

## Cesare Bendinelli: Some Recent Biographical Discoveries\*

Renato Meucci

The Accademia Filarmonica of Verona preserves among many other Renaissance relics one of the oldest existing trumpet treatises, the famous *Volume di tutta l'arte della trombetta*, a manuscript presented in 1614 to that institution by the Veronese trumpeter Cesare Bendinelli, together with an invaluable trumpet made in 1585 by the Nuremberg maker Anton Schnitzer the Elder.<sup>1</sup> Several years ago the distinguished trumpet scholar Edward H. Tarr published two articles dealing with Bendinelli and his treatise, as well as a facsimile edition with extended commentary.<sup>2</sup> While referring the reader to these studies for further information, I draw attention here to Bendinelli's position at the Bavarian court in Munich, where he spent the main part of his musical career, and to his close relationships with the Imperial court of Vienna, the electoral court of Cologne, and also the Duke of Mantua, Vincenzo Gonzaga (1562–1612, r. from 1587). This article also reveals Bendinelli's previously unknown relationship with Michelangelo Galilei, brother of the famous astronomer Galileo Galilei and the son of Vincenzo Galilei, the renowned music theorist and advocate of the *melodramma*. This fresh information is drawn from archival discoveries dating from the period 1580–1610 (see Appendix), from an underestimated book by Hans-Joachim Nösselt (see n. 3), as well as from information documented in these and other sources.

Born in Verona in around 1542, Bendinelli served as a trombone player at the court of Schwerin from 1562 to 1565, then moved to the Viennese imperial court as a trumpet player in 1567, remaining there until 1580. In that year he was given temporary permission to serve Duke Wilhelm V of Bavaria in Munich; thereafter, however, and till his death in 1617, he was a trumpeter at the court of Bavaria, where he also served in certain non-musical capacities. These latter assignments apparently relate to his particularly trustworthy and reliable character; in fact, in spite of well-known instances of distinguished composers and organists who held positions of trust in European courts, it was unusual in those days that a trumpeter was permitted to treat in a familiar way such noblemen as the Duke of Bavaria and the Duke of Mantua.

The first document presented here (Appendix, item 1) is a letter of 1580, in which Carlo Trivulzio, a representative of Emperor Rudolph II, reports to Duke Wilhelm that Bendinelli was allowed by "His Majesty" (i.e., the Emperor) to serve for one year at the court of Bavaria; Trivulzio assures the Duke that Bendinelli will serve with "all requested diligence and integrity," an obligation that Bendinelli undoubtedly took very seriously.

At the time of his arrival in Munich in 1580, the musical chapel there was one of the most prominent in Europe. Orlandus de Lassus (1532–94) had been recruited in 1556 by Wilhelm's predecessor, Duke Albrecht V (r. 1550–79), who aimed to reform his musical establishment according to the contemporary Italian fashion. From the very beginning of his employment, Lassus gained his employer's favor, quickly moving from the position

of *tenor secundus* to master of chamber music, then to favorite composer, and eventually to the prestigious position of *Kapellmeister* in 1563.

A remarkable sign of Lassus's influence is the radical renewal of the ensemble that at the time of his arrival in 1556 consisted of twelve musicians, all Germans except one: two organists, three lutenists, four cornett players (two of them also doubling on the trombone, one on the viol), two trombonists, and a viol player. In 1560, even before assuming the leadership, Lassus visited the Low Countries to engage new singers, while also beginning a dramatic reorganization of the instrumental group, which resulted in a veritable "invasion" of Italian instrumentalists. This is apparent from the list of the players paid between 1561 (note the number hired in that very year) and 1579, the year of Duke Albrecht's death:

*organists*

Hans Schächinger junior	1550–65
Andrea Gabrieli	1562–63
Ivo de Vento	1564–75
Giovanni da Cremona	1565–70
Gioseffo Guami	1567–79
Giovanni Batt. Morsolino	1568–72
Stefano Rosetto	1579–80

*lutenists*

Lienhart Reillstorffer	1552–68
Hans Kolman	1561–70
Cesare Cremonese	1573
Josquin Salem	1574–75
Cosimo Bottrigari	1573–81

*violinists*

Jeronimo Morari	1561–64
Antonio Morari	1561–97
Battista Morari	1561–77
Annibale Morari	1561–92
Lucio Terzio	1561–77
Matthias Besozzi	1562–99
Cerbonio Besozzi	1562–79
Giovan Batt. Romano	1566–1569
Anthoni Goßwin	1568
Christoff Pocis	1568–79
Ercole Terzio	1569 (thereafter trombonist)
Achille Morari	1577

*cornettists*

Hans Widmann	1552–65, 1573–80
Jeronimo da Udine	1561–62
.....n.n..... da Udine	1561–62
.....n.n. .... da Udine	1561–62
Giovan Fiamengo	–1567
Domenico Aldigheri	1565–68 (thereafter trombonist)
Fileno Cornazzani	1567–1628
Francesco Mosto	1568–79

*trombonists*

Hanns Schweitzer	1550–62
Francesco Venerolo	1561–76
Sebastiano di Alberto	1563–80
Francesco Guami	1568–80
Simon Gatto	1567–71
Domenico Aldigheri	1569–70
Iacopo Aldigheri	1569–80
Ercole Terzio	1570– after1600
Francesco de Laudis	1572–77
Johann de Laudis	1572–79

*“instrumentalists”*

..... Lasaro	1561
..... Perton	1561

Continuity between old and new personnel is represented only by Schächinger (organ), Reillstorffer (lute), Widmann (cornett), and Schweitzer (trombone), while the invasion of Italian instrumentalists is particularly impressive. In fact, it was an obvious result of the radical innovations in musical style introduced since the definition in shape and sound of the violin and its music, of which the brothers Morari were prominent specialists.

The modern hierarchy of the instruments begins to emerge, introduced by the primacy of the string instruments, still valid today, which had its roots in the *musica reservata*. With it dawned Munich’s “Italian age,” essentially a “meridionalization” of the instrumental ensemble.<sup>3</sup>

In 1579, when Duke Wilhelm V ascended the Bavarian throne, which he occupied until 1598, a new phase of transformation began, which also encompassed the sumptuous and long-lasting reign of Wilhelm’s son and successor, Maximilian I (r. 1598–1651). In this span of time, in which the Duchy of Bavaria also became an imperial electorate,

the splendor of the chapel and chamber music of the court of Munich, one of the most prosperous in all Europe, was virtually unmatched, both in the traditional polyphonic music and in the new style of accompanied monody. The latter practice, promoted at the beginning of the new century by the Italian *melodramma*, was introduced there during the tenure as *Kapellmeister* of Lassus's two sons, Ferdinand I (from 1603 to 1609) and Ferdinand II (from 1613 to 1628).

During the extended period of his employment in Munich, between 1580 and 1617, Bendinelli was therefore witness to the flourishing activity of the local musical chapel. The court trumpeters (six during this period, plus one timpanist) constituted, however, a unit quite distinct from the other musical ensembles. Their duties were mainly ceremonial, with the commitment to dignify all events at which the Duke was present, to take part in their patron's retinue, to play on the battlefield, and also to attend most diplomatic missions (thus Bendinelli had occasion to travel to and visit several European cities).

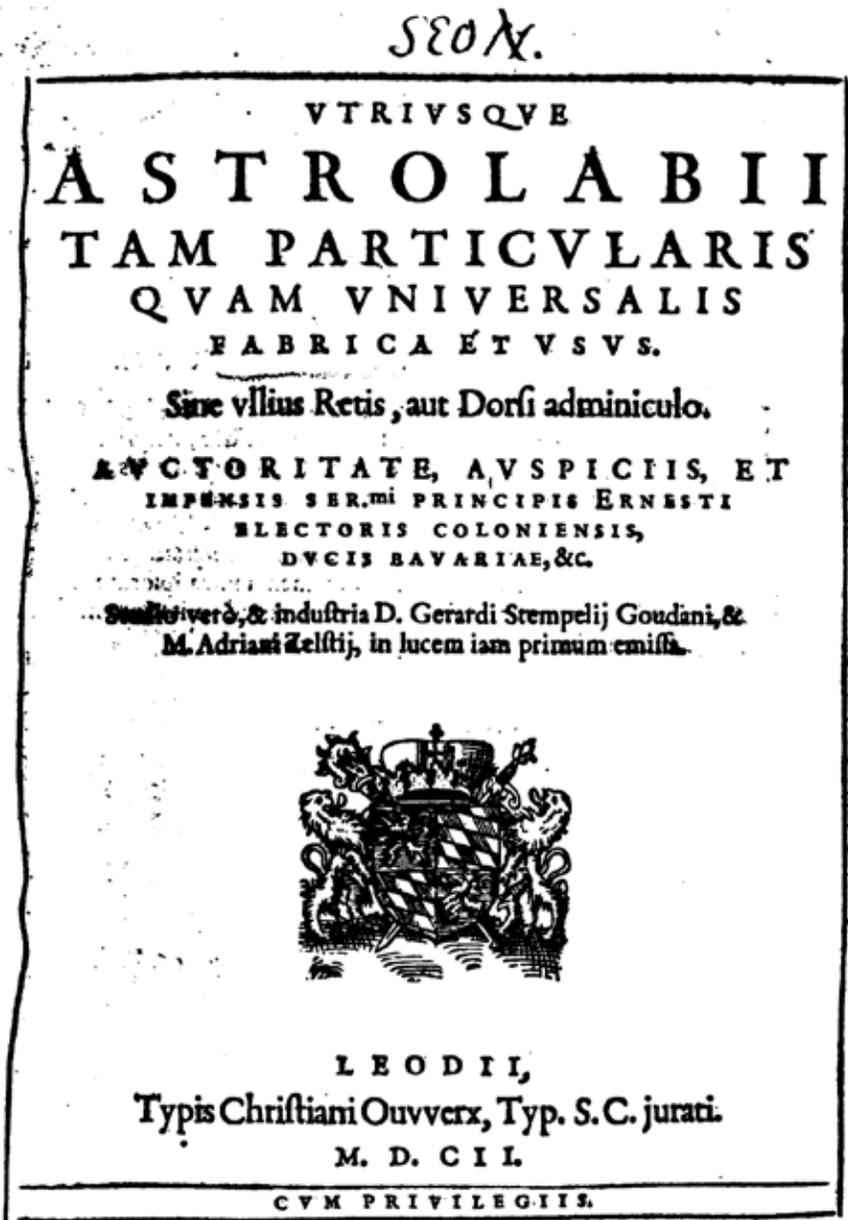
A report by the collector and art dealer Philipp Hainhofer (1578–1647) concerning his visits to Munich in 1611 and 1613 deals with some of the activities in which the court trumpeters were involved, thus indirectly referring, we can certainly infer, also to Bendinelli, though he is not mentioned by name. Of particular importance is a description of the celebrations for the wedding on 11 November 1613 of Duke Maximilian's younger sister, Magdalena, to Count Wolfgang Wilhelm of the Palatinate-Neuburg:

The beginning of the meal was marked by the sound of trumpets and kettle-drums, like the music between the single courses.... [A]fter the banquet ... we went to the hall to dance ... and as soon as every knight had his partner before him, the trumpets ceased playing, and the music of the stringed instruments began.<sup>4</sup>

The repertory of these ensembles of trumpets was performed by heart or partially improvised, in a fanfare setting, of which one of the oldest occurrences is found in Bendinelli's treatise, another example being that of the famous Toccata in Monteverdi's *Orfeo*.

The most skilled instrumentalists, like Bendinelli, also instructed young apprentices, one or two at a time, according to guild practice. In addition to the cost of instruction, these students also paid for room and board in the house of the master. Musicians of some distinction, moreover, were granted pensions, a rarity at the time. Bendinelli was entitled to these emoluments, not only because of his musical position, but also for several other services he rendered for the court, as for instance the mission reported in a letter of 1586 (Appendix, item 3).

Other duties could be assigned to him by foreign correspondents, as in the case of the Duke of Mantua, Vincenzo Gonzaga, to whom Bendinelli addressed his last known letter (1610), which reports all his official appointments: "Cesare Bendinelli, servant of His Imperial Majesty and of the Chamber of the Most Serene Elector of Cologne, musician and head of trumpeters of the Most Serene [Duke] of Bavaria" (Appendix, item 8).



**Figure 1:** Title page of the book Bendinelli offered to Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga: Gerhard Stempel and Adrianus Zelstius, *Utrivsqve astrolabii tam particularis ...* (Liège, 1602).

An even more detailed list of these roles is reported in an engraved epigraph, no longer legible, he had inscribed on the external wall of Munich's Dom zu Unserer Lieben Frau (Cathedral of Our Dear Lady) in 1613, four years before his death:

To God Almighty. Caesar Bendinelli of Verona, intimate of Emperors Maximilian and Rudolph II, chamber servant of the most serene Electors of Cologne, Ernst and Ferdinand, musician and head of the trumpeters of Wilhelm and Maximilian, Princes of Bavaria, raised this monument to himself, his wife, and sons in the year 1613.

D: O: M: Caesar Bendinellus Veronēsis, Maximiliani et Rudolphi secundi Imp: aug: familiaris Ser: Ernesti et Ferdinandi Electores Colonienses Cubicularius nec non Guilielmi et Maximiliani Bavariae Ducum Musicus et tubicinum Praefectus Munumentum hoc sibi uxori et liberis vivens posuit anno Sal: MDCXIII.

This epitaph, discussed by Tarr also in relation to Bendinelli's correspondence with the Duke of Mantua, contains some biographical hints that deserve further scrutiny—in particular, the use of the Latin terms *familiaris*, *cubicularius*, and *musicus et tubicinum praefectus*. New light on the first two of these terms comes from the extensive archival research carried out by Nösselt in his book of 1980 (see n. 3). I brought this volume—and the virtually unknown information in it—to the attention of Michele Mozzicato, who wrote a dissertation on another copy of Bendinelli's treatise, preserved in Vienna.<sup>5</sup> Information on this copy was first brought to light by Gerhard Stradner in 1988.<sup>6</sup>

Thanks to his systematic perusal of surviving documents, Nösselt showed that Bendinelli was initially employed as *Instrumentist*, then *Musikus*, later *Oberster Trompeter* (from 1586), and eventually *Komponist* (composer).<sup>7</sup> If the first term refers exclusively to a multi-talented instrumentalist, which Bendinelli certainly was, the appellation *Musikus* is of a broader meaning, being applicable in the sixteenth century to a singer, a lutenist, or even a *Kapellmeister*—in any case, a position much more prominent than that of *Instrumentist*.<sup>8</sup> From Nösselt we also learn that Bendinelli became first trumpeter in 1586,<sup>9</sup> not in 1580 as previously reported by Sandberger and in subsequent studies based on his work,<sup>10</sup> and that his output as composer, though sporadic, might actually be documented by a *Magnificat* preserved in the Staatsbibliothek in Munich.<sup>11</sup> In short, the last part of the inscription on Bendinelli's epigraph should be considered accurate in identifying his two principal musical posts at the court of Bavaria: *musicus* (multi-instrumentalist and composer) and of course *tubicinum praefectus*, head of the trumpet players.

It remains therefore to clarify the two attributes mentioned at the beginning of the same epigraph—that is, his relationship to the imperial court (*familiaris*) and also to the electoral court of Cologne (*cubicularius*). The term *familiaris*, in classical as well as in modern Latin, means “close” or “personal servant,” or even “intimate”; and as it is mentioned in reference to both the emperors Maximilian II (r. 1564–76) and Rudolph II (r. 1576–1612), it confirms that Bendinelli's role at the Viennese court was not

exclusively a musical one, at least from 1580, the year of his transfer to Munich. It may be that he initially acted as trumpet player while his reputation grew at the Viennese court, possibly because of his missions as courier (a later specialty), eventually gaining the title *familiaris*.

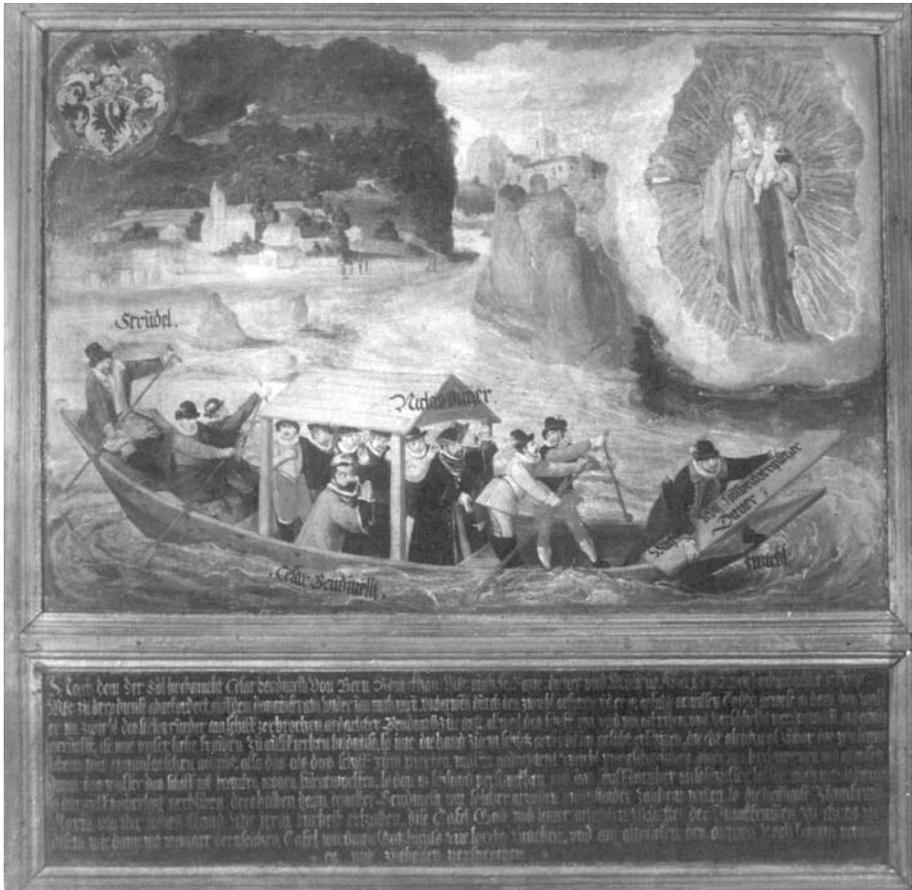
However, the most significant fresh information concerns his role as *cubicularius* with regard to the electoral court of Cologne. An explanation of this term may possibly be found in letters written by Bendinelli himself, reproduced in the Appendix to this essay: “chamber servant,” a title he assumed at least by 1602, which seems to exclude any musical activity. Evidently he served as a personal representative or agent, an appointment he also held under Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga of Mantua (r. from 1587), as is apparent from the correspondence with the latter during the period 1602–10. These appellations were normally granted to persons of outstanding reputation, only after a long period of service and constant demonstration of reliability. They were eagerly sought after, due to the benefits obtainable thereby, and were usually awarded by a letter or official document signed by the noble grantor.

One should further bear in mind a significant coincidence in regard to his appointment as *cubicularius*: the two Elector-Archbishops of Cologne to whom Bendinelli offered his services were Ernst (r. 1583–1612) and Ferdinand (r. 1612–50), the former being the son of Albrecht V of Bavaria and Anne of Austria, and the latter of Wilhelm V and Renate of Lorraine. Thus they were the brother and the son, respectively, of the rulers whom Bendinelli served in Munich. These close relationships may help to explain why Bendinelli, so highly regarded at the court of Munich, was also recommended to the companion court of Cologne, no doubt for his reliability and loyalty over time, as well as for his impeccable manners and behavior.

In 1586 Bendinelli asked Duke Wilhelm for a letter of recommendation in favor of his son, Alfonso, so that the latter could enter the service of the Count of Zollern (Appendix, item 2). Three years later, in 1589, an unnamed son of Bendinelli, now identifiable with Alfonso, was sent to Graz to study the organ with Francesco Rovigo. He was subsequently proved guilty of a serious crime, having stolen together with a companion 400 guilders from his teacher. Even in these unfortunate circumstances Bendinelli could rely on the duke, who restored the stolen money to Rovigo.

One of the many journeys Bendinelli made on behalf of his patrons took him to Bonn in 1586 to deliver several horses to Ernst, Elector of Cologne. In the report sent to Duke Wilhelm (Appendix, item 3), he mentions a further excursion to Trier in order to try “his” large *balon*—a barge whose name and shape came from Siam (present-day Thailand). This connection with such a remote country may seem surprising, but it is confirmed in several sources of the period, such as the detailed account found in de la Loubère (1691), and in subsequent literature.<sup>12</sup>

According to these sources, a *balon* barge, which was particularly suitable for inland waterways, had many features—external shape, disposition of the oarsmen and of the steersman, form and usage of the oars, central cabin to shelter passengers—that closely match those seen in the votive image that Bendinelli dedicated to Our Lady of Aufkirchen,



**Figure 2:** Votive image dedicated by Bendinelli to Our Lady of Aufkirchen.

in the church of the same name, near Starnberg (Bavaria). This painting showing the boating accident from which Bendinelli was rescued in 1582, together with some courtly gentlemen, allows us to conjecture that the *balon* barge that he claimed to be his property was the very vessel that had been involved in the accident he miraculously survived.

Other documents inform us that Cesare Bendinelli was married to a woman named Elena and that, apart from Alfonso and another son named Massimiliano, they had two daughters. One of them, Caterina, in 1603 was coincidentally in the service of the queen of France, Maria de' Medici (1573–1642), whose marriage to King Henry IV of France provided the occasion for one of the earliest operas, Jacopo Peri's *Euridice*, performed in Florence on 6 October 1600. Moreover, Nösselt reports a further tantalizing biographical tidbit, informing us that another daughter, Anna Chiara, married the lutenist Michelangelo Galilei (1575–1631) in 1608. Michelangelo was the younger brother of the famous

astronomer Galileo and the son of Vincenzo Galilei, one of the early supporters of opera, the development of which he foresaw in his *Dialogo della musica antica et della moderna* (Florence, 1581). Michelangelo arrived at the court of Bavaria in 1607 as *Lautenist* (lutenist) and *Instrumentist*, the latter position requiring, as we have seen, the skills of a multi-instrumentalist. Trained in Florence during the initial flourishing of monody, he helped introduce this style in Munich; moreover, he also played the theorbo, an instrument highly appropriate for early thoroughbass accompaniment.

Michelangelo Galilei and Anna Chiara Bendinelli had eight children, four of whom died along with their mother in the dreadful plague of 1634. The couple's eldest son, Vincenzo (b. 1608), and his younger brother, Alberto Cesare (b. 1617), were active as lutenists at the Bavarian court, the former from 1627 to 1631, the latter for fifty-three years, from 1639 until his death in 1692.

An additional glimpse into Cesare Bendinelli's activities is afforded by four letters (three autographs and one copy) and other documents preserved in Mantua. They testify to the close relationship, at least during the period 1602–10, between Bendinelli and Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga, one of the most distinguished patrons of music in early seventeenth-century Italy, an admirer and supporter of Claudio Monteverdi and the husband of another illustrious member of the Medici family, Eleonora (1565–1611).

The first of these letters (Appendix, item 4) bears witness in particular to the function reserved for some highly regarded domestics who were considered exceptionally trustworthy—Bendinelli, of course, was among them—and who acted as conveyors of news and rarities of all kinds, as well as agents for their wealthy patrons. The correspondence clearly expresses the high degree of familiarity that existed between Bendinelli and Duke Vincenzo, a confidential but respectful relationship that was in fact reserved for the most loyal servants and those with special merits.

The letter refers to Giovanni Maria Lugaro, “excellent musician” and “honored and honest virtuoso,” who, for unspecified reasons, but out of “envy and ignorance,” someone had prevented from accompanying Bendinelli on a mission. Bendinelli reports that he had returned eight days previously from a trip to Cologne where, by order of Elector Ernst, he had accompanied several people from Augsburg, together with “some of their inventions.” In Cologne he found copies of a number of engraved prints that were sent to the duke through Signor Lugaro. Lugaro was also instructed to describe to him an engraving of the city of Ostend, with representations of battlefields.<sup>13</sup> Additionally, Bendinelli brings to the duke's attention a recent and now very rare book, and asks if he would like to have a copy of it—a volume dealing with a new type of astrolabe without the usual accessories (such as the rete [framework] and other trappings), a “very rare thing and a very useful invention”<sup>14</sup> (see Figure 1).

Another even more obvious sign of Bendinelli's familiarity with the Duke is his offer to engage the services of a young painter of miniatures, a pupil of Johann Gerle. Bendinelli asks his patron to send, “in a strictly confidential way,” a figure “of a holy man, or a holy woman,” so that it might be reproduced by the young fellow.

The second, non-autograph, letter, as well as two short related documents (Appendix, items 5 and 6, respectively), are of lesser importance, referring to the repayment of a loan made to Giovan Paolo Agucchia, called the “Doctor” (fl. 1593–1621),<sup>15</sup> a jester and courtier to the Gonzaga family also active in Munich and Savoy, from whom Bendinelli was still awaiting “satisfaction.”

Man. b. 527. fasc. 1

Set. sig. i. patronio d. l. 1

Alto sig. Giulio Cesare Brinelli vostro zio p. p. mi  
 haia una copia della lettera, che v. A. S. ha scritto  
 haver certe pietre del minerale di salpêtre, è questo  
 un mio amico qual a scritto questo effetto  
 maudo. a. v. A. S., questa in istanza della in  
 tedeschi della risposta che tanto di salpêtre,  
 v. A. S. vedeva quello che scrivono, e il mondo  
 (sia se sia a suo proposito, la mia farei gratia  
 di farvi sapere la risposta quella che abbiate  
 se tanto, farei i vostri per ripulidivono  
 gratia. che v. A. S. si degni di. (S. v. d. v. m. m.)  
 et la supplico un'altra mia numero della mia  
 minimi del. che sig. Giulio. a. v. A. S. tutti  
 quello che il suo picurioso con desiderio, e  
 tranquillamente l'ufficio ricorrenza -

in Monaca alli 6. febraro 1610. —  
 di. v. A. S.

Giulio sig.

Cesare Bendinelli, sig. di. S. M. C.  
 e della Camera del tes. estero. L.  
 Colonia, Alessia, e Capo Le  
 trombetti, del tes. di. Baviera.

**Figure 3:** The last known letter by Bendinelli, dated 6 February 1610. Mantua, Archivio di Stato—Archivio Gonzaga, b. 527, fasc. “Bendinelli,” doc. 1.

The third letter, again an autograph (Appendix, item 7), dated 25 October 1606, testifies once more to Bendinelli's role as an intermediary, while reporting a visit of Duke Vincenzo to Munich between August 1604 (the date of the previous letter) and October 1606. Here Bendinelli states that he has received a command to have two fine locks made, one for a chest and the other for a door, but without receiving instructions as to the dimensions of the mechanism. On this occasion he also complains that Pietro Antonio Comparini, barber and surgeon in Milan, stole a horse (a black one with a wolf's bite in its thigh) and a "balas" ruby (from the Persian region of Badakhshan) from a Jewish jeweler, and also committed other unspecified minor offenses. Bendinelli requests that this man, soon expected to arrive in Mantua and defined as "a rare type to adorn the gallows," be turned over to the local justice.

The final document (Appendix, item 8) is also Bendinelli's last known letter, sent in 1610 to Duke Vincenzo concerning some precious stones from the mines of Salzburg that the latter sought to obtain.

We have already noted that all of Bendinelli's titles are mentioned in detail here. Yet his position as "chamber [servant] of the most serene elector of Cologne" may point the way for future research on his activities in that important city on the Rhine.<sup>16</sup>

Further clues concerning Bendinelli's biography may eventually emerge from the names on the abovementioned votive panel dedicated to Our Lady of Aufkirchen after the accident on the Danube in 1582: that of the steersman Strundel, of the stately Niclas Birger, and of the servant (*Diener* in German) Zwichl.

A final suggestion points to a more complete description of Bendinelli's court appointment as a trumpeter, in order to cast more light on the professional trumpeter's duties in sixteenth century, a role that Bendinelli however surpassed by far, attaining a position that simply cannot be compared to that of any other wind-instrument player of his day.<sup>17</sup>

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*Meucci has taught the history of musical instruments as invited professor at the University of Parma (1994–2000) and the University of Milan (2001–present); and, as full professor, music history at the Conservatory "G. Cantelli" of Novara, where he assumed the position of dean in 2011.*

*In 2012 the American Musical Instrument Society honored him with the Curt Sachs Award, the most distinguished international recognition in the field of organology.*

## APPENDIX

(all the original documents are in Italian)<sup>18</sup>**1. autograph letter by Claudio Trivulzio; Prague, 5 August 1580<sup>19</sup>**

Most Excellent Sir, my Lord and always honorable Patron,

Cesare Bendinelli delivered to me [the letter] from Your Excellency, written the last [day] / of July, which was of so much satisfaction to me that / I cannot expect more, learning that Your Excellency is more gracious to me / than I deserve, although I have always desired / and wish to be so fortunate as to deserve the smallest / part of [your grace], according to the mercy that Your Excellency / shows in abundance. You will admit that my lack is neither / of mind nor of will, but rather in my unworthiness. His / Majesty [Rudolf II]<sup>20</sup> granted Cesare Bendinelli a license for one / year, and although I hope he will refrain from exploiting it / in full, I recommended him, in the name of His Majesty / and under penalty of his misfortune, not to miss / [the opportunity of] serving Your Excellency with all requested diligence and / integrity, so that Your Excellency will remain satisfied, / failing which his Majesty may treat him as / merited. And if I can serve you here or elsewhere, / I beg Your Excellency with all / my heart to ask and command, considering myself / most fortunate whenever I am granted such / grace. With this I finish, praying to the Lord God / that He will elevate and bless the person of / Your Excellency, as all his servants desire.

In Prague, 5 August 1580  
most humble, and fortunate  
and true servant  
of Your Excellency,  
Claudio Trivulzio

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Eccellentissimo signore, signor mio et Patrone sempre Collendissimo

Da Cesar Bendinelli Hebbe la di Vostra Eccellenza del ultimo / di luglio la quale a me fu di tanto contento che piu / stimar non posso conoscendo per essa che Vostra Eccellenza mi fa / piu gratia che io non merito, benché sempre o desiderato / et desidero essere si fortunato di poter meritar la minor / parte, ma conforme ala Clemencia che in Vostra Eccellenza / abonda conosera che il mancam[en]to che è in me non è / di animo ne di volonta ma di non essere degno. Sua / Maesta ha concesso a Cesar Bendinello la licenza di un / anno benché spero avanti che preterisca di ottenerlo / in tutto, al detto o comisso in nome di Sua Maesta / et sotto pena di la sua disgracia che non manchi di / servir a Vostra Eccellenza con tutta quella diligenza et inte- / grità che conviene atio che Vostra Eccellenza resti sodisfatta / che altrimenti Sua Maesta lo farebbe trattar come /

meriterebbe, et se io qua o altrove son bono / bono a servirla, supplico a Vostra Eccellenza di tutto / core a favorirmi et comandarmi, riputandomi / fortunatissimo ogni volta che mi sij concesso sta[r in] / gratia. Con questo facio fine pregando il signor Iddio / che augumenti in statti et felicità la persona di / Vostra Eccellenza si come tutti li suoi ser[vito]ri desiderano.

In Pragma ali cinque di Agosto 1580

Di Vostra Eccellenza

Humillissimo et ditissimo

et vero servitore

Claudio Trivulzio

## 2. autograph letter by Bendinelli; Munich, undated (but early 1586)<sup>21</sup>

Most Serene Patron,

I beseech Your Highness to favor me with a letter of recommendation to / the Count of Zollern, so that, because of his loyalty to / Your Highness, he would admit my son, named Alfonso / Bendinelli, to his service; and that he would / punish him severely if he should fail [to serve well]. I / will leave him without the need / for wages for some time, in order to see if he proves satisfactory, / as I hope he will do when / out of my house. And if he does well, it will be / for the service of Your Highness and His Most Serene House; / if not, he can be thrown in jail. / Thus, I beg Your Highness to provide the recommendation / and order that the letter be written tomorrow, / as an agent of the said Count is here, who / wants to return on Sunday to the said / Count with other fellows he must take with him.

most faithful servant  
of Your Serene Highness  
Cesare Bendinelli

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Serenissimo Patron,

Suplico Vostra Altezza farmi gratia di una litera di favore al / Signor Conte de Zoler, chil voglia per amor di / Vostra Altezza acetar mio figliol nominato Alfonso / Bendinelli al suo servizio, et che lo voglia / far castigare amaramente quando falera. Io / lo lassaro per un tempo senza domandarli / salario per veder se vol far alcuno fruto / bono, come spero potra fare, quando sarra / fora di casa mia, et facendo bene sarra / per servizio di Vostra Altezza et della serenissima Casa Sua / se non farra bene, la galera non li mancara / per tanto suplico Vostra Altezza avermi per raccomandato / et far cometer che sia fatta detta litera domani / ateso che è qui un messo di detto Conte, qual / domenica vol partire per ritornarssi dal detto, / signor Conte con altri figlioli che a da condurre,

di Vostra Altezza serenissima  
 fidelissimo servitore  
 Cesare Bendinelli

### 3. autograph letter by Bendinelli; Bonn, 25 March 1586<sup>22</sup>

Most Serene Patron,

On the seventeenth of this month I arrived in Bonn, thanks to our Lord God, safe / and sound. The horses are fat; God smiles on them. / When I was near Bonn I played the trumpet, / as did my boys. His Highness immediately came / to the boat and wanted to see the horses, which / pleased him very much. The next day he required / that everything be presented, and I did this thoroughly. / I had the coach fixed up quite well, and presented it all / in order, which made His Highness very / happy; and the next day we went to / Trier,<sup>23</sup> to try my large *balon* [boat], on which more than / six persons stood very comfortably, and His Highness was much / pleased. In addition, Most Serene Patron, His Highness does not want / me to leave, saying he wants to acquire many things in / Augsburg and Munich to present to the Prince / of Parma [Alessandro Farnese], about whom His Highness will write a note to Your Highness, / [sending it] by Signor Barbicio, who / will leave in two or three days. As for me, / I look forward to coming to Munich because here / there are no soldiers. I would like to come to enjoy [it with] / my poor family, and stay under the command / of Your Highness. Thus I beseech you to write to the Most Serene Elector [Ernst of Bavaria], / asking him to send me on my way, so that I can come as soon as possible, / for I do not want anything else but to obey the commandment / of Your Highness; and with this I do reverence as humbly / as I can, praying [that] our Lord God will make you prosper and bless you.

from Bonn, 25 March 1586  
 most humble and faithful servant  
 of Your Serene Highness  
 Cesare Bendinelli

Postscript: The coachman does not want to remain in service here. / He begged to return, for which I recommend him to Your Highness, / as he has managed things very well with the horses. / The coachman will recount the travails we / suffered on this trip. I beseech Your Highness to remain / my gracious Lord and Patron, and that our Lord / may preserve you, [and hear your] every desire, and satisfy you.

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Serenissimo Patron,

il 17 di questo gionse in Bonna, gratia a nostro signor Iddio, sano / et salvo. Li cavalli sono belli grassi, Iddio li guarda; / quando fui vicino a Bonna sonai la tronbetta et / ancor li miei putti, Sua Altezza subito venette / alla barca et volsse veder li cavalli quali / li piquero assai, il giorno seguente volsse / che presentasse ogni cosa dil che tutto presentai; / fece comodar il choggio molto bene et tutto / in ordine presentai qual Sua Altezza fu molto / contento, et il giorno seguente andassimo a / Briel, a provar il mio gran balon stette dissopra / sei perssone molto bene; Sua Altezza che molto / a piacere, poi serenissimo patron, Sua Altezza non vol / che mi parta dice voler aver molte cose in / Augusta et Monaco per far presente al principe / di Parma come Sua Altezza scrivera a Vostra Altezza / sopra di questo fatto per il signor Barbicio, qual / si partira in dui over tre giorni; quanto a me / non vedo lorra di venir a Monaco perche qui / non ci sonno soldatti, vorei venir a goder la / mia povera famiglia, et far il comandamento / di Vostra Altezza, come la suplico voglia scriver al serenissimo Ellettore / che voglia espedirmi, acio possa venir quanto prima / perche altro non desidero che far il comandamento / di Vostra Altezza et con questo più humilmente che / posso li fa riverentia pregando nostro signor / Iddio la prosperi et felicit.

di Bonna alli 25 Marzo 1586  
di Vostra Altezza Serenissima  
Humillissimo et fidellissimo Servitore  
Cesare Bendinelli

poi scrita: il chogiero non vol restar a questo servizio / a pregato per ritornarsene qual lo aricomando a Vostra Altezza / avendosi lui diportato bene con li cavalli, / detto choggiero racontara li travagli che abiamo / passato per questo viaggio, suplico Vostra Altezza mi resti / gratiosissimo signor et patrone che nostro Signor la / conservi, ogni suoi desideri [esaudisca] et contenti

#### 4. autograph letter by Bendinelli; Munich, 14 August 1602<sup>24</sup>

Most Serene Lord and Most Honorable Patron,

Through your faithful servant, Signor Giovanni / Maria Lugaro, most distinguished musician, I would not / fail to make reverence to Your Highness and / to commend myself as your lowest and most faithful servant. I much regret that the said Signor Lugaro / was not among us, but envy / and ignorance are the mother of wicked persons / who have no patron's protection; / never mind. Your Serene Highness, however, should regard him as beloved because / he is an honored and honest virtuoso; / it has been eight days since I returned after / the Most Serene Elector of Cologne requested me / to bring to him some people and some of their / inventions made in Augsburg and / in Cologne. I came across some charts engraved / for the first time, and felt it appropriate to dare to obtain

them / for your Serene Highness. I have other little things, but / for not overburdening the porter, I will reserve them / for another occasion. If Your Highness would like to have / a great drawing of Ostend with all / the field, and all the actions [of battle], such as / Signor Lugaro will tell you; and more, [a description of the] / “manufacture and use of an astrolabe, both universal and particular, without any framework or back; / under the authority, and auspices and at the expense / of the Most Serene Prince Ernst Elector of Cologne, / through the study and efforts of Gerard Stempel of Gouda / and M. Adrian Zelst, just newly / issued, printed in Liège by Christian Ouwerx, / sworn printer of His Highness. 1602. With privileges.”<sup>25</sup> / Your Serene Highness will forgive me because I am not competent / in these sciences, but those / who are, say it / is a very rare thing and an invention / very useful; if Your Highness would like, / I will send it with all my heart. / In my house there is a fellow, / a painter of miniatures, servant of the Most Serene Elector / of Cologne, my Lord, who / is a disciple of Johan Gerle, and I hope / he will turn out to be an expert man. I wish that / Your Serene Highness, in a strictly confidential way, would send me / the figure of a holy man, or a holy woman,<sup>26</sup> whom / I would like to have painted by this young man / in secret, and I would let him do it / at my home and to his heart’s content, and if / Your Highness knows that I am able to / serve you here or in Augsburg, I beg you / to command me, because I aim to be / your faithful and reliable a servant. [I pray] that our Lord / God may give to your Highness all what your / generous heart desires.

from Munich, 14 August 1602  
 faithful servant of Your Serene Highness,  
 Cesare Bendinelli, chamber servant of  
 the most Serene Elector of Cologne, Musicus of Bavaria

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Serenissimo Signor e Patron mio Illustrissimo

Con la occasione del suo fidel servitore il signor Giovanni / Maria Lugaro, musico eccellentissimo non ho volssiuo / mancar di far riverentia a Vostra Altezza Serenissima et / racordarmeli suo minimo e fidellissimo servitore; / molto mi rincresser chel detto Signor Lugaro / non sia stato de’ nostri, ma la invidia / et ingniorantia, è madre de maligni / che non tengono la protezione de patroni, / patientia. Vostra Altezza Serenissima, solo [lo] tenga caro perche / è virtuoso onorato et dabene; / gia otto giorni fa son ritornato che / il serenissimo eletore di Colonia mi giamo / per condurli certe gjente et certe sue / invencione fate in Augusta, et / in Colonia; trovai certe carte stanpate / da novo, me parso pilar ardire di farne / parte a Vostra Altezza Serenissima, tengo altre cossete ma / per non caricar il portatore, mi riservo a / altra comodita, se Vostra Altezza Serenissima vora avere / ostende in figura grande con tutto / il campo, et tutte le acione como il / signor Lugaro racontara, ancora una / astrolabii tam particularis quan universalis fabrica et usus sine ullius retis, aut dorsi / admiculo, Auturitate auspicii et impensis / ser:mi principis ernesti eletoris Coloniensis, / studio vero et industria D: Gerardi stempelij gaudio [recte: Goudani] / et M. Adriani Zelstij, in

lucem jam primum / emissa, Leodij typis christiani ouwerx / typ. S. C. Jurati. 1602. Con privilegiis / Vostra Altezza Serenissima mi perdona che non mintendo / de queste scenzie, ma ben quelli / che sene intende dicono che sia / cosa molta rarra et invention / molto utile se Vostra Altezza Serenissima vora averla / la mandaro con tutto il core; / si ritrova in casa mia un giovane / pitor de miniatura servitore del serenissimo eletore / di Colonia mio signore il qual giovane / e dissipulo di Johan Gerle, et spero / si fara valentomo, a caro avaria che / Vostra Altezza Serenissima pero in silentio mi mandasse / una figura sia di santo over santa che / jo voria farla far a questo giovane / ma che non si sapesse, lo faria fare / in casa mia a suo comodo, et se / Vostra Altezza Serenissima conosse che sia atto di poterla / servire sia qui ò Augusta la suplico / che si deg[n]i comandarmi perche li miro [?] / fidelissimo et securo servitore; che nostro signor / Iddio doni a Vostra Altezza Serenissima tutto quel che [il] suo / generoso core desidera

di Monaco alli 14 Auosto 1602  
 di Vostra Altezza Serenissima fidelissimo servitore  
 Cesare Bendinelli servitor de camara del  
 Serenissimo Eletor di Colonia, Musico di Baverra

**5. non-autograph letter, with autograph signature and qualifications; Munich, 20 November 1604<sup>27</sup>**

Most Serene Prince, my most merciful Lord and Patron,

In August of last year Giovan Paolo, / called “Dottor Bolognese,” came to Munich with a muleteer sent by your Highness, / with some things for this Most Serene Duke and my Lord. He so pleased me that / I lent him 18 thalers to be sent with / this muleteer to his wife. I gave him thirty thalers, / and he promised not to leave Munich until I / could be repaid. But it being convenient for him to leave before / he could return the money, he begged that I extend the loan until Christmas, when I would be completely satisfied. / He gave me a receipt on 4 November 1603, / of which I am sending a copy to Count Mattia di Gazoldo. When / he recently came here, when my Serene Lord was about to go / deer hunting, I asked him for this money. He gave me ten thalers, praying that for the remainder I would be patient / till he had returned from a trip he had to undertake / to the Fuggers in Augsburg, and from there to Württemberg, for which / he obtained from me some letters of recommendation. Now / I have been informed that, having arrived in Augsburg, he has stolen / fourteen florins from an innkeeper, an honorable man (as / stated in a letter that the latter wrote to me, and which I am sending / to the said Signor Count). He did not make the journey / to Württemberg, but ran immediately to Italy. / I beg your Serene Highness that you command him that I / be satisfied promptly, which I will consider a particular favor, / while praying to the Divine Majesty that he will maintain for a long time your Most Serene / Highness, to whom I bow reverently, and I desire that / all of your wishes will be fulfilled.

From Munich, 20 November 1604.  
 The most humble and faithful servant  
 of your Most Serene Highness,  
 Cesare Bendinelli,  
 chamber servant of the most Serene Elector  
 of Cologne, Musician and Head  
 of the Trumpeters of Bavaria

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Serenissimo Príncipe Signor et patron mio Clementissimo

Quando l'anno passato nel mese d'Agosto venne à Monaco Giovan Paolo / detto il Dottor Bolognese con un mulattiere mandato da Vostra Altezza Serenissima / con certe robbe à questo Serenissimo Duca mio signore mi domandò ch' / io gli volessi prestar 18. tagheri per mandarli con commodità / di detto Mulattiere alla sua moglie; et io gli diedi trenta talleri, / et mi promise di non voler partire da Monaco sin tanto ch'io / fossi stato sodisfatto, mà convenendogli partirsi senza havermi / potuto dare detti denari, mi pregò ch'io glie li lasciasse sin à / Natale, che all' hora infallibilmente mi havrebbe contentato, / et mi fece una ricevuta sotto il dì 4 di 9bre 1603 la cui / copia mando al signor conte Matthia di Gassoldo. Quando / poi ultimament venne quà mentre che'l mio Serenissimo era per andare / alle caccie de cervi, domandandogli io detti denari mi diede / dieci talleri, con pregarmi che del resto volessi io haver patien- / za sin che egli fosse ritornato da un viaggio che haveva à fare / in Augusta dalli signori Fuggheri, et d'indi in Wirtenberg, per / dove hà havuto da me alcune lettere di favore. Hora / intendo, che arrivando egli in Augusta, dove hà portato / via quattordici fiorini ad un hoste homo honorato (come è da / vedere da una lettera che detto hoste scrive à me la quale mando / io medesimamente al detto signor conte.) Non hà fatto altrimenti il viaggio / di Wirtenberg, mà di lungo se ne è andato alla volta d'Italia. / Supplico l'Altezza Vostra Serenissima à restar servita di commandar che io / sia sodisfatto quanto prima, che ne havrò obliigo particolare / pregando la divina Maestà che lungamente conservi la serenissima / persona di Vostra Altezza alla quale riverente mi inchino, et bramo / ogni desiderato contento.

Di Monaco alli 20 di 9bre 1604.  
 Di Vostra Altezza Serenissima  
 humilissimo et fidellissimo servitore  
 Cesare Bendinelli della  
 Camara del Serenissimo Eletore  
 di Colonia, Musico e Cappel  
 de trombetti di Bavaria

6. copy of a script by Giovan Paolo Agucchia; Munich, 4 November 1603, with a later note of 13 August 1604<sup>28</sup>

I, Gian Paolo, called il dottore, of Bologna, do confess, / owing to Signor Cesare Bendinelli, musician / of His most Serene Highness, that which I borrowed, that is, eighteen / golden *ongari* [Hungarian ducats] in gold, which I am obliged to return / during the month of December, before Christmas. / If he is not repaid, he may sue for damages / against me. And I pledge / in all honesty, that I have made this with my / own hand, on the day and year written above.

I, Gian Paolo, swear that which  
is said above

13 August 1604, in Munich

The said *dottor* has paid to Caesare Bendinelli / as down payment for this loan, ten thalers / The *dottore* still owes twenty thalers, or twelve Hungarian ducats of gold.

[on the reverse side:]

Copy of the script / by Giovan Paolo called / *il dottore*, made for / Cesare Bendinelli

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Ali 4 9brio 1603 in Monacho

Jo Gian Paulo, deto il dotore, bolognese, confesso / esser debitor dil Signor Caesare Bendinellj; musico / di Sua Altezza Serenissima de tanti inprestati cioue disdotto, / ongaro doro in orro quali mi obbligo di rimandarli / per tuto il mese di decembro anatale prossimo / avenire se non pagandolo, posia a mie dani / et interesi proceder contra di me, et in fede / dela verita io o fatto la presente di mia / man propria adi et anno ut supra.

Jo Gian Paulo afermo quanto  
disopra si chontene./.

Adi 13 Augusto 1604 in Monaco

il sudetto dottor a pagato a Caesare Bendinellj / aconto di questa cetola dieci talleri / resta anchora il dottore debitore vinti talleri, overo duodici ducatti ungaro dorro.

[on the reverse side]

Coppia del scritto / di Giovan Paulo detto / il dottore, fatta / a Cesare Bendinellj

7. autograph letter by Bendinelli; Munich, 25 October 1606<sup>29</sup>

Most Serene Lord and my Illustrious Patron,

It was my misfortune that when your Highness was in / this city, I was sick with gout, and I could not / come to greet you and thank you for the generosity / you have shown me with [the gift of] your portrait, which I will keep as the most / beloved thing I have in this world, and / so I thank you with all my heart. Your chamber servant / Signor Moretto ordered that I have / two good locks made, one for a chest, the other / for a door; but he did not give me the measurements. / When I obtain the measurements I will send them so that / Your Serene Highness will be well served. I will wait for the measurements, / then I will send them. / Most Serene Patron, I come [to you] with this letter to beg / Your Highness to grant me the favor of directing / the ministers of justice of the city of Mantua, / that when a Signor Pietro Antonio Comparini, / a Milanese barber and *ceruicho* [i.e., *cerusico*, surgeon], comes, they should / put him in jail, since here he has done some / vile things. I allowed him to have a / horse to go to Innsbruck. He has / disappeared with it and I had to pay / 28 florins for it. Moreover, he stole a balas ruby from a certain Abram Ongaro, a Jewish goldsmith. / I refrain from saying anything further, but / I beseech your Most Serene Highness to have that order given. The horse, / a black one, has a mark of / a wolf on one leg. The barber Comparino / has a blue felt cloak, a handsome face / with a red beard, a rare type to adorn the gallows. / In Innsbruck he said he wanted to come to Your Most Serene Highness / to present a scented collar, embroidered / with the hair of a woman. If he does so, I beg / Your most Serene Highness to put him in prison, until / he pays 32 soldi and 30 ducats that he owes me. I have no interest / in the rest; he will of course receive what he deserves. / I beseech Your Highness not to take it / amiss, and to remain my Illustrious Lord / and Patron, as long as I shall live. I pray / to our Lord for the happiness and prosperity of Your Most Serene Highness / and heartily I recommend myself to you.

from Munich, 25 October 1606  
 the faithful servant  
 of Your Most Serene Highness,  
 Cesare Bendinelli,  
 Chamber servant of the Most Serene Elector of  
 Cologne, Musician and Head of the  
 Trumpeters of Bavaria

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Serenissimo Signor e Patron mio Illustrissimo

La mia mala fortuna volsse, che quando Vostra Altezza Serenissima fu in / questa citta, erro amalato di gotta, che non potei / venirli a far riverentia, et ringratiarla de la gratia / fatami de la sua efigie

quala conservaro per la piu / cara cosa che abia à questo mondo, et la / ringratio con tutto il  
 core il suo servitore di / camara il signor Moreto mi comisse facesse far / due bele chiavature una  
 da cassa, l'altra / per una porta però non mi dete la misura / subito avaro la misura, le mandaro,  
 che / Vostra Altezza Serenissima restara servita aspetaro la misura / quanto lavaro le mandaro; /  
 serenissimo patrón vengo con questa mia a suplicar / Vostra Altezza Serenissima, farmi gratia di  
 far cometerè alli / ministri dela giustizia de la citta di Mantova / che venendo uno signor Pietro  
 Antonio Conparini, / milanese barbiero é ceroicho [cerusico], che volessero / meter pregioni,  
 ateso che qui a fato certe / cose infamie, che jo lio fato dare uno / cavallo a nolo sino Ispruch, et  
 lui la menato / via del tutto, che ame a bisogniato pagarlo, / per vinti otto fiorini, piu a portato via  
 a / uno orevize abram ongaro, uno rubino balasso, / li altre cose lasciaro per piu rispeti, pertanto  
 / suplico Vostra Altezza Serenissima far dar ordine, il cavallo / ò morelo negro a una morsatura  
 de / lupo in una cossa, il barbiero Conparino / a uno feltro turchino, una bela faccia / barba rossa,  
 rarro per adornar una forcha, / a deto in Ispruchchel vol venire da Vostra Altezza Serenissima /  
 a presentarli uno coletto profumato, recamato / di caveli di donna, se cossi sara suplico / Vostra  
 Altezza Serenissima, di farlo meter pregione, sino che / mi pacha, soldi 32 denari 30 che mi deve;  
 del resto / non mi curo, il trovara ben il suo merito / suplico Vostra Altezza Serenissima non voglia  
 piliare questa mia / a mala parte, et restarmi il mio Illustrissimo Signor / é Patrone, che mentre  
 avaro vitta pregaro / nostro Signore per la felicità é prosperità di Vostra Altezza Serenissima / é  
 di core me li racomando.

di Monaco alli 25 8brio 1606.  
 di Vostra Altezza Serenissima  
 fidellissimo servitore  
 Cesare Bendinelli, della  
 camara del Serenissimo Eletore di  
 Colonia, Musico é cappo de  
 trombetti di Baverra

### 8. autograph letter by Bendinelli; Munich, 6 February 1610<sup>30</sup>

Most Serene Lord and Illustrious Patron,

The distinguished Signor Giulio Cesare Brivelli [recte Crivelli], before leaving for Italy,  
 / left me a copy of the letter that Your Most Serene Highness sent to him [in order] to  
 / obtain certain stones from the mines of Salzburg. I asked / a friend of mine to inquire  
 into this, / and I am sending to Your Highness the enclosed document in / German, with  
 the reply he received from Salzburg. / Your Most Serene Highness will see what they have  
 written, and since it is / something in your interest, you will be so gracious / as to let me  
 know what I should do, / and I will do it; and I will keep for your Most Notable / Grace  
 what Your Highness will deign to command, / and I beg you to keep me among your /

lowest servants. May the Lord God give to Your Highness all / that your generous heart desires; and / I humbly do reverence.

from Munich, 6 February 1610

most faithful servant

of Your Highness,

Cesare Bendinelli, servant of His Imperial Majesty and of the Chamber of the Most Serene Elector of Cologne; musician and head of the trumpeters of the Most Serene [Duke] of Bavaria

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Serenissimo Signor e Patron mio Eccellentissimo

Io molto illustre signor Giulio Cesare Brivelli [recte: Crivelli] avanti parti per Italia mi / lasciò una copia della lettera che Vostra Altezza Serenissima li scrisse / [volendo] haver certe pietre delle minere di Salspurg; ò pregato / un mio amicho qual a scritto per questo effetto, / mando a Vostra Altezza Serenissima, questa inclusa cedola in / todescho della risposta che l'auto da Salspurg. Vostra Altezza Serenissima vederà quello che scriveno, et essendo / cosa che sia a suo preposito, la mi farà gratia / di farmi sapere la risposta quello che abbia a fare, / che tanto, farò, e tenirò per segialatissima / gratia che Vostra Altezza Serenissima si degni di comandarmi / et la suplico mi tenga nel numero delli suoi / minimi servitori, chel signor Iddio dia a Vostra Altezza Serenissima tutto / quello chel suo gjeneroso core desidera, et / humilmente li facio reverentia.

di Monaco alli 6 febraro 1610

di Vostra Altezza Serenissima

fidellissimo servitore

Cesare Bendinelli, servitore di Sua Maestà Cesarea

e della Camara del Serenissimo Elletore di

Colonia, musico e capo de

tronbetti, del Serenissimo di Baviera

## NOTES

\* This article is a much enlarged version of the Italian original, published in *Vertemus. Terza serie di studi musicali e teatrali veronesi*, ed. Michele Magnabosco (Verona, 2005), a book dedicated to the memory of the Veronese musicologist Paolo Rigoli (1952–2003). Items 1, 2, 3, and 8 in the Appendix, discovered after the issue of the Italian version, are published here for the first time.

<sup>1</sup> John Henry van der Meer and Rainer Weber, *Catalogo degli strumenti musicali dell'Accademia Filarmonica di Verona* (Verona: Accademia Filarmonica, 1982), 66–70 and 126–27 (ills.)

<sup>2</sup> The two papers were published in the now defunct journal *Brass Bulletin* 17 (1977): 31–45 (biography); and 21 (1978): 13–25 (comments on the treatise). The facsimile edition of the treatise was published by Bärenreiter of Kassel in 1975 (*Documenta Musicologica*, II/6); English edition by

Edward H. Tarr (Nashville: Brass Press, 1975). A new, completely revised edition with commentary in English, French, and German (Vuarmarens, Switzerland: Editions BIM, 2011) takes into account the information in the Italian version of the present paper.

<sup>3</sup> Hans-Joachim Nösselt, *Ein ältest Orchester 1530–1980: 450 Jahre Bayerisches Hof- und Staatsorchester* (Munich: Bruckmann, 1980), 33. Edward H. Tarr has in turn recognized our debt to Nösselt's book in his new edition of Bendinelli's treatise (see above, n. 2).

<sup>4</sup> "Philipp Hainhofers Münchner Reisebeschreibungen: eine kritische Ausgabe," ed. Anne Langenkamp (Ph.D. diss., Technische Universität Berlin, 1990), 214–15. See also Nösselt, *Ein ältest Orchester*, 47.

<sup>5</sup> Michele Mozzicato, "Le due copie del 'volume di tutta l'arte della trombetta' di Cesare Bendinelli" (graduate thesis, University of Bologna, 1996–97).

<sup>6</sup> See Gerhard Stradner in the catalog of the exhibition *Prag um 1600; Kunst und Kultur am Hofe Kaiser Rudolph II.* (Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum / Freren: Luca Verlag, 1988), 2:277.

<sup>7</sup> Munich, Staatsarchiv für Oberbayern, Hofzahlambücher, 1595, f. 316.

<sup>8</sup> *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1949–86), s.v. "Musiker," section b), by Walter Salmen (col. 1086).

<sup>9</sup> It therefore does not seem to be the case that the date of the Schnitzer trumpet donated to the Accademia Filarmonica of Verona is nearly contemporary with this remarkable appointment.

<sup>10</sup> Adolf Sandberger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der bayerischen Hofkapelle unter Orlande de Lassus*, vol. 3/1 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1895), 122.

<sup>11</sup> Nösselt, *Ein ältest Orchester*, 208 and 232. The textual heading of the music manuscript bears only the surname, and given the existence of two other composers named Bendinelli, who lived in Verona and Lucca respectively, the attribution is not certain; however, as this composition is preserved in Munich, this seems to corroborate Nösselt's assumption.

<sup>12</sup> Simon de la Loubère, *Du royaume du Siam* (Amsterdam: Boon, 1700; 1st edn., 1691), 1:123–27. An English abstract is found in *Universal History, from the Earliest Account of Time* (London: S. Richardson et al., 1759), 7:235–36. See also Thomas Mortimer, *General Dictionary of Commerce, Trade, and Manufactures* (London: Phillips, 1810), s.v. "Ballon."

<sup>13</sup> The famous city in the southern Netherlands was under siege (hence "battlefields"), beginning in 1601, by Ambrogio Spinola (1569–1630), a Genoese commander in the service of Spain and subsequently commander-general in 1603. Ostend surrendered to him in 1604.

<sup>14</sup> There is now a digital copy available through Google (books), from the Library of the University of Michigan (call no. QB 85.S82) (accessed 26 March 2011).

<sup>15</sup> See Cristina Grazioli, "Note per un'indagine su Giovan Paolo Agucchia, il Dottore da Bologna, a partire dall'Archivio Herla," in *Annuario della Commedia dell'Arte* (Firenze: Olschki, 2008), 97–139.

<sup>16</sup> Edward H. Tarr has already made inquiries in this direction, but without success. The search for unknown sources, however, is always open, as the new evidence reported here clearly shows.

<sup>17</sup> A similar though less highly ranked consideration was reserved at the English Court to some distinguished trumpeters of the Tudor era. See Trevor Herbert, "...men of great perfection in their science...": The Trumpeter as Musician and Diplomat in England in the Later Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," *Historic Brass Society Journal* 23 (2011): 1–23.

<sup>18</sup> With the exception of one passage in item 4, which is in Latin.

<sup>19</sup> Munich, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv—Kurbayern Ausseres Archiv, Nr. 4579, f. 137–137r (fiche 2+).

<sup>20</sup> The title "His Majesty" was reserved for the Emperor, all the more when other aristocratic appellations were mentioned, as in this case.

<sup>21</sup> Munich, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv—Kurbayern Ausseres Archiv, Nr. 4579, f. 226–226r (fiche 3+).

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., f. 229–229r (fiche 3+).

<sup>23</sup> *Briel* in the Italian manuscript; *recte* Trier (Treves).

<sup>24</sup> Mantua, Archivio di Stato—Archivio Gonzaga, b. 526, doc. 1.

<sup>25</sup> The Latin of this passage contains some Italianized words (*Auturitate, eletoris, con*) and a major error (*gaudio* instead of *goudiani*), suggesting that Bendinelli did not know that language.

<sup>26</sup> I interpret the abbreviations *s:to* and *s:ta* (*santo*, masculine; *santa*, feminine) that appear in the original Italian text as “Saint.”

<sup>27</sup> Mantua, Archivio di Stato—Archivio Gonzaga, b. 526, doc. 2.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., doc. 3.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., doc. 4.

<sup>30</sup> Mantua, Archivio di Stato—Archivio Gonzaga, b. 527, fasc. “Bendinelli,” doc. 1.