

Valeria Mannoia

valeriamannoia@gmail.com

Ens.hist.teor.arte

Valeria Mannoia, “Aspects of Performance Practice in Bologna in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: a Study of Archival Sources”, *Ensayos. Historia y teoría del arte*, Bogotá, D. C., Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Vol. XX, No. 30 (enero–junio 2016), pp. 18–54.

ABSTRACT

At the end of 16th century, Bologna was one of the most influential cities of the Papal States and culturally one of the main centres in Italy where a network of political and artistic forces connected the activities of civic and church institutions. The Concerto Palatino of the Signoria of Bologna took part in liturgical and paraliturgical events that included musical instruments in the vocal ensemble where the various combinations of voices and instruments offered new sonic solutions that influenced the development of local musical repertoires. The civic church of San Petronio was one of the main centres of musical innovation of the city and its archival sources allow for a reconstruction of local performance practice at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

KEY WORDS

Bologna, St. Petronio, musical instruments, performance practise, sacred music.

TÍTULO

Aspectos de la práctica interpretativa en Bolonia en los siglos XVI y XVII: Estudio de la fuentes de archivo

RESUMEN

A finales del siglo XVI Bolonia era de las ciudades mas influyentes de los Estados Pontificios y uno de los principales centros culturales de Italia en donde las actividades de las instituciones cívicas y religiosas estaban articuladas por nexos políticos y artísticos. El Concerto Palatino de la Signoria de Bolonia participa en funciones litúrgicas y paralitúrgicas que incluían instrumentos musicales en el conjunto vocal donde las combinaciones de voces e instrumentos ofrecieron nuevas soluciones sonoras que influenciaron el desarrollo de los repertorios musicales locales. La iglesia de San Petronio, una institución cívica, era no de los principales centros de innovación musical de la ciudad y sus archivos permiten la reconstrucción de la practica musical a comienzos del siglo XVII.

PALABRAS CLAVE

Bolonia, San Petronio, instrumentos musicales, interpretación musical, música religiosa.

Afiliación institucional

Estudiante de doctorado en Musicología, Universidad de Pavia–Cremona, Italia

Estudiante de doctorado en la Universidad de Pavia–Cremona (Italia) y violinista egresada del Conservatorio de Verona con interés en la interpretación histórica en instrumentos originales. Sus investigaciones se orientan al estudio de las antologías de música religiosa italiana publicadas en los países germanos durante el siglo XVII. Su Tesis de maestría consistió en un estudio detallado del uso de los instrumentos musicales en el repertorio musical religioso de Bolonia durante los siglos XVI y XVII, resultados que fueron expuestos en la Conferencia Mapping the Post-Tridentine Motet (ca. 1560–ca. 1610): Text, Style and Performance, realizada en la Universidad de Nottingham en 2015.

Recibido 12 de noviembre de 2015

Aceptado 21 de julio de 2016

Aspects of Performance Practice in Bologna in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: a Study of Archival Sources

Valeria Mannoia

Over the last twenty years studies have confirmed that instruments were used in the performance practice of sacred repertoires in Italy already from the XV century.¹ Due to improper care of archival documents, information about performance practice is often imprecise and fragmented and does not provide specific indications regarding the relationship between instruments and voices and the way in which the local institutions cooperated in musical performances. The gradual appearance of specific reports in the archives of sacred institutions regarding the employment of instrumentalists has often been interpreted as signs of innovation necessary both to support the existing vocal ensemble and as a response to new tendencies in the polyphonic repertoire. But, as many Italian scholars have underlined, this can be a biased or simplistic judgment that tends to isolate the sacred and religious context from the rest of society and does not take into account the fact that from medieval times there was a

¹ For a general introduction see Dietrich Kämper, *Studien zur instrumentalen Ensemblesmusik des 16. Jahrhunderts in Italien*, Wien/Köln: Böhlau, 1970, Italian translation, *La musica strumentale nel Rinascimento: studi sulla musica strumentale d'assieme in Italia nel sedicesimo secolo*, Torino: ERI, 1976, pp. 21–99; Eleonor Selfridge-Field, *Instrumentation and genre in Italian music, 1600–1670*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1975, Italian translation, *La musica strumentale a Venezia da Gabrieli a Vivaldi*, pp. 13–62; Franco Piperno, “Istituzioni ecclesiastiche e musica nell’Italia della prima età moderna”, in *Arte organaria e musica per organo nell’età moderna. L’Umbria nel quadro europeo, Atti del convegno internazionale 14/18 settembre 2007*, Ed. Erika Bellini, in *Bollettino della deputazione di storia patria per l’Umbria*, XV, 2, (2008), pp. 195–206.

full integration of the civic and liturgical contexts.² In fact, during the Renaissance the entire organization of musical life in North Italian cities was based on cooperation between civic and religious representatives. Therefore, it cannot appear unusual that civic musical institutions were integrated with a *cappella musicale* in sacred celebrations and festivities.

Liturgy and prayer in general played a key role within the sensitivity of the community and the music was considered as the highest form of glorification of the sacred words. People recognized themselves in religion and in prayer and considered the institution of the Church and its artistic apparatus as a representation of civic society.

However, as Gino Stefani wrote:

La musica liturgica è innanzitutto l'immagine dell'istituzione Chiesa. Dell'azione rituale, la gerarchia ecclesiastica è il committente, l'esecutore è il maggiore beneficiario; in essa l'istituzione afferma innanzitutto se stessa. [...] E qui si sviluppano probabilmente le motivazioni e i caratteri più fondamentali della musica in chiesa: decoro e ornamento, nobiltà d'arte, specificità di uno stile ecclesiastico.³

Briefly, the sacred music repertoire was considered a representation of the Church. Through music, the Church reinforced its social and spiritual role before the eyes of the faithful. So, it was necessary for music to express the sacred word but, as the Council of Trent (1545–1563) underlined, music should maintain a subordinate significance.⁴ It was in that context that the role and structure of liturgical plainchant (*gregorian chant*) was restored in order to exalt the spiritual significance of the text over the complexity of melodies.⁵ It is important to consider that the Council of Trent played also an important role in redefining other peculiar aspects of Eucharistic worship. For instance, the architectural design of churches

² For a general introduction to the relationship between instruments and voices in medieval times see Rodolfo Baroncini, “«In choro et in organo»: strumenti e pratiche strumentali in alcune cappelle dell'area padana nel XVI secolo”, *Studi musicali*, XXVII, 1, (1998), pp. 19–41; Marco Di Pasquale, “Aspetti della pratica strumentale nelle chiese italiane”, *Rivista Internazionale di Musica Sacra*, XVI, 2, (1995), pp. 239–268.

³ Gino Stefani, *Musica barocca 2. Angeli e sirene*, Milano: Studi Bompiani, 1987, pp. 49–50.

⁴ Giacomo Bonifacio Baroffio, “Il Concilio di Trento e la musica”, in *Musica e liturgia nella riforma tridentina*, Eds. Danilo Curti and Marco Gozzi, Provincia Autonoma di Trento, Servizio Beni Librari e Archivistici, 1995, p. 13.

⁵ As Oscar Mischiati and Marco Gozzi underlined, during the Council of Trent the polyphonic sacred repertoire was only retouched in terms of reduction of the imitative sections and of virtuoso passages in favour of the homophonic texture and of the clearness of the texts. See Oscar Mischiati, “Il Concilio di Trento e la polifonia”, in *Musica e liturgia nella riforma tridentina*, Ed. Danilo Curti and Marco Gozzi, Trento: Provincia Autonoma di Trento, Servizio Beni Librari e Archivistici, 1995, p. 21 and Marco Gozzi, “Le edizioni liturgico-musicali dopo il Concilio”, in *Musica e liturgia nella riforma tridentina*, in Curti and Gozzi, p. 44.

themselves was redesigned to emphasize specific moments of the rite.⁶ The original plan of the apse placed the choir stalls in a central position, in front of the congregation while the altar was situated behind the choir stalls, thus making it impossible for the faithful to visually participate in the Eucharistic rite. The reform proposed to invert the two so to favour the altar, which would exalt the centrality of the rite, with the choir stalls placed behind it along the apse walls. As a consequence, the organ had to be moved back over to the apse to allow for a better communication between the organist and the choir.⁷ Moreover, the practice of reading from one choirbook on a central lectern was no longer necessary and it was replaced by the use of single partbooks.⁸ Instrumentalists could play on the balcony of the choir near the organ, as reported in iconographic sources.⁹ The number of musicians required varied according both to the specific location and to the relevance of the religious event. It was especially in that city where the civic and the ecclesiastic government were correlated that the municipal instrumental ensemble would take part in the liturgical celebration and actively cooperate with the cappella musicale of the church in question.¹⁰

The case of Bologna was a special one. The development of its political institutions from a combination of civic and religious forces created made it an exception as compared to the rest of Italy. In 1506 the Papal Statute once more took possession of the city, but already in 1447 the «capitoli di Nicolò V», a sort of papal bull, had decreed that the civic government should

⁶ The renovation of the spaces involved only churches of monastic communities (Cistercian, Benedictine, Olivetan and Vallombrosan), of mendicant orders (Augustinian, Franciscan, Carmelite) or of canonical orders. See O. Mischiati, “Il profilo storico della cappella musicale in Italia nei secoli XV–XVIII”, in *Musica sacra in Sicilia tra Rinascimento e Barocco, Atti del convegno di Caltagirone 1985*, Ed. Daniele Ficola, Palermo: Flaccovio, 1988, pp. 23–45; O. Mischiati, “Profilo storico e istituzionale della cappella musicale in Italia”, in *La cappella musicale nell’Italia della controriforma. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi nel IV centenario di fondazione della cappella musicale di S. Biagio di Cento*, Ed. Oscar Mischiati and Claudio Russo, Firenze: Olschki, 1993, pp. VII–X; Mischiati, *Il Concilio di Trento e la polifonia*, pp. 21–22.

⁷ Mischiati “*Il profilo storico ...*”, pp. 33–35. For an interesting position in contrast to Mischiati see Arnaldo Morelli, “Per ornamento e servizio: Organi e sistemazioni architettoniche nelle chiese toscane del Rinascimento”, *I Tatti Studies*, VII, (1997), pp. 279–303 and “Sull’Organo et in choro”. Spazio architettonico e prassi musicale nelle chiese italiane durante il Rinascimento”, in *Lo spazio e il culto. Relazioni tra edificio e uso liturgico dal XV al XVI secolo*, Ed. Jörg Stabenow, Venezia: Marsilio, pp. 209–226.

⁸ In the case of the Church of St. Petronio, which will be one of the subjects of investigation, the practice of reading from a single big choral book is testified even after 1657. In fact, in the Musical Archive of the Chapel of St. Petronio there are hand-written copies of the works of the choirmaster Maurizio Cazzati in choral books.

⁹ *Le insegna degli anziani del Comune dal 1530 al 1796: catalogo inventario*, Ed. Giuseppe Plessi, Roma: Pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato, 1954.

¹⁰ The first references are the cities of the State of the Church where the Pope was both the spiritual shepherd and the political representative.

be under the dual control of a papal delegate and the civic Senate of Forty, from whom a standard-bearer of justice and eight elder Consuls were elected.¹¹ Moreover, the power of the papal delegate was autonomous and completely independent from control by Rome, thanks to a papal bull of 1582 that made Bologna an archdiocese. On the contrary, the power of the Senate of Forty was more restricted: its members were appointed through a rigid election system that prevented individual senatorial families from dominating the others. These two power institutions collaborated in the maintenance of public order. The ecclesiastical and civic contexts were so intertwined that it was impossible to separate them. The lack of a uniform power or, rather, the existence of a mixed civic and ecclesiastic government, reduced the opportunities for each of them to organize civic public ceremonies which, on the contrary, always involved both powers.¹²

As Leandro Desideri wrote in a letter dated Oct 11th 1586 to Camillo Norimberghi da Bologna:

Non trovo in questa città tratte viventi di Musica, idest di Viole o di accademia di belli cantanti ma solo Musiche ecclesiastiche et piene, accompagnate da Tromboni e cornetti, facendosi qui gran professione di stromenti da fiato.¹³

The central role of the local ecclesiastical institutions in the everyday political life in Bologna also influenced artistic and recreational activities and restrained every form of aristocratic sponsorship, which was the principal system for financing the arts in the rest of Italy. Music was the art most greatly influenced by this socio-political relationship.

In the religious context, the presence of music was constant because it increased the symbolic and aesthetic values of any feast day; it underlined the sacredness of the liturgical rite while exalting the political institution represented.¹⁴ In practical terms, this cooperation between secular and ecclesiastical power took the form of collaboration between the civic musical institution and the cappella musicale of the church during celebrations and festivities. For instance, in every celebration, procession or liturgical feast the musicians of the Concerto Palatino of the Signoria di Bologna would play with the musicians of the cappella musicale of the basilica of St. Petronio, the civic church. The general organization of liturgical music in

¹¹ «Nullus dictorum Magistratuum possit aliquid deliberare sine consensum Legati vel Gubernatoris». Capitula S.D. Nicolai PP. V cum Communitate Bononiae, cap IV

¹² Mario Fanti, *Bologna nell'età moderna, 1506–1796*, in *Storia di Bologna*, Bologna: Alfa, 1978, pp. 189–220; Andrea Gardi, “Gli archivi periferici dello Stato pontificio. Il caso di Bologna tra XIV e XVII secolo », in *Offices, écrit et papauté (XIIIe–XVIIe siècle)*, Eds. Armand Jamme, Olivier Poncet, Rome: l'École française de Rome 386, 2007, pp. 789–828.

¹³ Rosanna Dalmonte, *Camillo Cortellini, madrigalista bolognese*, Firenze: Olschki, 1980, p. 5.

¹⁴ Stefani, pp. 17–19.

each diocese was regulated by a common *Caerimoniale Episcoporum romanorum*¹⁵ and joined by local ceremonial books that functioned also on the basis of the concrete availability of singers and instrumentalists from the northern Italian cappella musicale. As it was indicated in the *Caerimoniale Episcoporum*, during important festivities an ensemble of recorders, cornets, trombones and lutes could accompany the civic representatives (the standard-bearer of justice, the elder Consuls or the papal delegate) to the entrance of the church, where the organ was compelled to play ‘musiche gravi’:

Quotiescumque Episcopo solenniter celebraturus ecclesiam ingreditur, aut re divina peracta, discedit, convenit pulsari organum. Idem in ingressu Legati Apostolici, Cardinalis, Archiepiscopi, aut alterius Episcopi, quem Episcopus diocesanus honorare voluerit, donec praedicti oraverint, et res divina sit inchoanda.¹⁶

But, instead of just solo organ music, it was also possible to play vocal and instrumental polyphony, as Adriano Banchieri wrote in the cover page of his *Due Ripieni in Applauso musicale*.¹⁷

In the case of Bologna, this was not just a sporadic collaboration between two different institutions: a great number of musicians who worked in the Concerto Palatino as singers, instrumentalists or organists were also salaried members of the cappella musicale of the civic Church of St. Petronio and of the Cathedral of St. Peter or worked in the main local monasteries. It must be admitted that many of them were also members of monastic orders and this justifies why the local musical production was so aimed at enriching the sacred repertoire with liturgical and extra liturgical pieces. In this perspective, it seems that Bolognese polyphonic repertoire was principally conceived to accompany the moment of prayer.¹⁸

Performance practice of the Concerto Palatino, a civic institution.

As in many late medieval cities, from the XIII century onwards Bologna could count on its own team of musicians, municipal piffari and trombetti. They regularly participated in every civic and religious solemnity. The municipal statute of 1335 required that during every celebration the captain of the city, the mayor and the distinguished citizens should walk in

¹⁵ *Caerimoniale Episcoporum, iussu Clementis VIII, primum nunc denuo Pont. Max. novissime reformatum. Omnibus ecclesiis, praecipue autem metropolitanis, cathedralibus et collegiatis perutile ac necessarium, Romae, Ex Typographia lingua rum externarum, 1600, edizione anastatica a cura di Achille Maria Triacca e Manlio Sodi, Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2000, pp. 111–113.*

¹⁶ *Caerimoniale episcoporum*, p. 133.

¹⁷ DUE/RIPIENI/ in applauso musicale./ con otto parti distinte in due chori di voci/ stromenti,& organo/ appropriati al Nome & all'ingresso di qual si voglia/ Prelato, in grado di superiorità maggiore/ del P. D. Adriano Banchieri Monaco Olivetano./ Bologna, per gli eredi di Giovanni Rossi, 1614.

¹⁸ Baroffio, p. 13.

procession to the main altar of the church concerned and should be accompanied by ‘tubae et trumbatori comunis Bononiae’.¹⁹ Music was used to underline the power of the rulers of the city. The trumpeters had to play in the square when public edicts were issued and they had to escort every procession and adorn the city festivities. Even in the XIV century the long musical tradition of the city involved municipal and religious musicians and a gradual increase in the staff to eight trumpeters, four flutists and two plucked instrument players, allowed for a stable municipal ensemble to be founded. Payments from the town for 1443 report the presence of a lute player (the first name to be registered was Maestro Antonius da Ferraria, alias the hunchback) and a harpist in the ensemble.²⁰ Moreover, due to the quality of these instruments, the ‘Obblighi dei musici’ of 1573 prescribed that the harpist and lute player should play during the entrance of the Senators to the municipal palace and should gladden their banquets with music every morning and evening, at least from Easter until the feast of St. Petronio (4th October) the patron Saint of Bologna.²¹ The Bolognese State Archive preserves the lists of the professional instrumentalists salaried by the public institutions and several documents concerning some entrance examinations.²²

In the civic context, from its foundation in 1533, the official organization known as the ‘Concerto Palatino della Signoria di Bologna’²³ introduced an innovative distinction between ‘musici’ and ‘trombetti’ (trumpeters): the eight trumpeters that provided fanfares for parades and festivals, while the eight ‘musici’ (cornetists, trombonists and lute players) were responsible for concerts and their participation in official events could vary according to the importance and gravity of the feast. The performance practice and the choice of instruments during these concerts (a trombone rather than a lute or a cornet) changed constantly according to the festive celebration and the place and context where the event was performed. Practical needs rather than aesthetic ideals guided the choice of music and the musical repertoire was addressed ‘per ogni sorte de strumenti’.

¹⁹ Osvaldo Gambassi, *Il Concerto Palatino della Signoria di Bologna, Cinque secoli di vita musicale a corte (1250–1797)*, Firenze: Olschki, 1989, p. 86; Di Pasquale, p. 244.

²⁰ Francesco Vatielli, “Il concerto palatino della signoria di Bologna”, in *Atti e memorie della R. Deputazione di Storia Patria per l’Emilia e la Romagna*, V, (1940), p. 4.

²¹ I-ASBo – Insigna, from 1530 to 1580, vol I.

²² It is necessary to underline that this was not an isolated phenomenon but a common solution in many North Italian cities.

²³ The organization of the *Concerto Palatino* had a stable and organized structure between 1533 and 1657 but the continuous phenomena of indiscipline, disorder and lack of seriousness led in 1779 to the closure of this ancient institution. About the history of the *Concerto Palatino* see Vatielli, pp. 3–29; Carlo Vitali, “L’esame di assunzione di un musico palatino a Bologna nella prima metà del 600, saggio di storia delle istituzioni musicali”, *Il Carrobbio*, IV, (1978), pp.419–434 and Gambassi, *Il Concerto Palatino della Signoria di Bologna*, pp. 3–32.

Under the pseudonym of Camillo Scaligeri dalla Fratta, Adriano Banchieri (1568–1634), composer and organist at the Benedictine monastery of S. Michele in Bosco, provided interesting details about the daily evening concerts performed by the Concerto Palatino ‘alla ringhiera di palazzo’.²⁴

«[...] vostra Snuria po’ arrivarà in piazza al bott di’ vintdò hor, dov la sentirà sovra una Ringhiera dū cunciert, un d’ott Tromb, e dū Tamburin, e l’altr quattr Curnitt, e quattr Trumbun»²⁵

As well, he informed about the civic parades of the Senate of Forty, the music in the squares and the performances by amateur theatre companies during public fairs and civic festivities, such as the ‘Festa della porchetta’ on August 24th, the sacred activities in St. Petronio and in the church of the Hospital of the Death.²⁶ The gradual increase in the number of outdoor events required the use of loud wind instruments, such as cornets and trombones, while the roles of the recorder, harpist and the lute player (and later of two lute players) were related to indoor concerts. In any case, musicians of recognized talent were required and it is clear that both acoustic and social circumstances influenced the gradual predominance of certain instruments and of specific repertoires.

Two important documents were issued by the eight elder Consuls which remained valid until 1627: the *Provisioni sopra li trombetti* (1596)²⁷ and the *Capitula a musicis observanda* (1597).²⁸ These rules required regular and supernumerary musicians to take part in any daily rehearsals, to participate in any public activities and avoid unjustified absences. Besides, the documents specified all payments and the types of services required on any occasion.

The repertoires played could consist of transcriptions from existing vocal pieces, for instance the villotte by Filippo Azzaiolo which circulated also in several anthologies of transcriptions for lute tablature. The chronicles of Ciro Spontone recount that the musicians of the Concerto

²⁴ The *ringhiera di palazzo* (palace railing) is no longer visible but the iconographic sources and the chronicles described a large balcony covered with a canopy and decorated with carpets and curtains, placed at the first floor of the Municipal Palace in Piazza Maggiore.

²⁵ *Discorso in questa terza impressione arricchito di molte curiosità vtili à signori scolari forastieri. Doue si dilucidano intelligenza dell’idioma. Accademici ritroui. ... Bizarro capriccio di Camillo Scaligeri dalla Fratta*, Clemente Ferroni, Bologna, 1630, p. 96.

See Mischiati, *Adriano Banchieri. Profilo biografico e bibliografia delle opere*, Bologna: Casa editrice Patron, 1971, pp. 39–52.

²⁶ Giuseppe Vecchi, *Le accademie musicali del primo Seicento e Monteverdi a Bologna*, Bologna: A.M.I.S., 1969, pp. 47–69.

²⁷ *Provisioni 1596*, I–ASBo, Anziani, Libri rossi, tomo II, c.38v. 39r.

²⁸ *Capitula a musicis observanda 1597*, I–ASBo, Anziani, Libri rossi, tomo II, c.42r. 42v.

Palatino played the Neapolitan *Girometta senza te*, from the second book of villotte by Filippo Azzaiolo,²⁹ in a transcribed version for cornet, trombone and cornamusa:

[...] Che il Signor Dottore [Francesco Denalio] si ricorderà forse d'haver udito, mentre egli studiava in Bologna, di notte tempo, come spesso avviene, cantarsi da fanciulli, et quando poi sù 'l lauto, et su la viola, et quando su l'Arpicordo, hor con le pive a ballo, et finalmente ridutta à ragione di Musica per maggior felicità di quel Versificatore essere con Tromboni, cornetti, et cornamuse da sonatori Eccellentissimi alla Ringhiera del Palazzo maggiore posto sulla piazza grande della Cittade alla solita hora di tal publica honoratissima musica giornale gentilissimamente, et con sodisfazione grandissima del Popolo ascoltante sonata in alcuni tempi festevoli.³⁰

Clearly, the vocal polyphonic repertoire was useful material for adaptation to instrumental ensembles. Although there are no documents to support the hypothesis, it can be supposed that the *Gemme, raccolta di madrigali a cinque*,³¹ a collection of madrigals composed by only Bolognese authors (and who were employed by the Palatine Chapel and the cappella musicale of St. Petronio and St. Peter) could have been played by the musicians of the Palatine Chapel.³²

²⁹ Filippo Azzaiolo, bolognese, *Il secondo libro de villotte del fiore*, Venezia, 1559, 1564

³⁰ Spontone, *Il Bottrigaro overo del nuovo verso enneasillabo*, Verona, 1589

³¹ LE GEMME, / MADRIGALI / A CINQVE / DE DIVERSI ECCELENTISSIMI / Musici della Città di Bologna. / Nouamente posti in luce. / Milano: Francesco, & gl'heredi di Simon Tini, 1590. La raccolta, la cui versione integrale a stampa è conservata presso la British Library, contiene: Leggiadra Pastorella Al giovinetto giorno scesa / Bartolomeo Spontoni; Se pur offesa sei e meco guerra vuoi / Domenico Micheli; Se de' miei giusti prieghi Pietosa mi concedi / Lorenzo Vecchi; Vieni felic' e lieto Tu che le doglie e i pianti / Bartolomeo Spontoni; Queste lagrime mie questi sospiri / Giulio Cesare Gabucci; Il piè vago move a Vezzosa Pastorella / Giulio Cesare Gabucci; S'io fò da voi partita Caro dolce il mio bene / Hermes Rodaldi; Fallace ardir e troppo stolte voglie ([seconda parte]: Desio d'honor e giusto sdegno hor scioglie il duro laccio) / Lorenzo Vecchi; La tua cara Amarilli Dicea la bella Ninfa / Andrea Rota; Mentre sola bevevi Nel pur'argent' impresso / Paolo Cavalieri; Già l'alma ti donai, E della vista tua contenta e lieta vissi / Paolo Consoni; Mentre col dolce canto La mia Sirena bella / Adam Ena; Ardite, e dolci labia / Fabritio Barbieri; La piaga Amor che mi donasti al core / Giuliano Cartari; Clori mentre giacea Nel dolce seno del suo car'Aminta / Girolamo Trombetti; Ahi che gran tempo in vano / Paolo Cavaglieri; Misero me che del mio mal m'avveggiò / Alessandro Spontoni; Beatissima notte à cui comparte (seconda parte: Son' di duo si cari al ciel graditi amanti) / Ascanio Trombetti; Arde il core, e la lingu'agghiaccia / Giulio Cesare Gabucci; Ahi non sia ver mia Clori / Damiano Scarabelli.

³² The absence of madrigals composed by Cortellini and Pisanelli, two famous and estimated Bolognese composers, is unexpected. See F. Piperno, *Gli eccellentissimi musici della città di Bologna*, Firenze: Olschki, 1985, pp. 62–67, 91–92.

Otherwise, original polyphonic and instrumental compositions could be performed, such as the collection of *Ricercari e canzoni a quattro e otto* by Aurelio Bonelli,³³ dedicated to the civic representatives, the standard-bearer of justice Marc'Antonio Bianchini and to the elder Consuls.

The instrumental repertoire assumed peculiar characteristics and gradually evolved in relation to the increase in instrumental forces, but it is not until the second decade of the XVII century that it becomes possible to define music for specific instruments.

Bolognese sacred music and its Performance Practice.

By the second half of the XVI century it was common practice to publish polyphonic sacred compositions conceived for voices but also suitable for instrumental performances. The indications about performance practice reported on the covers of these books were generic and allowed different combination of instruments to be chosen, according to the availability of musicians and singers. In his studies on the presence of instruments in sacred music, Stephen Bonta pointed to *Musica quatuor vocum (vulgo motecta nuncupatur) lyrics maioribus ac tibijs imparibus accomodata* by Nicolas Gombert (1539)³⁴ as the oldest reference to the use of instruments instead of voices.³⁵ One of the most common indications present on musical collections was 'per cantare e sonare d'ogni sorte di stromenti'. Especially in sacred music collections, it was possible to find also Latin versions of the same indication such as 'tam vocibus quam instrumenta concinenda or tum viva voce, tum instrumentis cuiusvis generis or tum viva voce, tum omnis generis instrumentis'. As Jeffrey Kurtzman underlined,³⁶ such indications do not provide scholars with any clue as to the original performance practice or the *modus operandi* adopted by choirmasters. In general, it might have been an integral doubling of voices with instruments, or that single voices could be replaced either partially or totally. From a commercial point of view, even if we do not have a concrete idea of the economic value of these books, they were functional publications that could be adapted to suit any situation regarding the availability of singers in choirs and the performing abilities of single players.

³³ *Il Primo Libro De Ricercari/ Et Canzoni A Quattro Voci/ Con Due Toccate E Doi Dialoghi A Otto./ Di Aurelio Bonelli Bolognese/ Organista In S. Michele In Bosco, Venezia: Gardano, 1602*

³⁴ Stephen Bonta, "The use of instruments in sacred music in Italy 1560–1700", *Early Music*, (1990), pp. 520–522.

³⁵ Nicolas Gombert, *Musica quatuor vocum (vulgo motecta nuncupatur) lyrics maioribus ac tibijs imparibus accomodata [...] liber primus*, Venezia: Scotto, 1539.

³⁶ Jeffrey Kurtzman, "Il vespro della Beata Vergine di Claudio Monteverdi e il repertorio italiano dei vesperi dal 1610 al 1650: un quadro riassuntivo", in *Barocco Padano 2. Atti del X convegno internazionale sulla musica sacra nei secoli XVII–XVIII: Brescia, 16–18 luglio 1999*, Eds. Alberto Colzani, Andrea Luppi, Maurizio Padoan, Como: A.M.I.S., 2002, p. 14.

On the Italian context, the Bolognese sacred music repertoire represented a special case of the use of instruments in liturgical performance practice. In this context the presence of the organ, generally considered the main continuo instrument, was also being questioned.³⁷ The most interesting cases could be identified in the musical output related to the magnificent basilica of St. Petronio.³⁸

Its organist Lucio Barbieri published in 1620 his *Primo Libro de Mottetti «con il Basso per l'organo occorrendo»*,³⁹ while Francesco Milani, *magister capellae* of St. Petronio, composed his *Vespri per tutto l'anno* with or without the organ in 1635.⁴⁰ Moreover, the letter-prologue 'Alli virtuosi lettori' in the book of *Messe concertate*⁴¹ for eight voices published in 1626 by Camillo Cortellini reported that:

La messa *In Domino confido* ha la *Gloria* concertata e dove saranno le lettere grandi, il Cantore canterà solo et dove saranno le linee, li tromboni, ò altri simili soneranno soli, per accompagnamento delle parti e si potrà fare senza organo essendovi però gli strumenti.

In this case the organ could be omitted but only if the instruments required for the second choir were available.⁴² In fact, the two choirs were composed with a different approach: while the first choir was composed with regular range keys (C1 C3 C4 F4) and primarily for the human voices, the second choir had a low key range (C3 C4 C4 F4), was composed in concertato style and required the presence of both low voices and at least three instruments of the

³⁷ Its questioned usage is related to specific moments and composition but that did not affect its important role in the liturgy.

³⁸ Gaetano Gaspari, "Ragguagli sulla cappella musicale della basilica di S. Petronio in Bologna", in *Musica e musicisti a Bologna*, Ed. Gaetano Gaspari, Bologna: Forni, 1969, pp. 101–111 and "La musica in San Petronio a continuazione delle memorie riguardanti la Storia dell'arte musicale in Bologna", in *Musica e musicisti a Bologna...*, pp. 113–147; O. Mischiati, "La cappella musicale. La normativa e il funzionamento, il repertorio musicale, gli organi, i musicisti", in *Sesto centenario di fondazione della basilica di San Petronio, 1390–1990. Documenti per una storia*, Ed. Rosalba D'Amico e al., Bologna: Nuova Alfa, 1990, pp. 82–93.

³⁹ LUCIO BARBIERI/BOLOGNESE/ORGANISTA IN S. PETRONIO/IL PRIMO LIBRO/DE MOTETTI/ a Cinque, Sei, Sette, & Otto Voci./ CON IL BASSO PER L'ORGANO OCCORRENDO, Venezia: Vincenti, 1620.

⁴⁰ *Vespri per tutto l'anno a quattro voci con l'Organo, e senza di Francesco Milani Maestro di Capella in San Petronio di Bologna Et nell'Academia dei Filomusi il Solitario*, Venetia, Vincenti, 1635.

⁴¹ *Messe Concertate/ A Otto Voci/ Di Camillo Cortellini/ Detto Il Violino/Musico Dell'illustrissima Signoria Di Bologna/ [...]*, Venezia: Vincenti, 1626.

⁴² It is interesting that in the other two Masses collected in the book, *Exaudi me Domine e Saluum me fac Deus*, the presence of the organ and of the instruments to play in the second choir are both requested. This may have depended on the use of two different compositional choices when forming the second choir.

same range, as the trombones. Moreover, the single parts played by the lowest voices of the second choir correspond almost perfectly to the realization of the organ line. Consequently, the role of the organ should be considered both as *basso seguente* and *basso continuo*. The attitude demonstrated by the brief information about the Bolognese repertoire reported above could be considered conservative and there the organ is still played contrapuntally and only partially from the modern perspective of continuo.⁴³ Even if it was published outside the St Petronio context, the first Bolognese work that refers to the use of specific instruments besides the organ is the *Sacro convito musicale* by Ercole Porta, published only in 1620.⁴⁴ It contains five sonatas for two, three and four instruments (violin, cornet and violone) and a five voices motet and a *Missa secundi toni* with autonomous instrumental parts for violins and trombones.

As already outlined, a general comparison between these publications and the music composed at the same period in the rest of the country and their performance practice shows a late approach to instrumental writing by Bolognese authors. Lodovico Grossi da Viadana, for instance, included an instrumental canzona for violin, cornet and two trombones in his *Cento concerti ecclesiastici*, published in 1602⁴⁵ and Claudio Monteverdi included three compositions with specific instrumental parts required in his *Vespro della Beata Vergine*, of 1610.⁴⁶ In the same year Giovanni Paolo Cima added four instrumental sonatas for violin, cornet, trombone and violone to his book of *Concerti ecclesiastici*.⁴⁷

It should be also considered that the composers active in St. Petronio were not so interested in the development of solo instrumental sacred music, at least for the first two decades of the

⁴³ Kurtzman, p. 13

⁴⁴ *Sacro Convito/Musicale/ornato di varie, et diverse/ vivande spirituali/ a Una, Due, Tre, Quattro, Cinque e sei Voci/ d'Hercole Porta Bolognese,/ Organista e Maestro di Capella nella Collegiata/ di S. Giovanni in Persiceto./ Opera settima,/Venezia, 1620.*

⁴⁵ *Cento/ Concerti/ Ecclesiastici/ A Una, a Due, a Tre e a Quattro voci/ con il basso continuo per sonar nell'Organo,[...]/ Di Lodovico Viadana/ opera duodecima, Venezia, 1602.*

⁴⁶ *Sanctissimae/ Virgini/ Missa Senis Vocibus/ Ac Vesperae Pluribus/ Decantandae,/ Cum Nonnullis Sacris Concentibus,/ Ad Sacella Sive Principium Cubicula Accomodata,/ Opera/ A Claudio Monteverde [...] Venezia: Amandino, 1610.*

Domine ad adiuvandum me required two couplets of violins and cornet in G2 (same part), one viola da braccio in C1, one viola da braccio and one trombone in C3, one viola da braccio and one trombone in C4, one trombone with a bass viol and one viola da braccio in F4; *Sonata sopra Sancta Maria* required two violins and two cornets in G2 (with autonomous parts), one viola da braccio in F4, one trombone in C4, one trombone or viola da braccio in C4, one double trombone in F4; *Magnificat* required two violins and three cornets in G2 (autonomous parts), one viola da braccio in F3 and small parts for *Pifaro*, *Flauto* and trombone in F3 and one trombone in C3.

⁴⁷ Giovanni Paolo Cima, *Concerti ecclesiastici a una, due, tre, quattro voci con doi a cinque, e uno a otto. Messa et doi Magnificat, et falsi Bordoni à quattro et sei sonate, per strumenti à due, tre e quattro*, Milano, 1610. It contents a Sonata per Cornetto e Trombone, over Violino e Violone, a Sonata per Violino e Violone, a Sonata per il Violino, Cornetto e Violone and finally a Sonata per il Violino e Violone, Cornetto e Trombone.

seventeenth century. Or rather, we can say that their main orientation was towards the vocal repertoire and that their use of instruments in liturgy concentrated on the polychoral compositions, mixing voices and instruments. For instance, Antonio Sarti's handwritten documents regarding St. Petronio choirmasters attests that Andrea Rota, *magister capellae* from 1583 to 1597, was the first to use cornets and trombones to double or to replace voices in polychoral compositions.⁴⁸ The practice of mixing voices and instruments was maintained by his successors, Pompilio Pisanelli (1597–1604) and Girolamo Giacobbi (1604–1621).

Archival sources for St. Petronio and Performance Practise.

In the general context of Italian ecclesiastical archives it is difficult to find much detailed information about the internal organization of musical activities at least until mid-Seventeenth century. In many cases these reports are not programmatic or accurate and it is not possible to determine precisely how the musical staff was managed. The administrative tasks were often shared by several people and recorded in separate payrolls. In some instances, musicians could be paid directly by the choirmaster who had the task of distributing the remuneration between the members of the *cappella musicale*. The organist played a major role and was always paid separately. This was the solution adopted also in the Collegiate of St Biagio in Cento (Fe) and in the Collegiate of St. Agatha in Cremona.⁴⁹ The incompleteness of this information comes from the habit to recording notes on handwritten leaflets, such as the statements for the hiring or extra expenses. Looking to the Cathedral of St. Peter – the other important religious institution in Bologna – it appears that the archive contains sporadic information about the musical activity of the *cappella musicale* until the nomination of Giacomo Antonio Perti as choirmaster in 1690. He organized the archive more systematically. Even if it was the richest *cappella musicale* in the city, it is impossible to retrace the musical repertoire played during Cathedral celebrations and likewise, it is impossible to determine the monthly payment of each regularly employed musician of the *cappella*. It is presumable that the choirmaster was responsible for managing salaries and hiring musicians, while dismissals were reported in the *Libri segreti* (the secret books) of the archive. It is also possible to deduce additional general information concerning the musical life and the position of the organists

⁴⁸ «Rota Andrea bolognese, d'anni 30. Fu autore di molte opere stampate e cominciò ad introdurre nelle sue musiche l'accompagnamento di tromboni, e cornetti» in I-BAsp fasc. 412/8, Biographies of choirmasters from 1467 to 1857, written by Stefano Antonio Sarti (autograph with some corrections by G. Gaspari).

⁴⁹ O. Mischiati, "La cappella musicale della Collegiata agli organi delle chiese. Appunti per una storia", in *Storia di Cento*, 2, 2, (1994), p. 831.

in the volumes of the *Calendarii et memorie per il Cerimoniere*⁵⁰ and in the *Libri segreti*.⁵¹ For instance, the *Reformatio Chori* of 1621, preserved inside the IV volume of the *Libri segreti*, reports several attempts to solve problems of order and of performance practice.⁵² Other documents confirm the stable cooperation established by this church and the Church of St. Petronio.⁵³ Unfortunately, what it has been possible to recover from the Diocesan Archives allows scholars to understand some links between the religious institution and the cappella musicale but it is not sufficient to determine the main aspects of performance practice at the Bolognese cathedral.⁵⁴

Coming back to the main object of this article, the Board of the Fabbrica of St. Petronio was interested in investing municipal funds to increase the musical activity of the church.⁵⁵ Its archive reported several payments for the printing of new polychoral music (repertoire where instruments were required),⁵⁶ and for renovating the church organs. In 1596 the Board of the Fabbrica ordered Baldassarre Malamini⁵⁷ to build another organ to be placed in the east choir apse, opposite the older organ, built in 1483 by Lorenzo da Prato. The archival sources

⁵⁰ «In festo purificationis BMV, 20 Febraio [1622] Missa facies canonicus in maximus celebrationis [...] pro musici, seminaristi et Clerici maioribus L. 83», I–BAa, 204 Calendarii e memorie per il Cerimoniere, I/1 Memorie 1622

⁵¹ «Il Card. Aldobrandini giunge a Bologna primumque ad Ecclesiam nostram [...] summi omnium plausu pulsantibus timpanis concrepantibus organi set modulantibus choris ab Archiepiscopo et Capitulo receptus», I–BAa, Libri segreti, Libro III, f.3 c.53r 20 Gennaio 1598

⁵² See doc. A «Reformatio chori. 4 Giugno 1621», I–BAa, Libri segreti, Segreto IV – c. 21v.

⁵³ «Pompilius Pisanellus magister musicae ecclesiae collegiatae divi Petroni èraesuntavit atque dono dedit [...] capitulo ecclesiae nostrae librum Hymnorum in cantu figurato pulchrum insignitum et eum positum variis ornamentis set picturis aureatis» I–BAa, Manoscritti XI, 3/8, c.77v, 1603

«In ecclesia Jacobi fuit cantata Missa Rogationum qua fecimus assistentia Legato [...]» I–BAa, Manoscritti XI, 3/8, c. 174v., 3 maggio 1617

⁵⁴ It cannot be excluded that some interesting documents could be discovered in the secret Vatican Archives in Rome.

⁵⁵ For a general study of the Archive in St. Petronio see Mario Fanti, *L'archivio della Fabbrica di San Petronio: inventario*, Bologna: Costa, 2008.

⁵⁶ 1595 May 4th, «Delibera dei fabbricieri, con la quale vengono erogate L. 80 a favore di Andrea Rota per sopperire alle spese di stampa del libro delle messe», I–BAsp, vol. 22. libro degli atti (1579–1608), c.79v.

1595 August, «Spesi L. 9 soldi 14 in una stampa d'un San Petronio con la libertà per mandar a Vinegia a stampar innanzi il libro delle messe del mastro di cappella». I–BAsp, cart. 560, n.1, c. 141v.

1616 November 3rd, «Delibera dei fabbricieri, con la quale vengono erogate cento lire a favore di Girolamo Giacobbi per sopperire alle spese di stampa dei vesperi a quattro voci», I–BAsp, vol. 23 libro degli atti (1608–1649), c.50r.

⁵⁷ Baldassarre Malamini from Cento was the organ builder who built the interesting organ in the Collegiate Church of St. Biagio in Cento in 1592. See Mischiati, *La cappella musicale della Collegiata*, p. 839.

accurately preserved in the Archives of the Fabbriceria (especially the ‘libri dei pagamenti’) are useful to investigate the relationship between the church and the musicians employed. The documentary value of this specific archive is enhanced by the fact that it was administered by a civic board, which was independent from the papal offices. Its members were elected annually and they interacted directly with the city government. The Board supervised the work in progress in the church, every payment required, all the administrative expenses and also the maintenance of the cappella musicale, that was composed of a choirmaster, two organists, two chaplains and a certain number of singers and players. In addition to the salaries there were some extra expenses such as the musician’s rents, their gifts for the holidays (kids as Easter gifts, as reported in the payments for April and May) and rewards for special musical merits.⁵⁸ Even if the payrolls were accurate about finances, they did not contain special information about specific roles, neither of the musicians (only a general distinction between ‘musici’ and ‘tromboni’ was provided) nor of the pupils from the *schola cantorum*.⁵⁹ As sign of inveterate indiscipline on the part of the musicians (a problem common to all the Italian musical institutions), the choirmaster and the Board issued several supplementary documents to adjust the activity of the members of the cappella musicale. *La memoria delli giorni che li cantori di San Petronio sono in obbligo di cantare* of 1583⁶⁰ described the monthly service expected of the musical staff and provided some simple rules of conduct. It was specified that:

Commandano ancora li Signori Fabbricieri che non si possa far musica straordinaria in San Petronio e pagata senza il numero di tutti li cantori salariati li quali debbano essere invitati dal maestro di capella ogni volta che venirà l’occasione.

⁵⁸ Money Order Books report that Girolamo Giacobbi received 16th lire more at Easter and Christmas time for his work as assistant choirmaster to Andrea Rota and Pompilio Pisanelli.

1595, May «A don Gir.º di Jacob per una remunerazione che a noi è piaciuto farli per quello che opera intorno a li putti del canto lire sedici di q.¹» in I-BAsp, fasc. 601/b, Mandati di pagamento – anni 1595/1599; in O. Gambassi, “Nuovi documenti su Giacobbi”, *Rivista italiana di Musicologia*, XVIII, (1983), p. 29

⁵⁹ The term *tromboni* was generically used to refer to the staff of players and only the roles of the violin and cornet were concretely specified. It cannot be excluded that some of the singers worked occasionally as instrumentalists.

⁶⁰ The original date reported on the document is 1578, but the number 7 was deleted and the date was transformed into 1583; maybe to indicate when the paper was updated. I-BAsp, cart. 412, fasc. 5/a; O. Gambassi, *La cappella musicale di S. Petronio. Maestri, organisti, cantori e strumentisti dal 1436 al 1920*, Firenze; Olschki, 1987, pp. 22–24; O. Gambassi, “Si fà a cappella: una didascalia travisata, nuovi documenti sulla prassi musicale” in *S. Petronio, Nuova rivista musicale italiana*, XXXIX, 9, new series No. 3 (2005), pp. 395–397.

See Doc B, Memoria Delli Giorni Che Li Cantori Di San Petronio Sono In Obbligo Di Cantare. In Nomine Domini 1583, I-B Asp, cart. 412, fasc 5/a.

Briefly, it was the choirmaster's responsibility to make sure that all the musicians attended extra events which required solemn music. Moreover, external musicians from the civic ensemble or from another cappella musicale were invited to play and were paid separately for these additional services. Such regulations were constantly updated with small adjustments and remained valid until new legislation was issued. In the case of St. Petronio, the next archival document concerning this and bearing the name of its author is the *Ordini per gli organisti e cantori di San Petronio*, issued by choirmaster Maurizio Cazzati in 1658. It seems that in 1607 the choirmaster Girolamo Giacobbi had printed an additional legislation, which unfortunately is no longer available,⁶¹ thus establishing a gap in the reconstruction of the church's musical activity and the relationship between musicians and civic institutions.

Moreover, the payrolls contain interesting information about all the monthly expenses, such as payments to external collaborators or to the employees for outstanding performances, payments for candles, vestments, the expenses of maintaining church property, rents, the maintenance and tuning of organs and all the monthly salaries of the staff, musicians included. Even if the number of festivities varied every month, a general observation of the payments indicates that salaries were reasonably constant but not equitable among all members of the musical staff. In fact, except for organists and the choirmaster, the instrumentalists had no regular commitments every week and their collaboration probably varied according to the feast days in the liturgical year. Additionally, the staff of the cappella musicale were subject to a rigid hierarchy and the amount of monthly work per musician could vary according to how important each player was within the cappella. The repertoire performed could also influence the choice of the specific ensemble required (a bi-choral solemn mass required the presence of the entire cappella musicale while a polyphonic motet could be performed with few voices and some instruments as doubling).

Moreover, the payment orders allow for some interesting hypotheses to be elaborated regarding the effective organization of St. Petronio's cappella musicale and the types of performance practice adopted there, bearing in mind the constant presence of instrumentalists in addition to the singers.

The following analysis of the payroll for 1604 (see Table 1) is intended as support of these hypotheses. In October 1604 Girolamo Giacobbi was elected as new choirmaster to replace Pomponio Pisanelli. The appointment of a new director that month is particularly significant, considering that includes St. Petronio's day (4th October) and that this was the most taxing event performed by the cappella musicale in terms of liturgical and musical content.

⁶¹ The authenticity of the document is confirmed by the payment order for the copies to the printer Bellagamba. In the Vestry archive a handwritten undated document is preserved (*Regole che vole farsi per il buon servizio della musica nella Chiesa di San Petronio* I-BAsp, cart. 412, fasc. 1/b – see doc. C) and according to Gambassi, it could be a copy of the legislation imposed by Giacobbi. See Gambassi *La cappella musicale di san Petronio*, pp. 22–24 and “Si fà a cappella: una didascalia travisata”, p. 402.

The monthly cost of the cappella musicale was 321,16L. with approximately one-fourth of the total amount going to the instrumentalists alone (65,70L.). Considering the importance of the feast of San Petronio, in addition to the regular forty-four employed members, a group of eight musicians from St. Peter's Cathedral was invited to participate in the celebrations and paid 26,5L for their services (equally divided, each received 1,65L. per day).⁶² Then, the feast counted with a total of fifty-two musicians including singers, players, two organists and the pupils from the *schola cantorum*. The regulations for this special festivity required special practices: in addition to the daily activities, the entire Vespers on the previous day had to be sung, with the addition of two motets for the *deo gratias* and for St. Petronio. In 1604, the Feast Eve was a Sunday so the musical ensemble had to play during these extra activities and the regular liturgy (the regular mass with the Hymn and Magnificat, extended with two motets for the Saint's feast day, during evening prayers). During the actual feast day for St. Petronio a polyphonic mass and the evening Vespers were played. Finally, there was a procession to the Church of St. Stephan where a motet in honour of the Saint was sung and we should remember that the entire procession was accompanied by music.

A general analysis of the annual payments for 1604 demonstrates a great discrepancy between the monthly payments for each musician and shows that the highest salary (12L.) was earned by Ghinolfo Dattari and the lowest (1,10L.) by Giovanni Bagnoli.⁶³ Half of the musicians earned a very low wage, compared to the payments made to external musicians (nine singers received only 1,10/2,10L. while other nine received 3/4L.).⁶⁴ The rest of the salaried workers earned between 5L. and 8L. It is conceivable that every musician worked in proportion to their salary and it is possible that the low pay singers worked only once a month. It is also plausible that musicians who received a better wage had additional responsibilities.

It is interesting to note that singers, Giovanni Paolo Felina (11L.) and Ghinolfo Dattari (12L.) and the trombonist Alfonso Ganassi (10L.) received salaries that were only slightly lower than those of the two organists (13,6 L.) and the chaplain Costanzo Coppini (12L. and an additional 3L.). This could imply that the singers and the trombonist had regular assignments like the organists and they had specific additional responsibilities.

⁶² Payments for the Feast of St. Petronio were never registered in the money order books because they were considered extraordinary expenses. They were reported in handwritten fascicles, only later catalogued and ordered.

I-B Asp, cart. 430.

⁶³ Ghinolfo Dattari was, however, highly regarded by the vestry: he was elected substitute choir-master from June 1597 until the official election of Pompilio Pisanelli in January 1599, he received many special gifts for the length of the service in the chapel. «A Ghinolfo Dattari L. 50, tanti che ci è piaciuto dargli per l'antico servizio e fatiche nella musica» Febbraio 1603, I-BAsp, cart. 499, 30r.

⁶⁴ At the end of an undated list of payments for nine musicians invited to play for Christmas, Circumcision and Epiphany there is an example calculation of a day's work for an external musician. I-B Asp, cart. 413/13, c.9.

As far as the instruments is concerned, the records clearly refer to six players: four trombones, one cornet and one violin. Apart from Alfonso Ganassi, the records up to 1604 report identical salaries: the three trombones and the cornet received 5,10 L. while the violin received only 3L. Until the first three decades of the XVII century, it is not possible to determine the actual terms of their collaboration, because it is not clear what size instrument they played nor if they alternated their presence during the month's activities.

However, it is possible to propose the following:

- The first trombone could have participated in every musical performance while the other three trombones alternated among themselves.
- The first trombone could have always played doubling with the continuo part while the other instruments intervened only on solemn occasions when a polyphonic mass was required and voices had to be replaced or doubled. It is estimated that every month there were from eight to ten occasions to play (including Saturdays and Sundays) as well as an additional four or five specific festivities.

However, in addition to the information provided by the payroll for that year, it is also documented that for every solemn feast day, such as Holy week, Pentecost or the Feast of the Assumption, several external musicians were invited to play and their names, payments and roles (the latter is reported only in later documents) were generally registered in undated fascicles now preserved in folders.⁶⁵ Among the additional musicians, there were a conspicuous number of instrumentalists, including violinists, cornetists and trombonists, rather than singers, coming from the Concerto Palatino of the municipality of Bologna.

All this makes it possible to reconsider the information of the regular payroll and formulate a further conjecture: that a couple of trombones and a soprano instrument, alternating with the violin or cornet, were always present; and that in the case of solemn festivities their parts were supported by additional instruments. As mentioned, these speculations are based on an in-depth study of the archival data for a single year and may not make sense if applied to other contexts. In fact, during Girolamo Giacobbi's period of service as choirmaster, the cappella musicale developed significantly: musical performances became more structured, some new musicians were hired and payments were augmented. The payments for the next decade show signs of a general reorganization of the cappella musicale. In 1613 (see Table 2) there were only thirty-four singers and the most significant change was that Pier Antonio Tamburini was replaced by four singers. Conversely, more instrumentalists were hired and the

⁶⁵ I-B Asp, cart. 413/13.

number of regulars reached ten: two violins, one cornet and seven trombones.⁶⁶ The stable instrumental ensemble of St Petronio, which counted with three soprano and six bass instruments, provided opportunities for experimenting on different musical solutions as doubling the vocal parts, replacing them in case of necessity, playing obbligato parts in vocal–instrumental polychoral compositions or being the absolute protagonists of the instrumental repertoire. The real musical possibilities should also be reviewed in consideration of what is explained in the previous paragraph about the collaboration between the cappella musicale and the Concerto Palatino. The general increase in the number of instruments in sacred performance practice should come as no surprise⁶⁷ because an important civic church with large spaces and a strong social role such as St. Petronio generally required an impressive and solemn repertoire suited for a large ensemble, instead of following the popular trend of using motets for solo or few voices and continuo.

In conclusion, as the basilica of St Petronio was under the control of the municipality, the civic administration had a strong influence on its internal policy, a fact reflected on the regulations already described thus affecting musical performance practice as shown with the cooperation with civic musicians during formal events. The basilica of St. Petronio can be taken as an ideal case study to describe the musical activities of a prestigious North Italian institution at the dawn of the sixteenth century. Through the careful study of its archival sources (even if sporadic or fragmented) it is possible to reconstruct a plausible picture of the local instrumental performance practice of the time.

⁶⁶ Salaries also increased and were apportioned more fairly: Camillo Cortellini, who replaced Alfonso Ganassi as first trombone, was paid 8L. while the violinist Alfonso Pagani, hired in December 1612, was paid 10L.

⁶⁷ We should remember that the instruments were involved in the performance practice during the liturgical and para–liturgical events and should cooperate also in the civic formal events.

Appendix I: Documents

Doc. A

I-BAa, Libri segreti, Segreto IV – c. 21v.

Reformatio chori. 4 Giugno 1621

Avvertimenti dati alla Congregatione fatta il dì suddetto alla quale furono presenti gli Ill. mi Alessio Beroaldo Camerlengo et Fabbio Giraldino Camerlengo Mons. Bonfioli et Pompeo Bonasoni.

Si risolve doversi applicar l'aio al culto divino et che le cose del choro caminascero con maggior osservanza.

Prima che fosse stato bene il salmeggiare apuntatamente col suspender la voce in mezzo come altre volte s'è fatto et acciò questo riesca si deputi uno per lato del Choro che habbino voce gagliarda accio possino soprastare alli altri et questi siino da un lato D. Marco Antonio e dall'altro D. Lucio Mons. Et per atti et anco alli duoi seniori Mon.ri si parli di questo con quella prudenza e maniera che si converrà.

Che li Mons. Tutti vadano al legile quando si dicono le Antifone che non sta bene altri sedere altri andare al legio et che non si sii così largo in dar licentia di partirii in choro avanti il fine della messa mag.ri senza causa legittima.

Che si faccia provisione alla cosa delli pluviali che pigliandoli Mons.ri quando celebra un canonico con assignare distribuzione a chi gli pigliarà in loro assenza a suo danno.

Che quando il capitolo va fuori che si accompagni la Croce alla Chiesa se non vi sarà causa legittima.

Che si preveda alla messa che si dice quando si va a qualche chiesa acciò non intervenga restar il capi[to]lo quasi deluso come l'anno passato intravenne nell'andare a S. Maria Maggiore.

Che si osservi il silentio in choro acciò con l'esempio buono gl'altri facciano il medesimo.

Doc B

I-B Asp, cart. 412, fasc 5/a

Memoria Delli Giorni Che Li Cantori Di San Petronio Sono In Obbligo Di Cantare. In Nomine Domini 1583

Zenare

Il giorno della circoncisione si canta la messa e tutto il vespro con il Deo gratias et alla Madonna un mottetto.

La Vigilia de l'Epifania si canta tutto il vespro con il Deo gratias et alla Madonna un mottetto.

Il giorno dell'Epifania si canta la messa tutto il vespro et un mottetto, il Dei gratias et un altro alla Madonna.

Il giorno di S. Antonio si canta la messa senza il credo et al vespro l'Himno il Mag.^{to} et il Deo gratias.

Il giorno di S. Fabiano et Sebastiano si canta la messa et la serra l'Himno il Mag.^{to} con il Deo gratias.

Questo mese si canta una messa da Morti per il cardinale Areatino quando il sacrestane dà aviso.

Febbre

La vigilia della Cerialla si canta tutto il vespro, il Deo gratias et un mottetto alla Madonna.

Il giorno di detta si canta la messa e tutto il vespro con il Deo gratias et uno mottetto alla Madonna

Il giorno di San Mathia si canta la messa e la serra l'Himno, il Mag.^{to} con il Deo gratias.

Eccetto quando viene di quaresima la mattina si dice ogni cosa.

Marzo

La Vigilia della Nunciata per esser di quaresima si canta la mattina tutto il vespro con il Deo gratias e la serra la compieta con il mottetto alla Madonna.

Il giorno della Nunciata si canta la mattina la messa e tutto il vespro con il Deo gratias e la serra la compieta con il mottetto alla Madonna.

Aprile

Il giorno di S. Marco si canta la mattina a bon hora la messa e la serra l'Himno il Mag.^{to} con il Deo gratias.

Maggio

Il giorno di S. Giacomo e Filippo si canta la messa e la serra l'Himno il Mag.^{to} con il Deo gratias.

Il giorno di Santa Croce si canta la messa et la serra si canta l'Himno il Mag.^{to} con il Deo gratias.

Zugno

Questo mese si canta una messa da morti per il Cardinale Areatino quando il sacristano lo farà sapere.

La vigilia di S. Gio. Battista si canta tutto il vespro con il Deo gratias.

Il giorno di S. Gio. Battista si canta la messa e tutto il vespro con un mottetto per il Deo gratias
La vigilia di San Pietro si cantano [...] salmi l'Himno il Mag.¹⁰ con il Deo gratias.

Il giorno di San Pietro si canta la messa et al vespro quatro l'Himno il Mag.¹⁰ con un mottetto per il Deo gratias.

Luglio

La vigilia della visitatione della Madonna si canta il vespro-l'Himno il Mag.¹⁰ con il Deo Gratias et un mottetto alla Madonna.

La mattina della visitatione si canta la messa et la serra tutto il vespro con il Deo gratias et un mottetto alla Madonna

Poi si fa vacantia fino all'Assuntione della Madonna.

Agosto

La vigilia dell'Assuntione si canta tutto il vespro con il Deo gratias et il mottetto alla Madonna,

La mattina dell'Assuntione si canta la messa et la serra tutto il vespro con il Deo gratias et un mottetto alla madonna.

Poi si seguita la vacantia fin alla Vigilia della natività della Madonna. (there are several erasures to follow)

Settembre

La Vigilia della natività della Madonna si canta tutto il vespro con il Deo gratias et un mottetto alla madonna.

Il giorno della natività di detta si canta la messa et la serra tutto il vespro con il Deo gratias et un mottetto alla madonna.

Il giorno di San Matheo si canta la messa e la serra l'Himno il mag.¹⁰ con il Deo gratias.

Il giorno di San Michele Arcangelo si canta la messa, la serra l'Himno il Mag.¹⁰ et il Deo gratias.

Ottobre

La vigilia del nostro protetor S. Petronio si canta tutto il vespro et si dice un mottetto per Deo gratias et un altro alla testa di detto santo.

Il giorno di S. Petronio si canta la messa et la serra tutto il vespro con il Deo gratias poi tutti li cantori vanno a Santo Stefano per cantare un mottetto à honore di detto santo.

Il giorno di S. Luca si canta la messa et la serra l'Himno il Mag. et Deo gratias.

Il giorno di S. Simone e Juda si canta la messa et la serra l'Himno il Mag. et Deo gratias.

Novembre

La vigilia d'ogni Santi si canta tutto il vespro con il Deo gratias et un mottetto alla Madonna.

Il giorno d'ogni Santi si canta la messa e la serra tutto il vespro per Deo gratias un mottetto et un altro alla madonna.

La mattina delli morti si canta la messa con un mottetto al mortorio.

Il giorno di S. Martino si canta la messa senza il credo e la serra l'Himno il Magnificato con il Deo gratias.

La vigilia di S. Andrea si canta l'Himno, il Mag. con il Deo gratias.

Il giorno di S. Andrea si canta la messa et la serra al vespro tre salmi con l'Himno il Magn. Et un mottetto per Deo gratias.

Dicembre

La vigilia della conceptione della madonna si canta l'Himno il Mag. et il Deo gratias con un mottetto alla Madonna.

Il giorno della Conceptione della Madonna si canta la Messa et la serra tutto il Vespro con il Deo gratias et un mottetto alla Madonna.

Il giorno di San Thomaso si canta la messa et la serra l'Himno, il Magnificat con il Deo gratias.

La vigilia della Natività di Nostro Signore si canta tutto il Vespro con il Deo gratias et un mottetto alla Madonna.

La notte di Natale si canta il Te Deum, poi la Messa.

Il giorno della Natività di Nostro Signore si canta la Messa et la serra tutto il Vespro con un mottetto per Deo gratias et un altro mottetto alla Madonna.

Il giorno di Santo Stefano si canta la Messa et la serra al vespro quattro salmi, l'Himno, il Magnificat e un mottetto per Deo gratias et un altro mottetto alla Madonna.

Il giorno di San Giovanni Evangelista si canta la messa et la serra al Vespro tre salmi con l'Himno, il Magnificat et un mottetto alla Madonna per Deo gratias et un altro mottetto alla Madonna.

La serra di San Silvestro per essere la vigilia della Circoncisione di Nostro Signore si canta tutto il Vespro con il Deo gratias et un mottetto alla Madonna.

Feste mobili

Tutti i sabati dell'anno si canta un mottetto alla Madonna eccettuando il tempo della vacantie.

Tutte le domeniche semplici si canta la Messa e la serra l'Himno, il magnificat con il Deo gratias.

La prima, seconda e tertia domenica della septuagesima e la prima, seconda, terza e quarta domenica di quaresima si canta la messa senza la gloria e la serra l'Himno, il Magnificat con un mottetto per il Deo gratias.

La quarta domenica poi che si chiama di passione non si canta la Messa et la serra a Vespro si canta l'Himno et il magnificat a dui chori senza l'organo oi si canta un mottetto per il Deo gratias.

La Domenica delle Palme si canta alla processione e si tralascia il Passio del MDLXX nel tempo del Cardinale Sforza à l'ora legato di Bologna et si disse quello per l'ordine di Roma.

La serra delle Palme al Vespro si canta l'Himno e il Magnificat a dui chori senza l'organo et un mottetto per Deo gratias.

Il Mercoledì Santo si canta il Matutino.

Il Giovedì Santo la mattina si canta li chirie con la gloria solamente e si fa dopo la Messa la processione del Santissimo sacramento intorno alla chiesa dove si canta il Pange lingua gloriosi poi si torna la serra al Matutino.

Il Venerdì Santo la mattina quando il predicatore ha fornita la predica mentre che lui porta il crocifisso nel sepolcro si canta nella processione *Tenebrae factae sunt*, il Passio si tralascia come di sopra si fa poi la processione a mezza la Messa cantando *Vexilla regis* poi si torna la serra al Matutino.

Il Sabato Santo la mattina si sta nel servizio della chiesa finché sia fornita la Messa e la serra si canta la Compieta et un Motetto alla Madonna.

Di Pasqua

La mattina si canta la Messa con la sequenza pasquale e la serra tutto il Vespro senza l'Himno et n mottetto per Deo gratias et un altro mottetto per la Madonna.

Il secondo giorno si canta la Messa con la sequenza et la serra si cantano quattro salmi et in seguenti come nel giorno di Pasqua.

Il terzo giorno si canta la Messa con la sequenza e la serra si cantano tre salmi et in seguenti come nel giorno di Pasqua.

Nelle Rogazioni (tre giorni prima dell'ascensione)

Siamo in obbligo tre mattine andar con la cota in dosso a far compagnia alla processione et a obedire in quel tanto che ci sarà comandato dal nostro maestro di capella.

La vigilia che l'Ascensione si canta tutto il Vespro con il Deo gratias et un mottetto alla Madonna.

La mattina dell'Ascensione si canta la messa et la serra tutto il Vespro con il Deo gratias et un mottetto alla Madonna.

La vigilia della Pentecoste si canta tutto il Vespro con il Deo gratias et un mottetto alla madonna.

Il giorno della Pentecoste si canta la Messa con la sequenza di Spirito Santo e la serra tutto il Vespro con un mottetto per Deo gratias et un altro alla Madonna.

Il secondo giorno si canta la Messa con la sequenza e la serra si cantano quattro salmi et in seguenti come nel giorno della Pentecoste.

Il terzo giorno si canta la Messa con la sequenza e la serra si cantano tre salmi et in seguenti come nel giorno della Pentecoste.

La vigilia della Trinità si canta tutto il Vespro con il Deo gratias.

Il giorno della Trinità si canta la Messa et la serra tutto il Vespro con un mottetto per il Deo gratias.

La vigilia del Corpo di Cristo si canta tutto il Vespro con il Deo gratias.

La mattina del Corpo di Cristo si canta a bon'hora la Messa poi si va in coppia alla processione e la serra si canta tutto il Vespro con un mottetto per il Deo gratias.

L'Avvento

Ha tre domeniche nelle quali si canta la mattina la Messa senza la gloria e la serra l'Himno et il Magnificat con il Deo gratias.

Tutte quelle feste che venendo nelle domeniche di quaresima et del advento si trasportano ad altro giorno non si canta eccettuando la Nunciata quando è trasportata dopo la Domenica in albis si canta solene la messa.

Et noi havendo questo memoriale il qual è fatto secondo il costume di questa chiesa canteremo tutti volentieri in San Petronio e fuora ogni volta che ci sarà comandato dall'Illustre Signore Conte Giovanni Pepoli patron e benefattore nostro e da gl'altri Signori officiali.

Tutti li primi Vespri delle vigilie eccetto quelli delle maggiori solennità de l'anno si cantano succintamente, se però non venissero di giorno di domenica.

E quando venisse la Madonna di San Luca in San Petronio sono in obbligo tutti a venire a cantare in quella mattina.

Il giorno della creatione di papa Gregorio XIII che viene alli XIII di maggio li musici sono in obbligo di cantare una messa per memoria di tal creatione et il simile in quello di papa Innocenzo IX in sino a che piacerà alli Signori Fabbricieri.

Messa in Palazzo di Febraro

La mattina della Ceriola si canta a bon'hora la messa poi si va in Palazzo a cantare una Messa nella cappella grande con quel numero di cantori che piacci al maestro di cappella et si portano le cotte.

Si comanda alli cantori che debano obedire nel choro al maestro di cappella in tutto quello pertinente al cantare che da lui li sarà comandato e lui sia amonendo verso di loro sempre. A lui si comanda che non debba dar licenza alli cantori indanno della musica e se ciò non farà oltre la gravezza dell'anima venendo li Signori Fabbricieri in tal cognizione lo riputarano per homo puoco cristiano e puoco amorevole alla sua chiesa.

Commandano ancora li Signori Fabbricieri che non si possa far musica straordinaria in San Petronio e pagata senza il numero di tutti li cantori salariati li quali debbano essere invitati dal maestro di capella ogni volta che venirà l'occasione.

Le feste che non si canta eccetto quelle delle vacanze sono queste: San Biasio, San Gioseffo, Santa Chaterina, Santa Lucia, la presentazione della Madonna, il giorno degli Innocenti, la mattina di San Silvestro, la mattina della Domenica di passione e qualche festa popolare che per intercessione si tiene alle volte serrato le botteghe.

Doc C

I-B Asp, cart 412, fasc 1/b

Regole per il buon servizio della musica

Conoscendosi in quanto abuso siano andati et giornalmente vadano gli ordini et regole altre volte fatte per il buon servitio della musica della chiesa di S. Petronio et quanto poco habbiano giovato et giovino le amorevoli ammonizioni fatte impartire a tutti gli musici servienti a detta musica per l'Ill.mo Signor Vicepresidente, et molti di loro in particolare, anziché alcuni havendo poca cura del servitio della chiesa, et ancora della propria consienza mancano si in non venire et non esser preparati a scopo nel luogo della musica come in cessare di venire anco molte volte in ciascheduno mese, et non di meno con il mal servitio pretendono la mercede con loro convenuta, et volendo pertanto gli Ill.mi Signori Vicepresidente et moderni Fabbricieri della Reverenda Fabbrica di S. Petronio in quanto possibile provvedere ch'il detto abuso non proceda più oltre hano deliberato che sia bene non partendosi dalle regole altre volte in questo particolare fatte di rinovar la memoria a ciascuno con gli ordini da osservarsi inevitabilmente sotto le pene infrascritte cioè:

Ciascheduno musico, et descritto per musico, et per tale salariato dalla Reverenda Fabrica debba ogni giorno nel quale si deve far musica ritrovarsi nel luogo predestinato per far la musica avanti si cominci la musica con cotta, veste er beretta da prete sotto la pena che si dirà più a basso.

Chi mancherà di venire una volta in un mese, mentre non habbia licenza della quale si dirà più a basso perderà l'ottava parte della mensuale provisione a lui dovuta: et chi mancherà due volte perderà il duplicato di detta parte, la terza la metà, et la quarta l'intiera provisione di quel mese nel quale avrà fatti tali mancamenti et inoltre s'intenderà esser casso et privo del detto luogo di musico, né potrà essere adnesso di novo se non per partito a tutte fave bianche de' i detti Signori.

Et quando tali mancamenti fossero fatti in giorno di capella solenne dove intravengono l'Ill.mo Signor Legato et Magistrati le pene sudette saranno duplicate et perderà duplicemente di quello che si è detto nel precedente capitolo.

Et perché si conosce di quanto scandalo sia il vedere doppo cominciata la musica comparire hora uno da una banda hora un altro dall'altra con scandalo et discomodo anco non solo delli assistenti ma delli musici istessi, chi non sarà preparato nel luogo solito avanti d'aviare la musica perderà la prima, seconda et altre volte chi in ciò mancherà in un mese la metà di quello che s'è detto di sopra ne i precedenti capitoli.

Ordinano anco detti Signori che ciascuno de' i detti musici debba almeno in capo a dui mesi andare a pigliare il suo salario, acciò si possi vedere chi avrà mancato et farli la retentione conforme a quanto di sopra; il che non si può così facilmente fare mentre si tarda molti mesi e talvolta in capo all'anno.

Et perché detti Signori vogliono, et intendono di trattare con detti musici con ogni piacevolezza et cortesia dichiarano che in caso di malattie o altro impedimento legitimo purché sia notificato almeno al loro sindaco avanti arrivi il tempo di far la musica havranno gli impediti per iscusati, et gli corrà interamente il loro salario.

Et ancora in evento che qualche volte alcuni havessero qualche occasione per la quale non potessero venire alla musica o volessero andare in qualche loro bisogno non si mancherà havendo ricorso al loro sindaco avanti il giorno della musica dargli licenza purché quelli medesimi che vorranno tal licenza venghino in persona et non mandino terza persona a dimandarla perché in tal caso anco che fosse data tal licenza non gli suffragarà perché non incorrino le pene sudette mancando come di sopra.

Però detti Signori esortano ciascuno ad essere diligente, et fare il debito suo perché non debolmente farano esequire quanto di sopra è ordinato; né alcuno havrà occasione di lamentarsi se non di sé medesimo e le ritenzioni che si farano andarano a commodo della Fabbrica.

Appendix II: Tables

TABLE 1: Monthly payments at the Cappella Musicale of St. Petronio for 1604⁶⁸

1604											
MUSICIANS	II	III	IV	V	VI	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	
Pompilio Pisanelli m.d.c.	31	31	31	31	31	31	31	24	24	24	
Giacomo Barbieri cappellano	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	
Costanzo Coppini capellano e corista	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	
Ottavio Vernizzi	13. 6. 8	13. 6. 8	13. 6. 8	13. 6. 8	13. 6. 8	13. 6. 8	13. 6. 8	13. 6. 8	13. 6. 8	13. 6. 8	
Gio. Batt. Mecchi	13. 6. 8	13. 6. 8	13. 6. 8	13. 6. 8	13. 6. 8	13. 6. 8	13. 6. 8	13. 6. 8	13. 6. 8	13. 6. 8	
Bartolomeo Piazza	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	
Giulio Gnesini	6. 10	6. 10	6. 10	6. 10	6. 10	6. 10	6. 10	6. 10	6. 10	6. 10	
Giov Paolo Felina	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	12	12	12	
Giacomo Ghirardini	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	
Giovanni Bagnoli	1.10	1.10	1.10	1.10	1.10	1.10	1.10	1.10	1.10	1.10	
Girolamo Giacobbi	8	8	8	8	8	8	8		6	6	

Gian Filippo Pancotti	8.10	8.10	8.10	8.10	8.10	8.10	8.10	8.10	8.10	Gian Filippo Pancotti	9.10	9.10	9.10
Ghinolfo Dattari	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	Ghinolfo Dattari	12	12	12
Antonio Falloppia	7.10	7.10	7.10	7.10	7.10	7.10	7.10	7.10	7.10	Antonio Falloppia	7.10	7.10	7.10
Iacopo Baldanza	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	Iacopo Baldanza	8	8	8
Gio Matteo Severini	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	Gio Matteo Severini	7	7	7
Biagio Cinti	8.10	8.10	8.10	8.10	8.10	8.10	8.10	8.10	8.10	Biagio Cinti	8.10	8.10	8.10
Procolo Franchi/o										Procolo Franchi/o	8.10	8.10	8.10
Gio Batt Lana	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	Gio Batt Lana	4	4	4
Ernando Vellesi	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	Ernando Vellesi	5	5	5
Nicolò Magnani	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	Nicolò Magnani	6	6	6

⁶⁸ In the Order Books there is not specific information about the months of January and July. Only in the page of February's payments it is possible to read a notes about the month of January «Al m B Bonasoni sindaco nostro cinquecentonovantotto lire e diciassette soldi [...] per pagare i mandati ordinari e straordinari del mese di Genaro passato» (musicians could be paid at the end of December). ASP, cart. Mandati, Iv.

Expenses of July and August were probably unified in a single payment because of the summer holidays started in the 2nd July and finished in the 7th September.

1604											
MUSICIANS	II	III	IV	V	VI	VIII	IX	MUSICIANS	X	XI	XII
Girolamo Reali	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	Girolamo Reali	5	5	5
Nicolò Bolognini	2.10	2.10	2.10	2.10	2.10	2.10	2.10	Nicolò Bolognini	2.10	2.10	2.10
Teodosio Amberti	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	Teodosio Amberti	6	6	6
Gabriello Giudici	2.10	2.10	2.10	2.10	2.10	2.10	2.10	Gabriello Giudici	2.10	2.10	2.10
Gioseffo Ghelli	3.10	3.10	3.10	3.10	3.10	3.10	3.10	Gioseffo Ghelli	3.10	3.10	3.10
Giacomo Gallassi	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	Giacomo Gallassi	3	3	3
Girolamo Grimaldi	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	Girolamo Grimaldi	3	3	3
Tadeo Brozzi	4.10	4.10	4.10	4.10	4.10	4.10	4.10	Tadeo Brozzi	4.10		
Francesco Milani	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	Francesco Milani	2	2	2
Matteo Cavazza	2										
Fabiano Masini	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	Fabiano Masini	4	4	4
Teofilo Pellegrini	2.10	2.10	2.10	2.10	2.10	2.10	2.10	Teofilo Pellegrini	2.10	2.10	2.10
Alberto Bertelli	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	Alberto Bertelli	3	3	3
Domenico Benedetti	2.10	2.10	2.10	2.10	2.10	2.10	2.10	Domenico Benedetti	2.10	2.10	2.10

TABLE 2: Monthly payments at the Cappella Musicale of St. Petronio for 1613

1613												
MUSICIANS	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
Girolamo Giacobbi maestro di cappella	28	28	28	28	28	28	28	28	28	28	28	28
Ottavio Vernizzi organista	17	17	17	17	17	17	17	17	17	17	17	17
Giovan Battista Mecchi organista	17	17	17	17	17	17	17	17	17	17	17	17
Bartolomeo Piazza	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
Giulio Gnesini	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11
Giovanni Paolo Felina	16	16	8									
Giacomo Ghirardini	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Giovanni Bagnoli	1.20	1.20	1.20	1.10	1.10	1.10	1.10	1.10	1.10	1.10	1.10	1.10
Gian Filippo Pancotti	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16
Ghinolfo Dattari	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	13
Giovanni Matteo Severini	7.10	7.10	7.10	7.10	7.10	7.10	7.10	7.10	7.10	7.10	7.10	7.10
Biagio Cinti	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9
Procolo Franchi	9.10	9.10	9.10	9.10	9.10	9.10	9.10	9.10	9.10	9.10	9.10	9.10
Gio Batt Lana	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5

1613												
MUSICIANS	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
Giovanni Battista Zani	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Giulio Bonazzoli	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Giovanni Battista Magnani	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Alessandro Ganassa	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Domenico Manzoli	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Francesco Bertacchi				5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Giovanni Paolo Gasparini									2.10	2.10	2.10	2.10
Bartolomeo Piazza (giovine)									2.10	2.10	2.10	2.10
Antonio Maria Ramberti									2.10	2.10	2.10	2.10
Giulio Bonazzoli (giovine)									2.10	2.10	2.10	2.10
Benedetto Facci												13
INSTRUMENTISTS												
Camillo Cortellini	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
Giacomo Presidonio	5.10	5.10	5.10	5.10	5.10	5.10	5.10	5.10	5.10	5.10	5.10	5.10
Nicolò Tosi	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
Giacomo Zamberlani (violino)	4.10	4.10	4.10	4.10	4.10	4.10	4.10	4.10	4.10	4.10	4.10	4.10

