

Music and Crisis at Santa Maria Maggiore during the Turbulent 1620s

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During the 1620s, when churches throughout Northern Italy were scaling back musical expenditures due to shrinking coffers, the confraternity Misericordia Maggiore continued to lavishly fund music in Santa Maria Maggiore, Bergamo. In a decade marred by war, austerity, death, famine, and plague, music received robust institutional support. Drawing from new archival research, a picture emerges of the enduring importance of musical life to the Bergamasque community in the face of challenges on multiple fronts. Additionally, Bergamo surfaces as a neglected site of almost unparalleled large-scale musical activity in early Seicento Italy.

THE TURBULENT 1620S

IN 1629, BERGAMO was facing its second famine in a decade. The Venetian-appointed podesta Giulio Valier left the city at the end of April that year, pelted by fruit rinds and other garbage as the population blamed him for mismanagement of grain reserves.¹ At the famine's height in June, wheat prices soared to unattainable heights, leading to a desperate situation within the city walls. On 9 June 1629, in cooperation with the new podesta Giovanni Grimani, city officials, lay authority, and the local bishop, and at the expense of the city, the cathedral's relics of Saints Fermo, Rustico, and Procolo were carried throughout the city in a solemn procession. The exhibition

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¹ This and the immediately ensuing descriptions of events surrounding the June 1629 famine procession come from Benaglio. The date of Benaglio's description is unknown, but it must have been written between 1633, the latest date mentioned within his account, and his death in 1641.

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of the sacraments in churches throughout Bergamo culminated in a sung mass at the cathedral. Saints Fermo and Rustico were third-century Christians of probable African descent, although local legend depicts them as Bergamasque citizens, martyred in Verona. Their relics were translated to Bergamo in the ninth century by local merchants, and there is a deep-rooted local veneration of these saints. Following a public procession, church-by-church displays of the sacrament, and the sung mass, the relics were moved to the basilica Santa Maria Maggiore, where they were displayed from June 15–25, exposed two hours in the morning and two hours in the evening.² In the morning the men came, in the evening the women, two by two, praying and crying in hope of relief from famine. Finally, a solemn office for the dead was made, set to music, along with a large number of masses, once again at the city's expense. A public decree stipulated the musical requiem to continue every ensuing year to protect against famine, war, and death.³

The city's decision to culminate these events at Santa Maria Maggiore speaks to the church's importance to Bergamo, considered a locus of civic identity since the communal era in the thirteenth century and the symbolic heart of the civic body. Even the bishop took part in the decision during this calamitous time, noteworthy as Santa Maria Maggiore's ruling body, the confraternity *Misericordia Maggiore* (hereafter MIA) had long since separated itself politically from the diocese.⁴ Considering the crisis presented by the 1629 famine, with citizens starving in the streets, precious resources were nonetheless allocated

² The official name of the church is *Basilica di Santa Maria Maggiore*, and nearly every source—contemporaneous and modern—refers to the church as a basilica. However, this is not one of the churches designated an official minor basilica status, so the designation is informal and colloquial.

³ “. . . un officio solenne per tutti i morti, con musica e con grandissimo numero di messe, e si va trattando di far pubblico decreto di continuar ogni anno a far un officio da morti, e far qualche opera pia per impetrar da sua D. M. la conservazione di questa patria dalla fame, guerra e mortalità, e l'acquisto della santa divina grazia [a solemn office for all the dead, with music and with a very large number of masses, and it is a matter of making a public decree to continue every year to conduct an office for the dead, and to do some pious work to implore from the lord the conservation of this homeland from hunger, war and death, and the acquisition of holy divine grace].” Quoted in Benaglio, 440.

⁴ In 1449, the municipality of Bergamo, considering the failing economic performance of Santa Maria Maggiore, assigned its management to the MIA. This decision was fiercely opposed by the bishop of Bergamo, Giovanni Barozzi, as he correctly assumed this move would diminish the importance of the cathedral. The MIA turned to both Venetian and ecclesiastic authorities, eventually obtaining a 1453 papal bull from Pope Niccolò V, which sanctioned the autonomy of both the basilica and the MIA from episcopal jurisdiction.

for music, a product considered to be crucial to the spiritual health of the community, even—or perhaps especially—in times of crisis. Nourishment of the soul was seen as equally important to that of the body.

Drawn from archival documents in Bergamo's MIA archives, a picture emerges of music's importance to civic life. At times when conventional wisdom might suggest reallocating precious resources, the civic authorities—particularly those in charge of Santa Maria Maggiore—continued to support musical and artistic activity to a staggering degree. Taken together, the archival documents show a brief period when Bergamo succumbed to larger trends of involuntary musical and artistic spartanism, especially from 1618 to 1620. Even while operating a skeletal choir, however, receipts and payment slips show large expenditures for musical activities surrounding the Assumption celebration, held yearly on August 15. Between 1619 and 1622, the entire European economy suffered a severe collapse that affected industry, agriculture, money markets, and demographic development.⁵ Bergamo was not immune to these trends. Like many institutions throughout the region, Santa Maria Maggiore shifted to a small core group of musicians and slashed the salary of Giovanni Cavaccio, the *maestro di cappella* since 1598. However, after local pushback and Cavaccio's threat of departure, the MIA reversed course, and in 1620 rehired many of the fired musicians—a stark reversal in musical austerity in direct opposition to the vast majority of contemporaneous institutions.⁶ Even after the musical roster reverted to previous levels, the 1620s remained a particularly turbulent time. The first crisis can be traced to the mid-1610s with the outbreak of the Uskok War, which led directly to cuts in musical expenditure. Bergamo dealt with food shortages in 1622/23, and Cavaccio's sudden death four days before the 1626 Assumption presented unique challenges for the MIA. The tenor singer Giacomo Cornolto assumed duties for that year's Assumption, earning a sizeable bonus from his employers and continuing as *maestro di cappella* until the esteemed Venetian composer Alessandro Grandi arrived in 1627 to take over. Food shortages beleaguered the city once again in 1627/28, leading to the aforementioned famine of 1629; finally, 1630 saw the onset of the plague that swept through much of Northern Italy, killing 10,000 people in Bergamo, approximately 40 percent

⁵ Bianconi, 28.

⁶ As institutions—both secular and sacred—struggled with harsh economic realities, efforts were made to limit musical and artistic expenditure. The case has been made to connect the emergence of the small-scale *concertato* motet and the massive popularity in German-speaking lands of (re)printed Italian collections—including Ludovico Viadana's *Cento concerti ecclesiastici*—to this economic crisis and its extension to musical institutions, especially amidst the devastation of the Thirty Years' War north of the Alps. See Bianconi, 1–44; Roche, 1998.

of the town's population of 25,000.⁷ And yet, until the plague year of 1630, the MIA allocated enough funds throughout this turbulent decade to produce music on an opulent scale on par with that of San Marco in Venice. In a decade marred by war, austerity, death, famine, and plague, the continued and robust institutional support for music underscores its importance to the emotional and spiritual well-being of the community. The archival records also support a supposition that military and political events in Venice had a direct impact on every aspect of life throughout the *Serenissima*. The effects of policy in the capital on cities throughout the *Terraferma*—Venice's mainland empire—have been little studied.

Why would Bergamo, not usually considered a major center of musical production, keep such a priority in the face of challenges on multiple fronts? Considering the resources set aside for music despite such tumult, Bergamo surfaces as a heretofore neglected center of musical interest, and further serves as a microcosm of the historiographic neglect of supposedly old-fashioned genres during a time of rapid musical stylistic change. Connections to musical expenditure reveal the larger economic impacts of war, famine, and plague and, in so doing, reveal the centrality of civic music to everyday life throughout the region. The situation at Santa Maria Maggiore in Bergamo stands out, however, as this institution chose to continue their robust support for music in the face of a series of crises with significant financial impact that strained the civic budget. The MIA maintained a sizeable, expensive regiment of professional musicians capable of performing large-scale polyphony, led by maestri di cappella Giovanni Cavaccio (who held the post from 1598–1626) and Alessandro Grandi (1627–30), with the Assumption of Mary, the patron saint of the basilica, serving on August 15 as the most important musical feast day of the year.

THE USKOK WAR, 1615–18

The Uskok War, a series of short, costly, and ultimately undeclared violent skirmishes, emerged as a precursor to the larger geopolitical catastrophe known as the Thirty Years' War. Its economic repercussions indirectly affected the musical chapel in Santa Maria Maggiore, Bergamo.⁸ This war left civic organizations throughout the *Terraferma* with depleted coffers, including in Bergamo, leading to drastic changes in the structural of Santa Maria Maggiore's musical program. Present-day Bergamo is bifurcated into an

⁷ A brutally descriptive account of Bergamo's plague year can be found in Ghirardelli.

⁸ The Uskok War was known as the War of Friuli in Habsburg sources and the War of Gradisca in Venetian sources. Historians seldom dwell much on this war. The key study is Caimmi. See also Mallett and Hale, 241–47. For a broader and in-depth history of the Uskok population dating back to the late sixteenth century, see Bracewell.

upper and lower portion of the city by the Venetian Walls, built from 1561 to 1623 to discourage Milanese northward expansion and limit contraband trade. The town submitted to Venetian rule in 1428, and there is a long history of military and commercial importance due to its location between Friuli, the Alps, and the commercial centers of Milan and the greater Po Valley. As a *Terraferma* fortress, Bergamo was one of the most important of the strong points fortified by the Venetian state in the sixteenth century, though its status as defender of the Western front was never truly tested until the Uskok War of 1615 to 1618. This event began the series of crises that occurred in quick succession throughout the 1620s. By 1617, Venice's involvement in the war had begun to effect Bergamo economically. "Despite the present troubles, the Council is aware of the wish of citizens of the city that there should be music for the honor of God and Bergamo's reputation," states a December 1617 motion of the MIA council.⁹ This battle fit into the broader context of Venetian geopolitical anxiety in the seventeenth century—Spanish Habsburgs on the Republic's western border; Austrian Habsburgs, or archducal territory on the northeastern Friulian border; and the Ottoman Empire bordering the Venetian maritime holdings of the eastern Adriatic.

During the war, Venice was trying to combat Uskok piracy in the Adriatic. The Uskoks were a small population of Christian refugees from Ottoman Bosnia who had been resettled in Senj by Austrian forces. This resettlement was done to protect the Austrian-Habsburg defense zone on the Ottoman frontier. The Uskoks were thus part of Habsburg Croatia and vassals of Archduke Franz Ferdinand at the Styrian court of Graz. Piracy was technically forbidden under Habsburg law, though Ferdinand allowed the Uskoks to operate their swift boats unchecked in order to avoid paying owed subsidies.¹⁰ It was out of desperation that the Uskoks resorted to mercenary work and piracy, the latter of which skill they developed to a high degree, particularly considering their low numbers.¹¹ By the onset of the war, the Uskok threat had preoccupied Venice for three generations. Their piracy was moderately tolerated as long as the targets remained Ottoman or Jewish, though Venice was still responsible for safe trade through the Adriatic and quibbled with Austrian authorities over responsibility for Uskok activity deemed disadvantageous to Adriatic stability. Senj, on what is now Croatia's Dalmatian coast, had grown a reputation as "the Sherwood Forest of the Mediterranean."¹² This reputation is

⁹ Archivio della Misericordia Maggiore, Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai, Bergamo (hereafter cited as MIA), 1280, fol. 92^v.

¹⁰ Rothenberg, 149.

¹¹ According to Bracewell, a portion of their booty from acts of piracy were paid to the Austrian Habsburg state. Bracewell, 3.

¹² Mallett and Hale, 243.

evidenced by the *scocchi* (Uskok) characters in a 1587 commedia dell'arte play by the Venetian Giovanni Francesco Loredano titled *La malandrina comedia*, or “a comic play about dishonest rogues,” and set in Buccari (presently Baker, Croatia), part of the *Militärgrenze*, the Habsburg militarized zone on their Ottoman border.¹³ At one point, an Uskok character plans to not only rob two of the Italians but to sell them into slavery in Bosnia in exchange for horses.¹⁴

Battling the Uskoks pitted the Venetian Republic directly against Archduke Ferdinand, the future Holy Roman Emperor, who was simultaneously one of the great patrons of Venetian musicians and composers. Ferdinand was a known Italophile, and the dichotomy between his Venetian musical predilections and his role as political adversary of the Republic is a fascinating yet untold story. Venice enlisted the support of England and the Dutch Republic to help combat Spain-allied Austria. By 1617, Venice's mainland armies were overstretched at the frontiers and, as the Spanish became more involved, Venice increasingly feared a Habsburg-led invasion on the Lombard border, potentially putting Bergamo on the front line. To combat this threat, Venice exploited the resources of the *Terraferma* as it had never done before, including the enlistment of 4,700 foot soldiers.¹⁵ The Venetian Senate called 9,200 additional infantry by the end of 1615, and 2,400 select militiamen from the *Terraferma*.¹⁶ The 2,400 of these “stoutest, most competent” militiamen were sent to Friuli and Istria and were among 12,000 total *Terraferma* soldiers.¹⁷ Mainland subjects were also responsible for providing room and board to garrisoned troops, satisfying requests for horses, and providing labor services as requested by auxiliary forces.¹⁸ Half the funds for these efforts came from municipal governments.¹⁹ To give some perspective, garrison numbers oscillated between 650–825 soldiers in the years 1605–07. Those numbers topped 2,000 following the Uskok War.²⁰ To make matters worse, these infantries were plagued by desertion, poor command, lack of proper armament, and inadequate bureaucratic oversight. Simply put, this was an extraordinarily costly venture. In *The Military Organization of a Renaissance State*, Mallet and Hale write, “There had probably never been a Venetian war in which more money had been handed out to captains for so few men actually fit to serve, or so much spent but unaccounted for . . . out of 7,737 infantry paid in Friuli in

¹³ My thanks to Karen-edis Barzman for alerting me to the existence of this play. For a more detailed analysis, see Barzman, 203–63.

¹⁴ Barzman, 224.

¹⁵ Caimmi, 77–78.

¹⁶ Mallett and Hale, 244.

¹⁷ Mallett and Hale, 363.

¹⁸ Gaddi and Zanninni, 294.

¹⁹ Mallett and Hale, 363.

²⁰ Gaddi and Zanninni, 301.

November 1616 only 2,700 could be found in camp in December.”²¹ All of this money represented resources that had to be rerouted from other fronts, the burden laid upon *Terraferma* subjects. In the end, a Lombard invasion never came, and a peaceful settlement eventually took place involving the removal and decimation of Uskok pirates by Austrian forces, while Venice respected Habsburg trading rights in the Adriatic. The Uskok harbors were destroyed, their ships burnt, and surviving Uskoks were transported to inner Croatia, where they slowly intermarried.²² I offer this description of the Uskok War and the unhappy fate of the Uskoks not only because historians seldom touch this period but also because it directly affected the musical life of Santa Maria Maggiore in Bergamo.

THE MUSICAL ROSTER AT SANTA MARIA MAGGIORE BEFORE THE USKOK WAR

To fully understand the financial impact of the Uskok War, it is necessary to examine the state of music at Santa Maria Maggiore outside of the crises of the 1620s, beginning with payments made to the Santa Maria Maggiore cappella (musical chapel) in 1601, the first year that full musician salary records exist from the MIA archives. In 1601, 5,823 lire was spent on musician salaries (fig. 1).²³ In addition to Cavaccio’s salary of 840 lire, this paid for twenty-four professional musicians: nine instrumentalists and fifteen singers.²⁴ There is some distinction between seminary students training in the MIA academy—who were expected to sing regularly as part of their studies, as musical education was a large part of their curriculum—and fully professional musicians. In this period, *musico* indicated the distinction of a professional or trained musician, rather than an amateur. Horatio Marzolo, for example, received a salary of 196 lire and 10 soldi with the title of *D. Pre Horatio cap[p]ellano residente in S.ta Maria maggiore et musico*.²⁵ Marzolo was a chaplain, for which he received 628 lire in 1601, and also a trained musician who served as the vice maestro di cappella. For comparison, many other priests on the *sacerdoti* payroll—salaried members of the clergy—were expected to sing regularly, as were the seminary students known as *chierici* (more on the *chierici* below), but those without the title of *musico* would receive far lower wages.²⁶ For example, the alto Geronimo

²¹ Mallett and Hale, 484.

²² Norwich, 520.

²³ MIA 1149, fol. 216^{r-v}.

²⁴ MIA 1149, fol. 189^r.

²⁵ MIA 1149, fol. 163^r.

²⁶ It is important to note that the documents are incredibly inconsistent with the use of this term, though I can make a broad generalization that musicians who often have *musico* attached to their name generally made a significantly higher stipend.

216 M D C I

Salario che si pagano a Musici della chiesa di S. Maria Maggiore ad i 14. Giugno 1601. Federico maggiore cantor

h	detto a Hieronimo Moroni trombato, pava al mese 174. l. 10. conto	185 7	140
r	detto al detto padella cantor. 12. 12. conto con 12. 12. al anno	185 7	100
r	detto a Giacopo Dalmasini organato di musica et cantore 1712 al anno	188 7	63
r	detto a Carlo Felice organato di tromba contralto 1712 al anno	179 7	81. 14
r	detto a P. Simon Bianchi cantor tenore	188 7	701
r	detto a P. Giovanni Morozzi musico Maestro di cappella	169 7	140
r	detto a P. Giovanni Morozzi musico Maestro di cappella	172 7	84
r	detto a P. Giovanni Morozzi musico Maestro di cappella	150 7	140
r	detto a P. Giovanni Morozzi musico Maestro di cappella	173 7	72. 15
r	detto a P. Giovanni Morozzi musico Maestro di cappella	189 7	297. 5
r	detto a P. Giovanni Morozzi musico Maestro di cappella	185 7	210
r	detto a P. Giovanni Morozzi musico Maestro di cappella	202 7	42
r	detto a P. Giovanni Morozzi musico Maestro di cappella	202 7	14
r	detto a P. Giovanni Morozzi musico Maestro di cappella	188 7	280
r	detto a P. Giovanni Morozzi musico Maestro di cappella	188 7	280
r	detto a P. Giovanni Morozzi musico Maestro di cappella	189 7	840
r	detto a P. Giovanni Morozzi musico Maestro di cappella	188 7	168
r	detto a P. Giovanni Morozzi musico Maestro di cappella	154 7	420
r	detto a P. Giovanni Morozzi musico Maestro di cappella	84 7	168
r	detto a P. Giovanni Morozzi musico Maestro di cappella	189 7	218. 18
r	detto a P. Giovanni Morozzi musico Maestro di cappella	184 7	336
r	detto a P. Giovanni Morozzi musico Maestro di cappella	184 7	588
r	detto a P. Giovanni Morozzi musico Maestro di cappella	218 7	146. 0
r	detto a P. Giovanni Morozzi musico Maestro di cappella	178 7	280
r	detto a P. Giovanni Morozzi musico Maestro di cappella	178 7	42
r	detto a P. Giovanni Morozzi musico Maestro di cappella	178 7	28
r	detto a P. Giovanni Morozzi musico Maestro di cappella	86 7	75. 15
r	detto a P. Giovanni Morozzi musico Maestro di cappella	180 7	70

S. Maria della chiesa di S. Maria Maggiore ad i 14. Giugno 1601. P. Giovanni Morozzi musico Maestro di cappella

r	detto a P. Giovanni Morozzi musico Maestro di cappella	125 7	4872
r	detto a P. Giovanni Morozzi musico Maestro di cappella	116 7	5823. 5
r	detto a P. Giovanni Morozzi musico Maestro di cappella	217 7	14497. 12. 11

Figure 1. 1601 musician salaries, Santa Maria Maggiore. MIA 1149, fol. 216^v. Courtesy of the Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai, Bergamo.

Posetto was paid just 42 lire per year for singing in Santa Maria Maggiore, in addition to one bushel of wheat.²⁷ Besides the maestro di cappella, the highest salary for a musician was 588 lire for Giulio Cesare Celani, a cornettist from

²⁷ MIA 1149, fol. 207^r.

Verona.²⁸ The cornetto, which was the primary virtuoso instrument of the seventeenth century, often allowed the cornettist to earn the highest pay among musicians, occasionally surpassing even the organist in terms of compensation. Underscoring the specialty nature of such an instrument, Celani had no religious duties as part of his salary and was expected to perform far less often than the regular singers. The other highest paid musicians included the organist, the contralto trombonist, and bass singers. The salary lists do not include the many musicians hired for additional forces on important feast days, such as the basilica's titular festival, the Assumption of Mary, celebrated every year on August 15. In 1600, for example, Cavaccio hired twelve additional performers to complement the full cappella—six singers and a violone player from the cathedral, one singer and one violone player from the church of San Alessandro, a German cornettist, and a tenor violinist—for a combined total of 41 lire for the day.²⁹ As part of his duties, Cavaccio was responsible for hiring and managing these musicians.³⁰

These archival records suggest an institution committed to a significant amount of large-scale polyphony throughout the year, more so than many other comparable churches and cathedrals. This allowed the basilica to continue performing large-scale polychoral repertoire long after many other institutions transitioned to small-scale motets, sometimes earning music in Bergamo the anachronistic reputation of artistic conservatism. To offer some perspective, a printed broadside found in the MIA archive outlines the duties and responsibilities of the basilica's singers, as well as a list of punitive measures put in place for transgressions such as truancy or inappropriate behavior during services.³¹ The document also reveals how often singers were required to perform in the church. This includes all Sundays of the year, with a few exceptions (the Sundays from Septuagesima to Palm Sunday, and the Sunday of the autumn holidays), as well as Compline after the noon hour every day during the forty-day Lenten period. Additionally, there is a full list of forty-six specific feast days throughout the year, totaling approximately 138 services.

Although San Marco in Venice was still far and away the most opulent and noteworthy institution in Northern Italy for performances of large-scale sacred polyphony, Bergamo emerges as extraordinarily neglected when this evidence is taken into account. James Moore's research has shown that singers had to be

²⁸ MIA 1149, fol. 184^r.

²⁹ MIA 1389, fol. 370^r.

³⁰ Padoan, 57–60.

³¹ MIA 2285, fol. 13.

present for around two hundred Vespers services at San Marco, as well as all feasts of duplex rank when they were expected to sing polyphony at one or both Vespers.³² For comparison, large scale polyphony at the Gothic church of San Francesco in Milan, where the composer Giovanni Ghizzolo worked as maestro di cappella, was limited to five feast days per year.³³ The Milanese ducal chapel of Santa Maria della Scala led by Orfeo Vecchi held a regiment of six adult singers, one organist, and sopranos hired as needed; the only truly large-scale polyphony was when Vecchi would join forces with the *Duomo* for four-choir music during events such as the funeral for Philip II.³⁴ Treviso followed a liturgy similar to that of Venice, but the cathedral there had nowhere near the same frequency of polyphonic performance as Bergamo. Bonnie Blackburn's meticulous research has determined that polyphony was performed thirty-two days of the year in Treviso.³⁵ To reiterate the above figures as outlined in this paper, polyphony was performed 138 times per year at Santa Maria Maggiore in Bergamo, and on at least thirty-four of those days the basilica heard large-scale—and expensive—polychoral repertoire. In this light, relegating Bergamo to the Venetian periphery is a disservice to the sheer scale of musical production at Santa Maria Maggiore.

Indeed, Cavaccio's posthumous reputation as a composer is hampered in part by the nature of this oeuvre. Jerome Roche, one of the only musicologists to have significantly engaged with the composer, cursorily dismisses his entire output as "rather dull."³⁶ Roche can be forgiven for his disinterest, particularly considering that Roche was writing in 1966, when there was scant scholarship on Alessandro Grandi and other figures surrounding the avant-garde of the Seicento.³⁷ At a time when inventive *concertato* motets were flourishing, Cavaccio was producing Franco-Flemish polyphony in the tradition of Palestrina and Orlando di Lasso, as well as polychoral repertoire for use at Santa Maria Maggiore—genres a generation out of date by 1620 when viewed in teleological terms. The historiographic trend towards teleology has shifted musical histories towards the innovators, most specifically in regional centers of power such as Florence and Venice, anachronistically relegating Bergamo to peripheral status. It was only after the MIA was

³² Moore, 183–84.

³³ Kendrick, 67.

³⁴ Kendrick, 69.

³⁵ Blackburn, 21–32.

³⁶ Roche, 1966, 305.

³⁷ There is some attention to Grandi in Einstein; Fortune. The first English-language source of significance was Arnold.

forced to reevaluate its fiduciary duties that those responsible for music in Santa Maria Maggiore began to embrace the emerging *concertato* idiom out of necessity.

THE EMERGING CONCERTATO IDIOM

In the early years of the Seicento, composers throughout the cities of Northern Italy adopted the small-scale, few-voiced *concertato* motet as their primary idiom for setting sacred texts to music. There were both financial and musical reasons for this stylistic shift. A full account of the idiom's emergence and dissemination can be found elsewhere and is beyond the scope of this article.³⁸ However, a brief overview of this genre's development will help contextualize Bergamo's disinterest, embrace, and subsequent abandonment of the *concertato* motet amidst the larger geopolitical realities discussed in this article. The closing quarter of the sixteenth century saw an enormous output of published polyphonic psalm collections in Italy, the vast majority using *falsobordone*, a relatively simple harmonization technique built on an existing melody.³⁹ Right around the year 1600, many of these compositions exhibited a drastic change in character. In much of Northern Italy, the polychoral style so associated with San Marco in Venice style gave way to small-scale *concertato* motets using a small group of soloists. The onus of the harmony shifted to the continuo, and the vertical elements of the music slowly undermined the horizontal counterpoint. Looming large in studies of this emerging few-voiced genre in early modern Italy is the work of composer Lodovico Viadana. One of Viadana's most influential prints was published in 1602: *Cento concerti ecclesiastici*, a collection of ninety-six sacred motets for one to four voices. The work was partly a reaction to spreading and diversifying practice of a style he saw as his own. The *Cento concerti ecclesiastici* was the first published example of basso continuo with figured bass, which has earned him the spurious title of the musical device's inventor, an erroneous attribution that persisted in music scholarship until the twentieth century.⁴⁰ By introducing the independent basso continuo into a sacred context, composers began breaking away from the traditional concept of doubling the vocal parts on the organ.⁴¹ Viadana explains that he developed his new style of small-scale *concertato* motets while sojourning

³⁸ Jerome Roche offers an excellent description on the development of this few-voiced genre starting around 1600 through the mid-seventeenth century. See Roche, 1984, 62–109. See also Carter; Kirwan-Mott.

³⁹ For more on performing *falsobordone*, see Bradshaw.

⁴⁰ Lang, 358. He refers to Viadana's *Cento concerti ecclesiastici* as the first publication to include thorough bass.

⁴¹ Horsley, 470.

in Rome some five or six years before the book was first printed.⁴² He mentions in his preface an impetus behind this publication: “Since others are starting to steal my style, I better get these things out there, so to speak.”⁴³ In an effort to preserve an emerging sense of authorial control, Viadana unleashed what was to be among the most influential musical products of his era. *Cento concerti ecclesiastici* was especially popular in German-speaking lands, where it was published for the first time in 1609.⁴⁴ A second German print in 1625 included a vernacular translation of Viadana’s lengthy preface. Buoying the popularity of this style in Germany was the Thirty Years’ War; the small-scale performance possibilities especially suited the needs of impoverished German chapels. The dates of these two editions of *Cento concerti ecclesiastici* roughly coincide with Heinrich Schütz’s two visits to Venice. The German composer first went to the city in 1609 and studied with Giovanni Gabrieli for roughly three years. Upon his second visit in 1629, he found the newer *concertato* idiom fully entrenched, and the influence of this drastic stylistic change can be seen in Schütz’s *Symphoniae Sacrae I* (1629). As Roche notes, the smaller few-voiced idiom was not only a financial necessity, especially in a landscape deeply mired in a vicious war, but also gave composers an opportunity to experiment with more subtle modes of text expression.⁴⁵

The influence of Italian music north of the Alps has largely been described as arising via personal connection and apprenticeship with Gabrieli and other Venetian superstars. However, the popularity and availability of prints such as Giulio Caccini’s *Le nuove musiche* and Viadana’s *Cento concerti ecclesiastici* are equally important to the story of the dissemination of Italian music abroad, especially considering locations apart from cities where Venetian-born and Venetian-trained composers emigrated. Metoda Kokole, for example, has shown how circulation of Viadana prints and anthology collections contributed to the emerging *concertato* idiom in Austrian territory. The 1625 edition of *Cento concerti ecclesiastici* paved the way for the *concertato* style in the inner Austrian lands at a time when Italian music was mostly known only at the imperial court at Graz.⁴⁶ Contributing to the widespread use of the idiom was the reality that this genre was the most versatile of its time, as shown by Anthony Cummings’s foundational 1981 essay.⁴⁷ In the post-Tridentine era, the balance between liturgical codification and local tradition contributed to

⁴² Preface to Viadana, 1964.

⁴³ Preface to Viadana, 1964.

⁴⁴ Viadana, 1609.

⁴⁵ Roche, 1972, 1074.

⁴⁶ Kokole, 481.

⁴⁷ Cummings.

the genre's popularity. Unlike the strict liturgical genres, motets made use of a wide range of liturgical and paraliturgical texts.⁴⁸ However, because the MIA continued to lavishly fund music in Santa Maria Maggiore during the early Seicento, polychoral repertoire sustained its performance regularity. This resulted in the paradoxical situation of Bergamo simultaneously being deemed musically conservative by modern scholarship in terms of its reliance on high-Renaissance idioms and performing forces, and radical in its emancipation from the shackles of fashion. What others have found to be retrograde music because the composers and their music did not fit into the teleology of Seicento musical development, I find to be singular in its freedom from austerity-driven stylistic modification. Bergamo represents the deep tension in the post-Tridentine era between innovation and tradition. However, the financial realities of the expensive Uskok War finally forced the MIA to make some difficult choices.

THE EFFECTS OF THE USKOK WAR ON MUSICAL ACTIVITY AT SANTA MARIA MAGGIORE

The economic impact of the war affected everyone throughout the region. Lacking a central authority, the MIA was Bergamo's de facto court, and their operating budget comprised land holdings, rent, and agricultural production, as well as major bequeathments. Venetian authorities demanded resources to pay for the war, and they had to be diverted from somewhere. 1615 was the peak of the Santa Maria Maggiore cappella's numbers, when twenty-seven musicians were employed in the basilica at a cost of 6,312 lire, 14 soldi (fig. 2).⁴⁹ A comparison of the rosters from 1601 and 1615 shows remarkable stability (appendix 1). The only major change was an increase in pay for professional performers, including Cavaccio's 1605 raise to 1,000 lire per year.⁵⁰ In 1601 there were fifteen singers, just as in 1615; five of these singers remained on the roster for the entire period in question, including Francesco Bazino, who continued singing as a contralto after his soprano voice broke. Additionally, both years include six wind musicians—a combination of different trombones and cornetto, as well as a string player. Four of these instrumentalists were mainstays through these fourteen years, as well. Cavaccio and the two organists

⁴⁸ Rodríguez-García and Filipi, 8.

⁴⁹ MIA 1152, fol. 556^v.

⁵⁰ MIA 1150, fol. 165^{f-v}. Cavaccio's salary was restructured from 840 to 1000 lire per year on 25 June 1605, seven years after his original contract. Contracts were typically for a period of three, five, or seven years.

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di D. Cocchini

Salario de Musici de la Chiesa de Santa Maria Maggiore Anno 1516	6593 18	4
10 Salario de Musici de la Chiesa de Santa Maria Maggiore Anno 1516	2000	250
11 Salario de Musici de la Chiesa de Santa Maria Maggiore Anno 1516	1800	140
12 Salario de Musici de la Chiesa de Santa Maria Maggiore Anno 1516	4400	126
13 Salario de Musici de la Chiesa de Santa Maria Maggiore Anno 1516	1800	420
14 Salario de Musici de la Chiesa de Santa Maria Maggiore Anno 1516	1190	350
15 Salario de Musici de la Chiesa de Santa Maria Maggiore Anno 1516	440	126
16 Salario de Musici de la Chiesa de Santa Maria Maggiore Anno 1516	4500	126
17 Salario de Musici de la Chiesa de Santa Maria Maggiore Anno 1516	3400	21
18 Salario de Musici de la Chiesa de Santa Maria Maggiore Anno 1516	2400	21
19 Salario de Musici de la Chiesa de Santa Maria Maggiore Anno 1516	5900	21 19
20 Salario de Musici de la Chiesa de Santa Maria Maggiore Anno 1516	6000	62 12 8
21 Salario de Musici de la Chiesa de Santa Maria Maggiore Anno 1516	5800	70
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67 Salario de Musici de la Chiesa de Santa Maria Maggiore Anno 1516	5800	70
68 Salario de Musici de la Chiesa de Santa Maria Maggiore Anno 1516	5800	70
69 Salario de Musici de la Chiesa de Santa Maria Maggiore Anno 1516	5800	70
70 Salario de Musici de la Chiesa de Santa Maria Maggiore Anno 1516	5800	70

Figure 2. 1615 musician salaries, Santa Maria Maggiore. MIA 1152, fol. 556^v. Courtesy of the Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai, Bergamo.

were another constant, and would remain even after the roster cuts, though at reduced pay. The large ensemble was a firmly established reality by the time the crises hit Bergamo. With this in mind, the drastic effect of the Uskok War in 1618 is unmistakably evident, as the MIA reduced spending for the basilica all around, slashing the musical budget by nearly 60 percent. Remaining on the musical payroll were only Cavaccio (at a 40 percent pay cut), the two organists,

and four singers.⁵¹ The MIA had been wanting to restructure the makeup of the cappella, sensing that thirty-six musicians was an inordinately large number compared to other, nearby institutions.⁵² Musician salaries were not the only casualties in these budget cuts. While essential expenditures for the basilica remained relatively steady—covering items such as candles and wax, sacramental wine, and necessary masonry work—the salaries for the *chierici*, or the seminary students, as well as the *predicatori*, were drastically reduced (appendix 2). The newly pared-down musical ensemble would have been well equipped to handle much of the *concertato* repertoire emerging from Venice, though Cavaccio was evidently not expecting this new direction, nor was it welcome.

A supposition that this move away from large performing forces was unexpected is supported by Cavaccio's purchase of music books in January 1611. Cavaccio added six collections to the basilica's musical library, representing new compositions from Brescia, Mantua, Milan, and Orvieto. Five of the six music books listed on this document were published in 1610, one of them in 1609, showing Cavaccio was keeping up to date with the newest publications, but was nonetheless favoring so-called conservative books of sacred polychoral music, even if from more adventurous composers like Monteverdi (fig. 3).⁵³ The information provided in documents such as this do not always reveal enough to definitively point to a specific publication; in this case, luckily, the receipt offers enough to identify the specific items with certainty.

- Ghizzolo, Giovanni. *Integra omnium solemnitarum psalmodia vespertine*. Mediolani: Simonis Tini, 1609.
- Gussago, Cesario. *Psalmi ad vespervas solemnitarum totius anni*. Venetijs: Ricciardum Amadinum, 1610.
- Lambardi, Girolamo. *Psalmodia vespertine omnium solemnitarum cum Canticò Beatae Mariae Virginis . . . liber secundus*. Venezia: Caenobio, 1610.
- Monteverdi, Claudio. *Sanctissimae Virgini Missa senis vocibus ac Vesperae pluribus decantandae, cum nonnullis sacris concentibus, ad Sacella sive Principum Cubicula accommodata*. Venetiis: Ricciardum Amadinum, 1610.
- Mortaro, Antonio. *Primo choro à quattro voci del Secondo Libro delle Messe, Salmi, Magnificat, Canzoni da suonare, & Falsa Bordonni, à XIII*. Milano: Tini, Simone, eredi e Filippo Lomazzo, 1610.
- Piccioni, Giovanni. *Concerti ecclesiastici . . . a una, a due, a tre, a quattro, a cinque, a sei, a sette, & a otto voci, con il suo basso seguito per l'organo*. Venezia: Giacomo Vincenti, 1610.

⁵¹ MIA 1153, fol. 395^r. The musicians who survived the purge were the organists Giacomo Brignolo (245 lire) and Antonio Osia (280 lire), the soprano Alfonso Cani (140 lire), the contralto Andrea Camerata (205 lire), tenor and vice maestro di cappella Giacomo Cornolto (200 lire), and the bass Pietro Valcarenzo (560 lire). Cavaccio's salary was just 600 lire.

⁵² On the restructuring of the chapel, see Padoan, 132–38.

⁵³ MIA 1538, fol. 32^r.

*giornario libri am 3ⁿⁱ canche
 in trionfo*
 Due libro de salmi legati insieme con salmi a 8. del
 Guffagni, et Guffagni con il basso dell'organo dell'una et
 l'altra muta —
 Il secondo libro delle messe salmi Maj^e Carloni et Guffagni
 cordoni de' Padri Marano ai 3 con la Paratoni —
 Messa et salmi a sei voci di Claudio Monte uendi con
 il basso dell'organo —
 Il quarto de' concerti Celestiaci a una, a 2, a 3, a
 4, a 5, a 6, a 7, a 8, a 9, a 10, et a 11 voci, et a 12
 alia copia legata insieme a una 2 3 4 5 6 7 et
 otto voci di Giovan Piffoni con il basso del
 organo dell'una et l'altra copia —
 Il 5^o libro de' salmi a 8 voci di Hieronimo
 Lombardi —
 Un Trombone p^{er} par in Chiesa con un Boccetto usato
 Gio: Inghis 1611 furono consegnate Dⁿⁱ Liori et Sombard
 a Gio: Canaccio maestro della cappella p^{er} permette honorat buona
 cultura et celestissimi aggrate de' Sⁿⁱ Deputati.
 Io Gio: Canaccio affermo come sop^{ra}.
 1616 g^{io} 1^o ha restituito il Trombone con boccetto
 come in ante^{riori} —

Figure 3. 1611 document listing five newly acquired music books, plus a trombone and used mouthpiece, signed by Giovanni Cavaccio. MIA 1538, fol. 32^r. Courtesy of the Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai, Bergamo.

Cesario Gussago and Antonio Mortaro were both Brescian composers, and Cavaccio maintained a close network with musicians from Brescia, particularly those associated with the cathedral.⁵⁴ These two books contained music for polychoral ensembles for up to twelve and thirteen individual parts. The contents include Magnificat settings, masses, Vespers psalms, and *falsobordone*. Gussago served as organist at Santa Marie delle Grazie where Pietro Lappi was the maestro di cappella.⁵⁵ This church, like Santa Maria Maggiore, was a site of Marian devotion built around a venerated image of the Virgin that had come to prominence during the 1452 plague.⁵⁶ The Mortaro book included *falsobordone* at the end of the volume, and Cavaccio would publish his own similar work the following year as part of his *Messe per i defunti* with the same Milanese publishing firm.⁵⁷ The polychoral offerings of Piccioni's *Concerti ecclesiastici* are modeled after the polychoral compositions of Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli, according to the composer's prefatory remarks.⁵⁸ Piccioni was working in Orvieto, but also had been employed as the organist at the cathedral in Gubbio, recently shown to have been one of the neglected centers of polychoral development.⁵⁹ The Monteverdi volume is none other than the so-called Vespers of 1610. It is remarkable to see Cavaccio purchase these partbooks hot off the presses, before Monteverdi even took up his post at San Marco in Venice.

While it is easy to focus on the startling and radical *concertato* motets in Monteverdi's 1610 publication, it truly was a malleable collection, much like many of Viadana's publications. The musical contents were pliable enough to be of use throughout the liturgical calendar year and in many different types of institutions. Decades of scholarship focused on deciphering the specific liturgic context for the unusual program found within, but the concept of performing an entire publication in one sitting was an alien concept, too often anachronistically superimposed upon early modern publications. The literature on Monteverdi's Vespers is vast, and further investigation is beyond the scope of this article. Suffice it to say, this eccentric publication can easily be explained as a portfolio of a musician in search of stable, well-paying work.⁶⁰ For a Marian Vespers, the same psalms were sung at all of the feasts: Purification (February 2), Annunciation (March 25), Visitation (July 2),

⁵⁴ Rosenholtz-Witt, 92–105.

⁵⁵ Roche, 1984, 23.

⁵⁶ Bowd, 223.

⁵⁷ Cavaccio, 1611.

⁵⁸ Piccioni, 1610.

⁵⁹ Morucci.

⁶⁰ See especially Kurtzman, 1999 and 2020.

Our Lady of the Snow (August 5), Assumption (August 15), Nativity (September 8), and Conception (December 8). The antiphons varied according to the feast. If Monteverdi was publishing for a practical reason, why would he limit their use to one day? Therefore, he then inserted sacred songs—as is said in the title page—to make this collection versatile and useful. One could substitute the appropriate antiphons for the day or use the songs separately. In this sense, it is a collection very much at home with Cavaccio's expanding library for Santa Maria Maggiore. Monteverdi's 1610 Vespers has been codified into a unified concert work today through staged concerts and audio recordings. As such, it is easy to overlook the masses, composed in a high Renaissance idiom closer in style to Palestrina or Cavaccio. The fact that Monteverdi's masses were Marian likely strengthened their cachet within Santa Maria Maggiore.

The same document also lists the acquisition of a trombone and a used mouthpiece, for the use of performance in the church.⁶¹ I use the term *acquisition* because no prices are listed in this document, and the MIA itself owned the musical instruments in cases such as this. Cavaccio included an addendum at the bottom of the document on 9 September 1616 indicating his return of the instrument and mouthpiece to Marc Antonio Benaglio, an MIA official.⁶² Giovanni Cavaccio presumably acquired the instrument for use by his son Ludovico Cavaccio, for whom he successfully lobbied a paid position in the cappella in a 1610 letter of request.⁶³

The newly reduced musical ensemble forced upon Santa Maria Maggiore's cappella in 1618 would have been well equipped to handle a great deal of *concertato* repertoire, but the music acquired by Cavaccio in 1611 would have been rendered mostly unplayable after the roster purge, other than several isolated motets. Up until this time, Cavaccio almost exclusively composed large-scale polyphony or five-voiced masses and motets in an imitative polyphonic style in line with Orlando di Lasso and his circle—unsurprising, as Cavaccio was once a young pupil of Lasso during his time in Munich.⁶⁴ Cavaccio had published no new volumes since 1611 after the blistering pace of

⁶¹ MIA 1538, fol. 32^r: “Uno Trombone per sonar in Chiesa con un Bocchetto usato [One trombone for use in the church, with one used mouthpiece].”

⁶² MIA 1538, fol. 32^r: “1616 9 settembre ha restituito Il trombon con bocchetto a me m. ant. ben[aglio] . . . Io Gio. Cavaccio affermo come sopra [On 9 September 1616, the trombone along with the mouthpiece was returned to me, Marc' Antonio Benaglio . . . I, Giovanni Cavaccio, confirm as above.]”

⁶³ MIA 1450, fol. 458^{r-v}.

⁶⁴ For more on Cavaccio's tutelage in Munich and his association with Lasso's circle, see Rosenholtz-Witt, 60–74.

his early career, while he was still pushing for a better post and salary. The new and uncomfortable position in which he found himself in 1617/18 may have spurred a newly invigorated program of composition, designed for a few-voiced *concertato* ensemble. This may explain the striking departure found in Cavaccio's *Nuovo giardino* (1620).⁶⁵ This publication stands out in Cavaccio's sole-authored output, consisting of mostly of two-voice motets, which comprised thirty-one out of forty-one compositions. These motets are both liturgic and paraliturgic—a malleable repertoire for a diverse set of circumstances.

The dedicatee of *Nuovo giardino* was a Bergamasco figure named Sillano Licino: a lawyer, government official, and author. Detailed biographical information on Licino remains elusive, though there is at least one other publication of music dedicated to Licino—a 1599 lute publication by the Bergamasco composer Giovanni Terzi.⁶⁶ This was Terzi's second book of lute intabulations, following a 1593 volume. Terzi's dedicatees contain commonalities with Cavaccio; Terzi's 1593 publication is dedicated to another Bergamasque figure: the cavalier Bartolomeo Fino, also the dedicatee of Cavaccio's *Hinni correnti* (1605).⁶⁷ Terzi includes intabulations of Cavaccio compositions in both of his lute books, as well.⁶⁸ Licino was not only the author of the epitaph on Cavaccio's tombstone but also of an oration in praise of Ottavio Rinuccini for his tomb.⁶⁹ Terzi and Cavaccio evidently ran in similar social circles, though the lute seems not to have been favored as a continuo instrument in Santa Maria Maggiore. It is more likely that Terzi was part of the private musical life within the noble households of Bergamo, a topic for another project. Both *Hinni correnti* and *Nuovo giardino* came at crucial junctures in his career, and they are the only volumes to offer specific Bergamasco dedicatees since Cavaccio's elevation to maestro di cappella of Santa Maria Maggiore in 1598. *Nuovo giardino* also disproves the notion that Cavaccio was unable (or unwilling) to compose in the newer *concertato* idiom; rather, he only did so when the financial circumstances of his musical chapel dictated as such.

The shift in 1618 was perhaps too drastic and did not sit well with the general population, not to mention the musicians. There was fierce debate over the restructured musical chapel; after much back and forth, it was decided

⁶⁵ Cavaccio, 1620. Listed as lost in some catalogues of Cavaccio's oeuvre, the complete set of partbooks is housed in the Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Kraków.

⁶⁶ Terzi, 1599.

⁶⁷ Cavaccio, 1605.

⁶⁸ Cavaccio's *Ad dominum cum tribularer*, a5 is included in Terzi, 1593; Cavaccio's *Amarosa fenice*, a5 is in Terzi, 1599.

⁶⁹ *Biografie di scrittori e artisti musicali bergamaschi nativi od oriundi di Giov. Simone Mayr*, 146.

that four additional singers should be rehired, though at a reduced rate.⁷⁰ In October 1618 the council noted that

the music needs more reform, as with only four voices and the organists music can be made only with the greatest difficulty. . . . Since the desire of the whole city is for the church and choir to be maintained in splendor and with the customary magnificence, it has been decided after much discussion to add four more singers at the lowest possible salary.⁷¹

Meanwhile, Cavaccio's reputation had continued to grow, both within and outside the walls of Bergamo—a reputation he was able to leverage into a competing job offer. In a December 1618 letter to the MIA, Cavaccio wrote that he had been offered the post of maestro di cappella of Brescia Cathedral, a job he would take unless immediately reinstated at his original salary of 1,000 lire.⁷² The MIA acquiesced and reinstated Cavaccio's previous salary, even allowing him to scale back his pedagogical duties, eventually teaching just four boys at his home for an additional stipend.⁷³

A *CHIERICO*'S PLEA AND THE 1622 FOOD SHORTAGE

By 1621, the MIA had fully reversed course, paying nearly 7,000 lire per year for sixteen full-time musicians: six instrumentalists and ten singers.⁷⁴ This was an even higher operating budget than before the recent cuts. Still, the food economy was extremely susceptible to weather fluctuation in the form of either too much or too little rain. Starting in 1622, one year after the restoration of Santa Maria Maggiore's cappella, food shortages beleaguered Bergamo, leading to increased petitions to the MIA for both pay raises and help in the form of household staples. It was not uncommon for Bergamasque citizens from all walks of life to seek support from the MIA, the main source of charity in the city. However, the petitions certainly increased surrounding food shortage years. In a 1622 letter to the MIA council, Bernardino Rossi wrote that he had been singing soprano in Santa Maria Maggiore for two years without a

⁷⁰ Minutes and notes from council meetings can be found in the *Terminazioni* section of the MIA archives: fifty-eight volumes in MIA Armadio LXIII.

⁷¹ MIA 1280, fol. 131^v. This translation by Roche, 1966, 304.

⁷² MIA 1451, fol. 623^r.

⁷³ MIA 1153, fol. 202^r: “[L]ire 36 pagato . . . insegnar a cantar à 4 scolari per tre mese [paid 36 lire to teach singing to four schoolchildren for three months].” In quarterly installments, this added 144 lire per year to Cavaccio's salary, plus the wine and grain the students would bring him as an additional stipend.

⁷⁴ MIA 1154, fol. 145^r.

salary (fig. 4).⁷⁵ Rossi, like many of the singers who sang daily, was a *chierico* on the ecclesiastic payroll. According to the *Grande dizionario della lingua italiano*, a *chierico* at this time and place referred to a young person preparing for priesthood and who had already worn the habit—essentially, a seminary student.⁷⁶ The MIA founded the *Accademia dei chierici* in 1566, modeled in many ways on its grammar school (in operation since 1506), albeit with a more religiously orthodox structure in line with Tridentine reform.⁷⁷ Applicants had to be at least twelve years old (though they could be older), and the MIA demanded an eight-year commitment for any enrollee.⁷⁸ The MIA supported the *chierici* in the form of housing, food, haircuts, and education, but the program suffered from mismanagement, financial struggles, and student disobedience.

A new Academy of Clerics was formed in 1617, and this is where Bernardo Rossi, our letter writer, would have been trained. The academy was designed for sixty students, twenty of whom were designated as *chierici* and served on a weekly basis in Santa Maria Maggiore in exchange for a salary of 20 lire, six bushels of grain, and two vats of wine.⁷⁹ Many of the students came from less privileged families and were often attending the MIA's academy on a scholarship. Dating to the fourteenth century, the MIA would distribute a fixed amount of scholarship money to a limited number of students who met their criteria; for other poverty-stricken students, the MIA would allocate limited amounts of food, money, clothing, etc., deemed necessary upon request.⁸⁰ Unlike the first academy, however, the MIA indicated a distinct preference for more noble—that is to say, monied—students in the restructured *Accademia dei chierici*. According to Christopher Carlsmith, this underscored a larger supraregional trend towards aristocratization, imitating the Colleges of Nobles established in Milan and Parma.⁸¹

However, letters such as Rossi's indicate that a number of less wealthy families still managed to send their children to the MIA's academies. The *chierico* Rossi was initially awarded payment in the form of one year's housing in exchange for his services as a vocalist. His talents as a soprano allowed him to

⁷⁵ MIA 1154, fol. 145^r: “Un’anno per secondo soprano . . . un’altro anno per soprano primero senza alcuno salario [One year as second soprano . . . another year as first soprano without a salary].” See appendix 4 for full transcription and translation of the letter.

⁷⁶ The twenty-one-volume dictionary is an indispensable source for discovering changing, nuanced definitions of Italian words at specific times in history.

⁷⁷ Carlsmith, 110.

⁷⁸ Carlsmith, 111–12.

⁷⁹ Carlsmith, 135.

⁸⁰ For a detailed account on the origin, history, and implementation of the MIA's scholarship system, see Carlsmith, 110–22.

⁸¹ Carlsmith, 136.

41

Molto Magnifico Signor Patroni et Padri deo mi

Sono due anni che io Bernardino Rossi chierico secundo per Cantor
 soprano nella nobilissima chiesa di S. Maria senza alcuno
 stipendio. et se bene giugor della mia condotta fatta
 dell'VSS ad i 12 Aprile ibig io doueua esser pagatiglia
 un anno con quel salario di sopra posto a questo Magnifico Consiglio:
 tutta uia sapendo che per la prudenza loro ha maggior
 forza il continuato, et uicente seruiro, et l'importuna donada
 dopo l'hauer seruito un anno secondo sopra, ho seruito ancora
 un altro anno di sopra primiero senza alcun salario. Hora contin-
 ando pure la mia seruita in tempo che ella piu di mai e necessa-
 ria, come e ben noto alla VSS. le supplico a determinarmi
 conueniente salario conforme alla detta condotta con hauer
 riguardo non meno al mio urgente bisogno, et alla seruita
 che io presto. et le faccio humilissima riverenza. —

Bernardino Rossi. —

Figure 4. 1622 letter from Bernardino Rossi to the MIA. MIA 1452, fol. 41^r. Courtesy of the Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai, Bergamo.

move from the second soprano role to the first. While all *chierici* received musical instruction, Rossi's role as *soprano primiero* indicates an above average talent. The challenges brought on by food shortages and the ensuing price hikes

likely spurred him to finally write to the MIA. In his plea, Rossi urged the MIA to consider his talent and conduct in their determination of a salary, rather than the individual needs brought on by the external crisis. For its part, the MIA seems to have made efforts to support, or at least placate, these requests when the need was justified. In this case, the ledger books show Rossi receiving an additional 84 lire the following year for his singing, a significant increase from the 20 lire he received as a *chierico*.⁸² The archival records are unclear about Bernardino Rossi's ensuing musical career. Cavaccio would often pay unnamed *chierici* for special events and on days requiring large numbers of musicians, and it is impossible to know the specific singers' names. The only other record of Bernardino Rossi is for a payment of 14 lire for singing a solo role inside Santa Maria Maggiore on an undefined day in 1628.⁸³

THE 1629 CRISIS PROCESSION AND CIVIC IDENTITY

This large, festive musical event for Assumption took place just two months after the June 1629 crisis procession discussed in this article's opening paragraphs. If the timing seems inappropriate for lavish spending, the calendric realities of these two events stipulated an elaborate musical celebration for the Feast of the Assumption in August. Much as the sounds of the bells served as temporal markers in the daily life of an early modern Italian citizen, the calendric rituals and celebrations served as temporal markers on a macro scale. In the words of Edward Muir:

Calendric rites ease the transition from scarcity to plenty, as at harvest feasts, or from plenty to scarcity, when winter hardships are magically anticipated. Calendric rites are thus buffers against the potential of chaos; with these rites the superior claims of group over individual interests are emphasized, and the cohesiveness of society is, in theory, reinforced. If life crisis rites define the idiosyncratic, the personal, and the biological, then in contrast calendric rites proclaim the communal, the universal, and the eternal.⁸⁴

The feast of 1629 not only marked a transition from scarcity to plenty, but from starvation to survival. Although detailed information illuminating the Bergamo procession is lacking, Remi Chiu's investigation into processional music during times of plague, famine, and pestilence provides insight into sound that might have been present during the event on 9 June 1629. Chiu writes about the first pestilential procession in 590 with Pope Gregory I:

⁸² MIA 1154, fol. 145^r.

⁸³ MIA 1155, fol. 357^r.

⁸⁴ Muir, 1981, 75–76.

As he headed the trains of suffering Romans, Gregory carried an image of Mary, purportedly made by St. Luke himself. At once, the sacred image cleansed the surrounding air of infection as it moved through the city. The voices of angels were heard around the image singing the Marian antiphon *Regina coeli Laetare alleluia / Quia quem meruisti portare alleluia / Resurrexit sicut dixit alleluia*, to which Gregory responded, “Ora pro nobis Deum rogamus, alleluia.”⁸⁵

According to Benaglio’s account of the crisis procession in Bergamo, the procession route began inside the cathedral, since the relics were housed therein, moved outside and into the city streets (stopping in various churches along the way), and ended at the entrance to Santa Maria Maggiore. The standard procession formula in the post-Tridentine catholic world was an antiphon, versicle, and response, then a collect (*oratio*).⁸⁶ For Venetians (and Venetian subjects) who preferred Marian devotion for crisis processions, they ended with a *Salve Regina*. One such example for use in Bergamo is the *Salve Regina* in Cavaccio’s *Messe per i defunti* (1611), the final antiphon in the collection for five voices with no continuo: a perfect ensemble for a procession pausing at the entrance of the basilica. Particularly on days of special petition, such as the so-called crisis procession, litanies to the saints were sung in the streets. Chiu refers to these as the iconic sound of these public devotions, the term *litany* itself serving as synecdoche for the procession.⁸⁷ The Greater Litanies were associated with April 25, the old pagan day for blessing the growing crops, and as such were particularly appropriate during a procession for famine.⁸⁸ These were solemn events, not meant for spectatorship. Participation was total, and if one was not taking part, the expectation would be to remain sequestered away from view.⁸⁹ This attempt at totality was an aggregate act of civic cooperation and gave the impression of a shared communal goal.

An example of the musical litany of the saints is Cavaccio’s *Litanie . . . a doi chori* (1587) (figs. 5–6).⁹⁰ The collection is dedicated to the Gonfalone of San Croce, but the mention of a number of specific names of MIA officials in this dedication is striking, as well as a reference to the year in which the MIA was founded. Without specifically mentioning the confraternity, this is not only a laudatory musical praise to the MIA, the organization Cavaccio was actively

⁸⁵ Chiu, 2012, 178.

⁸⁶ Harper, 127.

⁸⁷ Chiu, 2017, 103.

⁸⁸ Harper, 137.

⁸⁹ Flanigan, 39.

⁹⁰ Cavaccio, 1587. The partbooks do not survive in complete specimen, but several remain intact in Milan’s Verdi Conservatory of Music library.

Primus Chorus. A 8. CANTVS
 PRO VENERABILI CONFRATERNITATE
 CONEALONIS BERGOMI
 Amant alterna canentz.

Kyrie eleison Kyrie elei son
 Christe exaudi nos miserere nobis ij
 Miserere nobis Miserere no bis San
 ta Mari a Sancta Dei genitrix Sancta
 virgo virginum Sancte Michael Sancte Gabriel Sancte Ra-
 phael omnes sancti Angeli & Arcangeli orate orate pro
 nobis ora pro nobis ora pro nobis Omnes sancti
 orate pro nobis Sancte Petre Sancte Pau le

Figure 6. Cavaccio, *Litanie in doi modi*, opening musical page of the sole surviving partbook. Courtesy of the Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica Giuseppe Verdi, Milan.

Bergamo had always held fast to local variations independent from episcopal oversight, as previously shown, and there was significant deletion and insertion of local saints in the Bergamasque litany, as discussed by Gary Towne in his exploration of Gaspar de Albertis's funerary works.⁹¹

⁹¹ Towne.

Remi Chiu argues that the litany was, on account of its very structure, the perfect musical tool against the communal scourge of plague and famine.

The complete meaning of the litany prayer emerges in performance only through the coordinated participation of a penitential community—the call has to be met by a response, so every member of procession becomes indispensable to the success of the ritual. Moreover, the dynamic litany sends an audible pulse through the marching group and provides an ambulatory rhythm that unites the participants. At the same time, the call-and-response nature of this processional music articulates the difference in rank between the leaders and the followers, the clergy and the laity; each was held apart, and each had a distinct role to play. Weaving back and forth, the litany acts as a sonic suture that holds together the entire processional body.⁹²

Even if the Cavaccio examples were not the exact musical selections heard on June 9, pairing the composer's published litanies with the *Salve Regina* setting provides an auditory sample of what the soundscape of procession may have been. Besides the *Salve Regina*, the three other Marian antiphons that would have been appropriate were *Alma redemptoris mater*, *Ave Regina caelorum*, and *Regina caeli*.

The decision to have the procession culminate at Santa Maria Maggiore—and to display the sacraments there for ten days—speaks to the basilica's status as a symbol of communal unity. Edward Muir speaks of cities in general as mosaics of overlapping sacred and secular spaces that could imbue civic ritual with hidden meaning.⁹³ There is no better example than the space in front of Santa Maria Maggiore in Bergamo, shared not only by the cathedral directly next door but also by the town hall (fig. 7). In 1561, the Venetian Republic began construction on the fortified walls that still divide Bergamo into the *città alta* and *città bassa* (upper and lower cities). The massive engineering project resulted in the destruction of a number of churches, including Sant'Alessandro, one of two Bergamasque churches that historically claimed cathedral status. Each of these presumed cathedrals had its own separate chapter of canons, giving rise to a long series of bitter disputes.⁹⁴ After the destruction of Sant'Alessandro, the relics were translated to the now undisputed cathedral of San Vincenzo in the center of the *città alta* and adjacent to Santa Maria Maggiore. Additionally, the chapter canons were merged, though deep divisions remained between the two former rival factions, the displaced members generally opposing Venetian rule. The backdrop of this conflict was the

⁹² Chiu, 2012, 187.

⁹³ Muir, 1989.

⁹⁴ These disputes have been the subject of several scholarly investigations: Coreggi, Paganoni, and Rossi; Knox, 2001; Zonca.



Figure 7. Entrance to Santa Maria Maggiore on the left, and the Colleoni chapel to the right. Photo by author.

ongoing project of post-Tridentine reform. Milanese Archbishop Carlo Borromeo, the powerful reformer, controlled an episcopal jurisdiction that extended beyond the Milan/Venice border and into Bergamo. In fact, despite the papal bull guaranteeing Santa Maria Maggiore freedom from episcopal

interference, Borromeo wielded one of the more powerful tools of the Counter-Reformation bishop in the form of a 1575 pastoral visit to the basilica.⁹⁵ As might be expected, this caused significant friction with the MIA and the city government, which had enjoyed a continued measure of freedom in self-governance under Venetian jurisdiction. The former Sant'Alessandro canons, however, supported Milanese oversight due to their sour feelings towards Venice regarding their unilateral solution to the two-cathedral problem. For Borromeo and the MIA, the key disagreement was whether the 1453 papal bull or the decrees of the Council of Trent carried more authority. Bergamo's Bishop Ragazzoni was a close ally to Borromeo in matters of reform, placing him at direct odds to the MIA. Thus, Cavaccio's back-to-back dedications to Ragazzoni and the MIA officials in his first and second book of *Magnificats* represent overtures to politically misaligned bodies. While the apostolic visit did take place, the MIA won a significant victory by convincing Borromeo to cease spreading doubts of the MIA's legitimacy to rule the basilica as they saw fit. More detail regarding this situation is outside the scope of this article, though this summary serves to highlight the delicate balance between Venetian and Milanese partisans within Bergamo's urban space—a situation with which Cavaccio would have to reckon. The full story and the MIA's response inside Santa Maria Maggiore is the subject of a thorough and informative article by art historian Giles Knox.⁹⁶ Knox notes that no document records the precise reason for Borromeo's recant, but it seems most likely that the close connection between the MIA and the Venetian government was an important factor.⁹⁷

To add to this crowded ideological space is the Colleoni chapel, violently forced upon Santa Maria Maggiore's facade itself in a direct act of political aggression.⁹⁸ Built as a personal funerary chapel to the condottiere Bartolomeo Colleoni in the late fifteenth century, Knox concludes that the chapel expressed a visual representation of Colleoni's political ideology, one that contrasted with Santa Maria Maggiore's program of communal harmony. Colleoni was from Bergamo but was known as a Venetian military hero; locally, he represented a populace grappling with a compartmentalized memory of communal self-rule and submission to Venetian control. Thus, Santa Maria Maggiore served as a symbol of Bergamasque independence while the Colleoni chapel, foisted upon its facade, served as a symbol of territorial

⁹⁵ Roncalli, 25–29.

⁹⁶ Knox, 2000.

⁹⁷ Knox, 2000, 683.

⁹⁸ Knox, 2001.

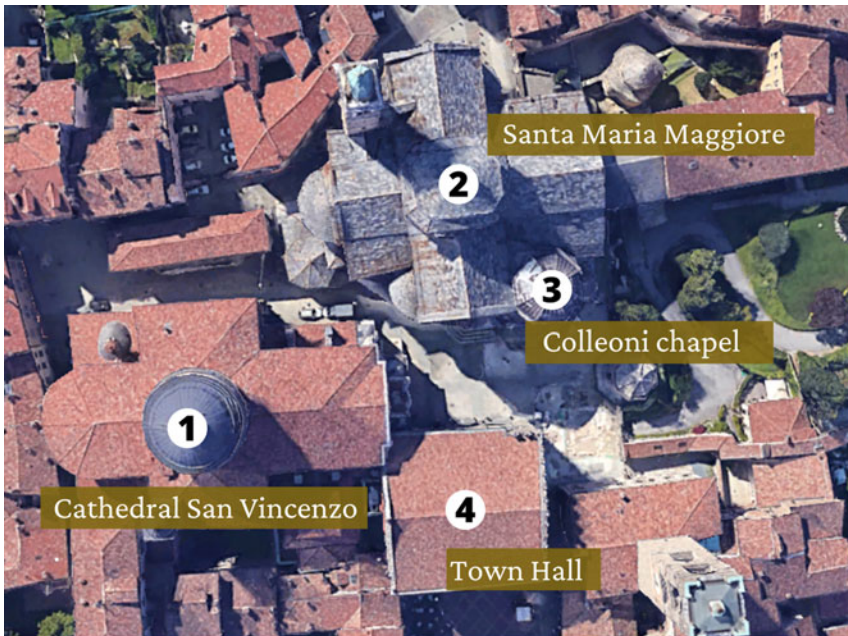


Figure 8. Bird's-eye view of cathedral, basilica, and surroundings. According to plan of early modern Bergamo: 1) Cathedral San Vincenzo; 2) Santa Maria Maggiore; 3) Colleoni chapel; 4) town hall. Image source: Google Earth.

subjugation. The two buildings shared a wall and a piazza but remained administratively and ecclesiastically separate (fig. 8). A procession aiming to unify the population needed to navigate through the complicated urban space that conjoined the cathedral, the civic town hall, the Colleoni chapel, and, of course, Santa Maria Maggiore.

CONCLUSION

Cavaccio, having been intricately involved with logistics surrounding the Assumption for forty-four years, passed away four days before the 1626 feast, and his death must have caused considerable logistical challenges. Giacomo Cornolto, a tenor and vice maestro di cappella, stepped in and was reimbursed 70 lire for hiring the necessary musicians.⁹⁹ Cornolto was rewarded by the MIA for his emergency work, having been named temporary maestro di cappella

⁹⁹ MIA 1155, fol. 228^r.

through March 1627 with a small bonus while waiting for Alessandro Grandi to arrive, whose reputation was such that he was offered the post without an in-person audition.¹⁰⁰ The 1629 Assumption once again shows the importance of this day in spite of turmoil, this time in the form of the famine. There were twenty-eight singers, two cornetti, two violins, violone piccolo and violone basso, bassoon, chitarrone, four organs, and two maestri conducting, totaling forty musicians at 200 lire.¹⁰¹

It took an event of biblical proportions—a plague—to finally damper the Assumption festivities, but even the plague could not stop them entirely; one imagines the town in even more dire need of spiritual support during such a horrific time. The first hint of the plague shows up in the archives in April of 1630, when someone wrote to the MIA and mentioned calamitous times such as these.¹⁰² The author asks for some grain and a little money, mentioning that many others will soon be in need. Grandi would write the same month, stating his request to continue in his position, though at a higher salary owing to his large family.¹⁰³ Unfortunately, the plague claimed Grandi's life sometime between June and August of 1630, as well as nearly all of the musicians in Santa Maria Maggiore. Only four instrumentalists and three singers would survive the year.¹⁰⁴ Fermo Bresciano—a long-tenured bass singer—was appointed as interim maestro di cappella, as the festivities surrounding major Marian feast days were too important to cease.¹⁰⁵ In fact, considerable expense was lavished upon the 1630 Assumption. A receipt shows that fourteen musicians were hired for the August 15 musical ceremonies at a cost of 108 lire.¹⁰⁶ While nearly half of the amount spent for the 1629 Assumption, this was a major expense amidst the most devastating and deadly crisis seen in centuries. The *spese* is written in an unfamiliar hand, and its scribe was less forthcoming with details on musician names, instead simply writing their instrument, or the city from which they came. What is clear is that nine singers were hired, as well as one cornetto, violin, violone, chitarrone, and the Santa Maria Maggiore organist Benedetto Fontana. Given the difficulty in locating competent and healthy musicians, regional networks were exploited.

¹⁰⁰ MIA 1155, fol. 228^r. The phrase they use is *senza concerto*.

¹⁰¹ MIA 1391, fol. 591^r.

¹⁰² "Questi così calamitosi tempi": MIA 1452, fol. 639^r.

¹⁰³ MIA 1452, fol. 639^r.

¹⁰⁴ Benedetto Fontana, organ; the Moresco brothers, viole and violino; Giulio Cesare Celani, cornetto; Gaspare Corsini, alto; Antonio Lameri, soprano; Girolamo Rossi, unspecified voice type.

¹⁰⁵ MIA 1391, fol. 604^r.

¹⁰⁶ This *spese* is found in MIA 1391, fol. 12^r.

One of the singers was one Geronimo from Brescia, and there was an unnamed alto singer only designated by his Venetian origin. Bressiano, first hired as a bass singer for the Santa Maria Maggiore chapel in 1614, was rewarded with a sizeable 16 lire for putting the ad hoc ensemble together.¹⁰⁷ While it is unlikely that any large-scale polychoral repertoire would have been performed, this size of ensemble allows for a large array of possibilities. One can imagine the intense poignancy of a musical plea to Mary at this time, especially as many of the familiar musicians, some of whom had been performing at this feast for over three decades, were sadly absent.¹⁰⁸ Music had a unifying role in times of desperation, helping competing local factions to pool resources for the common good. In Bergamo, rather than a reversion to artistic austerity, music was deemed essential for fostering a sense of collective resilience. The city recognized that music had the power to heal, offering solace and hope to its inhabitants in the face of adversity. As a result, significant efforts were made to preserve and promote musical traditions, with generous investments allocated to support musicians, composers, and the organization of performances.

EPILOGUE

SINGING FROM THE BALCONY: CIVIC MUSIC DURING THE 2020 COVID-19 CRISIS

At the time of this writing, July 2022, the world is still grappling with the global COVID-19 pandemic. As of 22 July 2022, the pandemic has claimed at least 6,400,105 lives, and that may be a conservative estimate. When I first drafted the essay in the spring of 2020, I was under a shelter-in-place order from my governor and mayor, while Italy was on nationwide mandatory lockdown. In the early days of the pandemic, Italy's crisis was particularly devastating, with Bergamo at the epicenter of the original European outbreak. Italy's lockdown began with several towns in Lombardy and the Veneto going under quarantine on 23 February 2020. On March 8, all of Lombardy and the Veneto went under quarantine, extending nationwide the following day. The situation in Bergamo was particularly grim, with doctors and nurses forced to make the

¹⁰⁷ MIA 1391, fol. 12^r.

¹⁰⁸ Apart from Alessandro Grandi, members of the cappella who presumably died during the 1630 plague included Giacomo Brignolo, organist since before 1601; Giacomo Grandi, Alessandro's son and a soprano; Alessandro Perona, an alto and tenor singer since 1621; Andrea Camerata, alto singer since before 1601; Pietro Valcareno, bass singer since 1616; Marc Osio, bass singer since 1627, but active during feast days since the 1590s; Paolo Chiesa, alto singer since 1626; Batistsa Troni, newly acquired singer in 1630; Giovanni Battista Carrara, violinist since 1628; Giovanni Antonio Leporatti, trombonist since 1619; Gerolamo Morari, violinist and trombonist since before 1601.

unimaginable choice of deciding which patients to treat given the limited resources of an overwhelmed system. During the plague outbreaks in the early modern period, quarantine orders from temporal officials were sometimes ignored by ecclesiastic bodies in order to conduct the processions and community-wide religious pleas for healing. Knowledge of modern epidemiology prevents such large gatherings, yet Italians have shown during the current crisis—much like during the Seicento, as shown in this article—that the spiritual need for communal contact through music is a powerful tool, even an essential need. As videos of Italians singing and playing instruments from their balconies began to sweep through social media, I was struck by the civic nature of the chosen melodies. Whereas my neighborhood attempted a Billy Joel singalong through Facebook invite that was poorly attended, residents of Siena began an impromptu moonlit singalong across empty streets of *Il canto della Verbena*, a folk song with uncertain origins but certainly at least a few centuries old, traditionally sung by members of a *contrada*, districts set up in the Middle Ages to supply troops. Also known as “While Siena Sleeps,” it has become, in modern times, the unofficial anthem of Siena. Amazingly, the singers employ *falsobordone*, the same basic improvised harmonization technique that would have been used by singers in a Bergamo procession circa 1629.¹⁰⁹ The Siena video is but one example, and many of the videos exhibit explicitly local expression of civic identity. In Milan, a viral clip showed a trumpeter regaling his neighbors with a textless *Oh mia bèla Madunina*, another unofficial city anthem.¹¹⁰ The song was written in 1934 by Giovanni D’Anzi, and the “little Madonna” referred to in the title is the one on the spire of the duomo. While a lovely melody for those viewing from around the world, this is a deeply impactful, unambiguously local expression of communal identity with implied textual knowledge in the ears of the trumpeter’s Milanese neighbors. The above examples are old melodies, typically sung at football games in modern Italy. In the context of this health crisis, the melodies take on a profound significance, accumulating new layers of meaning as they serve to unite communities and nourish the soul. It becomes evident, once again, that music’s importance is on par with that of essential bodily necessities, reaffirming its vital role in sustaining humanity during challenging times.

¹⁰⁹ Ng.

¹¹⁰ “Coronavirus, a Milano un trombettista commuove i vicini con ‘O mia bela Madunina.’”

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APPENDIXES

Appendix 1 – Comparison of musician rosters, 1601 and 1615. Musicians who continued in service through these years in bold.

1601		1615	
Giovanni Cavaccio	Maestro di Cap.	Giovanni Cavaccio	Maestro di Cap.
Antonio Osio	Organ	Antonio Osio	Organ
Giacomo Brignolo	Organ	Giacomo Brignolo	Organ
Francesco Bazino	Soprano	Gio. Battista	Soprano
Giuseppe Pezoli	Soprano	Avogadro	
Geronimo Carrari	Soprano	Donato Rensi	Soprano
		Antonio Scaramazzo	Soprano
Natal Bazino	Contralto	Alessandro Perona	Contralto
Andrea Camerata	Contralto	Giuseppe Romano	Contralto
Geronimo Posetto	Contralto	Andrea Camerata	Contralto
Pietro Rondi	Contralto	Battista Nobili	Contralto
		Francesco Bazino	Contralto
Giacomo Cornolto	Tenor/vice maestro	Eleuterio Buazzchi	Contralto
Giovan Biadoni	Tenor	Giacomo Cornolto	Tenor/vice maestro
Battista Ratis	Tenor	Giovan Biadoni	Tenor
Franco Carrari	Tenor		
Franco Vertova	Tenor	Francesco Violese	Bass
Fra Amante	Bass	Antonio dall'Onguelo	Bass
Federico Mangile	Bass	Federico Mangile	Bass
Antonio da Salo	Bass	Fermo Bresciano	Bass
Geronimo Morari	Trombone	Geronimo Morari	Trombone and Violin
Franco Marchese	Trombone	Ludovico Cavaccio	Trombone
Sedio Aresio	Trombone		
Carlo Fettino	Contralto Trombone	Giulio Pelini	Bass Trombone
Bernardino Tirabosco	Bass Trombone	Bernardino Tirabosco	Bass Trombone
Giulio Cesare Celani	Cornetto	Giulio Cesare Celani	Cornetto
		Giuseppe del Bono	Cornetto
Giuseppe Dalmasoni	Violin/violone	Giuseppe Dalmasoni	Violin/violone

Appendix 2 – Basilica expenditures, in lire, 1617 and 1618, Santa Maria Maggiore, Bergamo.

	1617	1618	% +/- (approx)
Spese della chiesa	5027.15	4945.6	-1.6%
Salarie de Sacerdoti	16,054.6	15,456.17	-3.7%
Salarie de chierici	3984.6	2110.19	-47%
Salarie de musici	5914.9	2772.12	-53%
Spese del Predicatore	225.4.6	107.14	-52%

Appendix 3 – Transcription of [Figure 1](#), 1601 musician salaries, Santa Maria Maggiore. MIA 1149, fol. 216^v.¹

Salario che si pagano a musici della chiesa di s[an]ta maria devono adi 14 Giugno am.ro Federico Mangile cantor Basso per suo salario di un'anno Se finirà al' ultimo Dicembre prossimo lire centoquaranta	140
detto a Hieronimo Morari trombone per suo salario ut s[upr]a lire cento	100
detto al detto per detta causa staro 12 formento come altro aso. 2 al' anno	63
detto a Giuseppe Dalmasoni sonator di violino et violone a [lire] 12 al' anno ut s[upr]a	81.14
detto a Carlo Fettino sonator di Trombon contralto a [lire] al' anno	301
detto a Pre Giovan Biadoni cantor tenore	140
detto a Pre Horatio Marzolo musico Vice maestro di capella	196.10
detto a Pre Giacomo Cornolto per suo salario di musico tenore uts.a	84
detto a Pre Bernardino Tirabosco per suo salario ut supra sonar il trombon doppio	40
detto a Battista Ratis cantore a [lire] 84 al' anno	72.15
detto a d Anto[nio] Osio organista per suo salario ut s[upr]a [lire] 350 al' anno	297.50
detto a Gio. And[re]a Camerata contralto per salario ut s[upr]a	210
detto a Gero[nimo] Posetto contralto so: una form[en]to	42
detto altro [?] 2 vino ut s[upr]a	14
detto a Natal Barzino contralto per suo salario uts.a	280
detto a Franco e Gero[nimo] Carrari tenor e soprano ut s[upr]a	280
detto a Giovanni Cavaccio maestro di capella ut s[upr]a	840
detto a Franco Barzino soprano per suo salario ut s[upr]a	168
detto al P. Fra Amante de servi basso	420
detto a Pietro Rondi Contralto per suo salario ut s[upr]a	168
detto a Giacomo Brignolo organista a [lire] 312 al' anno	218.18
detto a P fra Anto[nio] da Salo Prior del onguelo Basso	336
detto a Giulio Cesare Celani Veronese sonator di cornetto	588
detto a Giuseppe Figliuolo di Bat[ist]a Pezoli da Drera soprano – a [lire] 124 al' anno et la scola	146.6
detto a Franco Vertova Tenore	280
detto staro ut s[upr]a 1 form[en]to	42
detto staro 4 vino ut s[upr]a	28
detta a Franco Marchese sonator di trombon a [lire] 112 al' anno	75.17
detto al Pre Sedio Aresio sonator di tromboni per suo sal[ari]o	70

¹ This transcription of figure 1 excludes the numbers in the left column, which are not relevant out of context. This is an example of double-entry accounting, a method of bookkeeping that involves recording every financial transaction with both a debit and a credit entry in separate accounts, ensuring that the accounting equation stays balanced.

Appendix 4 – Summary of [Figure 2](#), 1615 musician salaries, Santa Maria Maggiore. MIA 1152, fol. 556^r. Musician list with corresponding salaries.

1615 musician salaries, in lire:

Giuseppe Romano, contralto: 20 [just Jan and Feb]

P fr Anto. dall'onguelo, Basso: 93.6 [from 26 Dec 1614]

Pre fra Giulio Pelini, [Trombon doppio]: 14 [just for the month of July 1614]

P Battista Nobili, Contralto: 30.12 [for 2 months]

Giovanni Cavaccio, MdC: 1000

Antonio Osio, Organista: 658 [this includes a prorated raise]

P. Giacomo Brignoli, Organista: 490

P. Bernardino Tirabosco, Trombon doppio: 84

fr. Giulio Pelini, Trombon doppio: 200

P. Giuseppe del Bono, Cornetto: 126

Giulio Cesare Celani, Cornetto: 700

Geronimo Morari, Trombon et violino: 252

Ludovico Cavaccio, Trombon: 157.12 [includes prorated raise from 100 to 175/year]

Giuseppe Dalmagione, Le viole: 140

Federico Mangile, Basso: 140

P. Giacomo Cornolto, Tenore: 252

P. Gio. Biadoni, Tenore: 140

P. Andrea Camerata, Contralto: 420

P. Francesco Bazino, Contralto: 350

Gio. Battista Avogadro, Soprano: 126

Donato Rensi, Soprano: 126

Antonio Scaramazzo, Soprano: 84

P. Alessandro Perona, Contralto: 124.12 [from April 13 through year]

Fermo Bresciano, basso: 240.12 [from Nov 1614 through 1615]

Lorenzo Lameri, custode della chiesa: 190

Eleuterio Buazzchi, Contralto: 70 [through March 1615]

Francesco Violese, Basso: 84 [through March 1615]

Appendix 5 – Transcription and Translation of [Figure 4](#), 1622 letter from Bernardino Rossi to the MIA. MIA 1452, fol. 41^r.

Sono due anni che io Bernardino Rossi chierico servo per cantor soprano nella nobilissima chiesa di S. Maria senza alcuno stipendio et se bene per vigor della mia condotta fatta dell VVSS[vostre signorie] a dì 12 Aprile 1619 io doveva esser pagato già un'anno con quel salario che fosse parso à questo Mag[nifi]co Consiglio: tuttavia sapendo che presso alla prudenza loro ha maggior forza il continuato, et riverente servizio, che l'importuna domanda dopo l'haver servito un'anno per secondo soprano, ho servito ancora un'altro anno per soprano primiero senza alcun salario. Hora continuando pure la mia servitù in tempo che ella più che mai è necessaria. come è ben noto alle VVSS le supplico a determinarmi conveniente salario conforme alla detta condota con haver riguardo non meno al mio urgente bisogno, che alla servita che io presto. Et le faccio humilissima riverenza.

-Bernardino Rossi

I, the *chierico* Bernardino Rossi, have served as a soprano for two years in the most noble church of S. Maria [Maggiore] without any salary; even though according to the terms of my contract made by your Lordships on 12 April 1619 I should be paid for one year with that salary which was deemed appropriate by this Magnificent council. Nonetheless, knowing that because of your prudence continuity and reverent service have greater importance than my importunate demand, after having served for one year as second soprano, I served yet another year as first soprano without any salary. Now, continuing to lend my service at a time when [a salary] is more necessary than ever, as your lordships well know, I beg you to determine a suitable salary for me in accordance with my conduct [and behavior according to the regulations set forth for singers in the church], having regard no less for my urgent need, than for the service which I provide. And I make the humblest reverence to you.

-Bernardino Rossi.

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