

Duke Ottavio Farnese's chapel in Parma, 1561-1586
公爵オッターヴィオ・ファルネーゼのパルマ宮廷カペラ（1561年－1586年）

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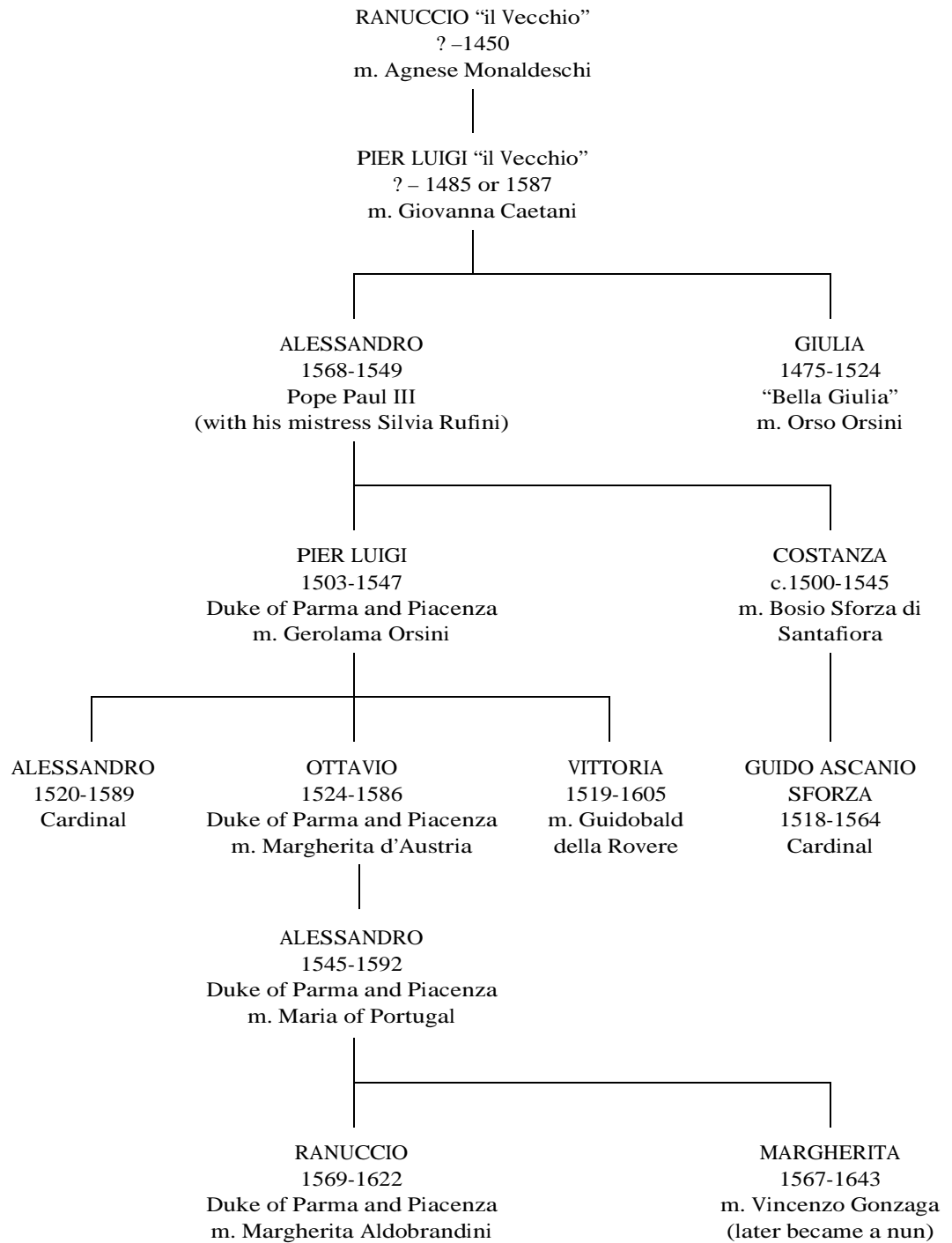
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Genealogical table of the Farnese dynasty



Note on currency

Currency systems in sixteenth-century Europe were extremely complicated. They were different from one state to another, and from one city to another. This was especially true in Italy, where there were small states and cities. *Scudo* and *ducato* were principal currency units in Italy. Yet, coins with the same face value were often different in their weight and value according to where they came from. Moreover, the money in use and money of account (the one registered on financial documents) were usually different.

Sixteenth-century Parma adopted a simple system. Romani explained it:

I cannot fail to note that I found it adequate to adopt the same method which financial officials of the Farnese court used to make heterogeneous money of account (expressed with *lire* and *scudi* of Parma and *lire* of Piacenza), such as *scudi* of Milan, *scudi papali* of ten *paoli* [in Rome] and *scudi* of Kingdom of Naples, homogenous, i.e. reducing all the sums into *scudi* of account of Parma (one *scudo* corresponded to five *lire*). The choice of financial officials of Parma is extremely interesting to me with regard to simplifying the calculation enormously by translating everything into a decimal system, and wrote the papers in *scudi* and *soldi*, i.e. one hundredth of *scudo* (because one *scudo* is always equal to five *lire* and to a hundred *soldi*).¹

One *scudo* (also called *scudo moneta* i.e. silver *scudo*) corresponded to a hundred *soldi*, and one *soldo* to twelve *denari*.

In Parma, *scudo d'oro* (gold *scudo*) was also in use, especially for the payment to non-Italians. The ratio between *scudo* and *scudo d'oro* varied. In the 1560s, one *scudo d'oro* usually corresponded to one *scudo* and thirty-eight *soldi*. It occasionally corresponded to one *scudo* and thirty-five *soldi*, one *scudo* and thirty-seven *soldi*, one *scudo* and thirty-nine *soldi*, etc.. In the first half of the 1570s, one *scudo d'oro* corresponded to one *scudo* and forty *soldi*. From 1576 onwards, one *scudo d'oro* corresponded to one *scudo* and forty-two *soldi*.

In the Spanish government in Brussels, *fiorino* was the principal money of account. As money of account, one *fiorino* corresponded to twenty *plache*. The ratio between *scudo d'oro* and *fiorino* varied, according to where the *scudo d'oro* came from. In 1560s, one *scudo d'oro* of Italy corresponded to thirty-nine *plache*, i.e. a little less than two *fiorini*.²

Summary of currencies

1 <i>scudo</i>	= 100 <i>soldi</i> = 1,200 <i>denari</i>
1 <i>scudo d'oro</i>	= 1 <i>scudo</i> 38 <i>soldi</i> (in the 1560s) = 1 <i>scudo</i> 40 <i>soldi</i> (up to 1576) = 1 <i>scudo</i> 42 <i>soldi</i> (after 1576)
1 <i>fiorino</i>	= 20 <i>plache</i> = roughly 1/2 <i>scudo d'oro</i>

¹ ROMANI: 7.

² PARKER 1972: iv.

Introduction

1. Subject

This dissertation sheds a light on Duke Ottavio Farnese's chapel in Parma. It flourished for twenty-five years, from 1561 to 1586. The ducal chapel of Parma is a significant subject of musicological research in two respects. First, it was a considerable centre of music in the second half of the sixteenth century. Second, it is a good example to examine two important aspects of princely chapels: the personnel and the recruitment of musicians.

In spite of its importance, Duke Ottavio's chapel has remained an unexplored field in musicology mainly for two reasons. First, Duke Ottavio is not a popular figure in the history of the Farnese dynasty. Nasalli-Rocca was aware that scholars paid less attention to Duke Ottavio than he really deserved:

In the gallery of the Farnese's historical portraits, at least those of the sixteenth century, Duke Ottavio has not, at least in today's historiography, found a position adequate to his historical importance.¹

It is appropriate to say that Duke Ottavio is *less outstanding* than the splendid figures around him. Pope Paul III and Cardinal Alessandro (Ottavio's grandfather and elder brother, respectively) were two of the most powerful figures in Rome and lavish patrons of arts. Duke Alessandro (Ottavio's son) was one of the most glorious military commanders in sixteenth-century Europe. Duchess Margherita (Ottavio's wife) was Emperor Karl V's daughter and a refined lady of the Burgundian lineage. In comparison with these figures, Duke Ottavio inevitably looks a little restrained. However, he was a crucial figure in the history of the Farnese dynasty and of Duchy of Parma and Piacenza. Nassalli-Rocca continued:

However, Ottavio's consistency, prudence and impartiality were responsible for his success in saving the state from its very grave crises, the state which the family had acquired eventually by the favour of the pope, but could have lost suddenly after the tragedy of Piacenza.²

Duke Ottavio established the Farnese's regime so firmly that it was stable while the next duke, Alessandro, was constantly absent from the state for six years. Duke Ottavio's chapel has remained an unexplored field, second, because it was not a leader of new music. It did not develop its distinctive styles, such as the *concerto delle dame* of Ferrara and the *cori spezzati* of Venice. In terms of innovation, Duke Ottavio's chapel was rather mediocre. However, in terms of performance practice, Parma was a notable centre. Duke Ottavio's musicians were so good that leading patrons of music, such as Guglielmo Gonzaga (Duke of Mantua) and Wilhelm V Wittelsbach (Duke of Bavaria), wanted to acquire them. Moreover, Duke Ottavio was a principal patron of famous instrumentalists, such as Fabrizio Dentice (lute) and Orazio Bassano (viol). Contemporary musicians recognised him as an important patron. Various

¹ NASALLI ROCCA: 79.

² NASALLI ROCCA: 79.

musicians, both inside and outside of his chapel, dedicated their madrigal collections to him. In this sense, Duke Ottavio was an active participant in sixteenth-century Italian music.

2. Approach

2-A. Patronage study

This dissertation is a patronage study. Patronage is “the action of a patron in giving influential support, favour, encouragement, or countenance to a person, institution, work, art, etc.”.³ Belozerskaya summarised why Renaissance princes had generously paid money for arts:

Rulers were the most active patrons: they possessed the greatest means and relied on programmatic visual language to convey their authority to subjects and peers. They directed their community of shared interests. Rulers employed splendid artifacts crafted from costly materials to demonstrate emphatically their magnificence, an all-important virtue essential for reigning successfully at home and making a strong impression abroad.⁴

Princes not only *liked* arts, but also *needed* them as media to demonstrate their power and wealth. The demonstration of their magnificence, then, bestowed dignity on the princes, and justified their sovereignty.

“Magnificence” was a principal concept of Renaissance patronage of arts. Costly representation of magnificence was regarded as suitable to princes. For example, Bastiano de’ Rossi praised the theatrical equipment for the *intermezzo* to *La Pellegrina*, performed in Florence in 1589:

...the entertainments, the spectacles, which... were always grand, always pompous, always marvellous, always regal.... The superb *apparati*, the pompous shows, the artful devices of inestimable cost, the marvellous spectacles, which not only surpassed the universal expectations of everyone, but the imagination of the most expert, and the most wise, not only could they not conceive such things in their minds before their execution, but having seen them and seen them again, were still unable to. The expense was incredible, the artifice unimaginable, the invention of the noblest....⁵

De’ Rossi was surprised at the elaboration and invention of the stage. He described this *intermezzo* as “pompous” and, at the same time, “regal”. These two qualities were inseparable in the Medici’s patronage strategy to raise its reputation.

Strong concluded that magnificence was a new virtue to Renaissance princes:

It is magnificence... which is the key word. The very idea of it was to be of central importance both to the Renaissance and Baroque court. Prodigious expenditure on achieving splendour was certainly not a medieval virtue, but it came to be one through the humanist revival of a Thomist-Aristotelian philosophical position. The

³ OED v. 1: 352-353.

⁴ BELOZERSKAYA: 424.

⁵ As quoted in STRONG: 127.

praise of magnificence arose through the defence by Florentine humanists of the building projects of Cosimo il Vecchio. In doing this they looked first to St Thomas, who had classified magnificence as a virtue, and through him to Aristotle who, in the *Nicomachean Ethics*, had been even more precise: ‘...great expenditure is becoming to those who have suitable means to start with, acquired by their own efforts or from ancestors or connexions, and to people of high birth and reputation, and so on; for all these things bring with them greatness and prestige’. Magnificence thus became a princely virtue. A prince must live magnificently, to dress splendidly, to furnish his palaces richly, to build sumptuously.⁶

Thus, magnificence was a new idea in Renaissance patronage of arts, different from mediaeval austere ideas.

This idea was especially true to new dynasties. In this sense, the Medici and the Farnese had something in common. On the one hand, the Medici became strong by its financial success. It was regarded as a disgraceful way to hold power according to the traditional, chivalric ideas. Moreover, the Medici had to demonstrate its power and wealth to replace the republican tradition of Florence with a monarchical ideology. On the other hand, the Farnese became strong by Pope Paul III’s nepotism. It was not a praiseworthy way to hold power, either. Accordingly, the Farnese had to demonstrate its magnificence to enjoy its power among old, prestigious houses.

In terms of music, maintaining chapels was a typical form of patronage. Johannes Tinctoris was aware that princely chapels were fruits of patronage:

...the most Christian princes, of whom, most pious King [Ferrante I of Naples], you are by far the foremost in the gifts of mind, of body, and of fortune, desiring to augment the Divine Service, founded chapels after the manner of David, in which at extraordinary expense they appointed singers to sing pleasant and comely praise to our God with diverse (but not adverse) voices. And since the singers of princes, if their masters are endowed with the liberality which makes men illustrious, are, rewarded with honor, glory, and wealth, many are kindled with a most fervent zeal for this study.⁷

While Tinctoris flatteringly praised the princes’ piety, he skilfully implied that music relied on their “liberality”.

In the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it became fashionable for European rulers to maintain their own chapels which consisted of chaplains and professional musicians. The custom of maintaining chapels first became popular outside of Italy. Early centres included Burgundy, Vienna and Aix-en-Provence.⁸

In the 1470s, Italian princes began to establish their chapels on the northern models. Early centres included Naples, Milan and Ferrara.⁹ At this stage, chapels were extravagant luxury reserved for exceptional princes. In the course of the sixteenth century, however, the chapel was no longer exclusively for leading patrons. Instead, it became an essential section of a

⁶ STRONG: 22.

⁷ As quoted in STRUNK: 292-293.

⁸ POINDEXTER-HAGG: 488-489.

⁹ POINDEXTER-HAGG: 488-489. See also ATLAS (on Naples), WELCH (on Milan) and LOCKWOOD 1981 (on Ferrara).

princely court. The Church shared this trend with secular rulers. While prominent Italian princes began to establish their chapels in the 1470s, Pope Sixtus IV established Cappella Sistina in 1479-1480. As chapels became common among princely courts in the early sixteenth century, Pope Julius II established Cappella Giulia in 1513.¹⁰

Ianziti insisted on distinguishing two types of patronage systems, *mecenatismo* and *clientelismo*. *Mecenatismo* linked patrons and clients purely for artistic purposes. When patrons employed artists or gave commission to them exclusively for artistic purposes, e.g. to paint portraits, to design palaces or to compose madrigals, the relationship between them is categorised as *mecenatismo*. In short, patrons paid to the artists in reward for their professional service. On the contrary, *clientelismo* was activities within bureaucratic systems. Clients who accepted the commission were not professional artists, but administrators of the government. They produced works of arts, especially literary ones, as a part of their administrative duty. Ianziti summarised how the *clientelismo* system worked:

...in general, they are not men of letters in search of a patron. They are full-time, professional bureaucrats whose livelihood depends chiefly on their skills as administrators.¹¹

Duke Ottavio maintained his chapel in a *mecenatismo* manner. His chapel consisted of professional musicians. The duke employed them exclusively for musical purposes. One possible exception may be Fabrizio Dentice. He was a Neapolitan nobleman. At least nominally, his position was different from that of the chapel musicians. In reality, however, he was employed almost exclusively for musical purposes.¹²

Duke Ottavio's patronage had a great influence over the musical life in Parma. With a possible exception of Barbara Sanseverino, Countess of Sala, no local lord could have rivalled the duke. Moreover, Parma had no aristocratic academy until 1574. The first significant academy in Parma, Accademia degli Innominati, was founded on 13 July 1574. It was not a rival of the ducal patronage of music for two reasons. First, the academy was not active in music, but mainly in the literary field. Second, the academy did not aim at rivalling the ducal patronage, but rather supporting it. Principal members of the academy occupied important positions at the court.¹³ Accordingly, the ducal chapel had a far greater influence than any other musical institution of the city. Other two influential musical organisations, the choirs of the Santa Maria della Steccata church and the Cathedral, were not free from the duke's influence. Some members of the ducal chapel were also active in the chapels of these churches. In this sense, Duke Ottavio's patronage had an overwhelming influence on musical life of the whole city.

2-B. Archival study

This dissertation is an archival study. Archival research is, of course, a basic approach in every historical study. Kirkendale blamed music historians who did not go to archives:

¹⁰ Pope Sixtus IV consecrated Capella Sistina on 8 December 1479, and installed a choir of ten singers on 1 January 1480. Pope Julius II established Cappella Giulia on 19 February 1513 with twelve singers, many students and two teachers (music and grammar). REYNOLDS: 50 and 1, respectively.

¹¹ IANZITI: 302.

¹² On Fabrizio Dentice, see pp. 80-82.

¹³ BEVILACQUA: 21-24.

When, in the interest of objectivity and reliability, a book presents its information primarily through archival documents.... Though this publication consists of articles on various musicians, its resemblance to a music dictionary may end there. It avoids systematically characteristic features of lexica: arbitrary limitation not only of space, but also of time (for preparation); editorial interference, dearth of new information, and — most serious — lack of documentation.... When this work was begun, the Archivio di Stato in Florence possessed only a tiny reading room in the Palazzo degli Uffizi, frequented by a handful of dedicated historians. Ca. 80 years earlier, however, Canal, Davari, Ademollo, and Bertolotti had demonstrated in quick succession the quality and quantity of documentation on music available in a much smaller archive of another Italian court, Mantua. Though it was evident that they had by no means exhausted this material, very few scholars continued this kind of work in Italian archives, notwithstanding the excellent example of Casimiri's *Note d'archivio per la storia musicale*. The first modern monographs on music at the major Italian courts of the Renaissance were completed only in the 1970's: Newcomb's on Ferrara and Fenlon's on Mantua.¹⁴

Annibaldi felt that Kirkendale estimated his own achievement too much and appreciated others' too little.¹⁵ Indeed, other musicologists have explored archival documents, too. However, Kirkendale correctly pointed out that archival research on sixteenth-century princely chapels was not popular before Newcomb and Fenlon published their works in 1980,¹⁶ especially in musicological literature in English.

3. Documents

3-A. Separation of the Farnese documents

In 1731, Duke Antonio Farnese died without an heir. The Farnese dynasty became extinct. His elder brother, Odoardo, was married to Sophia Dorotea of Neuburg. Their daughter, Elizabetta, was married to King Felipe V of Spain. Thus, the Spanish branch of the Bourbone succeeded to Duchy of Parma and Piacenza. In 1732, Don Carlos de Bourbone arrived in Parma as the new duke. However, he was too ambitious to be satisfied with this small state. He invaded Naples, and eventually conquered it in 1734. He became King of Naples. Later he was to reign as King Carlos III of Spain.

Don Carlos brought away the most precious pieces of the Farnese art collection to Naples. He also took away a major part of the Farnese documents. This was the beginning of the separation of the Farnese documents between Parma and Naples.

In 1766, Guillaume du Tillot, a competent minister of Parma, made a request to King Ferdinando IV of Naples to return the Farnese documents to Parma. The king accepted du Tillot's request. However, he returned only a part of the documents, and kept the rest in Naples. Thus, after all, the Farnese documents remained separated.¹⁷

3-B. Documents in Parma

In Parma, Archivio di Stato and Biblioteca Palatina preserved documents concerning the

¹⁴ KIRKENDALE: 15-16.

¹⁵ ANNIBALDI: 363.

¹⁶ NEWCOMB and FENLON, respectively.

¹⁷ VAN DER ESSEN-CAUCHIE: XLV-LIX.

Farnese dynasty. Archivio di Stato mainly preserves the official documents, such as financial documents and letters directly addressed to the court. Biblioteca Palatina preserves some official documents and less official ones.

Archivio di Stato preserves two series of important financial documents, the *Ruoli farnesiani* (ASPR-RUOLI) and the *Mastri farnesiani* (ASPR-MASTRI). The *Ruoli* is specialised in salary payment. The *Mastri* registers various financial procedures, such as salary payment, house rent and travel fare. These financial documents are the keys to reconstruct the personnel of the chapel.

These financial documents should be examined carefully, because neither the *Ruoli* nor the *Mastri* is perfect. First, the *Ruoli* registers only a small part of the salary payment in the 1560s. The salary payment of this period can be reconstructed, because the records of the *Mastri* are reliable throughout the 1560s. In turn, second, the records of *Mastri* are lacking from 1579 to 1582. In this case, too, the salary payment can be reconstructed, because the records of the *Ruoli* are reliable in this period. However, third, the salary payment from November 1570 to August-September 1573 cannot be reconstructed, because the records are lacking both in the *Ruoli* and the *Mastri*. Thus, the personnel of the chapel can be reconstructed by referring complementarily to the *Ruoli* and the *Mastri*, except for the period from November 1570 to August-September 1573 (Table 1).

Table 1: The *Ruoli* and the *Mastri*

The <i>Ruoli</i>					The <i>Mastri</i>				
v. 2	ca. Oct	1567	- ca. Sep	1568	v. 4	ca. Oct	1558	- ca. Dec	1564
					v. 5	ca. Jan	1565	- ca. Nov	1568
					v. 6	ca. Dec	1568	- ca. Oct	1570
v. 3	ca. Dec	1573	- ca. Nov	1577	v. 7	ca. Oct	1573	- variously	1574
v. 4	ca. Oct	1577	- ca. Sep	1582	v. 8	variously	1574	- Dec	1578
v. 5	ca. Oct	1582	- ca. Aug	1587	v. 9	variously	1582	- Dec	1586

Archivio di Stato Parma preserves some other financial documents, too, for example, in the categories of the *Computisteria farnesiana* (ASPR-COMP) and the *Corte e casa farnesiane* (ASPR-CCF).

In Archivio di Stato, letters addressed to the court are primarily divided into two categories, the *Carteggio farnesiano interno* (ASPR-CFI) and the *Carteggio farnesiano estero* (ASPR-CFE). The former is a collection of the letters from the inside of the duchy. They are arranged chronologically. The latter is a collection of those from the outside. They are further categorised by the places of dispatch, and then arranged chronologically within each category.

3-C. Documents in Naples

King Ferdinando IV of Naples chose to keep some of the Farnese documents in Naples. They survived the political upset in Naples in 1799. However, it is regrettable that a major part of the Farnese documents in Naples was lost during the World War II. In September 1943, documents of Archivio di Stato, including the Farnese documents, were transferred to a suburban villa for fear of bombardment. On 30 September, German soldiers found them, took them for military documents, and put a fire on them. Neapolitan archivists managed to bring only “eleven cases of notarial registers and ninety-seven cartons of the Farnese documents”

away from the fire.¹⁸

Today Archivio di Stato preserves some volumes of the *Registri*, i.e. financial documents of Cardinal Alessandro's household. Archivio di Stato also preserves letters. They are arranged without consistent classification.

3-D. Others

Observation from the outside often tells what inside records do not. For example, Florentine diplomatic documents are an important source of information about the *concerto delle dame* of Ferrara.¹⁹ As for the ducal chapel of Parma, some diplomatic documents of Mantua play this part. Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga was interested in Duke Ottavio's musicians. The Mantuan agents constantly informed Duke Guglielmo of the musicians in Parma. The Mantuan agents were especially active in Parma in 1581, when Prince Vincenzo Gonzaga and Princess Margherita Farnese were married, and in 1586, when the chapel was disbanded at Duke Ottavio's death.

Some letters of the Munich court also contain useful information about the Duke Ottavio's chapel. Albrecht V and Wilhelm V Wittelsbach, Dukes of Bavaria, were also passionate patrons of music. They also wanted to take some of Duke Ottavio's musicians into their own service.

With regard to Duke Ottavio's chapel, only a small part of Mantuan documents has been explored. Little has been done elsewhere. A lot of work is yet to be done.

4. History of the House of Farnese

4-A. Up to Pope Paul III

The history of the House of Farnese goes back to the early twelfth century.²⁰ The name "Farnese" possibly came from the place name "Farneto", a city near Gubbio, Umbria. A type of oak trees (*farnie*) grew thick there. Orvieto, Umbria, was the traditional basis of the Farnese. Pietro was active there around 1100. His son, Prudenzio, served as the consul of Orvieto. The heads of the Farnese served as a consul, magistrate and military officer in Orvieto and elsewhere in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

In the first half of the fifteenth century, Ranuccio "il Vecchio" promoted his family from a local clan of Orvieto to an aristocratic household in Rome. He won the favour of Popes Martin V and Eugene IV. In 1435, he was appointed to the commander-in-chief (*gonfaloniere*) of the Church. Viterbo, Lazio, was the Farnese's new basis.

Ranuccio's son, Pier Luigi "il Vecchio", further confirmed the Farnese's status in Rome. He was married to Giovanna Caetani. The House of Caetani was one of the oldest and the most prestigious aristocratic households in Rome. Pope Boniface VIII was from this house. Thus, the Roman aristocratic world accepted the Farnese as its new member.

Pier Luigi's son, Alessandro, won the favour of Pope Alexander VI, partly because Alessandro's sister, Giulia, called "la Bella Giulia", was the pope's mistress. In 1493, the pope created Alessandro a cardinal. In 1534, Alessandro was finally elected to the pope as Paul III (reigned 1534-1547).

Pope Paul III was a powerful leader of the Church, both in politics and in religion. First, as a leading politician, he brought peace to Italy. In 1538, he helped Emperor Karl V and King

¹⁸ FILANGIERI: 252-255.

¹⁹ NEWCOMB.

²⁰ The history of the Farnese is based on NASALLI ROCCA.

François I of France to conclude a truce in Nice. Second, as the head of the Church, he was an initiator of Catholic Reformation. He authorised new orders, the Jesuits, the Capuchins and the Theatines. In 1542, he called a general council, which started in 1545 in Trent.

Pope Paul III was active in family affairs, too. He practised bold nepotism, again, both in the religious and secular fields. In the religious field, he created his three grandsons, Alessandro, Ranuccio and Guido Ascanio Sforza, cardinals. Among them, the pope nominated Alessandro to the vice-chancellor (*vicecancelliere*) of the Church, an important position, second only to the pope himself. In the secular field, he promoted his son, Pier Luigi, to the commander-in-chief of the Church. Moreover, he gave various feuds to his family: Duchy of Castro and Marquisate of Novarra to Pier Luigi in 1537 and in 1538, respectively, and Duchy of Camerino to Pier Luigi's son, Ottavio, in 1538. Finally, he created Duchy of Parma and Piacenza, and appointed Pier Luigi to the first duke in 1545.

Pope Paul III promoted the Farnese from a Roman aristocratic household to a major ruling dynasty. However, the Farnese was still a “new comer” among Italian rulers. The Farnese did not have “status” to justify its sovereignty, such as chivalric tradition or matrimonial relationships with greater houses. Then, the Farnese chose to be a lavish patron of arts to demonstrate their authority. Hollingsworth described the Farnese's policy:

The Farnese were rich.... Upwardly mobile and determined to assert their new prestige, the Farnese exploited art to provide potent evidence of their ambitions. As a family, they were the outstanding patrons in sixteenth-century Italy, rivalled only by the Medici for the scale and quality of their commissions.²¹

As a patron of arts, a cardinal in Rome could be rivalling, and even victorious over the king of Spain, the ruler of the empire “on which the sun never set”. Cardinal Alessandro won his reputation for his Villa Farnese in Caprarola:

It was said [by Pope Gregory XIII] that he had never seen a place, more beautiful and pleasant, and with a better view than Caprarola. The rooms were suitable to every great prince, superior to the miracles of Escorial of the very powerful king of Spain. This opinion was affirmed by Pope Clement VIII....²²

Apart from Villa Farnese, Il Gesù church and Palazzo Farnese, both in Rome, were great monuments of the Farnese's patronage.

4-B. Duchy of Parma and Piacenza

The beginning of Duchy of Parma and Piacenza was unstable. The first duke, Pier Luigi, had two types of enemies. Internally, local lords, such as the Pallavicino, the Landi and the Torelli, opposed the new ruler whom the pope forcefully installed from the outside. The local lords of Parma were traditionally eager for independence. The Visconti-Sforza dukes found it difficult to control them.²³ Externally, the Gonzaga of Mantua complained about the rise of the Farnese. Especially, Don Ferrante, Lord of Guastalla, wanted to take the Farnese's new state

²¹ HOLLINGSWORTH: 280.

²² Quoted in ROBERTSON: 318.

²³ For example, when the Galeazzo Maria Sforza became the duke of Milan in 1466, his mother, Bianca Maria Visconti, had to advise him, first of all, how to handle the people of Parma. It was one of the most troublesome spots in his state. LUBKIN: 28.

into his own domain. These two parties formed an anti-Farnese pact. In 1547, only two years after the establishment of the state, a local lord killed Duke Pier Luigi in Piacenza.

The “tragedy of Piacenza” temporarily drove the Farnese away from the state. The Church occupied Parma, and the Spanish army took control over Piacenza. Ottavio Farnese fought to recover the state. In 1550, he was reconciled with Pope Julius III, and took control over Parma. In 1556, the new duke then concluded a treaty at Ghent with King Felipe II of Spain. Duke Ottavio agreed to be a subject of the king in compensation with the recovery of Piacenza.

In spite of its dramatic beginning, Duke Ottavio’s reign was remarkably peaceful. He chose not to take revenge for his father’s murder. Instead, he accepted the local lords in his court. In turn, local lords knew that the duke was then too strong to resist, because King Felipe II authorised his power. With exception of the Landi’s rebellion in 1579-1580, Duke Ottavio suffered from relatively few troubles with the local lords and with other rulers.

Duke Ottavio chose Parma as the capital of his state in preference to Piacenza. At first, he lived in the Governor’s Palace, and then moved to the Episcopal Palace. He built Palazzo del Giardino in the *oltretorrente* area, where the centre of the former Milanese rule had been located. The transfer of the ducal residence symbolised Duke Ottavio’s attitude towards his reign. He gave up his career as a vassal of the Church. He no longer relied on the Church. Instead, he chose to be a secular ruler, in succession to the Visconti-Sforza dukes.²⁴

Duke Ottavio’s wife, Duchess Margherita d’Austria, was an illegitimate daughter of Emperor Karl V. She was first married to Alessandro de’ Medici, Duke of Florence. He was killed in 1537. She was then married to Ottavio Farnese in 1538 to commemorate the pact between Pope Paul III and Emperor Karl V. The pope wanted the emperor’s support to stabilise the Farnese’s power. The emperor wanted to prompt the pope to call a general council of the Church. This couple was apparently ill balanced. Ottavio was just a member of a newly emergent house. He had no major feudal title then. On the contrary, Margherita was a daughter of the reigning emperor. She already had a big domain in Abruzzo which she had inherited from her first husband. At first, Margherita refused to marry Ottavio.²⁵ They lived separately throughout their married life.

Duchess Margherita was King Felipe II’s half-sister. He appointed her to the governor of the Low Countries in 1559. The Brussels government was primarily the centre of the Spanish rule over the Low Countries. At the same time, it served as a “Flemish branch” of the Farnese. It was not surprising that the Brussels government worked for the private interest of the Farnese. Parker explained how this happened:

One of the principal weaknesses of the 16th-century state was the lack of a professional civil service; infact all ministers had their own private secretariat. When a nobleman was appointed to a state office, such as Captain-General [i.e. Governor], he naturally used his principal private secretary — his *secretario de cámara* — to deal with public as well as with private affairs. In the case of the Low Countries, the *secretario de cámara* of each Captain-General also acted as his *secretario de estado y guerra*. Conversely, when a Captain-General left office his secretary left with him, becoming merely the *secretario de cámara*. Since he remained the private servant of the General throughout, the secretary removed all his master’s papers when he left office: hence the Spanish papers handled by the *secretario de estado y guerra* were

²⁴ VENTURELLI: 14-15.

²⁵ CANOSA: 19-22.

taken out of the Netherlands at each change of General, and they are to be found today in private archives.²⁶

The core of the Brussels government consisted of the governor's personal staff. They dealt with both public and private affairs. The confusion of the private and the public affairs was not usually regarded as violating.

During Duchess Margherita's governorship, the Brussels government played an important role in the development of Duke Ottavio's chapel. The Brussels government looked for and acquired Flemish musicians for the duke.

Duke Ottavio died in September 1586. His son, Alessandro, succeeded him. He was then the governor of the Low Countries. He kept this position after his succession to the ducal throne. Accordingly, he held his court in Brussels. His son, Ranuccio, served as Duke Alessandro's deputy in Parma. Thus, Parma temporarily lost its prestige as the centre of ducal authority during Duke Alessandro's reign, from 1586 to 1592.

5. Preceding studies

5-A. Pelicelli's *Storia della Musica in Parma*

Pelicelli's *Storia della musica in Parma*²⁷ has long served as the almost only source of information on Duke Ottavio's chapel. This work can be evaluated as a pioneer of this field. Pelicelli listed up musicians active in Parma and those born in Parma and active outside. However, this work is problematic for two reasons. First, Pelicelli's description is apparently incomplete and partly erroneous. For example, he mistakenly discussed Giovanni Agostino de Veggio as four (!) different persons: Giovanni de Neghi, Gio. Agostino Cucchi, Gio: Agostino Veggio and Agostino Regis.²⁸ He made his errors, because he entirely relied on the *Ruoli*. He could have avoided them by referring to a wider variety of documents, especially the *Mastri*. Second, he just listed up musicians without any arrangement or classification. He did not examine the organisation of the chapel or the types of musicians. As a result, his work is neither a reliable database nor a historical survey of Duke Ottavio's chapel.

5-B. Other works

Apart from Pelicelli's, there are few preceding studies. For example, Kast said nothing new in his *MGG* articles.²⁹ Nor did Minardi add new information to Pelicelli's in his *New Grove* articles. Minardi erroneously attributed the flourish of Flemish musicians in Parma to Duke Alessandro's career in the Low Countries.³⁰ Duke Alessandro stayed in Brussels throughout his reign. He had little to do with music in Parma. Instead, it was Duchess Margherita's government which played a decisive role in the flourish of Flemish musicians in Parma.

In 1926, Osthoff discussed Santino Garsi's life and works. He collected information about

²⁶ PARKER 1971: 37-38.

²⁷ PELICELLI 1936 *Storia*. This book consists of a series of articles which Pelicelli wrote under the title of "Musicisti in Parma" in *Note d'archivio per la storia musicale* 8 (1931): 132-142, 196-215, 278-290; 9 (1932): 41-52, 112-129, 217-246; 10 (1933): 32-43, 116-126, 233-248, 314-325; 11 (1934): 29-57, 248-281; 12 (1935): 82-102; 317-342.

²⁸ PELICELLI 1936 *Storia*: 62-66.

²⁹ KAST 1962 and KAST 1997.

³⁰ MINARDI 1980 and MINARDI 2001.

the Farnese's patronage of music.³¹ His research covers a wide variety of literature available then. However, he did not explore archival materials himself. At least with regard to general background of music in Parma, Osthoff's was a patchwork of second-hand information.

In 1976, Owens discussed Cipriano de Rore's last years in Parma.³² This article is based on her extensive archival research. It is one of the few reliable studies on music in sixteenth-century Parma. However, it is more properly placed in the context of Cipriano de Rore study than that of music in Parma.

In 1995, dall'Acqua, the director of Archivio di Stato Parma, lamented that the musical practice under the Farnese's regime remained an unexplored field.

The research on "Farnese's" music in the last decades saw only few renewals, even if one is reminded of some already historical works, such as Pelicelli's, just to name one.³³

Thus, this dissertation is virtually the first general survey of Duke Ottavio's chapel based on archival documents.

³¹ OSTHOFF: 10-40.

³² OWENS 1976.

³³ DALL'ACQUA: 197.

Chapter One: Personnel

1. Before the establishment of the chapel

During the “war of Parma” (1547-1550), Duke Ottavio was too busy with battles and political operations to maintain a chapel. When he re-established his power in Parma in 1550, he had no chapel. On 2 July, he celebrated Duchess Margherita’s first entry into Parma with the Cathedral choir and a band of fifers.

Duchess Margherita entered the city from the San Michele gate, located in present-day Piazzale Vittorio Emanuele II:³⁴

[The duchess was] followed by *signora* Girolama Farnese and *signora* Giulia Sforza and her eight ladies-in-waiting.... Then our officials, doctors [theologians and/or lawyers] and doyens followed. They formed an ordered group, protected by many young men with batons in their hands, and in the costume of the commune. Then the monks, priests, all the clerics and the bishop followed, while the horses were in an uproar. Then thirteen drums played with great noise, and five trumpets followed among the Swiss guards...³⁵

The duchess and her company went ahead along Strada di Santa Cristina (present-day Strada della Repubblica):

At the great gate of San Siro [just before the Piazza Grande, i.e. present-day Piazza Garibaldi] there were five fifers playing by the handrail of the small square, and there were some people in service to the commune, who shouted, “Duke, duke, Farnese, Farnese” on the balcony of a palace...³⁶

She was conducted into the Cathedral. She went on to the chancel “with the sound of the organ, shawms and voices”. As she moved from the Cathedral to the Episcopal Palace, the sound of “fifers, trumpets, drums, bells and *musiche* [? songs]”³⁷ accompanied her.

At night, a reception party was held. “Fifteen drums, four fifers and five trumpets” played at this occasion.³⁸ These musicians were probably identical with those who had played in the daytime, because the combination and the number of instruments generally agreed between these two performances, i.e. thirteen-fourteen drums, five trumpets and four-five fifers.

Another untitled chronicle calls this band “a company of drums, trumpets and fifes, the type [of instruments] which had never been heard in that city [Parma]”.³⁹ If this statement is to be taken literally, these musicians are supposed to have been hired expressly for this occasion. In any case, the musicians who celebrated Duchess Margherita’s entry were typical of fifes-and-drums band, rather than a princely chapel.

³⁴ The location of old place names is specified with BANZOLA.

³⁵ Document 13: ff. 8-10.

³⁶ Document 13: f. 11.

³⁷ Document 13: f. 11.

³⁸ Document 13: f. 11.

³⁹ BPP-MSPARM 1184: 108/216v.

2. Musicians of the chapel

Duke Ottavio maintained his chapel from 1561 to 1586. The personnel of the chapel can be reconstructed from the two series of financial documents, the *Ruoli* and the *Mastri*, with exception of the period from November 1570 to August-September 1573.

Month-by-month member list of the chapel, 1561-1586

Reconstructed with ASPR-MASTRI vv. 4-9 and ASPR-RUOLI vv.2-5.

*asterisk Flemings + fully present ? not sure whether present or absent
italics boys - partly present (+) probably present

	name	present / absent										salary
1561	-----											
	* Cipriano de Rore	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	22.50 ⁴⁰
1562	-----											
	* Cipriano de Rore	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	22.83
	* "Martino Importo"								+	+	+	8.10
	* "Gabriele Vallone"								-	+	+	10.00
1563	-----											
	* Baudouin Blondeau						-	+	+	+	+	8.97
	* Cipriano de Rore ⁴¹	+	+	+	+	?	?					23.00
	* "Martino Importo"	+	+									8.10
	* Josquin Persoens							-	+	+	+	8.97
	* "Gabriele Vallone"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10.00
	* "Lorenzino"									+	+	(4.00)
	Francesco Bramieri									-	+	8.00
	Giovanni Agostino de Veggio										-	10.00
	Jacomo Pecchio									-	+	13.80
1564	-----											
	* Baudouin Blondeau	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8.97
	* "Claudio Borgognone"			-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	6.00
	* "Gaspar de Becchi"									+	+	9.66
	* Cipriano de Rore ⁴²										?	23.00
	* "Giovanni Enrico"					-	+	+	+	+	+	8.97
	* "Benedetto Gonzo"							+	+	+	+	12.42
	* Josquin Persoens	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8.97
	* "Gabriele Vallone"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10.00
	* "Lorenzino"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(4.00)
	Francesco Bramieri	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8.00
	Camillo Cerri									+	+	8.00
	Jacomo Antonio de Vecchi	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8.00
	Giovanni Agostino de Veggio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10.00
	Jacomo Pecchio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	13.80

⁴⁰ His salary was two hundred *scudi d'oro* per year. The *Mastri* estimates his salary differently according to the ratio between *scudo* and *scudo d'oro*.

⁴¹ He left for Venice in May or later.

⁴² He returned to Parma some time in November or December.

1565	-----											
	* Baudouin Blondeau	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8.97
	* "Claudio Borgognone"	+	+									6.00
	* "Gaspar de Becchi"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	9.66
	* Cipriano de Rore	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-			23.00
	* "Giovanni Enrico"	+	+	+	-							8.97
	* "Benedetto Gonzo"	+	+	+	-							12.42
	* Josquin Persoens	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8.97
	* "Gabriele Vallone"	+										10.00
	* "Lorenzino"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(4.00)
	Francesco Bramieri	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8.00
	Camillo Cerri	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8.00
	Angelo de Martini	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	2.76
	Jacomo Antonio de Vecchi	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8.00
	Giovanni Antonio de Veggio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10.00
	Jacomo Pecchio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	13.80
1566	-----											
	* Baudouin Blondeau	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8.97
	* Jean d'Arras	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	16.56
	* "Gaspar de Becchi"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		9.66
	* "Pietro de Maris"						+	+	+	+	+	11.04
	* "Teodoro d'Olanda"			-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8.97
	* Josquin Persoens	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8.97
	* "Guglielmo"						-	+	+	+	+	(4.00)
	* "Lorenzino" ⁴³	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	?	?	-	(4.00)
	? * "Vincenzo Zambone" ⁴⁴						+	+	+	+	+	6.00
	Francesco Bramieri	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8.00
	Camillo Cerri	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8.00
	Angelo de Martini	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	2.76
	Jacomo Antonio de Vecchi	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8.00
	Giovanni Agostino de Veggio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10.00
	Jacomo Pecchio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	13.80
	Giovanni Ludovico Rimignani							+	+	+	+	4.00

⁴³ No payment for him is registered in the *Mastri* from 1 July to 22 November. His salary is registered again from 23 November onwards. It is possible that he took a leave.

⁴⁴ It is not known exactly whether he was a Fleming or an Italian. See p. 24.

1567	-----													
	* Baudouin Blondeau	+	+	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	+	+	+	+	8.97
	* Jean d'Arras	+	+	+	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	+	+	+	+	16.56
	* "Pietro de Maris"	+	+	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	+	+	+	+	11.04
	* "Teodoro d'Olanda"	+	+	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	+	+	+	+	8.97
	* Josquin Persoens	+	+	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	+	+	+	+	8.97
	* " <i>Gugilelmo</i> "	+	+	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	+	+	+	+	(4.00)
	* " <i>Lorenzino</i> "	+	+	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	+	+	+	+	(4.00)
	? * "Vincenzo Zambone"	+	+	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	+	+	+	+	6.00
	Francesco Bramieri	+	+	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	+	+	+	+	8.00
	Camillo Cerri	+												8.00
	Angelo de Martini	+	+	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	+	+	+	+	4.14 ⁴⁵
	Jacom Antonio de Vecchi	+	+	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	+	+	+	+	8.00
	Giovanni Agostino de Veggio	+	+	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	+	+	+	+	10.00
	Ferrante Guasconi	+	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	+	+	+	+	10.00
	Jacom Pecchio	+	+	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	+	+	+	+	13.80
	Giovanni Ludovico Rimignani	+	+	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	+	+	+	+	8.00 ⁴⁶
1568	-----													
	* Baudouin Blondeau	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-			8.97
	* Jean d'Arras	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	16.56
	* "Pietro de Maris"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	11.04
	* "Teodoro d'Olanda"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8.97
	* "Guglielmo Frondosi"									+	+	+	+	11.04
	* Josquin Persoens	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8.97
	* "Lorenz(in)o" ⁴⁷	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	7.00
	* " <i>Guglielmo</i> "	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(4.00)
	? * "Vincenzo Zambone"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	6.00
	Giulio Bonagiunta									+	+	+	+	11.04
	Francesco Bramieri	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8.00
	Angelo de Martini	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	4.14
	Jacom Antonio de Vecchi	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8.00
	Giovanni Agostino de Veggio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10.00
	Ferrante Guasconi	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10.00
	Jacom Pecchio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	13.80
	Giovanni Ludovico Rimignani	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8.00
	Lazzaro Torre ⁴⁸	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?				8.00
	<i>Cristofano Pecchio</i> ⁴⁹	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(3.00)
	<i>Girolamo Pugnetti</i>				-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(4.00)

⁴⁵ His salary was raised some time between March and August 1567.

⁴⁶ He became independent some time between March and August 1567.

⁴⁷ He became independent in May, and called "Lorenzo".

⁴⁸ The *Ruoli* registers his salary from February to September, while the *Mastri* registers it from January to August.

⁴⁹ He was Jacomo Pecchio's son.

1569	-----										
	* Baudouin Blondeau										9.66
	* Jean d'Arras	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	16.56
	* "Pietro de Maris"	+	+								11.04
	* "Teodoro d'Olanda"	+	+								8.97
	* "Guglielmo Frondosi"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			11.04
	* Josquin Persoens	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	11.04 ⁵⁰
	* "Lorenzo"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	7.00
	* "Guglielmo"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(4.00)
	? * "Vincenzo Zambone"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	6.00
	Giulio Bonagiunta	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	11.04
	Francesco Bramieri	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8.00
	Giovanni Maria Conti			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	6.00
	Angelo de Martini	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	4.14
	Giovanni Agostino de Veggio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	10.00
	Ferrante Guasconi	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10.00
	Jacomio Pecchio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	13.80
	Giovanni Ludovico Rimignani	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8.00
	<i>Cristofano Pecchio</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(3.00)
	<i>Girolamo Pugnetti</i>	+									(4.00)
	<i>Pier Antonio castrato</i> ⁵¹								+	+	(4.00)
1570	-----										
	* Jean d'Arras	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	16.56
	* Josquin Persoens	+	+	+							11.04
	* "Lorenzo"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			7.00
	* " <i>Guglielmo</i> "	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(4.00)
	? * "Vincenzo Zambone"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	6.00
	Giulio Bonagiunta ⁵²	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	11.04
	Francesco Bramieri	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8.00
	Giovanni Maria Conti	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		6.00
	Angelo de Martini	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	4.14
	Giovanni Agostino de Veggio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10.00
	Ferrante Guasconi	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10.00
	Jacomio Pecchio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		13.80
	Giovanni Ludovico Rimignani	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8.00
	<i>Cristofano Pecchio</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		(3.00)
	<i>Pier Antonio castrato</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(4.00)
	<i>Tito</i>								+	+	(4.00)

⁵⁰ His salary was raised in August.

⁵¹ He was probably identical with Pier Antonio Pietra.

⁵² It is not clear why his salary of October 1570 is missing in the *Mastri*.

1573	-----												
	* Christoph Haberstock											+ + + +	11.20
	* Gottfried Palmartz											+ + +	12.00
	* "Lorenzo Zevero"											+ + +	11.20
	? * "Vincenzo Zambone"											+ + + + +	6.00
	Francesco Bramieri											+ + + + +	8.00
	Giovanni Maria Conti											+ + + + +	6.00
	Angelo de Martini											+ + + + +	7.50
	Giovanni Agostino de Veggio											+ + + + +	10.00
	Ferrante Guasconi											+ + + + +	10.00
	Sabastiano Marcheselli											+ + + + +	8.00
	Jacomo Pecchio											+ + +	13.80
	Giovanni Ludovico Rimignani											+ + + +	8.00
	<i>Cristofano Pecchio</i>											+ + +	(3.00)
	<i>Pier Antonio Pietra</i>											+ + + +	(4.00)
1574	-----												
	* "Guglielmo Dillen"											+ + +	9.80
	* Christoph Haberstock											+ + + + + + + +	11.20
	* Gottfried Palmartz											+ + + + + + + +	12.00
	* "Lorenzo Zevero"											+ + + + + + + +	11.20
	? * "Vincenzo Zambone"											+ + + + + + + +	6.00
	Cesare Bassano											+ + + +	11.20
	Orazio Bassano											+ + + +	16.80
	Francesco Bramieri											+ + + + + + + +	8.00
	Giovanni Maria Conti											+ + + + + + + +	6.00
	Filippo d'Aspelli											+ + + + + + + +	11.20
	Angelo de Martini											+ + + + + + + +	7.50
	Giovanni Agostino de Veggio											+ + + + + + + +	10.00
	Ferrante Guasconi											+ + + + + + + +	10.00
	Lorenzo Lodi											+ + +	9.80
	Sebastiano Marcheselli											+ + + + + + + +	8.00
	Jacomo Pecchio											+ + + + + + + +	13.80
	Paolo Pighino											+ +	17.50
	Giovanni Ludovico Rimignani											+ + + + + + + +	8.00
	<i>Giulio Cima</i>											- + + +	12.60 ⁵³
	<i>Cristofano Pecchio</i>											+ + + + + + + +	(3.00)
	<i>Pier Antonio Pietra</i>											+ + + + + + + +	(4.00)
	<i>Francesco castrato</i>											- + + + +	(4.00)

⁵³ His salary included his own salary and that of his father, Antonio. See pp. 34-35.

1575	-----											
	* “Guglielmo Dillen”	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	9.80
	* Gottfried Palmartz	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	12.00
	* “Lorenzo Zevero”	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	11.20
	Cesare Bassano	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	11.20
	Orazio Bassano	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	16.80
	Francesco Bramieri	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8.00
	Giovanni Maria Conti	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	6.00
	Filippo d’Aspelli	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	11.20
	Angelo de Martini	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	7.50
	Giovanni Agostino de Veggio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10.00
	Ferrante Guasconi	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10.00
	Lorenzo Lodi	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	9.80
	Jacomo Pecchio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	13.80
	Paolo Pighino	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	17.50
	Giovanni Ludovico Rimignani	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8.00
	<i>Giulio Cima</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	12.60
	<i>Cristofano Pecchio</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(3.00)
	<i>Pier Antonio Pietra</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(4.00)
1576 ⁵⁴	-----											
	* “Guglielmo Dillen”	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	9.94
	* “Lorenzo Zevero”	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	11.36
	Cesare Bassano	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	11.36
	Orazio Bassano	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	17.04
	Francesco Bramieri	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8.00
	Giovanni Maria Conti	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	6.00
	Filippo d’Aspelli	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	11.20
	Angelo de Martini	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	7.50
	Giovanni Agostino de Veggio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10.00
	Ferrante Guasconi	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10.00
	Lorenzo Lodi	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	9.94
	Jacomo Pecchio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	13.80
	Paolo Pighino	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	17.50
	Giovanni Ludovico Rimignani	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8.00
	Fabio Verdelli					-	+	+	+	+	+	10.00
	<i>Giulio Cima</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	12.78
	<i>Cristofano Pecchio</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(3.00)
	<i>Pier Antonio Pietra</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(4.00)

⁵⁴ Around November and December 1576, *scudo d'oro* became stronger to *scudo moneta*. One *scudo* then corresponded to one *scudo* forty-two *soldi*, while it had corresponded to one *scudo* and forty *soldi*. As a result, some musicians' salaries outwardly increased.

1577	-----											
	* "Guglielmo Dillen"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	9.94
	* "Lorenzo Zevero"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	11.36
	Cesare Bassano	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	11.36
	Orazio Bassano	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	17.04
	Francesco Bramieri	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8.00
	Giovanni Mari Conti	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	6.00
	Filippo d'Aspelli	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	11.20
	Angelo de Martini	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	7.50
	Giovanni Agostino de Veggio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10.00
	Ferrante Guasconi	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10.00
	Lorenzo Lodi	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	9.94
	Jacomo Pecchio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	13.80
	Paolo Pighino	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	17.75
	Giovanni Ludovico Rimignani	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8.00
	Fabio Verdelli	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10.00
	<i>Giulio Cima</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	12.78
	<i>Cristofano Pecchio</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(3.00)
	<i>Pier Antonio Pietra</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(4.00)
	? <i>Pietra</i> ⁵⁵								+	+	+	(4.00)
1578	-----											
	* "Guglielmo Dillen"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	9.94
	* Gottfried Palmartz			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	14.20
	* "Lorenzo Zevero"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	11.36
	Cesare Bassano	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	11.36
	Orazio Bassano	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	17.04
	Francesco Bramieri	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8.00
	Giovanni Maria Conti	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	6.00
	Filippo d'Aspelli	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	11.20
	Angelo de Martini	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	7.50
	Giovanni Agostino de Veggio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10.00
	Ferrante Guasconi	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10.00
	Lorenzo Lodi	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	9.94
	Cristofano Pecchio ⁵⁶	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	9.94 ⁵⁷
	Jacomo Pecchio	+	+	+	+							13.80
	Paolo Pighino	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	17.75
	Giovanni Ludovico Rimignani	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8.00
	Fabio Verdelli	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10.00
	<i>Giulio Cima</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	12.78
	<i>Ottavio Pecchio</i> ⁵⁸				-	+	+	+	+			(3.00)
	<i>Pier Antonio Pietra</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(4.00)
	? <i>Pietra</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(4.00)
	<i>Antonio</i> ⁵⁹							+	+	+	+	(4.00)

⁵⁵ He was Pier Antonio's brother. His first name is unknown.

⁵⁶ He became independent at the end of April.

⁵⁷ His salary was raised in November.

⁵⁸ He was Cristofano's cousin.

⁵⁹ He was Angelo de Martini's *nipote* (? nephew, son or grandson).

1579												
* "Guglielmo Dillen"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	9.94
* Gottfried Palmartz	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	14.20
* "Lorenzo Zevero"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	11.36
Cesare Bassano	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	11.36
Orazio Bassano	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	17.04
Francesco Bramieri	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8.00
Giovanni Maria Conti	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	6.00
Filippo d'Aspelli	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	11.20
Angelo de Martini	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	7.50
Giovanni Agostino de Veggio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10.00
Ferrante Guasconi	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10.00
Lorenzo Lodi	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	9.94
Cristofano Pecchio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	9.94
Paolo Pighino	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	17.75
Giovanni Ludovico Rimignani	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8.00
Fabio Verdelli	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10.00
<i>Giulio Cima</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	12.78
<i>Pier Antonio Pietra</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(4.00)
? <i>Pietra</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(4.00)
<i>Antonio</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(4.00)
<i>Cesare castrato</i>												(4.00)
<i>Giovanni Antonio castrato</i>												(4.00)
<i>Jacomo Antonio castrato</i>												(4.00)

1580												
* "Guglielmo Dillen"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	9.94
* Gottfried Palmartz	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	14.20
* "Lorenzo Zevero"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	11.36
Cesare Bassano	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	11.36
Orazio Bassano	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	17.04
Francesco Bramieri	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8.00
Giovanni Maria Conti	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	6.00
Angelo de Martini	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	7.50
Giovanni Agostino de Veggio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10.00
Ferrante Guasconi	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10.00
Lorenzo Lodi	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	9.94
Cristofano Pecchio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	9.94
Paolo Pighino	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	17.75
Giovanni Ludovico Rimignani	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8.00
Fabio Verdelli	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10.00
<i>Giulio Cima</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	12.78
<i>Pier Antonio Pietra</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(4.00)
? <i>Pietra</i>	+	+	+	+	+							(4.00)
<i>Antonio</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(4.00)
<i>Cesare castrato</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(4.00)
<i>Giovanni Antonio castrato</i>	+	+	+	+	+							(4.00)
<i>Jacomo Antonio castrato</i>	+	+	+	+	+							(4.00)

1581	-----											
	* "Guglielmo Dillen"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	9.94
	* Gottfried Palmartz	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	14.20
	* "Lorenzo Zevero"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	11.36
	Cesare Bassano	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	11.36
	Orazio Bassano	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	17.04
	Francesco Bramieri	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8.00
	Giovanni Maria Conti	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	6.00
	Angelo de Martini	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	7.50
	Giovanni Agostino de Veggio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10.00
	Ferrante Guasconi	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10.00
	Lorenzo Lodi	+	+	+	+	+	-					9.94
	Cristofano Pecchio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	9.94
	Pier Antonio Pietra ⁶⁰	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	9.94
	Paolo Pighino	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	17.75
	Giovanni Ludovico Rimignani	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8.00
	Fabio Verdelli	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	12.00 ⁶¹
	<i>Giulio Cima</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	12.78
	Antonio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(4.00)
	<i>Cesare castrato</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(4.00)
1582	-----											
	* "Guglielmo Dillen"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	9.94
	* Gottfried Palmartz	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	14.20
	* "Lorenzo Zevero"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	11.36
	Cesare Bassano	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	11.36
	Orazio Bassano	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	17.04
	Francesco Bramieri	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8.00
	Giovanni Maria Conti	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	6.00
	Angelo de Martini	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	7.50
	Giovanni Agostino de Veggio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10.00
	Ferrante Guasconi	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10.00
	Cristofano Pecchio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	9.94
	Pier Antonio Pietra	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	9.94
	Paolo Pighino	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	17.75
	Giovanni Ludovico Rimignani	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8.00
	Fabio Verdelli	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	12.00
	<i>Giulio Cima</i>	+	+	+	+	+	?	?	?	?	?	12.78 ⁶²
	Antonio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(4.00)
	<i>Cesare castrato</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(4.00)

⁶⁰ He became independent in January.

⁶¹ His salary was raised in September.

⁶² He may have been absent in the second half of this year. See p. 35.

1583	-----											
	* “Guglielmo Dillen”	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	9.94
	* Gottfried Palmartz	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	14.20
	* “Lorenzo Zevero”	+	+	-								11.36
	Cesare Bassano	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	11.36
	Francesco Bramieri	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8.00
	Giulio Cima	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	12.78
	Giovanni Maria Conti	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	6.00
	Angelo de Martini	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	7.50
	Giovanni Agostino de Veggio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10.00
	Ferrante Guasconi	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10.00
	Cristofano Pecchio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	9.94
	Pier Antonio Pietra	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	9.94
	Paolo Pighino	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	17.75
	Giovanni Ludovico Rimignani	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8.00
	Fabio Verdelli	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	12.00
	<i>Ottavio Tortona</i>							+	+	+	+	(4.00)
	<i>Antonio</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(4.00)
	<i>Cesare castrato</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(4.00)
1584	-----											
	* “Guglielmo Dillen”	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	9.94
	* Gottfried Palmartz	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	14.20
	Cesare Bassano	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	11.36
	Francesco Bramieri	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8.00
	Giulio Cima	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	12.78
	Giovanni Maria Conti	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	6.00
	Angelo de Martini	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	7.50
	Giovanni Agostino de Veggio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10.00
	Ferrante Guasconi	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10.00
	Cristofano Pecchio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	9.94
	Pier Antonio Pietra	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	9.94
	Paolo Pighino	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	17.75
	Giovanni Ludovico Rimignani	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8.00
	Ottavio Tortona ⁶³	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8.00
	Fabio Verdelli	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10.00
	<i>Antonio</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(4.00)
	<i>Cesare castrato</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(4.00)

⁶³ He became independent in May.

1585	-----											
	* “Guglielmo Dillen”	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	9.94
	* Gottfried Palmartz	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	14.20
	Cesare Bassano	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	11.36
	Francesco Bramieri	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8.00
	Giulio Cima	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	12.78
	Giovanni Maria Conti	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	6.00
	Angelo de Martini	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	7.50
	Giovanni Agostino de Veggio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10.00
	Ferrante Guasconi	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10.00
	Cristofano Pecchio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	9.94
	Pier Antonio Pietra	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	9.94
	Paolo Pighino	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	17.75
	Giovanni Ludovico Rimignani	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8.00
	Ottavio Tortona	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8.00
	Fabio Verdelli	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	12.00
	Antonio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(4.00)
	Cesare castrato	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(4.00)
1586	-----											
	* “Guglielmo Dillen”	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	9.94
	* Gottfried Palmartz	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	14.20
	Cesare Bassano	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	11.36
	Francesco Bramieri	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8.00
	Giulio Cima	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	12.78
	Giovanni Maria Conti	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	6.00
	Angelo de Martini	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	7.50
	Giovanni Agostino de Veggio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10.00
	Ferrante Guasconi	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	10.00
	Lorenzo Lodi				+	+	+	+	+	+		14.20
	Cristofano Pecchio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	9.94
	Pier Antonio Pietra	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	12.00 ⁶⁴
	Paolo Pighino	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	17.75
	Giovanni Ludovico Rimignani	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8.00
	Ottavio Tortona	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8.00
	Fabio Verdelli	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	12.00
	Antonio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(4.00)
	Cesare castrato	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(4.00)

3. Two periods of the chapel

The lack of the financial documents from November 1570 to August-September 1573 had nothing to do with the management of the chapel. The absence of the competent treasurer, Pietro Ceuli, seems to have caused confusion in the financial section of the court.⁶⁵ However, this period eventually serves as the division of the two stages in the twenty-five-year history of Duke Ottavio’s chapel.

3-A. The “formative stage”, 1561-1570

The first musician that Duke Ottavio acquired was Cipriano de Rore. Cipriano received his salary from 18 January 1561 onwards. Accordingly, Duke Ottavio’s *patronage*, i.e. paying

⁶⁴ His salary was raised in April.

⁶⁵ He was then in Rome. Pietro Silvio replaced him as the treasurer in Parma.

money for music, began on this day. However, Cipriano was still in Brussels then. He was probably in Parma by August 1561.⁶⁶ Thus, Duke Ottavio's *chapel*, i.e. a permanent body of musicians, was established in Parma some time around August 1561.

The number of musicians dramatically increased in the second half of 1563 and in the first half of 1564. This period was crucial to the establishment of the chapel. Some Italian musicians who were to serve long, such as Francesco Bramieri, Giovanni Agostino de Veggio and Jacomo Pecchio, began their service in this period.

The personnel of the "formative stage" is marked with instability. This is especially true to Flemish musicians. At first, Duke Ottavio strengthened his chapel by employing Flemish musicians. Indeed, the duke's lavish patronage attracted as many as fifteen Flemish musicians, among them two boys. However, only six of them continuously served for about three years or longer: Baudouin Blondeau, Josquin Persoens, "Lorenz(in)o", Jean d'Arras, "Teodoro d'Olanda" and "Guglielmo".⁶⁷ Five served only for about a year, and then left the service: "Martino Importo", "Claudio Borgognone", "Giovanni Enrico", "Benedetto Gonzo" and "Guglielmo Frondosi". Italian musicians stayed more stably than Flemings. Duke Ottavio employed fifteen Italians, among them five boys. Four Italian musicians left the service in the formative stage: Camillo Cerri, Girolamo Pugnetti and Lazzaro Torre.

It is not known exactly whether "Vincenzo Zambone" was a Fleming or an Italian. The *Ruoli* says that he was "acquired in the Flanders".⁶⁸ However, he was possibly an Italian for two reasons. First, he was one of the lowest paid musicians. His salary, six *scudi* per month, was much lower than the average of what the Flemish musicians had. Second, the documents never call him a Fleming. The *Ruoli* usually distinguishes Flemish musicians from Italians by calling them *fiamminghi*. In the case of "Zambone", the *Ruoli* says nothing. Possibly, "to be acquired in the Flanders" is one thing, and "to be a Fleming" is another.

In the 1560s, Duke Ottavio's chapel was not mature enough to be stable. Some Flemish musicians found other institutions more attractive than it was. For example, "Giovanni Enrico" left for Mantua without Duke Ottavio's permission. "Claudio Borgognone" probably left Parma to serve in Mantua, too.⁶⁹

A Fleming called "Arnoldo *fiammingo*" was active in Parma, and received eleven *scudi* thirty-one *soldi* per month from May 1566 to August 1569 and from April 1570 to September 1570. His salary included the expense for his *garzone* (? assistant). He is sometimes called a glass painter (*pittore di vetri*) and sometimes a musician (*musico*). In reality, he was a painter. The *Ruoli* registers him:

On 23 February 1566, Arnoldo, Fleming, a glass painter, was acquired in the Flanders by His Excellency to take to Italy on 1 January 1566, with a salary of three *scudi d'oro* per month, and a pair of shoes and expense for foods in addition to the said three *scudi [d'oro]*.⁷⁰

Since more Flemish musicians were active at the court than Flemish painters were, his nickname "*fiammingo*" may have caused the court officials to take him for a musician.

⁶⁶ See p. 62.

⁶⁷ Cipriano de Rore served for more than three years *in total*, with an interruption.

⁶⁸ Document 1: "Vincenzo Zambone", v. 2.

⁶⁹ See pp. 48-49.

⁷⁰ Document 1, Arnoldo *fiammingo*, v. 2. Although Meijer mentioned "Arnoldo", he said nothing of the confusion. MEIJER: 19.

From February-March to August-September 1567, the *Mastri* does not register the salary payment to the musicians. It registers payment to other personnel of the court throughout this period. Only that of the musicians is missing. It is unlikely that the musicians worked without their salaries. Instead, they must have had their salary in an unusual way.

In 1567, there were two important events in the ducal household. The first is Duchess Margherita's return to Italy. King Felipe II replaced her with the duke of Alva as the governor of the Low Countries. She returned to Italy. She shortly stayed in Piacenza, and then settled in her own domain, Abruzzo. It is unlikely that she had something to do with Duke Ottavio's chapel, because she had her own chapel.⁷¹ The other important event was Prince Alessandro's stay in Parma. It is possible that he borrowed his father's musicians. He was travelling around the duchy in the very period when the musicians' salary was lacking in the *Mastri*. The prince arrived in Piacenza on 8 March 1567. Then he visited a mountainous area, such as Langhirano, Tizzano Val Parma and Calestano, from 10 to 22 August.⁷²

3-B. The "mature stage", 1573-1586

In October 1570, the end of the "formative stage", the chapel consisted of three Flemings, ten Italians and "Vincenzo Zambone". In November 1573, the beginning of the "mature stage", nine musicians still remained in the service (Table 2).

Table 2: Musicians between October 1570 and October 1573

October 1570		October 1573
	Flemings	
Jean d'Arras	left	
"Guglielmo"	left	
"Lorenzo"	left	
	new	Gottfried Palmartz
	new	"Lorenzo Zevero"
	Italians	
Giulio Bonagiunta	died	
Tito	left	
Francesco Bramieri	remained	Francesco Bramieri
Giovanni Maria Conti	remained	Giovanni Maria Conti
Angelo de Martini	remained	Angelo de Martini
Giovanni Agostino de Veggio	remained	Giovanni Agostino de Veggio
Ferrante Guasconi	remained	Ferrante Guasconi
Cristofano Pecchio	remained	Cristofano Pecchio
Jacomo Pecchio	remained	Jacomo Pecchio
Giovanni Ludovico Rimignani	remained	Giovanni Ludovico Rimignani
	new	Sebastiano Marcheselli
	not sure	
"Vincenzo Zambone"	remained	"Vincenzo Zambone"

It is notable that all the Flemish musicians of the former stage left the chapel in the transitional period, while most Italians remained in service. "Vincenzo Zambone" also remained. Thus, a

⁷¹ On Duchess Margherita's chapel in 1567-1568, see p. 92.

⁷² On the prince's arrival in Piacenza, see Document 46. On the prince's travel in the mountainous region, see ASPR-CCF serie 2 busta 19.

general feature of the “formative stage”, i.e. the mobility of Flemings and the relative stability of Italians, was still observable in this period.

A notable feature of the “mature stage” is the stability of the personnel in general. In the course of thirteen years, from October 1573 to September 1586, seven adult musicians disappeared from the member list. Among them, only one, Filippo d’Aspelli, left the Farnese service. The others continued to serve the Farnese or died in Parma. Christoph Haberstock, Sebastiano Marcheselli and “Vincenzo Zambone” were sent to Rome in August-September 1574. They received their salary there.⁷³ Orazio Bassano was also sent to Rome in 1582. He enjoyed an extraordinary salary of twenty-five *scudi d’oro* per month from the revenue of Castro there.⁷⁴ Giacomo Pecchio died in Parma on 27 April 1578.⁷⁵ “Lorenzo Zevero” also died there on 26 March 1583 (Table 3).⁷⁶

Table 3: Adult musicians who disappeared from the chapel, 1573-1586

name	served up to	why disappeared
Cristoph Haberstock	Aug 1574	sent to Rome
“Vincenzo Zambone”	Aug 1574	sent to Rome
Sebastiano Marcheselli	Sep 1574	sent to Rome
Filippo d’Aspelli	Mar 1578	left or dismissed
Jacomo Pecchio	Apr 1578	died
Orazio Bassano	Apr 1578	sent to Rome
“Lorenzo Zevero”	Feb 1583	died

Two musicians once left Parma, and then returned: Gottfried Palmartz and Lorenzo Lodi. Palmartz disappeared from the member list from January 1576. He went to Munich to serve Albrecht V, Duke of Bavaria. He worked there from the Lent of 1576 until the first quarter of 1578.⁷⁷ He began to receive his salary in Parma again in March 1578. Lodi left Parma in the middle of June 1584. He served Jacques de Savoie, Duke of Nemours. On 25 November 1585, a Mantuan agent in Parma, Ippolito Olivo, explained what happened to Lorenzo:

I believe that Your Lordship remembers well what I told you when I was in Mantua before. At the death of Duke of Nemours, there was a musician in service to the duke, Lorenzo *bolognese* [Lodi]. He had no patron. This young man was fostered by my lord, *signor* Duke [Ottavio Farnese], and educated by good masters, such as Fabrizio Dentice, Orazio Bassano, and many other valuable persons who served this lord. Therefore, he wanted to return to the service [to Duke Ottavio]. The duke was furious when Lorenzo asked permission to leave the service, and told him that he wanted to implant him something to be recognised with some affection, and to make him polished by paying a big expense in order to make him a man of some value.⁷⁸

⁷³ Document 1: Christoph Haberstock, v. 3, Sebastiano Marcheselli, v. 3, and Vincenzo Zambone, v. 3. Haberstock worked in Munich from 1575 and 1577 and died there. LEUCHTMANN *Bayern*, v.12: 59. “Zambone” entered Cappella Sistina in January 1582. SHERR 1985: 116.

⁷⁴ Document 1: Orazio and Cesare Bassano, v. 4.

⁷⁵ Document 1: Giacomo Pecchio, v. 4.

⁷⁶ Document 1: “Lorenzo Zevero”, v.4.

⁷⁷ SANDBERGER: 93, 96, 105. See also LEUCHTMANN *Bayern* v. 10: 61.

⁷⁸ Document 93.

The duke accepted Lorenzo again on 1 April 1586.

In the mature stage, the musicians of the ducal chapel were also active in the principal churches of the city: the Cathedral and Santa Maria della Steccata. The two principal Flemings of the ducal chapel, “Guglielmo Dillen” and Gottfried Palmartz, served as chapel masters of the Steccata. “Dillen” was also a chapel master of the Cathedral.⁷⁹ Italians also served in these churches, for example, Fabio Verdelli as a singer at both, Giovanni Ludovico Rimignani as the organist at the Steccata, and Giovanni Maria Conti as a trombone player at the Steccata.⁸⁰ Thus, Duke Ottavio’s musicians had a wide influence on the musical life of the city.

4. Boys

Although *castrati* were already in use in the second half of the sixteenth century, boys still played important roles in Italian chapels. Duke Ottavio actively looked for and employed boys.

The boys in Duke Ottavio’s chapel are divided into two large groups: The first is those who were acquired from outside of the chapel. This group is further divided into two smaller groups: (A) those who served only in their childhood, and (B) those who remained in service after they became mature, independent musicians. The other large category is (C) those who were related to chapel musicians. (D) Giulio Cima is an exception. He had something in common with the boys of the category C. However, his case was different from them in some respects. It must be discussed separately. (Table 4.)

Table 4: Boys educated in Duke Ottavio’s chapel

name	from	up to	educated by	expense
Category A: boys from outside, who served only in their childhood				
“Guglielmo”	c 10 Jun 1566	– Mar 1570	J. Persoens	4 <i>scudi</i>
_____	Apr 1570	– ?	J. d’Arras	4 <i>scudi</i>
Girolamo Pugnetti	11 Apr 1568	– Jan 1569	J. Persoens	4 <i>scudi</i>
Tito	Aug 1570	– ?	F. Guasconi	4 <i>scudi</i>
Francesco <i>castrato</i>	c 23 Jan 1574	– May 1574	G. Palmartz	4 <i>scudi</i>
Cesare <i>castrato</i>	15 Dec 1579	– Sep 1586	G. Palmartz	4 <i>scudi</i>
Giovanni Antonio <i>castrato</i>	15 Dec 1579	– Jun 1580	G. A. de Veggio	4 <i>scudi</i>
Jacomo Antonio <i>castrato</i>	15 Dec 1579	– Jun 1580	G. Palmartz	4 <i>scudi</i>
Category B: boys from outside, who remained as mature musicians				
“Lorenzino”	Oct 1563	– Oct 1564	“G. Vallone”	4 <i>scudi</i>
_____	Dec 1564	– May 1565	C. de Rore	4 <i>scudi</i>
_____	Jun 1565	– Apr 1568	(semi-apprenticeship)	4 <i>scudi</i>
Giovanni Ludovico Rimignani	Jul 1566	– Feb 1567	(semi-apprenticeship)	4 <i>scudi</i>
Pier Antonio Pietra	? Sep 1569	– Mar 1579	G. A. de Veggio	4 <i>scudi</i>
_____	Apr 1579	– Jan 1581	(semi-apprenticeship)	4 <i>scudi</i>
? Pietra	Oct 1577	– Mar 1579	G. A. de Veggio	4 <i>scudi</i>
_____	Apr 1579	– Jun 1580	(semi-apprenticeship)	4 <i>scudi</i>
Ottavio Tortona	Jul 1583	– Apr 1584	(semi-apprenticeship)	4 <i>scudi</i>
Category C: boys related to the chapel musicians				
Cristofano Pecchio	Jan 1568	– Apr 1578	J. Pecchio	3 <i>scudi</i>
Ottavio Pecchio	28 Apr 1578	– Aug 1578	C. Pecchio	3 <i>scudi</i>
Antonio ? de Martini	1 Jan 1578	– Sep 1586	A. de Martini	4 <i>scudi</i>

⁷⁹ PELICELLI 1936 *Steccata*: 35-34, 46-47.

⁸⁰ PELICELLI 1936 *Steccata*: 36, 37, 43.

Category D: an exceptional case

Giulio Cima

15 Aug 1574 – Dec 1582

A. Cima

—

4-A. Boys from outside who served only in their childhood

This group consists of “Guglielmo”, Girolamo Pugnetti, Tito, Francesco *castrato*, Cesare *castrato*, Giovanni Antonio *castrato* and Jacomo Antonio *castrato*. They left the service before they became independent. They were under the guardianship of their educators throughout their service. In Parma, when a musician was appointed to educate a boy, he usually received four *scudi* per month in addition to his own salary. The expense for the boys are usually registered in the educators’ names, rather than in the boys’:

[On 17 October 1566] eight *scudi* ninety-seven *soldi* to the musician *messer* Josquin for October — 8.97.

Four *scudi* to the same person as the expense of “Guglielmo” — 4.⁸¹

In this case, Josquin Persoens educated “Guglielmo”. In return, Josquin received four *scudi* per month in addition to his salary. The expense is registered in Josquin’s name. The salary and the expense could be put into one item:

[On 9 October 1566] twelve *scudi* ninety-seven *soldi* to *messer* Josquin Persoens as his salary and the expense of the musician Guglielmo for September — 12.97 [= salary 8.97 + expense 4.00].⁸²

In any case, the expense for the boys is usually registered in their educators’ names.

Only little is known of the boys of this category, because the documents scarcely give special notice on them. “Guglielmo” was the Flemish boy whom Josquin Persoens acquired in Mechelen in December 1565.⁸³ Girolamo Pugnetti was from Piacenza.⁸⁴ The *Mastri* registers payment of the expense to send him back home:

[On 3 February 1569] Six *scudi d'oro* to Girolamo Pugnetti, soprano musician, to go back home — 8.28.⁸⁵

Francesco *castrato* was similarly from Piacenza, and also sent back home:

[On 25 September 1574] eight *scudi* to the said one [Gottfried Palmartz] to keep a young *castrato* from Piacenza in his house for two months, April and May, who was then sent home — 8.⁸⁶

Giovanni Antonio *castrato* likewise went back home on 1 July 1580. The *Ruoli* registers his travel fare:

⁸¹ Document 2, v. 5: 534.

⁸² Document 2, v. 5: 396.

⁸³ On Josquin’s recruitment activities, see pp. 72-75.

⁸⁴ “Hier[onim]o musico piac[entin]o”. ASPR-MASTRI v. 5: 618.

⁸⁵ Document 2, v. 6: 45.

⁸⁶ Document 2, v. 7: 103.

On 15 December 1579, additionally four *scudi moneta* [to Giovanni Agostino de Veggio] as the expense for Giovanni Antonio soprano every month — 4.

On 1 July 1580, the said *castrato* went back home.⁸⁷

Thus, some boys left the chapel to go back home.

4-B. Boys from outside who remained as mature musicians

This category consists of “Lorenzino”, Giovanni Ludovico Rimignani, Pier Antonio Pietra and Ottavio Tortona. For the convenience of discussion, Pietra and his unnamed brother are put together in this category. They spent some period in the chapel as boys, and continued to serve as mature musicians.

Though excluded from the present discussion, Lorenzo Lodi had a lot in common with these boys. Lodi was educated in the ducal chamber in his childhood, and then remained in service as a mature musician.⁸⁸

A notable feature of their careers is that the expense for them is registered in their own names, rather than their educators’, for a period just before they became independent. This is a unique phenomenon to the boys of this category. This characteristic period in their careers could be called their “semi-apprenticeship”, because it seems to have been a transitional period between their “full” apprenticeship and their professional careers.

Their semi-apprenticeship is distinguished from their professional careers, because they always received only four *scudi* per month during their semi-apprenticeship. Four *scudi* per month cannot have been their *salary*, because this sum is too small. Mature musicians of the chapel received at least six *scudi* per month, except for Angelo de Martini. Instead, four *scudi* were a regular sum of the expense paid for the boys of the categories A and B. These boys were not yet regarded as fully mature during their semi-apprenticeships. Later in their careers they came to receive appropriate sums of money for mature musicians, such as seven or eight *scudi* per month.

4-B-a. “Lorenzino”

“Lorenzino” began to serve in Duke Ottavio’s chapel in October 1563. At first, his educator was Gabriele Vallone. As Cipriano de Rore returned from Venice, he replaced Vallone as the educator of “Lorenzino”. Vallone received the expense for “Lorenzino” up to October 1564. It is not clear who educated “Lorenzino” in November 1564, because the expense is registered in the name of “Lorenzino” himself. Then Cipriano received the expense for “Lorenzino” from December 1564 to May 1565. From June 1565 to April 1568, the expense is registered in the name of “Lorenzino” himself. After serving his semi-apprenticeship, he finally became independent in May 1568. He began to receive seven *scudi* per month (Table 5).

Table 5: Expense for “Lorenzino”, October 1563 to April 1568

from Oct 1563	to Oct 1564	paid to	“Gabriele Vallone”
	in Nov 1564	paid to	“Lorenzino” <i>himself</i>
from Dec 1564	to May 1565	paid to	Cipriano de Rore
from Jun 1565	to Apr 1568	paid to	“Lorenzino” <i>himself</i>

It is unlikely that “Lorenzino” lived in his own right during his semi-apprenticeship,

⁸⁷ Document 1: Giovanni Agostino de Veggio, v. 4.

⁸⁸ See p. 26.

because no house rent was paid to him. A record of extraordinary expense suggests that Josquin Persoens supervised him:

On 28 December [1566], five *scudi* fifty-two *soldi* to the musician *messer* Josquin for the price of a fur coat to give to the Fleming, “Lorenzino”, when he was ill, as His Excellency commanded — 5.52⁸⁹

Accordingly, “Lorenzino” possibly lived with Josquin.

The case of “Lorenzino” reveals a notable rule of how the *Mastri* was recorded. During his semi-apprenticeship, the *Mastri* describes the money paid to “Lorenzino” sometimes as his “salary” and sometimes as the “expense” for him. These two terms are almost interchangeable (Table 6).

Table 6: Money paid to “Lorenzino” during his semi-apprenticeship

the <i>Mastri</i>	month	description	the <i>Mastri</i>	month	description
v. 5: 184	Jun 1565	expense (<i>spesa</i>)	v. 5: 496	Feb 1567	salary (<i>salario</i>)
v. 5: 194	Jul 1565	expense (<i>spesa</i>)			
v. 5: 195	Aug 1565	expense (<i>spesa</i>)			
v. 5: 210	Sep 1565	expense (<i>spesa</i>)	v. 5: 532	Sep 1567	expense (<i>spesa</i>)
v. 5: 220	Oct 1565	salary (<i>salario</i>)	v. 5: 534	Oct 1567	(not specified)
v. 5: 235	Nov 1565	salary (<i>salario</i>)	v. 5: 535	Nov 1567	(not specified)
v. 5: 235	Dec 1565	salary (<i>salario</i>)	v. 5: 580	Dec 1567	(not specified)
v. 5: 257	Jan 1566	expense (<i>spesa</i>)	v. 5: 606	Jan 1568	(not specified)
v. 5: 320	Feb 1566	expense (<i>spesa</i>)	v. 5: 611	Feb 1568	(not specified)
v. 5: 336	Mar 1566	expense (<i>spesa</i>)	v. 5: 611	Mar 1568	(not specified)
v. 5: 466	from 23 Nov 1566 to 23 Jan 1567	expense (<i>spesa</i>)	v. 5: 612	Apr 1568	expense (<i>spesa</i>)

The term “expense” (*spesa*) is applicable only to the expense paid for the boys, while the term “salary” (*salario*, *provisione*, etc.) is applicable both to the expense for boys and to mature musicians’ salary.

4-B-b. Giovanni Ludovico Rimignani

Rimignani began his service with his semi-apprenticeship. He had no full apprenticeship in Parma. At least, the financial documents do not register it. Some records of payment in the *Mastri* are the only trace which indicates that he served in the chapel as a boy. From July 1566 to February 1567, monthly payment of four *scudi* is registered in the name of Rimignani himself. The *Mastri* does not specify who supervised him.

In September 1567, Rimignani received eight *scudi* per month. This means that he was by then treated as a mature musician. Since the records of the payment to musicians are partly lacking in 1567, it is not known exactly when Rimignani became independent. His semi-apprenticeship was over some time between February and August 1567.

4-B-c. Pier Antonio Pietra

It is necessary to confirm how long Pier Antonio Pietra actually served in the chapel. The financial documents, both the *Ruoli* and the *Mastri*, record his service in Parma ambiguously and inconsistently.

The *Ruoli* vv. 3, 4 and 5 confirm that he was already in service by October 1573, and that

⁸⁹ Document 2, v. 5: 387.

he remained in service until the disbandment of the chapel in September 1586.

The *Ruoli v. 3* registers a young *castrato* and his brother under the guardianship of Giovanni Agostino de Veggio:

The musician *messer* Giovanni Agostino de Veggio stays with His Excellency with his salary of ten *scudi* per month — 10.

Additionally, four *scudi* per month as the expense for a young *castrato* whom he had in his house, four *scudi* per month — 4.

Additionally, on 1 October 1577 four *scudi* as the expense of the young *castrato*'s brother whom he kept in his house — 4.⁹⁰

Then the *Ruoli v. 3* registers de Veggio's salary, the expense for the young *castrato* up to September 1577 and the expense for the *castrato*'s brother of October 1577.

The *Ruoli v. 4* registers both de Veggio's salary and the expense for the brothers in the name of de Veggio:

The musician *messer* Giovanni Agostino de Veggio stays in service to His Excellency with his salary of ten *scudi* per month — 10.

Additionally, the expense for Pier Antonio and his brother, soprano musicians, eight *scudi* per month — 8.⁹¹

The “young *castrato*” in the *Ruoli v. 3* is safely identified as “Pier Antonio” in *v. 4* for two reasons. First, the situation of “a boy and his brother under the guardianship of Giovanni Agostino de Veggio” is common between the two. Second, the items of payment in the *Ruoli v. 3* are smoothly followed by those of *v. 4* (Table 7).

Table 7: Pier Antonio and his brother in the *Ruoli vv. 3-4*

	+	recorded in the <i>Ruoli v. 3</i>		+	recorded in the <i>Ruoli v. 4</i>
	young <i>castrato</i> in <i>v. 3</i> Pier Antonio in <i>v. 4</i>		his brother		
Oct 1573		+			
Nov 1573		+			
Dec 1573		+			
~~~~~					
Aug 1577		+			
Sep 1577		+			
Oct 1577		+		+	
Nov 1577		+		+	
Dec 1577		+		+	

The *Ruoli v. 4* registers the Pietra brothers with de Veggio up to March 1579. Then, the *Ruoli* provides a separate heading of their own from April 1579 onwards:

Pier Antonio Pietra and his brother, musician, have eight *scudi* per month from His Excellency as their expense — 8.

⁹⁰ Document 1: Giovanni Agostino de Veggio, *v. 3*.

⁹¹ Document 1: Giovanni Agostino de Veggio, *v. 4*.

On 1 July 1580, the expense for Pier Antonio's brother is discontinued, and he is sent back home by the order of His Excellency, Only four *scudi* per month are paid to Pier Antonio as his expense — 4.

This fact suggests that the Pietra brothers were treated to some extent separately from de Veggio. Moreover, they received their expense themselves:

The expense for said Pier Antonio and his brother is paid to themselves, which began on 1 April 1579 — 8.

It is unknown if they enjoyed freedom to spend their money as they liked. Pier Antonio Pietra became fully independent in January 1581. He began to receive seven *scudi d'oro*, i.e. nine *scudi* ninety-seven *soldi* per month:

On 1 January 1581, His Excellency ordered [to pay] to said Pier Antonio seven *scudi d'oro* per month as his salary, as *signor* major-domo said, which begins [to be paid] on the said day — 7 [*scudi d'oro*]⁹²

He remained in service until the disbandment of the chapel in September 1586. His salary was raised to twelve *scudi* in April 1586.⁹³ Thus, the *Ruoli* vv. 3-5 confirm Pier Antonio Pietra's presence in Parma from October 1573 to September 1586.

Since the records of the *Ruoli* v. 3 begin after an interruption, it still remains unknown when Pier Antonio Pietra began to work in Parma. It is probable that Pier Antonio Pietra began to work in Parma as early as in September 1569. The *Mastri* v. 6 registers a payment for a boy, "Pier Antonio soprano":

[On 3 December 1569] Eight *scudi* to Pierant[oni]o soprano for two months up to the end of the said month [October 1569] — 8.⁹⁴

The *Mastri* registers no more payment to Pier Antonio. It does not specify what happened to him after November 1569. However, Giovanni Agostino de Veggio is likely to have educated him. De Veggio regularly received ten *scudi* per month as his salary up to October 1569.⁹⁵ From November onwards, he received fourteen *scudi*. This sum included his own salary (ten *scudi*) and the expense to educate a *castrato* boy (four *scudi*), as the *Mastri* specifies:

[On 23 October 1570] fourteen *scudi moneta* to *messer* Giovanni Agostino de Veggio with the expense of the young *castrato* for September — 14.⁹⁶

This young *castrato* is likely to have been "Pier Antonio soprano". In November 1569, no other musician began to receive the extra four *scudi*, but only de Veggio. Thus, it is supposed that the *Mastri* registers the expense for Pier Antonio for September and October 1569 in his own name without specifying who educated him, and that from November onwards, in turn, the

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⁹² Document 1: Pier Antonio Pietra and his brother, v. 4.

⁹³ Document 1: Pier Antonio Pietra, v. 5.

⁹⁴ Document 2, v. 6: 159.

⁹⁵ Document 1: Giovanni Agostino de Veggio, v. 2. Document 2: v. 6: 159.

⁹⁶ Document 2, v. 6: 247.

*Mastri* registers these four *scudi* together with de Veggio's salary (Table 8).

Table 8: Pier Antonio and de Veggio, September 1569 – October 1570

the <i>Mastri</i>	month	Pier Antonio	de Veggio	descriptions in the <i>Mastri</i>
6: 159	Sep 1569	4 <i>scudi</i>	10 <i>scudi</i>	
6: 159	Oct 1569	4 <i>scudi</i>	10 <i>scudi</i>	
6: 170	Nov 1569	—	14 <i>scudi</i>	
—	Dec 1569	(lacking)	(lacking)	
6: 191	Jan 1570	—	14 <i>scudi</i>	
6: 200	Feb 1570	—	14 <i>scudi</i>	
6: 207	Mar 1570	—	14 <i>scudi</i>	with "Giovanni Antonio"
6: 221	Apr 1570	—	14 <i>scudi</i>	
6: 221	May 1570	—	14 <i>scudi</i>	
6: 229	Jun 1570	—	14 <i>scudi</i>	
6: 237	Jul 1570	—	14 <i>scudi</i>	
6: 246	Aug 1570	—	14 <i>scudi</i>	
6: 247	Sep 1570	—	14 <i>scudi</i>	with a "castradino"
6: 263	Oct 1570	—	14 <i>scudi</i>	with "Antonio soprano"

The *Mastri* calls the boy whom de Veggio educated "Giovanni Antonio", and also "Antonio soprano". The former is supposed to have been a simple mistake of the court official, and the latter a shortened version of "Pier Antonio soprano". These instances suggest that court officials were not eager to write down the boy's name precisely.

Though without direct evidence, "Pier Antonio" in the *Mastri* v. 6 is likely to have been identical with Pier Antonio Pietra. They both were *castrati*, and equally under the guardianship of Giovanni Agostino de Veggio. There is no major reason to reject this hypothesis. Only the lack of financial documents between November 1570 and August-September 1573 prevents it from being confirmed. If this hypothesis is to be believed, then Pier Antonio Pietra served in the chapel from September 1569 to September 1586. He was under the guardianship of Giovanni Agostino de Veggio for eight years and seven months, from September 1569 to March 1578. He served his semi-apprenticeship for two years and nine months, from April 1578 to December 1580. Then he worked as a fully independent musician for six years and nine months, from January 1581 to September 1586 (Table 9).

Table 9: Summary of Pier Antonio Pietra's status in Parma

from	to	called	status
Sep 1569	Oct 1570	Pier Antonio soprano etc.	educated by de Veggio
Nov 1570	Sep 1573	—	educated by de Veggio ?
Oct 1573	Sep 1577	young <i>castrato</i>	educated by de Veggio
Oct 1577	Mar 1579	Pier Antonio	educated by de Veggio
Apr 1579	Dec 1580	Pier Antonio Pietra	semi-apprenticeship
Jan 1581	Sep 1586	Pier Antonio Pietra	a mature musician

#### 4-B-d. Ottavio Tortona

Ottavio Tortona began his service with his semi-apprenticeship. He had no full apprenticeship in Parma. At least, the financial documents do not register it. He first appeared in the financial documents in July 1583:

On 1 July 1583, *messer* Ottavio Tortona stays in the service to His Excellency as a musician, and has his expense to live, four *scudi* per month. Four *scudi* by the order of *signor* major-domo, which begin [to be paid] on the said day — 4.

Neither the *Ruoli* nor the *Mastri* specifies who supervised him during his semi-apprenticeship. After serving his semi-apprenticeship for ten months, he became independent in May 1584:

On 1 May 1584, *signor* Duke ordered [to pay] four *scudi moneta* as his salary in addition to his expense, four *scudi*, which are totally eight *scudi moneta* per month, as *signor* major-domo said — 8.⁹⁷

He remained in service until the disbandment of the chapel in 1586.

#### 4-C. Boys related to the chapel musicians

This group consists of Cristofano Pecchio (Jacomo Pecchio's son), Ottavio Pecchio (Cristofano Pecchio's cousin) and Antonio (Angelo de Martini's *nipote*⁹⁸). Employing musicians' relatives was favourable to the court, because it could save the cost of recruitment. Having their relatives serve in the chapel was favourable to the musicians, too, because it was a good way to secure their relatives' posts.

The regular expense to educate boys of the categories A and B was four *scudi* per month. This rule was not always applicable to those of this category. For example, Jacomo Pecchio received only three *scudi* per month to educate his son, Cristofano. Just like his father, Cristofano Pecchio received three *scudi* per month for his cousin, Ottavio. On the contrary, Angelo de Martini fully received four *scudi* per month for his *nipote*, Antonio. It is impossible to establish a consistent rule of the expense for the boys of this category.

Among the boys of this category, Cristofano Pecchio remained in service as a mature musician. He became independent when his father, Jacomo, died on 27 April 1578. Although it is not known how old Cristofano was then, he must have been old enough to be a mature musician. He became independent at his father's death, instead of being transferred to a new educator. Moreover, he began to educate his cousin, Ottavio. It is not known either if Cristofano still kept his soprano voice, then. It is important to note that the independence was chiefly a "social" event rather "musical". Boys did not automatically become independent at a particular age, or when their voices broke.

#### 4-D. Giulio Cima, an exceptional case

Giulio Cima is an exceptional case. He served Duke Ottavio together with his father, Antonio, from 15 August 1574 onwards:

On 15 August 1574, *messer* Antonio Cima came to be in service to His Excellency with his son who serves as a soprano musician, and his salary is nine *scudi d'oro* per month — 9 *scudi d'oro*.⁹⁹

It is notable that no expense for Giulio is registered separately, but only the "joint salary" of

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⁹⁷ Document 1: Ottavio Tortona, v. 5.

⁹⁸ The Italian term *nipote* could mean any relative of younger generations. This word was often used as an euphemism for illegitimate children of clergymen.

⁹⁹ Document 1: Antonio and Giulio Cima, v. 3.



them two. This is a unique pattern of payment, different from any other case of the boys.

While the *Ruoli v. 3* calls Giulio a soprano, it does not specify Antonio's profession. The contrast between these two descriptions suggests that Antonio may not have been a musician. The *Ruoli v. 4* further suggests that Antonio possibly had no significant function at the court, but made his living by virtue of Giulio's talent:

*Messer Antonio Cima has as his salary from His Excellency for his son who serves as a soprano musician. Nine scudi d'oro per month — 9 scudi d'oro.*¹⁰⁰

The descriptions of the *Mastri* supports this hypothesis, too:

[On 10 March 1576] twelve *scudi* sixty *soldi* to *messer Antonio Cima* for the salary of his son, Giulio, for September — 12.60.¹⁰¹

Moreover, the *Mastri* registers their salary for January, February and March 1576 in Giulio's name, rather than Antonio's:

[On 14 April 1576] thirty-seven *scudi moneta* to the musician Giulio [Cima] for the said three months [January, February and March 1576] — 37.80.¹⁰²

Thus, Giulio's service was, at least, as important as Antonio's, and presumably much more important than Antonio's.

Antonio and Giulio seem to have been absent from the service in the second half of 1582, because the payment to them was irregular.¹⁰³ At this occasion, Antonio retired from his service. Only Giulio resumed serving in Parma in January 1583:

*Messer Antonio Cima has a salary for his son, Giulio, musician, from His Excellency, nine scudi d'oro per month — 9 scudi d'oro.*  
Transferred to *messer Giulio Cima* himself.  
*Messer Giulio Cima, musician, stays in service to His Excellency with his salary of nine scudi d'oro per month — 9 scudi d'oro.*¹⁰⁴

Even without Antonio, Giulio's service was by itself worthy of nine *scudi d'oro* per month. This fact further supports the hypothesis that Antonio had only a minor role, at most.

Giulio Cima's case can be compared with Cristofano Pecchio's. On the one hand, their cases had something in common. Both of them worked at the court together with their fathers. Moreover, they became independent, not for their own reasons, but for their fathers', i.e. the retirement (Cima) and death (Pecchio). On the other hand, their cases were different. Cristofano Pecchio's father, Jacomo, was a high-salaried musician of the chapel. While Jacomo was living, Cristofano was always subordinate to him. In a sense, Cristofano finally replaced his father when he died. On the contrary, Giulio Cima probably played a role more important than his father already in his childhood. Giulio did not replace anybody. Instead, he kept on

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¹⁰⁰ Document 1: Antonio and Giulio Cima, v. 4.

¹⁰¹ Document 2, v. 8: 255.

¹⁰² Document 2, v. 8: 290.

¹⁰³ Document 1: Antonio and Giulio Cima, v. 4.

¹⁰⁴ Document 1: Antonio and Giulio Cima, v. 5.

working as he had been doing.

## 5. Leadership of the chapel

### 5-A. Cipriano de Rore

Cipriano de Rore was the only musician whom the documents definitely call the chapel master.¹⁰⁵ Indeed, he enjoyed exceptional treatment, worthy of this title. Even while he stayed in Venice, Duke Ottavio kept on paying his salary in the hope of his return.¹⁰⁶

During Cipriano's absence from Parma, "Gabriele Vallone" took the place of Cipriano. "Vallone" educated "Lorenzino" from October 1563 to October 1564. As Cipriano returned to Parma, he replaced "Vallone". Cipriano educated "Lorenzino" from December 1564 to May 1565. In other words, Cipriano was not yet in Parma in October 1564. He may have returned there in November. He was certainly working in Parma in December.

The *Mastri* registers on 21 November 1564 payment of six *scudi* eight *soldi* six *denari* to Cipriano to buy "books for the musicians".¹⁰⁷ To choose and acquire music collections was a part of the chapel master's duty.

After Cipriano's death, documents do not specify who succeeded him. No other musician is definitely called the chapel master. This phenomenon could be interpreted in two ways. First, the title of "chapel master" may have been reserved for Cipriano in commemoration of this master's career in Parma. Second, Duke Ottavio's chapel did not have a music director of undisputed authority, comparable to Adrian Willaert in Venice and Jacob de Wert in Mantua, after Cipriano's death.

### 5-B. Josquin Persoens

Though without direct evidence, Josquin Persoens is safely supposed to have succeeded Cipriano as the leader of the chapel. Josquin performed two important duties: the education of boys and publication of a madrigal collection.¹⁰⁸

Josquin educated two boys, "Guglielmo" and Girolamo Pugnetti. Moreover, he supervised "Lorenzino" during his semi-apprenticeship. Josquin was in the position to take care of a boy whom Cipriano de Rore had educated. This fact demonstrates Josquin's leadership over the chapel, and distinguishes him from the other musicians.

Josquin published his *Libro primo de' madrigali a quattro voci* in 1570.¹⁰⁹ He dedicated it to Duke Ottavio. In its dedication, dated 20 March, he said:

The first fruits of a new plant usually taste good, especially if the plant is planted on the earth by one's own hand. Now I can reasonably say that I am a plant planted by the hand of Your Excellency in your most fertile garden, and fostered with the breeze of your favour and the nutrition of the most comfortable dew of immortal Cipriano de Rore. Now it begins to make its flowers into fruits. It is right to present them to Your Excellency as yours, because the plant is yours. The fruits could be a little sour, because they were the first ones. Yet, they will not be refused by you, but

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¹⁰⁵ "m[e]s[ser] Cipriano m[aestr]o di capella" ASPR-MASTRI v. 5: 176.

¹⁰⁶ OWENS 1976: 14-17.

¹⁰⁷ Document 2, 4: 425.

¹⁰⁸ Additionally, he performed a third important duty, the recruitment of new musicians. See pp. 72-76.

¹⁰⁹ BNT-JOSQUIN.

accepted and loved. I hope that the taste should be more perfect in another season, with help of the Heaven and benevolence of Your Excellency....¹¹⁰

This message can be taken seriously, because this collection was almost an official publication of the court. The publisher of this collection, Seth Viotto, was a monopolistic printing firm in Parma, and virtually served as the ducal printer. Only Viotto was allowed to print official documents of the court.¹¹¹ Moreover, the title page of this collection clearly demonstrates Josquin's status, "musician to Most Illustrious and Truly Excellent Lord, *signor* Duke of Parma and Piacenza". Thus, the content of this collection is supposed to have been under the control of the court.

Josquin's dedication contains two important elements. First, he described himself as Cipriano's pupil, and implied that he was Cipriano's successor. Second, he defined his works as "the first fruits" in the duke's "most fertile garden", i.e. the chapel. This expression was not just a flowery language, but an accurate description of this collection. It was the first musical publication of Seth Viotto, and, accordingly, the first musical output of the court. Viotto obviously installed new equipment of music printing for this collection. It was not Viotto's capital investment for new business, because Viotto printed only a few music collections of local nature.¹¹² Music printing was not a part of Viotto's business. Though without direct evidence, it is doubtless that the duke ordered Viotto to install new equipment, and paid the expense to do so, in order to print Josquin's collection. Otherwise, Viotto had no reason to equip music-printing machines.¹¹³

In spite of his leadership, Josquin had to put up with a modest salary. Some of his colleagues had bigger salaries than he had. Musicians' salary principally had to do with their talent. Heavy duty as the leader of the chapel did not bring him a handsome salary (Table 10). In this sense, Josquin was a practical manager of the chapel, rather than its chief musician.

Table 10: Ranking list of salaries, October 1565- march 1570

rank	name	salary
(1)	Jean d'Arras	16.56
(2)	Jacomo Pecchio	13.80
(3)	"Benedetto Gonzo"	12.42
(4)	Giulio Bonagiunta	11.04
	"Pietro de Mares"	11.04
	"Guglielmo Frondosi"	11.04
	Josquin Persoens (2)	11.04 after August 1569
(5)	Giovanni Agostino de Veggio	10.00
	Ferrante Guasconi	10.00
(6)	Baudouin Blondeau (2)	9.66 after April 1569
	"Gaspar de Becchi"	9.66
(7)	Baudouin Blondeau (1)	8.97 up to October 1568
	Josquin Persoens (1)	8.97 up to July 1569

¹¹⁰ Document 60.

¹¹¹ DREI: 21-27.

¹¹² Seth Viotto is known to have published only four music collections, (1) Josquin Persoens's four-part madrigals [RISM 1570-28=P-1470], Giovanni Agostino de Veggio's (2) five-part [V-1089] and (3) four-part madrigals [V-1090] and (4) Silvio Marazzi's three-part madrigals [M-410]. Marazzi dedicated to an important nobleman of Duke Ottavio's court, Marquis of Soragna.

¹¹³ On Josquin's *Libro primo*, see also Appendix.

	“Teodoro d’Olanda”	8. 97	
(8)	Francesco Bramieri	8. 00	
	Camillo Cerri	8. 00	
	Jacomo Antonio de Vecchi	8. 00	
	Giovanni Ludovico Rimignani	8. 00	
	Lazzaro Torre	8. 00	
(9)	“Lorenzo”	7. 00	
(10)	Giovanni Maria Conti	6. 00	
	Vincenzo Zambone	6. 00	
(11)	Angelo de Martini (2)	4. 14	after mid-1567
(12)	Angelo de Martini (1)	2. 56	up to mid-1567

### 5-C. Giovanni Agostino de Veggio

Josquin left the chapel in April 1570. It is not easy to decide who succeeded him, because the financial records are not available between November 1570 and August-September 1573. There were two candidates, Jean d’Arras and Giovanni Agostino de Veggio. Jean was the leading figure among the Flemish musicians. Two facts testify Jean’s leading position. First, he succeeded Josquin as the educator of “Guglielmo”. Second, Josquin’s *Libro primo* contains a madrigal by Jean d’Arras, “Due rose fresche”, among Josquin’s own works. These facts suggest that Jean was a strong candidate to succeed Josquin. The other one, de Veggio, was the most notable among the Italian musicians. He was then educating Pier Antonio soprano. Theoretically, Ferrante Guasconi could be a candidate, too, because he was then educating Tito. However, de Veggio had already begun to educate Pier Antonio about a year before Guasconi began to educate Tito. Priority was clearly given to de Veggio.

It is not known what happened to the chapel between November 1570 and August-September 1573. Jean d’Arras and the other Flemish musicians left the service by September 1573. As a result, Giovanni Agostino de Veggio became the leader of the chapel.

De Veggio performed two important duties of the leader: education and composition. In addition to the Pietra brothers, de Veggio also educated Giovanni Antonio *castrato* from 15 December 1579 to June 1580. He published two madrigal collections of five and four parts in 1574 and 1575, respectively.

De Veggio’s 1574 collection¹¹⁴ shares some basic characteristics with Josquin’s *Libro primo*. First, Seth Viotto printed it. Second, de Veggio dedicated it to Duke Ottavio. Third, the title page calls de Veggio “musician to Most Illustrious and Truly Excellent *signor* Duke of Parma and Piacenza”. Thus, this collection was another official publication of the court.

However, this collection is slightly different from Joaquin’s, because the title page specifies that de Veggio’s works were “newly put into light by him [de Veggio]”. This fact indicates that this collection was not purely an official publication of the court. Instead, de Veggio paid at least a part of the expense for the publication.

In its dedication, de Veggio compared music with justice:

Justice and Music have such a feature in common: it can be said well that something that is not acceptable to either the one or the other in view of their own perfection and goal should be refused, unless the one who rules it does not softens and moderates it with his good judgment. Since that [the former, i.e. justice] not only rewards great achievements, but also punishes misbehaviour, a thief will be justly

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¹¹⁴ BCV-VEGGIO.

accused. This [the latter, i.e. music] not only leads you with a sense of consonances, but also gives the other [dissonances] to you, though in such a way that will not keep your sense offended. Moreover, I observe these merits, which they both [justice and music] have, and see that one of them [justice] is continuously flourishing in Your Most Illustrious Excellency, and bearing fruits, while the other [music] is very fascinating to you. I did not hope to behave otherwise but to dedicate this first musical output of mine, which I put into light because I was motivated and encouraged by the one who can command me. When I came to have a rest under your gentle shade, I decided to dedicate [my works] to you, not only this but every other work, which I was to create with the help of God. Thus, this small mark of my great obedience and affection which I bring to you will fix me well as your suitable servant. It would be pleasing to God that you will be successful by your infinite goodness in all the good things and in more that are desired by you.¹¹⁵

Though rich in flowery expressions, his message is poor in content. The topic is conventional and his argument stereotyped. He revealed no specific information about the musical life in Parma or about his career there.

However, this message is notable, because de Veggio mentioned neither Cipriano de Rore nor Josquin Persoens. He did not justify his position by connecting himself to the former leaders of the chapel. His attitude is contrasting to Josquin's in 1570. Josquin justified his position by emphasising that he was Cipriano de Rore's successor. Instead, de Veggio tried to justify his position by connecting himself to the literary circle of Parma, Accademia degli Innominati. He successfully presented his link with this academy, because Girolamo Alessandrini contributed a sonnet to this collection:

<p>Come là sovra'l cielo eterni acceni          Il bel Choro celeste intorno mova,          Che'n ciò Dio ringratiar sempre li giova,          Poi che'n seggi il ripose alti &amp; lucenti.          Oda, quand'altri in chiare note e ardenti,          Che man qui scrisse d'ogni dotto à prova,          Il canto spiega; e'n pura gioia &amp; nova          Rende i piu alpestri cor molli &amp; attenti.          Et all'hor si dirà. Questi per certo          Ch'opra sì degna ha fatto, Angel discese,          Per rapir l'alme, &amp; ricondurle à Dio.          Io'l so, che in suo poter la mia si rese,          Sì ratto all'hor che'l dolce suono udio,          C'hor tutto il ben di là mi vien quì offerto.¹¹⁶</p>	<p>As above the skies eternal sounds          which beautiful, celestial chorus makes there          It is useful to show gratitude to God          because it is located in high, shining places          when others want ode in clear, passionate notes          that every learned one wrote here in competition          the song begins; in pure, new joy          makes the unrefined heart soft and sensitive          now it is certainly said for sure          the truly suitable works were made, Angel said,          to fascinate the soul, and to lead it to God          I know that in its power my soul is          in ecstasy because I hear the sweet sound          which is good there, came to me here.</p>
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Alessandrini was the vice-president of the academy. Accordingly, his sonnet not only demonstrates his personal support to de Veggio, but also suggests the close relationship between de Veggio and the academy members. It is understandable that de Veggio chose to begin his dedication with a philosophical discussion.

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¹¹⁵ Document 72.

¹¹⁶ BCV-VEGGIO.

De Veggio further emphasised his connection to the literary circle in 1575.¹¹⁷ He dedicated his 1575 collection to Ercole Varano, a member of Accademia degli Innominati. In its dedication, de Veggio testified that Varano supported the publication of his 1574 collection:

It was not without such reasons that one could be motivated to dedicate his works to illustrious lords, both for the nobleness of their blood and for their virtue. Now I put these songs of mine into light under the shade of Your Lordship. I could demonstrate many [motivations], but I omit it because it is too much for a short letter. [Instead,] I would present some of the most important ones. They will not just be kept practised [in the future] by every sound judgment to make me decid to do. Yet, even when I had an idea different from this, I would have put it into practice. They are a powerful means to present me to the world in person. I have not achieved it although it was suitable to me. Let us stop talking of this topic. On the very day when I was acquainted with Your Lordship through the most honoured help of Count Ottavio Sanvitale, I began to admire you and want to serve you. Then, as I was allowed almost continuously to have most gentle conversation to you, my desire [to serve you] increased, and I always sought for a chance to do it. Your Lordship persuaded me with your advice, and helped me with your liberality to publish my first [works] in five parts under the name of our Most Illustrious and Truly Excellent Lord, Duke. [You did to me] many other things, which are not of small consideration. I will not keep silent at least of these most notable [motivations]: Your Lordship composed many verses which can be read in these madrigals of mine; the taste for every kind of music [of Your Lordship]; the demonstration [of Your Lordship] of infinite mark that my compositions please you, and finally the hope that I want to show Your Lordship a small mark of gratitude. Please be fascinated with them [my composition], which I know [that you will be], and take them under your protection, because I keep myself being as your most faithful and most obligated servant, which I am to you, and [I keep myself being] a man who knows your infinite merit in arms and in letters. It [the merit] makes you as eminent as your origin of the most illustrious and very old family of Varano. In return, [this house] receives splendour from you, as much as it offers to Your Lordship. I kiss your precious hands and hope the reward for your infinite merits, the best one [reward] for his goodness and greatness the best one that could be had in this world.¹¹⁸

Thus, Varano was de Veggio's personal patron.

De Veggio chose poems of literary figures both inside and outside of the court. Possibly some of them wrote their verses at de Veggio's request. He deliberately demonstrated who wrote the verses in the table of contents (Table 11). Among these poets, Varano, Torelli, and Torquato Tasso were members of Accademia degli Innominati. Giovanni Battista Guarini, whom the new Vogel catalogue specifies as the true author of "Non fu senza vendetta", was also a member of the academy.¹¹⁹ Moreover, Cesare Furlani was a chamberlain to Duke Ottavio.¹²⁰ Luigi Cassola was a member of a distinguished family of Piacenza¹²¹ and a prolific

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¹¹⁷ CMBMB-VEGGIO.

¹¹⁸ Document 75.

¹¹⁹ BEVILACQUA: 11-15.

¹²⁰ ASPR-Ruoli v. 2.

¹²¹ GANGEMI.

poet of *poesia per musica*. These poets were thus all related to the Farnese. It is not known if the other poets were related to the Farnese court and/ or to the literary circle of Parma. Domenico Venier was a famous poet of Venetian noble family. Bartolomeo Ferrari was possibly a Milanese clergyman.¹²² Luigi Zenobi was a nobleman and a famous cornett player from Ancona.¹²³ Although Accademia degli Innominati is said to have had no musician,¹²⁴ de Veggio was undoubtedly in close association with it.

Table 11: Works in de Veggio's 1575 collection and their poets

Based on BCV-VEGGIO (arranged alphabetically by the poets' names)

incipit	title	names
Ahime nel mio partire		Bonasone
Vorrei sì pronta	<i>Cavaliere</i>	Luigi Cassola
D'un bel ginebro	<i>Messer</i>	Livio Agosto de Loschi
Giacendo à un saporito	<i>Messer</i>	Bartolomeo Ferrari
Deh perche'l mio dolore	<i>Messer</i>	Paolo Ferrari
Fiamma di che'l mio cor	<i>Signor</i>	Cesare Furlani
Al mio gran bene	<i>Messer</i>	Cosimo Lauro
Io pur m'innalzo	<i>Messer</i>	Bernardo Tasso
Amorosa fenice	<i>Messer</i>	Torquato Tasso
		[Giovanni Battista Guarini]
Se ne ì più gravi affanni	<i>Signor</i>	Conte Pomponio Torelli
Ben de vostri occhi	<i>Signor</i>	Ercole Varano
Ne' begli occhi lucenti		
Se ben da grave incarco		
Se pria noioso è grave		
Donna il pregio di voi	<i>Signor</i>	Domenico Venier
Io sò ben, che vivete	<i>Signor</i>	Luigi Zenobi
"la canzon de' fiori"		? [Guido Casone]
Veramente madonna		? [N. Delfino]
Madonna, poi, ch'uccider mi volete		?
Or lieve ape foss'io		? [G. T. Lambertini]
Possa un dardo venir		?
Spesso in altro terren		?

In 1566, de Veggio was in charge of composing a madrigal about Countess of San Secondo. On 29 June, Tommaso Machiavelli said:

I am waiting [to receive] from the virtuous *messer* Giovanni Agostino de Veggio the madrigal of *signora* Countess of San Secondo and now I will talk to Her Lordship [Countess of San Secondo] and to *signor* Cesare Furlani.¹²⁵

At this time, the leader of chapel was Josquin Persoens, instead of de Veggio. It is possible that the countess herself, or some other person who actually made the request, nominated de

¹²² ROMANELLO.

¹²³ BLACKBURN-LOWINSKY: 63-74.

¹²⁴ BEVILACQUA: 9.

¹²⁵ Document 48.

Veggio, in preference to Josquin. In any case, this instance confirms that de Veggio already established his reputation as a composer by the mid-1560s, and suggests that his association with the nobility already began then.

It is not known if de Veggio actually composed the madrigal in question. If so, it is still unknown whether the madrigal is included in one of his collections. Machiavelli revealed too little about the text. He said nothing of, for example, the poetic form or the name of the author. Furthermore, no piece in de Veggio's collections is specifically addressed to the countess, and no piece bears special reference to her, such as "*alla signora Eleonora Rangone contessa di San Secondo*".

Like Josquin Persoens, de Veggio had to put up with a rather modest salary of ten *scudi* per month (Table 12). However, he may have enjoyed some additional income from his patrons and supporters.

Table 12: Ranking list of salaries, c. October 1573 – c. February 1578

Rank	Name	Salary
(1)	Paolo Pighino	17.50/ 17.75
(2)	Orazio Bassano	16.80/ 17.04
(3)	Jacomo Pecchio	13.80
(4)	Giulio Cima	12.60/ 12.78
(5)	Gottfried Palmartz	12.00
	Christoph Haberstock	12.00
(6)	"Lorenzo Zevero"	11.20/ 11.36
	Cesare Bassano	11.20/ 11.36
(7)	Giovanni Agostino de Veggio	10.00
	Ferrante Guasconi	10.00
	Fabio Verdelli	10.00
(8)	"Guglielmo Dillen"	9.80/ 9.94
	Lorenzo Lodi	9.80/ 9.94
(9)	Francesco Bramieri	8.00
	Sebastiano Marcheselli	8.00
	Giovanni Ludovico Rimignani	8.00
(10)	Angelo de Martini	7.50
(11)	Giovanni Maria Conti	6.00
	"Vincenzo Zambone"	6.00

#### 5-D. Gottfried Palmartz

Palmartz was not the leader of the chapel in December 1573. On 29 December 1573, Gregor Vogl reported about the musicians in Parma to Prince Wilhelm Wittelsbach of Bavaria:

...later [Thomas Seiringer] wrote to me again that he made all efforts on behalf of Your Excellency and asked the duke of Parma for three musicians, very fine, called Gottfried Palmartz [who sings] tenor, the chapel master and Christoph Haberstock, [in addition to] two boys sopranos [? Cristofano Pecchio and Pier Antonio Pietra] for the service in Munich....¹²⁶

The "chapel master" doubtlessly referred to Giovanni Agostino de Veggio. By July 1581, Palmartz replaced de Veggio as the leader of the chapel. On 2 July, a Mantuan agent, Galvano

¹²⁶ Document 70.



Cantelli, called Palmartz the leader of the chapel:

There is *messer* Gottfried, who is its [the chapel's] head and a Fleming. Apart from his salary of His Highness [Duke Ottavio], which is twenty-eight *ducati* per month, he has five *ducati* per month as the organist of the Cathedral.¹²⁷

It is not clear when Palmartz actually replaced de Veggio. Palmartz began to serve Duke Ottavio on 1 November 1573. He once left Parma in January 1576. He returned to Parma in March 1578 with his salary increased, from twelve *scudi* to ten *scudi d'oro* (fourteen *scudi* twelve *soldi*). It is possible that Palmartz replaced de Veggio at this occasion, because his return from Munich was almost the only turning point in his career in Parma.

As the leader of the chapel, Palmartz educated three *castrato* boys, Francesco, Cesare and Giacomo Antonio. All of them served only in their childhood. Palmartz did not publish any collection. He was active not only at the court, but also as the chapel master of the Steccata church, and as the organist of the Cathedral. In this sense, he had a wide influence on musical life in Parma. His sons, Orlando and Girolamo, were also active in the Steccata church.¹²⁸

Palmartz enjoyed a handsome salary among his colleagues. (Table 13.)

Table 13: ranking list of salaries, c. March 1578 – September 1586

Rank	Name	Salary	
(1)	Paolo Pighino	17.50	
(2)	Orazio Bassano	16.80	
(3)	Lorenzo Lodi	14.20	after April 1586
	Gottfried Palmartz	14.20	
(4)	Giulio Cima	12.78	
(5)	Pier Antonio Pietra (2)	12.00	after April 1586
	Fabio Verdelli (2)	12.00	after September 1581
(6)	Cesare Bassano	11.36	
	“Lorenzo Zevero”	11.36	
(7)	Giovanni Agostino de Veggio	10.00	
	Ferrante Guasconi	10.00	
	Fabio Verdelli (1)	10.00	up to August 1581
(8)	“Guglielmo Dillen”	9.94	
	Lorenzo Lodi	9.94	
	Cristofano Pecchio (2)	9.94	after November 1578
	Pier Antonio Pietra (1)	9.94	up to June 1581
(9)	Francesco Bramieri	8.00	
	Giovanni Ludovico Rimignani	8.00	
	Ottavio Tortona	8.00	
(10)	Angelo de Martini	7.50	
(11)	Cristofano Pecchio (1)	7.00	April-October 1578
(12)	Giovanni Maria Conti	6.00	

Only two notable *virtuosi*, Paolo Pighino, and Orazio Bassano, received more than Palmartz had. Additionally, he had some more income as a church musician.

¹²⁷ Document 88.

¹²⁸ PELICELLI *Steccata*: 47

## 6. Reputation of the musicians

Unlike Guglielmo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, or Carlo Gesualdo, Prince of Venosa, Duke Ottavio Farnese was not a musician himself. He won reputation in the field of music, because his musicians were good.

Duke Ottavio's chapel was so nice that Sigismondo d'India dedicated his *Le musiche* to Duke Ranuccio I (Duke Ottavio's grandson) in 1609. D'India deliberately demonstrated that he dedicated it in commemoration of Duke Ottavio's musicians:

I dedicate these new compositions of mine to Your Highness. I have been pleased for a few years with today's widely popular practice of solo singing, which I tried to compose myself. In addition to being consecrated in your glorious name, I hope that my works would appear and they would be published with authorisation, just a small [one] in comparison to my infinite devotion to your regal person, although my devotion is not yet enough for generous nature of your most illustrious fathers [Dukes Ottavio and Alessandro] who had masters [*professori*] of music in protection. Indisputable evidence of this can be demonstrated, i.e. Cipriano de Rore, Fabrizio Dentice, Claudio da Correggio [Merulo] and Orazio della Viola [Bassano]. All the men achieved superb excellence.¹²⁹

Thus, the memory of Duke Ottavio's musicians was still fresh twenty-three years after the chapel had been disbanded, and helped to raise the Farnese's reputation.

### 6-A. Cipriano de Rore

Cipriano de Rore was undoubtedly the most famous musician in Duke Ottavio's chapel. When he entered the service to the duke in 1561, he was already a well-established master. Ferrara was the principal place of his activities. The Farnese court acknowledged that he was a "second-hand" master. Cipriano's epigraph in the Parma Cathedral testifies it:

Cipriano de Rore, a Fleming, the most skilful of all the men in the art of music, whose name and fame cannot perish in the course of time, nor can they be lost in oblivion. The chapel master to Ercole, the fourth duke of Ferrara, then came to Ottavio Farnese, the second duke of Parma and Piacenza, as his choirmaster.¹³⁰

He was already so famous by 1561, when he entered the service to Duke Ottavio, that his service in Parma did not raise or hurt his reputation. Conversely, it is appropriate to say that Cipriano's renown added prestige to Duke Ottavio.

Cipriano was one of the most influential musicians in sixteenth-century Europe. Both conservative and progressive opinion leaders of music praised him. In the famous dispute between Giovanni Maria Artusi and the Monteverdi brothers, both of them regarded Cipriano's style as a model of good composition.¹³¹ Cipriano's works were printed again and again in the second half of the sixteenth century.¹³² Moreover, his works were such good examples of

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¹²⁹ Document 99.

¹³⁰ Document 37.

¹³¹ For Artusi's and Monteverdi's opinions about Cipriano de Rore's style, see STRUNK: 532 and 540, respectively.

¹³² NUOVO VOGEL lists up sixty-five sixteenth-century publications containing Cipriano's works, among them fifty-nine bearing Cipriano's name in their title pages. In addition to

counterpoint that Gardano published an extraordinary collection of Cipriano's four-part madrigals in score, "divided and arranged to play on every kind of instrument capable of polyphony, and for the students of counterpoint" in 1577.¹³³

Cipriano's fame helped Duke Ottavio to establish his reputation as a patron of music. Cipriano's memory was still fresh as late as in 1586, twenty-one years after his death, when Marc'Antonio Ingegneri dedicated his first book of six-part madrigals to Duke Ottavio:

In your favour and support, Your Highness gave your generous hands to late *messer* Cipriano de Rore of good memory. You loved and supported all the masters (*professori*) of this art. Since he received the protection and commodity which you gave him, he made so great progress that he became an eternal model and master to all in composing perfectly. More in detail and more greatly, other virtues must be attributed to you. In those days when he was active in your very happy court by your grace, I was with him, and received his instructions from the conversation and his lively voice.¹³⁴

Ingegneri dedicated his collection to the duke because he was Cipriano's patron.

The Farnese court commissioned a painter called "Giannino", supposedly a Fleming, to paint Cipriano de Rore's portrait. Tommaso Machiavelli was in charge of this project. He mentioned the portrait twice, on 31 March and on 8 April 1566.¹³⁵ He seems to have been reluctant to conduct this business, because he called it a "strange duty (*strano ufficio*)".¹³⁶ The portrait was not yet finished by 29 June. Yet, a major part of the administrative work was over then, because Machiavelli chose not to talk about it:

...As for the portrait of the great Cipriano, I will not tell you any more, because I think that it is waste of time and patience.¹³⁷

It is not clear who the "Giannino" was, and if this portrait is the one which Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, preserves whose authorship has not been established.¹³⁸

#### 6-B. Jean d'Arras

Jean d'Arras was a fine keyboard player, as well as a singer. He served in Parma until some time between November 1570 and August-September 1573. In 1579, Arnould d'Ennetières, a Spanish minister of Flemish affairs, recommended him to King Felipe II. D'Ennetières called him "Jean d'Arras, very exceptional and truly excellent organist".¹³⁹

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them, three seventeenth-century publications contain Cipriano's works.

¹³³ *Tutti i madrigali di Cipriano di Rore a quattro voci, spartiti et accomodati per sonar d'ogni sorte d'istrumento perfetto, et per qualunque studioso di contrapunti*. Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1577. RISM: 1577-20. So far as known today, this collection is the oldest example of vocal music printed in score. CHARLTON: 895-897.

¹³⁴ Document 95.

¹³⁵ Both in ASPR-CFE Paesi Bassi, 109.

¹³⁶ Machiavelli's letter to Giovanni Battista Pico dated 8 April 1566. ASPR-CFE Paesi Bassi 109.

¹³⁷ Document 48.

¹³⁸ The one in Vienna is reproduced in OWENS 2001: 668.

¹³⁹ "Jan Darras, tres rare et tres excellent organiste". AGRB-Papier reg. 208 fol. 208. Also quoted in BECQUART: 9.

Although Jean required an extraordinary salary of one *escudo* per day, the king accepted him and kept him until his death in 1584.¹⁴⁰

#### 6-C. Orazio Bassano

Orazio Bassano was one of the most famous viol players in Italy. He was from Cento, east end of the duchy of Ferrara. It is unknown when and how Duke Ottavio took him into his service. Orazio and his brother, Cesare, were officially registered in the financial documents from September 1574 onwards. However, Duke Ottavio was already Bassano's principal patron by December 1570. Guidobaldo II della Rovere, Duke of Urbino, asked Duke Ottavio to send Orazio Bassano to Pesaro. On 22 December 1570, Fabrizio Dentice wrote to Duke Ottavio on behalf of Duke Guidobaldo II:

This morning, *signor* duke of Urbino commanded me to write to His Excellency to ask to send *messer* Orazio immediately to Pesaro, because we planned to celebrate these festivities [the wedding of Prince Francesco Maria della Rovere and Lucrezia d'Este] with his talent [i.e. performance].¹⁴¹

Thus, Bassano was already in service to Duke Ottavio by this time. Additionally, it is notable that Bassano's *virtuoso* performance was not regarded as just light-fingered acrobatics, but as artistic presentation suitable to princely festivities.

Bassano was widely sought after in north Italy. Alfonso II d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, made serious efforts to acquire Bassano in 1587 and in 1593.¹⁴²

In 1601, Scipione Cerreto included certain *Oratio detto del Violone per antichità napolitano* among the "excellent viol players of the city of Naples, who no longer live".¹⁴³ If this viol player is to be identified as Orazio Bassano, as Gutmann suggested,¹⁴⁴ then Bassano may have had something to do with Naples.

Bassano's performance style was called *viola bastarda*. It was a specially cultivated technique of diminution, usually based on pre-existing polyphonic pieces, such as madrigals and chansons. Bassano was a prominent player and composer in this field. His work, "Poi che mi prieg'ancora" was printed in 1591 and 1605.¹⁴⁵ Vincenzo Bonizzi praised Bassano greatly in 1629, when he dedicated his viol diminution collection, *Alcune opere di diversi auttori*, to Duchess Margherita Aldobrandini:

Most Serene Lady, I know how bad the vice of ingratitude is to all the people, as this phrase says, *nullo peius quam hominem ingratum [sic]* [nothing is worse than an ingrate man]. We have also an example [of ingratitude] in various history books. This is why I decided to dedicate these small works of mine to your glorious name, in order not to make such a grave mistake, because I know that I am most obligated to your most serene house, and particularly to you, whose infinite clemency I have received and am receiving which keeps all my vitality in my heart. A part of these

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¹⁴⁰ BECQUART: 9 and 221.

¹⁴¹ Document 65.

¹⁴² NEWCOMB: 194-195.

¹⁴³ CERRETO: 160.

¹⁴⁴ GUTMANN: 204.

¹⁴⁵ *Melodia olympica di diversi eccellentissimi musici* (RISM: 1591-10) and *Nevri d'Orfeo di eccellentiss. auttori* (RISM: 1605-9).

works were composed in Ferrara, while I was serving Their Most Serene Highnesses, whose memory will remain in me for ever. These pieces were played by Most Illustrious Lady, Giulia Avogadri, Countess of Rolo, and then by the madam, Duchess of Urbino. Others were composed in Parma, too, where I was inspired so much that they were to be called products based on the talent of Orazio Bassano *dalla Viola*, unique and most famous one. He gave me many advices and instruction of music when I was young. He demonstrated his particular taste, while I was accompanying his divine performance on the harpsichord. He told several times to me and to others that he had never been accompanied [so well] by anybody but by me. (This was said by particular courtesy.) Furthermore, I enjoyed taking the training of the great school of Claudio da Correggio [Merulo], a man probably without a rival in his profession. O great Madam, these were given to me by divine grace. I wish that you would be pleased to receive this small present of mine, small in my hands and great in the hands of Your Most Serene Highness, because only you could raise it from bad fortune which comes and goes like snakes on this base, unhappy earth. May God make you most happy in person, with the Most Serene House for ever.¹⁴⁶

Thus, Orazio Bassano had a great influence on the musical life of Parma for a long time, and helped it to develop further.

#### 6-D. Reputation in Bavaria

Albrecht V Wittelsbach, Duke of Bavaria, was a passionate patron of music. He maintained a big chapel with Orlandus Lassus at its head. His son, Prince Wilhelm, later duke, was also an active patron. He held his own chapel, separate from his father's, while he was living in Landshut from 1568 to 1570.¹⁴⁷

##### 6-D-a. In 1573-1574

On 29 December 1573, Gregor Vogl, a former member of Duke Albrecht V's chapel, reported to Prince Wilhelm about Duke Ottavio's musicians:

...later [Thomas Seiringer] wrote to me again that he made all efforts on behalf of Your Excellency and asked the duke of Parma for three musicians, very fine, called Gottfried Palmartz, tenor, the chapel master [Giovanni Agostino de Veggio] and Christoph Haberstock [in addition to] two boys sopranos [Cristofano Pecchio and Pier Antonio Pietra] for the service in Munich. He further asked another good tenor [unidentified]. They will serve Your Excellency delightedly with foremost obedience.¹⁴⁸

At this occasion, Prince Wilhelm was unsuccessful in acquiring these musicians. Among them, Palmartz was to work in Munich briefly from 1576 to 1578, and Haberstock from 1575-1577.

In early 1574, Orlandus Lassus travelled around Italy. He reported about musicians in Italy to Prince Wilhelm. On 2 April, Lassus mentioned a cornett player in Parma:

...with regard to the cornett player who stays with the duke of Parma, he is no longer

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¹⁴⁶ Document 100.

¹⁴⁷ HAAR: 245-258.

¹⁴⁸ Document 70.

a subject, because he is sixty years old and full of French disease [=syphilis].¹⁴⁹

Lassus' description is so fragmentary that it is impossible to identify who this cornett player was. Leuchtmann believed that this musician had been called "Franzosino", though presenting no evidence.¹⁵⁰ Lassus did not call the cornett player by name, nor did he give further clues to specify who this cornett player was. It is even possible that Lassus' comment was based on groundless rumour, and that there was no such musician in Parma. Lassus wrote that letter in Mantua. It is not known whether Lassus confirmed this information in Parma, or just heard it elsewhere. In any case, the cornett player, supposedly in Parma, was so famous in north Italy that Lassus heard of him. He found it necessary to confirm if the reputation was true.

#### 6-D-b. In 1586

Prince Wilhelm kept interested in Duke Ottavio's musicians long after these instances. When Duke Ottavio died in September 1586, Wilhelm, then the duke, sent his "plenipotentiary" agent to Parma. He successfully acquired the best musicians there. The Bavarian payroll listed up three principal musicians of Duke Ottavio's chapel, Pier Antonio Pietra, Giulio Cima and Paolo Pighino, from 1586-1587 onwards.¹⁵¹

The Archival documents about Duke Wilhelm V's recruitment activities are yet to be explored. Documents concerning Duke Ottavio's chapel in Parma may remain unknown in Munich archives.

#### 6-E. Reputation in Mantua

Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga and Duke Ottavio Farnese were rivals in many respects. Both of them were rulers of small states in north Italy. They both began to reign in the mid-1550s, and died in 1586-1587. They both began their new projects in music. Duke Guglielmo established the ducal basilica, Santa Barbara, and Duke Ottavio his chapel.

Duke Guglielmo found Duke Ottavio's musicians so good that he wanted to take them into his own service. Duke Guglielmo put this project into practice three times, in the 1560s, in 1581 and in 1586.

#### 6-E-a. In the 1560s

In the early years of their reigns, Duke Guglielmo was a more prestigious patron than Duke Ottavio was, because Duke Guglielmo was a hereditary prince. Older generations of the Gonzaga dynasty, such as Duke Federico II and Duchess Isabella d'Este, already established the family tradition of patronage. Duke Guglielmo began his activities just by inheriting this tradition from them. On the contrary, Duke Ottavio had nothing at the beginning of his reign. He had to start his patronage almost "from scratch".

In 1565, Duke Guglielmo successfully enticed a Flemish musician, "Giovanni Enrico", from Duke Ottavio's chapel. "Enrico" left Parma without Duke Ottavio's permission. Duke Ottavio wrote to Duke Guglielmo to complain of this musician's behaviour:

I know that certain Giovanni Enrico, a Flemish musician, has come to you. He was here in my service, who was obligated to be with me for three years, and, moreover, had received more salary than he could have for his service here.

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¹⁴⁹ Document 71.

¹⁵⁰ LEUCHTMANN 1977: 90. Vogl's comment suggests that "Franzosino" seems to have been rather a Munich agent than a cornett player in Parma.

¹⁵¹ LEUCHTMANN *Bayern*, v. 10: 59, 60, 90.

Furthermore, he left here without asking my permission. When Your Excellency hears this, I am sure that you will not accept him in your service. Thus, it seems to me that you will let him know [that he did a wrong thing]. With this letter, I ask you to give him permission to leave, so that he will have to return here to serve me as long as he is obligated to.¹⁵²

“Giovanni Enrico” is supposed to have felt that he was *promoted* from a minor institution (Parma) to a major one (Mantua).

In the second half of the 1560s, a musician called “Claudio Borgognone” was active in Mantua.¹⁵³ This musician was possibly identical with the Flemish musician of the same name, who served Duke Ottavio from March 1564 to February 1565. If so, it is still unknown whether Duke Guglielmo acquired this musician with Duke Ottavio’s permission or without.

In the 1560s, Duke Guglielmo was successful in acquiring musicians from Duke Ottavio’s chapel, because Duke Guglielmo enjoyed greater prestige than Duke Ottavio did. This fact agrees with the theory that Duke Ottavio’s chapel was still in its “formative stage”, then.

6-E-b. In 1581-1583

Prince Vincenzo Gonzaga, the future duke, and Princess Margherita Farnese, Prince Alessandro’s daughter, were married in 1581. At this occasion, Duke Guglielmo sent his secretaries to Parma. Their primary task was, of course, to inform the duke of the events around the new couple. In addition to it, the duke gave his secretaries a secondary command, i.e. to report on music in Parma.¹⁵⁴

Duke Guglielmo was interested in a bass and a *castrato* in Duke Ottavio’s chapel. The bass, called “Paolo *basso*”, was apparently Paolo Pighino, and the *castrato* Pier Antonio Pietra. Duke Guglielmo ordered his secretary, Aurelio Zibramonte, to ask Duke Ottavio to give away these musicians to Mantua. On 1 March 1581, Zibramonte reported to Duke Guglielmo that Duke Ottavio was not happy with releasing them:

The *castrato* and the bass, who serve His Excellency [Duke Ottavio], are so important that His Excellency would be displeased without them.¹⁵⁵

Zibramonte kept on negotiating with Duke Ottavio. The duke refused to *give* them away, but finally agreed to *lend* them to Duke Guglielmo. On 4 March, Zibramonte reported:

His Excellency gave me an answer about the *castrato* and the bass, and said that he would be in trouble without the said ones, because the music [in Parma] would be spoiled without them. However, if they should ask him permission [to leave the service], he would give it to them, and if Your Highness [Duke Guglielmo] should hope to have them on loan, he would offer to lend them until Your Highness acquire other ones. Moreover, if you hope to have them continuously, you could keep them, because His Excellency knows that Your Highness is the master of your own things [subjects]. These words about the above-said musicians were given as a matter of courtesy. I am sure that it would be unpleasant for him to see such an exceptional

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¹⁵² Document 35.

¹⁵³ FENLON v. 1: 109 n. 82.

¹⁵⁴ Sherr first surveyed this case. SHERR 1984.

¹⁵⁵ Document 77.

ensemble of voices as he has is lost, which is occasionally accompanied by trombones and other instruments with superb taste to those who understand music.¹⁵⁶

Whether given or lent, Duke Guglielmo was happy so far as the musician entered his service. On 6 March, the duke wrote to Zibramonte:

We did not try to have the *castrato* and the bass of the said *signor* duke [Ottavio], if the singer, Antonio [=Pier Antonio Pietra], whom Duke Ottavio offered us, did not tell us that they would come to serve voluntarily. Therefore, let His Excellency [Duke Ottavio] know that he motivated us to receive them, and tell that we did not intend to snatch [them] away from him, but we would feel grateful if he would be pleased to lend them for some days, as he offered.¹⁵⁷

Zibramonte re-confirmed Duke Ottavio's agreement on 7 March:

He [Duke Ottavio] also told me that he would offer his *castrato* and bass to Your Highness within days, a notice which will please you.¹⁵⁸

With Duke Ottavio's authorisation, Zibramonte set forth this project. According to Cesare Cavriani, another secretary to Duke Guglielmo, who was also in Parma, the *castrato* was ready to start for Mantua on 22 March:

I gave one *scudo* and a half to the courier to take the *castrato*...¹⁵⁹

According to the Mantuan agents, the musicians were waiting for their departure with Prince Vincenzo's troop. The troop was suffering from economic troubles. On 20 April, Cavriani reported to Zibramonte what happened to the Prince's troop:

[Cavriani mentioned the number of horses to bring the troop to Mantua.] I do not stop saying to you that *signor* Galvano prepared [the horses] for the musicians and the others. It will take so long that I am not sure how they will arrive [in Mantua]. It would be good enough if they do not have to stop for the lack of money. My purse is getting empty, because I have received only ten *ducatoni* from *signor* Ascanio, out of the twenty-three *scudi d'oro* [which I should have received].¹⁶⁰

The problem was not fixed in the following days. The troop was still in Parma. The singers remained there, too. On 21 April, Cavriani wrote to Zibramonte:

I met the singers. They promise to be well in order so punctually that they will be there [in Mantua] on Sunday.¹⁶¹

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¹⁵⁶ Document 78.

¹⁵⁷ Document 81.

¹⁵⁸ Document 82.

¹⁵⁹ Document 83.

¹⁶⁰ Document 85.

¹⁶¹ Document 86.



This comment of Cavriani's arouses a question about the musicians' travel. Cavriani talked with the musicians about their travel schedule. This fact suggests that the musicians had *their own* travel plan. They may not have been obligated to accompany the prince all the way to Mantua. It was more important for them to arrive in Mantua on time than to accompany the prince from Parma to Mantua.

The problem was not fixed so easily as the Mantuan secretaries had expected. On 22 April, Cavriani reported to Zibramonte about the troop and the musicians:

...Count Alfonso, major-domo, talks with a little more consideration about the travel, and holds firmly that thirty-five more carriages are necessary from outside in addition to bring the people in service from Parma to Brescello [a town between Parma and Mantua]. I tell this to Your Illustrious Lordship, because I wrote yesterday that thirty would be enough. Here are the musicians who come lively. I entrusted two *ducatoni* to Girolamo, the courier, [to hand them over] either to you in person or to anyone whom you find appropriate to spend for the travel.¹⁶²

The project was not going on so well as Duke Guglielmo had expected. However, he did not give up taking the musicians into his service. He ordered a third secretary, Galvano Cantelli, to bring them to Mantua. On 2 July 1581, Cantelli reported to Aurelio Zibramonte how his operation was going on:

As soon as I gave account of what Your Lordship wrote to me about the musicians on behalf of His Highness, *signor* Duke [Guglielmo], my lord, commanded me to order them to go [to Mantua]. I did it with the man whom Your Lordship sent here to conduct them. However, as Your Lordship will learn from him, they asked me to wait for four days, and I agreed with it. Therefore, I keep them in order to serve His Highness in such a manner as he hopes. It is quite true that I would not like to go on to send them while I know from their behaviour that they do not want to leave here at all. They said that they had extra income here in addition to what His Excellency [Duke Ottavio] gives them. They do not want to lose it. Among them, the bass has as many as eight mouths to feed. If he failed to earn more than His Excellency pays to him, i.e. twenty-two *ducati* and a half, by teaching many persons as he is doing, then he could not live for half a year.¹⁶³

In reality, singers were unwilling to leave Parma, because they had good side-business of private music teachers there. It was especially true to Paolo Pighino, because he had to support a big family.

On 4 July, Cantelli emphasised that his operation was going on well:

The musicians will arrive within three days to serve His Highness...¹⁶⁴

However, musicians were still in Parma on 16 July. Cantelli made an excuse for the delay of the procedure to Zibramonte:

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¹⁶² Document 87.

¹⁶³ Document 88.

¹⁶⁴ Document 89.

The delay of the musicians' arrival to serve His Highness [Duke Guglielmo] is nothing but due to Paolo *basso* [Pighino]. Since he has a wife and children, he asked His Excellency [Duke Ottavio] to give a little time to find the way to feed his family. His Excellency not only agreed with it, but also gave a little help, because it would make things better for him [Paolo] to come to serve His Highness [Duke Guglielmo] much more voluntarily without care [of his family]. His Excellency [Duke Ottavio] has no such obligated servants that he does not always have the great pleasure of having them serve His Highness, me and himself [Duke Ottavio]. If the musicians should come in a bad mood, His Excellency [Duke Ottavio] could not force them to serve another patron. For example, he forces his servants to serve His Highness [Duke Guglielmo] better than himself [Duke Ottavio]. His Excellency told me that with such confidence as His Excellency has, he would write to Your Lordship that His Highness [Duke Guglielmo] will be always served by these musicians who will be sent at once. They will go with an idea that they will be no longer in a bad mood with His Highness [Duke Guglielmo]. This is important to them, which their soul could not hope in this world. It is also a great thing [for them] to serve His Highness, who is famous for his favour and taste [in music]....¹⁶⁵

Since Cantelli knew that the musicians were unhappy to leave Parma, he made efforts to make them feel happy. However, Cantelli's words should be discounted. He apparently spoke more favourably on behalf of Duke Guglielmo than things really were. Duke Ottavio cannot have been willing to release his musicians.

After all, Duke Guglielmo's project ended in failure. Neither Paolo Pighino nor Pier Antonio Pietra left Parma in 1581. This result was contrasting with that of the 1560s. "Giovanni Enrico" left Parma without Duke Ottavio's permission to serve Duke Guglielmo. "Enrico" found Mantua more attractive than Parma. In 1581, Paolo Pighino found Parma more comfortable than Mantua would be. This instance demonstrates how well Duke Ottavio treated his musicians, and also explains why the personnel of his chapel became stable in the 1570s and 1580s.

Even after his failure in 1581, Duke Guglielmo did not stop being interested in Duke Ottavio's musicians. Duke Guglielmo was then interested in Giulio Cima. In 1583, the duke ordered Cesare Cavriani to report about Cima's talent. On 5 November, he wrote to the duke:

In my opinion, Cima is out of the question, because he screams when he sings and neighs like a horse when he sings trills. His sense is so extravagant that he could not be something beyond it. I feel sorry to give such a comment....¹⁶⁶

Cavriani mentioned only Cima's voice. He said nothing of his talent for harp, although Cima was a good harp player. Cavriani's manner may have reflected Duke Guglielmo's taste for vocal music.

6-E-c. In 1586

When Duke Ottavio died in 1586, his chapel was disbanded. Duke Guglielmo tried to acquire some musicians in Parma. He was still interested in Paolo Pighino and Pier Antonio Pietra. On 11 December 1586, Ippolito Olivo wrote to his cousin, Luigi, about these musicians:

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¹⁶⁵ Document 90.

¹⁶⁶ Document 92.

All the musicians were dismissed. Since His Highness [Duke Guglielmo] wanted to have some of them, I immediately spoke to many, especially to *messer* Paolo *basso* [Pighino]. He answered to me that he wanted to be free, and that he did not want to promise anyone to serve. He told me that the duke of Bavaria had offered a few days ago a salary of three hundred *scudi* [per year] and a present to him, and that His Highness would make an offer in accordance with what will be made to him. He said that he would choose the most favourable one, because he had to feed a big family of twelve mouths, and because he had no other possession or income, but only music and voice, which God is pleased to have given him. He needs to stir him [Duke Guglielmo] up to want him. I advise His Highness to offer five *scudi* [? per week] to him, and this is all that I can see in this man. [i.e. this is the maximum salary to be offered to him.] I spoke similarly to the young *castrato* [Pietra]. He told me that he could not make any decision himself, because of great trouble which he has now, as follows. He took a wife a few months ago, and slept with her for a long time. They had permission from a parish priest, who is in prison because of this practice. The pope, i.e. the congregation, prosecuted him. He [the *castrato*] said that he was also prosecuted for taking a wife. He cannot have a wife because he is a *castrato*. Therefore, until the negotiation [in the marriage problem] is finished, he cannot make any decision of his person or promise firmly to anyone.

Thus, Olivo found it difficult to negotiate both with Pighino and with Pietra. Pighino wanted to get terms as good as possible, and Pietra was in trouble with the Church authority. As Sherr pointed out, Pietra's case is an extraordinary example of a "married *castrato*".¹⁶⁷ Olivo also mentioned an instrumental ensemble. He continued:

There are some alternative ones. They form an ensemble of five players, i.e. four trombones and one cornett. The cornett is a really good young man. All the five play several types of instruments, such as trombones, fifes, flutes and viols. In fact, there is a brother of the famous *messer* Orazio *dalla Viola* [Bassano]. He [the brother, i.e. Cesare] plays divinely, and will please His Highness. These five should be sent together, and will serve His Highness very voluntarily, if they are treated well and can make their living. There are some other voices and valuable men in composition. They were such ones as His Highness would want them to perform beautiful music in an ensemble of various instruments and voices.

Olivo wanted to accelerate the negotiation, because the duke of Bavaria also wanted to acquire the musicians. He continued:

I send the present courier by post to Your Lordship, so that you report to His Highness, and I hope that this information would be useful, and that you send a command in everything here in Parma quickly by post, because there are many [rivals] who want to have them [the musicians]. Especially the duke of Bavaria sent a courier by post a few days ago with full power to acquire a major part of them. They

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¹⁶⁷ SHERR 1980: 55-56.

[various agents] asked what the musicians wanted.¹⁶⁸

Parma was a “hunting ground” of musicians. The duke of Bavaria was especially eager to take them into his service.

On 15 December, Olivo reported of more musicians and more in detail:

I will say to conclude this negotiation that *signor* prince [Ranuccio Farnese], my lord, will tell *messer* Paolo *basso* [Pighino], the little *castrato* [Pier Antonio Pietra], *messer* Giovanni Maria *contralto* [Conti], Lorenzino *bolognese* [Lodi] and *messer* Gottfried [Palmartz] that they are reserved to accept a certain choice, because His Highness [Duke Guglielmo] said that he wrote to *signor* duke [Alessandro Farnese], his [Prince Ranuccio's] father, in Flanders to confirm that these five should be in his [Duke Guglielmo's] service. The cornett player said that whenever His Highness hoped and commanded, all the ensemble of instrumentalists would immediately go to have themselves heard. They are five in number, as I said in other two letters of mine. They will all go for the festivities [*one word or two broken*] and serve His Most Serene Highness in all the [*one word or two broken*] and will manage to do. As for their travel to Mantua, [*one word or two broken*] His Highness to forgive them because [? one of the musician] does not want to leave [*one word or two broken*] which he has already promised.¹⁶⁹

Duke Guglielmo's project ended in failure again. Wilhelm V Wittelsbach, Duke of Bavaria, acquired the most important ones, i.e. Giulio Cima, Pier Antonio Pietra and Paolo Pighino.

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¹⁶⁸ Document 97.

¹⁶⁹ Document 98.

## Chapter Two: Recruitment

### 1. Duke Pier Luigi's Project

When Pope Paul III nominated his son, Pier Luigi, to the first duke of Parma and Piacenza in 1545, the new duke had to establish his new court “from scratch”. He was good at creating a new state, and knew well what he needed to do. For example, he rebuilt the city of Castro so successfully and in so short a period that the urbanisation of Castro was “like the birth of Carthage”.¹⁷⁰ He was aware that he needed a chapel for his new court. He collected information of musicians from various parts of Italy.

In spite of his serious efforts, Duke Pier Luigi after all failed in establishing his chapel, because his reign was too short. Additionally, it must have been difficult for a new prince to draw the attention of good musicians, because he did not have a reputation as a patron of arts.

#### 1-A. Castro

Castro was a centre of Pier Luigi's power. He commanded the city government of Castro to look for musicians. On 9 June 1545, the leaders of the city government recommended some musicians to him:

These days here were two monks in the San Francesco monastery, of whom the older is called Fra Giovanni Battista. They were singers and instrumentalists, and both played various instruments. Fra Giovanni Battista proposed to stay in this city. When Your Excellency was pleased to put them in the San Francesco monastery with donation, which was given to Fra Leone, Fra Giovanni Battista was in charge of having constantly at least two other companies, and maybe three, who have harmonious voices to form a permanent chapel. We know that Your Excellency is eager for the honour of this city of yours. It seemed to be good to advise you on such a thing, and the commune continuously made efforts to contribute [to your project]. Then, such honour and commodity will follow at very little cost.¹⁷¹

These musicians did not come to serve Duke Pier Luigi. The *Ruoli* registers no such musicians.

#### 1-B. Brescia

Brescia was a centre of Duke Pier Luigi's recruitment activities. On 28 January 1546, Vincenzo Parabosco, the organist at the Brescia Cathedral,¹⁷² reported about a band in Brescia to Alessandro Viustino:

Up to this time I was not able to answer to a letter of Your Lordship given on 20 of this month, because the good, talented ones were not in Brescia, with whom, as I had told you in a letter, I wanted to talk. Fortunately, they returned to the city at once

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¹⁷⁰ As Annibale Caro described in 1543. Quoted in ROBERTSON: 76.

¹⁷¹ Document 3.

¹⁷² GUERRIERI: 247-250. Parabosco served as Duke Pier Luigi's agent, partly because he was from Piacenza. His son, Girolamo, was the organist at San Marco, Venice, from 1551 to 1557.

to find me. Then I told them all that Your Lordship had said to me about what the Excellency of our lord, Duke of Piacenza, hoped to know, [i.e.] how many types of instruments they played, how much they wanted as their salaries, and how many persons were found in the group who were going to serve His Excellency.... They serve in these types of instruments in ensemble as I say:

First, a trumpet in all the ways that it could serve.

Then six trombones in music.

Then six cornetts.

Then six *cornamuse*.

Then six flutes.

Then six German fifes.

Then six *viola da braccio*.

Then some other ensembles [i.e. instruments] to mention are here, too. His Excellency may be more pleased with them than with others, because they are something unusual and new. Furthermore, in my opinion, the mixed ensemble of the above-said instruments will be pleasing, too, with one type and another, and accompanying vocal music in various way. All [the musicians] are excellent in playing by improvisation over a book. In terms of singing, most of them have no voice, but there is one that sings very well and has a very good voice. With regard to their salary and their income, they said to me that they would not serve another prince or lord in the world, but hoped to begin to serve specially His Excellency. They serve neither for the reward nor for income, but only for love and a certain inclination towards the above-mentioned service. They will behave in this manner. Accordingly, it will be pleasing to His Most Illustrious Lordship that they will come to Piacenza. To listen to them will be pleasing to His Excellency....¹⁷³

The versatility of these musicians and their performance style (“playing by improvisation over a book”) may have been a good example of contemporary Brescian instrumental ensemble music “*all'improvviso*”.¹⁷⁴

The duke kept on looking for musicians in Brescia. On 25 February 1547, he complained to the canons of Brescia that they prevented his recruitment activities:

Girolamo Leone, my musician and servant, tells me that his father, Pier Antonio, was disturbed by Your Lordships in the persuasion of some of your ill-minded members, as soon as he [Girolamo] came to my service, and [Girolamo also said] that you did not stop disturbing that old inn-keeper [?] more badly. In fact, I heard of this and was displeased. Accordingly, I definitely ask Your Lordships to be pleased with not feeling unsatisfied or displeased if the said Girolamo should continue to serve me calmly without any disturbance. I know this by your courtesy when you stop all your disturbance and Girolamo and his father will have all those respects for my favour, because... [*unreadable*] by the gratitude employed by one or another of Your Lordships to win my favour, which I appreciate myself. I will give you great things.¹⁷⁵

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¹⁷³ Document 5.

¹⁷⁴ HILL: 344-345.

¹⁷⁵ Document 11. Some parts of this document do not make sense. It is a draught, full of corrections and additions.

On 13 March 1547, the canons of Brescia replied:

We found from the letter of Your Excellency dated 25 February how painful it is, as we feel sorry, that the musician Girolamo Leone is in your service, and accordingly, that both he and his father were still more disturbed by us. After all, we beg you to give to one or another (by your favour) [of] all the respects that are suitable to our honour. We are certainly in service to Your Excellency, just as Girolamo Leone is, and we are as much pleased [with this service] as he is. Not only our singers but also we ourselves are going to achieve things favourable to Your Excellency. Therefore, we did not imagine, and we feel sorry that Girolamo might serve them [the ill-minded ones] by some vicious person's persuasion. Then we should move to disturb one or another of them [the ill-minded ones]. If the authority of Your Excellency had failed to take a measure in advance, more than the merits of them, as it has been learnt, procedures would have lacking both to Most Reverend *Monsignor* Cornaro and to our chapter. It would not hurt anyone to demand, with modesty, only your [procedure]. It would be certainly rude of Girolamo's father not to be satisfied with the facility which you gave him, and also of his son [Girolamo] not to agree to obey in any way in spite of his debt. Thus, we hope that Your Excellency would think that none of them [the ill-minded ones] are among us, and that you got wrong information.¹⁷⁶

The canons of Brescia insisted that none of them was disturbing the negotiation. They claimed that the way the duke conducted the negotiation was problematic. As a result, Girolamo Leone did not come to serve Duke Pier Luigi. The *Ruoli* does not register him.

#### 1-C. Rome

Even after the establishment of Duchy of Parma and Piacenza in 1545, Rome was the centre of the Farnese's power. Vincenzo Perini was conducting negotiation with a boy and an adult musician called il Bologna there. On 28 June 1546, Perini reported about the negotiation to Duke Pier Luigi:

With regard to the acquisition of the boy and il Bologna, it can be noted that I wrote them [the boys' family] that I could not take him [forcefully] because he was not my son. However, if you would take his father away from the galley, his family might give him in compensation for the said liberation. Similarly, il Bologna had his income revealed, and also other offers in comparison with what had come from me. The said boy's family has not yet heard how his father will be. They look at me with great suspicion. They do not hope that I take him [the boy] from Rome for nothing. I keep on persuading them, but these days they are so suspicious of me that they would not give him to me. Il Bologna does not leave Rome in order to make big money here. I do not know how much he will require for his salary, and when the boy will come. It would be useless that I would write to you without him.¹⁷⁷

After all, neither of them entered the duke's service. The *Ruoli* registers neither il Bologna nor the boy.

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¹⁷⁶ Document 12.

¹⁷⁷ Document 7.

#### 1-D. Ferrara

Duke Pier Luigi sent a certain Guglielmo to Ferrara to look for boys. On 16 July 1546, Zoanne Michele wrote to the duke:

I found how valuable it is to write to Your Excellency that I did as much as I could do for our colleague, *messer* Guglielmo, to acquire the boy whom you hoped. It has been unsuccessful to persuade his father to our plan, because he does not want to put his son into a profession of singer but of trade. I hope [?] that the said *messer* Guglielmo would not return to Your Excellency without any satisfaction. I am negotiating with another that I found, whom [? Guglielmo] take to you. It has not been achieved, though I have been hoped, that Your Excellency is served, because those who would be suitable, both in voice and singing, are found with great difficulty. I am also negotiating with a man who is truly good in music and sings well, as Your Excellency would find. He will be able to serve and satisfy you. I think that you will be served very well, because he is a good young man, and *messer* Guglielmo will speak of him to Your Excellency....¹⁷⁸

On 17 September, the duke ordered a musician, Guglielmo, to acquire two boys:

I send the present person, Guglielmo, my musician, to find two children to sing in my chapel. He bears my commission of doing everything to find them, and to ask the help of Your Lordship. I ask you to grant your usual favour to him, and, if necessary, talk to the family of the boys in question, who are to be found out, and perform those offices, which you will find useful, to bring them to my service, where they will be treated favourably. Consequently, their parents will live here happily, as you will be fully informed by the said musician of mine. I will be pleased if you keep your faith with me, which you will show me on this issue.¹⁷⁹

Neither the destination nor the addressee of this letter is known. Since its content corresponds to the letter dated 16 July, this musician, Guglielmo, was probably identical with the one whom Zoanne Michele had mentioned. Accordingly, the former letter is supposed to have been a report of preliminary research, and the latter a formal request of recruitment activities addressed to the duke's agent in Ferrara.

The musician, Guglielmo, was not a full-time member of Duke Pier Luigi's court. The *Ruoli* does not register him. The duke may have employed him expressly for this mission.

#### 1-E. Genoa

Duke Pier Luigi wanted to employ a musician called Giacomo *tenorista* in Genoa. He ordered certain Patrizio to inform him of this musician:

I have decided to collect a number of singers to establish a chapel of mine. I was informed that there was certain Father Giacomo *tenorista* in the Cathedral of Genoa, whose merit was told to me with great honour. Accordingly, I greatly want to employ him with handsome treatment in accordance with his talent. Therefore, it will cost a lot, but will be so pleasant to me that Your Lordship would skilfully manage things to

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¹⁷⁸ Document 8.

¹⁷⁹ Document 9.



let him come to my service. Apart from being treated well and loved by me, a generous salary, as I mentioned, will not be lacking. The sooner he will come, the greater will be the pleasure to hear him. I will pay his debt. It will be above all pleasant to me that Your Lordship will skilfully manage things and persuade this *tenorista*, if possible, to come to my service.¹⁸⁰

However, the duke was not successful in acquiring Giacomo. The *Ruoli* does not register him.

#### 1-F. The application of “Antonio”

While Duke Pier Luigi collected information on musicians, a musician called Antonio applied for a post at the duke’s court. On 22 December 1545, he wrote a flattering letter to Ottavio Farnese, then prince. Antonio asked Ottavio’s help in his job-hunting.

Your Sublimate can be sure that even if my father should be revived, it would make me feel less happy than your admiration of me. I know that you will not be surprised, because I know the true and favourable service which I would always carry on in the hope that I would live and die in the service to Your Sublimate.... I will bring one of the best instruments in Italy that will be directed to your service. They will keep you happy and help to extend your life. First of all, by your love of your most faithful servant, I beg you to tell me your judgement with the two holy words [? *si* or *no*]. In Venice, I asked to your ambassador, *monsignor* reverend legate, who will see you here in Treviso. Antonio Brandici, servant to Your Sublimate, is aspiring to kiss you on the hands with his throat open.

I wanted to finish my words. Yet, to bring my love and my faithful service to Your Sublimate, I tell you that I was sought for by a certain lord with a salary of two hundred *scudi* a year. I will not move in the name of God, but I hope to serve Your Sublimate without any privilege, and I will spend what I honourably have in the world. This is my idea which will please God.¹⁸¹

On 9 July 1546, Duke Pier Luigi’s daughter, Vittoria, Duchess of Urbino, recommended a musician called Antonio. This musician is probably identical with the one who had written to Prince Ottavio:

*Messer* Antonio, musician, is eager to come to the service to Your Excellency. I beg you to grant me a favour by employing him, because he has been a servant for many years. I cannot fail to recommend him.¹⁸²

Antonio’s ambition came true, at least to some extent. The *Ruoli* registers a musician called Antonio da Treviso:

In 1548, four *scudi d'oro* to the musician, *messer* Antonio da Treviso, given in Parma by *messer* Pietro Ceuli [the treasurer] as a good account of his salary [*a bon conto di*

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¹⁸⁰ Document 10.

¹⁸¹ Document 4.

¹⁸² Document 6.

*sua provisione*— 4.69.¹⁸³

However, he was not a permanent member of the court. No regular payment was made to him. “As a good account of his salary” is a regular phrase to describe extraordinary payment.

## 2. The Brussels government

Duke Ottavio had special advantage in acquiring Flemish musicians, because the Spanish government in Brussels supported his recruitment project in the Low Countries. Duke Ottavio ordered the Brussels government to find musicians for his chapel. This form of recruitment is notable for two reasons. First, it was unique to Duke Ottavio’s chapel. The duke took this advantage which, no other prince could enjoy, except for King Felipe II of Spain. Second, the procedure of the recruitment activities can be traced by the dispatches between Parma and Brussels. The duke’s agents in Brussels regularly reported to him of how the negotiations were going on, and asked him what they should do.

### 2-A. Cipriano de Rore

The first and the greatest achievement of the Brussels government was the acquisition of Cipriano de Rore.¹⁸⁴ This case is important for two reasons. First, the acquisition of Cipriano marked the beginning of Duke Ottavio’s chapel. Cipriano was the first musician that the duke employed. Second, this case established a basic pattern of the recruitment activities.

Cipriano served Ercole II d’Este, Duke of Ferrara, from 1546 onwards. In July 1559, he took a leave, and went back to the Flanders. During his absence from Ferrara, Duke Ercole II died. The new duke, Alfonso II, chose to employ Francesco dalla Viola in preference to Cipriano. Eventually, Cipriano became unemployed.

It is probable that Duchess Margherita played an important role in attracting Cipriano to the Farnese service. Meier thought that Cipriano had composed the madrigal “Alma real se come fida stella” to celebrate Duchess Margherita’s birthday in 1559:¹⁸⁵

Alma real, se come fida stella	O royal one, as a faithful star
C’hor conduci tre regi al Re maggiore	Leads the three kings to the greatest King,
Mi chiamast’a seguir vostro splendore	You call me to follow your splendour
Ond’io vi dedicai l’anim’ancella	Further I dedicated my obedient soul to you
Se quasi palma glorios’e bella	As your glorious and beautiful palm
Che sorge tosto che la lun’è fore	Which rises soon as the moon appears
Uscio’l mio nom’a far al vostr’honore	My name emerged to praise your honour
Tratto da pura man’e Virginella	Dealt with the pure and virginal hand
E se qual fior che va girand’inchino	If I bow that flower to which turns around
Col piu lucente de celesti segni	With the brightest of the celestial signals
Segui di Margherita il chiaro sono	The clear sound followed Margherita
Vostr’altissimo cor, prego, non sdegni	Your highest heart, I beg, may not ignore
Mio stat’humile, poi che vostro sono	My humble state because I am yours
E per elettion e per destino ¹⁸⁶	Both by selection and by fate

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¹⁸³ Document 1: Antonio da Treviso, v. 1.

¹⁸⁴ Jessie Ann Owens first surveyed this case. OWENS 1976: 9-10.

¹⁸⁵ MEIER 1969: 103-106.

¹⁸⁶ CMBMB-FIAMME.

If this madrigal was actually by Cipriano de Rore, as it is generally held,¹⁸⁷ Meier's hypothesis is persuasive for three reasons. First, the text clearly addresses Margherita. Second, the Christmas items in this text (a faithful star leads the three kings [=the Magi] to the greatest king [=Christ]) are safely supposed to have been related to Duchess Margherita's birthday, 28 December. Third, Cipriano was unemployed in late 1559. The anonymous poet of this text described this situation as Cipriano's "humble state".¹⁸⁸ In December 1560, the negotiation between Cipriano and Duke Ottavio was almost concluded. Cipriano was just beginning his new service to the house of which Duchess Margherita was a member. He was no longer in a "humble state" in Christmas 1560. Thus, only the Christmas season of 1559 agrees with the content of this text.

This madrigal was apparently related to Duchess Margherita's offer of a new post to Cipriano ("you call me to follow your splendour"). However, it is not known exactly when the negotiation between Duke Ottavio and Cipriano actually began. In other words, it is not known whether Cipriano composed this madrigal to ask her help towards his job-hunting (i.e. the negotiation did not yet begin in December 1559), or to show his gratitude for her help (i.e. the negotiation was already going on).

In any case, the negotiation was at its final stage by the middle of November 1560. On 8 December, Matteo Biliotti, the Farnese's agent in Antwerp, reported about his financial procedure to the duke:

Then I find a letter from Your Excellency dated 17 of the previous month [November], in which you commanded me to pay up to a hundred *scudi* [*d'oro*] to *messer* Tommaso Machiavelli at his request, to conduct the musician *messer* Cipriano to Italy. I told him that what would be necessary to him was to be readily paid by *messer* Nuccio [Sirigatti].¹⁸⁹

Tommaso Machiavelli was a secretary to Duchess Margherita.¹⁹⁰ He was responsible for the negotiation with Cipriano. On 30 January 1561, he reported about Cipriano's departure to Duke Ottavio:

On 27 of this month [January], *messer* Cipriano de Rore left here to be under the control of Your Excellency quickly, and to serve you for ever. He travels by way of Paris, and I expect that he will be in Parma within a month, although he left here in a very hard season. He is well informed of the voices of the chapel of Her Highness [Duchess Margherita] here. If Your Excellency needs some of them, I hope that he will work for this purpose [i.e. pick up some good ones]. With regard to his salary, I told him [that he would have] two hundred *scudi* [*d'oro*] a year. Although he is satisfied with every request of Your Excellency, yet he reminded me how he was treated here by Your Excellency, i.e. he wants you to pay the house rent in addition to his salary. I think that you remember this and arrange it in this way. With regard to

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¹⁸⁷ This piece was first published in a madrigal anthology, *Le vive fiamme* (RISM: 1565-18=R-2514) in 1565. The authenticity of some Cipriano pieces which were first published in anthologies needs critical examination. At present, this madrigal is not among the pieces whose authenticity is doubtful. See Appendix.

¹⁸⁸ MEIER 1969: 103-105.

¹⁸⁹ Document 14. Sirigatti was a financial official of the Brussels government.

¹⁹⁰ Owens mistook him for Duke Ottavio's secretary working in Brussels. OWENS 1976: 10.

his travel fare, he was satisfied with eighty *scudi* [*d'oro*] out of a hundred which Your Excellency had committed and *messer* Antonio Lampugnano had provided.¹⁹¹

Antonio Lampugnano was a banker in Antwerp. He was working as the Farnese's agent there. This letter reveals that Lampugnano, rather than Biliotti, provided Cipriano's travel fare. Duke Ottavio paid out this expense to Lampugnano through his brother, Giulio, in Piacenza:

On 6 March 1561, one hundred and ten *scudi*, twenty-two *soldi* and three *denari* paid to *messer* Giulio Lampugnano in Piacenza [to give] to his brother *messer* Antonio by the order of His Excellency. He paid it in Antwerp to Cipriano de Rore for his expense to come to Italy....¹⁹²

Thus, the recruitment of Cipriano was a fruit of collaboration among the Brussels government (Machiavelli), Duke Ottavio's court in Parma and the duke's agent in the Low Countries (Lampugnano).

The *Mastri* registers Cipriano's first salary on 9 August 1561:

Sixty-six *scudi d'oro* 2/3 to the musician *messer* Cipriano for his salary of four months up to previous 17 May... 90 [*scudi*].¹⁹³

Cipriano's salary began to be paid from 18 January. He was then still in Brussels. (He left Brussels on 27 January, as Machiavelli reported.) Accordingly, 18 January was the date of the contract.¹⁹⁴ It is not known when he actually arrived in Parma. His house rent began to be paid to the house owner, Cristofano da Torre, from September 1561 onwards:

[On 22 April 1562] twenty-five *scudi d'oro* to *messer* Crist[ofa]no da Torre as the rent of the house where *messer* Cipriano lives for one year up to the end of coming August...33.75¹⁹⁵

Since the first payment of Cipriano's salary is registered on 9 August, and his house rent began to be paid in September onwards, Cipriano probably arrived in Parma some time in August 1561. If this hypothesis is to be believed, Cipriano travelled much more slowly than Machiavelli had expected.

## 2-B. Jean d'Arras

Jean d'Arras' case is notable because the process of the negotiation is recorded more precisely than any other case.¹⁹⁶ The negotiation lasted for one and half a year, from July 1564 to January 1566.

The first known document on Jean d'Arras is an undated letter from Duke Ottavio's agent

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¹⁹¹ Document 16.

¹⁹² Document 2, v. 4: 27.

¹⁹³ Document 2, v. 4: 113.

¹⁹⁴ Owens erroneously thought that Cipriano's salary had begun to be paid on 18 February, and that he had arrived in Parma then. Her mistake seems to have come from a simple miscalculation. OWENS 1976: 11.

¹⁹⁵ Document 2, v. 4: 143.

¹⁹⁶ This section is a rewritten version of NIWA 2001.

at the Brussels government, Cesare Marinone,¹⁹⁷ to Duke Ottavio:

Two days ago, I met a young man from Arras, twenty or twenty-two years old, who looks a little like Aesop. He has a very fine bass voice. He sings stably and composes well. We are together here, Pirichino, Jean d'Arras and I, to bring him into your service. We hope to have an advice from Your Excellency. I believe that I will send him to you so that I will put the commission which you gave me into practice. I wish that God would allow me to do so well in the rest of my life as in this case. I will have everybody that will hear him surprised. His father is a bass. His grandfather was the same and an excellent one. I hope that Your Excellency will be satisfied....

Nobody in the house [Duchess Margherita's court] knows of this practice [the negotiation], because it [=to make the negotiation public] could be harmful to us. After the festivities, I will go to see other musicians, because this one [Jean] said to me that he knew a very good alto in Cambrai and a tenor at San Tomer.¹⁹⁸

Marinone's detailed description of Jean's qualities, both physical and musical, suggests that Marinone reported about Jean for the first time. Though undated, this letter must have been written before July 1564, because Marinone mentioned Jean as a figure already familiar to the duke in another letter dated 2 July 1564. Marinone conducted the negotiation secretly to avoid interference by others.

Marinone revealed that Jean was born of a musician family in 1542 or 1544, and that he had a fine bass voice like his father and his grandfather. "Pirichino" was the Italian name of Pierre du Hotz, the chapel master of the Brussels government. In addition to his "main" business, he was in charge of looking for musicians to send to Parma.¹⁹⁹ His presence at the negotiation suggests that he made the first contact with Jean as a talent scout, and then passed him to Marinone.

Jean was not only a good musician but also a well-mannered servant at court. Marinone reported to Duke Ottavio on 19 November 1564:

He was brought up at court from his childhood, and can serve other than in music if required. He is not one of those taken from the churches. They cannot do anything but singing, and otherwise it is not clear whether they are dead or alive.²⁰⁰

In this period, choir schools of the churches (*maîtreses*) were the principal institutions of professional musical training. Yet, it was not the case with Jean. He presumably learnt music as a family business, and other qualities at court.

On 17 September 1564, Marinone reported about Jean's salary to the duke.

I know that Jean d'Arras is very eager to come, and to serve Your Excellency. He

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¹⁹⁷ Marinone is called a "*sommelier* of the cellar" in a register of Duchess Margherita's court in Brussels. BERTINI: 103. However, he is not registered in other member lists of her court. At present, it is impossible to establish who Marinone was and what he was doing in Brussels. At least with regard to Duke Ottavio's recruitment activities, he played a role as important as Duchess Margherita's secretaries did.

¹⁹⁸ Document 25.

¹⁹⁹ On Pierre du Hotz's recruitment activities, see pp. 90-92.

²⁰⁰ Document 33.

wants to leave this land, of which he feels sick. Therefore, I do not want to stop reporting to you, because he will leave Her Highness [Duchess Margherita] for Your Excellency. It will cost a little more than a hundred *scudi* [*d'oro* per year] because he is going to take his wife with him, and finish his life in Italy.²⁰¹

In this letter, Marinone roughly estimated Jean's salary to be "a little more than a hundred *scudi* [*d'oro* per year]."

Although Jean was willing to go to Parma, he was not satisfied with the salary which Marinone offered. Jean requested more than Marinone had estimated. On 19 November 1564, Marinone reported to the duke:

I received a letter from Your Excellency dated 5 of the last month [October]. I have not yet written back to you, because I have not concluded anything with *messer* Jean d'Arras. Although I am persuading him on behalf of Your Excellency, he wants to continue the service in which he is now. However, he said to me that he was quite decided to see foreign countries before he became older. In that case, he was going to serve Your Excellency, rather than any other prince in the world. To him, it is something like serving the same house as he is serving now. I think that this decision of his remains long. I guess the treatment which he would request, in conformity with what Your Excellency wrote to me. He answered like this: he hopes that Your Excellency would agree to give him twelve *scudi* [*d'oro*] per month. I think that this request is a little distant from what I told Your Excellency in the other letter, i.e. twenty-five *scudi* [*d'oro*] more. However, I put in my mind his talent and his intention of taking his wife with him, and judged that his request is quite reasonable. Although you entrusted the whole responsibility to me, I did not want to make other decisions [i.e. Marinone wanted to conclude a contract with Jean]. Yet, I told him that Your Excellency would tell us what you wanted.²⁰²

Twelve *scudi d'oro* per month mean a hundred and forty-four *scudi d'oro* per year. This sum was then "twenty-five *scudi* more" than Marinone had predicted "in the other letter." No letter survives between 17 September and 19 November 1564 in which Marinone mentioned Jean. Therefore, it is probable that Marinone guessed Jean's salary to be a hundred and nineteen *scudi d'oro* per year (about ten *scudi d'oro* per month) on 17 September.

It is understandable that Marinone hesitated to conclude the contract with Jean immediately, because Jean's request, twelve *scudi d'oro* (sixteen *scudi* fifty-six *soldi*) per month, was far beyond the standard at Duke Ottavio's court. Josquin Persoens, then the leader of the chapel, received only six *scudi d'oro* and a half (eight *scudi* and ninety-seven *soldi*) per month. Moreover, Giovanni Alfonso Maurello, the grand chamberlain (*maestro di camera*) to Duke Ottavio, received eighteen *scudi* per month, just one *scudo* and forty-four *soldi* more than what Jean requested.

In spite of Marinone's cautiousness, Duke Ottavio decided to employ Jean with his request fully accepted. The *Ruoli* says:

On 11 June 1566, *messer* Jean d'Arras was accepted in the Flanders as a musician,

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²⁰¹ Document 30.

²⁰² Document 33.

from 1 January just passed with a salary of twelve *scudi d'oro* per month. This was executed by the consent of His Excellency and *messer* Cesare Furlani. *Messer* Jean receives his salary of six months up to the end of this June... 72 *scudi d'oro*.²⁰³

The date of the contract, 1 January 1566, suggests that Duke Ottavio himself heard Jean in Brussels, and then decided to employ him. The duke was in Brussels from 8 October 1565 to 4 January 1566 to participate in Prince Alessandro's wedding ceremony there.

The *Mastri* registers on 3 February 1565 a record of payment of fifteen *scudi* to give to Jean d'Arras' wife.²⁰⁴ The *Mastri* does not specify why the duke gave her money.

The negotiation between Jean and Marinone was conducted secretly. Marinone did not present Jean to Duchess Margherita's court, while the negotiation was going on. The courtiers of the Brussels government first saw him on 19 January, i.e. eighteen days after the duke formally accepted him. Francesco de Marchi, military advisor to Duchess Margherita, reported about Jean's debut at the Brussels government:

On 19 [January]... a valuable man, *messer* Jean d'Arras, comes with his wife. She is young but not very beautiful. He is a talented musician in composing, singing, and playing the clavichord. He is a good company.²⁰⁵

De Marchi's detailed description of Jean and his wife, both physical and musical, suggests that he saw them for the first time.

When the court of Parma accepted a new person, the official in charge wrote a letter of recommendation, and sent the new person to Parma with it. In the case of Jean d'Arras, Hostilio Valenti, a secretary of the Brussels government, wrote the letter. Of course, Marinone was originally responsible for it. Yet, he already returned to Italy in April 1566.²⁰⁶ Valenti succeeded to the business of Jean.

The man who brings this letter will be Jean d'Arras, a young, virtuous, gentle and truly excellent musician. He came to serve Most Illustrious *signor* Duke so delightedly and with such a good mind, that it is itself a merit worthy of great esteem. In addition to this, moreover, he has particular talents, which impress me so greatly that I love him like the dearest brother and friend that I could have in the world. Therefore, I hope every honour and benefit to him. I know how valuable such protection and favour are to him as I recommend. Equally I know, and can say from my heart, that you, my lord and friend, will never fail to grant favour and protection to him in the above-mentioned respect, and for your love of me (which I hope above all), as I ask you. I will owe anything to you in return. It will come back to me as a favourable thing. I asked you every favour to the said *messer* Jean.²⁰⁷

Such an exaggerated language as seen in this letter was nothing special, but common in letters

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²⁰³ Document 1: Jean d'Arras, v. 2. Cesare Furlani was a chamberlain to Duke Ottavio. He was then working in Brussels.

²⁰⁴ "...et scudi 15 per darli alla moglie di Gio[vanni] musico...". ASPR-Mastri v. 5: 122.

²⁰⁵ Document 44.

²⁰⁶ On Marinone's return, see his letter to Duke Ottavio on 31 March 1566. ASPR-CFE Paesi Bassi, 109.

²⁰⁷ Document 45.

of recommendation.²⁰⁸ In reality, Valenti mentioned nothing specifically of Jean's quality. However, the date of this letter, 29 April 1566, is important. It suggests that Jean travelled to Parma in company with Prince Alessandro's troop.

Prince Alessandro and Maria of Portugal were married in Brussels on 11 November 1565. Then the new couple's visit of Parma was planned. A group of high officials of Parma went to Brussels to receive them. The officials arrived there on 26 April 1566.²⁰⁹ The prince and princess travelled separately, because the princess was pregnant.²¹⁰ The prince left Brussels on 16 May.²¹¹ Valenti wrote the letter of recommendation for Jean, while the group from Parma was waiting for the departure in Brussels. The prince and his troop arrived in Parma by 13 June.²¹² The *Ruoli* registers the first payment of his salary on 11 June 1566.

Jean travelled to Parma without his wife, and she followed him later. On 21 July 1566, Prospero Tedesco, the major-domo to Duchess Margherita, reported to Giovanni Battista Pico:

Your Lordship will be pleased if you can tell *signor* Duke that I requested *messer* Orlando Catella in the name of His Excellency [Duke Ottavio] to take Jean d'Arras' wife to Italy. I will let him go in this year. He told me that he wanted to serve His Excellency in all the ways that he could.... If he fails to win the grace of Her Highness [Duchess Margherita] to let him go before the winter, then His Excellency will be served in another way.²¹³

Thus, Jean's wife went to Parma in the second half of 1566 or later.

Duke Ottavio made specific requests on the quality of the musician when he ordered the recruitment to the Brussels government. On 2 July 1564, Marinone mentioned Jean d'Arras:

I have not acquired other musicians for Your Excellency. I have not found anyone that meets your request. You asked me a tenor similar to Jean d'Arras, who can sing well in chamber music as a "little bass" [*bassetto*]. I think that it is not only difficult to find such a one, but in fact impossible. I feel extremely displeased to fail in satisfying Your Excellency.²¹⁴

Marinone made an excuse for the difficulty in finding a tenor "similar to Jean d'Arras". At this moment, 2 July 1564, the duke did not hear Jean's voice yet. The duke did not visit Brussels in

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²⁰⁸ For example, on 21 June 1564, Cipriano Pallavicino recommended Giuseppe Cataneo as follows: "The man who brings this letter is *messer* Giuseppe Cataneo from Brescia, a young man of great intellect, and agile in many things suitable to rulers. Among others, he is most notable, or in better expression (according to my poor judgement), he has a unique talent in writing in numbers [? calculation], which requires so extraordinary ideas to understand that it is not possible to know how to describe it...". ASPR-CFI busta 40.

²⁰⁹ Paolo Vitelli, a secretary to Duke Ottavio, was the leader of the troop. On 26 April 1566, he reported the arrival of the troop in Brussels to Giovanni Battista Pico. ASPR-CFE Paesi Bassi, 109.

²¹⁰ Francesco de Marchi reported to Giovanni Battista Pico: "This princess [Maria of Portugal] will be accompanied like a queen, and with such a troop as an empress [would have]: she will bring a fruit with her, which will be a son, and the hair of the Most Illustrious and Noble House of Farnese". RONCHINI: 61-62.

²¹¹ PIETROMARCHI: 49.

²¹² PIETROMARCHI: 49.

²¹³ Document 50. Orlando Catella San Giovanni was a gentleman to Duchess Margherita.

²¹⁴ Document 26.



1564. However, Marinone’s explanation still made sense to the duke. The duke had a clear idea of Jean’s voice before he actually heard it. The duke apparently made detailed request on the musician’s quality, when he ordered the recruitment. Jean d’Arras was one of the musicians whose quality agreed with the duke’s request. Now the duke wanted another musician of a similar type, “who can sing well in chamber music as a little bass” (Table 14).

Table 14: Chronology of the recruitment of Jean d’Arras

before Jul	1564	Marinone mentioned Jean d’Arras for the first time.
2 Jul	1564	Marinone found it difficult to find a bass like Jean d’Arras.
17 Sep	1564	Marinone said that Jean was eager to serve Duke Ottavio.
19 Nov	1564	Marinone said that Jean requested twelve <i>scudi d’oro</i> per month.
3 Feb	1565	The <i>Mastri</i> registers payment to Jean d’Arras’ wife.
8 Oct	1565	The duke arrived in Brussels.
11 Nov	1565	Prince Alessandro was married to Maria of Portugal
1 Jan	1566	Jean began to receive his salary of twelve <i>scudi d’oro</i> per month.
4 Jan	1566	The duke left Brussels.
19 Jan	1566	De Marchi said that Jean and his wife appeared at the court.
23 Apr	1566	Vitelli’s troop arrived in Brussels.
29 Apr	1566	Valenti wrote a letter of recommendation for Jean.
16 May	1566	Prince Alessandro’s troop left Brussels.
11 Jun	1566	The <i>Ruoli</i> registers payment to Jean.
13 Jun	1566	Prince Alessandro arrived in Parma
21 Jul	1566	Tedesco said that Catella would take Jean’s wife to Parma.

#### 2-C. “Gaspar de Becchi”

On 11 August 1564, Marinone succeeded in concluding a contract with a tenor. On 17 September, Marinone reported to the duke about him:

On 11 of August, I acquired a tenor for Your Excellency, who has a very fine voice and will be a bass in the chamber, because he can sing very well as a bass. Moreover, he does not fail to sing madrigals and *canzoni* in chamber. He is good at composing, which those taken away from the church cannot do. They are not required to sing other than masses, psalms and *Magnificat*. I was not able to find a better one with such a good voice. I worked hard with help of men like Jean d’Arras and Giaches.²¹⁵ Yet, they [Jean and Giaches] failed, because they [? good singers ? Jean and Giaches] did not do anything but singing in chamber throughout their lives, as Your Excellency knows. The agreement between this tenor and me is that he will have such a salary as much as the cost of bass singers would be, and that his salary will be calculated from the above-mentioned day of 11 August. He had six *scudi [d’oro]* as a gift from me, and another six as his salary. I also paid the expense which cost in this land, six *scudi [d’oro]* and a half, for him in the currency of the Emperor. He had eleven *scudi [d’oro]* to travel to Parma. He agreed to keep an account of his expense, and this would be more than helpful to calculate his salary, because he did not need a horse, and hoped to go on foot together with three other local fellows who were going to go to Rome. Eight days have passed since they left.²¹⁶

²¹⁵ ? Giaches Vinch, an instrumentalist in Duchess Margherita’s chapel.

²¹⁶ Document 30.

Marinone's description of this singer, "a tenor, also good at singing bass in chamber music" exactly corresponds the duke's request, as mentioned above. According to Marinone, it was difficult for him to find such a one in July 1564. He kept on looking for the musicians to meet the duke's request, and finally found this tenor in August.

The tenor left Brussels on 10 September. Marinone wrote a letter of recommendation for this tenor, called Gaspar, on 9 September:

This letter does not serve other than to accompany the present person who brings it, *messer* Don Gaspar. I acquired him as a tenor, and he is the best one that I was able to find out in these lands. In chamber music, he works very well as a bass when he is required to sing madrigals, because I took him as he needs to go out of the church [where singers] cannot sing other than *Kyrie* and *Magnificat*.²¹⁷

This musician, Gaspar, is identified as "Gaspar de Becchi". "De Becchi" began to receive his salary, seven *scudi d'oro* per month, in September 1564.

#### 2-D. "Giovanni Enrico"

On 30 September 1564, Ludovico Nicola, a banker in Antwerp and the Farnese's agent there, reported about the payment for a new musician to Duke Ottavio:

As Your Excellency commanded in your very pleasant letters on 21 and 24 August, I have paid fifteen *scudi d'oro* of Italy to the wife of Giovanni Enrico, singer of your chapel, through the hand of *messer* Cesare Marinone, to enable him to travel, as shown by the enclosed receipt.²¹⁸

"Giovanni Enrico" began to serve Duke Ottavio in the middle of May 1564.²¹⁹

#### 2-E. "Benedetto Gonzo"?

On 9 April 1564, Marinone reported about the acquisition of a new bass to Duke Ottavio. He emphasised the quality of this musician:

I previously wrote another letter to Your Excellency... in which I said to you that I was about to conclude a contract with a young man to send to you who sings bass. I hope that a good fortune would come to me and that a company [of new musicians] would leave here for Italy. The tenor has already agreed to serve [in Parma]. I told you this because I can no longer deny it, and Your Excellency knows all the agreement enclosed here. I wonder if I concluded the negotiation with this tenor too hastily, but I believe not; because he has a wonderful voice. It surprises all the people of this land, who came to the feast in the chapel, just to hear him. Great offers were made to him. An agent of the emperor, who is here, is looking for musicians for His Imperial Majesty. He [the tenor] has made an agreement with him [the agent], as he did with me. He [the tenor] ignored and rejected it, simply because he did not want to go to Germany. Since he is a priest, devoted himself to God in the mass, and is eager to come to Italy. There are many things to tell you, but I told them to *signor* Antonio

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²¹⁷ Document 29.

²¹⁸ Document 31.

²¹⁹ On "Giovanni Enrico", see also pp. 48-49.

Maria [Ricco] not to make you tired by reading a lot. His mouth will tell you what will be pleasing to know. Apart from this, Your Excellency will be able to order to inform where those musicians could be found whom you gave me commission to find out on reasonable budget. I have already clothed him [=took him into the service] with the following agreement: before he has a salary of nine *scudi* [*d'oro*] per month, he will receive the expense he paid. I will skilfully reduce it to less than the other cases in which Your Excellency has to pay; the expense is nine *talari*, according to what Pirichino told me. When you see and hear him, I promise to Your Excellency that just he alone is enough when four or five [singers] are in the other parts. His voice is mild and sonorous, he sings lively and stable, and he composes very well. Nobody at the court would fail to say that the duke would not leave him away although he is not here. Again nobody knows that he came to the service to Your Excellency, which I told to *signor* Antonio Maria.

He should be newly clothed, as his quality requires. I quickly provided him with a short vest, a clerical dress, a *guippone* [? underwear], a pair of socks, shoes, a hat, a belt, big boots and four shirts, because he was almost nude [unemployed], or only a little better than that.

His salary begins to run from the day of contract, 25 of the previous month.

Twenty-five *scudi* [*d'oro*] were given to clear off his debt before his departure.

He will travel to Italy on horseback. I bought him a horse at the expense of Your Excellency, which will belong to Your Excellency in Italy.²²⁰

This singer may be identified as “Benedetto Gonzo”. Duke Ottavio employed this musician from July 1564 at a salary of nine *scudi d'oro*. The duke accepted no other musician at this salary in this period.

On 17 September, Marinone mentioned a bass:

The bass writes a letter to me, and says that he wants to be clothed by [i.e. to serve] Your Excellency twice a year apart from his salary. He would do it voluntarily when he would not irritate others. Therefore, Your Excellency agreed that I would write to him a letter to guarantee that I made such agreement with him. Then he could show it to the others in any case. I did it, but I send it to the hand of Your Excellency, so that you can do anything you like [e.g. modifying it]. Although I am not sure if it will please you (as he says yes), I send the letter unsealed, so that you can see the content. Your Excellency would do easily what will please you. Yet, I emphasise that no other dresses [i.e. jobs] than what I am offering him by your grace are mentioned in the agreement, which we made between him and me at the house of Jean d'Arras, and signed both by him and by me. He can be described to be almost nude [i.e. unemployed]. He brought the same agreement with him. Therefore, he will show it, and you can see if he would keep his words and faith....²²¹

Marinone called this singer just “the bass” without any introductory phrases. Accordingly, this singer is supposed to have been already familiar to the duke. Moreover, Marinone said that this musician was almost unemployed. These situations suggest that this bass was identical

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²²⁰ Document 21.

²²¹ Document 30.

with the one whom Marinone had mentioned on 9 April. Thus, the singer, supposedly “Benedetto Gonzo”, was still talking with Marinone on 17 September in Brussels.

#### 2-F. Jean de Liège

On 10 January 1566, two days after Duke Ottavio left Brussels, Tommaso Machiavelli recommended a musician, called Jean de Liège, to the duke:

As soon as an occasion came to me to present a young musician meeting your taste, I believe, Your Excellency left here. He is called Jean de Liège. Apart from the type of music which he is always practising [? singing], he plays excellently dance music as well as musical [? melodious] pieces on the lute, and also on the viol. He manages everything gracefully. He looks good, and he is good-minded... He will serve very well as a barber, if required. He is accustomed to serving, because he was in Granville as chamberlain to *monsignor* Favernè. The spinet of Jean d'Arras and the viol and lute of this Jean will always play music suitable to princes. I told him that Your Excellency would give at least nine *plache* a day. If his service pleases you, he will be happy. He expresses a great desire to serve you. I hope that this procedure will make him feel grateful to you. He is a modest and quiet person, and a very eager servant. If Your Excellency is satisfied with him, it is possible to let him accompany the troop of the prince or of the princess, my lords. He can also travel by ship. I hope from my heart that you will be satisfied with this. Thus, I expect the decision of Your Excellency. I will keep him in this land.²²²

Duke Ottavio, however, did not employ him. This musician is presumably identified as the lute player “Giovan de Luge” a member of Duchess Margherita’s chapel in 1566.²²³ He may have been the author of four French chansons in lute tablature.²²⁴ It is not clear whether Jean de Liège was already in Duchess Margherita’s chapel when Machiavelli wrote this dispatch, or he entered the duchess’ chapel after the duke had refused him.

#### 2-G. Musical instruments

Duke Ottavio wanted some musical instruments in the Flanders. He ordered Marcello Lampugnano, gentleman to Duchess Margherita, to look for a set of musical instruments. On 25 August 1564, Lampugnano recommended those which he had found in Antwerp:

To put the commission which Your Excellency gave me in Parma into practice, I went to Antwerp, and saw a house of wind instruments for music. I went there in company with people who know these affairs well. We examined all the instruments, and found them very good and truly suitable to a prince. I enclose a note of those instruments, which are made in one house and in the same tone. The makers hope to have three hundred *scudi d'oro* [for these]. According to them, if I should find these for two hundred *scudi [d'oro]*, it would be very reasonable. However, I believe, they would not give [the instruments to] you for less than two hundred and fifty *scudi [d'oro]*. A notice was sent to me from a friend of mine in London about some instruments in this land, which I enclosed the note and their costs. I am waiting for a

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²²² Document 45.

²²³ D'ONOFRIO: 198.

²²⁴ AUDA: 92.

message from Nürnberg on how much six harmonious trombones will cost. I will send it when I receive it. If you like to have those instruments, you can command me or to someone suitable to buy them.

Note on the wind instruments which are all in one house in Antwerp:

A set of *cornamuse*, consisting of twelve pieces:

- three sopranos
- three tenors
- four countertenors which serve as bass
- two contrabasses, all made of white wood

A set of bent cornetts, consisting of ten pieces:

- three sopranos without a key
- two sopranos with keys, which can play one tone lower
- two countertenor with one key
- two basses with one key
- One contrabass

A set of flutes, consisting of nine pieces:

- two basses
- two sopranos
- two sopraninos [*soprasoprani*]
- three tenors, all made of white wood

A set of large shawms [*pifaroni*], consisting of thirteen pieces:

- three great basses
- two great contrabasses
- two small basses with one key
- four tenors
- two sopranos, all made of white wood

A fife, made of ivory

Totally forty-five pieces: these instruments are all regulated in one tone, and the makers hope to have three hundred *scudi d'oro* for all, that were made in London by the best master.

What the above-said official in London announced is:

A set of white flutes:

- two basses
- four tenors
- four sopranos
- two sopraninos

They will cost in total twenty-four *scudi d'oro* ——— 24

A set of fife, consisting of ten pieces:

- two basses
- four tenors
- four sopranos

They will cost in total twenty *scudi d'oro* ——— 20

Two bassoons [*dolzane*], a bass and a tenor:

They will cost eighteen *scudi d'oro* ——— 18

At present, shawms have not been found out, but soon they will be, if Your

Excellency makes any comment.²²⁵

Lampugnano's comment testifies that large-scale network of musical instrument trade worked well in sixteenth-century Europe.

Duke Ottavio made specific comments on the quality of the musical instruments. On 5 November, Lampugnano wrote to the duke:

I received a letter [in which] Your Excellency ordered to write on 12 of the previous month. In reply I do not say other than that I will not fail to execute what you command me, and I think that the sign which you gave me in your letter means that Your Excellency wants to be informed of fifes [*fifferi*], and not shawms [*pifferi*], as you wrote me....²²⁶

The duke specifically requested fifes, rather than shawms. Lampugnano further looked for musical instruments to meet the duke's request. The duke was not satisfied with the shawms which Lampugnano's friends in London recommended. On 3 June 1565, Lampugnano wrote to the duke:

I received a letter of Your Excellency in which you told me that I did not have to acquire the shawms which my friend in London had recommended to me in exchange to the fifes, because they did not please you. Therefore, they were returned, because I do not have to acquire them. Then I sent fifes, and they were sent from my brother in Antwerp [Antonio] a few days ago to Piacenza. They have arrived there. They will be sent to Your Excellency from my brother [Giulio in Piacenza] with a note of price and expense. I hope they will be satisfactory to you....²²⁷

Thus, Duke Ottavio obtained a set of fifes. The Lampugnano network (Brussels, Antwerp and Piacenza) played an important role in this operation.

### 3. Duke Ottavio's own project

#### 3-A. Josquin Persoens' recruitment travel

Josquin Persoens travelled the Flanders in 1565 to find new musicians.²²⁸ His travel was a notable example of the recruitment activities by the ducal chapel of Parma. The process of Josquin's expedition can be traced by a financial report:

The expense which I, Josquin, paid to go to Liège to look for boys for the chapel of His Excellency	[f.=fiorino, p.=placa]
On 18 October 1565	
Coach from Brussels to Namur and the return journey	f. 1 p. 5 1/2
At Wavre, for the meal with the horse	p. 9
At Bovesse, for the supper with the horse	p.12
On 19 October	
To send the horse back from Namur to Bruges	p.15 1/2

²²⁵ Document 28.

²²⁶ Document 32.

²²⁷ Document 36.

²²⁸ This section is a rewritten version of NIWA 2002 *Josquin*.

At Namur, for the meal	p. 8 1/2
Boat from Namur to Huy	p. 2
At Huy, for the supper	p. 5
On 20 October	
Boat from Huy to Liège	
From 20 to 25 October	f. 5 p.10
From 25 October to 3 November	f. 9 p.12
On 3 November	
At Lauw [?], for the meal	p. 2
At St. Truiden, for the supper	p.10
On 4 November	
At Tienen, for the meal	p. 5 1/2
For the <i>cartone</i> [? ticket] from Liège to Leuven	f. 1 p.10
At Leuven, for the supper	p. 8
[On 5 November]	
At Leuven, for the meal	p. 7
For the supper	p. 8
On 6 November	
For the meal	p. 7
For the timber	p. 7
The <i>cartone</i> from Leuven	p. 7

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Total	f.23 p.18
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To go to Leuven to pick up a boy for the chapel

On 7 December 1565	
The <i>cartone</i>	p. 7
Given to the chapel master of Leuven	f. 5 p. 5
Paid to the inn from 7 to 9 [December] after a meal, to which I invited the boy's mother, father and two other families.	f. 3 p.10
The <i>cartone</i> for the boy and his father [and me]	f. 1 p. 3

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Total	f.10 p. 5
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To go to Mechelen to pick up a contralto

On 28 December	
The <i>cartone</i>	p.10
On 29 December	
Paid to the inn for the said contralto and me for a day and a half	f. 2 p.12 1/2
The <i>cartone</i> from Mechelen to Brussels for the contralto and me	f. 1

The list of [expense for] *messer* Josquin Persoens to go to several places in search of singers for His Excellency. It has been paid.²²⁹

Though undated, this document is supposed to be a fair copy which Josquin made after his travel, because the handwriting and the colour of ink are stable throughout the document. Moreover, the form is consistent.

He set off his first trip on 18 October 1565, and finished his last trip on 29 December 1565. He always started from and went back to Brussels. These facts suggest that he went to Brussels in company with Duke Ottavio, and the Brussels government was his base. The duke visited Brussels to attend Prince Alessandro's wedding, and stayed there from 8 October 1565

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²²⁹ Document 40.

to 4 January 1566. Josquin travelled the Flanders, while the duke was in Brussels.

Josquin entitled his first trip “to go to Liège to look for boys”. Liège was the principal place of his operation on the original plan. Probably he had some information about musicians in Liège. He set off on 18 October, ten days after the duke’s troop had arrived in Brussels. He seems to have set off without concluding the negotiation, because he stayed in Liège as long as for fifteen days. He apparently conducted the negotiation, at least a part of it, there.

His expression, “to look for boys”, is a kind of euphemism. It is ridiculous to say that he was just *looking for* boys without intending to *acquire* them. He stayed in Liège for fifteen days. As a result, however, he acquired no boys. Moreover, he did not return to Liège in his later trips. He apparently failed in his operation there.

After his failure in Liège, he visited Leuven. It is not known if the visit to Leuven was a part of the original travel plan. He may have had new information in Liège. He stayed in Leuven for three days. It is possible that he began some negotiation at this occasion. In the second trip, he returned to Leuven, and successfully acquired a boy.

The nature of the second and third trips was clearly different from that of the first. Josquin apparently concluded the negotiation in advance. Then he visited the cities, acquired the musicians, and brought them to Brussels. Accordingly, Josquin described these trips as “to pick up” the musicians, rather than “to look for” them.

In the second trip, Josquin visited Leuven again. He left Brussels on 7 December. Since the lodging charge was registered up to 9 December, he must have returned to Brussels on 10.

It was difficult to acquire talented boys. For example, Cesare Marinone lamented the difficulties of finding good boys on 17 September 1564:

Now a boy is lacking [among whom you requested]. It is very difficult to find [a boy], because where there are good ones, a group of canons protects and takes care of them so much that they cannot be taken away.... Although I make every possible effort to achieve the commission which I received from Your Excellency, I should not be a thief of others’ sons....²³⁰

Marinone may have referred to the famous kidnapping story of Orlandus Lassus,²³¹ or suggested that similar instances actually occurred or was talked about in the Flanders.

With regard to Josquin’s second trip, Marinone did not have to worry about the duke’s recruitment strategy. The duke ordered Josquin to take a “legal” measure. First, Josquin paid five *fiorini* five *plache* to the chapel master of the Leuven Cathedral²³² in compensation for the loss of the boy. Then Josquin invited the boy’s parents and two other families (? relatives) to dinner. Furthermore, Josquin allowed the boy’s father to accompany his son to Brussels. This case is a good example of a “proper” way to acquire boys.

In his third trip, Josquin visited Mechelen to pick up an adult contralto. He left Brussels on 28 December, and returned on the following day. Unlike the case of the boy, the recruitment of an adult singer was simple. Josquin went to Mechelen, met the contralto there, and brought him to Brussels. He did not pay any compensation there.²³³ It is not known if the Mechelen

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²³⁰ Document 30.

²³¹ LEUCHTMANN 1976: 81-82.

²³² It is not known who this chapel master was, because the documents of the Leuven Cathedral have been lost.

²³³ Rombaut van den Scricke was then the chapel master of the Mechelen Cathedral. DOORSLAER: 173-175.



side agreed to give away the contralto. However, it is unlikely that Josquin “stole” the singer. Even when he acquired the boy, a case seemingly much more difficult than that of an adult contralto, Josquin took a legal measure. Accordingly, he is supposed to have acquired the contralto by agreement.

Duke Ottavio left Brussels on 4 January. Pope Pius IV died, and the duke had to go back to Italy hastily for the political arrangement. Josquin did not accompany the duke. He probably went back to Parma with Prince Alessandro in May, together with the boy whom he had acquired in Leuven. The prince left Brussels on 16 May 1566 and arrived in Parma on 13 June.²³⁴ Josquin’s salary of November and December 1565 is registered on 8 June 1566. On the same day, the expense for a Flemish boy, “Guglielmo”, is registered from 11 June onwards:

[On 8 June 1566] Seventeen *scudi* ninety-four *soldi* to Josquin Persoens for last November and December. — 17.94.

Two *scudi* sixty-six *soldi* eight *denari* to the said one [Josquin] for the expense of the Fleming “Guglielmo” for twenty days. — 2.66.8²³⁵

“Guglielmo” was apparently the boy whom Josquin acquired in Leuven.

The contralto acquired in Mechelen was called “Teodoro d’Olanda” in Italian. The *Ruoli* describes how he entered the service:

On 11 July 1566, *messer* Teodoro d’Olanda, musician and contralto, was acquired in the Flanders by *messer* Josquin Persoens on 5 March just passed, by the commission of His Excellency, at a salary of six *scudi d’oro* per month, which he has for three months and five-sixths, i.e. from the above-said 5 March, when he was taken into the service of His Excellency up to the end of June proximately passed. — 34.40.²³⁶

Although Josquin took him from Mechelen at the end of December 1565, the duke did not make a formal contract until early March 1566. It is not known why. The *Ruoli* registers his first salary on 11 July (Table 15).

Table 15: Chronology of Josquin Persoens’ recruitment travel

8 Oct	1565	The duke’s troop arrived in Brussels.
10 Oct	1565	Josquin set off on his first trip
20 Oct	1565	Josquin arrived in Liège.
4 Nov	1565	Josquin arrived in Leuven.
6 Nov	1565	Josquin went back to Brussels alone.
11 Nov	1565	Prince Alessandro were married to Maria of Portugal
7 Dec	1565	Josquin set off for Leuven.
9 Dec	1565	Josquin went back to Brussels with “Guglielmo”.
28 Dec	1565	Josquin set off for Mechelen.
29 Dec	1565	Josquin went back to Brussels with “Teodoro d’Olanda”.
4 Jan	1566	The duke left Brussels.
5 Mar	1566	“Teodoro d’Olanda” was formally accepted.
16 May	1566	Prince Alessandro’s troop left Brussels.
8 Jun	1566	The <i>Mastri</i> registers Josquin’s payment to Josquin.
13 Jun	1566	Prince Alessandro arrived in Parma.

²³⁴ PIETROMARCHI: 48-49.

²³⁵ Document 2, v. 5: 359.

²³⁶ Document 1: “Teodoro d’Olanda” v. 2.

11 Jul 1566 The *Ruoli* registers payment to “Teodoro d’Olanda”.

3-B. “Sardegna” and “Giovanni Maria”

Duke Ottavio looked for musicians in Italy, too. He ordered his agent, Carlo Duarte, to find musicians in Brescia. On 11 January 1568, Duarte reported that he was negotiating with a musician called “Sardegna”.

In the name of Your Most Illustrious Excellency, I talked to *messer* Jacomo Pecchio. He said to me that I should work hard to find a contralto in the bands here. I did not fail in finding one. He is the best in Brescia, and, accordingly [very good] for the chapel. I have arranged the negotiation so well that you will be satisfied when I let him go to serve you on behalf of Your Most Illustrious Excellency. As for Sardegna, *messer* Ferrante, musician, will give you information. He [Sardegna] is very good at singing and composing, and he knows counterpoint very well. However, he [Sardegna] says to me that he would not serve well in chamber music, because he is almost always singing either in the church or in a large hall where he is teaching. It is believed that he will serve in chamber music after resting his voice.

Duke Ottavio sent Jacomo Pecchio to Brescia to help Duarte. The musician “Ferrante” was possibly Ferrante Guasconi. It is also possible that a musician called Ferrante, who was not a member of Duke Ottavio’s chapel, served as a messenger. Apart from the Sardegna, Duarte found a set of viols. He continued:

Here is a good set of viols in the hand of a master, who is my friend, made in a Neapolitan manner. He [the master] promised me that he would keep it for me. Therefore, Your Most Illustrious Excellency would grant your favour of giving me an advice on both the matters, i.e. how much you would give to the musician per month and what should I do with the viols. I will do as your illustrious person commands me.

At the end of this letter, Duarte revealed that he had found a musician called “Giovanni Maria” in Brescia:

The man who brings this letter is *messer* Giovanni Maria, musician and a gentleman of Brescia, and my good friend. I recommend him to Your Most Illustrious Excellency.²³⁷

Thus, Duarte mentioned three things: Sardegna, viols and Giovanni Maria. Sardegna did not enter the service to Duke Ottavio. Neither the *Ruoli* nor the *Mastri* registers him. Nothing is known of viols. It is unlikely that “Giovanni Maria” is identified to be Giovanni Maria Conti for two reasons. First, Conti began to serve Duke Ottavio as late as in March 1569, more than a year after Duarte’s letter. Second, Conti received only six *scudi* per month. He was one of the lowest-paid musicians in the chapel. The one whom Duarte mentioned was a nobleman. It is not known what happened to “Giovanni Maria”, whom Duarte sent from Brescia.

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²³⁷ Document 52.

### 3-C. Pietro Vinci

Pietro Vinci was active in north Italy in the 1560s. On 16 February 1568, Baron Sfondato recommended Duke Ottavio to employ him:

Here comes *messer* Pietro Vinci, the musician whom Your Excellency accepted to do me a favour. Although he may seem to be unfit at first sight, he was sufficiently good in the art of composition, who has few rivals today. His works, both printed and written, do not fully demonstrate his merit. Above all, I would like to mention two or three rhetorical points on behalf of him. Yet, since he will certainly realise my good offices, I would say only this phrase that he is worthy of the grace and protection of Your Excellency and almost indispensable one. His music is not very difficult, and everyone can sing it at first sight. However, he [who tried to sing] will be neither successful in singing well nor being surprised [at Vinci's art], because one who will sing it needs a little practice. I infinitely recommend him to Your Excellency....²³⁸

It is not precisely known what happened to Vinci and to Duke Ottavio. As a result, Duke Ottavio did not employ Vinci. Vinci became the chapel master at the Bergamo cathedral on 15 May 1568,²³⁹ three months after Sfondato's letter. This situation suggests that Vinci was then looking for a new post, and Duke Ottavio's chapel was one of the possible choices in his search of a new post. In 1571, Vinci dedicated his madrigal collection.²⁴⁰ It is not known if his dedication had something to do with this event in 1568.

### 3-D. "Guglielmo Frondosi" ?

The *Mastri* registers payment to Jean d'Arras in reward of his recruitment activities in February 1569:

[On 3 February 1569] thirteen *scudi* and eighty *soldi* to *messer* Jean d'Arras for the expense paid for the musician, *messer* Guglielmo, to come to the service to His Excellency... 13.80²⁴¹

Thus, Jean d'Arras brought "Guglielmo" to Duke Ottavio's chapel. It is not known what Jean actually did. "Guglielmo" is supposed to have been the Flemish musician, "Guglielmo Frondosi". He was the only musician called "Guglielmo", among those who entered Duke Ottavio's service in this period.

### 3-E. Giulio Bonagiunta

The case of Giulio Bonagiunta was another notable example of Duke Ottavio's recruitment activities.²⁴² Bonagiunta was a singer at San Marco, Venice, from 1562.²⁴³ At first, he agreed to serve Archduke Karl II of Austria in 1566. Then he changed his mind, and entered the service to Duke Ottavio. On 25 September 1568, the imperial ambassador in Venice, Vito da Dorimbergo, complained about Bonagiunta's misbehaviour:

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²³⁸ Document 53.

²³⁹ CARAPEZZA-COLLISANI: 657.

²⁴⁰ LCW-VINCI.

²⁴¹ Document 2, v. 6: 84.

²⁴² This section and Appendix are a rewritten version of NIWA 2002, *Nell'aria*.

²⁴³ ONGARO: 47-49.

It has been confirmed that a certain Giulio Bonagiunta da San Genesi, musician, who was bound and employed by Archduke Karl, my most favourable lord, a few months ago, not only by words and faith which he gave me a thousand times out of his mouth, but also with a written document. Your Excellency can confirm, and will let him see, the money received [by him] from me, for the contract and for the travel to the court of His Highness [in Graz], whose [document] will be in the hand of the demonstrator of this letter of mine, together with another letter of his [Bonagiunta's], which he wrote to me after his departure here to re-confirm the first promise. Since he doubly deceived me, possibly not to pay back the money, he left here secretly to commit this fraud on His Highness. This was not enough for him, and, ill-mindedly and rudely, he was also bold to come to enter the protection of Your Excellency, perhaps in the hope that you would accept at your court a man thus infamous and rude, who adds one misbehaviour to another. Yet, let the ill-minded man be punished as much as he should be, so that Your Excellency is not deceived, just as His Highness was. I hoped to give him this notice. I ask you not to forgive him with proper reverence, justice and respect for the offended person. Before you quit, please pay back all the money with expense to the present messenger, which will take only a little while. You will do something very favourable to His Highness, for which you will be infinitely loved....²⁴⁴

The duke ordered Bonagiunta to pay back the money which he had received. Perhaps, the duke paid it for Bonagiunta. In any case, the imperial ambassador received the money, and wrote to the duke again on 19 October 1568:

I received a letter of Your Excellency dated 8 of this month in reply to mine dated 25 of the previous month. I am grateful to you with proper reverence. You made great achievement by the order, which you gave, because Giulio Bonagiunta paid back the money which he had received from me. It is principally most courteous offerings and affectionate demonstration which you make... [*a few words missing*] to Most Serene Archduke Karl, my lord, [*one line missing*] [Archduke Karl] will keep that grace, memory and the reputation which will suitable to you. In reality, Bonagiunta always affirmed me without any exception that he wanted to go to the service to His Highness. Otherwise, he [Archduke Karl] would not give money to him. He gave my secretary something that he wrote to me. I put trust in his false proposal, but after all he told me a lie. I noticed that he suggested with some nuance of the instability of his intelligence, which is the only reason why his promise was broken. I did not make a request in my first letter that you should force him to go to the service to His Highness, but that you should order him to pay back the money which he had received. Then he was to be given some penalty [?] of the correction to as a warning to others... [*one line missing*] ...or at least [the ambassador would have been happy if Bonagiunta] had paid back the money to me before leaving here, or told me that he would enter the service to Your Excellency. I think that you are as good to accommodate him as His Highness [?] [*missing*] ...it is too bad a reputation. In any

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²⁴⁴ Document 55.

case, however, I am satisfied only with the refund of the money here....²⁴⁵

Although the imperial ambassador repeatedly blamed Bonagiunta in a harsh tone, the essence of his message was simple. Archduke Karl II did not require Bonagiunta to come into his service, but he agreed with finishing the dispute over Bonagiunta.

It is not known whether the Farnese agent deliberately snatched away Bonagiunta from Archduke Karl, or Bonagiunta secretly talked to both sides. As seen in Josquin Persoens' recruitment travels in 1565,²⁴⁶ Duke Ottavio did not like to take a violent measure in his recruitment of musicians. It is unlikely that the duke commanded to *steal* the musician. Accordingly, it seems that Bonagiunta talked with Duke Ottavio's agent without explaining his status properly.

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²⁴⁵ Document 56.

²⁴⁶ See p.74.

## Chapter Three: Apart from the ducal chapel

### 1. Outside of the ducal chapel

#### 1-A. Fabrizio Dentice

Fabrizio Dentice was a Neapolitan nobleman and a famous lute player of his time.²⁴⁷ Contemporaries praised him. For example, in 1581, Vincenzo Galilei found him good both at playing and composing:

Then I say that in our times there were, and are, many excellent players of lute and keyboard instruments. Among them, some play and write, or we would say compose, well for their instruments. Among them, Annibale Padovano on keyboard instruments and Fabrizio Dentice, a Neapolitan nobleman, [were notable]. There were, and are, others who wrote and write very well, and also play to some extent, but not very well.²⁴⁸

Scipione Cerreto agreed with Galilei. In 1601, he listed Dentice among the “excellent composers” and the “excellent lute players” who no longer lived.²⁴⁹

Duke Ottavio wanted to take Dentice into his service by 1567. He ordered Juan de Zúñiga, a Spanish minister in Italy, to make contact with Dentice. De Zúñiga wrote from Naples on 18 July 1567:

I found that Your Excellency gave me a command in your letter dated 8 of this month [July 1567] on the decision concerning the musicians whom I had found by the order of Your Excellency. I will carry on [my duties], and I will not speak of it any more. Fabrizio Dentice is not in Naples. I think that he went to the service to Marquis of Pescara many days ago. He should be found, as I heard, at the court and he is a favourite man of Prince of Spain. In this city, there is none who plays or sings like him. I took the trouble of hearing all the ones, and [I found that] there is no other one suitable to Your Excellency but him.²⁵⁰

De Zúñiga revealed two important points. First, Dentice was in Pescara. Second, de Zúñiga was constantly looking for musicians for Duke Ottavio.

In Pescara, Paolo Animuccia served as the duke’s agent. Animuccia was related to the Farnese in two ways. First, he was then the chapel master to Guidobaldo II della Rovere, Duke of Urbino, whose wife was Vittoria Farnese, i.e. Duke Ottavio’s sister. Second, Animuccia’s brother, Giovanni, served a Farnese cardinal, Guido Ascanio Sforza, Duke Ottavio’s cousin.²⁵¹ On 22 October 1568, Animuccia reported about his negotiation to the duke:

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²⁴⁷ Fabris first surveyed this case. FABRIS: 61-76.

²⁴⁸ FANO: 171.

²⁴⁹ CERRETO: 158-159.

²⁵⁰ Document 51.

²⁵¹ LOCKWOOD 2001: 688. Also see the genealogical table of the Farnese dynasty.

I received a letter from *signor* Fabrizio Dentice in response to the one which I wrote to him about what Your Excellency had told me in Imperiale, i.e. you wanted to take him into your service. *Signor* Fabrizio answered to me that he found it to be a great honour that you had such a good opinion of him. He told me what *signor* marquis had given him, i.e. salary of thirty *scudi d'oro* per month, his *tavola* and the expense for two servants and for a horse. However, he is free, and he is not going to serve *signor* marquis, but Your Excellency. You are such an honourable and generous prince that he would do all that will please Your Excellency, and that he would be advised by me. I have written to him that God knows what I should advise him. We are now in good terms, and I will leave the work to your prudence, and say to you that to have such a man means two acquisitions, a talented man, [i.e.] a leading figure in this profession, and a very honourable, virtuous gentleman. By answering to me, Your Excellency can have your idea known to *signor* Fabrizio, because I will send your letter to him, and you can do what will be good in this matter according to your ever-accurate judgement. I will execute all that will be ordered by you with such faith and with my mind so prepared, which is good for my service to Your Excellency....²⁵²

Dentice's patron, the "marquis", was Francesco Ferdinando d'Avalos, Marquis of Pescara. Thus, Dentice was working in Pescara, rather than in Rome or in Naples.²⁵³

On 4 January 1569, Animuccia reported to Duke Ottavio that Dentice finally decided to enter the duke's service:

I had a message from *signor* Fabrizio Dentice of his decision to enter the service [to Duke Ottavio], in conformity with the hope of Your Most Illustrious Excellency. I think that you may have already received his letter, together with another one which he wrote to me, in which he promised to be here until the end of this month. Thus, I did not answer to you very quickly, because I waited for this decision. I feel infinitely pleased, because Your Excellency will have this exceptionally talented one....²⁵⁴

Thus, Duke Ottavio successfully enticed Dentice from his former patron, Marquis of Pescara.

Very little is known what Dentice actually did in Parma. Only fragmentary information is available. For example, he taught Lorenzo Lodi in his childhood.²⁵⁵ This instance demonstrates that teaching music in the ducal chamber was a part of his duty. He was suitable for this function, because he was himself a nobleman.

Neither the *Ruoli* nor the *Mastri* registers the payment to Dentice. This fact led Fabris to suppose that Dentice had served in Parma only for a short while, and that he had then served Cardinal Alessandro in Rome.²⁵⁶ This theory could be neither confirmed nor rejected with documentary evidence, because a major part of the Farnese payroll in Rome has been lost. However, circumstantial evidence suggests that it is unlikely. First, the surviving documents of Cardinal Alessandro's household in the 1560s do not register Dentice. Instead, another noble

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²⁵² Document 57.

²⁵³ FABRIS: 73.

²⁵⁴ Document 58.

²⁵⁵ On Dentice's instruction, see p. 26.

²⁵⁶ FABRIS: 74.

lute player, Vincenzo Pinto, is registered from January 1563 to December 1570.²⁵⁷ Second, Dentice's name was later mentioned in connection to Duke Ottavio, rather than Cardinal Alessandro. If this hypothesis is to be believed, Dentice's absence from the *Ruoli* and the *Mastri* suggests that he occupied a special position at the duke's court. The duke may have treated him as a noble guest, rather than as his servant.

In any case, Dentice regularly participated in music-making at Duke Ottavio's court in 1580-81. On 25 February 1581, a Mantuan agent, Aurelio Zibramonte, said:

After the feast was over, we retreated to the chamber, where very beautiful music of instruments and voices was performed. The famous Fabrizio Dentice was not there, because he died yesterday in Parma.²⁵⁸

His absence, due to his death, was news because he was expected to perform regularly in chamber music together with other professional musicians. Thus, in reality, Duke Ottavio employed Dentice as a musician.

In 1609, Sigismondo d'India dedicated his *Le musiche* to Duke Ranuccio I [Duke Ottavio's grandson]. In its dedication, d'India mentioned Dentice among the famous musicians active in sixteenth-century Parma:

Indisputable evidences of this [the Farnese's love of music] can be demonstrated, e.g. Cipriano de Rore, Fabrizio Dentice, Claudio da Correggio [Merulo] and Orazio *della Viola* [Bassano]. All the men achieved superb excellence.²⁵⁹

It is notable that d'India mentioned Dentice without any title, such as *signor* or *cavalier*. Moreover, d'India put Dentice together with other professional musicians. D'India was a nobleman himself, and deliberately called himself a nobleman of Salerno. He was clearly aware of the distinction between aristocratic music dilettantes and professional musicians. Whether deliberately or not, d'India mentioned Dentice among professional musicians.²⁶⁰

#### 1-B. Music teachers

Music teachers taught music to pages and other inner members of the court. Two music teachers are known to have worked in Duke Ottavio's court: Galeazzo Cacciardini and Giulio Bonagiunta. The former was not a member of the ducal chapel. The latter worked both in the chapel and in the ducal chamber.

##### 1-B-a. Galeazzo Cacciardini

Galeazzo Cacciardini entered the Farnese service from around 18 September 1564.²⁶¹ He

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²⁵⁷ On Cardinal Alessandro's household, pp. 94-96.

²⁵⁸ Document 76. As Fabris pointed out, Sherr misread this document "Fabritio Denteci Farneto". SHERR 1984: 9. It should be read "Fabritio Dentici famoso". Dentice had nothing to do with city of Farneto, Umbria. FABRIS 1998: 23 n. 36.

²⁵⁹ Document 99.

²⁶⁰ D'India's attitude is contrasting to, for example, Vincenzo Giustiniani's in his *Discorso sopra la musica* (1628). Giustiniani listed up leading *villanesca* singers. He mentioned Giulio Cesare Brancaccio, a Neapolitan nobleman, with a title of *signor*, while he mentioned the others, Giovanni Andrea *napoletano* and Alessandro Merlo, without any title. SOLERTI: 107.

²⁶¹ He received his first salary in Parma "for three months up to 18 December 1564". ASPR-MASTRI v. 4: 448. It is notable that he is at first registered among "salaried persons of the



was in charge of teaching lute to Prince Ranuccio and to the pages.

*Messer don Pietro Silvio*, treasurer to Most Excellent *signor* Prince paid to *messer Galeazzo Cacciardini* six *scudi d'oro* as his salary of teaching to play the lute to the pages of His Excellency for three months, i.e. January, February and March, just passed, and issue a receipt valid in Parma. On 1 April 1570....

Eight *scudi* thirty-eight *soldi moneta*....

I, Galeazzo Cacciardini, confess that I received the above-said money from *messer don Pietro Silvio* for the above-said matter on ~~4 September 1570~~ 1 December 1571. I, Galeazzo Cacciardini.²⁶²

The *Ruoli* registers him only from October 1575 onwards. He was categorised as a “servant of the ducal chamber”.²⁶³

Cacciardini had to put up with a very humble salary of one *scudo* and twenty *soldi* per month. He received a slightly bigger salary of two *scudi* and seventy-eight *soldi* per month from January to March 1571 (? 1570). He was not happy with his salary. On 11 May 1582, he asked Prince Alessandro to improve his treatment:

In the long and faithful service which I have kept to Your Highness, and as the commission which you are willing to give me in a lively voice, I am teaching the virtue of playing the lute to your son, Most Serene *signor* Prince. I am ordered to demonstrate the little that I know in the said virtue to him, when Your Highness departed from this city of yours. In the future, so far as my modest talent affords, I will continue this project with all what I have in myself, because it will please Your Highness. Thus, it would please God our Lord, and he would give me a favour to enable me demonstrate him [how to play the lute] well. He will make a great progress, and I will be always very happy to continue to serve him. Since I not only wish, but also think for sure, that Your Highness would willingly recognise my service by your natural goodness and greatness, as all the other servants in service to *signor* Prince are recognised. They are all salaried. In order not to treat me worse than other servants, you would command that my service will be appreciated, and that my poverty will be saved with some salary. I have five daughters, and after they are married, nothing will be left to me to sustain the rest of my life.²⁶⁴

In spite of his efforts, his salary remained one *scudo* twenty *soldi* per month. Indeed his salary was very small in comparison with chapel musicians, and also with other court officials. However, it is possible that he enjoyed some extra income and privilege, which are not officially registered in the financial documents, because he was closely in touch with the inner circle of the court.

Cacciardini directly belonged to the ducal chamber. While the chapel musicians lost their posts at Duke Ottavio's death in 1586, Cacciardini kept on serving Prince Ranuccio in Parma.

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magnificent city of Parma”, rather than in connection to the court.

²⁶² Document 61.

²⁶³ Document 1: Galeazzo Cacciardini, vv. 3-5.

²⁶⁴ Document 91.

1-B-b. Giulio Bonagiunta

Giulio Bonagiunta was active as a chapel musician from September 1568 onwards. He also served as a music teacher in the ducal chamber. He was in this capacity by July 1570:

*Messer don Pietro Silvio, treasurer to Most Excellent signor Prince paid to Giulio Bonagiunta, musician, six scudi moneta as his salary to teach the pages of His Excellency to sing for three months, i.e. July, August and [September] just passed. With this receipt [this transaction] will be completed on 1 October 1570.*²⁶⁵

He continued to teach the pages up to 6 November of the same year:

*Messer don Pietro Silvio, treasurer to Most Excellent signor Prince paid to messer Giulio Bonagiunta two scudi forty soldi moneta as his salary to teach pages of His Excellency to sing for a month and a fifth, up to 6 November just passed. On 7 of the said month, another one entered this service. With this receipt [this transaction] will be completed on 31 December 1570.*²⁶⁶

Since Bonagiunta continued to receive his salary as a chapel musician at least up to November 1570, he was working both in the ducal chapel and in the ducal chamber. It is not known who replaced Bonagiunta.

These two receipts arouse an interesting question about Bonagiunta's last months. He was in debt. Carlo Volpe signed the first receipt, dated 1 October 1570, on behalf of Pasarotto, Bonagiunta's creditor, on 31 December 1570:

I, Carlo Volpe, [confess that] in the name of *messer Anai[o]lo Francesco Bagano* called Pasarotto, I received the above-said six *scudi moneta* from *messer don Pietro Silvio*, i.e. the salary of the said late Giulio Bonagiunta for the debt which he should have [paid] at his [Pasarotto's] office. I have done this honestly on the last day of December 1570. I, Carlo Volpe, in the name of Pasarotto.²⁶⁷

According to Volpe, Bonagiunta was dead on 31 December 1570. Yet, Bonagiunta was still alive then, and signed up the other receipt, dated 31 December 1570:

I, Giulio Bonagiunta, received two *scudi* and forty *soldi* in silver, i.e. *moneta*, from *messer don Pietro* as the rest of my above-said salary. I, Giulio, confess as above.²⁶⁸

This signature is evidently his own autograph, because the handwriting is identical with that of his letters to Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga dated 8 December 1568 and 18 March 1569.²⁶⁹ Since Pietro Silvio made the document on 31 December 1570, Bonagiunta must have signed it up on 31 December or later. He was evidently alive on 31 December.

The *Ruoli* v. 3 specifies that Bonagiunta died on 16 February 1571. There is no reason to have doubts about this description. Bonagiunta is safely thought to have died on that day. In

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²⁶⁵ Document 62.

²⁶⁶ Document 66.

²⁶⁷ Document 62.

²⁶⁸ Document 66.

²⁶⁹ ASM-AG, busta 1378.

other words, Carlo Volpe's statement was false. He told a lie, presumably to collect Bonagiunta's debt forcefully.

#### 1-C. "Cinque violini"

Duke Ottavio employed a unique group of string players, separate from the ducal chapel. It consisted of five members, Giacomo dalla Valle, Pellegrino dalla Valle, Giovanni Antonio de Rizzi, Francesco Guarnieri and Guglielmo Pelosino. They were called "cinque violini" as group, i.e. five *violino* players.

While the *Ruoli* specifies that Guarnieri entered the service on 15 January 1564, and that Pelosino did on 1 January, the *Mastri* registers all the five members from March 1564 onwards. It is not known whether they entered the service as a group (i.e. they had formed a band in advance, and settled at the court), or the court accepted each member separately (i.e. they formed a new band at the court).

According to Hill, the term *violini* generally referred to early violin-family instruments in mid-sixteenth-century Italy.²⁷⁰ Basic features of present-day violin were already established then. In Parma, violin was familiar by the middle of the sixteenth century. The Testa brothers, Giovanni Francesco and Pasquale, decorated the choir of the San Giovanni Evangelista church with parquetry of violin in 1535.²⁷¹

These string players occupied an interesting position at Duke Ottavio's court. They were distinguished from the chapel musicians. These string players were not called "musicians" (*musici*), but always "violino players" (*violini*). Apart from their art of playing the *violini*, they had non-musical positions, too. (Table 16).

Table 16: "Cinque violini" and their non-musical positions

Jacomo dalla Valle	assistant of wardrobe	(a)
Pellegrino dalla Valle	doorkeeper	(b)
	horse keeper	(c)
Giovanni Antonio de Rizzi	doorkeeper	(d)
	horse keeper	(e)
Francesco Guarnieri	doorkeeper	(f)
Guglielmo Pelosino	doorkeeper	(g)
	horse keeper	(h)

mentioned in:

- (a) ASPR-RUOLI vv. 2-3; ASPR-MASTRI v. 6: 125, 153, 207; v. 7: 73.
- (b) ASPR-RUOLI vv. 2-3; ASPR-MASTRI v. 7: 73, 82; v. 8: 199.
- (c) APPR-RUOLI v. 2; ASPR-MASTRI v. 5: 124.
- (d) ASPR-RUOLI v. 2; ASPR-MASTRI v. 7: 142.
- (e) ASPR-MASTRI v. 5: 124, 153, 184, 194.
- (f) ASPR-RUOLI v. 2; ASPR-MASTRI v. 4: 387; v. 5: 257; v.6: 200.
- (g) ASPR-RUOLI v. 2; ASPR-MASTRI v. 5: 228.
- (h) ASPR-MASTRI v. 4: 405.

However, they were *full-time* employees of the court. In this respect, they were different from *violino* players hired expressly for particular events, for example, those who played in Ferrara in January 1566 to celebrate the wedding of Duke Alfonso II d'Este and Barbara d'Austria.²⁷² The "cinque violini" of Parma was an important step in the history of early violin, in which this

²⁷⁰ HILL: 338.

²⁷¹ BARONCINI: 63.

²⁷² VALDRIGHI: 51/379.

new family of instruments was accepted and promoted in the courtly society.

These string players' salaries were five *scudi* and twenty-five or fifty *soldi* per months. For unknown reasons, their salaries were reduced to two *scudi* and fifty *soldi* from January to September 1569 (Table 17).

Table 17: Salaries of the “cinque violini”

reconstructed with ASPR-RUOLI vv. 2-3 and ASPR-MASTRI vv. 4-6.

Jacomo dalla Valle	from	Mar 1564	to	31 May 1574
Pellegirno dalla Valle	from	Mar 1564	to	7 Jan 1577
Giovanni Antonio de Rizzi	from	Mar 1564	to	7 Jan 1577
They received	5. 25	from	Mar 1564	to Dec 1564
	2. 25	from	Jan 1565	to Sep 1565
	5. 25	from	Oct 1565	to about Oct 1570
	5. 50	from	about Oct 1573	onwards
Francesco Guarnieri	from	Mar 1564	to	Oct 1570 or later
He received	5. 25	from	Mar 1564	to Aug 1564
	5. 50	from	Sep 1564	to Dec 1564
	2. 50	from	Jan 1565	to Sep 1565
	5. 50	from	Oct 1565	onwards
Guglielmo Pelosino	from	Mar 1564	to	Oct 1570 or later
He received	5. 25	from	Mar 1564	to Jun 1564
	5. 50	from	Jul 1564	to Dec 1564
	2. 50	from	Jan 1565	to Sep 1565
	5. 50	from	Oct 1565	onwards

N.B. “Guglielmo Pelosino”, who was employed as a “barber at the house in Piacenza” may have been identical with this *violino* player. Pelosino the barber had a salary of two *scudi d'oro* per month from March 1580 to December 1582. ASPR-RUOLI, vv. 4-5.

#### 1-D. Francesco Musconi

Very little is known of this musician. According to the *Ruoli*, he was accepted on 20 December 1579 without any salary.²⁷³ He was not a permanent member of the court musical establishment, because he was accepted *again* in 1583 without salary.²⁷⁴ However, it is completely unknown what he actually did for the duke.

Apparently, he made his living outside of the court. He probably worked for the court for free to obtain some kind of professional privilege. In this sense, Musconi probably had something in common with instrumentalists in early sixteenth-century Brescia. They wanted to form a guild, and appealed to the city government to authorise their professional privilege. In 1528, the city government of Brescia ordered some instrumentalists to perform morning serenades without any payment:

The musicians who may play morning serenades and must play without pay according to the decree of the Council of December 2, 1508, were elected by the most illustrious doctor and noble Matteo Avogadri, Antonio Caetani, and Benedetto Roberti, doctors. Their names are:

²⁷³ ASPR-RUOLI v. 4.

²⁷⁴ Document 1: Francesco Musconi, v. 5.

Martinello de Foresto Berberio	Oliviero Trusso
Antonio da Gussago	Luigi da Montignana
Francesco the harpist	and his associate
Francesco Nicolini Toaliari	Nicola, his brother
Giuseppe da Valenzano ²⁷⁵	

Similarly, Musconi is supposed to have served the duke for free to enjoy some professional privilege in Parma.

## 2. Musical practice of the ducal family

### 2-A. Prince Ranuccio and lute

Prince Ranuccio learnt to play the lute with Galeazzo Cacciardini. In 1578, Cacciardini was in charge of buying a pair of lutes for the prince:

[On 18 February 1578] Six *scudi* and ten *soldi* to *messer* Galeazzo Caccirdini for two lutes bought for Most Illustrious *signor* Ranuccio — 6.10.²⁷⁶

Fabrizio Dentice was also working in the ducal chamber. He may have taught the prince, too.

Prince Ranuccio became the duke in 1592. Financial difficulties forced him to reduce his chapel. However, he was not indifferent to music. He carefully chose the musicians to keep, e.g. Claudio Merulo and Orazio Bassano. Moreover, he employed Santino Garsi as a music teacher in the ducal chamber.²⁷⁷

### 2-B. Princess Margherita and *villanella*

Princess Margherita Farnese, Prince Alessandro's daughter, loved music.²⁷⁸ On 4 March 1581, Aurelio Zibramonte reported about her love of music to Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga:

After singing many *villanelle* in company with Cimillo, brother of the one who died while in service to Your Highness, and with a gentleman from Senigaglia in service to His Excellency, the Most Serene Bride [Princess Margherita] asked me, among many requests, the information about Your Highness. She asked me to tell her what I know of you at once. She extended the topic to how grateful she felt to Your Highness, who favoured her so much that you spoke to her with such words. I was surprised that she behaves so well at such a tender age and in such a good manner.... I do not know music well, but, according to what Nature tells me, I think that her voice is not among the best ones, and that she needs to practise a lot in singing. I asked her if she learnt music and composition with a master. She answered yes. She said that she knew how much Your Most Serene Highness loved music and how much your works were admired. She hopes to conclude that she wants to learn it under your protection.²⁷⁹

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²⁷⁵ HILL: 351.

²⁷⁶ Document 2, v. 8: 540.

²⁷⁷ BUSSI.

²⁷⁸ Sherr first surveyed this case. SHERR1984: 7-8.

²⁷⁹ Document 78.

Zibramonte specified the songs which Margherita sang to be *villanella*. *Villanella alla napoletana* was in vogue in mid- and late-sixteenth-century Italy. In this sense, Duke Ottavio's court caught up with the contemporary fashion of music.

Though with a mild expression, Zibramonte said that the princess was not very good at singing. Cesare Cavriani, another Mantuan agent, reported the same event on the same day, and agreed with Zibramonte about her musical talent:

This evening *signora* Princess sang at the request of *signor* Most Serene Prince [Vincenzo Gonzaga]. I was present there. Her Highness sang so lively that she did not have enough time to look at the book several times. Her voice could be improved, but I believe that this came from the defect by nature. I believe so firmly because, while she was singing, Most Excellent *signor* Duke of Parma took part in it. After meeting Most Serene *signora* Princess and talking to her as usual, His Excellency said that she demonstrated her voice which is very fine in the House of Farnese. In reality, however, I did not find her voice very good. It is believed that (in conformity with the opinion of Most Serene *signor* Prince) that she would be better at composing than at singing. She likes music very much, and (so far as I understand) enjoyed being lively, because she does not fail to have people serve her continuously around her, with whom she was friendly, but with every kind of politeness.²⁸⁰

Cavriani concluded that the Farnese family was poor at music “by nature”. Zibramonte learnt that she studied music with a master, though without specifying who the master was. Cavriani and Prince Vincenzo Gonzaga agreed that she would be better at composition than at singing. They compared these two aspects of Princess Margherita's musical talent. If their opinion is to be taken *seriously*, the princess may have sung her own compositions.

Zibramonte's and Cavriani's letters reveal that music was a favourite practice in the Farnese family. Prince Margherita was especially enthusiastic about it. However, they were poor at performing it.

### 3. Duchess Margherita

#### 3-A. Duchess Margherita and music

Duchess Margherita d'Austria and Duke Ottavio were in bad terms, and lived separately throughout their married life. As the duchess, she was occasionally involved in the family affairs, especially those concerning Prince Alessandro. However, she always kept away from the Farnese family. She maintained her own court, in which she had her own chapel.

Duchess Margherita was a refined lady of the Burgundian lineage. She was brought up at the court of her grandaunt, Marguerite d'Autriche (Emperor Karl V's aunt), in Mechelen. Marguerite was a great patroness of arts, and she was a poetess and a musician herself. Pierre de la Rue was an influential musician at her court. Marguerite's chanson albums are an important source of Pierre de la Rue's secular works.²⁸¹ Thus, Duchess Margherita's musical background was definitely Flemish. Although she spent a major part of her life in Italy, her taste for Flemish music remained throughout her life.

It is notable that Duchess Margherita's love of music was one of the motivations for Duke

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²⁸⁰ Document 79.

²⁸¹ MECONI: 49-53.

Ottavio to establish his chapel. The duke did not want to give away Cipriano de Rore to Venice in 1563, because the duke needed a good chapel for the duchess. He explained it in a letter to his secretary, supposedly on 18 April 1563:

The government of Venice asked me in a letter to give authorisation of departure to *messer* Cipriano to go to serve as the chapel master of San Marco. I am unwilling to release such a talented person as he is, because, *Madama* [Duchess Margherita] will want to have a good chapel when she returns to Italy. Therefore, I want to reply to the Venetian government that, although they [the members of the Venetian government] make an excuse, I am not happy with it. I believe that it would not be rude to refuse it.²⁸²

Thus, Duke Ottavio was conscious of the duchess' taste for music.

### 3-B. In Brussels, 1559-1567

In 1559, she had a chapel of thirteen musicians: a chapel master, four boys, two basses, two tenors, two altos, a harp player called "Marco" and an organist. She also had a tuner. Except for "Marco", their names are unknown.²⁸³

A payroll of 1566²⁸⁴ and a list of the distribution of candle on Candlemas (2 February) in 1567²⁸⁵ register the members of her chapel in detail (Table 18).

Table 18: Duchess Margherita's chapel, 1565-1567  
reconstructed with D'ONOFRIO: 197-207 and ASPR-COMP 240

name	part	1566	1567
Pierre du Hotz	chapel master	+	+
Thomas Ruys	boy	+	*
Gian Gilouz	boy	+	*
Joos Wtersalem	boy	+	*
Niccolas Cupers	boy	+	*
Sebastiano di Moulino	alto	+	+
Paolo Sodisfatto	alto	+	+
Gilis Croccart	tenor	+	+
Giovanni Lepintre	bass	+	+
Giorgio Lestendart	bass	+	+
Federigo d'Ansi	organ	+	+
Giovanni de Luge	lute	+	
Marco Justiniani	<i>lira</i>	+	
Stefano Notre	cornett		+
Teodoro Ristel	trombone	+	+
Giaches Vinch**	?	+	+
Vinch's three pupils**		+	+
Michel Momoransi	tuner	+	+

* The document just says "four sopranos" without specifying their names.

** Jacques Vinch and his pupils were registered in the archers in 1566.

N.B. "Francesco cornetto sagrestano" was either a sacristan who played the

²⁸² Document 22. On this letter, see OWENS 1976: 15-16.

²⁸³ VAN DER ESSEN: 288-289.

²⁸⁴ D'ONOFRIO: 197-207.

²⁸⁵ ASPR-COMP 240. Bertini first presented this document in BERTINI: 135-139.

cornett or a sacristan whose family name was Cornetto.

This table demonstrates that Duchess Margherita's chapel consisted of nine singers, several instrumentalists and a tuner in 1565-1566.

Apart from her chapel, the duchess also employed some more musicians and fifers. At special occasions, she hired extra musicians, too. Apart from the above-mentioned two documents, a list of New Years' Day gifts in 1567²⁸⁶ lists this type of musicians (Table 19).

Table 19: Extra musicians and fife hired at the Brussels government, 1565-1566

Reconstructed with D'ONOFRIO: 197-207 and ASPR-COMP 240

	1566	New Year's Day 1567	Candlemas 1567
Silvio Cino, trumpeter of the archers	+	+	+
Five Italian <i>violino</i> players		+	
a drummer and a fifer of the lancers		+	+
Additional singers to the chapel			+
Two instrumentalists <i>della casa</i>			+

The chapel was clearly distinguished from the fife. They had different roles, and probably different repertoires, too. For example, the anonymous painter of the *Album di Bruxelles*, a series of paintings describing the wedding of Prince Alessandro and Maria of Portugal in 1565-1566, was aware of the difference between these two (Illustration 1). In the scene of an indoor banquet, the painter depicted two different types of wind players, i.e. three of the chapel in black and the five fifes in red. Since the manners of holding their instruments are different between these two groups, their performance styles and repertoires are supposed to have different, too.

### 3-C. Pierre du Hotz

Pierre du Hotz served Duchess Margherita as the chapel master in Brussels. Though lesser known, he played a unique role in the history of music in Brussels.

Van der Straeten guessed that his name, *du Hotz*, was of Flemish origin, adapted (partly) into French, and equivalent to the French name, *Dubois* (i.e. "of the forest").²⁸⁷ He liked this kind of etymological analysis of musicians' names, and it is often unreliable. However, there may be some truth in this case. For example, a soldier from Antwerp, Werner Dubois (c.1540-1607), was also called Werner van den Houte.²⁸⁸ Pierre du Hotz was called Pirichino (or Perichino) in Italian documents. This nickname was probably derived from the diminutive version of his name, *Pierkin*, with which he was called in Brussels.²⁸⁹

As the head of the chapel, Pierre du Hotz was primary responsible for the direction of the chapel. However, he was equally busy with looking for musicians for the "suzerain" princes. He looked for musicians for Duke Ottavio's chapel in Parma.

On 2 July 1564, Cesare Marinone testified that Pierre du Hotz was in charge of looking for musicians for the duke:

I am always waiting for Pirichino. He has been travelling around this land for

²⁸⁶ ASPR-COMP 240.

²⁸⁷ VAN DER STRAETEN v. 3: 307-308.

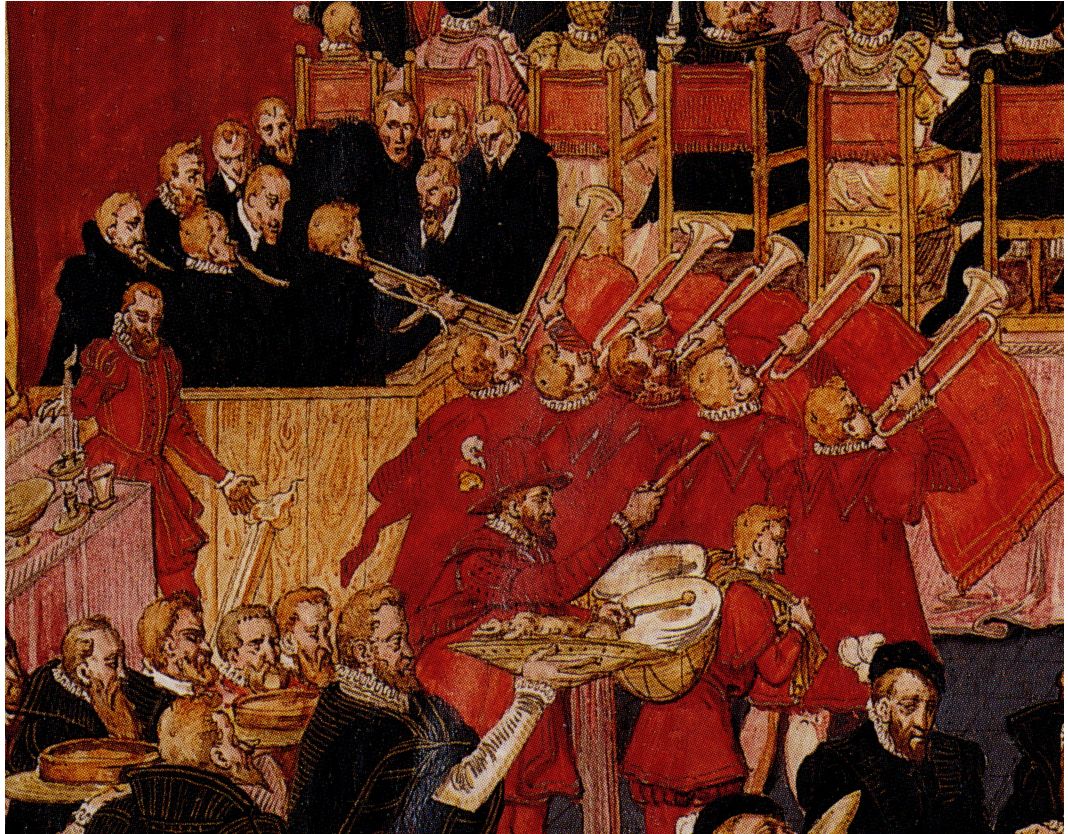
²⁸⁸ BIOGRAPHIE v. 6: 206-207.

²⁸⁹ VAN DER STRAETEN v. 3: 332.



Illustration 1: a scene of an indoor banquet, from the *Album di Bruxelles*

BERTINI: 61.



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fifteen days to find them [boys] for Her Highness. At this moment, there is none [to send to Parma]. I keep the order to find out a talented one, which will be a great service to Your Excellency.²⁹⁰

Marinone made an excuse again for the difficulties of recruitment on 17 September 1564. He emphasised how hard Pierre du Hotz was working:

...although Pirichino went out for more than one month, he has returned without [any musicians]. He accompanied one from Cambrai, whom he took out in the disguise of a girl in company with one woman, who is a *macarella* [!? mackerel woman].²⁹¹

If Marinone's words were to be taken literally, Pierre du Hotz spent more than one month and a half out of three (from mid-June to mid-September 1564) away from Brussels to look for musicians for Duke Ottavio. Of course, Marinone may have exaggerated Pierre du Hotz's

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²⁹⁰ Document 26.

²⁹¹ Document 30.

activities. However, it is still true that he was working hard in 1564, because King Felipe II also commanded him to look for musicians for his chapel. Duchess Margherita made a formal order on 24 February 1564:

Margherita, by the grace of God, the Duchess of Parma and Piacenza etc., regent and governor, etc.

Dearest and good friend, We send with this letter a command for you to serve by collecting boy sopranos [*enfants de chappelle*] for the king, my lord, which as you have been ordered, they [officials in Madrid] require you [to do so]. His Majesty ordered you to work hard to find the four best ones that could be found, and these are what His Majesty hopes. You have to depart here, because we have received a letter from His Majesty, whose copy we have sent, and you can see the words with which His Majesty ordered you to set off and to work hard with regard to the above-mentioned boys. As soon as you find them, you should give us a notice, so that the preparation will be made to send them [to Spain].²⁹²

Pierre du Hotz also looked for musicians for the king's "Flemish chapel" in 1573 and 1577.²⁹³

### 3-D. On her way back to Italy, 1567-1568

In 1567, King Felipe II replaced Duchess Margherita with Duke of Alva as the Governor of the Low Countries. The king authorised her departure from Brussels on 5 November, and she left Brussels on 31 December.²⁹⁴ A member list of her troop survives (Table 20).²⁹⁵

Table 20: Duchess Margherita's chapel on her way back to Italy, 1567-1568  
reconstructed with ASPR-COMP 246 (as called in the document)

Giovanni Verius	chapel master	with three sopranos
Thommaso Ruys	alto	
Gaspar du Roy	alto	
Carlo della Torre	alto	
Thommaso de Mulino	tenor	
Giovanni Clerchin	bass	
Giorgio Lestendart	bass	
[Federico] Anzi	organist	
Giaches Vinch	instrumentalist	with his three companies
Marco Vinch	cornett	
Baldassar [Tuytrighet]	tuner	

Some musicians were common to those of her former chapel in Brussels. Giaches Vinch, Federico d'Ansi and Giorgio Lestendart kept on serving her. The alto, Thommaso Buys, was probably identical with Thomas Ruys, registered in the 1566 document as a boy soprano. Though unnamed, Giaches Vinch's "three pupils" were may have been identical with those registered in Table 18. However, some new musicians replaced the others. For example, "Giovanni Verius" replaced Pierre du Hotz.

²⁹² Document 20.

²⁹³ VAN DER STRAETEN v. 3: 314-317; BECQUART: 5,

²⁹⁴ CANOSA: 127.

²⁹⁵ ASPR-COMP 246.

### 3-E. Later period

Documents on Duchess Margherita's court in the 1570s are again scarce. Only a fragmentary document is available, which says nothing of her chapel. The only musician mentioned in this document is Marc Vinch. His salary, house rent and expense to employ servants are registered from 1 January 1573 to 31 August 1577.²⁹⁶

In reality, she maintained a chapel of considerable size until her death in 1586. A member list of her court at her death, dated 18 January, survives.²⁹⁷ It registers twelve members, i.e. eleven musicians and a tuner (Table 21).

Table 21: Duchess Margherita's chapel, 1586 (1)

Reconstructed with ASPR-CCF 2-18-10 (as called in the document)

Giovanni Verius	chapel master	with three sopranos
Giacomo Antonio Pales	soprano	
Andrea Trigo	soprano	
Giovanni Paolo Fabri	alto	
Ugo Miglietti	alto	
Girolamo del Campo	musico	
Luca Bolino	musico	
Guglielmo <i>fiammingo</i>	organ	
Badassar Ruytigheerts	tuner	

Huberto Hautelet *fiammingo* and Nicolò Cupio *fiamingo*, who are registered as musicians in other documents, are registered in this document as doorkeepers.

Duchess Margherita's chapel master, "Giovanni Verius", had some influence in the Abruzzo region. Pietro Cerone said that Verius helped him in musical matters when Cerrone was working in Civita Ducale, Abruzzo. Van der Straeten identified him as a Flemish musician, Jean van Vere.²⁹⁸

A document of the distribution of her mementos also survives.²⁹⁹ It lists up thirteen musicians and a tuner (Table 22).

Furthermore, on 19 April 1586, Cardinal Scipione Gonzaga sent a detail report to Mantua about the musicians whom Duchess Margherita had employed:

I acquired information of all the musicians whom *Madama* d'Austria had employed. I find that she had four sopranos, three boys and a *castrato*, in addition to the chapel master, who was called *messer* Verius Vallone. The *castrato* is the one whom *monsignor* Capilupi wrote that he held a position of canon in Aquila, and that he lived well. Probably he would not leave there without very good treatment. *Madama* left some money and facility to the boys so that they would return to the Flanders, where they had entered her service. I heard that something was already done to three altos, among them one Spaniard, who is, I heard, not very good. He went to Naples. The other two Flemings also returned to their homeland. There were three tenors, among them, again, two Flemings, who had already left, and an Italian, called Giovanni Paolo da Urbino. He is the one who used to be with us, and newly

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²⁹⁶ ASPR-COMP 141.

²⁹⁷ ASPR-CCF 2-18-10.

²⁹⁸ CERRONE: 92. VAN DER STRAETEN v. 6: 482-485.

²⁹⁹ ASPR-CCF 2-18-10.

Table 22: Duchess Margherita's chapel, 1586 (2)  
reconstructed with ASPR-CCF 2-18-10 (as called in the document)

	Verius	chapel master	went back home
Gregorio di Fiordimonti di Sognie		soprano	went back home
Giacomo Ernan di Sogna		soprano	went back home
Nicolo Enaloet di Sogna		soprano	went back home
Giovanni di Honofrio di Cività di Penne		soprano	?
Jacomo Antonio Pales		soprano	?
Nicolas Cuppi		alto	went back home
Andrea Trigo		alto	went back home
Geronimo del Campo <i>spagnolo</i>		alto	?
Luca Bolino		tenor	?
Ugo Miglietti		bass	?
Guglielmo Bleotarleore		organ	?
Uberto Autelet		instrumentalist	went back home
Baldassare Tuytrighet		tuner	went back home

accepted here in San Luigi [dei Francesi]. However, I heard that his life here was not without difficulties, because his talent was not an outstanding one. Finally, there were two basses. One is “trombone”. I do not know what he is doing now. The other is called Ugo, who was accepted in San Giovanni in Laterano. However, as I heard, he was no longer a man to make things upside down [i.e. miraculous one], because he has troubles of blood in his chest (Table 23).³⁰⁰

Table 23: Summary of Cardinal Scipione Gonzaga's account

the chapel master	Verius Vallone	?
four sopranos	three boys	returned to the Flanders
	a <i>castrato</i>	remained in Aquila as a canon
three contraltos	a Spaniard	not very good, went to Naples
	two Flemings	returned to the Flanders
three tenors	two Flemings	already left
	Giovanni Paolo da Urbino	accepted in San Luigi dei Francesi
two basses	“Trombone”	?
	“Ugo”	accepted in San Giovanni in Laterano

These three documents do not agree in detail. Yet, a general idea of the duchess' chapel can be derived from them (Table 24). It is clear that Duchess Margherita liked Flemish musicians. More than a half of her musicians were Flemings. In other words, she kept her taste for Flemish music throughout her life. At least in terms of music, she created her “Flemish world” in her dominion of Abruzzo.

#### 4. Cardinal Alessandro

Cardinal Alessandro was one of the greatest patrons of arts in sixteenth-century Italy. He was especially famous for his building projects. However, the surviving documents of his household suggest that he was not so enthusiastic in music as in buildings. Music was, at most, of secondary importance in his patronage.

³⁰⁰ Document 94.

Table 24: Summary of Duchess Margherita's musicians, 1586

F: Fleming, S: Spaniard and I: Italian			
"Giovanni Verius"	F	chapel master	went back home
"Gregorio di Fiordimonti"	F	boy soprano	went back home
"Giacomo Ernan"	F	boy soprano	went back home
"Nicolo Enaloet"	F	boy soprano	went back home
Diego Pales	S	castrato	remained in Aquila
"Nicolas Cuppi"	F	alto	went back home
Geronimo del Campo	S	alto	went to Naples
"Andrea Trigo"	F	alto	went back home
Giovanni Paolo Fabri	I	tenor / alto	moved to San Luigi dei Francesi
"Luca Bolino"	F	tenor	went back home
Ugo Miglietti	I	bass	moved to San Giovanni in Laterano
"Uberto Autelet"	F	instrumentalist	went back home
"Guglielmo Bleotarleore"	F	Organ	?
"Baldassare Tuytrigheert"	F	tuner	went back home

In terms of music, Cardinal Alessandro owed something to his younger brother, Duke Ottavio. The duke sent several musicians to Rome: Christoph Haberstock, Sebastiano Marcheselli and "Vincenzo Zambone" in September-October 1574, and Orazio Bassano around January 1573. In 1574-1575, the duke also sent a couple of musicians, who did not serve the duke himself: Anser Celsis and Giovanni Celsis.³⁰¹ In other words, the duke served as the cardinal's recruitment agent.

Only a few volumes of the *Registri*, financial documents of the cardinal's household, survive today to reconstruct Cardinal Alessandro's household.³⁰² The *Registri* lists up six musicians. (Table 25.)

Table 25: Cardinal Alessandro's musicians, 1564-1570

Reconstructed with ASN-AF 2093-2097

name	from	to	salary
Vincenzo Pinto	January 1563	December 1570	11 <i>scudi</i>
Ippolito <i>musicò</i>	12 February 1569	December 1570	6 <i>scudi</i>
Alfonso Ferrabosco	January 1564	June 1564	8 <i>scudi</i>
Jacopo Celio	December 1569	October 1570	4 <i>scudi</i>
Alessandro Merlo	December 1569	November 1570	4 <i>scudi</i>
Giovanni Antonio Merlo	December 1569	November 1570	4 <i>scudi</i>

Jacopo Celio, Alessandro Merlo and Giovanni Antonio Merlo were singers of Cappella Sistina, and they all were estimated to be "acceptable (bonus)".³⁰³ Alessandro Merlo was a *virtuoso* of the new ornamental singing. Vincenzo Giustiniani praised his performance.³⁰⁴ He was also a composer of secular songs.³⁰⁵ Alessandro and Giovanni Antonio Merlo entered the service to

³⁰¹ Document 1, Anser Celsis v. 3 and Giovanni Celsis v. 3.

³⁰² ASN-AF, nn. 2093-2097.

³⁰³ In addition, Giovanni Antonio was "poor [pauper]", and Jacopo Celio "desires women [mulierum appetitor]" and, accordingly, "to be warned [admoneatur]". SHERR 1994: 614.

³⁰⁴ SOLERTI: 107.

³⁰⁵ His publications include two *canzone alla napoletana* books, three madrigal books (including one specialised in the *Vergine* cycle) and a *villanesca* book.

Cardinal Alessandro on 1 December 1569.³⁰⁶ Alfonso Ferrabosco (“the Elder”) entered the service on the recommendation of his father, Domenico Maria.³⁰⁷ Vincenzo Pinto was a nobleman who played the lute.

In 1570, Cardinal Alessandro planned to dismiss his musicians. On 15 November 1570, Ludovico Tedesco, the cardinal’s major-domo, was in charge of this work:

As for the dismissal of the musicians, I have appointed Commander Durante to this office, according to the order of *messer* Ercole in the name of Your Most Illustrious Lordship. He [Durante] asked me to supervise until he receives a reply of a letter which he will write to Your Most Illustrious Lordship. He said that he would work freshly on the dismissal of the said musicians.³⁰⁸

Durante tried to discourage the cardinal to dismiss the musicians:

Count Ludovico Tedesco has shown me a letter from *messer* Ercole, in which you told him that the musicians would be dismissed, and that I was in charge of this matter, i.e. to find the best way possible. It does not seem to be desirable to make decision before I have another advice from Your Most Illustrious Lordship, because I know how much *signor* Cavalier of Aragon estimates you, with whose help you took the said musicians into your service. I am afraid that the said *signor* could feel displeased [if you dismiss the musicians]. I thought of leaving the plan undecided. Soon I will manage to put this idea of yours into practice in a good way, without irritating this *signor*, who loves Your Most Illustrious Lordship very much.³⁰⁹

It is not known if the cardinal actually dismissed his musicians, because no document of Cardinal Alessandro’s household in the 1570s survives. In any case, it is evident that music was not an important part of Cardinal Alessandro’s patronage. He thought of taking the risk of loosing favourable relationship with the “Cavalier of Aragon” to reduce his musical household.

Cardinal Alessandro was one of the principal patrons of Cristóbal de Morales in Italy. Morales wrote to the cardinal in January 1544 to ask financial support to publish his *Missarum liber secundus*. He dedicated it to Pope Paul III. The paper manufacturer, Alexo, sold his paper to Morales on credit.³¹⁰ This means that Alexo regarded Morales as a “safe customer”, because Alexo was sure that Morales’ patrons, among them Cardinal Alessandro, would certainly pay the money.

Cardinal Alessandro was a patron of the Jesuit order. Music was not active in this order. The Jesuit leaders were generally sceptical of music, and discouraged their followers to study it. The use of music was limited to plain chant and *falsobordone*, and only on the feast days.³¹¹ The Jesuit order reluctantly authorised the use of these types of music, because Ferdinand I (then King of the Romans, and later Emperor) and Pope Paul IV forced it to promote music in its liturgy.³¹² Cardinal Alessandro is not known to have encouraged the Jesuit to perform

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³⁰⁶ SHERR 1985: 90.

³⁰⁷ CHARTERIS: 98.

³⁰⁸ Document 63.

³⁰⁹ Document 64.

³¹⁰ PIETSCHMANN: 393.

³¹¹ KENNEDY: 78-79.

³¹² KENNEDY: 75-77.

music. This fact agrees with the hypothesis that Cardinal Alessandro was not passionate in music. The Jesuit order was famous for its stage production. It is not known to what extent Cardinal Alessandro was related to the theatrical production of the Jesuits.

## Conclusion

### 1. Duke Ottavio's taste

Duke Ottavio loved music very much. His love of music motivated Tiburzio Massaino to dedicate his madrigal collection to the duke. On 4 February 1571, Massaino wrote to the duke:

...one of my friends was present at the entrance of Her Highness of *Madama* [Duchess Margherita] into Parma on her way back from the Flanders. He told me that, at a solemn mass in the San Giovanni [Evangelista] church, Your Excellency went up to the organ, sang to *Pater noster* of Adriano [? Willaert], and served as an assistant, or something to be called the *maestro del concerto*. It was such a genuine example of Christian humanity and of a well-cultivated soul. These two aspects do not contradict one another. It [=the duke's love of music] has made me a faithful servant to Your Excellency. I was not able to control myself, although it would offend the etiquette of graceful behaviour and of well-established norm. I have finished a book of music in five parts. A good prince is praised in the world for such virtue, by the holiness of the Religion, and for the understanding and pleasure of harmony....³¹³

The duke certainly loved to sing himself, although he was poor at it. Moreover, he did not hesitate to put it into practice. Cesare Cavriani reported about the duke's poor singing again on 4 March 1581.³¹⁴ Though without refinement, Duke Ottavio was a genuine lover of music.

Duke Ottavio loved chamber music, such as madrigals and *canzoni*. He looked for singers skilled in this field. Cesare Marinone found it difficult to acquire such singers as the duke requested. Marinone blamed church singers because they managed to sing only church music. Chamber singing evidently required distinctive technique, different from what the mid-sixteenth century Flemish church singing did.

Duke Ottavio loved instrumental music, too. He employed famous instrumentalists, such as Fabrizio Dentice and Orazio Bassano. Moreover, Mantuan agents praised the instrumental ensemble, the "ensemble of five".

### 2. Institution

Duke Ottavio developed his chapel quickly. The duke began his chapel in January 1561, when he acquired Cipriano de Rore. Thanks to his lavish expenditure, his chapel grew fast. For example, he had as many as fifteen musicians in January 1565, just four years after the beginning of his chapel. This rapid growth is impressive, because Duke Ottavio was a new prince. Unlike his contemporaries, such as Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga or Duke Alfonso II d'Este, he had to make up his regime "from scratch". Accordingly, he had to establish both the organisation of the chapel and his reputation as a patron. In this sense, Duke Ottavio was highly successful in his project.

Two elements were crucial for Duke Ottavio's success: the Brussels government and

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³¹³ Document 69.

³¹⁴ On Duke Ottavio's singing, see p. 88.



Cipriano de Rore. First, the Brussels government helped Duke Ottavio to acquire Flemish musicians. In the 1560s, the duke did not yet establish his reputation. Some Flemish musicians, such as Cipriano de Rore and “Giovanni Enrico”, found other patrons more attractive than Duke Ottavio, and chose to leave Parma. Yet, the duke acquired new musicians one after another with the help of the Brussels government. Second, it was great advantage for Duke Ottavio to have Cipriano de Rore. Cipriano’s contribution to Duke Ottavio’s chapel was itself small. However, the presence of this master added prestige to this newly established chapel. The duke won reputation as Cipriano’s patron at the beginning of his chapel. The memory of Cipriano remained fresh long after his death, and added further prestige to the duke and to the Farnese dynasty.

The 1570s and 1580s were the “mature stage” of Duke Ottavio’s chapel. It was so stable that almost no musician deliberately left the service. It was so comfortable to musicians that Duke Guglielmo failed in enticing Paolo Pighino and Pier Antonio Pietra from it.

Duke Ottavio’s chapel was a “separate” phenomenon in the history of the Farnese dynasty. In many respects, Duke Ottavio and his son, Alessandro, were contrasting. Duke Ottavio was a prudent ruler of a new, small state in north Italy. His main concern was to maintain his state in peace, both in domestic and diplomatic affairs. On the contrary, Alessandro was one of the greatest military commanders in sixteenth-century Europe, who served King Felipe II of Spain, the most powerful ruler in sixteenth-century Europe. Duke Alessandro was brought up at the king’s court, and his personality was more Spanish than Italian. When Duke Ottavio died in September 1586, the new duke, Alessandro, wanted to wipe away everything of his father’s reign. On 11 December 1586, a Mantuan agent, Ippolito Olivo, wrote what happened after Duke Ottavio’s death:

Finally, *signor* Carlo Arrecordati came from the Flanders with a command, so big that such a thing was never made at the death of any prince of the world. Duke Alessandro wrote to *signor* Prince Ranuccio that on Arrecordati’s arrival [he should] dismiss all the salaried persons of the *signor* Duke [Ottavio] of happy memory, not excluding long-serving ones of good merit, great persons, feudal knights, low-ranked ones and, in summary, of every type of persons, not only in Parma and Piacenza, but also in Rome, Milan, Bologna, Venice, and all the places where there are salaried ones. [In short,] all the ones should be entirely dismissed, according to the command which was read yesterday. It was very displeasing to *signor* prince, because he had to lose his good and faithful servants, and lamented over such a conflicts [with his father].³¹⁵

Of course, not all the courtiers and servants were actually dismissed. However, Parma certainly lost its prestige as the centre of the ducal authority, because Duke Alessandro held his court in Brussels. Accordingly, the tradition of music was to a large extent discontinued at Duke Ottavio’s death. In this sense, Duke Ottavio’s chapel was a “separate” phenomenon.

Some musicians left Parma. For example, Paolo Pighino, Pier Antonio Pietra and Giulio Cima went to Munich. Others remained in Parma. For example, Gottfried Palmartz and “Guglielmo Dillen” worked in the Steccata church and the Cathedral.

At the death of Duke Alessandro in December 1592, Parma became the centre of the ducal authority again. However, financial difficulties forced the new duke, Ranuccio I, to reduce his

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³¹⁵ Document 97.

chapel in 1603.

### 3. As a dedicatee

Contemporary musicians regarded Duke Ottavio as an important patron. Various musicians dedicated their madrigal collections to him. As a dedicatee, Duke Ottavio and, for example, Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga were rivals. Twelve and fifteen madrigal collections were dedicated to them, respectively. However, the lists of their dedicators have slightly different characteristics. This reflects the difference in the nature of their patronage.

Duke Ottavio drew attentions of a wide variety of musicians. Not only those directly associated with him, but also of those who had little to do with him, dedicated their collections to Duke Ottavio (Table 26-A and 26-B).

The dedicators to Duke Guglielmo were greater in number, but poorer in variation, than those to Duke Ottavio. Mainly the musicians directly associated with Duke Guglielmo dedicated their collections to him. (Table 27-A and 27-B.) The duke probably supported their publications. Venetian printing firms, such as the Gardano and the Vincenti-Amadino, published most of the collections dedicated to Duke Guglielmo. The duke had his own works published in Venice, too. Moreover, he was even interested in the sale of his collections.³¹⁶ In this sense, Duke Guglielmo's patronage was closely associated with the Venetian music-printing industry, and he actively took part in it himself.

Table 26-A: The madrigal collections dedicated to Duke Ottavio  
based on NUOVO VOGEL

Jacob de Wert. *Il secondo libro de' madrigali a cinque voci....* Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1561. RISM: W-860.

Claudio Merulo. *Il Primo libro de' madrigali a cinque voci....* Venice: Claudio da Correggio & Fausto Bathanio, 1566. RISM: M-2368.

Giulio Renaldi. *Di Giulio Renaldi padovano il primo libro de madrigali a quattro voci, con un madregale due volte a quattro & si puo giugnere [sic] quale parte piace di l'uno all'altro & anco si puo cantare a otto....* Venice: Antonio Gardano, 1569. RISM: R-1156= 1569-32.

Josquin Persoens. *Libro primo de' madrigali a quattro voci....* Parma: Seth Viotto, 1570. RISM: P-1470=1570-28.

Pietro Vinci. *Di Pietro Vinci siciliano... il primo libro de madrigali a sei voci.* Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1571. RISM: V-1677= 1571-13

Tiburzio Massaino. *Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque.* Venice: heirs of Antonio Gardano, 1571. RISM: M-1290.

Barnaba Cervo. *Di Barnaba Cervo da Parma il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci.* Venice: heirs of Girolamo Scotto, 1574. RISM: C-1742.

Giovanni Agostino de Veggio. *Di Gio: Agostino Vegio... il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci....* Parma: Seth Viotto, 1574. RISM: V-1089.

Giovanni Battista Moscaglia. *Il primo libro de' madrigali a quattro a cinque a sei voci.* Venice: heirs of Antonio Gardano, 1575. RISM: M-3783.

Girolamo Belli. *Di Girolamo Belli d'Argenta il secondo libro de madrigali a cinque voci con un dialogo a otto.* Venice: Giacomo Vincenti & Ricciardo Amadino, 1586. RISM: B-1739.

Marc'Antonio Ingegneri. *Di Marco Antonio Ingegneri il primo libro de madrigali a sei voci.* Venice: Angelo Gardano 1586. RISM: I-57.

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³¹⁶ SHERR 1978: 122-123.

Cipriano de Rore. *Di Cipriano de Rore il quinto libro di madrigali a cinque voci insieme con alcuni di diversi autori*. Venice: Antonio Gardano, 1566. RISM: 1566-17. (Gardano dedicated this collection posthumously to the duke.)

Table 26-B Musicians who dedicated their madrigal collections to Duke Ottavio

Those who were directly associated with the duke

Giovanni Agostino de Veggio	In service to the duke.
Josquin Persoens	In service to the duke.

Those who had something to do with the duke

Barnaba Cervo	Born in Parma.
Marc'Antonio Ingegneri	Visited the duke's court in the 1560s.
Claudio Merulo	Later to serve in Parma.

Those who had little to do with the duke

Girolamo Belli	Active in Ferrara or in Mantua?
Tiburzio Massaino	The chapel master at the Salò Cathedral.
Giovanni Battista Moscaglia	Active in Rome.
Giulio Renaldi	Active in Padua?
Pietro Vinci	The chapel master at the Bergamo Cathedral.
Jacob de Wert	Then active in Noverrara or Mantua?

Cipriano de Rore was excluded from this list, because the printer, Angelo Gardano, dedicated his 1566 collection to the duke, instead of Cipriano himself.

Table 27-A: The madrigal collections dedicated to Duke Guglielmo  
based on NUOVO VOGEL

Domenico Magiello. *Di Domenico Magiello da Valeggio il primo libro di madrigali a cinque voci....* Venice: Antonio Gardano, 1567. RISM: M-130.

Jacob de Wert. *Di Giaches de Wert il quarto libro de madrigali a cinque voci....* Venice: Antonio Gardano, 1567. RISM: W-875.

Paolo Isnardi. *Di Paolo Isnardi da Ferrara il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci....* Venice: Antonio Gardano, 1568. RISM: I-123.

Annibale Coma. *Di Annibale Coma mantovano il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci con uno dialogo a otto....* Venice: Antonio Gardano 1568. RISM: C-3475.

Ippolito Baccusi. *Di Hippolyto Baccusi da Mantova il primo libro de madrigali a cinque et a sei voci con doi a sette et otto....* Venice: heirs of Antonio Gardano, 1570. RISM: B-36.

Orazio Faà. *Di Horatio Faà... il primo libro di madrigali a cinque voci....* Venice: Antonio Gardano, 1569. RISM: F-1.

Ludovico Agostini. *L'Echo et enigmi musicali a sei e... libro secondo*. Venice: Alessandro Gardano, 1581. RISM: 1581-5=A-403.

Francesco Rovigo. *Di Francesco Rovigo mantovano gli madrigali a cinque voci il primo libro....* Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1581. RISM: R-2987.

Francesco Soriano. *Di Francesco Soriano... il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci...* Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1581. RISM: S-3986.

Girolamo Belli. *I furti di Girolamo Belli d'Argent il secondo de madrigali a sei voci....* Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1584. RISM: B-1737.

Benedetto Pallavicino. *Di Benedetto Pallavicino il secondo libro de madrigali a cinque voci....* Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1584. RISM: P-776.

Paolo Cantino. *Di Paolo Cantino il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci....* Venice: Giacomo Vincenti & Ricciardo Amadino, 1585. RISM: C-882.

Frediano de Frediani. *Il secondo libro delle villanelle a quattro voci....* Brescia: Tomaso Bozzola, 1585. RISM: F-1834.

Paolo Masnelli. *Di Paolo Masenelli [sic]... il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci...* Venice: Giacomo Vincenti & Ricciardo Amadini, 1586 RISM: M-1254.

Ludovico Agostini. *Le lagrime del peccatore a sei voci...* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti & Ricciardo Amadini, 1586. RISM: A-410

Table 27-B: Musicians who dedicated their madrigal collections to Duke Guglielmo

Those who were associated with the duke

Ludovico Agostino	Then teaching music to the duke.
Girolamo Belli	In service to the duke in his early years.
Paolo Cantino	Probably active at the Mantua Cathedral.
Annibale Coma	Born in Mantua. Active at the Mantua Cathedral?
Paolo Masnelli	The organist at the Mantua Cathedral.
Benedetto Pallavicino	In service to the duke.
Agostino Rovigo	In service to the duke.
Francesco Soriano	In service to the duke.
Jacob de Wert	In service to the duke.

Those who had something to do with the duke

Ippolito Baccusi	Born in Mantua. Later to serve in Mantua.
Domenico Magiello	His father served Duke Federico II Gonzaga.
Orazio Faà	A nobleman of Gonzaga-ruling Monferrato.

Those who had little to do with the duke

Frediano de Frediani	In service to the duke of Savoy.
Paolo Isnardi	The chapel master at the Ferrara cathedral.

On the contrary, only two musicians of Duke Ottavio's chapel dedicated their collections to him: Josquin Persoens and Giovanni Agostino de Veggio. It is important that Duke Ottavio chose to have his own printer, Seth Viotto, rather than to give commission to the Venetians. He wanted to have his own things. He was probably indifferent to how much the music-printing equipment would cost, or how widely his publications would be appreciated. He was not involved in music-printing industry. Instead, his attitude towards music printing had something in common with mediaeval patrons who gave painters commissions to create illuminated manuscripts.

Duke Ottavio certainly had musicians capable of composing. When his agents recommended new musicians, the agents often emphasised that the musicians were good composers. Duke Ottavio's chapel produced only a small number of publications, not because the duke had few composers, but because he did not find it necessary to publish his music. He enjoyed music privately, and that was enough for him. He did not intend to compete with other patrons, nor did he try to propagandise how his music was great. In this sense, Duke Ottavio's attitude towards music had something in common, for example, with Duke Alfonso II d'Este's. Duke Alfonso II prohibited to publish the repertoire of his *concerto delle dame*. He reserved it for special guests and for himself. In a sense, Duke Ottavio's chapel was another *musica secreta*.

#### 4. Prospects

Duke Ottavio Farnese's chapel is still an unexplored field. A lot of things remain

unknown. Further study will be done in two directions: exploring new documents, and putting Duke Ottavio's chapel into historical contexts.

This dissertation has presented some basic documents on Duke Ottavio's chapel, especially the inside ones concerning the organisation of the chapel itself. However, the documents about Duke Ottavio's chapel are far from being exhausted. Especially, only a small number of documents concerning the performance practice is known. As in the case of the *concerto delle dame* of Ferrara, outside documents tell more about performance practice than the inside ones. Indeed, some Mantuan documents testify the quality of Duke Ottavio's musicians and their performance.³¹⁷ At present, this type of documents is yet to be explored.

Comparative studies of Duke Ottavio's chapel with other musical institutions are important to put it into historical contexts. Duke Ottavio's chapel was not a phenomenon isolated from contemporary musical practice. In terms of the musical style, Duke Ottavio's chapel did not develop its distinctive style, comparable to the *concerto delle dame* of Ferrara or the *cori spezzati* of Venice. Instead, it followed a common practice of the time, such as chamber singing and instrumental ensemble. In terms of its quality, Duke Ottavio's chapel was a considerable centre of music. Duke Ottavio constantly employed fifteen or more musicians. They were good enough to draw attention of other passionate patrons of music. From these two respects, a general image of Duke Ottavio's chapel can be derived: Duke Ottavio's chapel achieved a typical style of contemporary music to a high level.

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³¹⁷ For example, see Documents 76, 80 and 97.

## Appendix: “Nell’aria in questi dì”

### 1. Attribution and origin

Study on Duke Ottavio’s chapel has aroused two interesting questions about the madrigal “Nell’aria in questi dì”: its attribution and origin.³¹⁸

There are two theories of who composed this piece. One attributes it to Cipriano de Rore, and the other to Josquin Persoens, based on two different primary sources. They are, respectively:

*Gli amorosi concetti primo libro delli madrigali de diversi eccellentissimi musici a quattro voci con un dialogo a otto all’Ill. sig. Vito di Dorimbergo cavaliere et ambasciatore cesareo appresso l’Illustriss. Signoria di Vinegia di novo posti in luce per Giulio Bonagionta da S. Genesi.* Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1568. RISM: 1568-13.³¹⁹

*Libro primo de’ madrigali a quattro voci di Josquino Persoens musico dell’Illustrissimo et Eccellentissimo Signor il sig. Duca di Parma et di Piacenza.* Parma: Seth Viotto, 1570. RISM: 1570-28=P-1470.³²⁰

The former is an anthology, consisting of various composers’ works, which Giulio Bonagionta edited. The latter is a single-author collection of Josquin Persoens, among them one madrigal by Jean d’Arras, “Due rose fresche”.

These two versions of this madrigal are almost identical, with minor variants both in texts and in music:

#### *Gli amorosi concetti* (1568)

Ne l’aria in questi dì fatt’ho un sì forte  
Castel che Giove fulminar nol puote  
Fondat’è sopra due volubil ruote  
E di polv’è di vento son le porte  
Con mille foss’intorno, e son sue scorte  
Vane speranze d’ogni effetto vuote  
Di desir son le mur’ove percuote  
Di foll’ardir e di timor son fatte  
L’arme che contr’altrui pagnar non sano,  
E di vani pensier la munitione.  
Contra se setts’il Castellan combatte,  
Pagand’i suoi guerrier sol d’ambitione:  
Pensate l’opre mie, che fin’havranno.

#### Josquin’s *Libro Primo* (1570)

Nell’aria in questi dì fatt’ho un sì forte  
Castel che Giove fulminar no’l puote  
Fondato è sopra due volubil ruote  
E di polv’et di vento son le porte  
Con mille foss’intorno, et son sue scorte  
Vane speranze d’ogni effetto vote  
Di desir son le mura ove percote  
Di foll’ardir et di timor son fatte  
L’arme che contr’altrui pagnar non sanno  
Et di varii pensier la munitione  
Contra se stesso il Castellan combatte  
Pagando i suoi guerrier sol d’ambitione  
Pensate l’opre mie che fin’havranno.

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³¹⁸ The appendix and Chapter 2, 3-E, is a rewritten version of NIWA 2002 *Nell’aria*.

³¹⁹ HLC-AMOROSI.

³²⁰ BNT-JOSQUIN.

These days I made in the air a very strong/ castle which Jupiter cannot attack with his thunder/  
founded on two voluminous wheels/ Of dust and wind the gates are made/ A thousand are  
around it they are the guards/ Vain hope of every vacant effect/ Of desire the walls are made  
which could attack/ no sea, no river but tempest and fate/ Of crazy recklessness and of fear are  
made/ the arms which cannot fight against others/ Of vain (various) thoughts the equipment /  
Against himself the castle master fights/ paying his soldiers only from his ambition/ Now think  
of my works which will finally come.

According to the new Vogel catalogue, this text was set for the first time in this madrigal. For  
the variants in music, see the musical example at the end.

With regard to the origin of this madrigal, some letters from Brussels to Parma suggest  
that Josquin composed it by express request of Duchess Margherita in commemoration of a  
tournament held in Brussels in 1566.

## 2. Attribution

Both in sixteenth-century materials and in modern studies, the madrigal “Ne l’aria in  
questi di/ Nell’aria in questi di” has been generally attributed to Cipriano de Rore, rather than  
Josquin Persoens, because *Gli amorosi concenti* was much wider and better known than  
Josquin’s *Libro primo*.

### 2-A. Sixteenth-century publications

In 1574, Barnaba Cervo dedicated his madrigal collection to Duke Ottavio:

*Di Barnaba Cervo da Parma il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice: heirs of  
Girolamo Scotto, 1574). RISM: C-1742.³²¹

Cervo composed a five-part parody of “Ne l’aria in questi di”, and put it at the beginning of this  
collection, a position often reserved for a presentation piece.

Cervo’s text begins with “Ne l’aria in questi di...”, and it is indeed characteristic of the *Gli  
amorosi concenti* version. However, the eleventh line of the text reads, “Et varii pensier...”. It is  
clearly different from *Gli amorosi concenti* version. Thus, *Gli amorosi cocenti* cannot have  
been Cervo’s direct source material.

Josquin’s *Libro primo* cannot have been Cervo’s source material, either, because Cervo  
composed this piece in commemoration of Cipriano de Rore, rather than Josquin. In his  
dedication to Duke Ottavio, Cervo said:

I have always aspired to demonstrate how great the devotion is which I have held  
to Your Excellency, because, under natural obligation, I was born as your vassal and  
subject [because I am from Parma]. In addition, thanks to your distribution of  
benevolence, I was treated with your generosity and heroic virtue. However, my awe  
of you and the humble quality of my fortune have not so far allowed me to  
demonstrate my due desire to you. In order to choose a theme which you would not  
find arrogant, insolent or imperfect, I decided just to praise you with ideas, and  
admire you with words, in such a case better than ever given to me. I exercised my  
modest talent to compose music, [and set] some madrigal texts. Since I was

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³²¹ MBSKK-CERVO.

encouraged by others, I decided to put them into light myself. It seems to be a good way to show reverence to Your Excellency, by honouring this work of mine with your name on its title-page, and making it a gift for you. In addition to this, the good memory of *messer* Cipriano de Rore also drove me to do this. He was a very famous musician and my teacher, who died as your servant. He was very much loved and honoured by you. I know that, in addition to your very grave care, with which you rule your state, you enjoy this most pleasant recreation [music], together with letters, and listened to the excellent musicians and singers, with whom your most happy court is always ornamented.³²²

Cervo further linked himself to Cipriano by describing one of his pieces, “Amor da te conosco quel chi’io sono” to be “a imitatione di Cipriano Rore”.³²³

Thus, neither *Gli amorosi concerti* nor Josquin’s *Libro primo* could have been Cervo’s source material, but he must have referred to yet another manuscript source. This manuscript source evidently attributed this piece to Cipriano. This circumstance suggests that contemporary manuscript sources generally attributed this piece to Cipriano, and that Cervo referred to one of these sources.

The Gardano published this madrigal in its two Cipriano publications:

*Di Cipriano et Annibale madrigali a quattro voci insieme altri eccellenti autori, nuovamente con nuova gionta ristampati* Venice: heirs of Antonio Gardano, 1575. RISM: 1575-15.

*Tutti i madrigali di Cipriano de Rore a quattro voci spartiti et accomodati per sonar d’ogni sorte d’instrumento perfetto, et per qualunque studioso di contrapunti novamente posti alle stampe.* Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1577. RISM: R-2513.

It is not known whether Gardano’s source material was Scotto’s 1568 publication or some other manuscript sources. In any case, Gardano regarded this piece as an important work. In the former collection, “Ne l’aria in questi dì” is one of the newly added pieces in the 1575 reprinted edition. Gardano found this piece lovely, and believed that he could promote the sale of this edition by adding this piece to it.

## 2-B. Modern studies

Modern scholars have seldom made question of the attribution of this madrigal. They have regarded it as an important work of Cipriano de Rore, such as his masterpiece or a key to give an insight into his last years.

Einstein was probably the first musicologist that shed a light on this piece. In 1949, he praised this piece in the course of his discussion of Cipriano’s madrigals:

It is “durchkomponiert,” set at one breath without any attempt at harmonic or linear tone-painting, but with an incredible energy of declamation — one of the great masterpieces of madrigal literature.³²⁴

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³²² Document 73.

³²³ MBSKK-CERVO, *canto* part-book: 29.

³²⁴ EINSTEIN: 418.



Although he simply believed in what the printed edition of *Gli amorosi concerti* said, yet his “rediscovery” should not be underestimated, because *Gli amorosi concerti* was almost unknown collection in his time.

In 1971, Meier included this piece in Cipriano’s complete works. He examined the text, and supposed that this piece was one of Cipriano’s last works.³²⁵ Meier was not indifferent to the attribution of works. He was interested in it, and even pointed out some pieces whose authenticity was doubtful. Moreover, he analysed social background of Cipriano’s “political” works (*Staatskompositionen*).³²⁶ However, he made no question of the attribution of “Ne l’aria in questi dì”. In this sense, the literature available then did not allow him to raise a question of the attribution of this madrigal.

In 1980, Johnson included this piece among Cipriano’s authentic works in his article of the first edition of the *New Grove* dictionary.³²⁷ At least with regard to the attribution of this piece, Johnson made no progress from Meier’s.

In 1980-1981, Put examined Josquin’s *Libro primo*. She concluded that this piece was Josquin’s, rather than Cipriano’s. She was probably the first to attribute this piece to Josquin. However, her discussion is not persuasive, because she made no comparative examination between the two sources.³²⁸ Moreover, her opinion had virtually no influence on further discussion on this piece, because she stated her opinion in her B.A. thesis, to which scholars have hardly had access.

In 1988, Lincoln realised that Josquin’s *Libro primo* had “Nell’aria in questi dì”, another version of “Ne l’aria in questi dì” in *Gli amorosi concerti*.³²⁹ Lincoln’s work was a fruit of extensive research of madrigal repertorie. He was probably the first to make question of the attribution of this piece among the widely-referred-to musicological literature. In other words, he finally provided the background to discuss the attribution of this piece.

In 2001, Owens included this piece among Cipriano’s authentic works in the second edition of the *New Grove* dictionary, just as Johnson had done in 1980.³³⁰ Owens’ bibliographical list does not include Lincoln’s. At least concerning this piece, Owens’ discussion went back to the level of Johnson’s and Meier’s. What Lincoln began to realise in 1988 was, as a result, neglected.

### 3. Two sources

#### 3-A. Josquin’s *Libro primo*

Josquin served as the leader of Duke Ottavio’s chapel from September 1565 (when Cipriano de Rore died) to March-April 1570 (when he left Parma). Josquin was the first leader of the chapel who was principally active in Parma. He called his madrigals “the first fruits” of Duke Ottavio’s chapel. Seth Viotto, who printed Josquin’s collection, was a monopolistic printing firm in Parma, and virtually the ducal printer. Accordingly, Josquin’s *Libro primo* was an official publication of the court, as well as a collection of Josquin Persoens himself.³³¹

Josquin’s predecessor, Cipriano de Rore, was a great master of his time. He was infinitely

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³²⁵ MEIER 1971: 26-28.

³²⁶ MEIER 1969.

³²⁷ JOHNSON: 189.

³²⁸ PUT: 15-16.

³²⁹ LINCOLN: 547.

³³⁰ OWENS 2001: 673.

³³¹ On Josquin’s leadership, see pp. 36-38.

praised even after his death. For example, Marc'Antonio Ingegneri dedicated his madrigal collection to Duke Ottavio in 1586, twenty-one years after Cipriano's death, in commemoration of this master's activities in Parma.³³² The memory of Cipriano was a kind of "intangible asset" of Duke Ottavio's court, for which the duke won his reputation as a patron of music.

In this circumstance, it is very unlikely, and almost impossible, that Josquin pretended to be the author of a madrigal which Cipriano de Rore had actually composed. In this sense, at least with regard to the attribution of this work, Josquin's *Libro primo* is a reliable source. Accordingly, "Nell'aria in questi di" can be safely attributed to Josquin Persoens, rather than to Cipriano de Rore.

### 3-B. Bonagiunta's *Gli amorosi concertini*

*Gli amorosi concertini* was one of the madrigal anthologies which Giulio Bonagiunta edited in the 1560s. Bonagiunta was born in San Genesio, near Macerata, Marche. After working at the Santa Casa church in Loreto, he entered the choir of San Marco, Venice, in October 1562.³³³ While singing there, he launched himself into the music-publishing industry. He was one of the most prolific music editors in sixteenth-century Venice. He worked principally with the Scotto firm. Within four years, from 1565 to 1568, he edited at least sixteen collections (Table 28).

Table 28: Collections which Bonagiunta edited, 1565-1568

*Orlandi Lassi chori Bavariae ducis magistri, quinque et sex vocibus perornatae, sacrae cantiones....* Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1565. RISM: L-786.

*Il primo libro de canzon napolitane a tre voci... di Giulio Bonagiunta da San Genesio....* Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1565. RISM 1565-12.

*Le vive fiamme de' vaghi e dilettevoli madrigali dell'eccelle musico Cipriano Rore....* Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1565. RISM: R-2514=1565-18.

*Primo libro de diversi eccellent.mi auttori a quattro voci, intitolato il desiderio....* Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1566. RISM: 1566-2.

*Canzone napolitane a tre voci. Secondo libro di Giulio Bonagiunta da San Genesio.* Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1566. RISM: 1566-7.

*Il desiderio secondo libro de madrigaligali a cinque voci....* Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1566. RISM: 1566-3.

*D'Hettor Vidue et d'Alessandro Striggio e d'altri eccellentissimi musici madrigali a 5 & 6 voci....* Venice: Farnesco Rampazzetto, 1566. RISM: 1566-23.

*Terzo libro del desiderio madrigali a quattro voci...* Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1567. RISM: 1567-16.

*Secondo libro delle fiamme madrigali a 5 et 6 voci....* Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1567. RISM: 1567-13.

*Primo libro de gli eterni mottetti di Orlando Lasso, Cipriano Rore et d'altri... a cinque et sei voci....* Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1567. RISM: 1567-3.

*Il cicalamento delle donne al bucato, et la caccia di Alessandro Striggio....* Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1567. RISM: 1567-23.

*Il gaudio primo libro de madrigali de diversi eccellenti musici a tre voci....* Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1567. (Not registered in RISM.)

*Canzone alla napolitana a 5 voci... Giovanni Ferretti....* Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1567. RISM: F-512.

³³² Document 95.

³³³ ONGARO: 47-49.

*Il terzo libro delle fiamme madrigali a cinque voci de diversi eccellentissimi musici...* Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1568-12.

*Corona della morte dell'illustre il sig. comendator Anibal Caro....* Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1568. RISM: 1568-16.

*Gli amorosi concerti delli madrigali de diversi eccellentissimi music a quattro voci...* Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1568. RISM: 1568-13.

[doubtful] *Quintus liber concentuum sacrorum... Orlando de Lassus auctore....* Venice: Claudio da Correggio, no date. RISM: L-818.

There were two types of music publications in sixteenth-century Italy: commissioned publications and independent projects of the publishers. The former was small-scaled, but safe business to the publishers. They printed music at fixed cost. The latter was risky business, allowed to only big, financially stable firms, such as the Scotto and the Gardano.³³⁴

Most of Bonagiunta's anthologies belonged to the latter type. He apparently had partnership with Scotto. Ongaro supposed that Bonagiunta might have invested in the sale of his anthologies, because Bonagiunta borrowed a considerable sum of forty *ducati* from the *procuratori* of San Marco in 1565.³³⁵ If this hypothesis is to be believed, he was involved in music publishing with commercial interest.

In this type of publications, the editorial board of the publisher was responsible for all the contents, including the attribution of the works. Bonagiunta was aware that he had to justify the authenticity of his edition. In the dedication of one of his anthologies, *Le vive fiamme* (1565), he explained how he had obtained Cipriano de Rore's unpublished works:

...for a long time I kept acquainted with the truly excellent musician, *messer* Cipriano de Rore. He handed over to me some of his very beautiful madrigals in four and five parts. He asked me to keep them with me, so that his works might not be easily in the hands of those who would distribute them.³³⁶

He insisted that he had acquired some of Cipriano's unpublished works because Cipriano had entrusted him to keep them.

It is indeed true that Bonagiunta was associated with Cipriano, because Cipriano was briefly the chapel master at San Marco from 1563 to 1564. Cipriano was Bonagiunta's boss. However, it is unlikely that Cipriano gave some of his unpublished works to Bonagiunta. Cipriano wanted to control the publication of his works, rather than to ask someone to print them.³³⁷ It is wrong to imagine that Cipriano commissioned Bonagiunta to publish his works because Bonagiunta was an established music editor. On 8 November 1565, when Bonagiunta signed the dedication of *Le vive fiamme*, he had not yet established his reputation. *Le vive fiamme* was one of the earliest anthologies that Bonagiunta edited.

Bonagiunta's claim should be examined carefully, because two pieces attributed to Cipriano in *Le vive fiamme* are also found in Marc'Antonio Ingegneri's *Primo libro de madrigali a quatro voci*: "Spesso in parte del ciel" and "Non mi toglia il ben mio". The question is whether Bonagiunta disguised Ingegneri's works as Cipriano's, or Ingegneri plagiarised

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³³⁴ BERNSTEIN: 109-120.

³³⁵ The average salary of San Marco singers was then fifty *ducati* per year. Bonagiunta enjoyed a slightly bigger salary than the average, eighty *ducati* per year. GLIXON: 393. ONGARO: 54-55.

³³⁶ Document 39.

³³⁷ OWENS 2001: 672.

Cipriano's works. In other words, the question is which claim would be more reliable, Bonagiunta's or Ingegneri's. Both of them were associated with Cipriano. Bonagiunta sang at San Marco under the direction of Cipriano. Ingegneri said that he had learnt from Cipriano at Duke Ottavio's court.³³⁸

It is impossible to decide firmly which claim is more reliable than the other, because no copy of the first edition of Ingegneri's collection survives today. Only a 1578 reprint edition survives, instead.³³⁹ It is not known in what circumstance Ingegneri published it. Accordingly, it is impossible to examine how reliable (or unreliable) Ingegneri's collection is.

The circumstance is, however, disadvantageous to Bonagiunta, because the authenticity of Ingegneri's collection is less questionable than that of Bonagiunta's *Le vive fiamme*. First, Ingegneri was not among the "first-class" composers in the Venetian music-publishing world. Unlike some great masters, such as Jacques Arcadelt, Adrian Willaert or Cipriano de Rore, Ingegneri's name did not promise great sale. Accordingly, the first edition of his collection is supposed to have been a commissioned publication. Commissioned publications are generally thought to be more reliable than commercial publications, because the former ones were less designed for sale than the latter. In other words, Ingegneri was less obliged to make money by selling his collection than Bonagiunta was. Second, Ingegneri could have included these two pieces without committing plagiarism. It was not an unusual practice to include in a single-author collection some pieces by other composers. Accordingly, Ingegneri had less motivation to commit false attribution than Bonagiunta had.

Moreover, Bonagiunta's misbehaviour with the imperial ambassador, Vito da Dorimbergo, may further reduce the reliability of his words.³⁴⁰ It is notable that Bonagiunta dedicated *Gli amorosi conenti* to da Dorimbergo himself:

For a long time I have been searching for the occasion to demonstrate a sign of gratitude to Your Illustrious Lordship for your great favour which you did to me. Since I entered the service to you, I have had no occasion to do something for you. It was not for the purpose of increasing, but rather reducing, the grand obligation....³⁴¹

Bonagiunta felt grateful to da Dorimbergo, because da Dorimbergo offered a new post to Bonagiunta, i.e. the service to Archduke Karl II in Graz. Bonagiunta signed this dedication on 5 June 1568. However, he quickly changed his mind, and entered the Farnese service from 1 September. He did not pay back the money which he had received from da Dorimbergo. It is understandable that da Dorimbergo was furious with Bonagiunta.

Thus, Bonagiunta's words and behaviour are questionable. His claim in *Le vive fiamme* that he received some unpublished works from Cipriano de Rore is accordingly doubtful. The attribution problem of "Spesso in parte del ciel" and "Non mi toglia il ben mio" has a lot in common with the case of "Ne l'aria in questi dì". Bonagiunta published all these pieces for the first time in his anthologies, in which he attributed them to Cipriano. Thus, Bonagiunta's attribution of "Ne l'aria in questi dì" to Cipriano is unreliable.

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³³⁸ Document 95.

³³⁹ BCV-INGEGNERI.

³⁴⁰ On the trouble between Bonagiunta and da Dorimbergo, see pp. 77-79.

³⁴¹ Document 54.

#### 4. History

##### 4-A. On Duchess Margherita's request?

There is a group of madrigals to be called "occasional pieces". They were composed for the use in particular events, or in commemoration of them. Archival documents have revealed that Josquin Persoens composed this type of madrigal on Duchess Margherita's request in commemoration of the wedding of Prince Alessandro and Maria of Portugal.

On 26 May 1566, Tommaso Machiavelli wrote to Duke Ottavio:

I send this sonnet to Your Excellency. Although it lacks ornaments suitable to such a subject, it will not be displeasing to you, because it is about your son and my lord, i.e. the prince. Most Serene *Madama* [Duchess Margherita] said to me that she wanted to hear it in music. Therefore, I ask it [to put it into music] to messer Josquin. A little command of Your Excellency will encourage him to work hard more than gold coins would.³⁴²

The duke ordered Josquin to compose. On 29 June, Machiavelli confirmed that Josquin was in charge of setting the sonnet:

We are waiting... the sonnet [put into music] about signor Prince, which signor Duke committed to messer Josquin to compose. It will be very pleasing to Her Highness [Duchess Margherita].³⁴³

Unfortunately, the enclosed sonnet does not survive today. However, Machiavelli revealed a lot about it. The poetic form was sonnet. The subject was something about Prince Alessandro Farnese. The anonymous poet is safely supposed to have praised the prince.

Josquin Persoens' *Libro primo de' madrigali* was an official publication of the Farnese court. A madrigal concerning Prince Alessandro, which Josquin composed on Duchess Margherita's request, is above all suitable to be included in this collection. It is probable that the madrigal which Josquin composed at this occasion is found in this collection.

Josquin's *Libro primo* contains eleven madrigals by Josquin, a chanson by him, and a madrigal by Jean d'Arras. (Table 29.)

Table 29: Josquin's madrigals in his *Libro Primo*.

Incipit	works on sonnets	Poet
Ne la stagion ch'il bel tempo rimena		Ariosto
Gioia m'abbonda al cor		Bembo
Ardi dolce <i>signore</i>		?
Lasso che nel partire moro		?
Gia spartir era ogni minuta stella		?
Dolce de la mia mente & caro obietto		?
<i>Signora</i> mia gentil		?
Hor vedi Amor, che giovenetta donna		Petrarca
Mentre la mia soave pastorella		?

³⁴² Document 47.

³⁴³ Document 48.

Per lieti prati vaga pastorella  
Nell'aria in questi dì

?  
?

There are three sonnet pieces by anonymous poet(s). They are the candidates of the one which Josquin composed on Duchess Margherita's request. The texts of these madrigals are:

Gia sparita era ogni minuta stella  
E splendea in ciel sol l'amorosa Dea;  
Gia l'oriente a poco a poco havea  
Cinto d'un bianco vel l'Alba novella;  
Quando Lidia la vaga pastorella,  
Ch'al pied'un Pin con Dafni si sedita  
Dafni per cui tutta d'amor ardea,  
Disse a lui volt' il viso e la favella.  
Non son Dafni mio bel quest'occhi quelli  
Ch'arser me quando la presso a quel Orno  
Te legaro gl'aurati miei capelli?  
Cosi diss'et basciolli: alhor il giorno  
Febo piu chiaro aperse, & mill'augelli  
Dolce s'udir da' vicin colli intorno.

Every small star already disappeared  
Only the lovely Goddess was shining in the sky  
Already in the east little by little appears  
Light of white veil, a new day is breaking  
When Lydia, the beautiful shepherdess  
She sits with Daphnis beside a pine tree  
Daphnis, with whom she was in love  
Asks him to turn his face and words  
My dear Daphnis, these eyes are not  
Drying me up, when beside the manna-ash  
I touch you by my blonde hair?  
Thus I said and kissed him: now the day  
Phoebus clearly appeared and a thousand birds  
Lovely to hear them near the hills.

Dolce de la mia mente e caro obietto,  
Pur a quest'occhi hor di veder è dato  
Quel ch'al pensier giamai non è celato  
Il vostro vago et gratioso aspetto;  
Amor mi leva a tant'alto diletto  
Qualhor vi miro che d'amante stato  
Non è si liet'a pien ne si beato  
Ch'a parangon del mio non sia imperfetto  
Ch'io scopro tutt'il bel in voi raccolto,  
Che più diletta e piace in quest vita  
Mentre fermo le luci al vostro volto;  
O sola de desir miei calamita  
Deh non vogliate che si spesso tolto  
Mi sia veder quel bel ch'al ciel m'invita.

Beloved one of my mind, and dear object  
These eyes now see and then given is  
That which is never concealed to thoughts  
Your beautiful and graceful face;  
Love arises me to such a high delight  
If I see that you in the state of loving  
I am not fully happy nor am I blessed  
If in comparison to mine it is not imperfect  
If I uncover all the beauty gathered in you/  
If more delight and pleasure in my life  
While I keep my eyes on your face;  
Ah the only charming one of my desire  
Ah do not hope that it is often removed  
To see that beautiful one invites me to the sky.

Nell'aria in questi dì fatt'ho un si forte  
Castel che Giove fulminar non puote  
Fondato è sopra due volubil ruote  
E di polv'et di vento son le porte  
Con mille fonss'intorno, et son sue scorte  
Vane speranze d'ogni effetto vote  
Di desir son le mura ove percote  
Non mar non fiume ma tempesta e sorte  
Di fall'ardir et di timor son fatte  
l'arme che contr'altrui pagnar non sanno  
Et di varii pensier la munitione  
Contra se stesso il Castellan combatte

These days I made in the air a very strong  
Castle which Jupiter cannot hit with his thunder  
Founded on two voluminous wheels  
Of dust and wind the gates are made  
A thousand are around they are the guards  
Vain hope of every vacant effect  
Of desire the walls are made, which could attack  
No sea, no river but tempest and fate  
Of crazy recklessness and of fear are made  
The arms which cannot fight against others  
Of various thoughts the equipment  
Against himself the castle master fights

Pagando i suoi guerrier sol d'ambitione  
Pensate l'opre mie che fin havranno.³⁴⁴

Paying his soldiers only from his ambition  
Now think of my works which will finally come.

The first two are love poems, while the other one, “Nell’aria in questi dì”, describes a brave commander who fights in an impregnable castle. This image agrees with Prince Alessandro, because he was a famous military commander. Thus, this piece is the strongest candidate of the one which Josquin composed on Duchess Margherita’s request.

#### 4-B. Describing the 1566 tournament?

Although Meier erroneously thought that Cipriano de Rore had composed “Ne l’aria in questi dì”, yet his discussion of the background of this madrigal is quite reasonable. He pointed out that this madrigal was related to the festivities to celebrate the wedding of Prince Alessandro and Maria of Portugal.³⁴⁵ On 27 February 1565, Francesco de Marchi, military advisor to Duchess Margherita, explained the prospective programme of the tournament to celebrate the wedding:

Now we concentrate on nothing but building a castle in the air in this honoured wedding. Some think of falling from the sky, and others from a mountain or from the earth. Some think of coming from the ocean, from the north, south, east and west: Some want to be Mars, others Saturn, Jupiter, Neptune, and the goddess of Virtue; Some think of being the Sun, and others the Moon; some try to be brighter stars: everyone takes part in making the castles in the air, and hope to resemble each one of these things, even more than they could. And I will be behind the product of my honoured chariot.³⁴⁶

He mentioned this programme again on 7 October:

If this princess [Maria of Portugal] comes happily, as we hope, feasts and solemn ceremonies of great value will be done. Every day people compete [the quality of their] saddles, arms and [their] combat technique, to take part in a beautiful tournament and several matches. I was looked for by some men who would put something on the field for the feasts, where battlefield will be set. I proposed that there should be a team of twelve or fifteen soldiers, who ware silken costume with white veils, and then a nude man with wings on the shoulder... Then I proposed a castle in the air should be made, and let it fight with an artificial fire, made of cardboard, in the mode that the Turks fought at the fortress of Santo Ermo in Malta....³⁴⁷

As Meier pointed out, “a castle in the air”, e.g. a big float or something, was a key concept of this programme.

The tournament took place in Grande Place, Brussels, on 4 December 1565. De Marchi wrote the official record of whole festivities, entitled *Narratione particolare delle gran feste e*

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³⁴⁴ BNT-JOSQUIN.

³⁴⁵ MEIER 1971 v. 5: XVI.

³⁴⁶ Document 34.

³⁴⁷ Document 38.

*trionfi fatte in Portogallo et in Fiandra...* (1566).³⁴⁸ He described the tournament in this record:

The day of the tournament came, i.e. 4 December. A great parade of horses and courtiers was seen in all the streets, and principally at the square of Brussels [Grande Place]. All the windows were decorated with very gorgeous tapestries. There are many common people, princes, ladies, lords and gentlemen, too many to count... In the square, a battlefield for the tournament was set up, as it is a custom [of this city]. At the head of the battlefield, there is a pavilion, richly ornamented with silk of various colours, above which there is a big black falcon. This is a most beautiful pavilion of signor Count of Mansfelt, the *mantenitore* of the tournament.

In this tournament, Count of Mansfelt (Pierre-Ernest de Mansfelt) played the principal role, the *mantenitore*, and the other knights challenged him one after another. De Marchi described the allegorical parade which preceded the tournament:

[Listing up the noblemen who took part in the tournament and their companies] At the head of all, a triumphal float was pulled by three horses. The one represented the air, the middle one the earth, and the other the water. The horse of the earth was black, and those of the air and the water were white. On the horse of the earth, there was a lady called Love, and at the back of the float there was God of Love, nude, with a bow and an arrow in his hand, and with a bandage over his eyes. In the middle of the float, there is a triumphal arch, below which Goddess of Venus sat with a lighted torch in her right hand, and with a golden apple [*pomo d'oro*] in the other hand. At her foot, there were two women. The one was *dilectatio* and the other was *voluptas*, i.e. delight and pleasure. They played certain musical instruments. At their back came three men and three women, chained, who were prisoners of their Goddess [Venus], and represented Gods and Goddesses of the earth, the sky and the sea. The women were Tetis, Juno and Persephone. The men were Neptune, Jupiter and Pluto. Behind the arch, there was a shield with a motto, OMNIA VICIT AMOR [Love defeats all]....

There is another float. It represented cosmological figures:

...The float was painted like the sky full of golden stars. It has four stars fixed at the four wheels, much bigger than those of a usual float, and the stars were made of gold foil. No matter how much the float went ahead, the wheels did not move at all [because they were extremely big]. On the float, there was the Sun, nine *pedi* in diameter all made of gold, with its beams [=decorative projections] moving. It was made so skilfully that it turns around by itself. In the middle, inside of the immovable epicycle, there was small Sun, which does not move. At the head of the float, there was a Moon, two *pedi* and a half in diameter, with its face opposite to the Sun....³⁴⁹ [see Illustration 2]

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³⁴⁸ Fully reproduced in BERTINI: 77-132.

³⁴⁹ Document 41. Bertini supposed that de Marchi designed this float. BERTINI: 116.



Illustration 2: a scene of a tournament from the *Album di Bruxelles*  
from BERTINI: 67



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A general image of the sonnet, “Nell’aria in questi dì”, agrees with this parade. The stage is located in a military context, and the “castle in the air” founded on “two voluminous wheel” could correspond to one of these two floats. This parade is supposed to have inspired the anonymous poet of this sonnet (possibly de Marchi himself). However, if the “castle master” in this sonnet represents Prince Alessandro, it is impossible to imagine that this sonnet describes the *actual* scene of the tournament. The main character of this tournament was Count of Mansfelt, instead of Prince Alessandro. Thus, the anonymous poet of this sonnet borrowed some elements from the allegorical parade, and put Prince Alessandro in the place of the main character.

## 5. Conclusion

Comparative examination of Giulio Bonagiunta’s *Gli amorosi concertati* (1568) and Josquin Persoens’ *Libro primo de’ madrigali* (1570) reveals that the former is unreliable and the latter reliable. Consequently the madrigal “Ne l’aria in questi dì/ Nell’aria in questi dì” should be attributed to Josquin Persoens, rather than to Cipriano de Rore.

Josquin is likely to have composed this madrigal on Duchess Margherita d’Austria’s request. This sonnet may have been related to the tournament which took place in Brussels on 4 December 1565 to celebrate the wedding of Prince Alessandro and Maria of Portugal.

However, the sonnet does not describe the actual scene of the tournament. It borrows a general image of the tournament, and then put Prince Alessandro into the position of protagonist, i.e. the “castle master”.

A question still remains unanswered: did Bonagiunta misattribute “Ne l’aria in questi dì”, deliberately or erroneously? Indeed, his problematic behaviour and delusive words reduce the reliability of his edition. Moreover, he had a motivation to misattribute this piece deliberately. Attributing this piece to Cipriano, i.e. disguising it as an “unpublished work” of this master, must have promoted the sale of this anthology. However, it is possible that Bonagiunta did not intend to misattribute it. In fact, he chose to leave a number of pieces “*d’incerto*” (composer unknown) in his anthologies, when he was not sure who had composed them (Table 30). He did so in *Gli amorosi concertti* itself, too. Thus, it is possible that the manuscript source which he acquired may have fed him misleading information.

Table 30: “*D’incerto*” pieces in Bonagiunta’s publications

Bonagiunta, *Primo libro de canzon napolitane tre voci* (RISM: 1565-12).

“All’arm’all’arme o fidi miei pensieri”  
 “Me bisogna servir questa crudele”  
 “Non trovo pace ne tregua ne guerra”  
 “O saporito volto”  
 “Scis’a una font’e viddi una citella”  
 “Chi non adora queste trezze d’oro”  
 “Facciami quanto vol fortuna ria”  
 “Due cos’al mondo sono senza pare”  
 “Poi ch’eri cosi forte scropulosa”

*Primo libro... intitolato il Desiderio* (RISM: 1566-2)

“Chi vol mirar da man vergine colte”  
 “Ahi come potrò mai”

*Il Desiderio secondo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (RISM: 1566-3)

“Morte disciols’il laccio”

Bonagiunta, *Canzone napolitane a tre voci secondo libro* (RISM: 1566-7)

“Se fosse haimè de marmoro sto core”  
 “Occhi non occhi ma lucente stelle”  
 “Io son un spirito che d’amor legato”  
 “Se tu con tanti stratii che mi fai”  
 “Certo ch’un giorno da st’afflitto core”  
 “Due destrier biondi tirano quel carro”  
 “Et o gratiosa bocca odorosa fronte”  
 “Fuggit’alme gentil de risguardare”  
 “O s’io potesse dir’o fазze bella”  
 “Dolce mia vita poi che faccio da te”  
 “Di nott’e’giorno vivo in fiamm’& foco”

*Gli amorosi concertti* (RISM: 1568-13)

“Del piu bell’il piu bel tolse natura”

The issue of “Ne l’aria in questi dì/ Nell’aria in questi dì” arouses a further question: the circulation of music in manuscript. The sixteenth century is marked with the rise of music-printing industry. However, the manuscript tradition of music still played an important role in the circulation of music. If the theory that Josquin Persoons composed “Nell’aria in questi dì”

on Duchess Margherita's request is to be believed, then this piece was of highly "private" nature, to be appreciated within a small circle of people. However, this piece circulated in manuscript. It would be adequate, then, to say that the music-printing industry, especially the publication of madrigal anthologies, heavily depended on the manuscript tradition of music. In this sense, the manuscript tradition of music and music printing industry was not always opposing, but often complementary, in the sixteenth century.

## Musical example

### *Gli amorosi concetti*

♩ =  $\frac{1}{4}$

Ne l'a- ri'in que- sti dì fat- t'ho un sì for- te Cas- tel che Gio-  
 Ne l'a- ria in que- sti dì fat- t'ho un sì for- tel che Gio- ve ful- mi- nar nol puo-  
 Ne l'a- ria in que- sti dì fat- t'ho un sì for- tel che Gio- ve ful- mi-  
 Ne l'a- ria in que- sti dì fat- t'ho un sì for- tel che Gio- ve ful- mi-

### Josquin's *Libro primo*

♩ =  $\frac{1}{4}$

Nel- l'a- ria in que- sti dì fat- t'ho un sì for- te Cas- tel che Gio-  
 Nel- l'a- ria in que- sti dì fat- t'ho un sì for- tel che Gio- ve ful- mi- nar no'l puo-  
 Nel- l'a- ria in que- sti dì fat- t'ho un sì for- tel Cas- stel che Gio- ve ful- mi-  
 Nel- l'a- ria in que- sti dì fat- t'ho un sì for- te for- te che Gio- ve ful- mi-  
 *1

*2

ve ful-mi-nar nol puo- - te Fon- da- due vo- lu- bil ruo- te Fon- pra t'è so- pra due vo- lu- bil ruo- te Fon- da- t'è so- pra due vo- lu- bil ruo- te Fon- pra t'è so- pra due vo- lu- bil ruo- te

ve ful-mi-nar ful-mi-nar no'l puo-te Fon- da- to è so- pra due vo- lu- bil ruo- te Fon- pra to è so- pra due vo- lu- bil ruo- te Fon- da- to è so- pra due vo- lu- bil ruo- te Fon- da- to è so- pra due vo- lu- bil ruo- te

pol- v'e di ven- t'E di pol- v'e di ven- to son le por- - - - te Co[n] mil- le fos- s'in- tor- - - - no e  
 te E di pol- di pol- v'e di ven- to son le por- - - - te Co[n] mil- le fos- s'in- tor- no e  
 E di pol- v'e di ven- to son le por- - - - te Co[n] mil- le fos- s'in- tor- no e

E di pol- v'e di ven- to son le por- - - - te Co[n] mil- le fos- s'in- tor- no e

pol- v'et di ve[n]- to e di pol- ve et di ven- to sol le por- - - - te Con mil- le fos- s'in- tor- - - - no, et  
 te E di pol- di pol- v'et di ven- to son le por- - - - te Con mil- le fos- s'in- tor- no, et  
 E di pol- v'et di ve[n]- to son le por- - - - te Con mil- le fos- s'in- tor- no E

E di pol- v'et di ve[n]- to son le por- - - - te Con mil- le fos- s'in- tor- no E

son sue scor-te Va- ne spe- ran- ze d'o- gn'ef- fet- - - to vuo- - - te Di

son sue scor- te Va- ne spe- ran- - - ze d'o- gn'ef- fet- to vuo- te Di

son sue scor- te Va- ne spe- ran- ze d'o- gn'ef- fet- to vuo- - - - - te Di

son sue scor- te Va- ne spe- ran- - - ze d'o- gn'ef- fet- to vuo- - - - te

son sue sor- te Va- ne spe- ran- ze d'o- gni ef- fet- - - - - te Di

son sue scor- te Va- ne spe- ran- - - ze d'o- gni ef- fet- to vo- te Di

son sue scor- te Va- ne spe- ran- ze d'o- gni ef- fet- to vo- - - - - te Di

son sue scor- te Va- ne spe- ran- - - ze d'o- gni ef- fet- to vo- - - - te

*3

de- sir son le mu- r'o- ve per- cuo- te No[n] mar fiu- - - me ma tem- pe- st'e sor-  
 de- sir son le mu- r'o- ve per- cuo- te No[n] mar no[n] fiu- me ma tem- pe- st'e sor-  
 de- sir son le mu- r'o- ve per- cuo- te No[n] mar no[n] fiu- - - me ma tem- pe- st'e so  
 o- ve per- cuo- te No[n] mar fiu- - - me ma tem- pe- st'e sor-

*4

de- sir son le mu- ra o- ve per- co- te Non mar fiu- - - me ma te[m]- pe- sta et sor-  
 de- sir son le mu- ra o- ve per- co- te Non mar non fiu- me ma te[m]- pe- st'e sor-  
 de- sir son le mu- ra o- ve per- co- te No[n] mar no[n] fiu- - - me ma tem- pe- st'e sor-  
 o- ve per- co- te No[n] mar fiu- - - me ma te[m]- pe- st'e sor-



- - - te  
 Di fol-l'ar-dir e di ti-mor son fat-te L'ar-me che co[n]-tr'al-trui pu-gnar no[n] sa  
 te Di fol-l'ar-dir e di ti-mor son fat-te L'ar-me che co[n]-tr'al-trui pu-gnar no[n] san-  
 - - - te  
 Di fol-l'ar-dir son fat-te L'ar-me che co[n]-tr'al-trui pu-gnar no[n] san-

- - - te  
 Di fol-l'ar-dir et di ti-mor son fat-te l'ar-me  
 te Di foll'ar-dir et di ti-mor son fat-te l'ar-me  
 - - - te Et di ti-mor son fat-te l'ar-me che co[n]-tr'al-turi pu-gnar no[n] san-  
 te Di fol-l'ar-dir son fat-te l'ar-me che co[n]-tr'al-trui pu-gnar no[n] san-

no E di va- ni pen- sier la mu- ni- tio- ne Con- tra se stes- s'il Cas- tel- lan com-  
 E di va- ni pen- sier la mu- ni- tio- - - - - - ne Con- tra se stes- so Con- tra se  
 no, E di va- ni pen- sier la mu- ni- tio- - - - - - ne Con- tra se stes- s'il Cas- te- lan com-  
 no E di va- ni pen- sier la mu- ni- tio- ne. Con- tra se

no Et di va- rij pen- sier la mu- ni- tio- ne Con- tra se stes- s'il ca- stel- la com-  
 Et di va- rij pen- sier la mu- ni- tio- - - - - - ne Con- tra se stes- so Con- tra se  
 no Et di va- rij pen- sier la mu- ni- tio- - - - - - ne Co[n]- tra se stes- s'il Cas- tel- lan Co[m]-  
 no Et di va- rij pen- sier la mu- ni- tio- ne Co[n]- tra se

bat- te Con- tra se stes- s'il Cas- te- lan com- bat- te Pa- gan- d'i suoi guer-  
 setes- so il Cas- te- lan com- bat- te il Cas- te- lan com- bat- te Pa- gan- d'i suoi guer-  
 bat- te con- tra se stes- s'il Cas- te- lan com- bat- te Pa- gan- d'i suoi guer- ier sol  
 stes- s'il Cas- te- lan com- bat- te il Cas- te- lan com- bat- te Pa- gan- d'i suoi guer-

bat- te Con- tra se stes- s'il ca- stel- lan com- bat- te Pa- gan- d'i suoi guer-  
 stes- so il Ca- stel- lan com- bat- te il Ca- stel- lan com- bat- te Pa- ga[n]- do i suoi guer-  
 bat- te Co[n]- tra se stes- s'il Cas- tel- lan co[m]- bat- te Pa- ga[n]- do i suoi guer- rier sol  
 stes- s'il Ca- stel- lan co[m]- bat- te il Ca- stel- lan co[m]- bat- te pa- ga[n]- do i suoi guer-

ier sol d'am- bi- tio- ne Pen- sa- te

ier sol d'am- bi- tio- ne Pen- sa- te no pen- sa- te

d'am- bi- tio- - - - - - Pen- sa- te l'o- pre mie che fin hav- ran- - - - - no

ier sol d'am- bi- tio- ne Pen- sa- te l'o- pre mie che fin ha- vran- no

ier sol d'am- bi- tio- ne Pen- sa- te

ier sol d'am- bi- tio- ne Pen- sa- te no Pen- sa- te

d'am- bi- tio- - - - - - Pen- sa- te l'o- pre mie che fin hav- ran- - - - - no

ier sol d'am- bi- tio- ne Pen- sa- te l'o- pre mie che fin hav- ran- no

l'o- pre mie pen- sa- te l'o- pre mie che fin hav- ran- no.

l'o- pre mie Pen- sa- te l'o- pre mie che fin hav- ran- no.

Pen- sa- te l'o- pre mie ^{*5} che fin hav- ran- no.

Pen- sa- te l'o- pre mie che fin hav- ran- no.

**Notes**

- *1 Apparently a printing error.
- *2 Text underlay is ridiculous.
- *3 Soprano and bass go parallel.
- *4 Apparently a printing error.
- *5 Text underlay is ridiculous.

l'o- pre mie Pen- sa- te l'o- pre mie che fin hav- ran- no.

l'o- pre mie Pen- sa- te l'o- pre mie che fin hav- ran- no.

Pen- sa- te l'o- pre mie Pen- sa- te l'o- pre mie che fin hav- ran- no.

Pen- sa- te l'o- pre mie che fin hav- ran- no.

## Documents

### List of Documents

- (A) Documents presented here for the first time  
(B) Documents already presented in other studies, and presented here after fresh re-examination of the original materials or their photographic reproductions.  
(C) Documents quoted from other studies.

1. *various* (A-B) Extracts from the Ruoli
2. *various* (A-B) Extracts from the Mastri
3. 9 Jun 1545 (A) From the Ganfalonieri of Castro to Duke Pier Luigi
4. 22 Dec 1545 (B) From Antonio Brandici to Prince Ottavio
5. 8 Jan 1546 (B) From Vincenzo Parabosco to Alessandro Viustino
6. 9 Jun 1546 (B) From Vittoria Farnese to Duke Pier Luigi
7. 28 Jun 1546 (B) From Vincenzo Perini to Duke Pier Luigi
8. 16 Jul 1546 (A) From Zoanne Michele to Duke Pier Luigi
9. 17 Sep 1546 (A) From Duke Pier Luigi to (?) his agent in Ferrara
10. *no date* (B) From Duke Pier Luigi to a certain Patrizio in Genoa
11. *no date* (A) From Duke Pier Luigi to the canons of Brescia
12. 13 Mar 1547 (A) From the canons of Brescia to Duke Pier Luigi
13. *no date* (C) A description of Duchess Margherita's entry in Parma
14. 8 Dec 1560 (B) From Matteo Biliotti to Duke Ottavio
15. *no date* (B) Dedication of de Wert's madrigal collection
16. 30 Jan 1561 (B) From Tommaso Machiavelli to Duke Ottavio
17. 18 Apr 1563 (C) From Cipriano de Rore to Duke Ottavio
18. 22 Oct 1563 (C) From Cipriano de Rore to Duke Ottavio
19. 15 Nov 1563 (C) From Cipriano de Rore to Duke Ottavio
20. 24 Feb 1564 (C) Duchess Margherita's command to Pierre du Hotz
21. 9 Apr 1564 (A) From Cesare Marinone to Duke Ottavio
22. 18 Apr 1564 (B) From Duke Ottavio to Paolo Vitelli
23. 14 May 1564 (C) From Cipriano de Rore to Duke Ottavio
24. 30 Jun 1564 (C) From Cipriano de Rore to Duke Ottavio
25. *no date* (A) From Cesare Marinone to Duke Ottavio
26. 2 Jul 1564 (A) From Cesare Marinone to Duke Ottavio
27. 12 Jul 1564 (C) From Cipriano de Rore to Duke Ottavio
28. 25 Aug 1564 (A) From Marcello Lampugnano to Duke Ottavio
29. 8 Sep 1564 (A) From Cesare Marinone to Duke Ottavio
30. 17 Sep 1564 (A) From Cesare Marinone to Duke Ottavio
31. 30 Sep 1564 (A) From Ludovico Nicola to Duke Ottavio
32. 5 Nov 1564 (A) From Marcello Lampugnano to Duke Ottavio
33. 19 Nov 1564 (A) From Cesare Marinone to Duke Ottavio
34. 27 Feb 1565 (C) From Francesco de Marchi to Giovanni Battista Pico
35. 16 Mar 1565 (B) From Duke Ottavio to Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga
36. 3 Jun 1565 (A) From Marcello Lampugnano to Duke Ottavio
37. *no date* (B) Cipriano de Rore's epigraph in the Parma Cathedral
38. 7 Oct 1565 (C) From Francesco de Marchi to Giovanni Battista Pico
39. 8 Nov 1565 (B) Bonagiunta's dedication of *Le vive fiamme*
40. *no date* (A) Josquin Persoens' financial report about his travels
41. *no date* (C) Francesco de Marchi's description of the tournament
42. 5 Jan 1566 (B) Dedication of de Rore's madrigal collection
43. 10 Jan 1566 (A) From Tommaso Machiavelli to Duke Ottavio
44. 19 Jan 1566 (C) From Francesco de Marchi to Giovanni Battista Pico
45. 29 Apr 1566 (A) From Hostilio Valenti to Giovanni Battista Pico
46. *no date* (A) Extract from "Cronaca farnesiana"
47. 29 May 1566 (A) From Tommaso Machiavelli to Duke Ottavio

48. 29 Jun 1566 (A) From Tommaso Machiavelli to Giovanni Battista Pico
49. 20 Jul 1566 (A) Dedication of Merulo's madrigal collection
50. 21 Jul 1566 (A) From Prospero Tedesco to Giovanni Battista Pico
51. 18 Jul 1567 (A) From Juan de Zúñiga to Duke Ottavio
52. 11 Jan 1568 (A) From Carlo Duarte to Duke Ottavio
53. 16 Feb 1568 (A) From Baron Sfondato to Duke Ottavio
54. 5 Jun 1568 (B) Dedication of *Gli amorosi concertti*
55. 25 Sep 1568 (A) From Vito da Dorimbergo to Duke Ottavio
56. 19 Oct 1568 (A) From Vito da Dorimbergo to Duke Ottavio
57. 22 Oct 1568 (C) From Paolo Animuccia to Duke Ottavio
58. 4 Jan 1569 (C) From Paolo Animuccia to Duke Ottavio
59. 27 Aug 1569 (A) Dedication of Renaldi's madrigal collection
60. 20 Mar 1570 (B) Dedication of Persoens's madrigal collection
61. 1 Apr 1570 (A) A receipt of Galeazzo Cacciardini's salary
62. 1 Oct 1570 (A) A receipt of Giulio Bonagiunta's salary
63. 15 Nov 1570 (A) From Ludovico Tedesco to Cardinal Alessandro
64. 16 Nov 1570 (A) From Commander Durante to Cardinal Alessandro
65. 22 Dec 1570 (B) From Fabrizio Dentice to Giovanni Battista Pico
66. 31 Dec 1570 (A) A receipt of Giulio Bonagiunta's salary
67. 16 Jan 1571 (B) Dedication of Vinci's madrigal collection
68. 30 Jan 1571 (A) Dedication of Massaino's madrigal collection
69. 4 Feb 1571 (A) From Tiburzio Massino to Duke Ottavio
70. 29 Dec 1573 (C) From Gregor Vogl to Prince Wilhelm Wittelsbach
71. 2 Apr 1574 (B) From Orlandus Lassus to Prince Wilhelm Wittelsbach
72. 17 Apr 1574 (A) Dedication of de Veggio's madrigal collection
73. 30 May 1574 (A) Dedication of Cervo's madrigal collection
74. 10 Mar 1575 (A) Dedication of Moscaglia's madrigal collection
75. 10 Jul 1575 (A) Dedication of de Veggio's madrigal collection
76. 25 Feb 1581 (B) From Aurelio Zibramonte to Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga
77. 1 Mar 1581 (B) From Aurelio Zibramonte to Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga
78. 4 Mar 1581 (B) From Aurelio Zibramonte to Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga
79. 4 Mar 1581 (B) From Cesare Cavriani to Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga
80. 5 Mar 1581 (B) From Cesare Cavriani to Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga
81. 6 Mar 1581 (B) From Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga to Aurelio Zibramonte
82. 7 Mar 1581 (B) From Aurelio Zibramonte to Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga
83. 22 Mar 1581 (A) From Cesare Cavriani to Aurelio Zibramonte
84. 26 Mar 1581 (A) From Cesare Cavriani to Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga
85. 20 Apr 1581 (B) From Cesare Cavriani to Aurelio Zibramonte
86. 21 Apr 1581 (B) From Cesare Cavriani to Aurelio Zibramonte
87. 22 Apr 1581 (B) From Cesare Cavriani to Aurelio Zibramonte
88. 2 Jul 1581 (B) From Galvano Cantelli to Aurelio Zibramonte
89. 4 Jul 1581 (B) From Galvano Cantelli to Aurelio Zibramonte
90. 16 Jul 1581 (A) From Galvano Cantelli to Aurelio Zibramonte
91. 11 May 1582 (A) From Galeazzo Cacciardini to Prince Alessandro
92. 11 May 1583 (B) From Cesare Cavriani to Tullio Petrozzani
93. 25 Nov 1585 (B) From Ippolito Olivo to Luigi Olivo
94. 19 Apr 1586 (B) From Cardinal Scipione Gonzaga to Federico Cataneo
95. 20 Aug 1586 (B) Dedication of Ingegneri's madrigal collection
96. 20 Aug 1586 (A) Dedication of Belli's madrigal collection
97. 11 Dec 1586 (B) From Ippolito Olivo to Luigi Olivo
98. 18 Dec 1586 (B) From Ippolito Olivo to Federico Cattaneo
99. 10 Feb 1609 (B) Dedication of d'India's solo song collection
100. 24 Apr 1626 (B) Dedication of Bonizzi's viol diminution collection

1. Extracts from ASPR-RUOLI ----- (A) (B)  
Some documents are quoted in PELICELLI Storia, etc..

“Arnoldo fiammingo”, v. 2.

Adi 23 di feb[brai]o 1566, Arnoldo fiamingo pittore di vetri fu p[r]eso in Fiandra da S[ua] Ecc[ellenza] p[er] menarlo in Italian, sino al p[rim]o di gen[nai]o 1566, con sal[ari]o di [scudi] tre [d'oro] il mese et un pai[o] di scarpe, co[n] la sp[es]a cibaria oltre alli detti 3 [scudi].

Se obligato star sei anni co[n] S[ua] Ecc[ellenza] senza partirsi.

Alli 22 di feb[r]aro arrivo in Parma che li fu fatto la sp[e]sa p[er] la strada da S[ua] Ecc[ellenza] A av[er]e [scudi] 5 [d'oro] p[er] suo salario dal p[rim]o di gen[n]aro p[er] sino alli 21 di feb[r]aro — 5.

Et d'av[er]e p[er] il salario dalli 21 di feb[r]aro sino al[l']ultim]o d[']ap[ri]le — 7.

Se li e cominciato a far' il m[anda]to al p[rim]o di maggio p[er] la sp[es]a et salario co[n] le sp[es]e di garzone — 11.31.

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*The Ruoli registers the salary payment to “Arnoldo”, 11 scudi 31 soldi per month, from October 1567 to September 1568.*

BASSANO Orazio & Cesare, v. 3.

Adi p[rim]o di 7bre 1574, m[e]s[ser] Oratio da Cento sta con Sua Ecc[ellenza] ha di sal[ari]o con il fratello [scudi] 20 [doro] il mese senza spesa cio [scudi] 12 per lui et [scudi] otto per il fr[ate]llo — 28.

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*The Ruoli registers the salary payment to the Bassano brothers, 20 scudi d'oro per month, from September 1574 to November 1577.*

BASSANO Orazio & Cesare, v. 4.

M[e]s[ser] Oratio da Cento et m[e]s[ser] Cesare suo f[rate]llo stano al servitio di S[ua] Ecc[ellenza] per musici con prov[isio]ne di [scudi] venti [d'oro] il mese cioe scudi 12 d[']or]o per m[e]s[ser] Oratio et scudi otto d[']or]o per il fratgello — 20 [d'oro].

E à di primo di gen[ai]o 1583, Sua Ecc[ellenza] hà asseg[na]to sop[r]a l'ent[rat]e del stato di Castro al d[ett]o m[e]s[ser] Oratio [scudi] venticinque [d'oro] ogni mese et però non si paga se non gli [scudi] otto [d'oro] per la prov[isio]ne di m[e]s[ser] Cesare ogni mese — 8 [d'oro].

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*The Ruoli registers the salary payment to the Bassano brothers, 20 scudi d'oro per month, from December 1577 to December 1582.*

BASSANO Orazio & Cesare, v. 5.

M[e]s[ser] Cesare Bassani stà'l ser[vizi]o di S[ua] Ecc[ellenza] per musico con pr[ovisio]ne di [scudi] otto [d'oro] il mese dico — 8 [d'oro].

Licentiatò.

1583 Oratio e Cesare fr[at]elli de' Bassani sta[n]no al ser[vizi]o di S[ua] Ecc[ellenza] per musici con pr[ovisio]ne di [scudi] venti [d'oro] il mese cioe [scudi] 12 à m[e]s[ser] Oratio et [scudi] otto a m[e]s[ser] Cesare — 20 [d'oro].

Non si paga che [scudi] otto [d'oro] il mese per la provisione di m[e]s[ser] Cesare suo f[rate]llo, atteso che S[ua] Ecc[ellenza] gli ha asseg[na]to [scudi] 25 il mese in Roma.

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*The Ruoli registers the salary payment to Cesare Bassano, 8 scudi d'oro per month, from January 1583 to September 1586.*

BLONDEAU Baudouin, v. 2.

Adi 20 d[']ottob[r]e 1563, m[e]s[ser] Baldoينو Blondeo fiam[m]ingho musico ven[n]e al servitio di S[ua] Ecc[ellenza] in Fiand[r]a adi 9 di giugno passato 1563 et s[']acordo a [scudi] 3 [d'oro] il mese et l[e] sp[es]e e no[n] facendoli l[e] sp[es]e a [scudi] 6 1/2 [d'oro] il mese che a dar dalli 9 di giugno p[er] sino alli 23 di sette[m]b[r]e che ven[n]e in Parma che sono mesi 3 1/2 che S[ua] Ecc[ellenza] se contentata donar l[e] sp[es]e che l[']a fatto far p[er] strada et in Fiandra se fatto la sp[es]a da p[er] lui — 22 3/4 [d'oro].



E d'av[er]e [scudi] 3 [d'oro] per il salario del mese da finirsi alli 23 d[']ottob[r]e — 3 d'oro.

E d'av[er]e [scudi] 3/4 p[er] la spesa dalli 17 di ottob[r]e sino alli 23 e le no[n] a migrato al[']osteria — 3/4 d'oro.

E d'av[er]e p[er] il salario et la sp[es]a dalli 24 sino alli 30 [a ragione di] [scudi] 6 1/2 — 1 1/3 d'oro.

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*The Ruoli registers the salary payment to Bauduin Blondeau, 6 scudi d'oro 1/2 per month, from October 1567 to 17 October 1568.*

BONAGIUNTA Giulio, v. 2.

M[e]s[ser] Giulio Buonagiunta da Sa[n] Ginese musico ven[n]e al servitio di S[ua] Ecc[ellenz]a al[l']ulti]mo di 7bre co[n] p[r]ovisione di [scudi] otto [d'oro] il mese che p[er] tutto novemb[r]e — 24 [d'oro].

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*No more payment is registered in the Ruoli.*

BONAGIUNTA Giulio, v. 3.

M[e]s[ser] Giulio Bona Gionta musici sta con Sua Ecc[ellenz]a hà di provisione di scudi otto d'oro il mese — 11.4

M[e]s[ser] Giulio Bon'Agionta musico di contro se ne mori adi 16 di febraro 1571.

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*No payment is registered.*

BRAMIERI Francesco, v. 2.

1567, m[e]s[ser] Franscho Bramieri musico de av[er]e [scudi] 8 m[one]ta p[er] sua provisione del mese di ottobre presente che per il passato e stato pag[a]to per mandati — 8.

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*The Ruoli registers the salary payment to Frahcesco Bramieri, 8 scudi per month, from October 1567 to September 1568.*

BRAMIERI Francesco, v. 3.

M[e]s[ser] Francesco Guarnieri [sic] musico sta con S[ua] Ecc[ellenz]a con provisione di [scudi] otto di moneta il mese — 8.

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*The Ruoli registers the salary payment to Francesco Bramieri, 8 scudi per month, from August 1573 to November 1577.*

BRAMIERI Francesco, v. 4.

M[e]s[ser] Francesco Bramieri sta al ser[vizi]o di S[ua] Ecc[ellenz]a per musico con pro[visio]ne di [scudi] otto di m[one]ta il mese — 8.

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*The Ruoli registers the salary payment to Francesco Bramieri, 8 scudi per month, from December 1577 to September 1581.*

BRAMIERI Francesco, v. 5.

M[e]s[ser] Franc[es]co Bramiero stà al ser[vizi]o di S[ua] Ecc[ellenz]a per musico coon pr[o]visio]ne di [scudi] otto m[one]ta il mese, et le spese — 8 m[one]ta.

Alli 15 di marzo 1584, oltre gli [scudi] otto m[one]ta S[ua] Ecc[ellenz]a gli hà ordinato [scudi] 4 [d'oro] mese per la spesa, che sono int[u]t[t]o — 13.68.

Licentiatò.

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*The Ruoli registers the salary payment to Francesco Bramieri, 8 scudi per month, from October 1582 to September 1586, with occasional records of the expense.*

CACCIARDINI Galeazzo, v. 3.

M[e]s[ser] Galeazo Cacciardini hà di prov[isio]ne il mese da Sua Ecc[ellenz]a [scudo] uno [soldi] 20 — 1.20.

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*The Ruoli registers the salary payment to Galeazzo Cacciardini, 1 scudo 20 soldi per month,*

*from October 1575 to December 1577.*

CACCIARDINI Galeazzo, v. 4.

M[e]s[ser] Galeazzo Cacc[iardi]ni stà al serv[izi]o di S[ua] Ecc[ellenz]a per bidello della Ducal Cam[er]a con prov[isio]ne di y [?] reali] 6 il mese — 1.20 m[one]ta.

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*The Ruoli registers the salary payment to Cesare Bassano, 8 scudi d'oro per month, from January 1583 to September 1586.*

CACCIARDINI Galeazzo, v. 5.

M[e]s[ser] Galeazzo Cacciardini stà al ser[vizi]o di S[ua] Ecc[ellenz]a per bidello della Ducal Ca[me]ra con pr[ovisio]ne di [scudo] uno [soldi] 20 m[one]ta il mese — 1.20 m[one]ta.

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*The Ruoli registers the salary payment to Galeazzo Cacciardini, 1 scudo 20 soldi per month, from January 1583 to September 1586.*

CELSIS Anser, v. 3.

Anser Celsis musico hà havuto [scudi] 20 [d'oro] a buon conto di sua prov[isio]ne per man del [Francesco dalla] Cast[ella]na in Roma sotto il di 14 di dicembre [15]74 et di d[et]ta somma si è poi spedito il m[anda]to al settembre sotto il di ultimo di dicembre [15]75 — 20.

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*No more payment is registered.*

CELSIS Giovanni, v. 3.

Giovanni Celsis musico hà havuto [scudi] 5 d'oro à buon conto di sua prov[isio]ne in Roma per mano del [Francesco dalla] Cast[ella]na sotto il di 14 di gen[nai]o [15]75 et di d[et]ta soma si è poi spedito il mandato al s[igno]r thes[orie]r sotto il ultimo di xbre [15]75 — 5 [d'oro].

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*No more payment is registered.*

CIMA Antonio & Giulio. v. 3.

E adi 15 d'agosto 1574, m[e]s[ser] Antonio Cima è venuto à star' al servitio di S[ua] Ecc[ellenz]a con un suo figliolo qual serve per musico soprano e in prov[isio]ne di [scudi] nove [d'oro] il mese — 9 [d'oro].

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*The Ruoli registers the salary payment to Antonio and Giulio Cima, 9 scudi d'oro per month, from 15 August 1574 to October 1577.*

CIMA Antonio & Giulio Cima, v. 4.

M[e]s[ser] Antonio Cima hà di sal[ari]o da S[ua] Ecc[ellenz]a per uno suo figlio che serve per musico soprano [scudi] nove d'oro il mese — 9 [d'oro].

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*The Ruoli registers the salary payment to Antonio and Giulio Cima, 9 scudi d'oro per month, from November 1577 to December 1582. The payment from July to December 1582 is irregular:*

On 29 November 1582, “a conto di prov[isio]ne” — 14 scudi.

On 12 December 1582, “per tutto dicembre 1582” — 94 scudi 42 soldi.

CIMA Giulio, v. 5.

M[e]s[ser] Antonio Cima hà di p[rovisio]ne da S[ua] Ecc[ellenz]a per Giulio suo fig[liu]o musico [scudi] nove [d'oro] il mese 9 [d'oro].

Raportata nella persona di m[e]s[ser] Giulio Cima in q[u]esto.

M[e]s[ser] Giulio Cima musico stà al servitio di S[ua] Ecc[ellenz]a con pro[visio]ne di [scudi] nove [d'oro] il mese, dico — 9 [d'oro].

Alli 18 di sett[em]bre 1584, S[ua] Ecc[ellenz]a hà fatto dare [scudi] 50 [d'oro] per m[anda]to spedito à bon conto di sue pro[visio]ni con obliigo di lasciare ogni mese [scudi] due [d'oro] piu tanto, che habbia saldato gli detti [scudi] 50 [d'oro] dico — 5 [d'oro].

Adi 15 di 7bre 1586, il detto m[e]s[ser] Giulio hà saldato la partita a detti scudi 50 [d'oro]. Licentato.

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*The Ruoli registers the salary payment to Giulio Cima, 9 scudi d'oro per month, from January 1583 to September 1586.*

CONTI Giovanni Maria, v. 3.

M[es]s[er] Gio[vanni] M[aria] Conti musico stà con S[ua] E[ccellenza] per musico prov[isione] di [scudi] sei m[one]ta il mese — 6.

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*The Ruoli registers the salary payment to Giovanni Maria Conti, 6 scudi per month, from August 1573 to November 1577.*

CONTI Giovanni Maria, v. 4.

M[es]s[er] Gio[vanni] M[aria] Conti stà al serv[izio] di S[ua] Ecc[ellenza] per musico con sal[ario] di [scudi] sei m[one]ta il mese — 6.

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*The Ruoli registers the salary payment to Giovanni Maria Conti, 6 scudi per month, from December 1577 to September 1582.*

CONTI Giovanni Maria, v. 5.

Gio[vanni] Maria Conti stà al ser[vizio] di S[ua] Ecc[ellenza] per musico con pro[visione] di sei moneta il mese — 6 m[one]ta.  
Licenziato.

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*The Ruoli registers the salary payment to Giovanni Maria Conti, 6 scudi per month, from October 1582 to September 1586.*

DALLA VALLE Jacomo, v. 2.

Jacomo dela Valle violino d'av[er]e [scudi] 5:25 m[one]ta p[er] il suo salario del mese d'ottobre presente che per il pasato e sta pag[a]to nelle liste et per mandati — 5.25.

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*The Ruoli registers the salary payment to Jacomo dalla Valle, 5 scudi 25 soldi per month, from October 1567 to September 1567.*

DALLA VALLE Jacomo, v. 3.

Jacomo dala Vale violino stà con Sua Ecc[ellenza] ha di sal[ario] il mese [scudi] cinque [soldi] 25 m[one]ta — [scudi] 5.25.  
Poi è stato licenziato.

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*The Ruoli registers the salary payment to Jacomo dalla Valle, 5 scudi 25 soldi per month, from November 1573 to 15 August 1574.*

DALLA VALLE Pellegrino, v. 2.

1567 Pellegrino dalla Valle portier et violino d'av[er]e [scudi] 5.25 m[one]ta p[er] suo salario et sp[esa] del mese d[']ottob[r]e p[re]s[en]te che per il passato e stato pag[a]to per mandati — 5.25.

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*The Ruoli registers the salary payment to Pellegrino dalla Valle, 5 scudi 25 soldi per month, from October 1567 to September 1568.*

DALLA VALLE Pellegrino, v. 3.

Pellegrino da Valle violino sta con Sua Ecc[ellenza] di sal[ario] il mese [scudi] cinque [soldi] 25 — 5.25.  
S[ua] E[ccellenza] hà ordinato che serva per portier' et violino — 5.50.  
Che poi è stato licenziato.

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*The Ruoli registers the salary payment to Pellegrino dall Valle, 5 scudi 25 sodi per month, from November 1573 to 7 January 1577.*

D'ARRAS Jean, v. 2.

E di 11 di giugno 1566, m[es]s[er] Gio[vanni] d'Aras fu preso in Fiandra p[er] musico fino al

p[ri]mo di genaro p[r]oss[im]o passato con p[r]ovisione di [scudi] dodici [d'oro] il mese, che così fece l'acordo la con S[ua] Ecc[ellenz]a et m[e]s[ser] Ceseri Furlani, che avanza il sal[ari]o di sei mesi da finirsi all[ulti]mo di giugno p[rese]nte — 72 [d'oro].

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*The Ruoli registers the salary payment to Jean d'Arras, 12 scudi d'oro per month, from October 1567 to September 1568.*

D'ARRAS Jean, v.3.

M[e]s[ser] Gio[vanni] d'Arras musico sta con Sua Ecc[ellenz]a hà di prov[isio]ne il mese [sudi] dodici [d'oro] di m[one]ta — 16.56.

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*No payment is registered.*

D'ASPELLI Filippo, v. 3.

Il R[e]v[ere]do m[e]s[ser] don Filippo d'Aspello sta con Sua E[ccellenz]a per capellano et musico hà di provi[sio]ne il mese [scudi] otto [d'oro] int[utt]o — 11.4.

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*The Ruoli registers the salary payment to Filippo d'Aspelli, 8 scudi d'oro per month, from January 1574 to March 1577.*

D'ASPELLI Flippo, v. 4.

Il R[e]v[eren]do m[e]s[ser] don Filippo d'Apeli stà al serv[izi]o di S[a] Ecc[ellenz]a per musico et capelano con prov[isio]ne di [scudi] otto [d'oro] il mese — 8.

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*The Ruoli registers the salary payment to Filippo d'Aspelli, 8 scudi d'oro per month, from April 1577 to March 1582.*

D'ASPELLI Filippo, v. 5.

M[e]s[ser] don Filippo da Spelle stà al ser[vizi]o di S[ua] Ecc[ellenz]a per cappellano con prov[isio]ne di [scudi] otto [d'oro] il mese dico — 8 [d'oro].  
Licenziato.

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*No payment is registered.*

DA TREVISO Antonio, v. 1.

1548. M[e]s[ser] Ant[oni]o da Trevisi musicho de dare [scudi] 4 d'oro in [or]o avuti in Parma da m[e]s[ser] Pietro Ceuli a bon co[n]to di p[rovisi]one — [scudi] 4.68.

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*No more payment is registered.*

“DE BECCHI Gaspar”, v. 2.

1567 M[e]s[ser] Gasparo cappellano de av[er]e [scudi] 8.28 m[one]ta per la sua provisionede del mese d'ottobre presente che p[er] il pasato e stato pag[a]to nelle liste et p[er] mandati — 8.28.

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*The Ruoli registers the salary payment to “Gaspar de Becchi”, 8 scudi 28 soldi i.e. 6 scudi d'oro per month, from October 1568 to September 1567.*

“DE MARES Pietro”, v. 2.

Adi 9 de luglio 1566 m[e]s[ser] Pietro Mares musico contralto fu p[rese] da S[ua] Ecc[ellenz]a in Fiandra al suo s[er]vitio sino al p[ri]mo de maggio p[rossim]o passato a ragion di [scudi] otto [d'oro] di p[rovisi]one a tutte sue spese, così dice m[e]s[ser] Gio[vanni] Ant[oni]o Sozzo, che verrebbe [one word illegible] p[er] maggio et p[er] giugno [scudi] sedici [d'oro] — 16.

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*The Ruoli registers the salary payment to “Pietro de Mares”, 8 scudi d'oro per month, from October 1567 to September 1568.*

DE MARTINI Angelo, v. 2.

1567, don Agniolo d'Maritini musico d'av[er]e [scudi] 3 [d'oro] p[er] la sua p[rovisi]o]ne del

mese d[']ottobb[r]e p[r]es[en]te che p[er] il passato e stato pag[a]to allo stato di Castro et p[er] mandato — 4.14.

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The Ruoli registers the salary payment to Giovanni Maria Conti, 6 scudi per month, from October 1567 to September 1568.

DE MARTINI Angelo, v.3.

Don Angelo de Martini sta con S[ua] Ecc[ellenz]a per musico à di provisione [scudi] tre [d'oro] il mese — 4.14.

Hà di provisione [scudi] 7 [soldi] 50 moneta il mese con il fitto di casa.

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*The Ruoli registers the salary payment to Angelo de Martini, 7 scudi 50 soldi per month, from August 1573 to October 1577.*

DE MARTINI Angelo, v. 4.

M[e]s[ser] don Angelo Martini stà al serv[izi]o di S[ua] Ecc[ellenz]a per musico et cap[pe]llano con prov[isio]ne di [scudi] sette [soldi] 50 m[one]ta il mese con il fitto di casa — 7.50.

E a di primo di luglio 1578 e più se gli da [scudi] quattro moneta per la spesa di Antonio suo nipote cioè ogni mese — 4.

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*The Ruoli registers the salary payment to Angelo de Martini, 7 scudi 50 soldi per month, from November 1577 to September 1582, and the expense, 4 scudi per month from July 1578 to September 1582.*

DE MARTINI Angelo, v. 5.

M[e]s[ser] don Angelo Martino stà al ser[vizi]o di S[ua] Ecc[ellenz]a per capellano con prov[isio]ne di [scudi] sette [soldi] 50 di m[one]ta il mese con il fitto della casa dico — 7.50.

E più [scudi] quattro m[one]ta per la spesa d'Antonio suo nipote il mese — 4 [in total] 11.50.

~~Licentato.~~

Il sopradetto don Angelo Martini il ser[enissi]mo s[igno]r Principe Ran[uccio] ha ordinato che la sua pr[ovisio]ne sia di scudi cinque d'oro il mese dico — 5 scudi d'oro.

Al servitio del sig[no]r Principe.

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*The Ruoli registers the salary payment and the expense to Angelo de Martini, totally 11 scudi 50 soldi per month, from October 1582 to September 1586.*

DE RIZZI Giovanni Antonio, v. 2.

1567, Gio[vanni] Antonio de Ricci violino de av[er]e [scudi] 5.~~50~~ 25 m[one]ta per il suo salario del mese d'ottobre presente che per il pasato e stato pag[a]to nelle liste et per mandati — 5.25.

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The Ruoli registers the salary payment to Giovanni Antonio de Rizzi, 5 scudi 25 soldi per month, from October 1582 to September 1586.

[Another entry]

Adi p[rim]o di 7bre 1570, Gio[vanni] Ant[oni]o de Rizzi portier et viol[in]o ha a esser pag[a]to scudi 5. 50 il mese che p[er] il pass[at]o e stato pag[a]to per staffieri et de li [?] p[er] 9bre p[rese]nte — 5.50.

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*No more payment is registered.*

DE RIZZI Giovanni Antonio, v. 3.

Giovanni Antonio de Ricci violino et portier stà con Sua Ecc[ellenz]a con sa[lari]o de [scudi] cinque [soldi] 50 m[one]ta — 5.50.

Che poi è stato licentato.

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The Ruoli registers the salary payment to Giovanni Antonio de Rizzi, 5 scudi 50 soldi per month, from September 1573 to 7 January 1577.

DE VECCHI Jacomo Antonio, v. 2.

1567, m[e]s[ser] Jacomo Antonio de Vecchi musicho d'av[er]e [scudi] 8 m[one]ta p[er] la sua provisione del mese di ottobre presente che p[er] il pasato e stato pag[a]to nelle liste e per il mantadati — 8.

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The Ruoli registers the salary payment to Jacomo Antonio de Vecchi, 8 scudi per month, from October 1567 to October 1568, and the expense, 3 scudi, of October 1568.

DE VEGGIO Giovanni Agostino, v. 2.

M[e]s[ser] Gio[vanni] Agostino de Vecchi musico d'av[er]e [scudi] 10 m[one]ta p[er] la sua provisione del mese di ottobre persente che p[er] il pasato e stato pag[a]to nelle liste e p[er] mandati — 10.

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The Ruoli registers the salary payment to Giovanni Agostino de Veggio, 10 scudi per month, from October 1568 to September 1568.

DE VEGGIO Giovanni Agostino, v. 3.

M[e]s[ser] Gio[vanni] Agostino de Vecchi musico stà con Sua Ecc[ellenz]a con prov[isio]ne de [scudi] dieci moneta il mese — 10.

E piu la spesa d'un castradino che lui ha in casa [scudi] quattro m[one]ta — 4.

E adi p[rim]o d'ottbore [15]77 [scudi] 4 m[one]ta per la spesa d'un fratello del d[et]to castratino che lui tien' in casa — 4.

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The Ruoli registers the salary payment and the expense for the castradino, totally 14 scudi per month, to Giovanni Agostino de Veggio, from October 1583 to September 1577, and the expense for the castradino's brother of October 1577.

DE VEGGIO Giovanni Agostino, v. 4.

Ms Gio[vanni] Ag[osti]no Vegi stà al serv[izi]o di S[ua] Ecc[ellenz]a per musico con sal[ar]io di [scudi] dieci di m[one]ta il mese — 10.

E piu se gli per la spesa di Pier Antonio et il fratello musici soprani [scudi] otto di m[one]ta il mese — 8.

La spesa del d[et]to Pier' Antonio et fratello si paga à loro medisimi et hà comincio al primo d'aprile 1579.

E alli 15 di dicembre 1579, e più se li paga [scudi] quattro di m[one]ta per la spesa di Gio[vanni] Ant[oni]o musico soprano dico ogni mese — 4.

E adi primo di luglio 1580, il detto castrato si è andato à casa sua.

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The Ruoli registers the salary payment to Giovanni Agostino de Veggio, 10 scudi per month, from October 1582 to September 1586, the expense for Pier Antonio, 4 scudi per month, from October 1577 to March 1579, the expense for Pier Antonio's brother, 4 scudi per month from November 1577 to March 1579, and the expense for Giovanni Antonio, 4 scudi per month, from 15 December 1579 to June 1580.

DE VEGGIO Giovanni Agostino, v. 5.

M[e]s[ser] Gio[vanni] Agostino Vegio stà al serv[izi]o di S[ua] Ecc[ellenz]a per musico con prov[isio]ne di [scudi] dieci di m[one]ta il mese dico — 10 m[one]ta.

Licentiato.

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The Ruoli registers the salary payment to Giovanni Agostino de Veggio, 10 scudi per month, from October 1582 to September 1586.

“DILLEN Guglielmo”, v. 3.

E adi primo di gennaio [15]75 anzi a di primo d'orrobre [15]74, m[e]s[ser] Villico Dillen' fiamingo musico per hà cominciato à correrli la prov[isio]ne [a] scudi 7 [d'oro] il mese — 7 [d'oro].

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The Ruoli registers the salary payment to “Guglielmo Dillen”, 7 scudi d'oro per month, from

October 1574 to March 1577.

“DILLEN Guglielmo”, v. 4.

M[e]s[ser] Villico di Len' fiamingo sta al serv[izi]o dell' Ill[ustrissi]mo sig[nor] Duca con prov[isio]ne di [scudi] sette [d'oro] il mese — 7 [d'oro].

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The Ruoli registers the salary payment to “Guglielmo Dillen”, 7 scudi d'oro per month, from April 1577 to September 1582.

“DILLEN Guglielmo”, v. 5.

1583, m[e]s[ser] Vilico di Len stà al ser[vizi]o di S[ua] Ecc[ellenz]a per musico con pr[o]visio]ne di [scudi] sette [d'oro] il mese — 7 [d'oro].  
Licenziato.

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The Ruoli registers the salary payment to “Guglielmo Dillen”, 7 scudi d'oro per month, from October 1582 to September 1586.

“D'OLANDA Teodoro”, v. 2.

E adi xi di luglio 1566. m[e]s[ser] Teodro [sic] d'Olanda musico contralto fu p[r]eso in Fiandra di comissione di S[ua] Ecc[ellenz]a da m[e]s[ser] Josquino Persones [sic], alli 5 marzo p[r]oss[im]o passato a ragion di [scudi] sei e mezzo [d'oro] il mese di p[r]ovisione, che a d'j avere p[er] mesi tre e cinque sestis, cioè dalli 5 di marzo sud[dett]o che fu p[r]eso al s[er]vizio di S[ua] Ecc[ellenz]a sino al[l']ulti]mo di giugno p[r]oss[im]o passato. — 34.40 m[one]ta.

Et de hav[er]je [soldi] 29 p[er] il sal[ari]o del di 5 di marzo sopradetto che dice fu p[r]ese alla mattina a buon ora — 29.

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The Ruoli registers the salary payment to “Teodoro d'Olanda”, 6 scudi d'oro and a half per month, from October 1567 to September 1568.

GUARNIERI Francesco, v. 2.

1567 Francescho Guarnieri portiere et violino de av[er]je [scudi] 5-50 m[one]ta p[er] il suo salario del mese di ottobre presente che p[er] il passato e stato pagato p[er] mandati — 5.50.

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The Ruoli registers the salary payment to Francesco Guarnieri, 5 scudi 50 soldi per month, from October 1567 to September 1568.

GUARNIERI Francesco, v. 3.

~~Francesco Guarnieri violino stà con Sua Ecc[ellenz]a con sal[ari]o di cinque [soldi] 50 il mese — 5.50.~~

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No payment is registered.

GUASCONI Ferrante, v. 2.

1567, m[e]s[ser] Ferante Guasconi musicho et trombete [one word illegible] di casa de av[er]je [scudi] 10 m[one]ta per sua provisione del mese di ottobre p[r]esente che per il pasato e stato pag[a]to p[er] mandati — 10.

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The Ruoli registers the salary payment to Ferrante Guasconi, 10 scudi per month, from October 1567 to September 1568.

GUASCONI Ferrante, v. 3.

M[e]s[ser] Ferante Guasconi musico sta con Sua Ecc[ellenz]a con provisione de [scudi] dieci moneta il mese — 10.

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The Ruoli registers the salary payment to Ferrante Guasconi, 10 scudi per month, from August 1573 to August 1576.

GUASCONI Ferrante, v. 4.

M[*e*]*s*[*ser*] Ferrante Guasconi stà al serv[*izi*]o di S[ua] Ecc[*ellenz*]a per musico con prov[*isio*]ne di [scudi] dieci m[*one*]ta il mese — 10.

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The Ruoli registers the salary payment to Ferrante Guasconi, 10 scudi per month, from September 1577 to September 1582.

GUASCONI Ferrante, v. 5.

M[*e*]*s*[*ser*] Ferante Guascone stà al ser[*vizi*]o di S[ua] Ecc[*ellenz*]a per musico con pro[*visio*]ne di [scudi] dieci m[*one*]ta il mese accio — 10 m[*one*]ta.  
Licentiao.

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The Ruoli registers the salary payment to Ferrante Guasconi, 10 scudi per month, from October 1582 to September 1586.

“Guglielmo” v. 2.

Adi 2 di novemb[*r*]e 1567 Guglielmo sob[*r*]ano fiam[*m*]ingho d'av[*er*]e scudi 4 m[*one*]ta p[*er*] la sua spesa del mese d[*'*]ottonb[*r*]e — 4.

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The Ruoli registers the expense for “Guglielmo”, 4 scudi per month, from October 1567 to September 1568.

HABERSTOCK Christoph, v.3.

Christofano Alberstoc musico e venuto à stare con Sua Ecc[*ellenz*]a adi p[*rim*]op di 9bre 1570 con provisione [scudi] otto [d'oro] in [or]o il mese — 11.4 moneta.  
Li è partito dal s[*ervi*]tio.

Il sud[*det*]to m[*e*]*s*[*ser*] Christofano ha havuti pag[*amen*]ti della sua prov[*isio*]ne per tutto il di 15 d'aprile [15]75 [scudi] 85.86 moneta di Par[*m*]a per man del [Francesco dalla] Cast[*ella*]na in Roma di xbre [15]74 di gennaio di marzo et aprile del [15]75 in 4 presente et di detta somma si è poi espedito in man[*da*]to al sig[*nor*] thes[*oriere*] sotto il di ultimo di dicembre [15]75 — 85.86.

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The Ruoli registers the salary payment to Christoph Habersstock, 8 scudi d'oro per month, from October 1573 to August 1574.

LODI Lorenzo, v. 3.

M[*e*]*s*[*ser*] Lorenzino da Bologna sta con Sua Ecc[*ellenz*]a per musico hà di sal[*ari*]o [scudi] sette [d'oro] il mese et li comincia al p[*rim*]o di ottobre 1574 che per l'adietro hà mangiato in casa — 7.

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The Ruoli registers the salary payment to Lorenzo Lodi, 7 scudi d'oro per month, from October 1574 to November 1577.

LODI Lorenzo, v. 4.

M[*e*]*s*[*ser*] Lorenzo Lodi sta al serv[*izi*]o di S[ua] Ecc[*ellenz*]a per musico con sal[*ari*]o di [scudi] sette [d'oro] il mese — 7 [d'oro].  
Che poi è licentiao.

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The Ruoli registers the salary payment to Lorenzo Lodi, 7 scudi d'oro per month, from December 1577 to 15 June 1581.

LODI Lorenzo, v.5

M[*e*]*s*[*ser*] Lorenzo Lodi stà al ser[*vizi*]o di S[ua] Ecc[*ellenz*]a per musico con pr[*ovisio*]ne di [scudi] sette [d'oro] il mese dico — 7 d'oro.  
E adi primo d'aprile 1586, m[*e*]*s*[*ser*] Lorenzo Lodi da Bologna è tornato al serv[*izi*]o di S[ua] Altezza per musico con prov[*isio*]ne di [scudi] dieci d[*'*]or]o il mese q[ua]le pro[*visio*]ne li comincia al sud[*det*]to et q[ue]sto d'ord[*in*]e del s[*igno*]re mag[*giordo*]mo — 10.  
Licentiao.

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The Ruoli registers the salary payment to Lorenzo Lodi, 10 scudi d'oro per month, from April 1586 to October 1586.

“Lorezino”, v. 2.

1567, Lorenzino de avere [scudi] 4 p[er] la sua spesa del mese di ottobre che p[er] il pasato e stato pag[a]to per il mandare — 4.

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The Ruoli registers the expense for “Lorenzino”, 4 scudi per month, from October 1568 to April 1568, and the salary payment to him, 7 scudi per month, from May 1568 to September 1568.

MARCHESELLI Sebastiano, v. 3.

Adi 1 Febraio 1573, m[e]s[ser] Sebastiano Marcheselli da Casalmaggior' venne à star' con S[ua] E[ccellenza] per musico con provisione di [scudi] 8 moneta il mese — 8.

Il detto m[e]s[ser] Sebastiano ha havuto pagato della sua prov[isio]ne per man' del [Francesco dalla] Cast[ella]na in Roma di dicembre [15]74 et a marzo del xbre [15]75.

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The Ruoli registers the salary payment to Sebastiano Marcheselli, 8 scudi per month, from August 1573 to September 1574.

MUSCONI Francesco, v. 4.

Adi 20 di xbre 1579, m[e]s[ser] Fran[ces]co Musconi è stato accettato al serv[izi]o di S[ua] Ecc[ellenza] per musico senz[a] prov[isio]ne alc[u]na —

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No payment is registered.

MUSCONI Francesco, v. 5.

1583, m[e]s[ser] Fra[n]cesco Musconi fù accettato al ser[vizi]o di S[ua] Ecc[ellenza] senza pro[visio]ne per musico.

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No payment is registered.

PALMARTZ Gottfried, v. 3.

M[e]s[ser] Gottifredo Palmia musico è venuto à stare con Sua Ecc[ellenza] a di p[rim]o di 9bre hà di prov[isio]ne il mese [scudi] dodici moneta — 12.

E partito dal servitio di S[ua] Ecc[ellenza] al p[ri]mo di gennaio 1576.

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The Ruoli registers the salary payment to Gottfried Palmartz, 12 scudi per month, from October 1573 to December 1575.

PALMARTZ Gottfried, v. 4.

M[e]s[ser] Gottifreddo Palma è tornato al servitio di S[ua] Ecc[ellenza] per musico con prov[isio]ne di [scudi] dieci [d'oro] il mese — 10 d'oro.

E alli 15 di xbre 1579 e più se gli paga [scudi] otto m[one]ta il mese per le spese di Cesare e Bernardino musici soprani et commintiali a correrli à di sop[radet]to — 8.

E non si paga la spesa se non p[redett]o castrato portato in q[uesto] alli ult[im]o del lib[r]o [?].

M[e]s[ser] Gottifredo Palma musico stà al serv[izi]o di S[ua] Ecc[ellenza] per musico con pr[oiv]sio]ne di scudi dieci d[or]o il mese — 14.20.

E più per la spesa d'un castrato scudi 4 m[one]ta il mese — 4.

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The Ruoli registers the salary payment to Gottfried Palmartz, 10 scudi d'oro per month, from March 1578 to December 1582, the expense for Cesare, 4 scudi per month, from 16 December 1579 to December 1582, and the expense for Giacomo Antonio, 4 scudi per month, from 16 December 1579 to June 1580.

PALMARTZ Gottfried, v. 5.

M[e]s[ser] Gottifredo Palma stà al ser[vizi]o di S[ua] Ecc[ellenza] per musico con pro[visio]ne di [scudi] dieci d'oro il mese dico — 10 [d'oro].

E [scudi] quattro m[one]ta per la spesa d'un castrato.

Licentiatto.

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The Ruoli registers the salary payment and the expense to Gottfried Palmartz, totally 18 scudi 40 soldi per month, from October 1582 to September 1586.

PECCHIO Cristofano & Ottavio, v. 4.

E adi 9 d'agosto 1578, m[e]s[ser] Christofano Pecchio et Ott[avi]o suo cugino stano con S[ua] Ecc[ellenz]a per musici con prov[isio]ne cioè [scudi] sette moneta a m[e]s[ser] Christofano et [scudi] tre moneta a Ott[avi]o il mese sono [scudi] 10 et comincia d[et]ta prov[isio]ne alli 28 d'aprile 1578.

E adi primo di settembre 1578, Ottavio sud[det]to è venuto à mangiare in casa et non li corre sal[ari]o alc[un]o che la spesa il vestito, et à m[e]s[ser] Christofano li corre' solo la sua prov[isio]ne ch'è di [scudi] sette m[one]ta il mese così hà ordinato S[ua] Ecc[ellenz]a disse il s[igno]r Giovanni Antonio Sozzo à me Angelo Aquila.

E à di primo di novembre 1578, il suddetto m[e]s[ser] Christofano hà di prov[isio]ne da S[ua] Ecc[ellenz]a [scudi] sette [d'oro] il mese — 9.94 m[one]ta.

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The Ruoli registers the salary payment to Cristofano Pecchio, 7 scudi per month, from 28 April 1578 to October 1578, then his salary, 7 scudi d'oro per month, from November 1578 to September 1582, and the expense, 3 scudi per month, from 28 April 1578 to August 1578.

PECCHIO Cristofano, v. 5.

M[e]s[ser] Christoforo Pecchio stà al ser[vizi]o di S[ua] Ecc[ellenz]a per musico con prov[isio]ne di [scudi] sette [d'oro] il mese — 7 [d'oro].  
Licenziato.

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The Ruoli registers the salary payment to Cristofano Pecchio, 7 scudi d'oro per month, from October 1582 to September 1586.

PECCHIO Jacomo, v. 2.

M[e]s[ser] Jacomo Pechia musico de av[er]e [scudi] 13.80 m[one]ta p[er] la sua provisione del mese di ottobre presente che per il pasato e stato pag[a]to nelle liste et p[er] mandati — 13.80. 1568, E de av[er]e p[er] suo figliolo p[er] d[ett]o [mese... gennaio] — 3.

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The Ruoli registers the salary payment to Jacomo Pecchio, 10 scudi d'oro per month, from October 1568 to September 1568, and the expense, 3 scudi per month, from January 1568 to September 1568.

PECCHIO Jacomo, v. 3.

M[e]s[ser] Jacomo Pechio musico sta con Sua Ecc[ellenz]a ha di prov[isio]ne il mese [scudi] dieci [d'oro] in [or]o — 13.80.

E piu Juli trenta per la spesa d'un' suo filiolo — 3.

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The Ruoli registers the salary payment and the expense to Jacomo Pecchio, 16 scudi 80 soldi per month, from October 1573 to April 1577.

PECCHIO Jacomo, v. 4.

M[e]s[ser] Jacomo Pechio sta al serv[izi]o di S[ua] Ecc[ellenz]a per musico con prov[isio]ne di [scudi] sedici soldi 80 m[one]ta il mese comprese li [scudi] 3 simili per la spesa d'uno suo figlio — 16.80.

È morto alli 27 d'aprile 1578.

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The Ruoli registers the salary payment and the expense to Jacomo Pecchio, 16 scudi 80 soldi per month, from May 1577 to 27 April 1578.

PELOSINO Guglielmo. v. 2.

E adi 8 di marzo 1564, m[e]s[ser] Gio[vanni] Guglielmo detto il Pelosino che sona di violino vene a servire S[ua] Ecc[ellenz]a al p[rim]o di genaro 1564 p[er] porier et anco p[er] sonare a requisitione di S[ua] Ecc[ellenz]a co[n] p[er]visio]ne di [scudi] 5 1/2 m[one]ta d[illegibile]... il mese come ne fa fede il S[igno]r Gio[vanni] Alfonso Maurello... — 11.

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The Ruoli registers the salary payment to Guglielmo Pelosino, 5 scudi 50 soldi per month, from October 1557 to September 1568.

PERSOENS Josquin, v. 2.

E adi 23 d[']ottob[r]e 1563, m[e]s[ser] Josquin Persones fiam[m]ingho ven[n]e al servizio di S[ua] Ecc[ellenz]a in Fiandra sino alli 5 d[']agosto p[r]oss[i]mo passato a ragio[n] [scudi] 3 [d'oro] il mese p[er] il salario et [scudi] 3 1/2 p[er] le sp[es]e che a, d[']av[er]e dalli 5 d[']agosto p[er] sino alli 23 di sette[m]b[r]e che arrivo in Parma a ragio[n] di [scudi] 6 1/2 [d'oro] il mese che S[ua] Ecc[ellenz]a se contentata no[n] se l['] mette in conto la sp[es]a del viaggio — 10 [d'oro] [soldi] 124.

Et d'av[er]e [scudo] 1 d'oro [soldi] 125 per il salario dalli 24 di sett[m]b[r]e p[er] sino alli 10 d[']ottob[r]e che ando in casa m[e]s[ser] Gab[r]iello Alb[r]utio et in d[ett]o tempo magno al[']osteria — 1 [d'oro] 125.

E d'av[er]e [scudi] 2 [d'oro] [soldi] 50 p[er] la sp[es]a dalli 20 di ottob[re] p[er] sino al[l']ultim[o] detto che lui a pag[a]to m[e]s[ser] Gab[r]iello — 2 [d'oro] 50.

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The Ruoli registers the salary payment to Josquin Persoens, 6 scudi d'oro and a half per month, from October 1567 to September 1568.

PIETRA Pier Antonio and his brother, v. 4.

Pier Antonio Pietra et fratello musico hanno da S[ua] Ecc[ellenz]a ogni mese per le loro spese scudi [otto] moneta — 8.

E à di primo di luglio 1580, si è levato la spesa al pred[ett]o fratello di detto Pier Ant[oni]o et d'ord[in]e di S[ua] Ecc[ellenz]a si è m[anda]to à casa sua pagato solo [scudi] quattro a Pier Ant[oni]o ogni mese per la sua spesa — 4 m[one]ta.

E adi primo di gennaio 1581, S[ua] Ecc[ellenz]a hà ordinato al d[et]to Pietro Ant[oni]o [scudi] sette [d'oro] ogni mese di prov[isio]ne à sue spese disse il s[igno]r mag[giordo]mo et li comincia adi sud[det]to — 7 [d'oro].

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The Ruoli registers the expense for Pier Antonio Pietra, 4 scudi per month, from April 1579 to December 1580, the expense for his brother, 4 scudi per month, from April 1579 to June 1580, and the salary payment to Pier Antonio Pietra, 7 scudi d'oro per month, from January 1581 to December 1582.

PIETRA Pier Antonio, v. 5.

Pietro Antonio Pietra stà al ser[vizi]o di S[ua] Ecc[ellenz]a per musico con pr[ovisio]ne di [scudi] sette d[']oro il mese — scudi 7 [d'oro].

Al detto Pietro Ant[oni]o il sig[no]r Maggior domo d'ordine di S[ua] Ecc[ellenz]a gli ha ordinato di pro[visio]ne con la spesa [scudi] dodici m[one]ta il mese dico — 12 m[one]ta. Licenziato.

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The Ruoli registers the salary payment to Pier Antonio Pietra, 7 scudi d'oro per month, from January 1583 to March 1586, and his salary, 12 scudi per month, from April 1586 to September 1586.

PIGHINO Paolo, v. 3.

M[e]s[ser] Paolo Pighino è venuto à star' con S[ua] Ecc[ellenz]a per musico ha di prov[isio]ne il mese [scudi] 12 1/2 [d'oro] — 12 1/2.

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The Ruoli registers the salary payment to Paolo Pighino, 12 scudi d'oro and a half per month, from November 1574 to November 1577.

PIGHINO Paolo, v. 4.

M[e]s[ser] Paolo Pighino stà al serv[izi]o di S[ua] Ecc[ellenz]a per musico con prov[isio]ne di [scudi] dodici et mezo [d'oro] il mese — 12 1/2 [d'oro].

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The Ruoli registers the salary payment to Paolo Pighino, 12 scudi d'oro and a half per month, from December 1577 to October-November 1582.

PIGHINO Paolo, v. 5.

M[e]s[ser] Paolo Pighini stà al ser[vizi]o di S[ua] Ecc[ellenz]a per musico con pr[o]visio[n]e di [scudi] dodici e mezzo [d'oro] il mese — 12 1/2 [d'oro].  
Licenziato.

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The Ruoli registers the salary payment to Paolo Pighino, 10 scudi per month, from November-December 1582 to November 1586.

RIMIGNANI Giovanni Ludovico, v. 2.

1567, m[e]s[ser] Gio[vanni] Lodovico Rimignani musico d'av[er]e [scudi] 8 m[one]ta p[er] la sua provisione del mese di ottobre presente che p[er] il pasato e stato pag[a]to nelle liste et p[er] mandati — 8.

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The Ruoli registers the salary payment to Giovanni Ludovico Rimignani, 8 scudi per month, from October 1567 to September 1568.

RIMIGNANI Giovanni Ludovico, v. 3.

M[e]s[ser] Giovanni Ludovico Rimignani musico sta con Sua Ecc[ellenz]a con prov[isio]ne de [scudi] otto moneta il mese — 8.

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The Ruoli registers the salary payment to Giovanni Ludovico Rimignani, 8 scudi per month, from November 1573 to December 1577.

RIMIGNANI Giovanni Ludovico, v. 4.

M[e]s[ser] Giovanni Ludovico Ramiani stà al serv[izi]o di S[ua] Ecc[ellenz]a per musico con prov[isio]ne di [scudi] otto di m[one]ta il mese — 8.

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The Ruoli registers the salary payment to Giovanni Ludovico Rimignani, 8 scudi per month, from January 1578 to September 1582.

RIMIGNANI Giovanni Ludovico, v. 5.

M[e]s[ser] Gio[vanni] Lodovico Ramiani stà al serv[izi]o di S[ua] Ecc[ellenz]a per musico con pro[visio]ne di [scudi] otto moneta il mese, dico — 8 m[one]ta.  
Licenziato.

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The Ruoli registers the salary payment to Giovanni Ludovico Rimignani, 8 scudi per month, from October 1582 to September 1586.

TORRE Lazzaro, v. 2.

M[e]s[ser] Lazero Torr musico de av[er]e [scudi] 8 m[one]ta il mese di feb[rai]o — 8.

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The Ruoli registers the salary payment to Lazzaro Torre, 8 scudi per month, from February to September of an unspecified year (apparently 1568).

TORTONA Ottavio, v. 5.

À di primo di luglio 1583, m[e]s[ser] Ott[avi]o Tortona stà al ser[vizi]o di S[ua] Ecc[ellenz]a per musico et hà la sua spesa del vivere [scudi] quattro di m[one]ta il mese et q[ues]to d'ord[in]e del signor maggiord[om]o et comintiali à di sop[radet]to — 4.

E adi primo maggio 1584, il s[igno]r Duca hà ordinato al d[ett]o Tortona [scudi] quattro m[one]ta per la sua pro[visio]ne oltre li [scudi] 4 sud[det]ti per la spesa che sono in [tu]tti [scudi] otto m[one]ta il mese disse il s[igno]r mag[giordo]mo — 8.  
Licenziato.

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The Ruoli registers the expense for Ottavio Tortona, 4 scudi per month, from September 1583 to April 1584, and his salary, 8 scudi per month, from May 1583 to September 1586.

VERDELLI Fabio, v. 3.

M[e]s[ser] Fabio Verdellis è venuto à star' con S[ua] Ecc[ellenz]a per musico con provi[sio]ne di [scudi] dieci moneta il mese — 10.

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The Ruoli registers the salary payment to Fabio Verdelli, 10 scudi per month, from 17 May 1576 to December 1577.

VERDELLI Fabio, v. 4.

1578, m[e]s[ser] Fabio Verdellis stà al serv[izi]o di S[ua] Ecc[ellenz]a per musico con prov[isio]ne di [scudi] dieci moneta il mese — 10.

E adi primo di 7bre 1581 il sig[nor] Duca hà ordinato che si paghi di prov[isio]ne ogni mese al d[et]to m[e]s[ser] Fabio [scudi] dodici m[one]ta il mese disse il sig[nor] mag[giordo]mo et li cominca detta provisione adi sud[et]to — 12.

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The Ruoli registers the salary payment to Fabio Verdelli, 10 scudi per month, from January 1578 to August 1581, and his salary, 12 scudi per month, from Septemgber 1581 to Decembger 1582.

VERDELLI Fabio, v. 5.

M[e]s[ser] Fabio Verdelli musico stà al ser[vizi]o di S[ua] Ecc[ellenz]a con pro[visio]ne di [scudi] dodici m[one]ta il mese dico — 12 m[one]ta.

Licentiato.

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The Ruoli registers the salary payment to Fabio Verdelli, 12 scudi per month, from January 1583 to September 1586.

“ZAMBONE Vincenzo”, v.2.

Adi 10 di giugno 1566, Vinc[enz]o Zambuono fu p[r]eso in Fiandra da S[ua] Ecc[ellenz]a p[er] musico al p[ri]mo di genaro p[r]oss[im]o passato con p[r]ovisione di [scudi] sei di m[one]ta il mese la quale p[r]ovisione no[n] gli comincera se no[n] al p[ri]mo di maggio p[r]oss[im]o passato perche S[ua] Ecc[ellenz]a ha fatto farli le sp[es]e et fattoli i segnare, è però no[n] vole che comincerà q[ues]ta provisione per il sopradeto e stato pag[a]to per tutto setembre che per il presente mese di ottobre presente av[er]e scudi 6 m[one]ta per la sua provisione del — 6.

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The Ruoli registers the salary payment to “Vincenzo Zambone”, 6 scudi per month, from October 1567 to September 1568.

“ZAMBONE Vincenzo”, v. 3.

M[e]s[ser] Vincenzo Zambone musico sta con Sua Ecc[ellenz]a ha di prov[isio]ne [scudi] sei moneta il mese — 6.

Comincia alli 21 di dicembre 1571 à corere al detto m[e]s[ser] Vincenzo la prov[isio]ne a rag[io]ne di [scudi] otto m[one]ta il mese — 8.

Il detto m[e]s[ser] Vincenzo hà havuto p[aga]to delle sue prov[isio]ne per tutto febbraio 1575 in Roma per man del [Francesco dalla] Cast[ella]na [scudi] 47.72.6 del mese di xbre 1574 di gen[na]io et m[ar]zo 1575 in tre partite, et di detta somma si è poi spedito il m[anda]to al s[igno]r thes[orie]r sotto il di ultimo di xbre 1575 — 47.72.6.

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The Ruoli registers the salary payment to “Vincenzo Zambone”, 8 scudi per month, from August 1573 to August 1574.

“ZEVERO Lorenzo”, v. 3.

M[e]s[ser] Lorenzo Zevero fiamingo musico sta con Sua Ecc[ellenz]a hà di prov[isio]ne [scudi] cinque moneta il mese.

Hà di provisione otto [d'oro] il mese senza spesa.

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The Ruoli registers the salary payment to “Lorenzo Zevero”, 8 scudi d'oro per month, from October 1573 to November 1577.

“ZEVERO Lorenzo”, v. 4.

M[e]s[ser] Lorenzo Zeuro stà al serv[izi]o di S[ua] Ecc[ellenz]a per musico con pro[visio]ne di [scudi] otto [d'oro] il mese — 8 d[or]o.

The Ruoli registers the salary payment to “Lorenzo Zevero”, 8 scudi d’oro per month, from December 1577 to December 1582.

“ZEVERO Lorenzo”, v. 5.

M[es] Lorenzo Zeuro stà al ser[vizi]o di S[ua] Ecc[ellenz]a per musico con pro[visio]ne di [scudi] otto d’[or]o il mese — 8 [d’oro].

È morto alli 26 di marzo 1583.

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The Ruoli registers the salary payment to “Lorenzo Zevero”, 8 scudi d’oro per month, from January 1583 to March 1583.

2. Extracts from ASPR-MASTRI ----- (A) (B)  
Some documents are quoted in OWNES 1976 etc.

v. 4: 27

[On 6 March 1561] E [scudi] cento dieci [soldi] 22.3 m[one]ta pag[a]ti a m[es] Giuolio Lampognano in Piac[en]za p[er] al tanti che m[es] Ant[oni]o suo fr[ate]llo d’ordine di S[ua] Ecc[ellenz]a aveva pag[a]ti in Anversa a m[es] Cipriano Rore p[er] le sue sp[es]e p[er] venirsene in Italia... — 110.22.3.

v. 4: 113

[On 9 August 1561] E [scudi] sesantasei 2/ 3 [d’oro] a m[es] Cipriano musico p[er] la sua p[ro]vis[i]o]ne di 4 mesi finiti alli 17 di maggio passato... — 90.

v. 4: 143

E adi 22 d’aprile [scudi] venticinque [d’oro] a m[es] Crist[ofa]no da Torre p[er] il fitto della casa doe abita m[es] Cipriano p[er] an[n]o da finirssi al[l’ulti]mo d’ag[os]to p[ro]ss[i]mo — 33.75.

v. 4: 425

Et adi 21 detto [November 1564] [scudi] sei [soldi] 8.6 a m[es] Cipriano Rore per libri compri p[er] musici... — 6.8.6.

v. 5: 359

[On 8 June 1566] E [scudi] dicisette [soldi] 94 à m[esser] Giuschino P[er]sones per 9bre e xbre pass[ato] — 17.94.

E [scudi] dua [soldi] 66 d[enari] 8 al d[ett]o p[er] la spesa di Guielmo fiamingo di 20 giorni — 2.66.8.

v. 5: 387

Et adi 28 xbre [1566] [scudi] cinque soldi [52] a m Giuschino musico per il prezzo d’una pelliza che diede à Lor[enzi]no fiamingo q[ua]n[d]o era amalato d’ord[in]e di S[ua] E[ccellenz]a — 5.52.

v. 5: 396

[On 9 October 1566] E [scudi] dodici [soldi] 97 à m[esser] Giuschino Persones per suo sal[ari]o et la spesa di Guglielmo musico per 7bre — 12.97.

v.5: 534

[On 17 November 1567] E [scudi] otto [soldi] 97 à m[esser] Giuschino musico p[er] 8bre — 8.97.

E [scudi] quattro al d[ett]o per la spesa di Guglielmo — 4.

v. 6: 45

[On 3 February 1569] E [scudi] sei d’oro à Hier[onim]o Pugnetti musico soprano p[er] andar’ a casa sua — 8.28.

v. 6: 84

[On 3 February 1569] E [scudi] tredici [soldi] 80 à m[esser] Giovanni d’Aras per la spesa fatta à m[esser] Guielmo musico p[er] venir’ a servir’ S[ua] E[ccellenz]a — 13.80.

v. 6: 159

[On 3 December 1569] E [scudi] dieci a m[e]s[ser] Gio[vanni] Agost[i]no de Vecchi p[er] ottobre — 10.

E [scudi] otto a Pierant[oni]o soprano p[er] dua mesi finiti al ul[tim]o detto [October] — 8.

v. 6: 247

[On 23 October 1570] E [scudi] quatordecim m[one]ta a m[e]s[ser] Gio[vanni] Agostino de Vecchi con la spesa del castradino p[er] 7bre — 14.

v. 7: 103

[On 25 September 1574] A m[e]s[ser] Gotifredo Pala musico [scudi] quarantotto m[one]ta p[er] sua p[ro]vis[i]one di quatro mesi finiti al ult[im]o d'agosto pass[at]o — 48.

Al detto [scudi] otto p[er] h[an] tenuto in casa un castratino piac[enti]no p[er] dua mesi aprile e magg[i]o che se poi mand[at]o a casa — 8.

v. 8: 255

[On 10 March 1576] E [scudi] dodici [soldi] 60 m[one]ta à m[e]s[ser] Ant[oni]o Cima p[er] la p[ro]vis[i]one di Giulio suo fig[li]uo p[er] 7br[e] p[assa]to — 12.60.

v. 8: 290

[On 14 April 1576] E [scudi] trentasette [soldi] 80 à Giulio musico p[er] d[ett]i 3 mesi [January, February and March 1576] — 37.80.

v. 8: 540

[On 18 February 1578] E [scudi] sei [soldi] 10 à m[e]s[ser] Galeazo Cacc[iardi]ni p[er] dua leuti venduti al Ill[ustriss]imo s[ignor] Ranutio — 6.10.

3. ASPR-TEATRI, busta 1 mazzo 2 fascicolo 1 sottofascicolo 1 ----- (A)  
On 9 June 1545.

From Gonfalonieri of Castro to Duke Pier Luigi.

À questi giorni passati furno qui dui frati conventovali di S[an] Francesco de' quagli il maggiore ha nome fra Gio[vanni] Battista cantori & sonatori ambedue de varii instrumenti et offersisi stare in questa citta. Quando à V[ostra] Ecc[ellenza] piacesse darli il luogo di S[an]to Francesco con quelle provisioni ch[e] dà à frate Lione et obligarebesi havere continuo dua altri compagni, almeno & forsi tre ch[e] serrebbero voci consertate da far del continuo capella. Cognoscendo noi l'Ecc[ellenza] V[ostra] essere desiderosa dell'honor di questa sua citta c[']è parso conveniente avisarla di tal cosa che deliberandosi ella del si, la comunita anchora dal canto suo si sforzaria contribuire à qualch[e] cosa accio tale honore & com[m]do ne segua con si poca spesa. Quella è padrona deliberi lei q[u]anto gli piace sopra di cio ch[e] tanto giudicara esser ben fatto.

4. ASPR-TEATRI, busta 1 mazzo 2 fascicolo 2 sottofascicolo 1 ----- (B)  
On 22 December 1545.

From Antonio Brandici to Prince Ottavio.

Also quoted in PELICELLI 1936 Storia: 45.

V[ostra] Sublimita puo ess[ere] cert[iss]ima ch[e] se il padre mio fusi resusitato no[n] magior alegrezza potria esermi stata di q[ue]lla ch[e] d[e]lla esaltatione di V[ostra] S[ubl]imità ho hauta, et so ch[e] di questo la no[n] si maravegliera conose[n]do la vera et amorevel s[er]vitu ch[']io li ho se[m]pre portata co[n] desiderio di viver et mor[ir] alli s[er]viti di V[ostra] Subl[imi]ta, p[er]o la suplico mi faci degno di ta[n]ta gratia et mass[im]e sta[n]do io d[e]lla podagra gratia d[i] Dio co[n] certa destine[n]tia com[e] guar-[illegible] rispetto al te[m]po pasato come da me ora a caro i[n]tender V[ostra] Su[blimi]ta. Et porger uno d[e]lli migliori instrumenti d[i] Italia. Et sera pur q[ue]llo, d[i]stinato alli [one word illegible] di q[ue]lla per tenirla alegra il che causera la p[ro]llo[n]gatione d[e]lla vita sua p[er]o la si degni p[er] amor d[e]l suo fidel[iss]imo s[er]vitor farmi inte[n]der l[']animo suo co[n] due paroline sa[n]te, comete[n]do i[n] Venetia a sua i[m]basciator o mo[nsigno]re R[everendo] legato ch[e] le vedrici q[ui] i[n] Treviso Ant[oni]o Bra[n]dici s[er]vitor di V[ostra] Su[blimi]ta il qual voler aspeto co[n] la gola ap[er]ta basciandoli humil[men]te le mani. Di Treviso alli 22 dec[em]b[re]

1545.

Io volevo tacer queste parole pur p[er] l[']amor et fid[e]l s[er]vitu ch[']io porto et V[ost]ra Su[blimi]ta le dico et la sia certissima ch[e] s[']io fusi ricercato da quel si[gn]or si volesi co[n] p[ro]vi[sio]ne d[i] [scudi] 200 al[']ano no[n] mi moverei p[er] Dio, ma V[ost]ra S[ublimi]ta voglio s[er]vir se[n]za alcu[n] p[re]mio spe[n]de[n]do q[ue]l ch[']io ho al mo[n]do et onorevelme[n]te p[er]ch[e] cosi piac'a Dio ch[e] sia l[']animo mio.

5. ASPR-TEATRI, busta 1 mazzo 2 fascicolo 2 sottofascicolo 2 ----- (B)  
On 28 January 1546.  
From Vincenzo Parabosco to Alessandro Viustrino.  
Also quoted in PELICELLI Storia: 46-48.

No[n] piu presto ch[e] hora o potuto dar' risposta a una di V[ost]ra S[ignora] data ali 20 del p[rese]nte p[er] no[n] e[ss]er in Bressa q[ue]lli valenti virtuosi quail a posta p[er] uno mio li ho fato intender' ch[e] io li voria parlar' et subito p[er] sua gratia sono venuti ala citta a ritrovarmi et ge ho fato inte[n]der' tuto q[ue]llo ch[e] V[ost]ra S[ignora] scrive circa ch[e] la Eccel[le]ntia del n[ost]ro sig[no]re Duca di Piace[n]za voria saper' de q[uan]te sorte de instrumenti elli sonani e q[uan]to vorebene p[er] suo salario e q[uan]to numero de p[er]sone si ritrovano nela compagnia sua. Il primo de elli ch[e] si doma[n]da m[e]s[er] Jo[vanni] Pietro Rizetto mi a risposto in q[ue]sta forma ch[e] elli so[n]no sei e ch[e] vene[n]do al servizio di Sua Eccel[le]ntia el servirani de q[ue]ste sorte de concerti dico eccellentissimame[n]te.

P[ri]mo di trombete a tute le sorte ch[e] si possa sonar' trombete  
Poi in musica di tromboni sei  
Poi di pifari sei  
Poi di corneti sei  
Poi di cornamuse sei  
Poi di flauti sei  
Poi di fiferi ala alimana sei  
Poi di viole da brazo sei

Poi se riserva ancho qual chi altri concerti de nominar che poi forsi Sua Eccel[le]ntia si goldera piu ch[e] di tuti li altri p[er] e[ss]er cossa inusitata e nova, anchora ch[e] p[er] mio creder credo ch[e] li piacera ultramodo la unione de q[ue]lli instrumenti sop[ra] detti a sorte p[er] sorte e acompagnati in varii modi de la musica vocale tuti son[n]i ecele[n]ti in musiccha p[er] sonar ala improvista a libro, del ca[n]tar la magior' parte de elli no[n] a voce ben ch[e] ge ne sia tra elli chi canta eccellenteme[n]te et assai bona voce. Circa il saper' de la lor mercede e q[ue]llo ch[e] pensano guadagnar', elli mi han[n]o detto ch[e] mai misseno a talia principe o altro signor' al mo[n]do ch[e] no[n] volene income[n]zar' hora in specialitate a Sua Eccel[le]ntia q[ua]l sel servirani no[n] el servirani p[er] p[re]tio ne p[er] gola di guadagno ma solo p[er] amor et una crerta inclinatio[n]e data di sop[ra], e ch[e] faranni in q[ue]sto modo pare[n]do e piace[n]do a Sua Ill[ustriss]ma Sig[no]ria che venirani a Piace[n]za et si faran[n]i older' q[uan]to parera a piacera a Sua Eccel[le]ntia e piace[n]dogi q[ue]lla dira q[uan]to li vol dar' al mexo p[er] cadauno e ta[n]to sera acceptato amroevolme[n]te e di bona volia, si ch[e] V[ost]ra S[ignora] a inteso il tuto mai ho potuto cavarne altro be[n] han[n]o detto pur ch[e] Sua Eccel[le]ntia ne dia ta[n]to ch[e] poterne star' e viver da par[te] n[ost]ro e vestir ch[e] poterne far' honor' a Sua Eccel[le]ntia del resto no[n] ne avreme se Sua Eccel[le]ntia ultra quel pocho o quello assai ch[e] li piacera di darne p[er] salario, ne donera cossa alchuna lo acceptareme volu[n]tera, se anche no, se ritrovereme sempre satisfati da Sua Eccel[le]ntia p[er] ch[e] nui il servireme p[er] amor e no[n] p[er] premio: si ch[e] la S[ignora] V[ost]ra se dignera como più p[re]sto potra darmi aviso dil suo venir, o si, o no, e se p[er] caso dovessine venir' a Piace[n]za avisarmi dove havesseno a dar di capo altro no[n] direo salvo ch[e] di continuo a q[ue]lla mer[?] itan]do e q[uan]do la si volessi degnar' di farmi grato a la Eccel[le]ntia del n[ost]ro Ill[ustriss]mo S[ignor] Duca et offerirmige tal qual io son[n]o anchora ch[e] mi conosca di pocho valor', certo la mi faria uno singularissimo a piacer' p[er] ch[e] molto li son[n]o affectinato servitor.



6. ASPR-TEATRI, busta 1 mazzo 2 fascicolo 2 sottofascicolo 3 ----- (B)  
On 9 June 1546.

From Vittoria Farnese, duchess di Urbino, to Duke Pier Luigi.  
Also quoted in PELICELLI 1936 Storia: 45.

M[e]s[ser] Ant[oni]o musico desidereria venir' alli servitii di V[ostra] Ecc[ellenz]a la prego me faccia gratia averlo p[er] recho[m]ma[n]dato hesendo lui servitor de tante anni no[n] ho possuto manchar de rechomandarlo e prego V[ostra] Ecc[ellenz]a me p[er]doni se con mii l[ette]re no[n] le baso le ni spesso ch[e] ressto p[er] non in fasstidirla no[n] ch[']io no[n] ladori come me s[']appartien'....

7. ASPR-TEATRI, busta 1 mazzo 2 fascicolo 2 sottofascicolo 4 ----- (B)  
On 28 June 1546.

From Vincenzo Perini to Duke Pier Luigi.  
Mentioned in PELICELLI 1936 Storia: 48 without quoting this document.

...Quanto al menare del putto e il Bolognia quella si po ricordare che io gli scrissi che non m'era figliolo et non ne potevo disporre piu che tanto ma se quella gli cavava suo p[ad]re di galera che per detta liberatione li soi parenti gli lo haverebbono dato: et medesmam[ente] il Bolognia se havesse intesa la sua provisione con le altre offerte ch[e] li facevo como da me sarebbe venuto: hora occoree che li parenti de detto putto non avendo hauta resolutione del patre me lo lassano tenere con una gran gelosia et non vogliono che per niente io il cavvi di Roma pure gli tengo persuasi di continuo et me hanno preso tanto suspetto che a questi giorni quasich[e] non me l[']hanno levato et il Bolognia per haver lui il guadagno grasso qui in Roma non ne vole uscire ch[e] no[n] sappia la sua provisione et il putto qn' [?'quando] ben venesse sarebbe inutile come altre volte ho scripto senza lui in quanto ad me quella sa che io no[n] posso ne voglio se no[n] qua[n]to le piace....

8. ASPR-TEATRI, busta 1 mazzo 2 fascicolo 1 sottofascicolo 2 ----- (A)  
On 16 July 1546.

From Zoanne Michele to Duke Pier Luigi.

Io ho visto qua[n]to sia degnato scrivere V[ost]ra Exell[en]tia per il n[ost]ro m[e]s[ser] Guillelmo ho fatto qua[n]to m'he stato possibile p[er] fargli havere quel putto ch[e] desidera ne mai e stato possibile voltar il padre a le voglie n[ost]re excusandosi no[n] volerlo mettere a lo exercitio d'il cantare ma al suo di la mercantia [one word illegible] -adrio ch[e] il detto m[e]s[ser] Guillelmo no[n] tornasse da la Excell[en]tia V[ost]ra senza un poco di satisfatione haverno operato di modo ch[e] ne haverno trovato un[']altro il quale co[n]duce da quella no[n] gia co[m]me saria il desiderio mio che V[ostra] Excelle[n]tia fusse servito p[er] che co[n] gran difficulta si trovano di qua che siano p[er]fetti ne di voce et mancho dar cantare anchora co[n]duce un co[m]pagno il qua[le] in verita e sufficiente in musicha et canta bene co[m]me ne potera fare V[ost]ra Ex[cellent]ia iuditio se satisfara a quella penso ne sara molto ben servito p[er]che e bon giovine, m[e]s[ser] Guillelmo referira a bocha a V[ost]ra Ex[cellent]ia....

9. ASPR-TEATRI, busta 1 mazzo 2 fascicolo 1 sottofascicolo 3 ----- (A)  
On 17 September 1546.

A draught of Duke Pier Luigi's letter to his agent in Ferrara (?).

Mando Guglielmo p[re]sente mio musico per trovar costi due putti che cantino per una mia capella, et ha co[m]missione da mè di far' ogni diligentia perche si trovino, et far ricorso da V[ostra] S[ignoria]. La prego, che in questo gli presti il suo solito favore, et se bisognera sia contenta parlar' con li parenti di detti putti trovati che sara[n]no, et far con loro tutti quelli uffitii che conoscerà conveniente perche venghino à miei servitii ove saranno trattarti amorevolmente, et di sorte che essi parenti ne restaranno sodisfatti come più a pieno V[ostra] S[ignoria] intendera dal detto mio musico, al quale mi fara piacer' di prestar' quella fede ch[e] faria a me istesso sopra questo caso.

10. ASPR-TEATRI, busta 1 mazzo 2 fascicolo 1 sottofascicolo 10----- (B)  
No date.

A draught of a Duke Pier Luigi's letter to a certain Patrizio in Genoa.  
Also quoted in PELICELLI Storia: 46.

Havendo io risoluto di radunar' qualche numero di cantori per fornir' una mia capella e mi me ne accennato ch[e] costi in Genoa nel duomo è un tenorista la suffittientia del quale mi è celebrato molto. Et per questo desidero grandemente di haverlo con quelle condiioni honeste ch[e] meritano la sua virtù. Pertanto V[ostra] S[ignoria] mi far a piacer di veder' operar' destramente mi sara so[m]mamente caro cosa grata che V[ostra] S[ignoria] op[er]e destramente et nella che venghi se possibile a servitii miei che come è detto non gli mancaro oltre ch[e] sara visto volentieri et accarezzato da me non se gli mancara come è detto d'una honesta p[ro]visione. Et qua[n]to presto verra tanto maggior' ne sara il piacer ch[e] ne sentiro. Et me le offero deb[itore] et [?] mi sara so[m]mamente caro ch[e] V[ostra] S[ignoria] vede di operi destrame[n]te che detto operar' et persuader' destra[m]te ad esto tenorista che se poss[ibi]le e venga a miei servitii. Che oltre ch[e] sara visto volentieri et accarezzato da me non se gli manara come è detto d'una honeste p[ro]visione. Et quanto piu q[ue]llo verra tanto maggior' ne sara il piacere che ne sentiro. Et à lei mi offero.

11. ASPR-TEATRI, busta 1 mazzo 2 fascicolo 2 sottofascicolo 5 (1)----- (A)  
Undated (? on 25 February 1547).

Draught of a letter from Duke Pier Luigi to the conons of Brescia.

Hieronimo de Lioni mio musico et servitore mi dice che a persuasione d'alcuni suoi malivoli di costa viene molestato da le S[ignorie] V[ostre]. Pierantonio suo p[ad]re no[n] per altro che per esser egli venuto a miei servitii et che tutta via no[n] cessano di molestar quel taverò [?] vecchio piu gravemente. Di che in effetto ne ho sentito et spiacere. Onde mi son [?] mosso confidenteme[n]te a p[re]gar a S[ignorie] V[ostre] che se contentino no[n] recarsi a mala sodisfattione o disco[n]tetezza che detto Gieronimo possi continuar' al servitio mio riposatame[n]te et senza alcuno disturbo il che conscero da le cortesie loro qua[n]do dessaranno de tute loro p[er] turbationi et che ad esso Hier[onim]o et a suo p[ad]re haveranno per amore mio tutti quei rispetti che [one word illegible] co[n]venientemente con haver loro che haverebbono ale cose mie p[er] [illegible]ari. Che sulle le gratitudini che a l[']uno et d[el]l'altro saranno usate p[er] amor mio de le S[ignorie] V[ostre] le ricevero nella p[er]sona mia istessa et a le S[ignorie] V[ostre] mi offero ne cose maggiori.

12. ASPR-TEATRI, busta 1 mazzo 2 busta 2 sottofascicolo 5 (2) ----- (A)  
On 13 March 1547.

From the canons and the chapter of Brescia.

Per una di V[ostra] E[ccellenza] de xxv de febraro, havemo inteso quanto di noi se doglia, ch'haviamo à male, che Hier[onim]o Leone musico stia al suo servitio, et percio et lui, et il padre suo essere da noi oltre modo molestato: pregandone in fine ad haverne a l'uno et a l'altro (per amor suo) tutti quelli rispetti, ch'all'honor n[ost]ro si convengono. Noi certo di la servitu, che Hier[onim]o Leone fa, à V[ostra] E[ccellenza] n'havemo a piaceri, et tanto piu, quanto che gli è grato, et no[n] solamente de cantori n[ost]ri, anzi delle proprie persone siamo per esponere, per fare cosa grata à V[ostra] E[ccellenza] per cio, manco è da credere, che ne per mala sodisfattione, che noi habbiamo, che Hier[onim]o li serva, ne a persuasione d'alcuno suo malevolo se moviamo a dare disurbo ne a l'uno, ne a l'altro di loro. Quando che l'osservantia de V[ostra] E[ccellenza] piu che li meriti di costoro non n'havessero messo la mano inanti, se gli sarebbe imparato, che cosa sia mancare et in Mons[ignor] R[everendissim]o Cornaro, et al cap[ito]lo n[ost]ro. Pure a niuno si fa iniuria dimandando il suo solamente, et anche con modestia, che divengono insolenti, a tale, ch'il padre di Hieronymo no[n] solamente no[n] si contenta della co[m]modità se gli vol fare a renderne quello, che suo figliuolo ne, è, debitore, anzi dice non volersi ubligare per modo alcuno. Pero V[ostra] E[ccellenza] consideri di qua, che costoro mancano a noi, et a lei referiscono il falso...

13. A description of Duchess Margherita's Entry into Parma, 1556 ----- (C)  
Archivio di Stato Parma, "Archivio Sanvitale" 871.

This document was first found out by Prof. Giuseppe Bertini. I, Seishiro Niwa, express my gratitude to Prof. Bertini, who kindly informed me of his new finding, and gave me his transcription. He presented it at his lecture on 14 September 2001, entitled "L'ingresso di Margherita nel 1550: la corte e la città" in the conference "Margherita d'Austria, duchessa di Parma e Piacenza, tra corte Farnese e monarchia spagnola (1522-1586)". As transcribed by Prof. Bertini.

Relazione delle funzioni fattesi dalla Comunità di Parma e dalla Nobiltà per l'ingresso della Duchessa Sposa Margherita d'Austria

[f. 3] Adì 2 di luglio mercore, avendo gli Anciani vecchi et novi preparata la città per la venuta di Madama p.o da Porta S.to Michele alla Piazza sino al Duomo di 3 panni in paro coperta la strada et a mezzodì et a settentrione della porta condotta alla muraglia pezzi 30 d'arteglieria grossa con quattro bandiere da fanti a mezzata e tutta la strada di fuori racconciata sino a S.to Lazaro e spianata con giara e dentro sino alla Piazza et al Duomo salizzata dove era il bisogno nel p.o ingresso della città. La porta hornata con festoni et arme del Duca et di Madama indi per la strada [f. 4] dentro al p.o affronto vede il Portone di S. Siro fatto con gran spesa di ducati 500 un arco trionfale disposto di legnami e telle dipinte cominciando alle sue basse ornatice di duoi portelli e de un grande portone l'altezza della faccia del quale assendendo sopra la sommità della volta di quello che vi era prima di quadrelli anticho fu rotto il muro e rappezzato e a dirita e a sinistra di quello erano due regine, una a mezzogiorno coronata con tal breve sopra il capo, cioè "Cui receptam de Mauris Bethicam debet Hispania", intendendosi quella essere Isabella del re di Portogallo figliola, a Carlo V d'Austria maritata, e a mano destra molto a settentrione a questa in paio eretta si vede Margarita di Massimigliano Imperatore figliola e di Carlo amida, repudiata da Carlo di Francia, con tal breve sopra il capo "Vides indolem Maximiliano patre et Carolo nepote dignam". Apresso sopra il portello a settentrione un quadro non grande come un Ercole che pesa un, per schiena è una Regina con molti figlioli alla radice del quale era un tal breve notato "Spectantes ad defectione Iudaeos sagax regina in officio continet", questa mi stimo fosse Maria Regina di Ongaria, quale da Carlo V suo fratello mandata fu al governo di Philipppo Re suo figliolo in Spagna, et a mezzogiorno sopra l' [f. 5] altro portello un simil quadro nel quale era dipinto un homo a cavallo con una Regina dietro, che puote essere Cristiano Re di Daccia con Isabella sua moglie, sorella di Carlo V, con tal breve alla radice "Ementito cultu virum sequitur mutata fortuna iacentem". Sopra la fascia del grand'arco di Ottavio Farnese e di Madama il scudo unito di sue insegne sotto un gran breve con tal titolo "Margaritae Austriae V illus Caroli cuius preclarae res gestae vel ad extrema ignoti orbis accolae longe, lateque pervagantur filiae devotissima Parmen. Civitas D. ex eiux adventu mirifica voluptate affecta cuius felici facto fore confidit utque urbis hactenus parere didicent nunc tamen versis rerum vicibus aliis ipsam urbibus leges dicat et in eas imperium summa cum dignitate exerceat". Sopra quale era un gran quadro opera di Michel Angelo Anselmo pittore, et invenzione di Don Cristoforo Farasio di nobilissima pittura ammirativo, nel quale l'antica historia delle rapite sabbine era notata con tal breve nella sommità sua e fine dell'arco: "Hinc patres indi nisi muliebri oratione in amicitiam redeunt" e per alla vi eran 2 termini giacenti al piede però di due figure di Parma elevate apresso il gran quadro, cioè una a mezzogiorno con tal motto sotto a piedi "Futura tuo ductuo vere aurea", a settentrione un'altra con tal breve "Qua se [f. 6] Parmenses magnifice esserunt, ultra vel estreme colore" come due ale elevate a mezzogiorno "Intrepida adversae fortunae contemprix", a settentrione la daea de futuri con un specchio in mano et una serpe in collo con tal moto sotto "Futurorum abque ac presentium speculatrix". Hora da questo partendosi era in Piazzola cioè al poggiolo del Palazzo vecchio di S. Vitale di Parma la immagine ratopata quale era guasta, et ivi della Comunità sospeso il grande gonfalone opera di Michel Angelo Anselmo con la Incoronata sopra l'arme del magnifico Comune e apresso al arenghiera in piazzola il gonfalone di Sua Eccellenza fatto dalla Comunità quando Pietro Luigi Farnese entrò Duca primo, quindi la Piazza sbarata con pezzi 13 di arteglieria da campagna nella quale erano dal Palazzo del Podestà levati dalle porte i rastrelli e... ivi fatte in tempo di Camillo Ursino per comodo e fortezza della guardia quale sopra l'arme del Ducha e di Madama sopra la gran fascia poste eran tali parole: "Quod claram es Caesaris genus, et longam Caesarum ac Regnum seriem in sterminate reccenses quod mores plane regios et

supra mulieribus ingenium captum insignes universi [f. 7] in te Populi admirandi tibi propterea cultum praestare tibi quod maximos potest Parmens. Civitas honore decernit innocentissimum istud vitae tuae exemplum iuventuti suae ad coercendas intemperantis animi affectiones prepositura”, indi elevate nel colonnato a oriente una regina con una torre sollevata dalle spalle da un fanciullo, e questa stimo esser Maria di Carlo sorella governatrice di Filippo fanciullo re di Spagna con tal breve sopra il capo “Vivum ac spirans mariti conditum”, a occidente una simile Regina con un libro appoggiato su la cossia per la ..... del quale era tal detto “Ciripedia” e stando appoggiata tale parole havea sopra il capo ... sanguine sed Italica gravitate ac moribus”. Sotto la fascia grande pendono festoni di ginepro con arme del Comune et Governatore, hora di qua partendo al sommo le porte del quale erano di festoni di ginepro ornate e sopra la maggior porta nella fronte della loggia era questo breve “.....”.

Indi la chiesa di tapezzarie ornate e ascendendo la scala grande sopra la porta del coro di Sua Eccellenza e di Madama di sotto tal titolo... poi il choro ornato di panno d’oro e d’argento e veluto carmesino e lo altare con la tavola d’argento... et altri vasi d’oro et argento, e croce, e tabernacolo con reliquie, inanzi a queste era apparato un stalletto [f. 8] di noce coperto da un gran panno di veluto morello sopra qual era disteso un panno d’oro di più stretta grandezza e sopra un cosino di borcato con frangie d’oro e seta carmesina e quattro pendoni pur d’oro e seta, altri e più apparati furon fatti. Tandem la mattina di detto giorno di mercoledì 2 luglio Madama da molti accompagnata si partì da Reggio e venne in mezzo a smontare alla Certosa dove dalla Comunità era preparata ogni cosa di bisogno in vantaggio e quivi con allegrezza fece il nobile prandio con Sua Eccellenza, dopo il quale per ordinatione delli Antiani volendo fare la entrata in Parma sotto il conducimento di Gio. Battista Pennacchio già Cap.º di militia 33 giovani, cioè 12 giovani di età circa 20 anni, sbarbati, di candido damascho vetiti, e 21 di età d’anni circa 30, giovani nobili di negro damascho adobati con grossissime catene ogn’uno al collo e spade d’oro et argento fornite scarpe di veluto e berette con pontali d’oro e in mano un bastone dipinto a levrea dal Comune con trombe e tamburi andarono ad aspettarla a San Labaro, dalla città un miglio lontano, e così da tutti li cavalli della città in ordine levata dalla Certosa e dalla nostra nobiltà sopra una achinea di veluto negro alla spagnola vestita con [f. 9] capello di feltro in capo e dalla S.ra Girolama Farnese e dalla Sig.ra Giulia Sforza accompagnata, e da 8 sue damigelle e da una vecchia nobile matrona nel p.o ingresso della strada maestra fu nel mezzo tolta dalli precedenti dongelli con grande giubilo a porta di Santo Michele condotta e primo tutti li religiosi frati salvo di san Benedetto e canonici regolari in uno con lo clero, i Canonici e Mons. Vescovo con croce parati furono alla porta ad incontrarla, appresso gli ufficiali, i consoli et anziani. Intanto entro assai numero de cavalli de nostri cittadini appresso con cocchi di gentildonne nostre, quale altre a Modena, altre a Reggio erano andate ad incontrarla et furono Girolama Farnese S. Vitale, Giulia Sforza Pallavicina, Lavinia Sanseverina, Paola Gonzaga S. Vitale, Aloigia Pallavicina Sforza, Camilla Pallavicina Tagliaferri, Isabella e Giacomina Pallavicina, Giulia Barattiera Baiarda. Altre gentildonne dopo quelle entrarono molti terreri e forestieri a cavallo a dietro il Duca alla giunta del quale furono scaricati assai pezzi di artiglieria alla porta et in Piazza, et questo con sua corte accompagnato poi li nostri feudatari Troilo Rosso, Alessandro Rosso, Camillo et Marsilio Rosso, Sforza Federico Uberto e Pallavicino et Giovanni de Pallavicini, Girolamo, Galeazzo, Alfonso, Eucherio, Federico, Giacomo Antonio, Pirro, Ferrante et Aloigio S. Vitale, Gio. Francesco S. Severino, Girolamo et Francesco Terzi, Bernardino Terzo [f. 10] Paolo Simonetta, Marsilio Roberto Amorato Torelli e Gasparo Torello, Girolamo et Ambrogio d.to Comparino, Giulio Sforza, Rodolfo Gonzaga, Nicolò Scotto piacentino, Vincenzo Leccacorvo piacentino, Pietro Antonio Dal Verme piacentino, appresso seguivano gli ufficiali nostri a piedi e li dottori e dietro gli anziani come ordinata schiera guardata da molti giovani con bastoni in mano a livrea della Comunità, poi li frati, preti, tutto il clero, il sufragano inanzi a gran tumulto de cavalli dopo quelli erano 13 tamburini con gran strepito sonati e da 5 trombetti seguiti in mezzo la guardia de svizzeri con albarde di bianco e morello vestiti alla gibellina e fra loro parte della corte di Madama e gli donzelli nostri con suoi bastoni a ordine accompagnandola col piccolo et unico figliolo inanzi assiso sopra un piccolo cavallo, di indi da porpora vestito con beretta ducale in capo, e Madama sua persona a cavallo sopra una achinea biggia, vestita alla spagnola con veste di veluto et un capello in capo, sotto un baldachino di damascho bianco fodrato di cendal carmesino bene associata da Girolama Farnesia et da Giulia Sforza, sorelle cugine del Duca, da otto donzelle e da una honestissima matrona spagnola e da gran gente a cavallo di sua corte e del duca e della città, da tutti li cavaglieri, in ultimo da 50 cavalli leggieri

sotto la capitazione del cavaliere Bernardino Goito mantovano. Ma prima che facesse l'entrata della città nel ingresso del [f. 11] ponte sotto la volta grande a mezo la porta afrontato Mons. Vecovo sufraganeo nostro con la croce dal cavallo si gettò dove eransi preparato un tappeto sopra quale inginocchiata abbracciò la croce e ivi Girolamo Rosso Dott. in nome del Comune a lei fece breve et tornita oracione, poi rimessa a cavallo accompagnata ut s. pervene al portone di S. Siro, indi in Piazzola dove su la ringhiera 5 pifari per ragione sonavano, et cridavano sul poggiolo del Palazzo, alcuno in servizio del Comune "Duca, Duca, Farnese, Farnese" et ivi data da lei l'authorità furono rotte le carcere camusine e liberati incarcerati e subito fu sparato in Piazza pezzi 13 di artiglieria e giunta su la Piazza grande tutta fanteria in ordinanza per la strada sparò li archibugi. Tandem si condusse alla scala del Duomo dove con strepito di artiglieria sul piazzale in castello et archibugi e gridi fu scavalchata e l'anchinea lasciata al solito in mano de dongelli, da gentildonne ricevuta, a man destra presa da Sforza Sforza Conte di S.ta Fiore, e signor di Torchiara e Filino, a man sinistra da Don Lopes spagnolo suo balio e maggior consiliario e fu accompagnata nel choro a sono de organi e cornamuse e canti e inginocchiata avanti lo altare grande con lo capello in capo tolta da Monsignor Vescovo la benedictione, dagli Anciani nel coro e fuora da puochi altri fu gridato "Duca, duca" e levata fu condotta nell'Epscopato con pifari, trombe tamburi, campane e musiche.

Adì 2 di luglio sodetto mercore la sera circa le 22 hore entrata Madama in Parma gli nostri Anciani tornati al Palazzo vecchio mandarono il nobile presente sottoscritto primo 15 tamburi, 4 pifari e 5 trombe sonando, poi 2 vasi d'argento rinfrescatori, quali mandarono prima a comprare a Venetia e costarono 1600 scudi d'oro con le sue casse coperte di coio negro, portate dietro 2 fassi di torze di cera bianca, duoi piatti di candelle di cera bianca, doi piatti di zucharo fino, 2 piatti di zucharo grosso, 2 piatti di canella, 2 piatti di tartufole, 2 piatti di macenata, 4 piatti di salami, 4 piatti di robiole, 4 polpete di bove, 4 persiuti di porco, 4 pavoni, 4 galine indiane, 2 stange di caponi, 2 stange di polastri, una stanga di anatra, una stanga di oche, 4 mezzene di cervo salate, 4 forme di casio grosso, 4 vitelli, 4 manzi, 50 sachi di spelta e fu presentato nel giardino del Palazzo Episcopale e con gran guardia, da lei con allegrezza raccolto et accettato.

La sera e così le due sere seguente furono fatti in segno di allegrezza falodi in Piazza con soni di campane e scaricar de artiglieria e intorno la Piazza e la torre, qualle tre sere furono arsi libri 5 di candelle di sevo. Adì 3 detto giovedì a hora 13 gli nostri giovani dongelli tornarono a Madama con grande trionfo di soni la sua achinea e da lei fu data a loro la mancia di scudi 60 d'oro quali furono poi dispensati da Gio. Batt.a Pennacchio capo loro in uno ricco prandio al quale si noverò tutti 33 giovani in uno et ivi da loro furono quel giorno sparsi in quantità de denari delli qualli vi han talchè fu presente fino 4 e 6 ducati.

14. ASPR-CFE Paesi Bassi, busta 107 ----- (B)  
 On 8 December 1560.  
 From Matteo Biliotti to Duke Ottavio.  
 Also quoted in OWENS 1976: 20.

Trovomi dappoi una di V[ostra] E[ccellenza] delli xvii del passato, p[er] la qual mi comanda ch'a richiesta di m[e]s[ser] Tomaso Machiavelli li paghi sino alla som[m]a d[i] centto [scudi] p[er] condurre m[e]s[ser] Cipriano musicho a Italia, al qual Machiavelli o fatto intender' dal mio m[e]s[ser] Nuccio ch[e] sene voglia a sua piacere et semp[r]e ch[e] li domandara saranno paghati, come semp[r]e p[er] V[ostra] E[ccellenza] paghero tutta quella som[m]a ch[e] portera el mio poter' et il mio credito, co[n] la vita ancora , e dicho davelo.

15. BSBM-WERT----- (B)  
 De Wert's dedication to Duke Ottavio.  
 Also quoted in BERNSTEIN: 575-576.

Son Stato non poco pensoso, Illstriss[imo] & Eccellentiss[imo] Signor mio, ritrovandomi tanto obligato alla cortesia & benignità sua grandissima, considerando che dove cercar potessi da una parte fuggire l'odioso nome di ingrato, non mi fusse da l'altra parte giudicata per cosa leggiera, & temeraria il donar' a V[ostra] Eccellenza cosa de si poco momento, in ricompensa de cotanti singolari beneficii, & grandi honori riceputi dalla ineffabil coesia, & benignità sua, a non essersi sdegnata di tenerme un mio figliuolo a battesimo, con ogni amorevolissima

dimostrazione. Ma si come fu sempre cosa, appo tutti buoni laudatissima, il fuggire l'ingratitude, facendo almeno segno per quanto dalla benignità de cieli all'huomo vien concesso, con quel poco ch'è nel poter suo, piu tosto che tacendo, mostrare à non tenerne conto, ne memoria; mi son risoluto di donarle & lasciar uscire sotto l'Illustriss[imo] & felicissimo nome suo, questi miei madrigali, che hora vengono in luce; il qual dono (benche sia minimo, rispetto gl'infiniti oblighi che tengo verso di lei) son certo che secondo la innata sua cortesia, & singular generosità del nobilissimo animo suo, haverà piu tosto riguardo, al desiderio mio grandissimo che ho di honorarla, che al valore di questo mio cosi piccolo dono. Ho preso adonque ardire di praesentarle queste, tali quali elle si sieno, fatiche mie, pregandola humilmente, che ricompensando ogni lor mancamento, con la sincerità del desiderio & affection mia, benignamente le riceva, insieme con l'animo mio devotissimo (secondo il poco poter mio) di servirla & honorarla sempre, alla quale con ogni riverenza inchinandome bascio le mani, pregando l'Eterno Iddio, che con somma felicità & contento, ogni suo desiderio perpetuamente prosperi & adempi. Di V[ostra] Eccellenza divotiss[imo] servitore Giaches de Vuert.

16. ASPR-CFE Paesi Bassi, 107 ----- (B)  
 On 30 January 1561.  
 From Tommaso Machiavelli to Duke Ottavio.  
 Also quoted in ROSSI: 6, OWENS 1976: 10.

Alli xxvii di questo partì di qui m[e]s[er] Cipriano de Rore con desiderio d'esser tosto à i commandamenti di V[ostra] Ecc[ellenza] et di servirla perpetuamente. Fa la via di Parigi, et spero che frà un mese sarà in Parma quantunque si sia partito per un'aspriss[im]o tempo.

Egli si è ben' informato delle voci qui de la capella di S[ua] Alt[ezz]a, et se alcuna sarà necessaria per il desiderio di V[ostra] Ecc[ellenza] spero se ne potrà valere. Circa la sua provisione gli dissi delli 200 scudi l'anno, et con tutto che si contenti d'ogni volontà di quella, pur mi ricordò quanto si era trattato qui con V[ostra] Ecc[ellenza], cio è di farli pagar' oltra di ciò la commodità de l'habitatione. Credo ch'ella se ne ramenterà, et commetterà che cosi sia. Quanto al provederlo per il viaggio, lo contenta con ottanta scudi di quelli cento che à me commise l'Ecc[ellenza] V[ostra]. M[e]s[er] Antonio Lampugnano gli sborsò.

17. Cipriano de Rore's letter to Duke Ottavio ----- (C)  
 On 18 April 1563.  
 As quoted in ROSSI: 15.

Me trovete absente da Parma quando vi gionse la commissione di V.a Ecc.a la quale (ritornato fui) inteso ch'hebbi ho esseguito con quella diligenza et miglior modo ho saputo: onde se in questo ho tardato più del dovere et parimente se le copie non sono così bone come potriano essere, pregola havermi per scusato. Oltre gli madrigali le mando anche un mio mottetto per capella.

Et perchè credo a ques'hora l'Ecc.a V.a deve haver inteso intieramente per la lettera del S.or Paulo Vitello gli doi partiti che mi sono stati preposti, et similmente l'integrità de l'animo mio, non dirò altro a V.a Ecc.a, se non ch'io le ricordo questi sono doi di migliori luoghi (in suo essere) che haver si possono. Pertanto confidandomi nella humanità et bontà sua, son certo ch'ella haverà riguardo ad ogni ben mio....

18. Cipriano de Rore's letter to Duke Ottavio ----- (C)  
 On 22 October 1563.  
 As quoted in ROSSI: 16.

Quanta allegrezza sento della buona nova m'è stata data del suo felice ritorno lo sa Iddio: et per certo già a questa hora (per il grandissimo disio ho di rivederla) sarei venuto far reverentia a V. S. Ill.ma da vero servitore come le sono, se non fosse il servitio della chiesa al qual quasi di continuo sono obligato; onde al presente la prego havermi per scusato. Poi l'Ecc.a V.a ha sapere ch'io vivo lieto et contento al servitio de questi Ill.mi Sig.ri reputandomi servir a la sua propria persona, sì per havermesi mandato come per haver inteso da una sua che l'Ecc.a V.a ha speranza servirse di me in molto maggior cosa essendo io qui; che s'io stesse al suo proprio servitio: onde di questo quietandomi starò con summo desiderio aspettando che la me comandi paratissimo ad ubedirla sempre, rendendole anche infenite gratie della sua

amorevolissima offerta....

19. Cipriano de Rore's letter to Duke Ottavio ----- (C)  
On 15 November 1563.  
As quoted in ROSSI: 17.

La sua delli 2 del presente hebbi alli 12 con mio grandiss.o contento, per haverme l'Ecc.a Vostra certificato tenerme per suo vero servitore le sono: et hora per sodisfar in parte a quanto la desidera, le ho mandato questi pochi canti con ogni diligenza et in quella miglior forma ho potuto, et il simile farò degli altri. Ma sappia l'Ecc.a V.a che mlto più volentieri io stesso le porteria se fosse possibile, sì per il desiderio ho rivederla come per farle conoscere chiaramente il bon animo ho di servirla sempre....

20. Duchess Margherita's command to Pierre du Hotz ----- (C)  
On 24 February 1564.  
As quoted in VAN DER STRAETEN v. 3: 312.

MARGUERITE, PAR LA GRACE DE DEÙ, DUCHESSE DE PARME ET PLAISANCE, etc. RÉGENTE ET GOUVERNANTE, etc.

Trés-chier et bien amé. Nous nous envoyons avec ceste la patente pour vous en servir au recouvrement des enfans de chappelle pour le Roy monseigneur, comme vous ha esté ordonné, vous requérant, et, de par Sa Majesté ordonnant de faire voz dilligences, affin d'en recouvrer quatre des meilleurs que se trouveront, et qu'ilz soient telz que Sa Majesté les désire; et dois vostre partement d'icy, avons receu lettres de Sa Majesté dont nous envoions copie, et verrez par icelle le terme que Sa Majesté vous donne de partir, par quoy regarderez de faire voz dilligences quant ausdicts enfans, et incontinent que les aurez trouvé, vous nous en advertirez, affin de pourvoir à le despence pour les encheminer.

21. ASPR-CFE Paesi Bassi, 108 ----- (A)  
On 9 April 1564.  
From Cesare Marinone to Duke Ottavio.

Scrissi un'altra mia ali giorni passati à V[ostra] Ecc[ellen]za (et credo che per la fretta lasciassi il giorno) nella quale le dissi ch'ero p[er] accondar uno giovene che che canta basso p[er] mandarlelo come spero che farò p[er] la prima comodita ch[e] mi venga d'una buona compagnia che parta di quà p[er] Italia p[er]ch[e] già stà accordato et obligato, acciò no[n] posso più disdire, et perche V[ostra] Ecc[ellen]za sapia tutto l'accordo ne mando qui incluso il tenore, no[n] so[n] s'havrò passato troppo inanzi, mà credo ch[e] no[n]; p[er] esser una voce rara, com'è ch[e] ha fatto stuppire tutto le genti di questa terra ch[e] venevono à posta quà in q[ue]ste feste in capella solo p[er] uderlo. Maggior offerte le sono statte fatte, da uno agente dell'Imp[erato]re ch[e] è qua, cercando de' musici, p[er] S[ua] M[ae]s[ta] Ces[are]a, ch[e] l'accordio c'ha fatto co[n] meco insieme le q[ua]li hà lasciate, et rifiutate, solo p[er] no[n] volere gire in Elemag[n]a p[er] esser' di già prete, et sacrato da messa, et desideroso di venire in Italia, vi sarrano molte cose à dire mà p[er] no[n] dar' fastidio a V[ostra] Ecc[ellen]za di tanto leggere le hò dette al s[igno]r Ant[oni]o Mar[ia] ch[e] le gli dica à bocca piacendole saperle. Oltre ciò V[ostra] E[ccellen]za potrà dar' ordine acciò sapia dove haver danan' quà per il bisogno di questi musici, ch[e] la me lasciò in comiss[i]one ove di trovare, ch[e] d[e]l tutto n'havrà da me questo, et fedeliss[im]o conto; digià hò fatto vestire q[ue]sto basso conforme al'accordio il quale è questo che seguita. Prima ch[e] habbia egli ad haver' p[er] suo sal[ario]o nove scudi il mese facendosi le spese lui stesso, il ch[e] co[n] destrezza si riddurà q[ue]llo c'ha[n]no gli altri ch[e] V[ostra] Ecc[ellen]za meno; ch[e] sono nove talari secondo mi hà detto Pirichino; et come parra à V[ostra] Ecc[ellen]za quando lo vedrà et udirà; ch[e] le prometto ch[e] lui solo basta à compire quando siano anco quattro ò cinq[ue] al'altre parti; la voce è tonda, sonora, canta allegrame[n]te, sicuro et intona beniss[im]o, no[n] vi è nessuno in corte ch[e] non dica o perch[e] non è qua il s[igno]r Duca ch[e] no[n] lo lasciarà in nessuno modo; p[er]ch[e] ancora no[n] vi è chi sapia ch[e] venghi al s[er]vicio di V[ostra] E[ccellen]za p[er] la cagione c'ho detto al s[igno]r Ant[oni]o Maria.

Ch[e] habbia da esser' vestito di nuovo tutto secondo richiede alla qualità sua; il ch[e] hò fatto subito; d'uno ferraiuolo, d'uno saio, d'uno guippone, d'uno paio di di calze, scarpe, capello, cintura, et stivalli grossi; et quattro camise, p[er]ch[e] era quasi nodo, ò poco meno.

Ch[e] il suo sal[ari]o comincia à corrergli dal giorno del"accordo che fù il giorno 25 d[e]l passato.

Ch[e] vi siano donati 25 scudi gratis p[er] pagare li suoi debiti prima ch[e] parta.

Ch[e] si faccia condurne in Italia à cavallo, et à spese di V[ostra] Ecc[ellen]za s'io gli compraro cavallo saria di V[ostra] Ecc[ellen]za gionto che sara in Italia.

22. ASPR-CFI, busta 38 ----- (B)

Supposedly on 18 April 1563.

Postscript of Duke Ottavio's letter to Paolo Vitelli.

Also quoted in OWENS 1976: 15.

Postscritta la Sig[gnor]ia di Venetia mi ricerca per una sua, che io voglia contentarmi di dar licenza à m[e]s[er] Cipriano di poter andar à servirla per m[aest]ro di cappella di San Marco: e perche il mal volentieri me ne vorrei privare si per esser la persona virtuosa che è, come per rispetto di Madama la qual fà pensiero come torna in Italia di far una cappella, vorrei risponder' alla Sig[no]ria che mi havessero per escusato se non le compiaccio, e crederei che non mi potesse esser attribuito à male creanza il negoarglielo. Mà perche dubito che Cipriano gl'habbi promesso, e che desidero di andarvi havrei caro che V[ostra] S[ignoria] lo facesse chiamare innanzi à se e li dicesse à punto che la Sig[no]ria me lo hà richiesto, e la satisfation che hò di lui, et il desiderio che Madama hà nel suo ritorno in Italia di tener una buona cappella e veder di intender poi destramente l'animo suo e facendo ogn'opera per persuadergli che non si voglia partire: et in caso pur che si conoscesse che lui havesse desiderio d'andar à servir la Sig[no]ria sarz'a manco male di mostrar di gratificarla: e perche mi par di non risponder p[rim]a che non si sappia la mente sua V[ostra] S[ignoria] me ne darà quanto prima aviso: e perche potrebbe essere che lui si volesse partir e antepresto che la risposta non verrebbe in tempo che io potesse rispondere mando il presente foglio sootoscritto à posta acciòche in tal caso il Pico le risponda. Ma come hò detto il desiderarei grandemente che se lo persuadesse che che non havesse à partire overo al meno che volendosi partire io pteessi esser avvisarlo p[rim]a che rispondeste....

23. Cipriano de Rore's letter to Duke Ottavio ----- (C)

On 14 May 1564.

As quoted in ROSSI: 18-19.

Per una de m. Giovan Antonio Sozzo et da m. Gratia a bocca ho inteso la volutnà, et desiderio de l'Ecc.a V.a et a l'uno et l'altro, come suoi devotissimi, ho dato fede quanto a la sua propria persona. Onde sapia l'Ecc.a V.a che vinto da l'amorevolezza sua, son disposto, come fui sempre, servirla; e piacesse a Iddio ch'io potesse resistere come solea ai travagli sì del corpo come della mente per poterle far conoscere più a pieno questo mio bon animo; et questo sia detto solo perchè la sapia quanto io vagli. Del resto sapendo l'Ecc.a V.a molto bene il mio bisogno non m'occorre altro se non ricordarle ch'io ho consumato il fior della età mia in servitù de principe, senza trovarmi facultà alchuna. Et havendo io hora anche lasciare il luogo presente, il che volentieri sol per servirla, prego l'Ecc.a V.a haver per ricomandato la vita et l'honor mio, si ch'el mondo conosci quanto, per sua grazia, son amato et stimato da lei, et che da qui indrieto, per qualsivoglia occasione io non habbi bisogno servir altri; di che avisandomi l'Ecc. V.a l'ultimo suo volere con bona occasione poi porrò fine al negotio. Mando a l'Ecc.a V.a il presente madrigale composto ultimamente, qual prego accetti sì di core come gli lo mando. Prego l'Ecc.a anche voglia haver per ricomandato quello virtuoso sta in casa del Sozzo che in vero merita.

24. Cipriano de Rore's letter to Duke Ottavio ----- (C)

On 30 June 1564.

As quoted in ROSSI: 20.

Credo ch'a questa hora l'Ecc.a V.a de' haver inteso quello ho operato co'l principe circa la mia licenza da poi haver inteso la resolutione de V.a Ecc.a, et havendo io sopraceduto da 12 giorni, nè intendendo altro di novo, ho parlato con un secretario del principe pregandolo sia contento ricordar Sua Serenità de quello le havea parlato; qual me ha promesso farlo et quanto più presto. Questo ho voluto avisar V.a Ecc.a acciò la sia certa io non mancho far il possibile per farle conoscere l'affettione le porto.



25. ASPR-TEATRI, busta 1 mazzo 1 fascicolo 2 sottofascicolo 1 (3)----- (A)  
No date (apparently before July 1564).  
From Cesare Marinone to Duke Ottavio.

Egli è capitato duoi giorni sono, quà un giovane d'Aras de qualch[e] 20 ò 22 anni, ch[e] si rassomiglia à punto ad Esopo d[e] viso; il quale hà una voce di basso terribilliss[im]a sicuro nel cantare, et intona bene; gli siamo appresso Perichino Gian d'Aras, et io per rubarlo, e spero ch[e] l'haveremo in volta, di q[ue]llo ch[e] ne avverrà n'aviserò V[ostra] Ecc[ellen]za et credo mandarlo a lei p[er] cominciare à mettere in esecuzione la comiss[i]o[n]e da lei datami, ch[e] Dio mi presti la gra[zi]a d'accompirla così ben nel resto come in questo, ch[e] sò farà stupp[ir] ogn'uno ch[e] l'udirà, suo p[ad]re è basso, suo avo è stato il med[esim]o et buoniss[im]o credo ch[e] satisf[er]à à V[ostra] Ecc[ellen]za....

Nessuno di casa no[n] sà questa pratica; p[er]ch[e] ci potria far danno fatte le feste andarò p[er] gli altri musici; p[er]ch[e] costui mi dice ch[e] à Cambrai è uno buoniss[im]o contralto et uno tenore à San Tomer.

26. ASPR-CFE Paesi Bassi, 108----- (A)  
On 2 July 1564.  
From Cesare Marinone to Duke Ottavio.

Insin' al' hora presente no[n] hò incaminato altro musico per V[ostra] Ecc[ellen]za non havendo mai trovato cosa à proposito secondo il volere di q[ue]lla la quale voria haver un tenore simile à Gian d'Aras ch[e] passasse in camera per uno bassetto, il che credo che sarà no[n] solo difficile mà anco impossibile trovare, cosa che in estremo mispiace, per no[n] poter intierame[n]te sodisfare à l'Ecc[ellen]za V[ost]ra, son statto due volte in Anversa, à sentire diversi; fatti quivi venire et anco un'altro di Cambrai c'hò fatto venire quà, mà d'una meza donzina ch[e] n'hò sentito, no[n] se ne faria un tale, quale ella desidera; de putti buoni anco è gran difficultà. Tutta volta stò aspettando Perichino; il quale già sono quindici giorni ch'è fuori per il paese, p[er] trovarne p[er] S[ua] Alt[ez]za ch[e] hora è senza, tiene ordine di trovarne uno di vantaggio c'habbia da servire p[er] V[ostra] Ecc[ellen]za q[ue]llo ch[e] n'averrà ne darò aviso, fr[']altro desiderarei saper' quale sia la volontà di q[ue]lla d[e] tenore; et anco sapere come resta sodisfatta d[e]l basso, et contr'alto, ch[e] le hò mandato, ch[e] già un pezzo fà devono esser' gionti, no[n] gli essendo avenuto alcuno sinistro, che Dio no[n] voglia et per no[n] la fastidire co[n] più longe parole, co'l far' fine....

27. Cipriano de Rore's letter to Duke Ottavio----- (C)  
On 12 July 1564.  
As quoted in ROSSI: 21-23.

Alli 7 Zugno il Sig.or Ottaviano Palavecino me dette una de l'Ecc.a V.a, a me gratissima, a la quale ho risposto et per l'istesso sin dalli 14 sopradetto, avvisando l'Ecc.a V.a che già havea parlato con el Serenissimo per conto della mia licenza, allegandogli 3 cause, l'una la gravezza del servitio, l'altra il disordine per la divisione della Cappella in due, la 3.a la poca provisione. A la prima Sua Serenità respose che i Sig.ri si contentavano di me facendo quello tanto ch'io potea, et ch'a la giornata si provvederebbe a l'altre due.

Io, considerando che vestino a la lunga, replichete la prima per due volte, pregando Sua Serenità fosse pur contento deliberar far elettione d'un altro, attento ch'io conosca non poter servirla come era l'animo mio et secondo il bisogno della Cappella, et questo per la causa allegata sopra. Finalmente rispose parlerebbe con i Signori procuratori, il che ho sollicitato talmente che già 4 dì sono ho inteso Sua Serenità haver parlato con alcuni d'essi procuratori, et vi ha replicato quasi il medesimo che di sopra; da che comprendo me vorrebbero dar lunghe. Ma hora essendo io certo del voler de l'Ecc.a V.a son risoluto ubedirla con venir viver et morir al suo servitio, antepo[n]do la gratia sua ad ogni altro. Et perchè me reputo et si sa puplicamente ch'io son venuto al servitio de questi Sig.ri mandato da l'Ecc.a V.a sol per compiacer loro, vorrei partirne anche con sodisfattione de l'Ecc.a V.a et mia; onde ho preso espediente innanzi che pigliar licenza in puplico mandar il mio servitore perchè la se degni avvisarne se gli par bene ch'io preghi questi Signori nel pigliar licenza che mi lasciano ritornare da chi me ha mandato, ovver con una sua scriver loro che l'Ecc.a V.a ha inteso ch'io non posso servirgli come desidero: pertanto che si contentino ch'io ritorni da lei. Questo le ho scritto perchè la sappia ch'io son per far quanto la me avvisarà.

Poi sapendo io quanto difficilmente costì si trova case commode, prego l'Ecc.a V.a me faccia gratia dar la commissione a qualche uno che me ne trovi una, e questo, se possibil fosse, innanzi ch'io me parta de qui. Se l'Ecc.a V.a avesse desiderio d'haver un instramento doppio di penna con un registro de flauti, qui se ne trova de boni: il prestio sarebbe da 100 scudi vel circa più o meno. Però la se imagini se in questo o in altro posso servirla, et me comandi.

28. ASPR-CFE Paesi Bassi, 108----- (A)

On 25 August 1564.

From Marcello Lampugnano to Duke Ottavio.

In esecuzione dila comesione che V[ostra] E[ccellenza] mi dette in Parma, andai in Anversa e vido la cassa degli instramenti da fiato da musicha e pigliaii im compagnia persone che havevano cognicione de queste cose, e cosi giudicorno tuti li instramenti molti buoni, e veramente degni per uno principe, de quali mando qua aligato una notte deli pezi, quali sono tuti in una medesima cassa, et tutti di uno medemo tono, e vi vogliano havere 300 [scudi] d'oro et me dichano che quando si potesse havere per 200 saria per bonissimo merchato, ma credo non la dariano per meno de 250 [scudi]. Da uno amico mio di Londra mi è stato di poi mandato una notte de alcuni instramenti che sono in quella terra de quali ni sara qua aligato la notte co[n] il costo d'essi. Da Norimbergho aspetto l[']aviso che costerano sei tromboni di concordo, he hautolo ce lo manderò, acio chè se le piacerà haverni de essi instramenti possa comandarmi à mè ò à chi li parera che li compri.

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Notta degli instramenti da fiato musichali, quali sono tuti in una cassa in Anversa

Uno concerto de cornamuse de xii pezi cioue

3 soprani

3 tenori

4 contratenori che servino de bassi

2 contrabassi tuti di legno bianco

Uno concerto de corneti torti de x pezi cioue

3 soprani senza le chiave

2 soprani co[n] le chiave che fa una voce piu bassa

2 contratenori co[n] chiave

2 bassi co[n] chiave

1 contrabasso

Uno concerto de flauti de novi pezi

2 bassi

2 soprani

2 soprasoprani

3 tenori tuti di legno bianco

Uno concerto de pifaroni de xiii pezi

3 basoni grandi

2 contrabassi grandi

2 baseti con una chiave

4 tenori

2 soprani tuti di legno bianco

1 fifaro solo de avollio

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45 quali instramenti sono tuti di uno medemo tono, hordinnario, e ni vogliono havere de tuta la casa scudi 300 d'horò, quali sono fati in Londora dal meglio maestro.

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In Londra in move degli soprascritti magistri sono li inf[rascrit]ti concerti cioue, una casa de flauti bianchi

2 bassi

4 tenori

4 soprani

2 soprasoprani, e tuti costerano scudi 24 d'oro — 24

Uno concerto de fifari de x pezi

2 bassi

4 tenori

4 soprani costerano tuti scudi 20 d'oro ——— 20

2 Dolzane cioe uno basso et uno tenore costera scudi 18 d'horo ——— 18

De cornamuse p[er] hora non sine trovanoo defatti una si farano fare, se V[ostra] E[ccellenza] lo cometera.

29. ASPR-TEATRI, busta 1 mazzo 1 fascicolo 2 sottofascicolo 1 (1)----- (A)  
On 8 September 1564.

From Cesare Marinone to Duke Ottavio.

Questo no[n] servirà ad altro effetto ch[e] per accompagnar' il p[rese]nte latore m[e]s[er] Don Gaspare; il quale hò preso p[er] tenore, el miglior' ch[e] è statto possibile trovar' in ques[i] paesi, in camera compirà beniss[im]o p[er] basso, quando saria accostimato à cantare madrigali; p[er]ch[e] leva[n]dogli come bisogna levar' fuor' d[e]le chiese, no[n] sano ch[e] li Kirie et Magnificat; per la posta darò più minuto ragguaglio à V[ostra] Ecc[ellen]za....

30. ASPR-TEATRI, busta 1 mazzo 1 fascicolo 2 sottofascicolo 1 (2)----- (A)  
On 17 September 1564.

From Cesare Marinone to Duke Ottavio.

Ali xi d[el] agosto presi uno tenore per V[ostra] Ecc[ellen]za c'hà una buoniss[im]a voce et sarà per basso da camera p[er]ch[e] compisse molto bene à basso altro no[n] gli manca che d'esser' accostimato à cantar' madrigali et canzoni in camera, et di ben' intonare, il ch[e] no[n] sano fare queste tale genti; che si levano fuori delle chiese, dove no[n] sono accostimati di cantare altro ch[e] messe salmi et Magnificat, miglior' no[n] mi è statto possibile di trovar' ne tanto buona voce, co[n] q[ue]sta diligenza hò saputo usare huomini com'è Gio[vanni] d'Aras et come Giaches no[n] si trovino; p[er]ch[e] loro no[n] ha[n]no fatto altro tutto il tempo di lor vita ch[e] cantare in camera come V[ostra] Ecc[ellen]za sa. L'accordio che è tra me e' questo tenore è che habbi[a] haver' tanto sal[ari]o [?] quanto quelli ch[e] g[li] ià sono costi dal basso in poi, d[e]l suo sal[ari]o comincia à correregli il giorno sud[det]to xi d'agosto da me hà havuto in [?] ma[n]no sei scudi à conto poi d[e]l sal[ari]o hà havuto altri sei scudi, et anco hò pagato pur à suo conto p[er] le spese c'hà fatto in questa terra sei scudi et mezo à l'hosto dell'Imperatore. Hà poi havuto undeci scudi p[er] far' il viaggio, p[er] venire a Par[m]a co[n] patto però ch'egli tenga conto di q[ue]llo spenderà et darlo à Parma, et il sopra più che gli avanzerà vadda pur a conto d[e]l suo sal[ari]o per lui no[n] è statto bisogno cavallo, perch[e] hà voluto venire à piedi in compagnia d'altri trè suoi paesani, ch[e] se n va[n]no alla volta di Roma. Oggi sono otto giorni ch[e] partono. Havrò à caro ch[e] l'Ecc[ellen]za V[ost]ra resti così ben sodisfatta di questo, come mi par' d'intendere ch'è molto sodisfatta d[e]l basso, et d[e]l contralto, l'assicuro bene che da me no[n] manca. Hora manca un putto et è grandiss[im]a difficoltà il trovarne; p[er]ch[e] dove sono i buoni li co[m]pa[n]i de canonici ne fanno haver tanta guardia et cura ch[e] no[n] si puono rubare, et S[ua] Alt[er]za istessa ch[e] è quà in proprio fatto ancora n'è senza; con tutto ch[e] Pirichino sia statto fuori più [che] un mese, et è tornato senza, havendone pero levato uno di Cambrai, et conducendolo fuori vestito com' una figlia in compagnia d'una sola donna ch'era macarella d[e]l fatto gli fu ripigliato al' uscir' della porta d[e]l la terra. Nondimeno voglio far' ogni sforzo a me possibile p[er] adimpire la comiss[ion]e ch[e] tengo dal'Ecc[ellen]za V[ost]ra s'io dovessi bene anc'io divenir ladro de gli altrui fig[li]uoli. Questo tenore ch[e] viene è prete, et intendo ch[e] molto litterato, e gli è cugino d'uno de capell[an]i di S[ua] Alt[er]za. Il basso mi scrive una l[etter]a ch[e] egli hà ricercato da V[ostra] Ecc[ellen]za d'esser vestito due volte l'anno, oltre al sal[ari]o et ch[e] q[ue]llo lo farrà volentieri quando no[n] fusse per alterare gli altri compani. Però ch[e] l'Ecc[ellen]za V[ostra] si contentava ch'io gli scrivessi una l[etter]a, come così era io d'accordo co[n] lui, accio ch[e] in ogni caso la potesse mostrar' à gli altri. Io l'hò fatta ma la mando in mano di V[ostra] Ecc[ellen]za accio che lei ne faccia ciò ch[e] le piace, no[n] sapend'io se q[ue]lla si contenta ò nò, come lui mi scrive ch[e] si, et la mando anco aperta, accio ch[e] ne possa veder' il co[n]tenuto, V[ostra] Ecc[ellen]za è pron[t]a e puole far' ciò ch[e] le piace; mà le dico bene ch[e] nell'accordo ch[e] fù concluso trà e lui, in casa di Gio[vanni] d'Aras, et sottscritto, et da lui et da me, no[n] si parlo d'altri vestiti ch[e] de q[ue]llo ch[e] gli feci far' al'hora grati[?] -a] p[er]ch[e] egli era si puole dire nudo; il med[esim]o accordo lui l'ha portato seco; però lo mostri, et sù quello si govern[a] s'ei vole mantenere la sua parola et fede da p[resen]te co[nt]ra illegibile].

Io veggio Gio[vanni] d'Aras nella maggior smania del mondo di venirsene ancora lui a s[er]viti di V[ostra] Ecc[ellen]za ò d'altro pur ch[e] si levasse di questi paesi, di ch[e] egli è molto satio. Però no[n] ho voluto lasciar' di farlene motto, acci[ò] ch[e] poi ch[e] hà da lasciar' S[ua] Alt[ez]za venesse à V[ostra] Ecc[ellen]za; co[n] la quale sò s'accomodaria co[n] poco più di cento scudi p[er]ch[e] vorria menar' sua moglie, et finir' sua vita in Itali[a].

Quella potrà dunc[ue] pensarvi sopra, et pigliarne q[ue]llo miglior partito ch[e] le pare quando ella vi havesse ven[n]a [?] ch[e] vi pensasse, ad ogni modo conosco ch[e] no[n] sta[to] quà p[er] niun modo, et seondo il pensier' ch[e] V[ostra] Ecc[ellen]za n'havrà, me ne potrà far' dar' aviso.

31. ASPR-TEATRI, busta 1 mazzo 1 fascicolo 2 sottofascicolo 2 ----- (A)

On 30 September 1564.

From Ludovico Nicola to Duke Ottavio.

Si come V[ostra] Ecc[ellen]za mi ha com[m]andato con le gratiss[im]e sue de 21 e 24 agosto, ho fatto pagare per mano di m[e]s[ser] Cesare Marinone scudi quindeci d'oro d'Italia alla moglie di Giovanni Henrico cantore di sua cappella per potersi condurre costi, come si mostra per la inclusa ricevuta, gli quali danari ho visto come V[ostra] E[ccellen]za ha ordinato siano pagati insieme on gli altri scudi ducento alli heredi de Nicolò Alleni di Cremona a mio conto, a quali ho scritto come a disporre ne harano.

32. ASPR-CFE Paesi Bassi, 108 ----- (A)

On 5 November 1564.

From Marcello Lampugnano to Duke Ottavio.

Ho riceuta la lettera che V[ostra] E[ccellen]za e stata servita di fami scrivere de xii del pasato in risposta dela quale non gli diro altro se non che non mancherò di esequire quanto mi comanda, ancora che io voglio credere per i contrasegni che per detta sua mi da, che la Ecc[ellen]za V[ost]ra voglia intendere il concerto de fifferi e non de piffari come se mi scrive.

33. ASPR-CFE Paesi Bassi 108 ----- (A)

On 19 November 1564.

From Cesare Marinone to Duke Ottavio.

Mi trovo la di V[ostra] E[ccellen]za de 5 del passato; ala quale no[n] hò più tosto che hora risposta, p[er] no[n] haver havuto alcuna conclusione da m[e]s[ser] Gio[vanni] d'Aras; il quale contutto ch[e] gli habbi io fatte l'essortatione p[er] parte di V[ostra] E[ccellen]za à voler continuar' in questo s[er]vicio ch'egli è m'ha detto esser' ressoluto vedere altri paesi avanti ch[e] più s'invecchi, co[n] aco[n] p[rim]o di servire più tosto al Ecc[ellen]za V[ost]ra ch[e] à null'altro prinipe d[e]l mondo, et mass[im]e che facendo questo gli par' servire nella med[esi]ma casa in ch[e] serve; vedendo io dunc[ue] questa sua deliberati[o]ne et ch[e] mess[im]e persiste, gli hò ragionato d[e]l tratta[n]imento ch'egli desideraria haver' governandomi conforme a lo ch[e] V[ostra] Ecc[ellen]za mi scrive, la risposta ch[e] n'hò raportato da lui è quest; ch'egli vorrebbe che V[ostra] E[ccellen]za si contentasse di dargli duodeci scudi il mese et io vedendo ch'è pooc lontano da q[ue]llo ch[e] io il nell'altra mia accennai a Ecc[ellen]za V[ost]ra ch[e] saria de 25 scudi piu et vedendo anco ch[e] al menar' seco la moglie et ch[e] al valor suo no[n] saria molto, no[n] gli hò voluto dar altra rissolut[i]o[n]e co[n] tutto ch'ella me n'habbia dato la liberta mà gli hò detto ch[e] d[e]l tutto n'avisarò V[ostra] Ecc[ellen]za la quale poi dirà qual sia il voler' suo. Però faccia hora lei la rissoluzione ch[e] meglio le sodisfa tanto più ch[e] la conosce l'huomo et ch[e] accade darlene informatione veruna et è allevato in corte da putt[o], et ch[e] in altro sà servire ch[e] nella musica, venendo l'occasione; ch[e] non è uno di questi levati fuori delle chiese; ch[e] altro no[n] sano far' ch[e] cantare, et fuori di q[ue]llo no[n] sa[n]no se sono vivi ò morti; lui si tratterà quà dov'è p[er] questo verno, et poi nel pigliar licenza si governerà in maniera, ch[e] ne riporterà l[ette]re dirrette al'Ecc[ellen]za V[ost]ra. Lui no[n] domanda dono alc[un]o come fare tutti gli altri; ch[e] lo batterano un potto di vino, domanda bene che sia condotto costi alle spese di q[ue]lla; et gionto ch[e] sarà s'ella gli vorrà usar qualch[e] cortesia starà alla volo[n]tà di V[ostra] Ecc[ellen]za. Pochi giorni sono c'hò inteso ch'el tenore ch[e] se incaminò no[n] hà possuto passar' in Italia p[er] queste maleditti[o]ni d[e]lla peste, et è ritornato à Besanzone in Borgogna, il ch[e] molto mi spiace, tanto più ch[e] egli scrive a Perichino ch[e] voria ch'egli

mandasse danari à bon conto d[e]l suo sal[ari]o et io no[n] si a me governarmi, se l'Ecc[ellen]za V[ost]ra no[n] mi comand[a] com'hò da fare. Quella povera donna d[e]lla moglie d[e]l contr'alto co[n] trè figliolini, ancora lei se n'è ritornat[a] a Besanzone Dio gli voglia condur bene se gli piace; et perch[e] mi pare d'esser' troppo proliss[im]o, faccio qui fine...

34. Francesco de Marchi's progamme of the tournament ----- (C)  
On 27 February 1565.  
From Francesco de Marchi to Giovanni Battista Pico.  
As quoted in RONCHINI: 18-19.

Infinite gratie havrei da dare a V. Sig.ria delli favori ch' ella fa ogni dì a me e a mio figliuolo; del che tutti dua gli ne restiamo con grandissimo obligo. Ho veduto tutto quello che V. Sig.ria ha mandato a Bologna, avvengachè non accadeva mandare altramente la lettera di Friano: solamente bastava una minima parola delle sue. Hora qui non s' attende ad altro che a far de' castelli in aria per voler comparir a queste honorate nozze: chi pensa d'haver a cader dal cielo, e chi uscir d'un monte, e chi della terra; chi portato dal mare Oceano e da tramontana, e chi da mezzogiorno; chi da levante, chi dal ponente: chi vuol essere Marte, e chi Saturno, chi Jove e chi Nettunno, chi la Dea della Virtù; chi pensa essere il Sole e chi la Luna; chi va cercando più lucenti stelle: sì che ognuno va facendo i castelli in aria, volendosi assimigliare a ogn' una di queste cose, al più che potranno. E io sèguito dietro alla fabrica del mio honorato cocchio. Oltra questo, son stato pregato da molti ch' io li voglia ajutar a mostrarli qualche rara invention: il che non ho voluto promettere, se non a uno, chi' io spero che debba essere un Marte così in fatti, come che gli è in parienza, e che havrà d' appresentare il Dio Marte proprio triumphante in un carro tirato da due leoni con molte altre cose che intorno a esso v' anderanno: sì che colle cose, che si propongono, s' elle si faranno, sarà una festa Realissima. L' ill.mo sig.r conte Manfelt è il mantenitore della giostra; e per ancora non gli è stato ordine c' habbia voluto accettare nessuno compagno, tant' è la bravura ch' in lui si vede, e la è da vero e non da burla.

35. ASM-AG, busta 1361. ----- (B)  
On 16 March 1565.  
From Duke Ottavio to Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga of Mantua.  
Also cited in BERTOLOTTI: 55; FURLOTTI: 262.

Intendo che è venuto à servir V[ostra] Ecc[ellen]tia un Giovanni Enrich musico fiamengo, che stava qui al mio ser[vi]tio il quale oltra che era obligato à star con me tre anni, et che è soprapagato del tempo che mi ha servito, egli si è anco partito senza chiedermi licentia, il che quando V[ostra] Ecc[ellen]za avesse saputo mi rendo certissimo che non l'havrebbe accettato altramente al suo servitio: Però mi e parso farglielo intender con questa mia, pregando V[ostra] Ecc[ellen]za che si contenti di licentiarlo, acciò sia forzato tornar qui à servirmi per quel tempo, che obligato; certificandola che ne le restarò con molto obligo.

36. ASPR-CFE Paesi Bassi, 108 ----- (A)  
On 3 June 1565.  
From Marcello Lampugnano to Duke Ottavio.

Ho riceuto la lettera di V[ostra] Ecc[ellen]za co[n] la quale mi comanda non essendo obligato à pigliare li piffari che l' ]amico di Londra haveva mandato in scambio deli fifferi se gli dimandorni che non gli piaceva de haverli e p[er] tal rispetto se gli sono restituiti, non essendo obligato à pigliarli, mandarno poi li fiffari e da mio fra[te]llo, di Hanversa alli giorni pasati furno mandati a Piacenza, e subito gionto, saranno consignati a V[ostra] Ecc[ellen]za e da esso mio fr[ate]llo li e scritto il costo e spesa de essi credero saranno à sua sodisfaccione havendo gli amici di Londra fatoni ugni deligencia p[er]ch[e] resta ben s[er]vita, e se ha tardato assai haverli lo errore fecerno a mandare uno p[er] uno altro ni e stato la causa.

37. Cipriano de Rore's epigraph ----- (B)  
Installed in the Parma Cathedral.  
Also quoted in OWENS 1976 etc..

CYPRIANO RORI FLAND.

ARTIS MVSICAE VIRO  
 OMNIUM PERTISS. CVIVS  
 NOMEN FAMAQ. NEC  
 VETVUSTATE OBRVI, NEC  
 OBLIVIONE DELERI  
 POTERIT. HERCVLIS  
 FERRAR. DVCIS IV. DEINDE  
 VENETOR. POSTREMO  
 OCTAVII FARN. PARM.  
 ET PLAC. EVCIS II.  
 CHORI PRAEFECTO  
 LUDOVIC. FRAT. FIL.  
 ET HAER. MOESTISS.  
 P.  
 OBIIT AN M.D.LXV  
 AET. VERO SVAE  
 XLIX

38. Francesco de Marchi's programme of the tournament----- (C)  
 On 7 October 1565.  
 From Francesco de Marchi to Giovanni Battista Pico.  
 As quoted in RONCHINI: 39-41.

Qui non vi è altro di nuovo, se non che domani a cena sarà qui l' Ecc.za del Duca. Havemo nuova da Renause per via del capitan Francesco, che arrivò alli tre di questo, come S. Ecc.za stava bene, e così tutti quegli altri signori. Il secondo avviso havemo, che l' era arrivato in Colonia. Il terzo avviso havemo da Mastrich. Et domani l' Ecc.za del Principe va a Lovagna a desinare con alcuni signori e gentilhuomini per incontrare la Ecc.za del Duca. Qui si sente una grande allegrezza della sua venuta, prima da S. A., poi dal Principe, poi da noi altri servitori e da questi grandi del paese con il popolo; sì che altrettanto havemo a caro, e forse più, la vista di S. Ecc.za, come voi altri signori di costì. Questa volta bisogna che ve lo lassate più delle altre volte, perchè il padre e il figliuolo si ingegneranno a gara l' un dell' altro a chi prima genererà figliuoli. Il Principe dice: mia madre farà prima nozze di me, e io son lo sposo; ma la Ecc.za del Duca non ha la schiena che ha il figliuolo. Hiersera fece pigliare uno sciugatoio, e lo faceva tenere da dua, e si pigliava la misura al mento; e poi di un salto lo passava senza toccarlo, e lo fece dua volte, dietro l'una all'altra, con raddoppiare le poste. Vi so dire, e sa V. S., come l' è astuto nel negozio del fare l' amore. Qui si vestirà 12 gentilhuomini molto sontuosamente, che andaranno per la posta con il Principe alle spese del Crocefisso, e altri signori andaranno, che sarà una bella compagnia. V' ha molti ufficiali e molti gentilhuomini, che assai per giornata andaranno a iscontrare la Principessa. Ma la venuta non sappiamo quando la serà perchè qui non vi è per ancora lettere di nessuno che fosse sopra quella armata; e tutto quello, che si sa, è per via di altre navi, venute di Spagna. S. A. tiene in Inghilterra huomini a posta, se l' armata capitasse lì; e poi in Calès; e così di man in mano per la costa di Fiandra; e in Gilanda ha mandato due che, come l' armata si scoprisse, vengano a dare nuova di essa.

S. A. veste tutti li ufficiali di panno nero e velluto nero: a una sorte le cappe di panno e sagli guarniti di velluto, ad altri sagli di velluto e cappe guarnite di velluto. Questi sono li antichi ufficiali.

Se questa Principessa viene con felicità, siccome speriamo, se le farà gran carezze e feste solenni e di gran valuta. Ogni giorno si provano alla sella, armati all' incontro, per fare una bella giostra e più tornei. Io era stato ricercato da alcuni di questi signori che ponessi in campo alcuna cosa per far feste nel prato, dove è piantato la lizza. Io proponeva che si facesse una livrea di dodici o quindici, che fusse di ormesino incarnato coperto di velo bianco, che facesse l' huomo nudo, poi alle punte delle spalle li fosse l' ale, e havessino molti tremolanti d' oro adosso con molti svolazzi di taffetà attaccati al capo e sotto l' ali; poi si pigliasse cavalli corritori, li più che si trovassino, e che si corresse in piedi sopra la sella, ponendo le staffe alla metà della bardella, e s' avesse a correre con un dardo in mano, diritto sopra del cavallo: dopo questo, che pigliassino lance con delli fuochi artificiali e (si facessero a) correre e rompere in terra dette lance: li cavalli fossero coperti di svolazzi e di sonagli: poi, finito il correre, questi andassino in su la festa, e così che havessino imparato alcune danze non più vedute. Tutti

questi particolari accettano, ma non il correre in piedi in sulle selle de' cavalli; e voleva esser io il primo a correre. Poi proponeva che si facesse un castello in aria, e farlo comabattere per uno de' fuochi artificiat, a figure di cartoni, in quel modo che li turchi hanno combattuto il forte di Santo Ermo nell'isola di Malta.

V. S. saprà come la medaglia del Principe è finita dinanzi di S. A., la quale è molto naturale. Hora V. S. faccia interpretare, e mandatemelo in iscritto, questo che qui ho invetato e fatto fare. È una Venere in un carro, che esce da una nube, tirato il carro da doi cigni che volano per aria. La Venere è vestita all' antica: ha il braccio diritto nudo con una corona reale in mano, e la porge innazi. All' incontro vi è un huomo armato all' antica, che mostra il nudo, in su un cavallo, e porge la mano, e mostra fermare quel carro.

39. CMBMB-FIAMME----- (B)

On 8 November 1565.

Giulio Bonagiunta's dedication to Annibale del Forno.

Also quoted in BERNSTEIN: 675 and ONGARO: 51.

Magnifico Sig[nor] mio osservandissimo, per la gran familiarità, & amorevol servitù, che io longo tempo ho tenuta con l'eccellentiss[imo] musico M[esser] Cipriano Rore, benignamente per sua cortesia mi fece partecipe d'alcuni suoi bellissimoi madrigali, a quattro, & a cinque voci, pregandomi li dovesse tenir appresso di me, accio le sue opere non cosi facilmente nelle mani di ciascheduno si divulgassero: & per esser homai il mondo (con giusto voler d'Iddio) restato privo d'un tant'humo, a cui pochi ò rari appareggiar si possono: parmi farli torto gradissimo, tener piu ascoso cosi bel thesoro, da tanti spiriti generosi bramato: essendo che per questo mezo resusciti l'auttore, & vivi immortale: manifestandosi la sua rara virtù, hoggidi tanto honorata, & bramata da tutti. però per le lunghe preghieri di molti, & comune satisfatione, & utilità, son constretto porli in luce, & dedicarli a Vostra Signoria da me unicamente amata, & honorata, (mercè le sue sue singularissime virtù, & cortesie.) Pregandola si degni ricevere il picciol dono, & me insieme tenendomi fra tutti gli altri chari suoi servidori amorevoli, & fideli. Priego Dio alla giornata mi daghi maggior occasione, accio possi in maggior parte dimostrarli il mio grato animo. in questo, mentre Vostra Signoria mi amara, & mi comandara, & io mi offero a ogni occorrenza paratissimo.

40. ASPR-CCF, serie 2 busta 18 fascicolo 6 ----- (A)

Josquin Persoen's financial report.

Spesa ch[e] io Josghino hò fatto per andar sin a Liegi a cercar' putti da Capella per S[ua] Ec[cellenz]a

[f. = fiorini; p. = plache]

Adi 18 d'ottobre 1565

Per il cavallo di vittura di Bruxelles sin a Namure  
et per il ritorno

f. 1 p. 5

A Wavere p[er] il disinar' col cavallo

p. 9

A Bovès p[er] la cena col cavallo

p.12

Adi 19 d'ottobre

Per rimandar' il cavallo di Namur a Bruge

p.15 mez[zo]

A Namur' p[er] il disinar'

p. 8 mez[zo]

Per la barca di namur sin a Hù

p. 2

A Hu p[er] la cena

p. 5

Adi 20 d'otto[bre]

Per la barca de Hu sin a Liegi

p. 7 mez[zo]

Da gli 20 d'ottobre, sin alli 25 del medesimo

f. 5 p.10

Dalli 25 d'ott[obre], sin alli 3 di Nov[embre]

f. 9 p.12

Adi 3 di Novem[bre]

A Loÿe p[er] il desinar'

p. 2

A S. Truÿe p[er] la cena

p.10

Adi 4 di Nov[embre]

A Tirlemont p[er] il disinar'

p. 5 mez[zo]

Per il cartone di Liegi sin Lovanio

f. 1 p.10

A Lovanio p[er] la cena

p. 8

Adi 5 di Novembre		
A Lovanio p[er] il disinar'		p. 7
Per la cena		p. 8
Adi 6 di No[vembre]		
Per il disinar'		p. 7
Per il legne		p. 7
per il cartone di Lovanio sin a Brux[elles]		p. 7
<hr/>		
som[m]a	f.23	p.18

Per andar' a Lovanio a tuore un putto da capella

Adi 7 Dicembre 1565		
Per il cartone		p. 7
Dato al maestro di capella di Lovanio	f. 5	p. 5
Dalli 7 sin alli 9 dopò disinar con haver invitato una volte il padre et la madre dal putto con duoi altri suoi parenti pagato a l'hosteria	f. 3	p.10
Pagato al cartone p[er] il putto col suoi padre	f. 1	p. 3
<hr/>		
som[m]a	f.10	p. 5

Per andar' a Mallines a tuorre un contralto

Adi 28 di Dicembre		
Per il cartone		p.10
Adi 29 di xcembre		
Pagato a l'hosteria per il detto contralto e per me per un di et mezzo	f. 2	p.12 e mez[zo]
Per il cartone di Mallines a Bruxelles per il contralto et per me	f. 1	

Lettera di m[e]s[ser] Juschino p[er] andar in piu lochi a cercar cantori p[er] Sua Ecc[ellenza]. di quello a spese, et e statto pagato.

- 41 Francesco de Marchi's description of the tournament----- (C)  
 De Marchi's Narratione (1566): ff. 23r-25r.  
 As quoted in BERTINI: 114-116.

[c. 23] Venuto il giorno della giostra, che fu alli 4 di dicembre, si videro grandissimi sfoggi di cavalli e di livree per tutte le strade e principalmente nella piazza di Bruxelles, dove tutte le finestre erano ornate di tapezzarie ricchissime, con tanto gran popolo, Prencipi, dame, signori, e gentilhuomini, che per la loro moltitudine non si potevano contare; perché la fama di tante gran nozze e trionfi e regal giostra era qui concorsa quasi tutta la nobilità di Brabantia, di Fiandra, di Artois, del paese di Cambrai, di Enò, di Lucemburg, di Geldria, di Olanda, di Frisa, di Gilanda, di Namur e di Falcheimburg, senza l'altre genti, che è opinione che vi fosse de' forastieri più che dodicimila persone e d'Anversa solamente si diceva, che ve ne erano stati duemila. Nella piazza era stata fatta la lizza, come si costuma, della giostra et in capo la lizza vi era un padiglione da campo ricchissimo, tutto lavorato di seta di più colori, sopra il quale stava una grand'aquila negra. Era questo bellissimo padiglione del Signor [c. 23v] Conte di Mansfelt, mantentore della giostra, il quale fu il primo de' giostranti che comparve in piazza con questo ordine. Gli andavano avanti dodici trombetti et un altoballo sonando e poi seguitavano tre paggi sopra gran cavalli bardati, tutti vestiti a una medesima livrea di tela d'oro, turchina, rossa e gialla, con fioroni di rilevo; un de' quali portava una lancia con due serpi rivolte in cima, l'altro una lancia con un'aquila negra e l'altro uno scudo che haveva un'aquila pur negra dipinta, seguitavano i paggi, due armaroli e poi ventiquattro staffieri vestiti alla medesima livrea et ultimamente dodici padrini, cioè Monsignor d'Orno, l'amiraglio, il Marchese di Berghes, Monsignore di Ostrat, Signori del'ordine del Tosone, e gli altri tutti erano Signori grandi del paese. Veniva poi il detto Conte mantentore sopra un possente e gran corsiero, portando per cimiero sopra la celata un'aquila negra, con i girelli bellissimi e ricchi. Dopo il Conte comparve nella lizza il Prencipe di Orange con una gran comitiva avanti di Signori e cavalieri giostranti, cioè il Conte di Meghen, Monsignor di Montigni, il Conte



Lodovico di Nassao, il Signor di Locervalle, il Signor Vandermere, il Signor di Saras, il Signor di Quattrevaulx, il Signor Giovanni Bernardino Provenzali, il Signor Giovanni di Croi, Conte di Durveulx, il Conte di Ovrend et il Signor di Manino et avanti questi Signori andavano sonando dieci trombetti et un altoballo, con quattro padrini e due paggi sopra due corsieri bardati e coperti di girelli con otto staffieri et inanzi a tutti gli altri Signori havevano quattro padrini per ciascuno e quattro staffieri et inanzi a tutti andava un carro trionfale tirato da tre cavalli, un posto per l'aria, quel di mezo per la terra e l'altro per l'acqua, la terra era negra e l'aria e l'acqua bianca; sopra il cavallo della terra era assentata una donna che si chiamava Amore e davanti il carro era il Dio dell'Amore nudo con l'arco teso in mano, con l'ali e con una benda legata agli occhi; e nel mezo del carro stava un arco trionfale, sotto il quale sedeva la Dea Venere con un torchio acceso nella man dritta e nell'altra un pomo d'oro et ai piedi le stavano sentate due come donne, l'una era dilectatio e l'altra voluptas, cioè il diletto il piacere, le quali giocavano sopra certi stromenti. Dietro le venivano tre huomini e tre donne incatenate, che mostravano di essere prigionie della lor Dea e questi rappresentavano li Dei e le Dee della terra, del cielo e dell'acqua le donne erano Teti, Giunone e Prosepina e gli huomini Nettuno, Giove e Plutone e davanti l'arco stava uno scudo con un motto intorno che diceva OMNIA VINCIT AMOR. Il carro dinotava il tempo con due versi latini intorno che dicevano:

Imperioque meo, puerique Cupidinis omne

Quicquid habet coelum, et terra, fretumque sub est. [c. 24]

et il carro era ornato di tre colori, giallo, bigio e bianco e i guarnimenti de' cavalli erano rossi, che significavano fuoco d'Amore. Comparve poi il cavallero del Delfino che era il Signor Marcello Lampognano, piacentino, con quattro trombetti et un altoballo, vestiti tutti di raso bianco con le loro insegne alle trombette et altoballo, nelle quali era un motto in lettere d'oro, che diceva FIDEI ERGO, tutte frangiate d'argento e seta bianca con il cordone del medesimo con cappelli di veluto con pennacchi bianchi e calze di raso e stivaletti bianchi. Seguitavano poi due paggi sopra due cavalli ginetti, i quali havevano le loro selle guarnite di frangie d'argento e seta bianca con li fornimenti inargentati, con un cappello in capo di tela d'argento con molte piume bianche e con una casacca di tela d'argento con passamani d'argento, con calze di raso e borzachini bianchi e gli sproni inargentati, con una lancia per ciascuno in mano, in cima la quale stava una bandirola bianca con uno scudo medesimamente in mano all'antica, nel quale era di mezo rilievo una impresa di un delfino nell'acqua, incoronato di una corona d'oro, con perle e sopra il delfino stavano sette stelle con un motto, che diceva come quel di sopra FIDEI ERGO. Venivano poi quattro padrini, cioè il Conte Bernardino Mandello, il Conte Onorio Scotto, il Signor Leonardo Tassis, corriere maggiore di Sua Maestà Catolica, et il Signor Mario Cardovino gentilhuomo napoletano, sopra quattro ginetti, che havevano le selle e fornimenti coperti di tela d'argento e seta bianca, con le loro casacche indosso di tela d'argento, con passamani d'argento, con calze di raso e sproni inargentati, con spade e pugnali inargentati e cinte di tela d'argento, portando ciascun di loro un bastone bianco in mano. Veniva poi solo il cavallero sopra un gran corsiero, che ballava e si girava come un pavone sopra quella piazza. Il corsiero era tutto coperto di tela d'argento, fatta a fioroni doppii di rilievo di tela d'argento ricamati di cordoni di argento, con la sella armata di veluto bianco con frangie e cordoni d'argento e seta con le staffe inargentate, con il frontale nel quale era un piumazzo meraviglioso, fatto di penne bianche, havendone un altro alla coda non minore. Il cavallero era tutto armato da capo a' piedi d'arme lustre con un grandissimo bel piumazzo sopra l'elmetto, posto maestrevolmente in un manico d'argento lavorato e per cimiero portava un delfino di rilievo incoronato, come quello dello scudo, con le stelle di sopra et il motto FIDEI ERGO. Haveva poi otto staffieri, vestiti tutti di raso bianco, con cappelli e piume. Questo cavallero fece mostra ricchissima e bella per tanti bravi cavalli e si ben in ordine, che l'accompagnavano, e tutta questa impresa e livrea fu da lui fatta per l'amore che egli porta [c. 24v] una gran dama. Entrò poi il Signor Filippo di Lanoia, Signor di Beauvoir, il quale portava la targhetta piena di I. rossi e poi il Signor Georgio di Lignì, Signor di Trambusa, e poi il Signor Balduino di Gavre, Signore di Ansi, il quale portava per impresa un cor rosso con una gamba di griffone; poi il Signor Don Carlo di Proisi, Signor di Bligni, che haveva un cor rosso trapassato di due strali. Andavano avanti questi quattro cavallieri sei trombetti tutti vestiti di raso giallo con i cappelli e piume del medesimo colore e le bandirole de' trombetti erano di ormisino giallo, coperte di stellette d'oro. Seguitavano poi quattro padrini vestiti di tocca d'oro con i cappelli, calze, sai e maniche doppie, con le spade, pugnali, cinture, staffe e sproni dorati,

le piume gialle et il fornimento con la gualdrappa del cavallo di tocca d'oro e dopo lor veniva un carro tirato da quattro cavalli bai con i finimenti di tocca d'oro e le briglie tutte coperte di gioie false, ciascun con un gran pennacchio. Il carro era tutto dipinto a modo di un cielo pieno di stelle d'oro et in luogo delle quattro ruote haveva quattro stelle fisse grandi quanto sono le ruote di un commun carro, fatto d'oro di foglia e quantunque il carro caminasse, elle però non si movevano punto. Sopra il carro era un Sole di nove piedi diametro, fatto tutto d'oro con i raggi mobili et esso con tal arte disposto, che da sé solo si girava sempre. Nel mezzo, quasi dentro un epiciclo immobile, dall'una e dall'altra parte, stava un picciolo Sole, che non si moveva mai. In capo il carro era una Luna di diametro di piedi due e mezzo, la quale stava con la faccia contraria al Sole. Tirava questo carro uno che era vestito di tocca d'oro all'antica, con molte frappette, tutte coperte di bottoni di christallo e gioie false. Haveva in testa una maschera fatta aposta con un viso giovane e la testa, come una stella doppia, e costui rappresentava Orione, carrettiero di Febo. Dietro il carro venivano quattro staffieri vestiti di raso giallo e poi seguitavano quattro cavalieri che si dicevano i cavalieri del Sole, con le lance in mano, che havevano le loro bandirole tutte piene di stellette d'argento, armati da capo a' piedi tutti d'arme dorate con un pannacchio bellissimo sopra l'elmetto, con un cimiero di un Sole, posto in maniera, che girava da sè stesso, come il gran Sole del carro. Havevano i caparazzoni, il tondaletto e la sella di tocca d'oro, tutti coperti di Soli piccioli, che giravano tra un'infinità di stellette d'oro, fatte per mano di ricamatori. I cavalli havevano i loro frontali tutti dorati con belli pennacchi con un Sole in fronte che girava come quello del cimiero. Seguitavano poi quattro paggi vestiti di raso giallo con i fornimenti de' cavalli alla napoletana di corame giallo, coperti di stellette d'oro. Passando i cavalieri davanti il corridore delle dame facevano riverenza e donavano certe pitture di un Sole, dove erano questi versi scritti [c. 25] in tre lingue diverse: "Come dà luce al mondo il Sol e Luna, così mia luce sia sempre sol una".

42. BLL-RORE----- (B)

Antonio Gardano's dedication to Duke Ottavio.  
Also quoted in MEIER 1971: XIX (facsimile).

Dovendo io mandare in luce Illustrissimo & Eccellentissimo Signore, alcuni madrigali del unico Cipriano de Rore, alla cui anima Iddio dia l'eterno riposo, & sia grata in Paradiso, si come è stata gratissima la presentia sua a tutti de virtu amatori in terra, come veramente quello che ha hauto li rarissimi doni da i cieli solo, che a diversi erano solite di concedere, percioche si come i piu periti di questa arte musicale, hano giudicato essere veramente stati tre soli, che hano dato vero essemplio di qualche parte di perfettione in questa professione, attribuendo a Iosquino la delettevole inventionione della modulatione & il bel cantare, a Moutone la vera arte della variatione de contrapunti, & ad Adriano Vuillaert la coutinnatione [*sic*] della dolce harmonia, pare che i cieli habbiano voluto dotare l'unico Cipriano di tutte tre queste virtu unitamente insieme, conciosia cosa che nelle sue compositioni si trova e l'uno e l'altro, tanto ben osservato, & con tanta arte posto, che avanti di lui, non sia stato alcuno, & che per l'avenire si dubita che alcuno vi possa arrivare. Considerando adunque quanto lui e stato caro a V[ostra] Eccellenza & quanto egli l'amava, non ho voluto che questi suoi canti, habbiano da uscire in stampa, sotto altro nome che di V[ostra] Eccellenza Illustrissima, sapendo certo che la piu parte siano fatte ad istanza di lei, per darle diletto e contento, supplico che non si sdegni di accettar questo mio picciol dono, con quella rarissima benignita sua solita, alla quale con ogni riverenza, inchinandomi bascio le mani, & con ogni humilta di core mi raccomando.

43. ASPR-TEATRI, busta 1 mazzo 1 fascicolo 2 sottofascicolo 3 ----- (A)

On 10 January 1566.  
From Tommaso Machiavelli to Duke Ottavio.

Non così tosto fu partita di qui V[ostra] Ecc[ellenza] che mi s'appresentò l'occasione d'un giovane musico (al creder mio) secondo il gusto di quella. Si chiama Giovanni da Liege. Et oltre la musica, in che si è esercitato sempre, suona di liuto così da balli, come cose musicali molto eccellentem[en]te, et non meno anchor di viola; et tutto con molta gratia. È di buona presenza, et dispositione: il Conte Nicolò l'ha viso, et udito. Alle occasioni serviva benissimo per barbiere. È avezzo à servire che stette lungam[en]te in casa del Granvela per cam[erie]re di mons[ignor] di Favernè: et trà Gio[vanni] d[']Arras con la spinetta et quest'altro Gio[vanni]

con la viola e talhor col liuto si farà sempre una musica signorile. Io gli ho detto che V[ostra] E[ccellenza] da almeno à ragion di 9 plache il giorno: se à lei piace la sua servitù esso si contenta; et mostra un gran desiderio di venir' à servirla, sperando che il suo procedere debba renderlo grato à quella. È anco persona modesta, quieta et molto servente. Se V[ostra] Ecc[ellenza] dunque se ne satisfà potrà commettere che alla venuta del Prencipe, ò della Prencipessa miei s[ignor]i. Egli possa mettersi con la flotta; e spero veramente ch'ella ne resterà contenta. Così aspettando la resolutione di V[ostra] E[ccellenza] lo farò trattener' in q[uest]a terra.

44. Francesco de Marchi's comment on Jean d'Arras----- (C)  
On 19 January 1566.

From Francesco de Marchi to Giovanni Battista Pico.  
As quoted in RONCHINI: 50.

Alli 19... Viene il valente messer Giovanni da Arrasse con la sua moglie giovine e non molto bella, ma lui è un valente musico, da comporre e da cantare e sonare di manicordio. È buono compagno.

45. ASPR-CFE Paesi Bassi 109----- (A)  
On 29 April 1566.

From Hostilio Valenti to Giovanni Battista Pico.

Sarà il portator di questa m[e]s[ser] Giovan d'Aras, giovine virtuoso, gentile, et ecc[ellentissimo] musico, egli se ne viene à servir l'ill[ustrissimo] S[igno]r Duca tanto allegramente, et con tanta buona volontà, che per questo solo merita che ne sia tenuto gran conto, et molto piu poi aggiuntovi le rare parti che sono in lui, le quali hanno potuto in me tanto, ch'io l'amo come il piu caro fra[te]llo et amico ch'io habbia in questo mondo, et perche come à tal[e] gli desidero ogni honore, et benef[ici]o et sapendo io quanto giovamento gli può apportar la protettion' et favoar li vengo con la p[rese]nte à raccomandarglielo quanto piu so et posso di core, redendomi piu che sicuro, ch'ella come tanto s[igno]r et amico mio, non mancherà et per il suddetto rispetto, et per amor mio (che sommamente lo desidero) di favorirlo, et proteggerlo come io confido in lei, alla quale restarò con tanto obligo di quanto si degnara di far per lui come se veramente tornasse à comodo mio particolare, che per mio reputo ogni interesse del detto m[e]s[ser] Giovanni.

46. BPP-MSPARM, 449 "Cronaca farnesiana" ff. 56r-57r.----- (A)

Doppo alcuni mesi di dimora in Parma fece ritorno alla Fiandra il Principe Alessandro per servizio del Re Cattolico, e di la fece partenza sul finire del mese di febbraio di quest'anno, arivando in Piacenza li 8 marzo, dove fu ricevuto da piacentini giusto il loro buon gusto; colla quale occasione la comunità ordinò, che gli fosse preparato un regalo d'argenteria in prezzo 4 milla scudi, quale gli fu presentato, e da esso principe ricevuto con testimonianze di singolare gratitudine il dì 27 aprile. Nel mese di luglio un artefice parmigiano detto il Landò per ordine di questa comunità di Piacenza fondò un campanone per il publico nel monistero di S[an] Sepolcro li 11 d[e]tto del peso di mille libbre di bronzo, il quale fu benedetto dal Vescovo m[onsigno]r Fabbio Copalati il dì 20 di 7mbre, e fu posto sul torazzo del publico verso la Pescaria, dove tuttora si ritrova, e si chiama la campane vecchia.

47. ASPR-CFE Paesi Bassi----- (A)  
On 29 May 1566.

From Tommaso Machiavelli to Duke Ottavio.

Mando à V[ostra] E[ccellenza] il presente sonetto, il quale se ben non ha quegli ornamenti che convengono à un tanto soggetto, non sarà però forse in tutto à lei discaro, poiche tratta del Prencipe suo figliuolo, et mio sig[no]re. Madama Ser[enissima] si è degnata dirmi che l'udirebbe volentieri in musica, ond'io ne prego m[e]s[ser] Josquino: Ma se egli n'havrà un poco di commandamento da V[ostra] E[ccellenza] s'ingenerà tanto più di mostrar l'oro della cassa.

48. ASPR-CFE Paesi Bassi 109----- (A)  
On 29 June 1566.

From Tommaso Machiavelli to Giovanni Battista Pico.

Ho ricevuto la lettera di V[ost]ra S[ign]oria di xiii del presente ho inteso il felice arrivo in Parma del Principe nostro s[igno]re e quanta allrezza sia mostrata universalmente, et se ben l'Alt[ez]za di Madama sapeva ciò per altre l[ette]re ha nondimeno ascoltato molto volentieri quel che V[ost]ra S[ign]oria mo ne scrive.... Dal virtuoso m[e]s[ser] Gio[vanni] Agostino Veggio aspetto il madrigale de la s[igno]ra contessa di S[an] Secondo et allhora riponderò à S[ua] S[ign]oria et al S[ign]or Cesare Forlano. Aspettiamo parimente quello sopra il sonetto del sig[n]or Prencipe di che il s[ign]or duca mi scrive haverlo commesso à m[e]s[ser] Josquino: il quale sarà gratiss[im]o à S[ua] Alt[ez]za. Del ritratto del s[?] gran Cipriano non dirò più altro perche veggio ch'è un consumamento di tempo, et di patientia....

49. BSBM-MERULO ----- (A)  
On 20 July 1566.

Claudio Merulo's dedication to Duke Ottavio.

Se per antica legge siamo tenuti offerir sempre a Dio i primi frutti della terra; per invecchiata, & lodevol consuetudine siamo ancho obligati donare à principi grandi i primi parti del nostro ingegno, che mandiamo in luce. Ma se alcuno fu mai sottoposto a questa honorata usanza; tanto piu sono io costretto a presentare a V[ost]ra Eccellenza Illustrissima questi miei madrigali in musica, prima creatura, ch'anchor mai io habbia prodotta nel publico theatro del mondo; quanto alla magnanima, & veramente illustrissima sua bontà verso di me, con piu argomenti d'amore piu volte dimostrata; è obligata la vita, & la profession mia. Supplico V[ost]ra Eccellenza Illustrissima che degnando benignamente la picciola offerta mia, riceva con cortese animo questi miei humili madrigali; & me nel numero de' suoi piu devoti servitori, ch'io prego Dio sempre per la felicità sua.

50. ASPR-CFE Paesi Bassi, 109----- (A)  
On 21 July 1566.

From Prospero Tedesco to Giovanni Battista Pico.

V[ost]ra Signora] sara contenta far' saper al sig[n]or Duca che alla dimanda che io fece a m[e]s[ser] Orlando Catella in nome di S[ua] Ecc[ellen]za di condurre la mogl[ie] de Gio[vanni] de Aras in Italia, havendoli de andar' questo anno, hogi ess[o] mi ha risposto che desidera servir' l'Ecc[ellen]za S[ua], in tutto quello che sia bono per suo servitio, ma che crede di non andar' altrimenti in Italia a pigliare sua moglie, ma farla condur' senza esso, e pur quando potesse ottener gratia da S[ua] A[lt]ezza di andarvi, che non pole esser' avanti il verno, e che per tanto S[ua] E[ccellenza] sara servita provider' p[er] altra via....

51. ASN-AF, fascio 262 cc. 886----- (A)  
On 18 July 1567.

From Juan de Zúñiga to Duke Ottavio.

Hò visto q[uan]to V[ost]ra Ecc[ellen]za mi comanda per la sua di 8 del presente intorno alla resolutione delli huomini musici, che per ordine di V[ost]ra E[ccellenza] havevo trovati, è tanto eseguirò io no[n] tenerli più in paroli. Fabbratio Dentice no[n] è in Napoli, pens' se n'andò col s[ign]or Mar[che]se di Pescara molti di sono, et hoggi si ritrova in corte, et (sec[on]do mi han detto) favorito del Prencipie di Spagna, et in questa città veram[en]te: no[n] vi è alcuno à un gran pezzo che sonasse e ca[n]tasse come lui, perche hò procurato di sentirli tutti, et no[n] vi è cosa degna di V[ost]ra E[ccellenza] et no[n] essendo questa per altro.

52. ASPR-TEATRI, busta 1 mazzo 2 fascicolo 2 sottofascicolo 6 ----- (A)  
On 11 January 1568.

From Carlo Duarte to Duke Ottavio.

A nome di V[ost]ra Ecc[ellen]za Ill[ustriss]ima m[e]s[ser] Giacomo Pecchio raggiono meco dicendomi ch'io dovessi usar diligenza p[er] trovare un contralto in queste bande, cosi no[n] ho mancato il quale è il melio di Brescia pero p[er] capella, et lo disposto talme[n]te che si co[n]tentera quando faccia p[er] V[ost]ra Ecc[ellen]za Ill[ustriss]ima di venir' à servirla qual si

dimanda il Sardegna che m[e]s[ser] Ferante musico glie ne potra dar informatione e sicuriss[im]o nel cantare compore et ha boniss[im]o contraponto pero mi dice che si crede che per voce da camera per hora no[n] le [?] servira perche quasi sempre canta o in capella overo in casa p[er]ch[e] fa scola, et come la voce saria riposata si crede gli servira per camera. Qua si trova nelle mani d'un maestro mio amico una bona copia de viole fatto alla napolitana cosi ha promesso tenerle a mia instantia pero l'Ecc[ellenza] V[ostra] Ill[ustrissi]ma mi farà gratia farmi dar' aviso dil tutto, et piacendo il musico quello si conterà darli al mese et quello havrò à far' p[er] conto delle viole che tanto farò havrò qua[n]to la Ill[ustrissi]ma Sua Persona mi comandarà. Il presentator' di questa sarà m[e]s[ser] Gio[vanni] Maria musico gentil'huomo bresciano et molto mio amico cosi lo racc[omman]do.

53. ASPR-TEATRI, busta 1 mazzo 2 fascicolo 2 sottofascicolo 7 ----- (A)  
On 16 February 1568.  
From Baron Sfondato to Duke Ottavio.

Lo ne viene costi m[e]s[ser] Pietro Vince il musico che V[ostra] Ecc[ellenza] per farmi gratia accettò al suo servitio il q[ua]le se bene in prima vista pare inetto è però sufficient[issi]mo nel mestero del componere nè hà hoggidi molti pari. Se l'opere sue et stampate, et scritte no[n] facessero ampio testimonio della virtù sua. Io vorrei à ogni modo toccare due ò tre punti retorici p[er] fargli servitio, ma poi ch[e] egli si farà bene conoscere senz'altro intercessione mia, dirò questa sola parola, ch[e] egli merita la gratia, et la protezione di V[ostra] Ecc[ellenza] et quasi che no[n] ne potete fare senza. La sua musica hà del difficiletto, ne ogni uomo è buono à ca[n]tarla all'improvviso, però se alla prima cantata no[n] vi riuscisse molto, no[n] vi sca[n]dalizase, perche bisogna che chi cantarà, ne habbi, ò faccia un può di pratica. Io lo racc[ommand]o infinitame[n]te à V[ostra] Ecc[ellenza] et la prego, ogni volta che l'huomo le piaccia à volerlo per la servitù mia, favorire et aiutare, che ne riceverò da lei gra[zia] partic[ola]re....

54. HLC-AMOROSI----- (B)  
Bonagiunta's dedication to Vito da Dorimbergo.  
Also quoted in BERNSTEIN: 760-761.

Cercando gia buon tempo occasione di poter mostrare qualche segno di gratitudine a V[ostra] Sig[noria] Illustre, per li molti favori, che mi ha fatti da che entrai nella sua servitù, mai m'è occorso di poter far cosa per lei, che non fusse piu tosto per accrescere, che per scemar il grande obbligo, ch'io le tengo. Pero che quantunque in questo mentre habbia fatto diverse dedicationi di libri musicali di varii eccellenti compositori a miei amici, & padroni, & che il dedicar opere par che apporti non so che di honore a chi sono dedicate, nondimeno essendo V[ostra] Sig[noria] Illustre di sangue, ornata di virtù, potente di autorità non mi ha parso soggetto da receive honore da tali favori, ma piu presto da honoare con l'accettarli chiunque glieli facesse. Onde mai ho ardito di mandar in luce, per segno di gratitudine verso di lei, alcuna cosa sotto il suo nome. Ma occorrendomi hora il bisogno d'un personaggio honorato, il cui nome potessi dar per guida alli presenti madrigali, nello mandarli fuora della stampa, ho eletto V[ostra] Sig[noria] Illustre, non gia per gratificar lei con questo mezzo, ma per illustrar quelli del splendore del suo Illustriss[imo] nome: il quale accompagnandoli per il mondo farà, che non manco saranno stimati per la sua grandezza, che per la loro soavissima harmonia; laquale è veramente degna delle purgate orecchie di quella: alla cui gratia humilmente sempre mi raccomando.

55. ASPR-CFE Venezia, 512 ----- (A)  
On 25 September 1568.  
From Vito da Dorimbergo to Duke Ottavio.

Vengo certificato che è venuto al servitio di V[ostra] Ecc[ellenza] un Giulio Buona Gionta da S[an]t'Arcangelo musico già più mesi sono obligato, et legato prima al servitio del Ser[eniss]imo Arciduca Carlo c[he] e mio signore gratiosissimo non solo per parola, et per fede datami da lui à bocca mille volte si può dire, ma per scritto ancora, et per il denaro da mericevuto in confirmatione di cio, per farne il viaggio per la corte di Sua Altezza, come V[ostra] Ecc[ellenza] si potrà sincerare piacendole di farlo vedere, chè sarà in mano dell'esibitore di questa mia insieme con un'altra lettera sua, ch'egli mi scrisse dopò partito di

quà, raconfermando la promessa prima, per inga[n]narmi doppiam[en]te perche forse non li mandassi dietro sendo ascosam[en]te partito di quà et di fare questa truffa à sua Altezza, non ha bastato à costui, che hà havuto ardire anco, cosi machiato, et tristo di venire à metersi nella protectione dell'Ecc[ellenz]a V[ost]ra, spera[n]do forse ch'ella debbi tollerare nella corte sua un'huomo cosi infame et brutto, multiplicando d'un misfatto in un'altro: mà perche V[ost]ra Ecc[ellenz]a non venghi ingannata com'è stata Sua Alt[ezz]a, et il tristo habbia la punishmente, et castigo che merita, hò voluto dargliene di ciò notitia pregandola con ogni termine di riverenza che per giustitia et per rispetto della persona offesa, non glielo vogli sparmiare, et insieme prima che esca dalle forze, farli restituire à mani del presente esibitore tutto il danaro ricevuto con le spese, che per recuperarlo saranno scorse in che farà cosa gratissima à Sua Altezza, dalla quale è infinitam[en]te amata, et a me che le sono humilissimo servitore gratia, et favore singularissimo.

56. ASN-AF, fascio 262 fascicolo 4: cc. 234-245----- (A)  
 On 19 October 1568.  
 From Vito da Dorimbergo to Duke Ottavio.

Hò havuto quella di V[ostr]a Eccell[enz]a di viii del presente in resposta della mia di xxv del passato et la ringratio con ogni riverenza et quanto maggiormente possa dell'ordine che s'hà degnata di dare, perche Giulio Buonagionta restituisca il danaro, ch'egli hà ricevuta da me, di che tutto ma principalmente delle cortesissime offerte et affettuosa dimostratione, ch'ella fà [? que]lle cose ser[enissi]mo Arciduca Carlo mio signore ne da— [one line missing] —dola certa che ne tenirà quella gratia memoria, et quel conto che si conviene. Il Buonagionta per verita m'hà sempre affermato senza eccezzione alcuna di voler andare al servitio di Sua Altezza che in altro modò non gli havrei dato danaro alcuno se'l scritto ch'egli mi fece diede al mio segretario ne io hò posto mente à quella sua artificiosa conditione, se non dopò che m'hà fatto la burla per la quale comprendendo ancor' io, che poteva adombrare con qualche colore l'instabilità del suo cervello che è sola cagione, che manca della sua promessa fatta, non volsi instare nella mia prima che V[ostr]a Eccell[enz]a lo astringesse ad andare ad servitio di sua Altezza, mà che solamente comandasse che fusse costretto à tornarmi il danaro ric[evuto] et che gli fusse data qualche p[rim]a di correctione ad essemplio d'altri perche ad intenderla anco nel modo che l'obbligo il [one line missing] ò almeno prima che partisse di quà tornarmi il danaro, ò almeno dirmi che veniva al servitio di V[ostr]a Eccell[enz]a che reputandola io una cosa istessa con Sua Alt[ezz]a s'haverebbe accomodato il tu[- illegible]. Il che non havendo fatto, hà dato di se troppo cattivo odore. Mà come si sia, conte[n]tandomi che solamente mi faccia restituire quà il danaro, nel resto son certissimo, che Sua Alt[ezz]a restarà satisfatta di quanto V[ostr]a Ecc[ellenz]a sarà più servita alla quale rendo humilm[en]te gratie infinite delle benigne offerte, che si hà degnata di far à me in particolare restando sempre di V[ostr]a Eccell[enz]a obligatissimo servitore....

57. Paolo Animuccia on Fabrizio Dentice ----- (C)  
 On 22 October 1568.  
 From Paolo Animuccia to Duke Ottavio.  
 Archivio di Stato, Parma, "Carteggio Estero" Pesaro, 289.  
 As quoted in FABRIS: 101.

Hor hora ho ricevuto dal signor Fabritio Dentici la risposta della lettera ch'io gli scrissi sopra quel che V. E. mi ragiono all'Imperiale che desiderava d'haverlo alli suoi servitii. Hora il signor Fabritio mi risponde che tien per un' favor' grandissimo che V. E. l'habbia in questa buona opennione, et quel che gli dava il signor marchese, mi risponde che la provisione sono trenta scudi d'oro il mese, la sua tavola, e spese per due servitore et un cavallo, ma che però si trova libero et non con animo di servire il signor marchese, ma che essendo V. E. quel principe honorato et cortese che è, che farà tutto quel che a V. E. piacerà, e che da me sarà consigliato che Dio sa come, gli ho scritto, et come lo consigliereo. Hora essendo il negotio a questo buon termine ne lascerò cura alla prudenza sua dicendoli solo che l'haver un'huomo simile, si fanno duoi acquisti, d'un virtuoso in questa professione il principale, et d'un gentilhuomo honoratissimo et virtuosissimo. Hora degnandosi V. E. di rispondermi et parendogli lasciarsi intenedere dell'animo suo col signor Fabritio con esso meco accio come da me gli potesse mandar la sua lettera, faccia quel che intorno a questo negotio sia meglio secondo il suo

infallibil giuditio che tutto quel che da lei mi sarà ordinato lo farò con quella fede et prontzza d'animo, che si conviene alla servitù mia con V. E....

58. Paolo Animuccia on Fabrizio Dentice ----- (C)

On 4 January 1569.

From Paolo Animuccia to Duke Ottavio.

Archivio di Stato, Parma, "Carteggio farnesiano estero" Pesaro, 289.

As quoted in Fabris: 102.

Io hebbi dal signor Fabritio Dentici la resolutione del suo venire, conforme al voler di V. E. Illustrissima et crederò che à quest'hora lei ne havrà havuto una sua lettera, insieme con un'altra che me ne scrive a me, dove mi promette d'esser qui alla fine di questo mese: però ho tardato di rispondere, perche aspettavo questa resolutione, della quale, ne sento un contento infinito, accioche V. E. habbia questo raro virtuoso....

59. BSBM-RENALDI ----- (A)

On 27 August 1569.

Giulio Renaldi's dedication to Duke Ottavio.

La singolare virtù, & benignità Vostra Eccellenza m'hanno dato ardire di mandar fuori questi miei madregali sotto il glorioso nome di lei, come di quella, che per le divine & infinite sue qualita di hò di continuo fra me stesso riverita & ammirata. Et tanto piu à cio fare mi sono indutto, quanto ch'ella & per hereditaria proprietà dell'Illustrissima Casa sua, & per naturale inclinazione hà sempre ogni sorte di virtuosi, ond'è hora con tanta sua gloria circondata, amato, & cara havuto, et oltre ad ogni altra virtuosa professione di questa della musica è universalmente riputata intendentissima & faultrice; Ne hò in ciò giudicato doversi haver riguardo alla grandezza de meriti suoi, ma piu tosto alla benigna sua natura, & al desiderio, c'hò d'inalzare, & render chiaro co'l mezzo di lei quest'humile & oscuro mio parto: Piaccia à Vostra Illustrissima, & Eccellentissima Signoria con la somma benignità dell'animo suo d'agradirlo & me nel numero de suoi divotissimi si degni d'accettare.

60. BNT-JOSQUIN ----- (B)

On 20 March 1570.

Josquin Persoens' dedication to Duke Ottavio.

Also quoted in PUT: 13.

Di molto gusto sogliono essere all'huomo li primi frutti di una novella pianta, tanto piu quando è di propria mano inserta, ond'io che con ragione dir posso esser pianta inserta dalla mano di V[ostra] E[ccellenza] nel suo fertilissimo giardino, & con l'aure del suo favore, & col nutrimento della suavissima Ruggiada dall'immortal Cipriano Rore cresciuta, cominciando hora a spiegar li fiori in frutti, giusta cosa è che a V[ostra] E[ccellenza] li presenti come suoi, si come è sua la pianta, iquali se ben fossero alquanto acerbi, pur per esser li primi non dovranno esser rifiutati da lei, ma graditi & favoriti, con speranza che a quest'aiuto del Cielo, & della benignità di V[ostra] E[ccellenza] alla quale prego ogni felice successo con salute, & humilmente le bacio le mani.

61. ASPR-TEATRI, busta 1 mazzo 2 fascicolo 2 sottofascicolo 8 ----- (A)

On 1 April 1570.

A receipt of Galeazzo Cacciardini' salary.

M[e]s[ser] don Pietro Silvio thes[orie]ro dell'Ecc[ellentissi]mo S[ign]or Principe pag[a]te à m[e]s[ser] Galeazzo Cacciardino scudi sei [d'oro] quali sono il suo sal[ari]o per insegnare di sonare di leuto alli paggi di S[ua] Ecc[ellenza] per [mesi] tre cio è genaro feb[raio] et marzo p[ro]ss[im]i passati, pigliandone quitantia che visi fara[n] buoni in Parma adi p[rim]o d'aprile 1570.

Io Galiazzo Cacciardin confesi haver reciput li s[o]p[radet]t[i] denari d[a] m[e]s[ser] do[n] Pietro Silva p[er] la causa s[o]p[radet]t[a] adi ~~4-7bre-1570~~ ul[tim]o xbre 1571. Io Galiazzo Cacciardini.

62. ASPR-TEATRI, busta 1 mazzo 2 fascicolo 2 sottofascicolo 8 ----- (A)  
On 1 October 1570.

A receipts of Giulio Bonagiunta's salary.

M[es]s[er] don Pietro Silvio thes[orie]ro dell'Ecc[ellentissi]mo s[ign]or Principe pag[a]te à m[es]s[er] Giulio Buonagiunta musico scudi sei m[one]ta quali sono per il suo sal[ari]o d'insegnare di cantar' alli paggi di S[ua] Ecc[ellenz]a p[er] mesi tre cioè luglio agosto et [?] settembre p[r]oss[im]i passati, pigliandone quitantia che visi fara[n] buoni in Parma adi pr[im]o d'ottobre 1570.

Io Carlo Volpe a nome di m[es]s[er] Anai[o]llo Fran[ces]co Bagano ditto Pasarotto il quale ho hauto da m[es]s[er] do[n] Pietro Silvio li sopra detti scudi sei di moneta quali hera[n] p[er] la provisione de la paga del detto fu m[es]s[er] Giulio Bonagionta ch[e] detto il mandato p[er] debito che dovea a sua botecha et p[er] fede ho fatto questa adi ultimo xbre 1570.

Io Carlo Volpe a nome di Pasarro[tt]o.

63. ASPR-CFE Roma, 362----- (A)  
On 15 November 1570.

From Ludovico Tedesco to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese.

Per la licenza delli musici n'hò dato la cura al com[mandato]re Durante secondo l'ord[in]e di m[es]s[er] Her[co]lle a nome di V[ostra] S[ignoria] Ill[ustrissi]ma, et mi hà pregato che io voglia sopraseder' fin ch[e] egli habbi risp[os]ta di un l[ette]ra ch[e] scriva a V[ostra] S[ignoria] Ill[ustrissi]ma; offerendosi di riffare il danno d[e]lla spesa a co[n]to d[e]lla sua parte, in evento seguisse pure la licenza à detti musici.

64. ASPR-CFE ROMA, 362----- (A)  
On 16 November 1570.

From Commandatore Durante to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese.

Il Co[n]te Lod[ovi]co Tedesco mi ha mostrata una l[ette]ra di m[es]s[er] Hercole nella quale gli dice ch[e] si licentino li musici et ch'io sia quello che facci questo offitio trovando il piu honesto modo che possibile sia, al che no[n] mi sia voluto risolvere prima ch'io habbia altro avviso da V[ostra] S[ignoria] Ill[ustrissi]ma p[er]ch[e] sapendo qua[n]to la estima il sig[no]r Cav[alier] d'Aragona à requisitione del quale pigliò al servitio suo detti musici, et dubitando io che detto sig[no]re ne potessi ricever' qualch[e] mala sodisfattione; ho pensato per questo rispetto sopracedere et tanto piu ch[e] potra fra poco tempo effeuar' questo suo pensiero co[n] honesto modo et senza mala sodisfatione di questo sig[no]re ch[e] ama tanto V[ostra] S[ignoria] Ill[ustrissi]ma et il modo ch[e] si potra tenere lo diro à bocca a V[ostra] S[ignoria] Ill[ustrissi]ma et penso le piaccera, no[n]di meno mi rimetto al voler' et co[m]mandamento suo il quale sara essequito subito senza rispetto et il no[n] essersi pigliato resolutione e stato vera consideratione p[er] il ma[n]tenime[n]to dell'honor suo; et io ho pregato il co[n]te Lod[ovi]co con molta istantia adducendogli questa raggione et altre, ch[e] no[n] volessi far' motivo nessuno sopra di cio qual co[n] gran fatica me l'ha voluto co[n]ceder' ch[e] fino a nuovo suo co[m]ma[n]dame[n]to no[n] facessi altro, pero la supplico farmi gratia di farmi saper quello io devo far, ch[e] subito sara ubedita....

65. Fabrizio Dentice's letter to Giovanni Battista Pico ----- (B)  
On 22 December 1570.

Archivio di Stato, Parma, "Carteggio farnesiano estero" Pesaro, 289.

Quoted in FABRIS: 102.

Facsimile reproduction in FABRIS: 94/95.

Ho veduto quanto p[er] la lettera di V[ostra] S[ignoria] Sua Ecc[ellen]tia mi coma[n]da e secondo l'ordine, quando i musici passeranno qua farò. Il s[ign]or duca d'Urbino questa matina m'ha comandato ch'io scriva a Sua Ecc[ellen]tia supplicandolo a voler mandar subito m[es]s[er] Horatio a Pesaro per disegna honorarsi de la sua virtù in q[ue]ste feste, V[ostra] S[ignoria] sia servita farmi favore di dirlo a Sua Ecc[ellen]tia, e dar ordine come il piu presto ch[e] sia possibile m[es]s[er] Horatio sia qua p[er]ch[e] s'e determinato ch[e] la principessa d'Urbino parta da Ferrara alli 2 di gennaio, e facci l'entrata agli 8 senz'altro de le gratie poi ch[e] V[ostra] S[ignoria] ogn'hora mi fà li sono tanto obligato ch[e] non vedendomi potere da



disobligarmene d'una minima particella.

66. ASPR-TEATRI, busta 1 mazzo 2 fascicolo 2 sottofascicolo 8 ----- (A)  
On 31 December 1570.

A receipts of Giulio Bonagiunta's salary.

M[e]s[ser] don Pietro Silvio thes[orie]ro dell'Ecc[ellentissi]mo s[ignor] Principe pag[a]te à m[e]s[ser] Giulio Buonagiunta scudi dua soldi 40 m[one]ta quali sono per il suo sal[ari]o d'imsegnare di cantare alli paggi di S[ua] Ecc[ellenz]a per mesi uno e un quinto fino alli 6 di novembre p[r]oss[im]o passato, che alli 7 detto entrò un'altro à q[ue]sto s[er]vitio, pigliandone quitantia che visi fara[n] buoni in Parma adi ul[ti]mo d[i] dicembre 1570.

Io Giulio Bonag[iun]ta ri[ce]vi da m[e]s[ser] do[n] Pietro scudi doi et soldi quaranta arg[ento] cioe di moneta p[er] resto della p[r]ovision[e] mia sop[ra]detta.

Io Giulio co[n]fesso come di sopra.

67. LCW-VINCI ----- (B)  
On 16 January 1571.

Pietro Vinci's dedicaiton to Duke Ottavio.  
Also quoted in BERNSTEIN: 869-870.

Grande senza dubio eccitamento della virtù è, quando ella si sente conosciuta & accetta appresso persona di animo, d'ingegno, et di costumi nobilissima, la quale essendo posta in grado eminente vien da tutti per tale ammirata, lodata, & osservata. Però non è meraviglia se quella gratia che per l'adietro hò ritrovato presso V[ostra] S[ignoria] Eccellentissima è stata invece di fonte all'opera dei madrigali che hora escono dalla mano mia, iquali essendo per virtù d'origine creature di Vostra S[ignoria] Eccellentissima non possono senza disordine, & biasmo, & molto preiuditio delle ragion loro uscire in publico, se non sotto il patrocinio, & nome di lei, alla cui presentia per tanto vengono riverentemente & divotamente la pregano che si degni di volentieri accettarli, non già come cosa per se degna dell'altezza di V[ostra] S[ignoria] Eccellentissima ma si bene come quelli che al suo nascimento hanno hauto l'influsso felicissimo de la gratia sua, & sono nodriti & usciti con quella immensa devotione, ch'io per particolar' electione porto alle sue incomparabili virtù, onde meritano non solo di non essere ributtati, ma benignamente ricevuti & favoriti, si come mi giova sperare & credere della magnanimità di V[ostra] S[ignoria] Eccellentissima....

68. BEM-MASSAINO ----- (A)  
On 30 January 1571.

Tiburzio Massaino's dedication to Duke Ottavio.

Io son stato Illustrissimo & Eccellentissimo Principe persuaso da alcuni miei amici à mandar fuori certe mie vigilie in materia di musica, ma perche non son tanto amator di me stesso, che non conosca parte delle loro imperfettioni, ho voluto che le uscissero sotto il felice nome di V[ostra] Ecc[ellenza] Illustrissima, accio che gli ornamenti che le mancavano, li potessino prendere dal favore, & dalla gratia sua. Si degnera dunque V[ostra] Ecc[ellenza] Illustrissima gradirli con l'usata sua benignità, & con loro insieme il divotissimo animo mio....

69. ASPR-CFE Roma, 363 ----- (A)  
On 4 February 1571

From Tiburzio Massaino to Duke Ottavio

Egli no[n] mi è uscito mai della mente, come riguardevole operatione in S[igno]r cosi grande, quello che mi raccontò un amico mio, il quale si ritrovò presente all'entrata che fece l'Altezza di Madama in Parma, quando Sua Alt[ez]za tornò di Fiandra: disse mi egli, che V[ostra] E[ccellenza] ad una solenne messa nella chiesa di San Giovanni, salita all'organo, vi fece cantare dentro il paternostro di Adriano, et fu essistente, et per cosi dire, il maestro del concerto cotesto candido essemplio di Christina humanità, et di animo ben composto, et in se stesso no[n] discordante, mi mosse per tal maniera à divenir' divoto, et servo di V[ostra] Ecc[ellen]tia che no[n] mi so[n] potuto contenere, trapasando forse i termini del decoro, et di una norma proportionata, havendo finito un libro di musica à 5 voci, di no[n] donargliero: Percioche per quali virtù si puo al mondo piu ammirare un ottimo prencipe, che per la santità

della religione, et per lo conoscimento et diletto insieme dell'harmonia. Ricevami dunque V[ost]ra Ecc[ellen]tia per sua creatura che ne la supplico et gradisca anco questi miei canti, i quali sono parti benche vili perhò i piu preciosi che io possa dare; et diami occasione che per l'avvenire faccia cose molto maggiori.

70. Gregor Vogl on musicians in Parma ----- (C)  
 On 29 December 1573.  
 As quoted in SANDBERGER: 320.

...Eur fürstlich gnaden tragen noch genedigs wissen, wie das ich von eur fl. gn. Auf Augspurg von Fripperg aus geschickht worden Von wegen der Musici zu Rom, Alls der franzosin' vnnd thomas seiringer, Auch Jeronimo montanello geschriben hab, vnnd an yetzt von dem Thomas Ain antwortt emphanngen. Da sy mir schreiben solchem eur f. gn. beuelch Inn Aller vnnderthenigkhait nachzukhommen, vnnd vmb musici Inngheim vmsehen biß auf eur f. gn. genedigen weiterern beschaidt, auch bißhero Ainen guetten tenor erfragt, welcher mit namen haist Scinetto, Auch bei Ir fr. gn. Cardinal von ferrar für ain Musico vnnd tenor gediennt, auch anyetzt bei Ir fr. gn. madama zu parma diennt vnnd sich gegen dem tomas gannz freundlich erpetten, Ir durchleuchtigkheit zu Grätz zu dienen, Aber dermassen vnnd gestallt, souern Ime ain present geschrech vnnd geben würt, damit er desto bösser herauß khummen mecht. Nachmals mir Auch geschriben, wie das sy von eur f. gn. wegen Iren müglichen fleis Anngewennt vnnd drey musici erfragtt bei dem Hörtzog von Parma, Auch perfetti, sein mit namen Gottfridt Pallmartz tenor, Ir f. g. Capelmaister, Christof Haberstockh, baide Cantorey khnaben Zu münchen gewest, vnnd noch ain guetter tenor; was nun eur fl. gn. genediger will vnnd mainung ist, dem wellen sy Inn Aller vnnderthenigkhait mit fleiß nachkhommen; daneben mir auch Anngezaigtt, wie das sy an yetzt zu rom von eur f. g. genedigem gnaden gellt leben, auch khainem Anndern herrn diennen wellen, biß sy von eur fl. gn. weiterern genedigen beuelch haben. Auch der octauian basso zue München sy gefragtt ob sy mit Ime heraus khemmen wellen oder nitt, da sy sich mitt dem wenigsten nit merckhen lassen, eur f. g: vnndertheniglich anruffen vnd bitten thuen, souer Ine obbenants gnadengellt nit raichet, eur f. gn. die wellen Inen noch mit ainem gnadengellt genediglich erscheinen, die Zeitt bis sy von eur f. gn. denediglich Abgefurdett worden. Da ich nun eur f. gn. den Brief inn Aller vnnderthenigkhait mit schickh; was mir nun eur f. gn. beuelchen thuenn, dem will ich Inn Aller vnnderthenigkhait vnd gehorsamlich mit fleis nachkhommen.... dattum Lannzhuett In eil den 29. Decembris 1573. Eur f. gn. vnnderthenigster gehorsamer diener Gregorius Vogll.

71. Orlandus Lassus on a cornett player ----- (B)  
 On 2 April 1574.  
 Quoted in LEUCHTMANN 1977: 78.  
 Facsimile reproduction in LEUCHTMANN 1977: 76.

Il brachero m'ha scritto d'un giovine bello e costumato, che suona e canta in leuto di tanta ex[cellen]tia che no[n] ha piu in tutta Italia oltra che suona di piu sorte instrumenti, e sta col vescovo di Rimini ne la Romagna, io vedero di far ogni diligentia d'haverlo. Io ho scritto al detto bracheri per conto di m[e]s[er] Andrea Gabriel, e' spero d'haver risposta in Roma, in qua[n]to al sonator di cornetto che stà col duca di Parma, no[n] é piu al proposito, rispetto che e di 60 anni, e pieno di franzosum malorum. Io m[']informaro e cercaro in altri lochi ho anco scritto da Trento a m[e]s[er] Antonio da la Viola ma no[n] m'ha risposto ancora, in quanto al Venturino s'io passaro nel ritorno per Fiorenza faro il comandamento di V[ost]ra Ex[cellen]tia se no[n] havera patientia, perche no[n] so ancora che mi bisognera di far nel ritornare a casa.

72. BCV-VEGGIO ----- (A)  
 On 17 April 1574.  
 Giovanni Agostino de Veggio's dedication to Duke Ottavio.

Hanno la Giustitia, e la Musica tra loro tanta conformità, che ben si puo dire, che quello, che non è accettabile all'una, & all'altra per la loro propria perfettione & fine; sia veramente da rifiutarsi, se però il buon giudicio di chi le governa, non lo mitiga, & addolcisce. Perche quella non solo dà à chiunque quanto si conviene nel guider donare i meriti, ma anco nel punire i misfatti fà sì, che'lreo debitamente ne sente il meritato castigo. Et questa non solo dà il suo luogo con ragione alle consonanze, ma dispone ancora in tal modo il suo contrario, che'l senso

dell'udito non resta offeso. Ond'io, mirando à queste convenienze, c'hanno tra loro, e vedendo l'una di loro di continuo fiorire in Vostra Eccell[en]za Illustrissima, e far frutti, & l'altra esserle molto cara, non ho voluto altrove voltarmi, per dedicare questo mio primo parto musicale, dovendo pur finalmente mandarlo in luce, spinto e sollecitato da' preghi, & essortationi di chi mi può comandare, e favorire. E si come, fin quando venni à ristorarmi sotto la dolce ombra sua, mi proposi di dedicarle, non solo questo, ma sempre ancora ogni altra fatica, che per me fusse per farsi con l'aiuto di Dio. Così questo picciol segno della mia grande osservanza, & affettione ch'io le porto, sarà un confermarle maggiormente per servitore nello avvenire. Et à Dio piaccia per sua infinita bontà di lungamente prosperarla in tutte le cose ottime, e più da lei desiderate.

73. MBSKK-CERVO----- (B)

On 30 May 1574.

Barnaba Cervo's dedication to Duke Ottavio.

Also quoted in NUOV VOGEL: 364.

Io hò sempre desiderato Illustrissimo, & Eccellentissimo Signor Duca, voler quanto sia mostrar in parte la divotion grande, ch'io porto all'Eccellenza Vostra si per obbligo di natura, essendole nato vassalo, & suddito, si ancora, & assai più per disposizione di volontà, essendo io à ciò tratto dalle magnanime, & heroiche virtù sue, ma il mio molto rispetto, & la qualità della mia bassa fortuna non m'hanno lasciato sin'ora pur acenarle questo mio debito desiderio, per tema di non parerle prosuntuoso, & inetto, concedutomi solo l'ammirarla col pensiero, & predicarla con le parole, insino à tanto che mi si appresentasse migliore occasione. Hora, havendo io per essercitare il mio debole ingegno composto una musica, sopra alquanti madrigali, & essendo più stimolato da altri, che risoluto per me medesimo di darli in luce, m'è parso cosa molto degna alla riverenza ch'io porto à V[ostra] Eccellenza honorare questa mia fatica in uno istesso tempo col titolo del suo nome col fargline dono. Alche fare m'hanno anco mosso la grata memoria di M[esser] Cipriano Rore, musico famosissimo mio precettore, che morì servitore di V[ostra] Eccellenza co tanto amato, & honorato da lei, e'l sapere io ch'ella frà le sue gravissime cure, con che governa felicissimamente lo stato suo, suole tal'ora frametter insieme con le lettere questa piacevolissima ricreatione, & porger le orecchi à musici, & cantori eccellenti, de quali la sua corte sempre copiosissimamente fiorisse. Adunque supplico V[ostra] Eccellenza che per quella humanità con che ella si fà cotanto amare, & ammirare dal mondo, che vogli degnare di ricevere questo mio picciol dono con lieto viso, non volendo mirare ad altro, che alla purità del cor mio dallaquale accompagnato ardisce venire alla sua presenza, per recarle un picciol saggio della mia grandissima osservanza verso lei: poi che con più evidenti segni, non m'è concesso di mostrarla, & all'Eccellenza V[ostra] quanto più humilmente posso....

74. BCV-MOSCAGLIA----- (A)

On 10 March 1575.

Giovanni Battista Moscaglia's dedication to Duke Ottavio.

Essendomi risoluto Illustrissimo & Eccellentissimo S[ignor] Duca di porre in luce questa mia prima muta de madrigali; & assai discorso à chi tal'opra dovessi drizzare: tra molti illustriss[imi] & eccellentiss[imi] precipi, ho eletto V[ostra] Eccellenza Illustriss[ima] come quella à chi ho giudicato più co[n]venirsi sapendo quanto ella se diletta di tal virtù; & immaginandomi che molto le debba esser à grado tal opra intitolata gl'Amorosi Gigli, per esser antiqua insegna dell'illustriss[ima] sua casa, sperando, che si come tutta via illustrano nel scudo di quella, così habbiano da illustrare li presenti miei madrigali, che humilissimamente le presento; supplicandola, benche il dono sia piccolo, si degni accettare la buona volontà con me stesso, che per vero & fedeliss[imo] servitore me le dono, così prego il signore Dio la conservi felice longo tempo.

75. CMBMB-VEGGIO----- (A)

On 10 July 1575.

Giovanni Agostino de Veggio's dedication to Ercole Varano.

Non senza quelle cagioni, c'hanno poter di muovere alcuno à dedicar sue fatiche a signori illustri e per nobilità di sangue, e per virtù, vengo ora à mandare in luce questi miei canti sotto

l'ombra di V[ostra] S[ignoria]& fra le molte, che poterei addure, e che tralascio, perche non sariano capaci d'una breve lettera, ne andrò accennando alcuna delle più importanti; le quali, non solo saranno tenute atte da ogni sano giudicio di havermi fatto risolvere à ciò fare: ma quando havessi havuto diverso pensiero da questo, e l'havessi posto in essecution; sariano state potenti à scoprirmi al mondo per persona, che non avesse essequito quanto le si conveniva. E per lasciar da canto il far mentione, che l'istesso di, che con l'honoratissimo mezo del Signor Conte Ottavio San Vitale conobbi V[ostra] S[ignora] cominciai ad ammirarla e desiderar di servirla; e che dipoi, essendo io fatto degno quasi continovamente della gentilissima sua conversatione, si accrebbe in modo quel mio desiderio, ch'io cercai sempre ogni occasione di poterlo fare: Dell'havermi V[ostra] S[ignoria] persuaso con i suoi consigli, & aiutato con la sua liberalità a publicar sotto il gran nome dell'Illustrissimo, & Eccelleintis[simo] Signor Duca nostro i miei primi à cique: & di molte altre simili, che non sariano di poca considerazione: Non tacerò almeno queste gagliardissime, com'è l'haver V[ostra] S[ignoria] composto molti de i versi, che in questi miei madrigali si leggono. Il dilettersi d'ogni sorte di musica: L'haver mostrato con infiniti segni, che queste mie co[m]positioni le piacciono; e finalme[n]te il voler'io à V[ostra] S[ignoria] palesare un picciol segno della gratitudine dell'animo mio. Mosso adunque da queste importantissime cagioni, lietamente gli consacro, e dono à V[ostra] S[ignoria]. Degnisi d'aggradirgli, come sò, che farà, & d'havergli in protectione, poi che ci hà quasi tanta parte quant'io tenendomi per quello affettionissimo, & obligatissimo servitor, che le sono, e per conoscitor del suo infinito valore in armi, & in lettere; il quale non men riguardevole la rende di quello, che si faccia l'essere essa nata dell'illustrissima & antichissima famiglia de' Varani. Che altrettanto splendor riceve da lei, quanto ella ne porga à V[ostra] S[ignoria]....

76. ASM-AG, busta 1379----- (B)  
On 25 February 1581.

From Aurelio Zibramonte to Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga.

Also quoted in SHERR 1984: 9, FURLOTTI: 267.

...Dopò desinare essendo ritornati li sudetti s[igno]ri nella camera detta disopra, et essendo sopravvenuti li violini Mons[igno]r Vesc[ov]o d'Osmo hà pigliato à ballar una delle dame ch'erano ivi, et cosi con l'esempio d'un vescovo si è precipiata una bella festa ch[e] hà durato sin ad un[']hora passata di notte, ballando il s[ign]or Prencipe con la s[ign]ora Sposa, et con la s[ign]ora Ersilia, et con questa occasione domesticandosi con essa s[ign]ora Sposa, la q[ua]lle q[uel]la matina era alqua[n]to pallida, mà l'allgrezza del cuore dopò haver veduto il s[ign]or Prencipe se hà restituito li suoi colori.

Finita la festa et ritratasi in camera è stata fatta una bellissima musica di instrume[n]ti et voci, mancandovi Fabritio Dentici famoso, il q[ua]le morì hieri à Parma.

77. ASM-AG, busta 1379----- (B)  
On 1 March 1581.

From Aurelio Zibramonte to Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga.

Also quoted in SHERR 1984: 9.

Il castrato et il basso ch[e] servono à S[ua] E[ccellenza] le sono cari sich[e] q[ua]n[do] ella ne restasse priva l'Ecc[ellenza] S[ua] lo sentirebb[e] mali.

78. ASM-AG, busta 1379----- (B)  
On 4 March 1581.

From Aurelio Zibramonte to Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga.

Also quoted in SHERR 1984: 10-11.

La sudetta Ser[enissi]ma Sposa dopò haver cantato molte villanelle in compagnia del Cimino f[rate]llo di q[ue]llo ch[e] morì al servitio di V[ostra] A[ltezza] et d'un gentilhuom]o da Sinigalia ser[vito]re di S[ua] Ecc[ellenza] mi hà con molta istanza dimandato ch[e] nova havevo di V[ostra] A[ltezza] dom[and]andomi ch[e] sempre ch[e] n'intendo glielo feccia saper subito, et poi distendendosi sù l'obligo ch[e] hà à V[ostra] A[ltezza] per tanti favori ch[e] lei le fà con parole tali ch'io stupisco ch'in cosi se tenera età ella sappia tanto, et sia cosi manerosa....

Io no[n]m'intendo di musica, mà per q[ue]llo ch[e] mi detta la natura, parmi ch[e] la voce

no[n] sia della migliore, et ch[e] habbia bisogno di maggior disciplina nel cantare. Le hò dimandato se S[ua] A[ltezza] disegni di seguir in imparar musica, et nel componere mi hà risposto ch[e] sì, et ch[e] sà qua[n]to V[ostra] A[ltezza] se ne diletta et come siano celebrati le sue cose, volendo inferire che spera d'imparar sotto la sua protezione.

S[ua] Ecc[ellenza] mi hà fatto rispondere intorno il castrato et il basso, ch[e] ella no[n] può fare senzà li sudetti, perch[e] senz'essi la musica è guasta, che nond[imen]o se li dimandaran[no] licenza la darà loro, ch'in ogni caso se V[ostra] A[ltezza] li vole in prestito glieli presterà finch[e] V[ostra] A[ltezza] sia provista d'altri, et se pur essa li vorrà per semp[re], li potrà ritenere, perch[e] S[ua] Ecc[ellenza] intende che V[ostra] A[ltezza] sia p[ad]rona delle cose sue, le quali parole (per q[ue]llo che tocca alli sudetti musici) sono date per creanza, essend'io sicuro ch[e] le spiacerebb[e] il vedersi guasto un così raro concerto de voci come hà, quali accompagna alle volte con tromboni et altri instrum[en]ti con intiero gusto di q[ue]lli che s'intendono di musica.

79. ASM-AG, busta 1379----- (B)  
On 4 March 1581.  
From Cesare Cavriani to Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga.  
Also quoted in SHERR 1984: 11.

Questa sera la s[ign]ora Principessa ha cantata, et di commissione del s[ign]or Principe Sereniss[im]o ci son stato presente. S[ua] A[ltezza] canta allegram[en]te tanto, che per non pigliar tempo di guardar su il libro falla qualche volta. La voce potrebbe portare più giusta, ma veram[en]te credo che venga per difetto naturale, et tanto maggiorm[en]te lo credo per che nel cantar che si faceva soggiunse il s[ign]or Duca di Parma Ecc[ellentissim]o; et dopò l'essere incontrato dalla s[ign]ora Principessa Ser[enissim]a et fatto le solite accoglienze S[ua] Ecc[ellenza] disse che invero fin nella voce ella mostrava molto bene di esser' di casa Farnese, et infatto à me pare che la voce no[n] sia molto buona, et si può credere (conforme al detto del s[ign]or Principe Ser[enissim]o) ch'ella sia più atta al componere che al cantare. La si gode assai della musica et (per quel ch'io posso comprendere) anco di star' allegram[en]te poiche non mancano delle s[ign]ore assai che di continuo la vengono à servire et farle compagnia, colle quali poi si tratta domesticam[en]te ma però con ogni sorti di honestade veram[en]te.

80. ASM-AG, busta 1379----- (B)  
On 5 March 1581.  
From Cesare Cavriani to Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga.  
Also quoted in SHERR 1984: 11-12.

Questa mattina la s[ign]ora Principessa col s[ign]or Principe Sereniss[im]o è uscita col frontale fuor' di casa, et è andata à messa in San' Sisto chiesa de' frati di San' B[e]n[e]detto di Mantova, ove mentre si diceva la messa, si è fatto un cocerto di tromboni et cornetto nell'organo honestam[en]te buono. S[ua] A[ltezza] persevera con ogni affetto d'animo in amar il s[ign]or Principe, et si scuopre tra loro un tanto reciproco amore, che per me non trovo che dell'uno et dell'altro se ne possa dar' la maggioranza. Dicesi che giovedì pross[im]o avvenire il s[ign]or Duca si partirà per Parma, et domattina la musica si ha da incaminare, nella quale ci sono duoi, quale à me paiono veram[en]te molto rari. L'uno è un basso che già stava col s[ign]or duca d'Urbino di fe[lice] me[m]oria. L'altro è m[e]s[ser] Horatio dalla Viola, che à me par che faccia cose rariss[im]e. Il sabbato poi seguente il giovedì si partirà[n]no i duoi principi ser[enissim]i per far l'entrata loro la dom[en]ica in Parma. Q[ues]ta mattina si è partito per Mantova il s[ign]or Marchese Malaspina huomo vecchio et c'hora serve per maiordomo la s[ign]ora Principessa, et dicesi ch'egli è mandato à V[ostra] A[ltezza] Ser[enissima] solo per visita da q[ues]ti s[ign]ori.

81. ASM-AG, Registri di lettere 2953----- (B)  
On 6 March 1581.  
From Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga to Aurelio Zibramonte.  
Also quoted in SHERR 1984: 12.

Non havessimo ricercato d'havere il castrato et basso del sud[ett]o s[ign]or Duca, se Ant[oni]o cantore che ce li propose non ci havesse detto ch'essi ci sariano venuti a servir' volentiere. Però fate saper a S[ua] Ecc[ellenza] la causa che ci ha mossi a ricerli, dicendole che

non intendiamo di privarliela, mà che bene la haveremo obligo s'ella si contenterà di prestarceli per qualche giorni come ci ha offerto. Se Mons[igno]re di Parma giudicarà che qualch'uno di quei capellani che gli sono stati proposti sia atto al servizio della p[re]det]ta Princ[ips]a ci sarà caro d'haverlo.

82. ASM-AG, busta 1379----- (B)  
On 7 March 1581.

From Aurelio Zibramonte to Duke Guglielmo.  
Also quoted in SHERR 1984: 12.

Ella mi hà anco detto ch[e] prestarà à V[ostra] A[ltezza] il suo castrato et il basso per quei giorni ch[e] à lei piacerà.

83. ASM-AG busta 1379----- (A)  
On 22 March March 1581.

From Cesare Cavriani to Aurelio Zibramonte.

Dalla S[ign]ora Laura Ill[ustrissi]ma ho inteso per relatione di V[ostra] S[ignoria] Ill[ust]re quanto mi comette S[ua] A[ltezza] S[erenissima] intorno al scrivere, il che non mancarò di fare in ogni opportuna occ[asio]ne. Mi increbbe bene che alle volte mi manca il soggetto, ma farò l'ordine per l'avenire. Diede l'altro di dieci scudi al s[ign]or Marcello per spedir un corr[ier]o a Mantova il quale hormai dovrebbe essere di ritorno. Q[ues]ta mattina ne ho dato dice altri à m[e]s[ser] Teliano Farina il quale da parte di V[ostra] S[ignoria] Ill[ust]re me gli ha dimandati per haversene à servire nel viaggio per servitio del s[ign]or Prospero ill[ustrissi]mo. Un scudo et meglio diede al corr[ier]o per condur' il castrato, et il resto tengo presso di me, et no[n] essendomi imposto altro in contrario, ne darò sempre quelli al s[ign]or Marcello che mi dimandara à servitio del s[ign]or prencipe n[ost]ro ser[enissi]mo.

84. ASM-AG, busta 1379----- (A)  
On 26 March 1581.

From Cesare Cavriani to Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga.

La sera del Giovedì Santo finiti gli uffittii, il s[ign]or Prencipe di Mantova et il s[ign]or Prencipe Ranuccio andorno à la compagnia del Crocifisso (ove l'Alt[ezz]a S[ua] è entrata) colla quale processional[men]te furon à tuor le perdonanze à molti sepolcri; et parim[en]te fece la s[ign]ora mia ser[enissi]ma la quale non volse altr'huomini seco, che il Marchese Comparino, il s[ign]or Galvano, et me, colle sue donne di casa sole, senza [n]issuna della terra, et stette per ogni sepolcro à far or[azio]ne, molto devo[ta]m[en]te. Ella volse andar sempre à piedi, et prometto all'Alt[ezz]a V[ostra] S[erenissima] che si cercò quasi meza Parma. Stava tuttavia con grandiss[im]o desiderio di vedere et incontrare il ser[enissi]mo suo sposo, vestito con gli altri della compagnia et l'aspettò et indugiò tanto in San' Rocco (chiesa di Giesuiti) che venne al fine, dove di subito ch'egli la vidde comparsi inanzi a lei porgendole la Bussola, in cui ella pose molto allegram[en]te la sua debita elemosina, et il simile fece ancora in quella del s[ign]or Prencipe Ranuccio. Poi di subito venimmo à casa che passavano le due hore di notte. Le due s[igno]re n[ost]re di Mantova s'intrinsicano molto bene colla s[ign]ora Prencipessa, imperoche la s[ign]ora Laura in ogni attione è sempre chiamata da S[ua] A[ltezza] per consiglio et per aiuto, et la S[ign]ora Bianca molto adoprata in ogni servitio à lei spettante.

Venerdì passato la d[ett]a s[ign]ora Laura (à requisitione del s[ign]or Prencipe Ser[enissi]mo) dispose la s[ign]ora Prencipessa (che mai per altri l'ha voluta intendere) à purgarsi, così ha promesso di purgarsi fatte le feste, et dicono i medici per il lungo viaggio ch'ella ha fatto di Fiandra che non può ne deve à sua salute far di manco.

Hieri con quell'istessa gente di sop[r]a detta (dalla s[ign]ora Girol[am]a colle figliuole in fuori che ci erano) S[ua] A[ltezza] entrò nel giardino del s[ign]or Duca, et dopò l'esser' stata a cavallo un pezzo colla s[ign]ora Arsilia Palavicina sua damigella et la s[ign]ora Vittoria Casale, in compagnia d'ambi duoi gli s[ign]ori Prencipi fù à visitar' S[ua] Ecc[ellenz]a Ill[ustrissi]ma in un casino dove stantia l'Ecc[ellenz]a Sua nel d[ett]o giardino, et fatta la visita rimontòrno tutti à cavallo et cavalcorno un grandiss[im]o pezzo con brachi et livrieri, dove fecero correre una lepore che gli diede spasso àssai, senza amazzarla. Finita q[ues]ta caccia et satie di cavalcare montorno in cocchio et carroccie, et andorno (con una buona corte dietro, che fuor' del giardino aspettava) à la Mado[n]na della Steccata, dove cantorno una bella comp[ani]a con

la musica del s[ign]or Duca, che riuscì assai bene.

85. ASM-AG, busta 1379----- (B)

On 20 April 1581.

From Cesare Cavriani to Aurelio Zibramonte.

Also quoted in SHERR 1984: 17.

Il S[ign]or Prencipe mio Ser[renissi]mo non responde à la l[ette]ra di V[ostra]S[ignoria] Ill[ust]re ess[en]do in esser per partersi. Hieri sera sarebbe partito ma per far complem[en]ti debiti l'ha diferita fin q[ues]ta mattina. L'Altezza Sua sarà à Ferr[ar]a domattina, et ordina che V[ostra] S[ignoria] Ill[ust]re faccia che dom[en]ica pross[im]a che viene (che sarà alli xxiii dell'istante la mattina à hora di desinare) siano due carrozze à hostiglia da condurlo à Mantova il giorno di San'Giorgio, et anco stia aperta la porta in caso che giunga di notte. Et comette ch'ella bacia la mano al s[ign]or Duca n[ost]ro Ser[enissim]o da parte sua. Io intratengo l'altro corr[ier]o, perche porti le liste che conteniranno no numero et le qualità delle persone, con il modo appresso chi venghino, accio si sappia di quante carrozze et cavalli si ha da provvedere, parendomi che tutto cio habbia da esser' à servitio del S[ign]or n[ost]ro Ser[enissim]o avertendo V[ost]ra S[ignoria] che tutto (ò la maggior parte) perche sarà no assai al credere mio, portara no le loro Valdrappe, parendogli piu facile il trovar' cavalli che Valdrappe. Et q[ues]to dico perche siamo ben trattati noi, tanto; che no[n] si potrebbe esser' piu, come sa V[ostra] S[ignoria] Ill[ust]re alla quale dico che la s[ign]ora Laura n[ost]ra Ill[ustrissim]a aspetta l'aviso della putta et io le bacio la mano. Non restando di dirle che tanto ai musici quanto à li altri facende il s[ign]or Galvano è tanto lungo che no[n] sò quando venira no, basta che no[n] restara no per danari ancorch'io à mano à mano sia finito, poiche dal s[ign]or Ascanio di 23 scudi d'oro in oro no[n] havuto altro che dieci ducaton. Le dirò piu oltre che la s[ign]ora prencipessa no[n] ha un quattrino et gli 500 scudi sono spese in quello che sà V[ost]ra S[ignoria] Ill[ust]re....

86. ASM-AG, busta 1379----- (B)

On 21 April 1581.

From Cesare Cavriani to Aurelio Zibramonte.

Also quoted in SHERR 1984: 17

La s[ign]ora Prencipessa ha voluto scrivere al s[ign]or Duca n[ost]ro Ser[enissim]o senz'aspettar' domani. Gli cantori mi sono stati à trovare et promettono di esser all'ordine tanto à tempo che dom[en]ica che viene saranno costi. Mando q[ues]to spazzo per la posta consigliato da Mons[ign]or d'Osmo per il particolare del Car[dina]l Farnese, come V[ostra] S[ignoria] Ill[ust]re vedrà. Quando havrò in caminati i cantori no[n] mi restarano piu danari.

87. ASM-AG, busta 1379----- (B)

On 22 April 1581.

From Cesare Cavriani to Aurelio Zibramonte.

Also quoted in SHERR 1984: 18.

Il Conte Alfonso maiordomo discorre un poco piu maturam[en]te intorno al viaggio, et tien' per fermo che ci vorrano al manco 35 carocchie di fuora via per condur' le genti da servitio da Parma a Bersello. Et q[ues]to dico à V[ostra] S[ignoria] Ill[ust]re per che le scrissi hieri che trenta sarebbero bastate. Ecco i musici che vengono allegram[en]te: ho dato dui ducaton à Girolamo corr[ier]o a render conto ò à lei propria ò à chi la vorrà. Et q[ues]ti sono da spender' per il viaggio. M[e]s[er] Nicolo portiero ò aiutate de camera (come lo chiamano) mi dimanda quel che havrà à fare per il viaggio, et io li ho risposto che seguira il suo servitio fin che ci sia altro in cambio suo.

88. ASM-AG, busta 1379----- (B)

On 2 July 1581.

From Galano Cantelli to Aurelio Zibramonte.

Also quoted in SHERR 1984: 18-19.

Il S[ign]or Duca mio s[igno]re me ha comandato subito ch[e] io li ho dato conto di quanto V[ostra] S[ignoria] mi scrive intorno alli musici p[er] parte di S[ua] A[ltezza] che io li comandi

ch[e] se ne vengano subito como ho fatto in prese[n]tia di q[uel]lo ha mandato qua V[ostra] S[ignoria] p[er] condurli pero como V[ostra] S[ignoria] inte[n]dera da lui me hanno pregato a voler darli te[m]po quatri giorni como ho fatto ch[e] poi alhora li faro venir p[er] servire a S[ua] A[ltezza] in quel modo ch[e] lui vorrà e be[n] verro ch[e] no[n] vogli lassar di metterli in consideratio[n] ch[e] de quello essi hanno tratato co[n] me mostrano di no[n] voler' partir di qua se no[n] p[er] pocho dicendo ch[e] havendo essi qua altri guadagni oltra a quello li da S[ua] E[ccellenza] no[n] lho vogliono perder' et fra li altri il basso si traccia sino a otte boche da far le spese ch[e] se no[n] guadagniasse molto piu a inparar a molte p[er]sone como fa di q[uel]lo li da S[ua] E[ccellenza] di provisio[n] ch[e] so[n] [ducati] 22 1/2 d[']or lui no[n] potrebbe viver la metta del anno. Vi e poi m[es]s[er] Gottifredo qual e uno homo di sua testa et fiamen[go] qual ha oltra la provisio[n] de S[ua] E[ccellenza] ch[e] so[n] credo [ducati] 28 il messe l'organo d[e]l domo [c]h[e] li da 5 il messe. Il castrato e il piu sbrigato di tutto pero siano como si vogliono S[ua] E[ccellenza] havera molto piu a cor ch[e] servono a S[ua] A[ltezza] a lui med[esim]o et quando sarrà acordato co[n] S[ua] A[ltezza] lui li dara volonteris[im]a lice[n]tia pero como ho detto a questo ch[e] V[ostra] S[ignoria] ha mandato qua si mandarano ch[e] alhora V[ostra] S[ignoria] faccia trattar co[n] lui ch[e] dal conto di S[ua] E[ccellenza] po molto be[n] S[ua] A[ltezza] esser' sicura di disporre se[m]pre di tutto quello saria in poter di S[ua] E[ccellenza].

89. ASM-AG, busta 1379----- (B)  
On 4 July 1581.

From Galvano Cantelli to Aurelio Zibramonte.  
Also quoted in SHERR 1984: 19.

Li musici verra[n] fra tre giorni p[er] servir a Sua Alt[ez]za.

90. ASM-AG, busta 1379----- (A)  
On 16 July 1581.

From Galvano Cantelli to Aurelio Zibramonte.

La tardanza quella hà fatto li musici a venir a servir a Sua Alt[ez]za no[n] e stato ch[e] per causa di m[es]s[er] Paolo basso qual per trovarsi la moglie e fig[liuol]i suplico S[ua] E[ccellenza] a concederli uno pocho di te[m]po p[er] dar oridne a le provisio[n] del viver di sua casa et ch[e] S[ua] E[ccellenza] se ne erra contentata ma di piu li haveva dato qualche pocho de agiuto p[er]ch[e] lho potesse far tanto meglio accio le ne tenesse co[n] l[']animo quieto et tanto piu volontieri a servir a S[ua] A[ltezza] no[n] havendo S[ua] E[ccellenza] servitori tanto cosi et grati ch[e] no[n] sia p[er] haver se[m]pre maggior sodisfatio[n] ch[e] servino a S[ua] A[ltezza] me a lui med[esim]o et quanto poich[e] q[ues]ti musici potessero tener mal volontieri a q[uan]to S[ua] E[ccellenza] no[n] li poteria sforzar a lavarsi a tutto dal suo servitio p[er] tenir a servir a altro patro[n] si como, como soi ser[vito]ri li po sforzar a servire a S[ua] A[ltezza] piu ch[e] a lui med[esim]o pero S[ua] E[ccellenza] mi ha coma[n]dato ch[e] co[n] quella co[n]fidenza qualla S[ua] E[ccellenza] ha in V[ostra] S[ignoria] li scriva liberame[n]te ch[e] se[m]pre ch[e] S[ua] Altezza resti di servirsi di questi masi li qualli si mandara[n] subito andara dubitando ch[e] apresso S[ua] A[ltezza] no[n] possi restar qualche malle sodisfatio[n] ch[e] sarebbe cosa ch[e] le premeria sino a l[']animo no[n] desiderando in q[ues]to mondo cosa maggiore che servir a S[ua] A[ltezza] et reputandoci a molto favore e gratia se[m]pre ch[e] haverà in ch[e] servir' S[ua] A[ltezza] si como desdera sia se[m]pre co[n] il mezo di V[ostra] S[ignoria] la qualle ha se[m]pre mostrato tanto amore verso S[ua] E[ccellenza] ch[e] no[n] ne po aspetar se no[n] cosa ch[e] li sia di contento et sodisfatio[n] como q[ues]ta la veda adonq[ue] di operar' ch[e] S[ua] A[ltezza] resti servita ch[e] si mandino li musichi et à aversa ch[e] sarrà subito costa et se assicui per di no[n] haver bisogno di meggio alcuno co[n] S[ua] E[ccellenza] in valersi di lui in ogni sua occore[n]za....

91. ASPR-TEATRI, busta 1 mazzo 2 fascicolo 2 sottofascicolo 9 ----- (A)  
On 11 May 1582.

From Galeazzo Cacciardini to Prince Alessandro.

La longa et fedele servitù ch'io tengo con l'Altezz[za] V[ost]ra, et la comissione, che già le piaque darmi a viva voce, ch'io dovessi al ser[n]issimo s[igno]re Principe suo fig[liu]o imparare la virtù di sonare di leuto, mi ha[n]no obligato à mostrargli quel poco che ho saputo



di d[ett]a virtù dalla partita di V[ostra] A[ltezza] da questa sua città in quà, et nell'avenire per quanto s'estenderano le deboli forze mie, havrano tanto poter in me, che mi farano continuare in q[ue]sta impresa p[er] sin che sarà in piacere dell'A[ltezza] V[ostra], così piaccia à Dio N[ost]ro S[igno]re di farmi gratia di potergli mostrare assai, come, et egli in ciò fà reuscita grande, et io mi tenerò sempre fortunat[issi]mo in potergli di continuo servire; perche sperarei come pure no[n] solo sperare voglio, mà tenere per certo, che l'A[ltezza] V[ostra] p[er] l'inata sua bontà et grandezza si compiacerà voler riconoscere la servitù mia, co[m]e sono riconosciuti tutti li altri servitori, che sono restati al ser[vizi]o d'esso s[igno]re Principe quali tutti sono stati provisionati, accio io non sia trattato peggio d[e]lli altri servit[o]ri mà si compiacerà ordinare sia riconosciuta la servitù mia, et sovenuta la mia povertà di qualche provisione, havendo io da cinq[ue] fig[liu]o le femine, che maritandole no[n] mi resta con che sostenere q[ue]sto di vita che mi avanza....

92. ASM-AG, busta 202----- (B)

On 11 May 1583.

From Cesare Cavriani to Pietro Zanni Tullio.

Also quoted in FURLOTTI: 282.

Non mancarò a tutto mio potere perche S[ua] A[ltezza] resti servita di me come ho fatto anco per il passato;

il Cima à mio parere non è à proposito, perche strida nel cantare, nitrisce nel gorghegiare, et è cervello tanto stravagante che non potrebbe esser piu; M'incresce à dar in cio il parere però come servitore ch'io sono no[n] posso far di manco con buona gra[zia] delli interessati.

93. ASM-AG, busta 1381----- (B)

On 25 November 1585.

From Ippolito Oliva to Luigi Oliva.

Pietro Canal presented this episode without quoting this document. CANAL: 41.

Credo che V[ostra] S[ignoria] si deve molto ben arricordare, che quando io fui alli di passati in Mantova, io li dissi che fece la morte del Duca di Namur' vi era un musico addemman[d]ato Lorenzino bolognese che era senza patrone et finche q[ues]to giovine è stato allevato dal sig[n]or Duca mio et tutto quello che se lo [one word illegible] pur boni maestri che li mantenne senpre [sic] S[ua] Ecc[ellen]tia come sarebbe a dire un Fabritio Dentici un Horatio dalla Viola et molti altri valentuomini li quali sono stati et fano pa[r]te al servitio di q[ues]ti sig[no]ri desiderava in estimo di ritornati al cotesto servitio. Mi par che il duca si sdegno assai seco quando li dimmando licentia decendoli che quando era in termine di servirlo lo voleva piantare che q[uan]to era un riconoscer poco ammorevolezza che le haveva usata fece con haverlo ridotto à quelle perfetioni et haver spese assai per farlo huomo da qualche cosa et che le pareva pur strano che addresso che se ne poteva mo servire usati [?] un termine così fatto ma che andasse pure al bon viaggio, l'E[ccellnza] S[ua] hora mo come duo a V[ostra] S[ignoria] il sig[n]or duca con tutto che lo conosce per valenthuomo et haverne di grandiss.mo bisogno per trovarsi pochi suoi pari et allevato in casa con tutto questo non lo ha voluto accettare.

Ond'io desideroso di far conoscer a S[ua] Alezza il grandiss[i]mo desiderio che io ho di servirlo, son stato senpre avertito che lasciandosi questa pratica di sperare che venghi questo valenthuomo al servitio di S[ua] Altezza et perche V[ostra] S[ignoria] sappia le qualita sue, dicoli che questo o un tenore perfetiss[i]mo da capella et serve anco per contraldo, in camera in occasioni canta con bona gratia et dispositione copone beniss[i]mo et le cose sue qui presso questi valenthuomini, sono in bona consideratione sona la sua parte, assai bene di viola et altri virtu le quali meritano che ha stimati assai. Io ho parola da lui che ogni volta ce S[ua] Altezza voglia trattarlo al paro di quello che hanno tratto li altri precipi che ha servito che molto volentiere venira a servir questo ser[eniss]imo precipe. Li che ho voluto darne conto a V[ostra] S[ignoria] di quanto habbia fato per insin adesso di q[ues]to negotio, pochi ho certo che S[ua] Altezza sara molto interesata, et havera uno giovine chi molto li piacera prego mo V[ostra] S[ignoria] che di gratia mi favorisce o dentro o fori darmi risposta di q[ues]to negotio et dir à S[ua] Altezza che bisogna riso[l]versi presto perche vi sono partite generali per lui che tutta via li sono preposti et a me basta l'amico di trattenirlo qualche giorni perche io ne posso disporre assai et perche anco V[ostra] S[ignoria] sappia quello che per vi sia adesso lui ha

havuto di trattenime[n]to tanto erano dieci scudi d'oro in oro et la spesa per lui et un servitore et stanza fornita et credo certo che a q[ues]ta hora dal Duca di Ferrara li ne siano stati offerti dodeci, ma quando S[ua] Altezza si risolvera a volerlo a me basta l'animo di farlo venire per le dici se bene trovasse anco pur il dodeci et anco tredici perche so io quanto me amico et quanto ne posso disporre che stara per fine di q[ues]ta mia, pregando V[ost]ra S[ign]oria a darmi, presto risposta perche sappia anch'io quello che posso rissolvermi a risponderle et pur riconpe'sa di questa fatica ch' io faccio per S[ua] Altezza e non voglio altro che la gratia sua la quale stimo piu che tutte le cosi di questo mondo, et di degno gradarmi d'un cavallo della sua tanto famosa [one word or two illegible]--azza che ottenendo queste due cose mi risultero feliciss[i]mo et mi ne andero altero V[ost]ra S[ign]oria mi fara gratia ancora di arriccordarsi di ms Giulio camillo mio fr[ate]llo et haverlo per racc[on]to sapendo il grandiss[i]mo suo bisogno et a V[ost]ra S[ign]oria insieme con la sig[no]ra sua consorte...

94. ASM-AG, busta 941----- (B)

On 19 Aprile 1586.

From Cardinal Scipione Gonzaga to Federico Cataneo.

Also quoted in SHERR 1980: 55.

Ho preso informazione di tutti i musici, che teneva Madama d'Austria, et trovo, che oltre il m[aest]ro di cappella, il quale era chiamato m[e]s[ser] Verius Vallone, ella haveva quattro soprani, tre putti et un castrato. Il castrato è quello del quale scrive Mons[ign]or Capilupi che ha un canonicato nell'Aquila et perche stà bene, verisimil cosa è che egli non partirebbe di là senza molto gagliardo partito. À i tre putti Madama ha lasciato danari, e co[m]modità, perche se ne tornino in Fiandra, dove furono presi, et cosi hanno gia fatto. Appresso i questi haveva tre contralti, l'uno spagnuolo, e, come intendo, non molto buono, il quale se n'è ito à Napoli: gli altri due fiaminghi, i quali anch'essi gia se ne sono tronati alla patria. I tenori erano medes[imamen]te tre: due pur fiaminghi che sono partiti, et un'italiano, chiamato Gio[vanni] Paolo da Urbino, et questo è quello che per esservi stato altre volte, è stato di nuovo accettato qui in San Luigi, ma per quanto mi vien detto, non senza qualche difficoltà, non essendo cosa molto rara. Fianl[men]te i bassi erano due, l'uno trombone, del quale non sò che sia avvenuto, l'altro chiamato Ugo, è quello che si è acco[m]modato nella cappella di S[an] Giovanni Laterano: ma intendo non esser huomo di farvi gran fondamento sopra per haver una venarotta nel petto. Questo è quanto io ho potuto cavar' di questi musici....

95. BCV-INGEGNERI----- (B)

On 20 August 1586.

Ingegneri's dedication to Duke Ottavio.

Also quoted in NUOVO VOGEL v. 1: 852.

L'Altezza Vostra nelli favori, et beneficii; i quali con si liberal mano ella fece già à M[esser] Cipriano de Rore di bona memoria; favorì et beneficò tutti i professori di quest'arte: poi che egli con la protettione, e con li commodi, che da lei ricevette, s'avanzò tanto in essa, che arrivò ad essere un perpetuo esempio, et maestro à tutti del comporre perfettamente. Ma quelli più particolarmente, et maggiormente de gli altri devono per tal conto restare a V[ost]ra A[ltezza] obligatissimi; liquali poterono in quel particolar tempo, ch'egli fiori nella felicissima corte di lei, essere con M[esser] Cipriano familiarmente, et ricevere dalla conversatione, et dalla viva voce sua più espressi i suoi ammaestramenti. Et perche forse sopra tutti fù concesso à me d'haver tal commodità molto à voglia mia, però ho riputato semper [*sic*] d'essere io sopra tutti per questa cagione sola obligato all'A[ltezza] V[ost]ra. Ma ella con tanti altri favori, & gratie fattemi hà accresciuto sempre, & mescolato in modo il numero degli oblighi miei che questo, ch'io reputo, come hò detto, grandissimo, non è forse ò cosi noto, ò cosi espresso a V[ost]ra A[ltezza] & à gli altri, come io lo tengo in me stesso. La onde hò voluto con questa occasione di dar fuori li presenti miei primi madrigali à sei, dichiararlo nel miglior modo, che posso, dicendo à V[ost]ra A[ltezza] che per questo obliigo solo io vengo hora con lei à questo atto di devotione, & di servitù: che, se non distinguessi in qualche modo i tanti oblighi miei, essi tutti insieme ò levarebbono à me la confidenza di venirle mai inanzi, ò la farebbono parere presontione. Degnisi, per tanto V[ost]ra A[ltezza] di ricevere, & di gradire queste mie poche fatiche, & in esse il mio grandissimo, & devotissimo affetto, con quella humanità, che è propria & di se stessa, & di tutta la sua serenissima casa: che io qui humilissimamente me le inchino.

96. BEM-BELLI ----- (A)

On 20 August 1586.

Belli's dedication to Duke Ottavio.

I molti favori ch'io vidi fare da V[ostra] Altezza al signor Luzzascho gli anni passati, quand'egli le fù à basciar la mano in Parma, m'han fatto credere, oltre à molti altri segni, ch'io ne havea anco prima, che V[ostra] A[ltezza] dia cosi favore alla professione della musica, come ella per singular grandezza dell'animo suo favorisce anco ogni'altra maniera di virtù. E però sopra questo fondamento mi sono assicurato di dedicarle la presente mia copia de madrigali; ancorche, ne per alcuna sorte di mia servitù con V[ostra] A[ltezza] per l'adietro, ne per la sufficienza dell'opera in se, non dovessi veramente ardir tanto; ma tuttavia hò pensato ch'il costume antico di V[ostra] A[ltezza] d'accogliere sempre humanamente le cose, anco che non molte degne di lei, sia per rimediare all'uno; e'l significarle io (il che faccio hora) che queste mie fatiche pendano in qualche maniera da quel valent'huomo che fù da lei tanto accarezzato; poi ch'io in quest'arte sono del tutto creatura di lui, debba rimediare all'altro di questi difetti. Supplico V[ostra] A[ltezza] che non l'aggradir questo segno della mia devotione voglia favorire la confidenza, ch'io hò havuto nella sua molta benignità....

97. ASM-AG, busta 1381 ----- (B)

On 11 December 1586.

From Ippolito Olivo to Luigi Olivo.

Also quoted in CANAL: 40 & SHERR 1980: 56.

Venne finalmente il Sig[n]or Carlo Arrecordati di Fiandra con una cascia tanto grand che mai si sentito tal cosa per nissuna morte de prencipe del mondo. Il Duca Alessandro ha scritto al sig[n]or Prencipe Ranutio che subito all'arrivo dell'Arrecordati, debba licentiar tutti quanti generalmente delli provisionati della felice memoria del sig[n]or Duca non eccettuando servitori vecchi di bene merito person[a]gi grandi cavaglieri feudatari, bassi, [one word illegible] et in somma di ogni sorte non solame[n]te in Parma et Piacenza ma in Roma in Milano Bologna Venezia et pur tutti i luoghi dove fussero provisionati che a tutti universalmente fussi data licentia di maniera che hieri fa data questa cescia con dispiacer grandiss[im]o del sig[n]or Prencipe vedendoli mancar tanti ammirevoli et fedeli servitori et ne piange vedendo tanto conflitto....

...Seppur che tutta la musica e licentiata, et pochi di che S[ua] Altezza desidera haverne parte di questi musici ho subito parlato a molti et in particolare à m[e]s[ser] Paolo basso il quale mi ha risposto di q[ues]ta maniera che vuole esser libbero della persona sua et che a nissuno vuole promettere di certi, che bene servitor all'Altezza Sua et desidera grandemente servirla et che li fa sapere che il Duca di Baviera l'ha offerto alli giorni passati trecento scudi di provisione et un donativo et che S[ua] Altezza facci mo lui l'offerta ancora che secondo che l'offerta che li sara fatta che si governara ancor lui, et fara quel tanto che li tornera à piu utilita perche per esser agravato di una bona famiglia la quale è di dodici boche et non havendo altra possessione ne entrata che questa della musica et voce che il sig[n]or Iddio li piaciuto dare, bisogna che se la facci voler et vi vive sopra avvertendo S[ua] Altezza che la provisione che li offerira 5 scudi haverla in vita et q[ues]to e quanto ho potuto cavar da q[ues]to huomo. Ho parlanto medemamente col castratino, il quale m'a detto che al presente non puo far ditterminatione alcuna della persona sua pur un travaglio grande che ha al presente il quale è questo che havento preso moglie alcuni mesi sonno et essendo dormito lungo tempo seco havendo havuto licentia da un prete parrochiano il quale per q[ues]to effetto e prigione et il papa lo travaglia cio è la congregatione et ancor lui dicendo che per esser castrato non poteva pigliar moglie; si che fin che questo negotio non è finito non vede far rresolutione nessuna della persona ne prometter di certo a nessuno. Vi è ancora una muta di q[ues]ti musici che sono in cinq[ue] i quali quattro vi ne sonno che sonnano tromboni et un cornetto d[i] che e valentiss[im]o giovine et tutti cinq[ue] sonnano piu sorti di instrumenti come sarebbe dire tromboni, fiferi, flauti, viole, et fra questi vi e un fr[ate]llo di m[e]s[ser] Horatio dalla Viola tanto famoso il quale sona ancora lui divinamente bene et piacerrà assai a S[ua] Altezza questi cinq[ue] si sono messi in sieme et servirano all'Altezza Sua molto volontieri ogni volta che siino trattati bene et che possino veniere vi sonno poi altri voci et valenteuomini in componere di tal maniera che si S[ua] Altezza dissidera fare una bella musica di concerti diversi d'instrumenti et voci. Adesso ha la commodita pero per servir all'Altezza Sua et accio resti

sattisfata di me et che vede che nel servitio suo sonno accuratiss[i]mi. Ho preso ispediente di mandar' il preteni messo à posta et inviarlo à V[ostra] S[ignoria] accio dii subito ragualio a S[ua] Altezza et dessiderando valersi di questi tali mandì come à posta qui a Parma un rissoluzione di ogni cosa et presto perche vi sonno che fa molta istanza per haverli et in particolare il Duca di Baviera il quale pochi giorni sonno mandava corriero a posta per levarne la maggior parte et con carta bianca addimandassero cio che vollessero li che se presto non si rissolvera in fine tanto che il difetto non venera da me et faro tutto quello che potro et sapro perche S[ua] Altezza resti servita ma sonno certi grati questi di sua posta et un gran difficulta si puo trattar seco.

98. ASM-AG, busta 1381----- (B)

On 18 December 1586.

From Ippolito Olivo to Federico Cattaneo.

Also cited in CANAL: 40-41.

[broken] ...diro per conclusione di questo negotio, che havendo il sig[n]or Principe mio patrone fatto intender' à m[e]s[er] Paolo basso al castratino, al m[e]s[er] Giamaria contraldo a Lorenzino bollognese et à m[e]s[er] Gottofredo che essi vadino resserbati in accettar alcu[n] partito perche l[']Altezza Sua dice haver scritto in Fiandra al Sig[n]or Duca suo padre, accio l[']Altezza Sua li facci gratia di confirmarle al suo servitio questi cinq[ue]. Et il cornetto dice che ogni volta che S[ua] Altezza voria et comandara che tutto il concerto insieme d'instrumenti venghino à gocto à farsi sentire che sonno cinq[ue] come ho scritto in due altre mie, che fatto le feste se ne vennerano tutte [a few words lost] et servirano l[']Altezza Sua Ser[eniss]ma in tutto quello ch[e] [a few words lost] et sapperano fare. Ma che il venir solo, suplica- [a few words lost] sua a perdonarli perche non vuole lasciare la [a few words lost] alla quale ha gia promesso la sua parola....

99. Sigismondo d'India's *Le musiche* (1609)----- (B)

On 10 February 1609.

Sigismondo d'India's dedication to Duke Ranuccio I Farnese.

Facsimile reproduction in MOMPPELLIO: tavola II.

Also quoted in FABBRIS: 76 & NUOVO VOGEL v. 1: 543, etc.

Dedico à V[ostra] A[ltezza] queste mie nuove compositioni, che pochi anni sono allettato dal diletto, che hoggidi l'universale suol prendersi dall'udir cantar solo, mi posi à comporre: ne per altro consecrate al glorioso suo nome hò voluto che compariscano, che per publicar' insieme con loro anche un'atto benche assai picciolo della devotion mia, ch'è infinita verso la real sua persona, che non degnerando punto dalla magnanima natura de' Illustrissimi Avoli suoi hebbe in protezione i professori de la musica; e di questo indubitata testimonianza ben ne possono far' i Cipriani de Rore, i Fabritii Dentice, i Claudii da Correggio, & gli Horatii della Viola, homini tutti che in questa facoltà arrivorono à segno di somma eccellenza. Resti dunque l'A[ltezza] S[ua] [sic] servita di ricever in grado questi fatiche, e me insieme per quel devotissimo servitore, che hoggi per sempre me le dichiaro & offero, più alla volontà riguardando, ch'è molta che al poter, ch'è poco. E con augurarle ogni compiuta felicità le faccio riverenza. Di Milano li 10 febraro 1609. Di V[ostra] A[ltezza] S[erniss]ma devotissimo servitore Sigismondo d'India.

100. Vincenzo Bonizzi's *Alcune opere di diversi autori* (1626)----- (B)

On 24 April 1626.

Vincenzo Bonizzi's dedication to Duchess Margherita Aldobrandini.

Facsimile reproduction in BONIZZI.

Sapendo io Serenissima Signora, quanto sia esoso à tutti il vitio dell'ingratitude, che oltre quella sentenza: Nullo peius quam hominem ingratum; habbiamo anco l'esempio da diverse historie; perciò non cadere in errore si grave conoscendomi obligatissimo alla sua Serenissima Casa, & in particolare à Lei, dalla cui clemenza hò rivevuto, & ricevo gratie infinite, quali conservo tutte vive nel core; hò risoluto dedicare al suo glorioso nome queste mie poche fatiche. Sono fatte parte in Ferrara, mentre servivo à quelle Altezze Serenissime, che di loro havrò memoria eterna, quali erano suonate dall'Illustrissima Signora Giulia Avogadri contessa di Rollo, all'hora damma della Serenissima Duchessa d'Urbino; parte anco

qui in Parma, onde maggiormente mi dà animo che posso quasi chiamarle frutti d'un albero secondo di virtù Oratio Bassani dalla Viola unico & famosissimo: mi diede questo essendo io giovinetto molti avvertimenti, e lumi intorno alla musica, e mostrò d'havere gusto particolare, ch'io accompagnassi il suo divin suono col mio del clavicembalo, & anco più volte disse, à me, & ad altri, non esser lui mai stato accompagnato da niuno, come da me (sia detto con debita modestia) se ben anco m'approfittai in cotal disciplina nella gran scola di Claudio da Correggio huomo in sua professione forse senza essemplio. Queste ò gran Madamma furono gratie concessemi solo per voler divino; vorrei anch'io (se pur tanto mi lice) si degnasse aggradire questo mio picciolo dono; piccolo nelle mie mani, grande nelle di Vostra Altezza Serenissima, che Lei sola può sollevarlo da finistri incontri che pur troppo vanno serpendo in questa bassa, & infelice terra. Faccia Dio felicissima la sua persona con la Serenissima Casa per ogni loghezza di tempo. Di Venetia li 24 di Aprile. 1626. Di Vostra Altezza Serenissima suddito, & servitore Vincenzo Bonizzo.

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Busta 202

11 May 1583 from Cesare Cavriani to Tullio Petrozzani.

Busta 941

19 Apr 1586 from Cardinal Scipione Gonzaga to Federico Cataneo.

Busta 1361

16 Mar 1565 from Duke Ottavio to Duke Guglielmo.

Busta 1378

8 Dec 1568 from Giulio Bonagiunta to Duke Guglielmo.

18 Mar 1569 from Giulio Bonagiunta to Duke Guglielmo.

Busta 1379

25 Feb 1581 from Aurelio Zibramonte to Duke Guglielmo.

1 Mar 1581 from Aurelio Zibramonte to Duke Guglielmo.

4 Mar 1581 from Aurelio Zibramonte to Duke Guglielmo.

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20 Apr 1581 from Cesare Cavriani to Aurelio Zibramonte.

21 Apr 1581 from Cesare Cavriani to Aurelio Zibramonte.

22 Apr 1581 from Cesare Cavriani to Aurelio Zibramonte.

2 Jul 1581 from Galvano Cantelli to Aurelio Zibramonte.

4 Jul 1581 from Galvano Cantelli to Aurelio Zibramonte.

16 Jul 1581 from Galvano Cantelli to Aurelio Zibramonte.

Busta 1381

25 Nov 1585 from Ippolito Olivo to Luigi Olivo.

11 Dec 1586 from Ippolito Olivo to Luigi Olivo.

18 Dec 1586 from Ippolito Olivo to Federico Cattaneo.

Registri di lettere 2953

6 Mar 1581 from Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga to Aurelio Zibramonte.

Archivio di Stato, Naples

ASN-AF: Archivio farnesiano

fascio 262 fascicolo 4 cc 234-5

fascio 262, cc886r-886v.

nn. 2093-2097 ("Registri")

Archivio di Stato, Parma

ASPR-CCF: Corte e casa farnesiana

- Serie 2 busta 18 fascicolo 6. "Spese che io Josquino che ho fatto..."
- Serie 2 busta 18 fascicolo 10. "Rolo delle persone..."
- Serie 2 busta 18 fascicolo 10. "Testamento..."
- Serie 2 busta 19 "Nota di spese cibarie e straord.e..."

ASPR-CFE: Carteggio farnesiano estero

Paesi Bassi 107

- 8 Dec 1560 from Matteo Biliotti to Duke Ottavio.
- 30 Jan 1561 from Tommaso Machiavelli to Duke Ottavio.

Paesi Bassi 108

- 9 Apr 1564 from Cesare Marinone to Duke Ottavio.
- 2 Jul 1564 from Cesare Marinone to Duke Ottavio.
- 25 Aug 1564 from Marcello Lampugnano to Duke Ottavio.
- 30 Sep 1564 from Ludovico Nicola to Duke Ottavio.
- 5 Nov 1564 from Marcello Lampugnano to Duke Ottavio.
- 19 Nov 1564 from Cesare Marinone to Duke Ottavio.
- 3 Jun 1565 from Marcello Lamupugnano to Duke Ottavio.

Paesi Bassi 109

- 31 Mar 1566 from Cesare Marinone to Duke Ottavio
- 31 Mar 1566 from Tommaso Machiavelli to Giovanni Battista Pico.
- 8 Apr 1566 from Tommaso Machiavelli to Giovanni Battista Pico.
- 26 Apr 1566 from Paolo Vitelli to Giovanni Battista Pico.
- 29 Apr 1566 from Hostilio Valenti to Giovanni Battista Pico.
- 29 May 1566 from Tommaso Machiavelli to Duke Ottavio.
- 29 Jun 1566 from Tommaso Machiavelli to Giovanni Battista Pico.
- 12 Jul 1566 from Prospero Tedesco to Giovanni Battista Pico.

Roma 362

- 15 Nov 1570 from Ludovico Todesco to Cardinal Alessandro.
- 16 Nov 1570 from Commander Durante to Cardinal Alessandro.

Roma 363

- 4 Feb 1571 from Tiburzio Massaino to Duke Ottavio.

Venezia 512

- 25 Sep. 1568 from Vito da Dorimbergo to Duke Ottavio.

ASPR-CFI: Carteggio farnesiano interno

Busta 38

- ? 18 Apr 1563 from Duke Ottavio to Paolo Vitelli.

Busta 40

- 21 Jun 1564 from Cipriano Pallavicino to Duke Ottavio.

ASPR-COMP: Computisteria farnesiana

- 141 "Ruolo di provvisionati...".
- 240 "Ordinarii della Candellora".
- "Ordinarii di mancie' o novell'anni".
- 246 "Nota delle persone, cavalli et muli...".

ASPR-MASTRI: Mastri farnesiani, vv. 4-9

ASPR-RUOLI: Ruoli farnesiani, 1-5

ASPR-TEATRI: Teatri e spettacoli di età farnesiana

- Busta 1 mazzo 1 fascicolo 2 sottofascicolo 1 (1), (2), (3)
- Busta 1 mazzo 1 fascicolo 2 sottofascicolo 2

Busta 1 mazzo 1 fascicolo 2 sottofascicolo 3  
Busta 1 mazzo 2 fascicolo 1 sottofascicolo 1  
Busta 1 mazzo 2 fascicolo 1 sottofascicolo 2  
Busta 1 mazzo 2 fascicolo 1 sottofascicolo 3  
Busta 1 mazzo 2 fascicolo 1 sottofascicolo 10  
Busta 1 mazzo 2 fascicolo 2 sottofascicolo 1  
Busta 1 mazzo 2 fascicolo 2 sottofascicolo 2  
Busta 1 mazzo 2 fascicolo 2 sottofascicolo 3  
Busta 1 mazzo 2 fascicolo 2 sottofascicolo 4  
Busta 1 mazzo 2 fascicolo 2 sottofascicolo 5 (1), (2)  
Busta 1 mazzo 2 fascicolo 2 sottofascicolo 6  
Busta 1 mazzo 2 fascicolo 2 sottofascicolo 7  
Busta 1 mazzo 2 fascicolo 2 sottofascicolo 8  
Busta 1 mazzo 2 fascicolo 2 sottofascicolo 9

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Archivio di Stato, Parma, "Archivio Sanvitale" 871  
An untitled chronicle (by Prof. Bertini's transcription).

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Biblioteca Palatina, Parma

BPP-MSPARM: Ms Parm.

449 "Cronaca farnesiana".  
1184 (An untitled chronicle).

The Parma Cathedral

Cipriano de Rore's epigraph (carved in a stone, and installed in the Cathedral).

## 2. Sixteenth-Century Printed Music

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich

BSBM-MERULO (4 Mus. pr. 141, Beibd. 9). Claudio Merulo. Il Primo libro de' madrigali a cinque voci di Claudio da Correggio nuovamente posti in luce. Venice: Claudio da Correggio & Fausto Bethanio, 1564. RISM: M-2368.

BSBM-RENALDI (4 Mus. pr. 109, Beibd. 1). Giulio Renaldi. Di Giulio Renaldi padovano il primo libro de madrigali a quatro voci, con un madregale due volte a quatro & si puo giugnere quale parte piace di l'uno all'altro & anco si puo cantare a otto novamente da lui posti in luce. Venice: Antonio Gardano, 1569. RISM: R-1156=1569-32.

BSBM-WERT (4 Mus. pr. 192, Beibd. 2). Jacob de Wert. Il secondo libro de' madrigali a cinque voci di Giaches de Wert novamente poste in luce et da lui proprio corretti. Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1561. RISM: W-860.

Biblioteca Capitolare, Verona

BCV-INGEGNERI (Busta musicale 31). Marc'Antonio Ingegneri. Di Marco Antonio Ingegneri il primo libro de madrigali a sei voci. Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1586. RISM: I-57.

BCV-MOSCAGLIA (Busta musicale 54-IV). Giovanni Battista Moscaaglia. Il primo libro de' madrigali a quattro a cinque a sei voci di Gio. Battista Moscaaglia intitolato gl'Amorosi Gigli. Venice: heris of Antonio Gardano, 1575. RISM: M-3783.

BCV-VEGGIO (Busta Musicale 67-XVI). Giovanni Agostino de Veggio. Di Gio. Agostino Vegio Musico dell'Illustrissimo & Eccellentissimo Sig. Duca di Parma, e Piacenza. Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci. Parma: Seth Viotto, 1574. RISM: V-1089



Biblioteca Estense, Modena

BEM-BELLI (Mus. F. 68). Girolamo Belli. *Di Girolamo Belli d'Argenta, il secondo libro de madrigali a cinque voci, con un dialogo a otto novamente composti et dati in luce*. Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi et Ricciardo Amadino, 1586. RISM: B-1739.

BEM-MASSAINO (Mus. G. 125). Tiburzio Massaino. *Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci di Tiburzio Massaino da Cremona all'Illustriss: et Ecc: signore il duca di Parma, et di Piacenza*. Venice: heirs of Antonio Gardano, 1571. RISM: M-1290.

Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, Turin

BNT-JOSQUIN (Ris-Mus IV 41). Josquin *Persoens*. *Libro primo de' madrigali a quattro voci, di Josquino Persoens musico dell'Illustrissimo et Eccellentissimo signor il sig. Duca di Parma et di Piacenza*. Parma: Seth Viotto, 1570. RISM: 1570-28=P-1470.

The British Library, London

BLL-RORE (A.70.v) Cipriano de Rore. *Di Cipriano de Rore il quinto libro di madrigali a cinque voci insieme alcuni di diversi autori*. Venice: Antonio Gardano, 1566. RISM: 1566-17.

Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Bologna

CMBMB-FIAMME (R 215). Cipriano de Rore. *Le vive fiamme de' vaghi e delettevoli madrigali dell'eccell. musico Cipriano Rore, a quattro et cinque voci, novamente posti in luce, per Giulio Bonagionta da S. Genesi musico dell' Illustiss. Sig. di Vineggia*. Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1565. RISM: 1565-18=R-2514.

CMBMB-VEGGIO(v 399). Giovanni Agostino de Veggio. *Di Gio. Agostino Vegio musico dell'Illustrissimo & Eccellentissimo Sig. Duca di Parma, & Piacenza. Il Primo libro de madrigali a quattro voci novamente da lui posti in luce*. Parma: Seth Viotto, 1575. RISM: V-1090.

The Huntington Library, California

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The Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

LCW-VINCI (olim Hayer, M 1490. V 77 case). Pietro Vinci. *Di Pietro Vinci siciliano della città di Nicosia maestro di capella nella città di Bergamo il primo libro de madrigali a sei voci*. Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1571. RISM: V-1677= 1571-13.

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MBSKK-CERVO (4° Mus. 32 g.). Barnaba Cervo. *Di Barnaba Cervo da Parma il primo libro de madrigali à cinque voci novamente posti in luce*. Venice: heirs of Girolamo Scotto, 1574. RISM: C-1742.

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