

Patronage of Printed Music in Brescia and Bergamo before 1600

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§ Music print dedications in Renaissance Brescia and Bergamo offer clues about publication underwriting. Dedications also suggest other motivations for publication: tribute, employment portfolio, creative archive, commercial venture or liturgical embellishment. Print dedication (and presumably patronage) by minor nobility of Bergamo and Brescia reveals local trends in the growth of musical patronage and its spread among neighbors and political allies. The pattern from this limited region offers an archetype for understanding the rapid growth and burgeoning popularity of printed music in the sixteenth century.

§ Le dediche di stampe musicali rinascimentali collegate con Brescia e Bergamo offrono indizi sulle sottoscrizioni. Le dediche suggeriscono anche altri motivi della pubblicazione: omaggio, incarico professionale, creatività, rischio commerciale o abbellimento per la liturgia. La dedica dell'edizione (e il suo presumibile patrocinio) per la nobiltà 'minore' di Bergamo e Brescia rivela tendenze locali nella crescita del mecenatismo musicale e la sua diffusione tra i vicini e alleati politici. Il campione offerto da questa regione circoscritta offre un esempio ideale per comprendere il costante e rapido aumento e l'espansione della popolarità della musica stampata nel XVI secolo.

Introduction

THE invention of processes for the printing of music with moveable type substantially increased music's availability. This development lagged behind text printing due to the technical challenge of incorporating notes on a fixed staff, often with text beneath, and a growing number of additional signs and performance directions in various locations around the music itself. These problems required solutions beyond those needed for the printing of text alone, which resulted in a variety of processes arising over about 100 years, beginning in the late fifteenth century, with several of them continuing into the twentieth century.¹

Before, and for a time after the invention of musical moveable type, hand-copying, woodcuts, or a combination of the two furnished the musical examples in theory texts, as well as the occasional book of music. Hand-copying and woodblocks were useful in accommodating regional differences in notation, and woodblocks could also be reused in successive printings, but both methods were time and labor-intensive. The subsequent multiple impression method for moveable type involved printing the staff lines first, followed by the musical notes, initials, texts and other characters. This involved printing each page twice or even three times, and the later impressions required careful justification to ensure that notes were correctly placed on the staff. The development of moveable musical type reduced the number of impressions to one. While faster and somewhat less complicated to print, all these methods had the disadvantage that, after a press run, the formes would be dismantled for reuse of the type; a new printing required resetting the type. Experiments using engraved plates shared the repeatability and initial labor of woodcuts, but needed the development of new printing mechanisms for widespread adoption.² All of these methods raised the cost of music prints above purely textual prints of comparable size.

Printing of any sort distributed costs differently than hand copying of manuscripts. In manuscript production, even with the most expensive parchments, the main investment was not materials, but rather the time and labor of copying. Printing also required considerable time and effort, but the yield was much greater – usually several hundred copies instead of one. This required much larger quantities of paper, which meant that a printed edition required a substantial investment in materials before the labor even began. Add to this the extra costs of typesetting and the complexity of music typesetting, and each edition required a substantial preliminary investment. The source of this capital investment for a given edition is rarely stated and often

¹ S. BOORMAN, s.v. *Printing and Publishing of Music*, § I.1-3.ii, and 4.i, in *New Grove*², 20, pp. 326-337, 341-342, is a masterfully concise yet comprehensive history of the development of music printing.

² BOORMAN, s.v. *Printing and Publishing of Music*.

unclear, although authors have suggested that prints' dedications may offer clues.³

This study is a preliminary examination of the dedications of music prints in two neighboring cities of Venice's *terra ferma*, Brescia and Bergamo. The two cities were and are of similar size, and they are situated at the convergence of the *Prealpi* with the *Pianura Padana*, which gave them similar opportunities for defense. Brescia had (and has) an extensive *castello* crowning a large hill at the city's north end; Bergamo's hill, on the other hand, was large enough for complete envallation of the hilltop city itself. Both were subject to Venice from the early fifteenth century until 1797, which placed them under primary economic and political dominance of that city, although the convenience and proximity of Milan encouraged some trade with that city and its territory, as well as with surrounding nobility and other more distant regions.

This study examines a circumscribed group of music prints by composers, theorists and musicians in these cities in the first century such works appeared in print. I have limited the works studied to those produced while the composers, authors or dedicatees were actually in Brescia or Bergamo. This eliminates some illustrious names, notably Franchino Gaffurio, Luca Marenzio and Claudio Merulo, all of whose works were published after their departures from Brescia or Bergamo. The study is comprehensive for all applicable prints from 1497 to 1600. Publications of composers then in mid-career are included up to 1611, which allows for inclusion of most of their production.⁴

Evidence

The two tables below list prints by composers in Brescia and Bergamo between the 1497 and 1610. Table 1 lists the prints with music originating from musicians in Brescia. Table 2 lists the prints from musicians in Bergamo.

³ J. BERNSTEIN, *Music Printing in Renaissance Venice: The Scotto Press (1539-1572)*, Oxford University Press, New York 1998, pp. 145-150; also M. BIZZARINI, *Luca Marenzio: The Career of a Musician Between the Renaissance and the Counter-Reformation*, trans. J. Chater, Ashgate, Aldershot 2003, pp. 4-6. In a second publication (J. BERNSTEIN, *Print Culture and Music in Sixteenth-Century Venice*, Oxford University Press, New York 2001, pp. 73-83 and 99-113) Bernstein offers a comprehensive overview of many possible modes of financing music prints; she notes that documentation is scarce.

⁴ Determining a termination point was difficult. Publication lists of most composers whose works began before 1600 were allowed to conclude later than 1600, in particular that of Costanzo Antegnati; but no works of any composer who first published music after 1600 has been included. The most significant truncation is in the list of Giovanni Cavaccio's works. After his *Messe per I defunti* of 1611, there is a nine-year hiatus, and his 1620 *Nuovo giardino* is his first publication in the new monodic style, so his last three publications were omitted.

Key for Tables 1 and 2

Column 1: serial number of prints for reference.

Column 2: prints in abbreviated citations, plus clarification where necessary.

All citations begin with original incipits; non-essential wording is omitted. Obvious musical genres (*Canzonette, Madrigali, Missae, Motetti*) are not translated. The genres signified by less familiar or unclear names (*Sacrae Cantiones, Completorium, Fiamelle Amorososi, Modulationum, Threni*) are indicated in parentheses.

Column 3: name and title of the dedicatee, with brief information. More extensive information is in the notes.

Column 4: attributes of the composer, usually from the print title. More extensive information is in the notes.

Column 5: types or classifications of dedicatees; see Table 3 for details.

Column 6: notes.

M: page references from MISCHIATI, *Bibliografia*. Only the initial page of each entry is listed.

ET: page references from M. EYNARD - R. TIBALDI, *Per una bibliografia delle opere a stampa dei musicisti nati o attivi a Bergamo nei secoli XVI-XVIII*, «Bergomum. Bollettino della Civica Biblioteca Angelo Mai di Bergamo», 91/3 (1996). Only the initial page of each entry is listed.

N: notes from other sources.

Table 1 - 16th-Century Music Prints Associated with Brescia *

Serial Number	Publication	Dedicatee-Honoree	Composer Attributes Other Information	Type	Notes
	ADORNO DA BRESCIA				
1	<i>Sacrosancta regii prophetarum psalmodia</i> [...] <i>ad vespertinas</i> [...], 4 v., Eredi di Francesco & Simone Tini, Milano 1593.	Tomaso Theatino, abbot general of the Celestines	Adorno describes himself as a Celestine monk.	A-1	M-1
2	<i>Completorium totius anni</i> [...], 4 v., Eredi di Francesco & Simone Tini, Milano 1593.	Francesco Marini, provost of San Vincenzo of Calcinate	Adorno describes himself as a Celestine monk.	A-2	M-2; N-1;
	AIGUINO DA BRESCIA, ILLUMINATO				
3	<i>La illuminata de tutti i tuoni di canto fermo</i> , Antonio Gardano, Venezia 1562 [Gregorian chant tutor]	Paola Lodovica Torelli, countess of Guastalla	Aiguino describes himself as of the <i>ordine serafico</i> (Franciscan, friar Minor or Minorite)	A-2	M-4; N-2
4	<i>Il tesoro illuminato di tutti i tuoni di canto figurato</i> , Giovanni Varisco, Venezia 1581 [Polyphonic music tutor]	Cardinal Alvigi (Luigi) d'Este, 'patron'	Aiguino describes himself as above (Franciscan)	B-2	M-10; N-3
	ANTEGNATI, COSTANZO				
5	<i>Il primo libro di madrigali</i> [...], 4 v., Figli di Antonio Gardano, Venezia 1571	Cavalier Carlo Durandi, 'my most worthy lord'	Antegnate describes himself as organist.	B-1	M-40; N-4
6	<i>Sacrarum cantionum liber primus</i> [...], 5 v., Figli di Antonio Gardano, Venezia 1575 [Motets]	Guglielmo Gonzaga, duke of Mantua & marchese of Monferrato	Antegnate describes himself as organist of Brescia.	B-2	M-38; N-5
7	<i>Liber primus missarum</i> [...], 6-8 v., Angelo Gardano, Venezia 1578; repr. 1587	Teodoro Qualea, Augustinian hermit, 'my lord and patron of the muses'	In 2nd edition, Antegnate describes himself as organist of the cathedral of Brescia.	A-2	M-25, 26; N-6
8	<i>Missae quaternis vocibus</i> [...] <i>liber primus</i> [...], 4 v., Vincenzo Sabbio, Brescia 1579	Lauro Girello, Lateran canon & abbot of San Giovanni in Viridario		A-2	M-24; N-7

Serial Number	Publication	Dedicatee-Honoree	Composer Attributes Other Information	Type	Notes
9	<i>Sacrae cantiones, vulgo motecta, paribus vocibus</i> [...], 4 v., Vincenzo Sabbio, Brescia 1581 [Motets, voci pari]	Serena de' Boni, abbess of the monastery of Santa Giulia of Brescia	Antegnate describes himself as organist (<i>modulatore</i>) of Brescia.	A-2	M-35; N-8
10	<i>Liber secundus missarum</i> [...], 6-8 v., Angelo Gardano, Venezia 1578; repr. 1587	Canons of the cathedral of Brescia, patrons	Antegnate describes himself as organist of the cathedral of Brescia.	A-3	M-27; N-9
11	<i>Salmi</i> [...], 8 v., Angelo Gardano, Venezia 1592	Hortensia Marchi, abbess, Hieronima Birraga, prioress, & the companions of monastery of San Vittore in Meda	Antegnate describes himself as organist of the cathedral of Brescia.	A-2,3	M-33; N-10
12	<i>Liber XIII</i> [...] <i>Missa Borromea, motecta, cantionesque gallicae</i> [...], 12 v., Angelo Gardano, Venezia 1603 [3 choirs, voice parts]	Cardinal Federico Borromeo [of Milan]	Antegnate describes himself as organist of the <i>patritii</i> of Brescia.	A-2	M-30
13	<i>Liber XIII</i> [...] <i>Missa Borromea, motecta, cantionesque gallicae</i> [...], 12 v., Angelo Gardano, Venezia 1603. [3 choirs, bassi sequenti for no. 12]	Carlo Battezi, organist of San Pietro Olivaro of Brescia	Antegnate describes himself as organist of the <i>patritii</i> of Brescia.	C-1	M-30
14	<i>L'Arte organica</i> , Francesco Tebaldino, Brescia 1608 [Organ tutor, registration instructions, organ tuning, list of organs constructed]	Gentle readers (<i>benigni lettori</i>) & honored organists	Antegnate describes himself as servant of the Signoria of Brescia.	D	M-42
15	<i>L'Antegnata, intavolatura de ricercari d'organo</i> [...], Angelo Gardano e figli, Venezia 1608. [12 Ricercars, plus tutor above]	Lords Abbots, Deputies & C[ompanions, Council] of the city of Brescia		B-3	M-43
	BARGNANI, OTTAVIO				
16	<i>Canzonette, Arie & Madrigali</i> [...], 3-4 v., Ricciardo Amadino, Venezia 1599	'My most illustrious lord', Agostino Ceruti	Bargnani describes himself as of Brescia.	B-1	M-47; N-11
17	<i>Il primo libro de madrigali</i> [...], 5 v., Angelo Gardano, Venezia 1601	Giorgio Marin, bishop of Brescia, duke, marchese, count		A/B-1	M-49

Serial Number	Publication	Dedicatee-Honoree	Composer Attributes Other Information	Type	Notes
	BERTANI, LELIO				
18	<i>Il primo libro de madrigali</i> [...], 5 v., Pietro Maria Marchetti, Brescia 1584	Marc' Antonio Martinengo, count of Villachiara, knight of san Michele, 'my most revered lord'	Bertani describes himself as <i>maestro della musica</i> of the cathedral of Brescia.	B-1	M-63; N-12
19	<i>Il primo libro de madrigali</i> [...], 6 v., Angelo Gardano, Venezia 1585; repr. 1607	[Alfonso II d'Este], duke of Ferrara (noted patron of the arts and letters)	Bertani describes himself as <i>maestro della musica</i> of the cathedral of Brescia.	B-2	M-66
20	<i>Madrigali spirituali a tre voci</i> [...], 3 v., Vincenzo Sabbio, Brescia 1585. [12 madrigals by Bertani & 11 by Costanzo Antegnati]	The Jesuits of Sant' Antonio in Brescia	Bertani describes himself as <i>maestro della musica</i> of the cathedral of Brescia.	A-3	M-69; N-13
	BONAVENTURA DA BRESCIA				
21	<i>Breviloquium musicale or Regula musicae planae</i> , Angelo Britannico, Brescia 1497 [Gregorian chant tutor]; 20 later editions to 1550 as <i>Regula musicae planae</i> or <i>Breviloquium musicale</i> , printed in Brescia, Legnano, Milan & Venice	Reverend father frate Marco de Duchis, most exalted member of the Friars Minor (Franciscan) in Milan (perhaps provincial of the order)	Bonaventura describes himself as a Franciscan in the convent of San Francesco of Brescia.	A-1	M-117, 121
	CANALE, FLORIANO				
22	<i>Psalmodia</i> [...] <i>vesperarum</i> [...], 4 v., Eredi di Girolamo Scotto, Venezia 1575 [includes Compline, Marian Antiphons & Hymns]	Don Giacomo Lebetio de Ferrara, canon regular of St. Augustine of the community of San Salvatore [mother house in Venice]	Canale describes himself as of the same order, in the community of S. P. D. [San Giovanni Evangelista in Brescia]	A-4	M-179; N-14
23	<i>Harmonica officia in Triduo Dominicae Passionis</i> [...] <i>cum passionis</i> [...] <i>vocibus paribus</i> , 4 v., Angelo Gardano, Venezia 1579 [Easter Triduum Office, Lamentations & Antiphons, 2 Passions; <i>voci pari</i> performance requires transposed Tenor]	Augustino Azzanio di Bologna, prior general of the [Augustinian] congregation of San Salvatore [the Venetian mother house].	Canale describes himself as Brescian at the cathedral of Gubbio, and as an organist (<i>modulatore</i>).	A-1	M-183

Serial Number	Publication	Dedicatee-Honoree	Composer Attributes Other Information	Type	Notes
24	<i>Sacrae cantiones quae vulgo Motecta dicuntur</i> [...] <i>organorum accommodatae</i> [...], 4 v., Vincenzo Sabbio, Brescia 1581 [Motets]	Raffaello Campionio, of the community of San Salvatore.	Canale describes himself as Brescian, organist [S. Gio. Ev.]	A-4	M-185
25	<i>Missae, introitus, ac motecta</i> [...] <i>organorum accommodatae</i> [...], 4 v., Tomaso Bozzola, Brescia 1588	Giovanni Fontana, protonotary, archpriest & nuncio of the duke [Alfonso II d'Este] of Ferrara.	Canale describes himself as Brescian, organist [S. Gio. Ev.]	A-2	M-187
26	<i>Canzoni da sonare</i> [...] <i>Libro primo</i> , 4 & 8 v., Giacomo Vincenti, Venezia 1600	'My most worthy lord' count Alessandro Bevilacqua [of Verona, founder of the <i>Accademia musicale 'Ridotto'</i> of Brescia].	Canale describes himself as Brescian, organist [S. Gio. Ev.]	B-2	M-188; N-15
27	<i>Ricercari di tutti li tuoni con una battaglia</i> [...], 4 v. (one 8 v.), Giacomo Vincenti, Venezia 1601	'My most worthy lord' count Carlo Capriolo.	Canale describes himself as Brescian, organist [S. Gio. Ev.]	B-1	M-190; N-16
28	<i>Canzonette</i> , 3 v., Giacomo Vincenti, Venezia 1601	Lord Lodovico Rattoni of Asola.	Canale describes himself as Brescian, organist [S. Gio. Ev.]	B-1	M-193
29	<i>Sacrae Cantiones</i> [...], 5 v., Giacomo Vincenti, Venezia 1602 [Motets]	Alfonso Paleotti, archbishop of Bologna.	Canale describes himself as organist at the church of San Giovanni Evangelista in Brescia.	A-2	M-194; N-17
30	<i>Sacrae Cantiones</i> [...] <i>Liber primus</i> [...], 6 v., Giacomo Vincenti, Venezia 1603 [Motets]	Marino Giorgio, bishop of Brescia.	Canale describes himself as organist at the church of San Giovanni Evangelista in Brescia.	A/B-1	M-196
	CONTINO, GIOVANNI				
31	<i>Il primo libro de' madrigali</i> [...], 5 v., Girolamo Scotto, Venezia 1560	Lady Barbara Calini [a Brescian noblewoman active in the cultural community]	Contino describes himself as <i>maestro della musica</i> of the cathedral of Brescia.	B-1	M-244; N-18

Serial Number	Publication	Dedicatee-Honoree	Composer Attributes Other Information	Type	Notes
32	<i>Madrigali</i> . 4 v. 2 books lost, dates unknown	The first of these lost books also dedicated to Barbara Calini [cited in dedication above]	[composer attributes unknown]	B-1	
33	<i>Madrigali</i> . 5 v. lost, date unknown	[presumably the second book of five-voice madrigals]	[composer attributes unknown]		
34	<i>Introitus e haleluita</i> [...], 5 v., Girolamo Scotto, Venezia 1560	Domenico Bollano, <i>praesultus</i> of Brescia.	Contino describes himself as <i>magister capellae</i> of the cathedral of Brescia, and as Brescia's most pledged client.	A/B-1	M-233; N-19
35	<i>Modulationum</i> [...], <i>liber primus</i> , 5 v., Girolamo Scotto, Venezia 1560 [Motets]	Cristoforo Madruzzo, cardinal & prince-bishop of Trento & Bressanone.	Contino describes himself as <i>magister</i> of the cathedral of Brescia.	A-2	M-238; N-20
36	<i>Modulationum</i> [...], <i>liber secundus</i> , 5 v., Girolamo Scotto, Venezia 1560 [Motets]	Cardinal Otto Truchsess (Othone Truxio), high steward of Waldsburg, bishop of Augsburg & friend of Madruzzo.	Contino describes himself as <i>magister</i> of the cathedral of Brescia & the cardinal's most humble & dedicated client.	A-2	M-241; N-21
37	<i>Modulationum</i> [...], <i>liber primus</i> , 6 v., Girolamo Scotto, Venezia 1560 [Motets]	Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria.	Contino describes himself as <i>magister</i> of the cathedral of Brescia & the duke's most dedicated servant.	B-2	M-243; N-22
38	<i>Missarum</i> [...] <i>liber primus</i> [...], 4 v., Girolamo Scotto, Venezia 1561	Cristoforo Madruzzo, cardinal-bishop of Trento, administrator of [the diocese] of Bressanone	Contino describes himself as <i>moderatore</i> of the Brescia cathedral choir & Madruzzo's most humble & dedicated client.	A-2	M-226; N-23
39	<i>Threni Jeremiae</i> [...], 5 v., Girolamo Scotto, Venezia 1561 [Lamentations]	The college of canons of the cathedral of Brescia.	Contino describes himself as master of the choir of the cathedral of Brescia, and as the canons' most dedicated client.	A-3	M-228

Serial Number	Publication	Dedicatee-Honoree	Composer Attributes Other Information	Type	Notes
40	<i>Hymni per totum annum</i> [...], 4 v., Girolamo Scotti, Venezia 1561	The college of canons of the cathedral of Brescia.	Contino describes himself as choirmaster of Brescia cathedral & the canons' most dedicated client.	A-3	M-235
41	<i>Magnificat liber primus</i> , 5 v., Francesco Rossi, Ferrara 1571	Guglielmo [Gonzaga], duke of Mantua	[no composer attributes]	B-2	M-237; N-24
42	<i>Missae</i> [...], 5 v. Paolo Gottardo Pontio (Ponzio), Milano 1573	Antonio Londonio (president of the Revenue Department of Milan under Phillip II of Spain)	[no composer attributes]	B-2	M-227; N-25
43	<i>Threni Jeremiae</i> [...], 5 v., Tomaso Bozzola, Brescia 1588 [Lamentations]	[no dedication]	[no composer attributes]	—	M-230
	FALCONIO, PLACIDO				
44	<i>Introitus & Alleluia</i> [...], 5 v., Figli di Antonio Gardano, Venezia 1575	Giulio Feltrè della Rovere of Urbino, cardinal and bishop of Sabino, archbishop of Ravenna, duke of Sore and Arco.	Falconio describes himself as Asulan.	A/B-2	M-253; N-26
45	<i>Psalmodia vespertinae</i> [...] <i>Tum plena tum pari voce</i> [...], 4 v., Vincenzo Sabbio, Brescia 1579	Juris cons. Tranquillo Soldo, canon of Brescia	Falconio describes himself as Asulan.	A-2	M-262
46	<i>Turbarum voces</i> [...] <i>Tum plena tum pari voce</i> [...], 4 v., Vincenzo Sabbio, Brescia 1580 [<i>Turba</i> portions of Holy Week passions; singable by <i>voci pari</i> , if Cantus transposed an octave down]	The Cassinate (Cassinense, Benedictine) fathers	Falconio describes himself as a monk of Cassino, Euphemiano (the Benedictine community of Sant' Euphemia of Brescia).	A-3	M-255; N-27
47	<i>Voces Christi</i> [...], 3 v., Vincenzo Sabbio, Brescia 1580 [<i>Vox Christi</i> sections of Holy Week passions, set polyphonically]	The Cassinate (Cassinense, Benedictine) fathers	Falconio describes himself as a monk of Cassino, Euphemiano.	A-3	M-256

Serial Number	Publication	Dedicatee-Honoree	Composer Attributes Other Information	Type	Notes
48	<i>Sacra responsoria hebdomadae sanctae [...] tum plena tum pari voce [...]</i> , 4 v., Vincenzo Sabbio, Brescia 1580 [singable by <i>voci pari</i> , if Cantus transposed an octave down]	The Cassinate (Cassinese, Benedictine) fathers	Falconio describes himself as a monk of Cassino, Euphemiano.	A-3	M-257
49	<i>Threni Hieremiae prophetae una cum psalmis benedictus et miserere [...]</i> <i>tum plena tum pari voce [...]</i> , 4 v., Vincenzo Sabbio, Brescia 1580 [Lamentations & Tenebrae music for Holy Week; singable by <i>voci pari</i> , if Cantus transposed an octave down]	The Cassinate (Cassinese, Benedictine) fathers	Falconio describes himself as a <i>moderator</i> (director of the choir?) of Sant' Euphemia of Brescia.	A-3	M-260
50	<i>Magnificat octo tonorum [...]</i> <i>paribus vocibus [...]</i> , 4 v., Angelo Gardano, Venezia 1588	The Virgin Mother of God	Falconio describes himself as Asulan.	D	M-263
	LANFRANCO, GIOVANNI MARIA				
51	<i>Scintille di Musica</i> , Lodovico Britannico, Brescia 1533 [music pedagogy & theory]	Master Bartolomeo Maschera of Brescia, scholar of Latin letters, friend, and lover of music, grammar master at the cathedral school of Brescia (father of Fiorenzo Maschera, see below).	Lanfranco describes himself as from Terenzo Parmigiano.	C-2	M-359
	[MARTINENGO, GABRIELE]				
52	<i>Madrigali a quattro voci a misura di breve</i> , Girolamo Scotto, Venezia 1544	Count Gian Girolamo Albano, whose estates lay near the river Oglio, border with Brescia		B-1	N-28
53	<i>Secondo libro de li madrigali [...]</i> , 4 v. Girolamo Scotto, Venezia 1548	Count Giovanni Trivulzio		B-2	N-29

Serial Number	Publication	Dedicatee-Honoree	Composer Attributes Other Information	Type	Notes
	MASCHERA, FIRENZE				
54	<i>Libro primo de canzoni da sonare</i> [...] 4 v., Vincenzo Sabbio, Brescia 1584 (3rd ed., 1st surviving); Ricciardo Amadino, Venezia 1588; Angelo Gardano, Venezia 1593; Eredi di Francesco & Simone Tini, Milano 1596; Giacomo Vincenti, Venezia 1604; others to 1621	'My most worthy lord' Antonio Maria Uggerio.	Maschera describes himself as organist of the cathedral of Brescia and Uggerio's most devoted servant.	B-1	M-642-652; N-30
	MORSOLINO, ANTONIO				
55	<i>L'amorosa Ero</i> , Vincenzo Sabbio, Brescia 1588 [an anthology of madrigals by various composers]	Commissioned by count Marc' Antonio Martinengo of Villachiara (3 km. east of the Oglio)		B-1	N-31
	MORTARO, ANTONIO				
56	<i>Fiamelle amorose, libro primo</i> , 3 v., Ricciardo Amadino, Venezia 1594 (& 1602) [Canzonette]	'My most worthy lord' Scipione Capitani. Published on the advice (council) of Costanzo Antegnato.	Mortaro describes himself as Capitani's most affectionate servant.	B-1	M-655, 657; N-32
57	<i>Fiamelle amorose, libro secondo</i> , 3 v., Ricciardo Amadino, Venezia 1590 (& 1594 & 1599 & 1602) [Canzonette]	'My most worthy lord' Teodosio Secco.	Mortaro describes himself as Secco's most affectionate servant.	B-1	M-658-661; N-33
58	<i>Fiamelle amorose, libro terzo</i> , 3 v., Ricciardo Amadino, Venezia 1592 (& 1596) [Canzonette]	Marchese Erasmo Malvicino, governor of Brescia. Published at the urging of Tomaso Bozzola.	Mortaro describes himself as Malvicino's most devoted servant.	B-1	M-662, 663
59	<i>Fiamelle amorose, libro quarto</i> , 3 v., Ricciardo Amadino, Venezia 1596 [Canzonette]	'My most worthy lord' Alfonso Montini.		B-1	M-664; N-34
60	<i>Missae, Motecta, Cantica, liber secundus</i> , Ricciardo Amadino, Venezia 1595 [Masses (2), motets & magnificats (2) for 2 choirs, 8 & 12 v.]	Reverend Marco Natali of Crema, Franciscan of Milan.		A-4	M-666

Serial Number	Publication	Dedicatee-Honoree	Composer Attributes Other Information	Type	Notes
61	<i>Sacrae cantiones</i> , 3 v., Eredi di Simone Tini & Giovanni Francesco Bisutio (Besozzi), Milano 1592 [Motets]	Lord Amadeo Puteo, count of Ponderano and Reano (1st edition); To organists (3rd edition)	Mortaro describes himself as Puteo's most humble servant.	B-2	M-668, 670, 671; N-35
62	<i>Sacrae cantiones</i> , 3 v., Ricciardo Amadino, Venezia 1603. Reissue (or pirate) of above title, with 6 additional motets, including some by other composers (Ludovico Cornali, Lucrezio Venturi); reprint by Amadino of 1603 version with basso ad organum in 1606 and again in 1610.	[no dedication]		—	M-670
	Mortaro's later publications omitted because he had left Brescia.				
	NERITI, VINCENZO				
	Neriti's early publications omitted because he was outside Brescian territory.				
63	<i>Di Vincenzo Neriti da Salò</i> [...], <i>il secondo libro di canzonette</i> , 4 v. (& 2 of 8 vv.), Angelo Gardano, Venezia 1595	Marchese Pallavicino, 'my most singular patron'	Neriti describes himself as <i>maestro di cappella</i> at Salò (Brescian territory).	B-1	M-704; N-36
64	<i>Di Vincenzo Neriti da Salò</i> [...], <i>il terzo libro di canzonette</i> , 4 v. (& 1 of 8 v. & a dialog of 7 v.), Angelo Gardano, Venezia 1599	Antonio Maria Uggieri	Neriti describes himself as <i>maestro di cappella</i> at the major church of Salò.	B-1	M-706; N-37
	PARATICO, GIULIANO				
65	<i>Canzonette</i> , 3 v., Pietro Maria Marchetti, Brescia n.d. [includes 2 <i>canzonette</i> by Lelio Bertani]	Countess Barbara Maria Gambara.		B-1	M-720; N-38
66	<i>Canzonette</i> [...], <i>libro secondo</i> , 3 v., Pietro Maria Marchetti, Brescia 1588. [All <i>canzonette</i> have dedications; 10 of 22 to members of the Martinengo family]	Giovanni Francesco Morosini, 'my most revered patron'		B-2	M-721; N-39

Serial Number	Publication	Dedicatee-Honoree	Composer Attributes Other Information	Type	Notes
	RICCIO, TEODORO				
	Riccio's early publications omitted because he was outside Brescian territory.				
67	<i>Sacrarum cantionum, quae vulgo motecta appellant</i> , 5, 6 & 8 v. Tomaso Bozzola, Brescia 1588; earlier German edition, Nürnberg, Montanus, 1576.	Rev. D. Aurelio Porcellaga/Portulaca, jurisdctor, 'most revered patron'	Riccio describes himself as <i>maestro di cappella</i> of San Nazaro in Brescia.	B-1	M-763; N-40
68	<i>Di Theodor Riccio</i> [...] <i>Il primo libro di madrigali</i> , 5 v., Antonio Gardano, Venezia 1567	Count Alfonso Capreolo, 'my lord'	Riccio describes himself as <i>maestro di cappella</i> of San Nazaro in Brescia.	B-1	M-766; N-41
69	<i>Di Theodoro Riccio</i> [...] <i>Il primo libro di madrigali</i> , 6, 7, 8 & 12 v., Antonio Gardano, Venezia 1567	Monsignor Vincenzo Gonzaga, prior of Barletta, 'my most worthy lord'	Riccio describes himself as <i>maestro di cappella</i> of San Nazaro in Brescia.	B-2	M-767; N-42

Table 2 - 16th-Century Music Prints Associated with Bergamo

Serial Number	Publication	Dedicatee-Honoree	Composer Attributes Other Information	Type	Notes
	AARON (ARON), PIETRO				
70	<i>Lucidario in Musica</i> , Girolamo Scotto, Venezia 1545. [Music theory text]	Count Fortunato Martinengo	Aaron describes himself as Florentine and <i>crossachitero</i> (order of crossbearers or crutched friars)	B-1	N-43
71	<i>Compendio di molti dubbi</i> [...], Giovanni Antonio da Castellano, Milano after 1545 [Music theory text]	Monsignor Traiano [Alicorni] de San Celso, 'honored patron'	Probably posthumous. Title page inscribed: "In memoria eterna erit Aron."	B-2	N-44
	ALBERTI, GASPARO				
72	<i>Il primo libro delle messe</i> [...], 4-6 v., Girolamo Scotto, Venezia 1549	Count Gian Girolamo Albano, whose estates lay near the river Oglio, border with Brescia	First publication entirely devoted to the masses of a single Italian composer.	B-1	ET-36; N-45
	BIFETTO, FRANCESCO				
73	<i>Madrigali a quatro voci libro primo</i> [...], 4 v., Antonio Gardano, Venezia 1547	Count Rogerio Calepio, also having estates near the Brescian border at the river Oglio.		B-1	ET-17; N-46
74	<i>Il secondo libro di madrigali a quatro voci</i> [...], 4-6 v., Antonio Gardano, Venezia 1548	Count Rogerio Calepio		B-1	ET-17; N-47
	CAVACCIO, GIOVANNI				
75	<i>Missae</i> , 5 & 7 v., Angelo Gardano, Venezia 1580	Canons of San Vincenzo & Sant' Alessandro, both chapters of the cathedral of Bergamo	Cavaccio describes himself as prefect of music (<i>maestro di capella</i>) at the cathedral of Bergamo.	A-3	ET-23; N-48

Serial Number	Publication	Dedicatee-Honoree	Composer Attributes Other Information	Type	Notes
76	<i>Magnificat omnitonum</i> , 4 v., Angelo Gardano, Venezia 1581	Regents (council members) of the Misericordia Maggiore, governing council of the basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore in Bergamo (dedication date 15 June 1581)	Cavaccio describes himself as prefect of music at the cathedral of Bergamo.	A-3	ET-25; N-49
77	<i>Liber secundus Magnificat omnitonum</i> , 4 v., Angelo Gardano, Venezia 1582	Gerolamo Ragazzoni, bishop of Bergamo (dedication date 1 August 1581)	Cavaccio describes himself as prefect of music at the cathedral of Bergamo.	A-1	ET-25; N-50
78	<i>Libro primo di madrigali a cinque voci</i> , 5 v., Angelo Gardano, Venezia 1583	Giulio Secco Suardo, lord of Monasca	Cavaccio describes himself as <i>maestro di capella</i> at the cathedral of Bergamo.	B-1	ET-27; N-51
79	<i>Primus [Secundus] chorus psalmorum [...] vespertinis</i> , 2 choirs, 8 v., Angelo Gardano, Venezia 1585 [for the whole year with Gloria Patri in congruent tones]	Gerolamo Campiono, pastor of the parish of San Martino in Sarnico [BG]	Cavaccio describes himself as prefect of music of the major church (cathedral) of Bergamo.	A-2	ET-24; N-52
80	<i>Musica a cinque voci</i> , 5 v., Angelo Gardano, Venezia 1585	Carlo Emanuel, duke of Savoy (the frontispiece contains his coat of arms.)	Cavaccio describes himself as <i>maestro di capella</i> at the cathedral of Bergamo.	B-2	ET-27; N-53
81	<i>Litanie</i> , 2 choirs, 8 v., Angelo Gardano, Venezia 1587 [in 2 modes, with a Pange lingua]	Confraternity of the gonfalone of Bergamo	Cavaccio describes himself as <i>maestro di capella</i> at the cathedral of Bergamo.	A-3	ET-26; N-54
82	<i>Musica</i> , 4 v., [Ricciardo Amadino], Venezia 1588, 1597 [Instrumental canzoni, some with texts, fantasias, dances]	The illustrious lord and my most worthy patron, lord Camillo Nicolini	Cavaccio describes himself as Nicolini's heartfelt servant; dedication written in Bergamo.	B-1,2	ET-28; N-55
83	<i>Canzonette</i> , 3 v., Ricciardo Amadino, Venezia 1592	The illustrious lord Giovanni Battista Agosti		B-1	ET-28; N-56
84	<i>Missae quattuor pro defunctis</i> , 4 & 5 v., Ricciardo Amadino, Venezia 1593 [singable also by <i>voci pari</i> and including litanies, motets & <i>falsi bordoni</i> appropriate for funerals]	Giacomo Cavallo, priest of the cathedral of Brescia	Cavaccio describes himself as <i>maestro di capella</i> at the cathedral of Bergamo.	A-4	ET-23

Serial Number	Publication	Dedicatee-Honoree	Composer Attributes Other Information	Type	Notes
85	<i>Motetti</i> [...], 4, 5, 6, 8 & 12 v., Ricciardo Amadino, Venezia 1596	No dedication or dedication unknown	—	—	ET-26
86	<i>Il sesto libro di madrigali a cinque voci</i> , 5 v., Angelo Gardano, Venezia 1599	Achille Alessandri	Cavaccio describes himself as <i>maestro di cappella</i> at Santa Maria Maggiore of Bergamo.	B-1	ET-27; N-57
87	<i>Hinni correnti in tutti i tempo dell' anno</i> [...], 4 v., Giacomo Vincenti, Venezia 1605	Knight Bartolomeo Fini, 'my most revered lord'	Cavaccio describes himself as <i>maestro di cappella</i> at Santa Maria Maggiore of Bergamo.	B-2	ET-25; N-58
88	<i>Messe per i defunti</i> , 4 & 5 v., Eredi di Simon Tini & Filippo Lomazzo, Milano 1611 [singable also by <i>voci pari</i> and including motets appropriate for funerals]	Marc' Antonio Belviso, vicar general of the Carmelite congregation of Mantua.	Cavaccio describes himself as <i>maestro di cappella</i> in Santa Maria Maggiore of Bergamo and of the <i>Accademia degli Elevati</i> of Florence.	A-2	ET-23; N-59
	PONZIO, PIETRO				
89	<i>Missarum</i> [...] <i>liber primus</i> [...], 4 v., Erede di Girolamo Scotto, Venezia 1584 [possibly a reprint of pre-1572 edition]	No dedication survives.	Ponzio's first book of 4-v. masses was probably composed during his second tenure in Bergamo, at Sant' Alessandro in Colonna. The 1584 edition may be the third.	—	ET-115; N-60
	SAVIOLI, ALESSANDRO				
90	<i>Madrigali</i> [...] <i>Libro secondo</i> , 5 v., Ricciardo Amadino, Venezia 1597	Alessandro Agliardi	Savioli describes himself as <i>maestro di cappella</i> in Sant' Alessandro in Bergamo.	B-1	ET-120; N-61
91	<i>Salmi intieri</i> , 5 v., Ricciardo Amadino, Venezia 1597	Lady Flavia Gromella Benaglia, abbess, and her sisters of the [Benedictine] convent of Santa Grata in Bergamo	Savioli describes himself as <i>maestro di capella</i> in Sant' Alessandro in Bergamo.	A-2,3; B-1	ET-121; N-62

Serial Number	Publication	Dedicatee-Honoree	Composer Attributes Other Information	Type	Notes
92	<i>Madrigali</i> [...] <i>Libro terzo</i> , 5 v., Ricciardo Amadino, Venezia 1600	Nicolò Barile	Savioli describes himself as <i>maestro di capella</i> in Sant' Alessandro in Bergamo.	B-1	ET-121; N-63
	VINCI, PIETRO				
93	<i>Di Pietro Vinci siciliano</i> [...] <i>Il terzo libro di madrigali a cinque voci</i> [...], 5 v., Girolamo Scotto, Venezia 1571; Eredi di Girolamo Scotto, Venezia 1579	Antonio Londonio, president of the revenue department of Milan under Phillip II of Spain	Vinci describes himself as <i>maestro di capella</i> at Santa Maria Maggiore of Bergamo.	B-2	ET-129; N-64
94	<i>Di Pietro Vinci siciliano</i> [...] <i>Il primo libro di madrigali a sei voci</i> [...], 6 v., Girolamo Scotto, Venezia 1571; Eredi di Girolamo Scotto, Venezia 1583	Ottavio Farnese, duke of Parma	Vinci describes himself as <i>maestro di capella</i> in the city of Bergamo.	B-2	ET-130; N-65
95	<i>Di Pietro Vinci siciliano</i> [...] <i>Il secondo libro de motetti</i> , 5 v., Girolamo Scotto, Venezia 1572	Regents (council members) of the Misericordia Maggiore	Vinci describes himself as <i>maestro di capella</i> at Santa Maria Maggiore of Bergamo.	A-3	ET-127; N-66
96	<i>Di Pietro Vinci siciliano</i> [...] <i>Il quarto libro di madrigali a cinque voci</i> , 5 v., Eredi di Girolamo Scotto, Venezia 1573, 1583	Antonello Arcimboldi, apostolic protonotary and royal governor of Milan	Vinci describes himself as <i>maestro di capella</i> at Santa Maria Maggiore of Bergamo.	B-2	ET-130; N-67
97	<i>Petri Vinci siculi nicosiensis</i> [...] <i>missarum</i> [...] <i>liber primus</i> , 5, 6 & 8 v., Eredi di Girolamo Scotto, Venezia 1575	Antonello Arcimboldi, apostolic protonotary and royal governor of Milan	Vinci describes himself as <i>maestro di capella</i> at Santa Maria Maggiore of Bergamo.	B-2	ET-128;
98	<i>Petri Vinci siculi nicosiensis</i> [...] <i>motetorum</i> [...] <i>liber primus</i> , 4 v., Eredi di Girolamo Scotto, Venezia 1578	Giacomo Contarini, praetor (<i>podestà</i>) of the city of Bergamo	Vinci describes himself as <i>maestro di capella</i> at Santa Maria Maggiore of Bergamo.	B-1,2	ET-128; N-68
99	<i>Di Pietro Vinci siciliano</i> [...] <i>Il secondo libro di madrigali a sei voci</i> [...], 6 v. Eredi di Girolamo Scotto, Venezia 1579; 1583 [includes a dialog for 12 v.]	Antonio Londonio, president of the revenue department of Milan under Phillip II of Spain	One of 4 madrigal books dedicated to Londonio	B-2	ET-131; N-69

Serial Number	Publication	Dedicatee-Honoree	Composer Attributes Other Information	Type	Notes
100	<i>Quattordici sonetti spirituali</i> [...], 5 v., Eredi di Girolamo Scotto, Venezia 1580	Lady Vittoria Colonna, marchesa di Pescara, most illustrious lady and my patron; Vittoria Colonna was also the author of the texts.	Vinci describes himself as <i>maestro di capella</i> at Santa Maria Maggiore of Bergamo.	B-2	ET-128; N-70
	ZINNERONI, AGOSTINO				
101	Agostino Zimmermani bergomensis [...] <i>Beatae Virginis cantica, sacraeque cantiones vulgo motecta appellatae</i> [...], 8 v., Ricciardo Amadino, Venezia 1599 [Magnificats & motets for voices or any types of instruments]	Nicolò Barile	Zinneroni describes himself as prefect of music at the cathedral of Bergamo.	B-1	ET-133; N-71

Notes for Tables 1 and 2

- * *Grande atlante geografico d'Europa e d'Italia*, Novara 1995, published by *Corriere della sera* in fascicles during my 1994-95 sojourn in Bergamo, has been indispensable for identifying places not found in English language atlases.
- N-1 San Vincenzo is a prepositural church (of the provost) in the village of Calcinato, 18 km east southeast of the city of Brescia. The medieval church known to Adorno was going to ruin, but its rebuilding was begun only in 1790; during the construction, which was prolonged by the death of the architect and economic difficulties attending the Napoleonic era, the parish functions and title of San Vincenzo were translated to a parish subsidiary church of the Visitation. See C. BASTA - M.M. TONELLI, *I tesori di Calcinato: luoghi e oggetti nella storia di un territorio*, BAMS, Montichiari (BS) 2003, pp. 9-12, 103-104.
- N-2 Paola Ludovica Torelli (1499-1569), countess of Guastalla, a small territory 31 km northeast of Parma. A widow after the death of her second husband, Andrea Martinengo, at the age of 29, she sold her fief to Ferrante Gonzaga, retired to a convent in Milan, and devoted her patrimony to works of charity. See *Torelli Paola Ludovica*, in *LombardiaBeniCulturali*, <http://www.lombardiabeniculturali.it/archivi/soggetti-produttori/persona/MIDC000156/>, consulted 25/1/14. See also M.S. LEWIS, *Antonio Gardano, Venetian Music Printer: 1538-1569*, 3 vols., Garland - New York 1988-2005, III, p. 153.
- N-3 M. BIZZARINI, *Luca Marenzio: The Career of a Musician Between the Renaissance and the Counter-Reformation*, trans. J. Chater, Ashgate, Aldershot 2003, p. 4, notes that cardinal Luigi d'Este was a noted music lover and also patron of Luca Marenzio from 1580.
- N-4 Durandi may be an alternate spelling of Duranti, a family originating in Palazzolo sull'Oglio, 26 km west-southwest of Brescia on (the Brescian side of) the Oglio river, the border with Bergamo, 10 km from Martinengo. See A.A. MONTI DELLA CORTE, *Le famiglie del patriziato Bresciano*, Tipo-lito Geroldi, Brescia 1960, pp. 35, 38.
- N-5 Guglielmo Gonzaga (1538-1587) an enthusiastic patron of music, corresponded extensively with Palestrina. Very devout, he successfully negotiated a unique liturgical rite for Mantua. See I. FENLON, s.v. *Gonzaga, Guglielmo*, in *New Grove*², 10, pp. 140-141 (with bibliography).
- N-6 L. MAZZUCCO, *Il Primo e il Secondo Libro delle Messe di Costanzo Antegnati (edizione critica)*, tesi di laurea in Musicologia, University of Pavia, Faculty of Musicology, Cremona 1996, p. 101. Although described at this time as an Augustinian, a Teodoro Qualea described as a Carmelite preached and published *An Oration for Actions of Grace* to the Mantuan chapter of the Carmelites in 1616 (*Oratio pro gratiarum actione a comitiis generalibus a tota Congregatione Mantuana Ordinis Carmelitarum Novellariae celebratis, die tertia Maij anno Domini MDCXVI*, Apud Flaminium Barcholum, 1616), and another in 1625. There were many affinities between the two orders, as described in F. ANDREWS, *The Other Friars: The Carmelite, Augustinian, Sack and Pied Friars in the Middle Ages (Monastic Orders)*, Boydell, Rochester (NY) 2006; and A. JOTISCHKY, *The Carmelites and Antiquity: Mendicant Orders and their Pasts in the Middle Ages*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2002.
- N-7 San Giovanni in Viridario (Verdara) was a church of Lateran Canons in Padua.
- N-8 Santa Giulia was an ancient and prestigious house of Benedictine nuns in Brescia. For useful information on the very large bibliography see M.T. ROSA BAREZZANI, *Annotazioni intorno al Monastero di San Salvatore/Santa Giulia di Brescia e lettura del responsorio «Multa egerunt iudei» del codice Queriniano G. VI. 7*, Ateneo di Brescia, Brescia 2006, pp. 73-77; see also *Der Memorial- und Liturgiecodex von San Salvatore/Santa Giulia in Brescia*, hrsg. von D. Geuenich und U. Ludwig, Hahnsche Buchhandlung, Hannover 2000 (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Libri Memoriales et Necrologia Nova Series IV*); *Musica e liturgie nel medioevo bresciano (secoli XI-XV)*, atti dell'incontro nazionale di studio (Brescia, 3-4 aprile 2008), a cura di M.T. Rosa Barezzani e R. Tibaldi, Fondazione Civiltà Bresciana, Brescia 2009 (particularly R. TIBALDI, *L'ufficio liturgico di santa Giulia*

- [*Graduale-Breviario*, cod. Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Canon. Lit. 366, sec. XI], pp. 133-190 and G. BERGAMASCHI, *Il carme “Ergo, p̄i fratres” e gli inni per santa Giulia*, pp. 191-248).
- N-9 MAZZUCCO, *Il Primo e il Secondo Libro delle Messe di Costanzo Antegnati*.
- N-10 San Vittore is a former Benedictine convent in Meda, Monza province, about 20 km north of the center of Milan.
- N-11 MONTI DELLA CORTE, *Le famiglie*, pp. 102-103, lists the Ceruti as an ancient family of the Brescian patriciate.
- N-12 Martinengo is a village on the Bergamo side of the river Oglio, the border between Bergamo and Brescia. One of the region’s most powerful noble families, the Martinengos had holdings on both sides and were members of the patriciates of both cities. Villachiarà is an estate 3 km east of the river Oglio border, on the Brescian side of the river. See MONTI DELLA CORTE, *Le famiglie*, pp. 43 and 51-52; also P. CAVALIERI, “*Qui sunt Guelfi et partiales nostri*”: *Comunità, patriziato e fazioni a Bergamo fra il XV e XVI secolo*, UNICOPLI, Milano 2008, pp. 75 and 27. P. GUERRINI, *Una celebre famiglia lombarda: I conti di Martinengo*, Tipolitografia F.lli Geroldi, Brescia 1930, is the most complete study of the family and its numerous branches.
- N-13 A. CAMMARANO LANFRANCHI, *Bertani, Lelio*, in DBI, 9 (1967), pp. 461-462.
- N-14 R. BRAGANTINI, *Canali (Canale, Canalis), Floriano*, in DBI, 17 (1974), pp. 702-703; I. FENLON, s.v. *Canale [Canali, Canalis], Floriano*, in *New Grove*², 4, pp. 920-921; see also R. CROSATTI - O. MISCHIATI - L. SALVETTI, *La vita musicale in S. Giovanni Evangelista*, Parrocchia di S. Giovanni Evangelista, Brescia 1994.
- N-15 FENLON, *Canale [Canali, Canalis], Floriano*.
- N-16 MONTI DELLA CORTE, *Le famiglie*, pp. 27, 30-31, lists the Caprioli as an ancient family of the Brescian patriciate.
- N-17 TH. DE WESSELOW, *The Sign: The Shroud of Turin and the Secret of the Resurrection*, Viking, New York 2012, ch. 2, notes that Lodovico [recte Alfonso] Paleotti also wrote a lengthy treatise on the shroud of Turin in 1598 (A. PALEOTTI, *Esplicatione del lenzuolo, ove fu involto il Signore, et delle piaghe in esso impresse*, eredi di Giovanni Rossi, Bologna 1598).
- N-18 In the introduction to G. CONTINO, *Il primo libro de' madrigali a cinque voci (1560)*, ed. a c. di R. Vettori, Suvini Zerboni, Milano 1987 (Monumenti musicali italiani, 13), p. IX and n. 19, Vettori notes that Laura Calini married Ottavio Martinengo. One madrigal honors Bartolomeo Arnigo, a founder of the Accademia degli Occulti of Brescia. Lucia Albana, poet and daughter of Gian Gerolamo Albani of Bergamo, married to Faustino Avogadro of Brescia, was also associated with the Occulti. MONTI DELLA CORTE, *Le famiglie*, pp. 27, 29-30, lists the Calini as another ancient family of the Brescian patriciate. See also Marco Bizzarini’s study in this book.
- N-19 In the introduction to G. CONTINO, *Ioannis Contini Ecclesiae Cathedralis Brixiae Magistri Modulationum quinque vocum liber primus (Venice, Scotto, 1560)*, ed. by R. Sherr, Garland, New York 1994 (Sixteenth century motet, 25), p. XIV, Sherr suggests that the unusual title *praesulus* seems to refer to Bollana/Bollani’s position as newly-elected bishop of Brescia. It could also reflect his position as *Podestà* the previous year.
- N-20 Sherr, in his edition of Contino’s *Modulationum quinque vocum liber primus*, notes that the dedication to Christoforo Madruzzo, cardinal-bishop of Trento, suggests that these motets, like those in the other three *Modulationa* and the book of four-voice masses, stem from Contino’s years in Madruzzo’s employ in Trento during the Council, 1539/40-1551. This volume includes occasional works honoring Madruzzo, Robert de Croy, bishop of Cambrai, and the 1549 marriage of Francesco III Gonzaga, duke of Mantua, to Katharina von Hapsburg. Other motets honor Sts. Faustina and Giovita, patrons of Brescia. I. FENLON, s.v. *Contino, Giovanni*, in *New Grove*², 6, 344-345.
- N-21 Sherr (CONTINO, *Modulationum quinque vocum liber primus*) suggests that the dedication to cardinal Truchsess probably also stems from Contino’s Trento years.

- N-22 Sherr (CONTINO, *Modulationum quinque vocum liber primus*) suggests that the dedication to duke Albrecht probably also stems from Contino's Trento years.
- N-23 Modern edition: G. CONTINO, *Missarum quatuor vocum, liber primus (1561)*, ed. a cura di O. Beretta, Suvini Zerboni, Milano 1995 (Monumenti musicali italiani, 18). Again, Sherr (G. CONTINO, *Modulationum quinque vocum liber primus*) suggests that the dedication to Madruzzo indicates that these masses probably stem from Contino's years in Trento.
- N-24 FENLON, *Contino, Giovanni*, notes that Contino served as *maestro di cappella* at Santa Barbara in Mantua from 1561-1565.
- N-25 Modern edition: G. CONTINO, *Missae cum quinque vocibus, liber primus (1572)*, ed. a cura di O. Beretta, Suvini Zerboni, Milano 1997 (Monumenti musicali italiani, 20). Beretta notes in his Preface (p. VII, n. 3) that Londonio was also the dedicatee of four books of madrigals by Pietro Vinci and Ingegneri's third book of madrigals (M.A. INGEGNERI, *Il terzo libro de madrigali a cinque voci*, Angelo Gardano, Venezia 1580). Londonio was executed for various crimes 15 August 1598. Londonio was also a dedicatee of at least two other music prints by Pietro Vinci (see below).
- N-26 Asola is 40 km from Brescia, in Brescian territory, but actually closer to Mantua. Sabino is in the diocese of Rieti. Arco is just north of the Lago di Garda in the Sarca valley and the province of Trento. Sore is not in a modern atlas.
- N-27 I. FENLON, s.v. *Falconio [Falconi], Placido*, in *New Grove*², 8, p. 527, erroneously reads Falconio's statement that he was a monk of Cassino, Eufemiano, as indicating that Falconio joined the monastery of Monte Cassino. In fact, Falconio joined the Benedictine community of Sant' Eufemia in Brescia. Monte Cassino is the mother house of the Benedictine order, but since Benedictines take vows of Poverty, Chastity, Obedience and Stability, only obedience to an ecclesiastical superior would have induced Falconio to move from the Brescian house, which he does not seem to have done.
- N-28 J. BERNSTEIN, *Music Printing in Renaissance Venice: The Scotto Press (1539-1572)*, Oxford University Press, New York 1998, pp. 310-11. Gabriele Martinengo was also hired as *maestro di cappella* at the cathedral of Bergamo in 1541. See G. TOWNE, *Un paradigma musicale: Musica a Bergamo e nella Serenissima nel Cinquecento in Per una storia della cultura e della società a Bergamo: Indagini e percorsi nel Cinquecento e nel Seicento*, a cura di M. Mencaroni Zoppetti e C. Carlsmith, Officina dell'Ateneo digitale - Sestante, Bergamo 2013, note 49. This collection is an e-book, http://www.sestanteedizioni.com/new/index.php?pagename=product_info&products_id=486&osCsid=b612ae5e70bab3664d20568c088a1ce1. Martinengo has been traditionally associated with the Scuola degli accoliti in Verona, but his early employment in Bergamo and this dedication suggest a connection with the Martinengo family neighbors of Albani.
- N-29 BERNSTEIN, *Music Printing*, pp. 365-366. This may be the Milanese Giovanni Trivulzio who married Laura Gonzaga. Bernstein postulates that, coming the year after Martinengo's unsuccessful application to the Accademia filarmonica, this dedication might be a step towards seeking employment with the count, who unfortunately died one year later.
- N-30 Robert Judd, in F. MASCHERA, *Libro primo de canzoni [...] a quattro voci (Brescia, 1584)*, Garland, New York 1995 (Italian instrumental music of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, 9), p. XI, describes this book as «probably the most popular collection of instrumental canzonas to emerge from Italy in the sixteenth century». Judd continues (p. XII), «Maschera was the founder of a Brescian line of canzona composers which included Costanzo Antegnati, Ottavio Bargnani, Lodovico Berretta, Floriano Canale, Cesario Gussago, Pietro Lappi, and Antonio Mortaro». Interestingly, as Mischiati's catalog shows, the number of canzonas with names increases through the editions. The Bartolomeo Magni 1621 edition is the only one with all works named. Names of persons or places from Brescia or Bergamo include numbers 1. *La Capriola*, 2. *La Martinenga*, 3. *La Garda*, 4. *La Magni*, 12. *L'Uggiera*, 17. *La Cividina*, 18. *La Villachiara*, and 20. *La Foresta*. MONTI DELLA CORTE, *Le famiglie de patriziato Bresciano*, pp. 71, 76, lists the Uggieri as another family of ancient Brescian nobility, holding the castle of Milzanello, 22 km south of Brescia and 20 km from

- the Martinengo seat at Villachiara. (see also A. GNAGA, *Vocabolario Topografico-Toponomastico della Provincia di Brescia*, s.e., Brescia 1937, rist. 1981, p. 376).
- N-31 See above, n. 12. The Martinengos, one of the region's most powerful noble families, had holdings in both Bergamasque and Brescian territory and were members of the patriciates of both cities. As noted above, Villachiara is an estate on the Brescian side of the river Oglio. See MONTI DELLA CORTE, *Le famiglie*, pp. 43, 51-52; also CAVALIERI, "Qui sunt Guelfi [...]", pp. 75, 27. H. B. LINCOLN, in *The Madrigal Collection 'L'amorosa Ero' (Brescia, 1588)*, ed. by H.B. Lincoln, State University of New York Press, Albany (NY) 1968, pp. VII-VIII, notes that Martinengo wrote the poem, set it to music himself, then assigned it to Lelio Bertani and was so pleased by the result that he commissioned sixteen other composers to write madrigals on the same text. Lincoln continues with a more detailed discussion of Martinengo's other musical patronage. Martinengo, Bertani, Marenzio, Merulo and Morsolino are Brescian composers included, with Cavaccio from Bergamo.
- N-32 MONTI DELLA CORTE, *Le famiglie*, pp. 95, 101, lists the Capitani as another family of ancient Brescian nobility, although the estates of Scalve and Sovere, recorded in CAVALIERI, "Qui sunt Guelfi [...]", pp. 26n, 32n, are north and east of the Lago d'Iseo, in Bergamasque territory. Cavalieri also records the family as being in the 'Ghibelline' anti-Venetian Visconti partisans in the early 15th century.
- N-33 MONTI DELLA CORTE, *Le famiglie*, pp. 71, 73, lists the Secco [d'Aragona] as another family of ancient Brescian nobility. Their original estates were near Caravaggio, 22 km south-southeast of Bergamo, and Calcio, equidistant between Bergamo, Brescia and Crema, one kilometer from the Oglio, both on the Bergamasque side. In the fifteenth century, the family divided into two branches, one of which established itself in Brescia, and was honorarily affiliated in 1483 with the House of Aragon by a diploma of Don Alfonso, duke of Calabria, in testimony of his esteem for Francesco Secco, husband of Caterina Gonzaga and mercenary for both Milan and Venice. CAVALIERI, "Qui sunt Guelfi [...]", p. 97, discusses the association of the Secco and Suardi families with the Ghibelline faction in Bergamo. The families eventually were united in marriage (Secco Suardi).
- N-34 MONTI DELLA CORTE, *Le famiglie*, pp. 53, 58, lists the Montini as another family of ancient Brescian nobility in [Mura di] Savallo in the Valle Sabbia, 20 km N of Brescia (GNAGA, *Vocabolario Topografico-Toponomastico*, p. 402).
- N-35 The seats of Puteo (Pozzo) in Ponderano and Reano, are in the Piemonte.
- N-36 The Pallavicino family had many branches and many feudal allegiances. The Pallavicini di Busseto branch was centered around Parma, Piacenza and Cremona. The marchese mentioned here was Alessandro Pallavicino, adopted and made heir by Sforza Pallavicino in 1581. He succeeded to the fiefs of Busseto and Cortemaggiore in 1585 and was recognized and supported by Ottavio Farnese, duke of Parma, who gave his daughter Lavinia to Alessandro in marriage. However, in 1587, Alessandro Farnese, on acceding to the ducal title, declared Alessandro Pallavicino's title illegitimate, seized the properties and imprisoned the Marchese, who obtained his release only by ceding his castles to the Farnese duke. The Marchese then retired to Salò and instituted legal proceedings that lasted 47 years. Although in 1636 emperor Ferdinando II recognized the legitimacy of the Pallavicini, the Farnese refused to relinquish the territory, and the settlement in 1637 with Odoardo Farnese left the Pallavicino holdings severely reduced. See R. LASAGNI, *Pallavicino, Alessandro, c. 1570-1645* and *Pallavicino, Girolamo Galeazzo, before 1587-1638*, in *Dizionario Biografico dei Parmigiani*, <http://www.parmaelastuastoria.it/ita/Pallavicino.aspx?idMostra=38&idNode=294>, consulted 19/3/2014.
- N-37 As noted above, n. 30, MONTI DELLA CORTE, *Le famiglie*, pp. 71, 76, lists the Uggieri as another family of ancient Brescian nobility, holding the castle of Milzanello, 20 km from the Martinengo seat at Villachiara.

- N-38 MONTI DELLA CORTE, *Le famiglie*, pp. 35, 42, lists the Gambarà as another family of Brescian nobility, with fiefs in Verola Alghisia (Verolanuova) and Pralboino, 12 and 25 km, respectively, from the Martinengo seat at Villachiara.
- N-39 Morosini is a Venetian noble family of the *Libro d'oro* that produced many illustrious personages. See F. SCHRÖDER, *Repertorio genealogico delle famiglie confermate nobili e dei titolati nobili esistenti nelle provincie venete*, 2 vol., Venezia 1830, II, pp. 44-50.
- N-40 MONTI DELLA CORTE, *Le famiglie*, pp. 119, 121, lists the Porcellaga as another family of Brescian nobility, seated at Roncadelle, east-southeast of Brescia, on the outskirts of the modern city. In the seventeenth century, the family married into the Martinengo Colleoni family shortly before going extinct. They are also mentioned in S. BOWD, *Venice's Most Loyal City: Civic Identity in Renaissance Brescia*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge (MA) 2010, p. 74.
- N-41 As noted above, MONTI DELLA CORTE, *Le famiglie*, pp. 27, 30-31, lists the Caprioli as another family of ancient Brescian nobility. Their town, Capriolo, is on the Brescian bank of the Oglio, 24 km west of Brescia and 15 km from Martinengo on the Bergamasque side, just south of the Lago d'Iseo.
- N-42 [Gian] Vincenzo Gonzaga was prior of Barletta, far from Brescia, in Apulia. He was, however, son of Ferrante Gonzaga, founder of the Guastalla line of the family. Ferrante bought the countship of Guastalla from Paola Ludovica Torelli as discussed in note 2, above. Gian Vincenzo was later made cardinal. The connection with Riccio and Brescia was probably through the Mantuan branch of the family or Ludovica Torelli's Martinengo relatives.
- N-43 P. AARON, *Lucidario in musica*, Girolamo Scotto, Venezia 1545 (facs. Edition Broude Brothers, New York 1978), p. [IV] contains the dedication. Although Florentine, Aaron joined the Order of Crosachieri in the monastery of San Leonardo in Bergamo in 1536. See his letter of 13 March 1536 (Vatican City, BAV MS lat. 5318, fols. 183r-183v) transcribed and summarized in *A Correspondence of Renaissance Musicians*, ed. by B. Blackburn, E. Lowinsky, C. Miller, Oxford University Press, New York 1991, pp. 709-711; B. BLACKBURN, s.v. *Aaron Pietro*, in *New Grove*², 1, pp. 2-4; P. BERGQUIST, *The Theoretical Writings of Pietro Aaron*, Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, New York 1964, pp. 48-49; and my dissertation, G. TOWNE, *Gaspar de Albertis and Music at Santa Maria Maggiore in Bergamo in the Sixteenth Century*, Ph.D. diss., University of California, Santa Barbara 1985, pp. 28-29, 62-63. B. BLACKBURN, *Cipriano de Rore's Early Italian Years: The Brescian Connection*, in *Cipriano de Rore at the Crossroads*, ed. By J. A. Owens and K. Schiltz, Brepols, Turnhout 2015, explores Fortunato Martinengo's musical patronage.
- N-44 BLACKBURN, *Aaron Pietro*; BERGQUIST, *The Theoretical Writings*, p. 54. S. GATTI, *Un amico del Bambaia: Monsignor Traiano da San Celso*, in *Cesare Cesariano e il classicismo di primo Cinquecento*, a cura di M. L. Gatti Perer and A. Rovetta, Vita e pensiero, Milano 1996, pp. 156-158, notes that Traiano Alicorni was abbot of San Celso from 1534 to 1539 and was highly favored by Popes Clement VII and Paul III. P. TOSINI, *La Cappella Alicorni Theodoli e la decorazione di Giulio Mazzoni da Piacenza*, in *Santa Maria del Popolo: Storia e restauri*, a cura di I. Miarelli Mariani e M. Richiello, Istituto poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, Libreria dello Stato, Rome 2009, p. 491, notes also that, in 1552, Alicorni was papal protonotary.
- N-45 The title and dedication pages are transcribed both in BERNSTEIN, *Music Printing*, pp. 373-74, and in V. RAVIZZA, *Gasparo Alberti, Ein wenig bekannter Komponist und dessen Portrait*, in *Festschrift Arnold Geering zum 70. Geburtstag*, Haupt, Bern - Stuttgart 1972, pp. 63-80: 77-78. Discussion of Albani, the dedicatee, is in G. TOWNE, *Memorial for a Mysterious Matron: The Funeral Cycle of Gaspar de Albertis*, in *Sleuthing the Muse: Essays in Honor of William Prizer*, ed. by Kr. Forney and J. Smith, Pendragon Press, Hillsdale (NY) 2012, pp. 322-326. In particular, Albani, in 1531, married Laura Longhi, daughter of the secretary of Bartolomeo Colleoni; her dowry included the castle of Ugnano, 12 km south of Bergamo, 7 km from Martinengo, and 12 km from the river Oglio border with

- Brescia. CAVALIERI, “*Qui sunt Guelfi [...]*”, pp. 82, 139, describes the family as patricians of the pro-Venetian faction, associated historically with the Guelfs.
- N-46 LEWIS, *Antonio Gardano*, I, pp. 555-557. Castelli Calepio is 20 km east of Bergamo and 27 km west northwest of Brescia, on the bank of the river Oglio 4 km south of the tip of the Lago d’Iseo. It is one of several *comuni* in the Valcalepio, which extends east of the southern tip of the lake and is known for several fine wines. CAVALIERI, “*Qui sunt Guelfi [...]*”, pp. 12n, 23, 56, describes the family, like the Albani above, as patricians of the ‘Guelf’ pro-Venetian faction.
- N-47 LEWIS, *Antonio Gardano*, I, pp. 592-594.
- N-48 TOWNE, *Un paradigma musicale*, notes that Bergamo’s two chapters of cathedral canons inhabited the same edifice, San Vincenzo, following the 1561 demolition of Bergamo’s second cathedral, Sant’Alessandro. The situation and often uneasy relations between the two are explored in B. CASSINELLI - L. PAGNONI - G. COLMUTO ZANELLA, *Il duomo di Bergamo*, Bolis, Bergamo 1991, pp. 30-32 and 150-153.
- N-49 The dedication date of this publication (15 June 1581) is significant in relation to that of no. 77. See also n. 50 below.
- N-50 The dedication date of this publication (1 August 1518) is less than two months after that of no. 76, even though the two books appeared in separate years. See also n. 49 above. This proximity suggests political motivations.
- N-51 E. VOGEL, *Bibliothek der gedruckten weltliche Vokalmusik italiens aus den Jahren 1500-1700*, suppl. by A. Einstein, Haack, Berlin 1892 (repr. Olms, Hildesheim 1972), p. 148. The Suardi were an ancient family of Bergamasque nobility with lands at Trescore Balneario, 7-8 km from the Brescian border at the Lago d’Iseo. The name is ubiquitous in Bergamasque documents; they identified as Ghibelline as late as the sixteenth century, in contrast to many of their neighbors, notably the Calepio family only a few kilometers away. See CAVALIERI, “*Qui sunt Guelfi [...]*”, pp. 100 ff.
- N-52 Sarnico is a small comune at the southern tip of the Lago d’Iseo, in close proximity to the Ghibelline Suardi and Guelf Calepio lands. The significance of the priest Gerolamo Campione is unclear.
- N-53 VOGEL, *Bibliothek*, p. 149. The title page is reproduced in the report of sale 2436 at Christie’s, lot 294, http://www.christies.com/lotFinder/lot_details.aspx?intObjectID=4209030. Cavaccio’s association with the duke of Savoy is unclear.
- N-54 I can find no mention of this confraternity.
- N-55 *Giacomo Vincenti (Publisher), Canzon di diversi per sonar con ogni sorte di stromenti (Venice, 1588); and Giovanni Cavaccio, Musica (Venice, 1597)*, ed. by F. Sumner, Garland, New York 1994 (Italian instrumental music of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, 10), Plate 4. Various origins are possible for Nicolini family, including Brescia, Lucca and Venice. They do not appear in either MONTI DELLA CORTE, *Le famiglie*, or CAVALIERI, “*Qui sunt Guelfi [...]*”. However, the famous Bergamasque painter Gio. Battista Moroni painted Angelica Agliardi de Nicolini ca. 1560, a connection by marriage with the Bergamasque patrician Agliardi (Ayardi) family. From the large bibliography on Moroni, see at least: M. GREGORI, *Giovan Battista Moroni: tutte le opere*, Bolis, Cenate Sotto (BG) 1979, P. HUMPHREY - J. BRIDGEMAN, *Giovan Battista Moroni: Renaissance Portraitist*, Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth (Texas) 2000, S. FACCHINETTI, *Giovan Battista Moroni. Lo sguardo sulla realtà, 1560-1579*, Silvana, Milano 2004;
- N-56 VOGEL, *Bibliothek*, p. 149. The Agosti family were of the patriciate of Bergamo, sufficiently elevated to serve on the Maggior Consiglio of the city. The Agosti family had a historical attachment to the pro-Venetian or Guelf faction in Bergamasque politics. See CAVALIERI, “*Qui sunt Guelfi [...]*”, pp. 102, 303. In addition, one Troilo Agosti studied music under Cavaccio, becoming expert at *contrappunto alla mente*. He was a tenor. Later he became a priest and ultimately *maestro di canto* at Santa Maria Maggiore (singing master, not to be

- confused with *maestro di cappella*). See M. PADOAN, *La musica in S. Maria Maggiore a Bergamo nel periodo di Giovanni Cavaccio (1598-1626)*, AMIS, Como 1983, pp. 71, 104n, 146, 147, 172.
- N-57 VOGEL, *Bibliothek*, p. 149. The counts Alessandri owned land in Adrara near the border with Brescia and the southern tip of the Lago d'Iseo, close to the Calepio lands, as well as in the Valli Cavalina and Trescore, the latter adjacent to the Suardi lands and about 15-20 km north of the Albani and Martinengo lands. Their allegiance was Venetian-Guelf. See CAVALIERI, "Qui sunt Guelfi [...]", pp. 23n, 285.
- N-58 PADOAN, *La musica in Santa Maria Maggiore*, Tav. 18, p. 197, reproduces the title page. The Fini family does not appear in either MONTI DELLA CORTE, *Le famiglie*, or CAVALIERI, "Qui sunt Guelfi [...]".
- N-59 «[Cavaccio's] literary reputation was such that he was elected to the Accademia degli Elevati of Florence.» P. A. MYERS, s.v. *Cavaccio [Cavacchio, Cavaggio, Cavazzio]*, *Giovanni*, in *New Grove*², 5, p. 294
- N-60 R. MURRAY, *The Voice of the Composer: Theory and Practice in the Works of Pietro Pontio*, 2 vols., Ph.D. diss., University of North Texas, Denton 1989, II, p. 1.
- N-61 The Agliardi family, patrician since the comunal period, was of lesser wealth than some, but sufficiently eminent to sit on the Maggior Consiglio. The knight Bonifacio Agliardi held lands near the villages of Comun nuovo, Levate, Spirano, Stezzano, Urgnano, Verdello and Zanica, 6-12 km south of Bergamo and adjoining the Albani lands at Urgnano. See CAVALIERI, "Qui sunt Guelfi [...]", pp. 76-79 and 283. See also note 55 above. Prior to 1561, Bergamo possessed three churches dedicated to its patron, Sant' Alessandro: the cathedral, destroyed in 1561, as mentioned in note 48 above, Sant' Alessandro in Colonna, the city's largest parish church, on the site of the saint's martyrdom, and Sant' Alessandro della Croce, on the site where drops of blood from the saint's severed head sprouted lilies. Savioli could not have served at the demolished cathedral, and the office of cantor in the surviving chapter does not match his title of *maestro di cappella* (CASSINELLI - PAGNONI - COLMUTO ZANELLA, *Il duomo*, p. 31). Savioli must have served in one of the two parish churches. I have not found him to date in my ongoing researches at Sant' Alessandro in Colonna, where there was a *capella musicale*, with a *maestro*, and I have not had an opportunity to search at Sant' Alessandro della Croce.
- N-62 Abbess Flavia was from the Benaglio family, another ancient and important family of the patriciate of Bergamo, of the Venetian-Guelf party. See CAVALIERI, "Qui sunt Guelfi [...]", pp. 30 and 55. The cloistered Benedictine convent of Santa Grata is one of the oldest and most venerable in the city and was supposedly founded by its patron, who is also associated with the *vita* of Sant' Alessandro. The community has remained active and was still singing public celebrations of vespers in Gregorian chant on a recent visit of mine.
- N-63 CAVALIERI, "Qui sunt Guelfi [...]", pp. 29, 30, 56 and 173, describes the Barile family as 'emergent' in the fifteenth century and one with Visconti-Ghibelline allegiance.
- N-64 BERNSTEIN, *Music Printing*, pp. 867-869. Ottavio Beretta discusses Londonio in G. CONTINO, *Missae cum quinque vocibus, liber primus (1572)*, ed. a cura di O. Beretta, Suvini Zerboni, Milano 1998 (Monumenti musicali italiani, 20), p. VII, n. 3. P. E. CARAPEZZA - G. COLLISANI, s.v. *Vinci, Pietro*, in *New Grove*², 26, pp. 657-659: 657, names him Vinci's patron (as well as Contino's).
- N-65 VOGEL, *Bibliothek*, p. 316; BERNSTEIN, *Music Printing*, pp. 869-870.
- N-66 BERNSTEIN, *Music Printing*, pp. 893-895.
- N-67 VOGEL, *Bibliothek*, p. 321. The Arcimboldi family originated in Parma and were created counts of Arcisate by Gian Galeazzo Sforza in 1484. The fief stands now in the province of Varese and is at the base of the alpine foothills, but was controlled by Milan in the sixteenth century. Antonello Arcimboldi is otherwise unknown, but this dedication shows a further Milanese connection, possibly originating from Vinci's close connection with Antonio

- Londonio. See D. OLIVIERI, *Dizionario di toponomastica lombarda*, Meschina, Milano 1961, p. 59 and <http://www.lombardiabeniculturali.it/istituzioni/schede/11000020>.
- N-68 It was standard practice for cities to have a *podestà* from somewhere else, to foster objectivity in judging local disputes. Cities on the Venetian *terra ferma* often had eminent Venetian noblemen, like Contarini.
- N-69 VOGEL, *Bibliothek*, p. 317. See again Beretta on Londonio in n. 58. CARAPEZZA-COLLISANI, *Vinci, Pietro*, p. 657, name him Vinci's patron and noted that Vinci composed this book of madrigals while staying at Londonio's house in Milan.
- N-70 VOGEL, *Bibliothek*, p. 321. CARAPEZZA-COLLISANI, *Vinci, Pietro*, p. 658, note that the dedication of *Quattordeci sonetti spirituali* (1580) to Vittoria Colonna «represent[s] a political rather than a literary choice, aimed at securing the patronage of Marc' Antonio Colonna, the Sicilian viceroy, in preparation for Vinci's return to Sicily» within the year.
- N-71 When Cavaccio became *maestro di cappella* at Santa Maria Maggiore, Zinneroni apparently received the position at the Duomo. See note 63 above regarding Barile.

Table 3

	Type of Dedicatee	Brescia	Bergamo	Total
A	Ecclesiastical dedicatees	32	10	42
A 1	Ecclesiastical superior of composer	6	1	7
A 2	Eminent ecclesiastic, not composer's superior	14	3	17
A 3	Ecclesiastical council, confraternity, cathedral or monastic chapter	9	5	14
A 4	Ecclesiastical colleague of composer's rank	3	1	4
B	Nobility or secular officer	35	24	59
B 1	Nobility nearby or local official	22	13	35
B 2	Nobility or official more distant	12	11	23
B 3	Civic or other secular council	1	0	1
C	Professional associates	2	0	2
C 1	Colleague of equal or similar rank	1	0	1
C 2	Teacher or mentor	1	0	1
D	Other	2	0	2
	No dedication	3	2	5
	Total	74	36	110

Note – The number of dedications exceeds the number of prints in Tables 1 and 2 because eight dedicatees fit more than one classification.

Analysis

Table 3 reveals many levels of information. It is clear that the patronage of music and music-related prints was more advanced in sixteenth-century Brescia than in contemporary Bergamo. Musicians in Brescia produced slightly more than twice as many prints as those in Bergamo during the period studied: 69 vs. 32 (See Tables 1 and 2). Secondly, patronage of music prints by the church was balanced with that of the nobility in Brescia; but in Bergamo, the patronage by the nobility was more than twice as great. In addition, the prints from Bergamo that showed ecclesiastical dedications were balanced between individuals and groups, whereas dedications to individual clerics in Brescia more than doubled those to ecclesiastical groups.

In Brescia, six prints were dedicated to an ecclesiastical superior of the composer (A-1: 1, 17, 21, 23, 30 and 34). Three of these count twice: Giorgio Marin (17 and 30) bishop of Brescia, also held several noble titles; Domenico Bollano's title of *Praesulus* (34) may refer either to his position of *Podestà* or that of bishop, beginning the following year. The remaining three (1, 21 and 23) are dedicated to clerics who are or appear to be Provincials of their orders; respectively Celestines, Friars Minor (Franciscans), and Augustinians. All of these persons would have had the resources to underwrite publications. The one such dedication in Bergamo, that of Giovanni Cavaccio to his bishop (77), may have had a different (and political) motivation, coming as it did barely more than a month after Cavaccio's dedication of a similar print to the governing council of the neighboring (and competing) basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore.

Seventeen books (A-2: 2, 3, 7-9, 11, 12, 25, 29, 35, 36, 38, 44, 45, 79, 88 and 91) are dedicated to eminent ecclesiastics outside the composer's direct line of obedience. These are: Francisco Marino, provost of San Vincenzo in Calcinato (2); Paola Torelli, countess of Guastalla (3), who renounced her title to enter a convent; Teodoro Qualea, a noted Augustinian or Carmelite theologian (7), an abbot, three abbesses, a prioress and a vicar-general (8, 9, 11, 88 and 91); cardinal Federico Borromeo (12); Giovanni Fontana, papal protonotary and nuncio to the duke of Ferrara (25); Alfonso Paleotti, archbishop of Bologna (29); Cristoforo Madruzzo, prince-bishop of Trento and Bressanone (35 and 38); cardinal Otto Truchsess, bishop of Augsburg (36); Giulio Feltre della Rovere, cardinal, archbishop, and duke (44) and Tranquillo Soldo, canon lawyer/cathedral canon of Brescia (45), as well as a parish pastor from the outlying town of Sarnico (79). Cardinal Luigi d'Este (4), monsignor Vincenzo Gonzaga, prior of Barletta (69), monsignor Traiano Alicorni di San Celso (71), and Antonello Arcimboldi (96 and 97), I have counted among the nobility and officials since their connections to the composers were more likely through these paths than the church. Cardinals Madruzzo and Truchsess were probably known to Giovanni Contino through his employment in Trento. Most of these persons could probably have underwritten a music print. The composer's motivations for making the dedication might, on the other hand, be completely unrelated to financial backing, as a personage of high station might be worth

cultivating by a composer in search of advancement. This is less probable in the cases of those who might have received the dedication as tribute to their piety or holiness: Paola Torelli and Teodoro Qualea.

In addition to these dedications to individual clergy, fourteen books were dedicated to church councils of various sorts (A-3): from Brescia, the canons of Brescia cathedral (10, 39 and 40) and Benedictine (11, 46-49) and Jesuit (20) chapters; from Bergamo, two to the Misericordia Maggiore, governors of the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore (76 and 95) and one each to the chapters of the cathedral and a convent (75 and 91), plus one to a confraternity (81). While most of these seem to suggest sponsorship of the publication, Cavaccio's dedication appears to have had a double motive. He presented a 'vespers' to the Misericordia Maggiore in December of 1581, the same year that he dedicated his Magnificat publication to them.⁵ They are probably one and the same. His stated motive of gratitude, probably for his employment there beginning ten years previously, was almost certainly a ploy in his bid for the position of *maestro di cappella* at the basilica, a more esteemed position than that at the cathedral, where he was currently *maestro*.⁶ The basilican position had opened on Pietro Vinci's retirement to Sicily, and his replacement, Ippolito Camaterò, lasted only three months. Unfortunately for Cavaccio, three more *maestri* were hired by the basilica before his eventual election in 1598.⁷ In contrast, Vinci's 1572 publication of motets did not similarly coincide with his application for the position of *maestro* at Santa Maria Maggiore, which he had assumed four years earlier, so in his case, like many of the others, the dedication may well indicate a publication subvention by the council. Vinci did, however, dedicate his *Quattordici sonetti spirituali* (100) to the marchesa di Pescara when seeking her husband's patronage for the composer's retirement to Sicily, so he did not eschew the practice⁸. The remaining four dedications to clerics (A-4: 22, 24, 60 and 84) seem to have

⁵ Citing Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica «A. Mai» (BGbc), Archivio della Misericordia Maggiore (MIA), MS 1272, f. 72r, 14/12/1581, Padoan notes that Cavaccio presented a 'vespers' to the Misericordia Maggiore «as a sign of [his] souls' gratitude for benefits» (M. PADOAN, *La musica in S. Maria Maggiore a Bergamo nel periodo di Giovanni Cavaccio (1598-1626)*, AMIS, Como 1983, p. 59). This is probably the book of Magnificats published earlier that year.

⁶ Cavaccio was probably the cantor hired as Johannes Paulus de Gavacis/Gavazis in MIA 1269, f. 126r, 29/5/1571 and appointed to act as *maestro di cappella* for evening orations the following July (MIA, MS 1269, ff. 130v-131, 19/7/1571). If so, Cavaccio had begun singing at Santa Maria Maggiore ten years before he made the donation. His hiring as *cantor* not *capellano* also concords with his later marriage and promotion of his sons in the *cappella* of Santa Maria Maggiore (PADOAN, *La musica*, pp. 40, 63). Cavaccio was a layman. The gift and dedication also coincide with the search for a successor to Hippolito Camaterò, who had succeeded Pietro Pontio, but who left in March 1581 after only three months. See C. SCOTTI, *Il pio istituto musicale Donizetti in Bergamo*, Istituto italiano d'arti grafiche, Bergamo 1901, p. 196.

⁷ SCOTTI, *Il pio istituto*, p. 196. It is also possible that Cavaccio's dedication of his second book of Magnificats to the bishop barely a month after the first book's dedication to the Misericordia Maggiore, may have been intended to sooth irritation caused by the first book's appearance or the composer's bid for other employment.

⁸ SCOTTI, *Il pio istituto*, p. 196, and P. E. CARAPEZZA - A. COLLISANI, s.v. *Vinci, Pietro*, in *New Grove*², 26, p. 658. See note N-63 (to Table 2) above.

been to clergy of the same or similar rank, possibly friends or colleagues of the composer. Other motivation for these dedications is not clear, and no dedications exist for five prints (32, 43, 62, 85 and 89).

Brescian composers also honored a colleague and a teacher with two dedications (C-1 and 2). These are Costanzo Antegnati's dedication of the organ *bassi sequenti* for his *Liber XIII [...] Missa Borromea [...]* to his organist colleague Carlo Battezzi (13) and Giovanni Lanfranco's dedication of his *Scintille di musica* to Bartolomeo Maschera, his teacher and father of the composer Fiorenzo Maschera (51). In these cases, it seems unlikely that those honored would have been expected to pay for the book – at least unless they had as-yet undocumented wealth. There are no similar dedications from Bergamo. Finally, two non-personal dedications also appear in Brescian prints (D), one to gentle readers and organists (14), and one to the Blessed Virgin (50).

Dedications to nobility and officials are most interesting. In Brescia, the patronage of local nobility outweighs more distant ones by a ratio of nearly 5 to 3. In Bergamo, local and more distant nobility receive roughly equal proportions of dedications. Also, the city council of Brescia received one dedication (B-3, 15), while the council of Bergamo did not. Most of the dedications to nobility and officials, local and distant, suggest some level of subvention by high ranking music patrons, although at least one, that to Vittoria Colonna, marchesa di Pescara, discussed above, suggests a bid for patronage. Whether her husband, Marc'Antonio Colonna, viceroy of Sicily, who became Vinci's patron on his return there, also paid for the tribute to his wife is unclear.

Some very eminent music patrons appear in the list of distant nobility and officials (B-2): cardinal Luigi d'Este (4), Guglielmo Gonzaga, duke of Mantua and Monferrato (6, 41), Alfonso II d'Este, duke of Ferrara (19), count Alessandro Bevilacqua of Verona (26), Albrecht V, duke of Bavaria (37), Antonio Londonio, revenue officer for Philip II in Milan (42, 93 and 99), Ottavio Farnese, duke of Parma (94), and the above-noted Vittoria Colonna. Londonio was a well-known patron, who not only received dedications from Giovanni Contino and Pietro Vinci, but seems even to have hosted Vinci while one of the works was being composed.⁹ It is possible that most of these relationships indicate subsidy, although it has been suggested that Gabriele Martinengo's dedication to count Giovanni Trivulzio (53) might have supported aspirations for patronage or employment, like others noted above.¹⁰ For that matter, few of the others are exempt from this motive as a possibility.

The most intriguing pattern appears in the listing of local noble dedicatees (B-1), and indeed, it was my suspicions in this area that inspired this research. Other researchers have looked at more eminent composers or the large outputs of the printers themselves. My interest was to determine what could be described as either the substrate or a trickle-down emulation of these better-

⁹ CARAPEZZA - COLLISANI, *Vinci, Pietro*, p. 657.

¹⁰ BERNSTEIN, *Music Printing*, pp. 365-366. For the reasons behind my inclusion of Gabriele Martinengo here, despite his customary association with Verona, read above.

known circumstances – to find evidence of the emergence of a broader base of patronage at a more local level, which probably contributed as much to the volume of music produced as the work of the fewer more celebrated composers. This broad patronage base certainly manifested and stimulated the surging proliferation of musical composition, production and performance in the sixteenth century. In both Brescia and Bergamo, local minor nobility formed the largest single class of dedicatees, and the pattern of its emergence suggests that patronage of music printing developed as something of a fashion, centered in one area and inspired largely by one family, the Martinengos.

The counts of Martinengo led one of the most important families in both territories. The village of Martinengo is on the Bergamasque bank of the river Oglio border, but the significant later local branch of the family is of Villachiara, one of their estates in Brescian territory. Counts of Martinengo personally appear as dedicatees of three of the prints listed here (70, 18 and 55, in chronological order). The first of these was Pietro Aaron's *Lucidario in Musica*, 1545 (70), dedicated to Fortunato Martinengo. Others are Lelio Bertani's *Primo Libro de madrigali*, 1584 (18) and Antonio Morsolino's *L'Amorosa Ero*, 1588 (55), both dedicated to Marc'Antonio de Martinengo. Martinengo wrote the poem *L'Amorosa Ero*, set it to music himself, then assigned it to Lelio Bertani as well and was so pleased with the result that he commissioned sixteen other composers to write madrigals on the same text, all collected in Morsolino's edition. Among the other Brescian and Bergamasque composers included are Cavaccio, Marenzio, Merulo and Morsolino himself.¹¹

Martinengo family connections include Paola Ludovica Torelli, discussed above (3), who was the widow of Andrea Martinengo, and Barbara Calini, dedicatee of two books of Giovanni Contino's madrigals (31 and 32), who married Ottavio Martinengo. In addition, dedicatees of a further fourteen prints had estates in close proximity to the Martinengo lands, on the eastern edge of Bergamo's territory and the western edge of Brescia's: Gian Gerolamo Albano (52, 72), Achille Alessandri (86), Rogerio Calepio (73 and 74), Scipione Capitani (56), Carlo and Alfonso Capreolo/Capriolo (27 and 68), Carlo Durandi/Duranti (5), Barbara Maria Gambarà (65), Aurelio Porcellaga (67), Paola Torelli (3), and Antonio Maria Uggiero (54, 64). In another musical association, Fiorenzo Maschera's *Libro primo de canzoni*, 1588 (54), includes works named *La Martinenga* and *La Villachiara*, which honor Martinengo, and *La Capriola* and *L'Uggiera*, which memorialize his neighbors.¹²

One of the prints dedicated to Gian Gerolamo Albano is by Gabriele Martinengo (52). Albano/Albani was closely associated with the Colleoni/Martinengo family and faction. He married Laura Longhi, daughter of

¹¹ H. B. LINCOLN, in *The Madrigal Collection 'L'Amorosa Ero' (Brescia, 1588)*, ed. by H.B. Lincoln, State University of New York Press, Albany (NY) 1968, pp. vii-viii.

¹² MISCHIATI, p. 652. Judd provides an edition of the music in F. MASCHERA, *Libro primo de canzoni [...] a quattro voci (Brescia 1584)*, ed. by R. Judd, Garland, New York - London 1995 (*Italian Instrumental Music of the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Century*, 9).

Colleoni's secretary, and received a castle near the Oglio as her dowry.¹³ And Gabriele Martinengo was also hired as *maestro di cappella* at the cathedral of Bergamo in 1541.¹⁴ This concurrence of circumstances: the dedication by Gabriele Martinengo of a print to a patron who was closely associated with a noble Martinengo family in the same geographical area and social milieu and the composer's early employment in Bergamo suggest very close Brescian connections, perhaps even family origin, for Gabriele Martinengo, traditionally viewed as a Veronese composer. Martinengo's other dedication to Giovanni Trivulzio of Milan (53) after his rejection by Verona's Accademia filarmonica also points in the opposite direction from Verona.¹⁵

Other local dedicatees include the expected dignitaries, governor (58) and podestà (98), and families of the minor nobility (16, 28, 57, 59, 78, 83, 90, 92 and 101). More eminent noble figures from further afield include count Alessandro Bevilacqua of Verona (26), Amadeo Puteo (Pozzo), count of Ponderano and Reano (61), marchese Alessandro Pallavicino (63), Venetian nobleman Giovanni Francesco Morosini (66) and Carlo Emanuele, duke of Savoy (80). Two figures were untraceable: Camillo Nicolini (82), who may have been connected by marriage with the Agliardi family, and the knight Bartolomeo Fini (87).¹⁶

Many of the families of local musical patronage (or at least interest) may have shared political associations as well. Marc'Antonio Martinengo served at Lepanto under Don Giovanni of Austria, who wooed Martinengo's allegiance for the Imperial cause, but Martinengo chose to remain faithful to his Venetian *seigneurs*.¹⁷ This retained him in the camp of the pro-Venetian faction that in Bergamo was linked to the ancient Guelfs. Other families with this allegiance included the Agosti, the Albani of Gian Gerolamo's line, the Alessandri and the Calepios.¹⁸ The opposing Milanese-Visconti-French-Ghibelline partisans included the Barile, Capitani, Secco and Suardi Families (56, 57, 78, 92 and 101).¹⁹ The Venetian-Guelf faction is linked to nine music prints between 1497 and 1611, while the Milanese-French-Ghibelline faction is linked to five. This is not to say that the Ghibellines were less interested in

¹³ See G. TOWNE, *Memorial for a Mysterious Matron: The Funeral Cycle of Gaspar de Albertis*, in *Sleuthing the Muse: Essays in Honor of William Prizer*, ed. by Kr. Forney and J. Smith, Pendragon Press, Hillsdale (NY) 2012, pp. 322-326: pp. 322-326.

¹⁴ See TOWNE, *Un paradigma musicale*, cited in note for Table 2, item 52 above.

¹⁵ BERNSTEIN, *Music Printing*, pp. 365-366.

¹⁶ Regarding Nicolini, as noted in the note for Table 2, item 55, the famous Bergamasque painter Gio. Battista Moroni painted Angelica Agliardi de Nicolini ca. 1560, a connection by marriage with the Agliardi family. See the note above for further references. I found no local references for the Fini family.

¹⁷ P. GUERRINI, *Una celebre famiglia lombarda: I conti di Martinengo*, Tipo-litografia F.lli Geroldi, Brescia 1930, p. 490.

¹⁸ P. CAVALIERI, "Qui sunt Guelfi et partiales nostri": *Comunità, patriziato e fazioni a Bergamo fra il XV e XVI secolo*, UNICOPLI, Milano 2008, pp. 12n, 23, 23n, 56, 101-102; also TOWNE, *Memorial*, pp. 322-326.

¹⁹ CAVALIERI, "Qui sunt Guelfi et partiales nostri", pp. 32n, 100 ff.

music, but rather that the extended circle of the Colleoni-Martinengos made music print patronage fashionable, in keeping with their somewhat more forward-looking politics. Since they began the practice, it is only reasonable that their opponents would be slow to follow suit.

Summary

In the absence of contracts or bald-faced declarations of payment, it is impossible to establish with certainty how publication of music was underwritten in Brescia and Bergamo in the sixteenth century. Nevertheless, study of dedications can yield much information suggestive of such support. This study also suggests the use of music prints for other purposes: as tributes, as a portfolio in seeking employment, and as a record of past creativity, as well as being a commercial venture. In the church, an additional motivation may have been to provide music for divine service, but secular dedications express secular motives. In addition to the motives just listed, dedication (and presumably patronage) of music prints by the minor nobility of Bergamo and Brescia demonstrates two things: the adoption and growth of musical patronage as a fashion, and its spread among those who held nearby lands and similar political leanings. While this study has concentrated on a very limited geographical area, I submit that it may represent a much larger pattern in the spread of music printing. With all these reasons for the development of printed music, its observed rapid growth and burgeoning popularity was the natural and felicitous result.

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