the qualifications that the groups often shared players, and that the instrumentation of the *piffari* was more flexible than the name suggests.

³Bortolo Belotti, *La Storia di Bergamo e dei Bergamaschi* (Milan, 1940; reprinted, with illustrations, Bergamo, 1989), vol. 1. A useful but very abbreviated summary of Bergamo's early history appears in Bergamo's standard tourist guide, Beatrice Gelmi and Valeriano Sacchiero. *Bergamo Step by Step*, 4th ed. (Bergamo, 1990). See also Lester Little, *Liberty, Charity, Fraternity: Lay Religious Confraternities at Bergamo in the Age of the Commune*. (Bergamo and Northampton, MA, 1988), p. 18.

⁴[*Statutum vetus*], BG bc, Ms., Sala I.D.9, edited as *Antiquae collationes statuti veteris civitatis Pergami*, in *Historiae patriae monumenta*, vol. 16/2, *Leges municipales, pars altera* (Augustae Taurinorum, 1876), p. 21, cited in Storti Storchi, *Lo statuto*, p. 66.

⁵Belotti, *Storia di Bergamo*, vol 1, is the source for most of this history. A music historian must be tantalized by the knowledge that King John's suite on his visit to Bergamo probably included his secretary, Guillaume de Machaut. See *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London, 1980), s.v. "Machaut, Guillaume," by Gilbert Reaney, 11:428.

⁶"consillio dicti comunis campanis sonatis et voce preconis more solito convocato," *Statuta Bergomi*, 1333, f. 41v.

⁷*Ibid.*, f. 44v.

⁸*Statuta Bergomi*, 1353, f. 118v.

⁹*Ibid.*, ff. 121v, 174v.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, ff. 174r-175r.

¹¹*Statuta Bergomi*, [1374], ff. 59v-61r. The job description is transcribed in Pinetti, "I 'piffari,'" p. 36. The livery is described—"portare teneant ipsas vestes, vel saltem mantellum, vel guarnazonium, vel gonellam," and "debeant portare unum biretum vel capuzzium (caputeum)."

¹²*Statuta Bergomi*, 1391, ff. 120v-121v.

¹³*Statuta Bergomi*, 1422, ff. 303r-304v.

¹⁴*Statuta Bergomi*, 1422, ff. 217v, 236v.

¹⁵*Statuta Bergomi*, 1430, f. 240v, records the number of *trombatores* in discussing their livery. *Ibid.*, f. 42v loosens restrictions on proclamations.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, ff. 39r-42r, 124r-124v.

¹⁷*Statuta Bergomi*, 1491, ff. 13v-19v.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, f. 48r.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, ff. 13r-14r. "... et quod etiam teneantur omni die Sabbati, et in vigilia cuiusque festi beatae virginis Mariae, ire in sero ad ecclesiam divae sanctae Mariae majoris Bergomi, et cum tubis sonare unam amoenam serenatam ad honorem beatae virginis Mariae, qui pro eorum mercede propter hoc habeant a comuni Bergomi unum par caligarum ad insignia comunis Bergomi pro quoque, valoris librae quattuor imperialium pro quolibet pari, omni anno de mense Decembris, quas caligas portare teneantur."

²⁰*Ibid.*, f. 14r. "habeat et teneat continue quattuor tubicenas (sic) seu piffaros pro serviendo communi Bergomi in sonando ad omnes processiones quae publicae fient in civitate et per civitatem Bergomi et etiam ad omnes oblationes quae fient iuxta formam statutorum et etiam ad oblationem hospitalis sancti Marci, et qui piffari singulo die Sabbati teneantur in vespere facere unam amoenam serenatam, seu maitinatam (sic) in templo divae sanctae Mariae majoris Bergomi, et in qualibet vigilia nativitatis dominicae, et in qualibet vigilia festi sanctae Mariae in ipso templo, et teneantur etiam pulsare post processiones et oblationes cum in missa elevatur sacramentum eucaristiae. Et habeant de salario singulo mense soldorum 45 imperialium pro quoque, et unum par caligarum pro quoque singulo anno, precii librae quattuor singulo pari, ad insignia seu divisiam comunis Bergomi."

²¹*Ibid.*, f. 142r.

²²Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica, Archivio Storico del Comune, Serie 4, *Azioni del concilio della città* (hereafter *Azioni*) 1 (1433-1437). (Page references from the *Azioni* are too numerous to cite every time a musician is mentioned. Informational entries only will receive page citations in this preliminary study. All dates follow modern usage.)

²³*Azioni* 2 (1474-1477).

²⁴*Azioni* 3 (1481-1485) begins a nearly continuous run of these records, with most volumes containing two to three years of minutes. The last volume cited in this study is volume 47 (1598-1600).

²⁵*Statuta Bergomi*, 1491, ff. 13v-17r; *Azioni* 5, ff. 131r-131v (8 February 1490), transcribed in Pinetti, "I 'piffari," p. 37; *Azioni* 5, f. 134v (26 February 1490), transcribed in Pinetti, "I 'piffari," p. 38; *Azioni* 5, f. 157r (17 May 1490).

²⁶The modern village is Trescore Balneare. See *Azioni* 5, f. 136r (26 February 1490); *ibid.*, f. 169r (9 July 1490); *Azioni* 7, f. 185r (31 March 1497), transcribed in Pinetti, "I 'piffari," p. 39.

²⁷Belotti, *Storia di Bergamo*, 3: 294; color reproduction of painting by Romanino, pp. 268-269; painting commissioned by the Martinengo-Colleoni family in the opening years of sixteenth century.

²⁸*Azioni* 7, f. 388r (17 January 1500).

²⁹*Azioni* 8, f. 142v (30 June 1503). Although the marginal rubric says *tubicinum*, the body of the entry says *tubicinibus*. This exemplifies the confusion that even contemporary notaries experienced with the Latin for trumpeters and pipers, respectively.

³⁰*Azioni* 9, ff. 165r-165v (28 December 1505).

³¹*Azioni* 10, f. 118r (12 May 1508), transcribed in Pinetti, "I 'piffari," p. 38.

³²*Azioni* 13, f. 130r (6 May 1515).

³³See Belotti, *Storia di Bergamo* 4: 42-75.

³⁴See *ibid.*, 4: 70-71, and Mario Lumina, *Sant' Alessandro in Colonna* (Bergamo, 1977), p. 119. Although the city was already in Spanish hands, the Viceroy, Raimondo di Cardona, laid siege to the city because it had not paid its ransom. The siege lasted from 11 November until 15 November 1514, with attackers managing to destroy a portion of the walls every day, and the citizens rebuilding it every night. On 15 November the army withdrew to Crema. Bergamo's citizens attributed this to the intervention of their patron, Sant' Alessandro; although it is significant that, on 16 November, the city sent the Viceroy 10,000 ducats and a large shipment of provisions. The celebration of the saint's apparition is still observed yearly on 15 November, especially at the saint's principal remaining church in Bergamo, Sant' Alessandro in Colonna, where this and his other miracles are commemorated in ceiling frescoes.

³⁵*Azioni* 17, f. 182r (29 December 1525).

³⁶Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica, Archivio della Misericordia Maggiore (hereinafter MIA) 1260, *Terminazioni del Consorzio della Misericordia Maggiore* (hereinafter *Terminazioni*) 17, ff. 20v-21r (29 December 1527).

³⁷*Azioni* 18, f. 84v (28 March 1529).

³⁸*Azioni* 20, f. 81r (7 December 1538), transcribed in Pinetti, "I 'piffari," p. 39.

³⁹Later documentation does suggest remarkable versatility on the part, at least, of Cerbonio de Besutio, who is depicted playing a tenor viola da braccio in the Mielich Codex in Munich. See Nicole Schwindt, "Hans Mielichs bildliche Darstellung der Münchner Hofkapelle von 1570," *Acta musicologica* 68 (1996): 69-72.

⁴⁰For example, the cited entry, or *Terminazioni* 20, f. 71r (31 August 1542); *Terminazioni* 21, 102r (5 June 1553); *ibid.*, f. 199v-120r (8 February 1554); and *ibid.*, f. 150r (6 September 1554), documents pertaining to Ser Hieronymus' employment in the city's basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore.

⁴¹*Azioni* 7, f. 388r (17 January 1500). Manuscript deletions are enclosed in angle-brackets < >. In margin—"Martini Tubicinis conductio." Entry—"Item, per partem octo suffragijs pro ea exactis capta, et duobus contra, . . . quod conducetur Martinus quondam Georgij de Besutio pro tubicine dicti comunis et qui etiam tuba maiori etiam que de trombonis sonare teneatur cum <t>u>ibicinibus dicti comunis, pro ut etiam dicti <tubici> tubicines teneatur iuxta statuta et ordines civitatis, et habeat salarium de prece, librarum octo imperialium in mense et reliquis prerogativas et emolumenta cum suis oneribus que habent reliqui tubicines <prefati> ipsius comunis, et obligatur id est tenere equus, quod salarium tum dari debeat omni mense eas servire et merere cepit, et hoc ad beneplacitum prefati comunis."

⁴²See Walter Friedensburg, ed., *Die Chronik des Cerbonio Besozzi, 1548-1563*, *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum/ Österreichische Geschichts-Quellen*, Abt. 1, Bd. 9 (Vienna, 1904): 4-5.... Several later Milanese musicians also share the name.

⁴³Highlights of their local careers appear in the following documents. On Besutio as civic musician: In *Azioni* 18, f. 90v (14 January 1530), he is elected *tubeta*. In *Azioni* 20, f. 81r (7 December 1538), cited above, he is selected as a member of newly-reestablished *piffari*; payments continue until *Azioni* 23, f. 80v-81r (8 June 1548), his petition for a leave of absence. On Scandellis as civic musician: In *Azioni* 18, f. 163v (30 December 1530), he is elected herald (*preco*) and *tubator*. In *Azioni* 20, f. 81r (7 December 1538), cited above, he is elected as member of the newly-reestablished *piffari*. In *Azioni* 23, f. 85v (15 June 1548), he is replaced as *tubicine* by his brother when he is absent without leave. These musicians also played as *tubicines* in Santa Maria Maggiore on special feasts, first noted in MIA 1263, *Terminazioni* 20, f. 26v (22 March 1540); again in *ibid.*, f. 45v (15 April 1541); and again in *ibid.*, f. 60r-60v (19 January 1542). Their position was regularized and salaried in *ibid.*, f. 61v-62r (17 February 1542). In *ibid.*, f. 118v (16 February 1545), they were refused a salary increase; and in *ibid.*, ff. 118v-119r (19 February 1545), Scandellis quit. He was re-hired in *ibid.*, f. 145r (19 April 1546); and in *ibid.*, f. 172r (28 November 1547), salary negotiations were authorized, but no further entries appear. It is noteworthy that Hieronymus Pive [de Morarijs] also played at Santa Maria Maggiore, beginning in *ibid.*, f. 71r (31 August 1542). He remained in Bergamo after the departure of the other two players. For a further discussion of this, see my dissertation, Gary Towne, "Gaspar de Albertis and Music at Santa Maria Maggiore in Bergamo in the Sixteenth Century," (Ph. D. diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 1985), 1: 187-191, with transcriptions of several documents in *ibid.*, 2: 121-145. Current work on Scandellis includes Dane Heuchemer, "The Italian Kapellmeisters in Dresden, 1568-84: A Comparison of Stylistic and Professional Characteristics" Paper delivered at the American Musicological Society Midwest Chapter Meeting, Chicago, October, 1996; and *idem*, "Italian Musicians in Dresden in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century, with an Emphasis on the Lives and Works of Antonius Scandello and Giovanni Battista Pinello di Ghirardi" (Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Cincinnati, in progress).

⁴⁴See Friedensburg, *Die Chronik*; also Cesare Malfatti, *Cronaca di Cerbonio Besozzi* (Trento, 1967); also Bruno Pederzoli, "Cerbonio Besozzi della Cappella Musicale di Trento," *Studi Trentini di scienze storiche* 40 (1961): 308-316, and 41 (1962): 3-21, 121-140; also Reinhard Kade, "Antonius Scandellis (1517-1580). ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Dresdener Hofkantorei," *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 15 (1913-1914): 542-543.

⁴⁵Cerbonius de Besutio's license to depart in *Azioni* 23, ff. 80v-81r (8 June 1548) includes permission for his brother Joannes to act as his substitute. After Antonius de Scandellis' unlicensed departure, the council hired his brother Joannes Angelus to continue in the office until Antonius' return; see *Azioni* 23, ff. 85v (15 June 1548).

⁴⁶See Friedensburg, *Die Chronik*, pp. 10, 79; also Malfatti, *Cronaca*, pp. 8-9, 46; also Pederzoli, "Cerbonio Besozzi," pp. 312-314; also Reinhard Kade, "Antonius Scandellis," pp. 542-543; also Romano Vettori, "Note storiche sul patronato musicale di Cristoforo Madruzzo, Cardinale di Trento (1512-1578)," *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 20 (1985): 27-33.

⁴⁷Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Ms. 330 ital., edited in Walter Friedensburg, ed., *Die Chronik des Cerbonio Besozzi, 1548-1563*, *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum/ Österreichische Geschichts-Quellen*, Abt. 1, Bd. 9 (Vienna, 1904); also in Cesare Malfatti, *Cronaca di Cerbonio Besozzi* (Trento, 1967).

⁴⁸*Azioni* 24, f. 238v (5 September 1551), documents the departure of Joannes Angelus de Scandellis. Moritz Fürstenau, "Die Instrumentisten und Maler Brüder de Tola und der Kapellmeister Antonius Scandellus," *Archiv für die Sächsische Geschichte* 4 (1866): 172-173, lists both of the Scandellis' and both of the Besutios on payroll in the *Hofbuch* at Dresden in 1555.

⁴⁹*Azioni* 26, 295r-295v (3 February 1557), marks the beginning of salary negotiations with “Cerbonio et Antonio Trombetti . . . et Hieronymo terzo trombetta.” The final offer, of three *scudi* per month, with no extra for shoes or livery, was passed in *ibid.*, ff. 297r-297v (27 February 1557). The duties are recorded in more detail in BG bc, Archivio storico del comune, *Instrumentorum, volumen ab anno 1523 usque 1610*, f. 108r (24 December 1557), cited in Angelo Mazzi, “Cerbonio Besozzi,” *Bergomum* 14 (1920): 69-70. MIA 1265, *Terminazioni* 22, 107r (8 April 1557), records the payment of cheese. Joannes Angelus de Scandellis probably returned with them, for he appears again in records in Bergamo, although never again as a musician.

⁵⁰Antonius was fired in *Azioni* 27, ff. 68v-69r (6 October 1557). Salaries for the remaining herald/trumpeters were immediately lowered from three *scudi* to nine *lire* per month, but this was successfully contested by Cerbonius de Besutio and Hieronymus de Morariis in *Azioni* 27, f. 131r (6 April 1558).

⁵¹The petition is in MIA 1384, *Spese* 1: 8r, transcribed in Towne, “Gaspar de Albertis,” 2: 161. The hiring and a salary increase to 75 *lire* are recorded in MIA 1265, *Terminazioni* 22, ff. 144v-145r (10 February 1558) and *ibid.*, ff. 148v-149r (21 February 1558), transcribed [by Angelo Mazzi] in Cristoforo Scotti, *Il pio istituto musicale Donizetti in Bergamo* (Bergamo, 1901), p. 185.

⁵²*Azioni* 28, f. 113v (22 March 1561), records the departure without leave of “Cerbonius and Mathias (sic), tubicines comunis,” with the (by now) usual punitive reduction in salary to nine *lire* monthly for the heralds. MIA 1266, *Terminazioni* 23, f. 96r (17 April 1561), records that Cerbonius and Lucius de Tertio applied for leave to depart on 9 March.

⁵³See Nicole Schwindt, “Hans Mielichs bildliche Darstellung der Münchner Hofkapelle von 1570,” *Acta Musicologica* 68 (1996): 69-72. Note that Cerbonio’s family name is misprinted as Morari in her table on 69. It should be Besutio. Their ability as wind players was also noted in the chronicle of Massimo Troiano, cited in Schwindt, p. 58, n.44, and p. 72, n. 100. The two Besutios and two Tertios listed in Troiano were definitely of Bergamasque origin. If the Moraris in the Munich band originated from the same family as that prominent in the Bergamo *piffari*, then seven out of twenty instrumentalists at the Bavarian court came from Bergamo, a hitherto unappreciated prominence.

⁵⁴Leave to play in Trento for one year granted in *Azioni* 26, f. 206r (28 March 1556). Reconciliation of his account in *ibid.*, ff. 256r-256v (13 December 1556). Extension requested by Cardinal Madruzzo in *Azioni* 27, f. 26v (30 April 1557). Hieronymus and Cerbonius were bound to serve comune exclusively in *ibid.*, f. 73r (31 October 1557).

⁵⁵*Azioni* 26, 295r-295v (3 February 1557), marks the beginning of salary negotiations with “Cerbonio et Antonio Trombetti . . . et Hieronymo terzo trombetta.” The final offer, of three *scudi* per month, with no extra for shoes or livery, was passed in *ibid.*, ff. 297r-297v (27 February 1557). As noted above, in *Azioni* 27, ff. 68v-69r (6 October 1557), after the firing of Antonius de Scandellis, salaries for the remaining heralds were immediately lowered from three *scudi* to nine *lire* per month, but this was successfully contested by Cerbonius de Besutio and Hieronymus de Morariis in *ibid.*, f. 131r (6 April 1558).

⁵⁶*Azioni* 27, f. 226v (29 April 1559), and *ibid.*, f. 246v (21 June 1559), record the suit.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, f. 226v (29 April 1559).

⁵⁸This penalty is present in most of the recensions of the *Statuta Bergomi*; for example, in *Statuta Bergomi* 1497, f. 143r, are penalties for various degrees of blasphemy (against God or the Virgin, amputation of the tongue or fifty *lire*; against the saints, ten *lire*). These are equivalent in severity to penalties for false testimony in criminal and civil cases, respectively. *Statuta Bergomi* 1391, f. 103v, has a marginal illustration of the maximum penalty.

⁵⁹*Azioni* 33, ff. 244v-245v (19 April 1572). Item lecta supplicazione presentata per tubicenes huius magnifice comunitatis tenoris sequentis, videlicet – Illustrissimi signori rettori e magnifico consilio.

E provisto per la forma delli statuti nella collatione prima al capitolo 72, che gli trombetti o cadauno di loro di questa citta debbano fare le cride a vendere et assicurare et altre; et come meglio dispone esso capitolo, per la letura dil quale, si node chiaramente che alcuno altro non puol far dette ne simili cride, se non essi trombetti. Pare poi che, per la forma del capitolo 15, nella collatione terza di esso statuto, alcuni delli servitori seu officiali di questa citta fanno de simili cride, benche non siano esperti in sonare longamente et con risonante sono della tromba, come despone esso statuto nel capitolo predetto quintadecimo, dicendo loro, che non importa che siano inesperti, ne sappino sonare come vole et dispone il statuto, et come fanno gli trombetti di questa magnifica communita, perche gli vien tollerato che faciano far uno rugito o doi alla tromba, et le persone poi presto fugono che venir ad aldire esse proclame, le quali proclame non vengono mai udite da alcuno. . .

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, f. 253r-253v (17 May 1572). “Item constitutus ibidem Franciscus Gaude, officialis, presentavit infrascriptam scripturam, petens in omnibus ut in ea, cuius tenor sequitur, videlicet. Magnifici et clarissimi signori rettori et voi spectabiles signori antiani: Per esser sta espuesto a vostre signorie clarissime in questi giorni prefati per meggio d’una supplica fatta ad instantia di trombetti di questa magnifica citta, che in essa vengono publicate le proclamazioni, che si vogliono fare ad assecurar le pezze di terra che si comprano, da persone inesperte al sonar di tromba, contra la dispositione di statuti, stando le parolle di esso statuto, dove dice che tali cride debbano essere fatte con il longo et resonante sono della tromba, il che e sta introducto solamente procurando il loro proprio utile a danno et pregiudicio de me, povero Francisco Gaude, ufficiale publico di questa magnifica comunita, quali predicto questo essercitio mi aquistava il viver mio et di mei poveri figlioli, per lo ridando essere, sta privo d’esso essercitio per essere inesperto al sonar di tromba come si e detto, et essendo bramoso di allevare i poveri mei figlioli mediante detto officio, mi son accordato con uno maestro et ho imparato a sonare essa tromba come per isperienza si puol vedere, et chi continuo me imparando per sodesfare all’ ordine fatto per il magnifico consilio di questa citta, per ilche humilmente supplico vostre signorie eccellentissime vogliano degnarsi haver pietà et compassione de mi, poverissimo vostro servitore, et mei figlioli, et admettermi di puotere essercitare detto officio di far essi proclami, secondo il tenore della parte presa nel magnifico maggior consilio per sustentatione della detta mia povera famiglia, la quale vi prego haver per raccomandata.”

⁶¹*Ibid.*, f. 279r (17 July 1572).

⁶²*Azioni* 26, ff. 295r-295v (3 February 1557), marks the beginning of salary negotiations with “Cerbonio et Antonio Trombetti . . . et Hieronymo terzo trombetta.” The final offer, of three *scudi* per month, with no extra for shoes or livery, was passed in *ibid.*, ff/ 297r-297v (27 February 1557). Antonius was fired in *Azioni* 27, ff/ 68v-69r (6 October 1557). Salaries for the remaining herald/trumpeters were immediately lowered from three *scudi* to nine *lire* per month, but this was successfully contested by Cerbonius de Besutio and Hieronymus de Morariis in *Azioni* 27, ff. 131r (6 April 1558). The livery reimbursement was abandoned at this time.

⁶³The actual cost is not always easy to calculate, as cloth, buttons, shoes, and tailoring are often billed separately and never the same way in two successive years. The highest cost I have found is a total of 669 *lire*, one *soldo*, for four *balotini* (another name for the *campanarii*), in *Azioni* 42, f. 33, an average cost of 167 *lire*, five *soldi* per player.

⁶⁴*Azioni* 28, f. 113v (22 March 1561), records the hiring of Zani (Joannes) de Besutio to replace Cerbonius de Besutio at a salary of nine *lire* per month and no livery reimbursement. Baptista de Mutio had been one of Scandellis’ replacements in *Azioni* 27, ff. 68v-69r (6 October 1557), also hired at nine *lire*. His brother, Mutius de Mutio, was hired under the same arrangements in *Azioni* 28, 178r (5 December 1561), to replace Hieronymus de Morariis, who had gone to Venice.

⁶⁵Laura Bruni Colombi and Maria Mencaroni Zoppetti, . . . *Una bella piazza salizada. . . botegete et case appresso: . . . Storia di boteghe mestieri e commerci nella Piazza Vecchia di Bergamo e dintorni tra XVI*

e XVII scolo, Ex Filia, Studi e fonti per la storia di Bergamo / Quaderni della sezione archivi storici della Biblioteca Civica A. Mai di Bergamo, 5 (Bergamo/Ponteranica [BG], 1995): 73.

⁶⁶Morariis' leave to play in Trento for one year granted in *Azioni* 26, f. 206r (28 March 1556). Reconciliation of his account in *ibid.*, ff. 256r-256v (13 December 1556). Extension requested by Cardinal Madruzzo in *Azioni* 27, f. 26v (30 April 1557). His later (and final) departure for Venice appears in f. 162r (7 October 1561). The last salary payment (his) of three *scudi* appears in *Azioni* 28, f. 162r (11 October 1561). Count Francisus de Martinengo requested the presence of Maurus de Passeris, *trombetta*, in *Azioni* 46, f. 141r-141v (7 June 1595). He later requested Maurus' presence on a permanent basis in *ibid.*, ff. 205r-206r (17 December 1595).

⁶⁷*Azioni* 20, f. 175r (25 November 1539). "Sia anchora prohibito di fare mattinate al sposo et alla sposa la prima notte, se non saranno richieste dal sposo, et se alchuno fara mattinate, non essendo richiesto dal sposo, ovvero da altri per suo nome, incorri in pena de scudi diese, da esser divisa et applicada per terzo, utsupra, et se non haveranno da pagare, debbano stare per mese sei in presone; et il sposo ne altri per lui non possi dimandare piu di cinque sonatori seu cantori in tutto in far mattinate la prima notte, ne altri giorni et notti, ne in fare ballare, ne quando li fan pasti, et similmente sia prohibito alla sposa et a soi parenti, et a ogni altra persona, volendo far pasto alchuno o far ballare, sotto la dita pena de esser applicada et divisa utsupra. Super quo capitulo posito parte videlicet: capitulum habuit suffragia quinquaginta octo pro et contra decem, et fuit captum." The division of the fine in three parts follows the prescription on f. 172v, "la terza parte allo accusatore, et l'altra terza parte alla fabrica de Santo Vincenzo de la presente cita, et l'altra parte al phisco."

⁶⁸*Azioni* 24, f. 188v (24 April 1551). "Perche quelle mattinate che si fanno, da tante compagnie de sonatori al tempo di natale, sono una certa maniera di estorsione contra il tacito consenso di quelli a chi si fanno qual cosa e degna di provisione perho. Alchuno sonatore, si della terra, come forestiero, ne di zorno, ne di notte, ad alchuno di questa citta, ne territorio al tempo del natale, non possi sonar, ne far mattinata, ne in casa, ne fuor di casa, sotto le infrascripte pene et censure." *Azioni* 24, f. 190r (26 April 1551), presents the restrictions on wedding serenades in the same language as the 1539 ordinance in n. 67.

⁶⁹Bruce Dickey, "The *Cornetto* after 1650 in the Bologna region," Paper delivered at the Early Brass Festival, Amherst, MA, August, 1992; John Walter Hill, "Early Violin Playing in Art Music: The *Compagnia dei Suonatori of Brescia in the Sixteenth Century*," Paper delivered at the American Musicological Society National Meeting, New York, November, 1995.