

## Zorzi Trombetta da Modon and the Founding of the Band of *Piffari* and *Tromboni* of the *Serenissima*

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In a recent article on the same subject published in this journal,<sup>1</sup> I maintained that Zorzi Trombetta da Modon—a trumpet and slide-trumpet player who lived in the second half of the fifteenth century and is well known to scholars for having written an important notebook (GB-Lbl, Ms Cotton Titus, A XXVI, fols. 1-60) that contains, among other things, some polyphonic pieces for two and three voices—far from being an anonymous, marginal figure in his profession,<sup>2</sup> was one of the most talented and authoritative Venetian instrumentalists of his time. Basing my argument on unpublished documentation that is sufficiently convincing—even though incomplete and with chronological gaps—I reconstructed the fundamental milestones of his remarkable biography and artistic development in the following terms. Born in Methone (Modone in Italian), an important Venetian port colony in the southern Peloponnesus, Zorzi, after serving for several years (presumably from 1444 to 1449-50) as trumpeter on the galleys of the *Serenissima*, settled in Venice. I hypothesized that he might have made this move right after 1449 (the year until when, according to the report written in his diaries, he was definitely employed as a naval trumpeter), but conceivably it could have come some years later, immediately before or immediately after 1460.<sup>3</sup> Once in Venice, Zorzi engaged in an intense professional career, which led, along with the credit he earned as a naval trumpeter, to his being chosen for the doge's band of *piffari* and *tromboni*, becoming one of its most illustrious and authoritative members.<sup>4</sup>

The goal of my reconstruction was twofold and complementary: on the one hand, to present a profile of the author of such a special notebook, placing it in its proper context (the instrumental ensemble practice of fifteenth-century *piffari* and trombone bands); and on the other, to enter into the intellectual and musical world of late medieval instrumental ensembles, utilizing a more effective and penetrating lens than the sources, for the most part indirect, generally available to a historian for this type of investigation. Zorzi's book, with its music and his equally valuable personal, literary, and expository notations, constitutes a direct source that can provide much information to increase our knowledge of this type of ensemble practice, and also, as we shall see, for the reconstruction of certain aspects of the proto-history of the *Serenissima's* band of *piffari* and *tromboni*.

Nonetheless, in the 'parallel histories' (Zorzi's personal history and the institutional history of the doge's band) that I sketched out in my earlier article, as I myself admitted, some murky areas remained. Between the time when Zorzi presumably ended his experience at sea (1450-55) and the date of the first document attesting to his prestigious new participation in the doge's band (1481), there is a gap of about thirty years, which could be filled only by guesswork, a fact that might give rise to doubts about the validity of my reconstruction. The main risk—albeit in my opinion an extremely remote one—was that Zorzi the naval

trumpeter, author of the Cotton Titus A XXVI manuscript, and Zorzi the member of the ducal band were not the same person.<sup>5</sup> A second gray area concerned the history of the doge's band, which I was forced to date starting in 1481 for lack of earlier evidence, even though I felt that it originated and was already functioning at least a half-century earlier.

Fortunately, some new documents, unknown to me earlier, now enable us to fill these gaps, and demonstrate that there existed only one Zorzi Trombetta da Modon. These documents, three in number, are chronologically contiguous and all pertain to the doge's band. They are, specifically, a senate resolution dated 15 May 1458, an act of the doge issued on 7 July of that same year, and another senate resolution of 16 May 1460.<sup>6</sup> The first two documents are extremely important, not only for the specific story of Zorzi, but first and foremost for their contribution to the proto-history of the doge's band. They are the official documents founding the band, the first being a legislative act and the second the executive order by which the Venetian state—as many other states and communities in Italy and abroad had already done or were about to do—resolved to found a permanent band of *piffari* and trombones for the purpose of accompanying the doge and the *Signoria* on all the most important civic and religious occasions in the Venetian calendar. Despite the fact that the two documents deal with essentially the same subject, because of their different juridical natures they furnish different information, making it necessary to present them separately.

We shall start with the first document, the senate resolution dated 15 May 1458.<sup>7</sup> Written in the vernacular (unlike most of the senate resolutions, which were usually in Latin), the document is particularly lively and rich in information. It is more than a mere resolution to establish a permanent ensemble of *piffari* and *tromboni*, as it lists the reasons for this decision and defines the details. The document begins by observing that, until this point, the only standing institution for the production of sound in the service of the Venetian Republic was that of the trumpets, i.e., the legendary six silver trumpets that had been an inalienable feature of state ceremony since the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, as they provided one of the symbols of ducal dignity.<sup>8</sup> But, the document goes on to say, the decorum of the doge's *andate* (outings) requires him not only to have trumpets, but also *piffari* and *tromboni*, and on such occasions they were forced to take whatever the market offered. This practice of hiring musicians as the occasion demanded, however, entailed various risks, the main one being the difficulty in finding players because of their frequent assignments to the *Serenissima's* galleys:

Our ancestors provided, to honor the doge and for the honor of our city, that every year 125 ducats be spent for *trombeti* to accompany the Most Serene Prince and our most illustrious *Signoria* on the established days; besides which it is always necessary to find *piffari* and *trombeti* [recte *tromboni*],\* which many times cannot be found because they have gone out with our galleys.<sup>9</sup>

[\*Author's note: That the second instance of the generic term *trombeti* in this passage (marked with an asterisk) actually refers to 'trombone' players (unlike a few lines earlier, where it clearly indicates trumpet players) can be deduced

from later passages in the document, where three times the term *tromboni* is used correctly in association with the term *piffari*. Given the early date, these *tromboni* probably were slide trumpets.]

The news that the *piffaro* and trombone players hired occasionally to accompany the doge normally served also on the Republic's ships is extremely interesting for our purposes because it provides a strong immediate reference to Zorzi—who, as I have noted, served as a naval trumpeter from 1444 to 1449—and supports the artistic and biographical itinerary mapped out in my earlier article. But this information also represents full confirmation of another, more general hypothesis I advanced. Starting from Zorzi's personal experience, I observed that the furnishing of sound—whether as signals or as music—on ships “was shared by other Venetian wind instrument players; indeed, given the central place of shipping in the Venetian economy and the standard presence of instrumentalists on the galley ..., naval service can be considered a kind of trademark of Venetian wind musicians.”<sup>10</sup> The document cited above not only confirms the validity of our suggestion, but also enables us to go even further, to the point of hypothesizing the possibility of a connection between Venice's naval vocation and power and the development of a strong local ‘school’ of wind instrumentalists. With this, naturally, I do not mean to claim that the spread and primacy of *piffaro* playing in Venice was a side effect of her dominion of the seas. But certainly the possibility of finding relatively secure and well-paid employment on the galleys must at the least have attracted to the lagoon a considerable number of wind instrumentalists,<sup>11</sup> whose presence nurtured the development of a specific local instrumental tradition. The case of Zorzi is emblematic; like him, many other players from cities in Greece, Dalmatia, and the mainland who became part of the doge's band were probably attracted to Venice (at a time when the local musical patronage was not yet so splendid and highly paid as it later became) primarily by this further chance of work.<sup>12</sup>

Returning to the reasons listed in the resolution to justify the employment of a permanent group, it is interesting to note that alongside the practical difficulty of having to find a sufficient number of players each time, another one is given, this time as a principle, indicating the new sensibility for patronage that was making its way also through the parsimonious and somewhat fickle Venetian aristocracy. The document of 15 May 1458 continues, without mincing words and with a vein of self-criticism, that

it is to the advantage of the dignity of such a state always to have well-equipped, sufficient, and good trumpet, trombone, and *piffaro* players, who at all times and in every case are at the command of the most illustrious Prince and most excellent *Signoria*, just as all the lords, *Signorie*, and communities of the world have, even those subject and submissive to us, and especially for the upcoming celebrations.<sup>13</sup>

In short, a question of image is raised, noting that for the honor of the Republic, the doge, and the *Signoria* it will be advantageous to be able to have not only a group of trumpeters,

but also a permanent ensemble of *piffari* and trombone players (“who at all times and in every case are at the command” of the doge), with their instruments always in good order (“well-equipped”), and highly skilled (“sufficient and good”). The alarmed reference to the delay in distinguishing the Republic in this area as compared to other communities<sup>14</sup> and even—an intolerable situation—compared to some cities under her dominion<sup>15</sup> is worthy of attention. For if on the one hand it might have been raised in order to persuade some still-reluctant senators to adopt the proposal,<sup>16</sup> on the other it seems to express a sincere desire to be up-to-date—a desire, one could say, to make up for lost time by equipping “such a state” with a distinguished musical apparatus, one finally suited to Venice’s political, economic, and military prestige.

It should be noted that from now on the accent is placed on quality, exhorting the senators not only to ensure that the members of the ensemble be “sufficient and good,” but also that they be “the best and most sufficient that can be found among those that the others usually choose”; in other words, that they be chosen from the most expert instrumentalists among those usually hired by the other communities. This was a way of saying that the choice of the members of the band had to be the fruit of a search-and-selection process extending well beyond the boundaries of the city. In this context, it is not surprising that the senators took care also to define precisely the size and structure of the ensemble: a total of five members, “three *piffari* and two trombones.” This choice, too—the engagement of a large group of five, in place of the smaller, more usual groups of three or four—should be noted. Like the search for quality, it seems to arise from eagerness to regain prestige, with the not negligible difference that here, more than a simple desire to be like the others, we see a clear desire to stand out and symbolically affirm Venetian primacy.

To understand this point better, we should recall that, at least in Italy, around 1458 the typical ensemble in the new sphere of the *piffari* was still the trio (shawm, bombard, and slide trumpet). It is symptomatic in this respect that the consort active around mid-century at the court of Ferrara (one of the most aware and demanding patrons in the field of instrumental ensemble playing) comprised just three members.<sup>17</sup> This group, while boasting instrumentalists of the first rank (including the German musicians Corrado and Giovanni d’Alemagna), would evolve only in 1462 into a quartet (which for the rest of the century would be the standard formation for *piffaro* groups), and subsequently into a quintet from 1472 onwards.<sup>18</sup> Since around 1458 none of the Italian city-states had an ensemble of *piffari* numbering more than three or four players,<sup>19</sup> we have to look beyond the Alps to find a counterpart to the Venetian band. I am alluding to the German states, and more specifically to courts like that of the Duke of Saxony, who around the middle of the century had set up a quintet, composed like the one in Venice of three *piffari* and two trombones.<sup>20</sup> We do not know if the makeup of the quintet in Venetian circles developed as an indigenous practice or in the wake of possible influences and/or contacts with the Germanic tradition. The absence of German instrumentalists in the city on the lagoon seems to exclude the idea of direct influence, although it is plausible, given the breadth of commercial relations between the *Serenissima* and the German states, that there could have been some form of contact.

We now return to the document in question and its final part, which concerns the financial arrangements of the enterprise. The senators resolved that the 125 ducats already earmarked for the six trumpet players be augmented by another 115 necessary to provide for the maintenance of the newly established group of *piffari* and *tromboni*. On the surface it would seem that the senate appropriated for the new band an amount slightly less than what was already assigned to the six trumpeters. In reality, as we shall soon see, this was not precisely the case. The document concludes with a marginal note that reveals both the damage that the practice of occasional employment had done to the image of the state ceremonial and the urgency now felt about the need to establish a permanent group. The *piffari* and *tromboni* chosen would be required to establish permanent residence in the city (“to make continuous residence in this land”),<sup>21</sup> so that they would be available to the doge and the *Signoria* at any time and on any occasion.

Now let us look at the document dated 7 July 1458,<sup>22</sup> a decree drawn up and issued by Doge Pasquale Malipiero and his six councilors implementing the above senate resolution that had been passed on 15 May of the same year. Written in Latin in elegant humanist script (a testimony to its importance), the decree was immediately transcribed in the *Libri Commemoriali*, large parchment registers in which acts and records of events deemed worthy of being remembered were recorded for the history of the Republic. Apart from its elegant appearance and prestigious location, this second document is at least as notable as the first in terms of the quality of information it contains. It furnishes an authentic description of the new band, with the names of the instrumentalists chosen and their respective instrumental roles. Knowing how a musical group as illustrious as the doge’s band was structured from its origins and knowing the names of its first members is significant information in its own right. But this result becomes even more exciting—at least from our point of view—when we find Zorzi’s name (“Georgius da Mothono tubeta”), already evoked in some way in the preceding document (where it refers to the custom of wind instrument players serving on the galleys), in the list of instrumentalists chosen:

[7 July 1458]

Nomina predictorum Sonatorum

Magister Bartholomeus pifarus

Matheus Laçari pifarus

Laurentius Antonii pifarus

Georgius de Mothono tubeta

Georgius Theodori de Corphoo tubeta

In accord with what was already established by the senate resolution of 15 May, the chosen group is thus a quintet made up of three *piffari* (in all likelihood, a shawm and two bombards) and two *tubete*, whom we can now on the basis of the comparison with the 15 May document confidently call *tromboni*, confirming the hypothesis put forth in my earlier

article.<sup>23</sup> The composition of the group is identical to that reported in a later document, of 1481.<sup>24</sup>

Nomina praedictorum sonatorum

Georgius Nicolai de Mothons  
Hieronymus Georgij dicti filius } tubete

Petrus Nicolai de Ragusis  
Georgius Andree paduanus } pifari  
Bernardinus Sigismundi tarvisini

Apart from the names (all of them new with the exception of *Zorzi*), a new element is the criterion used by the scribe to list the names in order: while in the 1458 list the *piffari* precede the *tubete* (= *tromboni*), in the 1481 document the brass section, with *Zorzi*'s name first, heads the list.<sup>25</sup> But apart from these subtleties, what interests us here is that this new document supports the thesis I maintained in my earlier contribution to the subject. When he left naval service, *Zorzi Trombetta da Modon*, the author of the Cotton Titus A XXVI manuscript, did not become merely a member of the doge's band, as I had conjectured. He was more than that. He took part in the very founding of the ducal group—i.e., he was one of the five instrumentalists chosen by the doge and his councilors to make up what would become, in the course of the sixteenth century, along with the cappella of the Basilica di San Marco, one of the Venetian Republic's most representative and prestigious musical institutions. This fact is extremely important, for two reasons. First, it sheds new light on *Zorzi*'s artistic career, a course that we can now reconstruct, starting from some firm dates: 1444-49, the beginning and presumed end of his adventure on the seas, and 1458-94, the beginning and presumed end of his long service in the doge's band. Second, it enables us to advance some hypotheses concerning the repertoire and musical culture of the doge's group in this very early phase of its activity. The idea of starting from *Zorzi*'s mental habitus and mastery of music—as they emerge from the inexhaustible mine of notations and knowledge (musical and otherwise) contained in his book—in order to learn about the musical mentality of the doge's band and the repertoire of music it performed is not at all far-fetched. While it is probably true that not all the members of the group had the same curiosity and open mind as *Zorzi*, it is certainly reasonable to believe that the use of musical notation and the recourse to traditional written polyphonic repertoires were not such exclusive prerogatives around 1458. Indeed, if *Zorzi*—as the musical pages of his notebook attest<sup>26</sup>—more than a decade earlier and in a much less official context (musical entertainment for the 'patron' of a galley or the wedding of some minor notable on the Dalmatian coast) used means and repertoires borrowed from the polyphonic compositional practice of his time,<sup>27</sup> there is even more reason to believe that these same means were part of the resources normally employed by the doge's *piffari*. Put more explicitly, if the repertoires performed by *Zorzi* and his companions during or concomitant with their service on the ships included instrumental

arrangements (albeit contrapuntally unorthodox) of pieces by Dunstable, we can easily believe that the newly formed ducal band—which, we must remember, in the intentions of the Venetian Senate was supposed to be made up of the finest instrumentalists available at the time—was able from the beginning to perform arrangements taken from the most sophisticated polyphonic repertoires of the time. After all, given that the ducal group was proficient in the written repertoires as well as the more traditional current of extemporaneous polyphony, it is by now clear that there is a direct line connecting Zorzi's two-part counterpoints to the tenor of a chanson by Dunstable (copied into Cotton Titus A. XXVI and datable sometime between 1444 and 1449) and the arrangements of some motets by Obrecht and Busnois described by his son Alvisé in a well-known letter of 1494.<sup>28</sup> For the time being, however, this path can be traced only by sheer conjecture.<sup>29</sup>

Besides the detailed description of the band, the July 1458 document contains other interesting information, the most important of which concerns the group of *tubatores*, the players of the six large silver trumpets.<sup>30</sup> According to the new instructions given by the doge, the management of this group, which it appears had already existed as a permanent institution for a good number of years,<sup>31</sup> was now entrusted directly to the new permanent band of *piffari* and trombones. It was up to them to select and recruit “six trumpet players who, as usual, perform with their six large silver trumpets at every festival” (“sex tubete qui cum sex tubis magnis argenteis in quibuscumque solennitatibus se exercent juxta consuetudine”), for whom they were also responsible financially (“completely at their own expense”; “omnibus suis sumptibus et expensis”). The demoting of the group of *tubatores* had already been stated in the very title of the document, where it says that the total sum of 240 ducats earmarked “for the trumpet players of the doge” (“pro tubetis Serenissimi Domini Ducis”) was to be assigned completely to “two *tubete* and three *piffari*” (“duobus tubetis et tribus piffaris”)—in other words, to the new group of *piffari* and trombones. Far from being an irrelevant detail, this is emblematic of the swift change in the focus of interest on the part of the doge, the senate, and the Venetian aristocracy in general. If earlier, by virtue of the important symbolic significance and role within state ceremony played by the group of *tubatores*, attention was concentrated on them, it now appears definitely to have shifted to the new group of *piffari* and the uniquely aesthetic function (as producers of music and not just signals) it filled. It seems, in short, that the unrefined Venetian aristocracy—who in the early fifteenth century can be characterized by a petty mercantile mentality, little inclined to invest in what was deemed ‘superfluous’ and tending to be opposed to the promotion of the arts and culture (unless for a strictly functional purpose)—was now becoming aware of the added value the arts could lend to the prestige and image of the doge and the Venetian state. It is significant that the resolution passed in May 1458 by the Venetian government to hire a standing group of *piffari* and *tromboni* was not made by chance, but in the context of a culturally and politically propitious season, marked by other important innovations in the field of art and culture. The phenomenon that is undoubtedly the most significant, revelatory of a new cultural climate, is the opening—albeit two or three decades behind Florence and the other Italian courts—of Venetian society to the values of humanism.<sup>32</sup> Around the middle of the century, humanist culture established more solid

roots in the city, bolstered by the teachings of Guarino Veronese and the intellectual path traveled by men like Francesco Barbaro and Leonardo Giustinian.<sup>33</sup> An emblematic sign is the founding in 1446 of the Accademia di San Marco, a public school where Greek and Latin literature were taught, which distinguished it from the Rialto school, in operation since 1408 but traditional in orientation, essentially based on Aristotelian philosophy.<sup>34</sup> The interest in *humanae litterae* and the importance attributed to them for the formation of the individual speak eloquently of a new mentality, characterized by a heightened aesthetic sensibility and a more open disposition to and capacity for reception of the arts and culture. But the delayed institution of the doge's *piffari* and *tromboni*<sup>35</sup> was fostered also by the period of peace and prosperity that the Republic was enjoying at the time. It is symptomatic that the resolution was enacted (and probably also strongly urged and managed behind the scenes) by a doge, Pasquale Malipiero, remembered not only for his peace-loving character but for his attention to pomp and ceremony.<sup>36</sup> No season, no moment could have been more propitious for such a move. All this, combined with the desire to make up for lost time and prestige in terms of patronage on the part of the more enlightened members of the Venetian nobility, explains not only the reasons why the band was created at this particular time, but also the attention and commitment given to its quality, format, and proper functioning.

In this sense, the third and last document under discussion, a resolution passed by the senate on 16 May 1460,<sup>37</sup> is worthy of our attention. From it we learn that the new group was by this time already operative and perfectly settled in, but there were some financial problems. One of the two agencies charged with financing the operation, the *Camera dei Camerlenghi di Commun* (the other agency was the *Officio monete auri*, i.e., the mint) seems to have failed to pay the group regularly the part of the salary that fell under its jurisdiction (125 ducats out of a total of 240). To avoid further problems, and to ensure that the members of the band received the salary they had been promised (as well as the arrears owed to them),<sup>38</sup> the senate voted to replace the agency in default (the *Camera dei Camerlenghi*) with another agency, the *Ufficio alle Razon Vecchie*. Moreover, to avoid similar problems arising in the future, it was established that the sum to be paid to the *piffari* was to be raised by imposing a tax on the towing of boats and barges through the *Liza Fusinans*, a canal connecting Venice with the mainland. Even though it does not furnish information of the import and quality of that contained in the earlier two documents of 1458, this third one is important in any case, because it testifies, two years after the group was founded, to its operations and the attention paid by the senate to its proper functioning. Not only this, but judging from the number of senators favorable to a rapid and definitive solution of the problem of its salary, described above, the already broad support for the group at the moment of its founding seems now to have grown even more. While in May 1458 the number of senators in favor of founding the band was 102 out of 139, with 37 voting against it, now after just two years, the number of skeptics seems to have dwindled significantly: out of 125 senators present, 117 voted in favor, 5 abstained, and only 3 voted against it.

In conclusion, it seems that the documents discussed here confirm the picture I sketched in my earlier article, filling it in with some important new elements. There can be no doubt that a much clearer image of the group, its origins, and distinguishing characteristics,

emerges from them. But they also shed new light on Zorzi Trombetta da Modon, whose figure now appears to us less ambiguous and hazy and increasingly tangible and rich. The basic milestones of his artistic career stand out more clearly, and the dimension of his relationship with the doge's band is now clearly visible. This represents a bond so strong and initiated so early as to lead us to consider his notebook as a fundamental source for the reconstruction of the proto-history of the doge's band and Venetian instrumental music in general. Obviously, much remains to be done. I have already hinted at the difficulty of finding more concrete information on the repertoire performed by the group. To my mind, this should be one of the primary goals of future research, along with a more detailed knowledge of the musical tasks assigned to the group in this early period of its existence (tasks that can be deduced on the basis of later, more general knowledge, but that at the moment cannot be described using direct sources). More specifically, it would be very interesting to know when the doge's band began to employ the Franco-Flemish repertory, which we know well they were doing around the end of the century. An attempt to answer questions of this type obviously implies a systematic investigation of the Venetian sources (musical and otherwise) of the second half of the fifteenth century. This is work that will take a long time, and that in any case will have to be preceded by further study of what we already have available. For instance, the contents of Zorzi's notebook has not yet been studied in all its variety and complexity. It contains, for example, lyrics, some of which are on sententious themes and others on themes of love. The latter, some of which I think could be by Zorzi himself, should be investigated more closely in order to identify their possible destination in music, particularly in the case of the song in dialogue by Giustinian that concludes the manuscript (*Dona sto myo lamentto*, fol. 60),<sup>39</sup> but also of the *ballata* on fol. 2v (*Tante balatte ho fatto per amore*). This is only a hypothesis, which, however, if confirmed could add one more element to the reconstruction of a context that presents itself as arduous and problematic.

## APPENDIX

I. I-Vas, Senato Terra, registro 4 (1456 - 1461 *mv*), 15 maggio 1458, c. 72r.

MCCCCLVIII die XV Maij

El provedete i nostri progenitori *per* honorificentia del Ducado e honor dela citade nostra, che ogni anno in trombete se spendesse *ducati* CXXV *per* acompagnar el Serenissimo principio e la *nostra illustrissima* Signoria nei zorni deputadi; ultra i quali sempre è necessario tuor pifari et trombete, i quali molte volte *non* se ritrovano *per* essere andadi con le galie *nostre*. El *convegna* ala dignità di tanto Stado haver sempre trombete, tromboni et piffari apparecchiadi sufficienti e boni, i quali *in* ogni tempo et in ogni caso siano al comandamento de esso Principo *illustrissimo* et Excelsa Signoria, chome hano tuti signori, Signorie e Comunità del mondo, etiam de quelle che a nui sono sottoposte e suldite et specialmente *per*

le proxime solennità. L'anderà parte chel se debia de *presente* tuor tre pifari et do tromboni, di miglior e più sufficienti se possano ritrovar *per* quelli che sogliono elezer gli altri, ai quali, ultra i ducati 125 soraditi, zà a simel spesa deputadi, sia azonti *ducati* CXV, siché in tuto siano *ducati* 240 che siano *per* salario annual di dicti piffari, tromboni e trombetti, i quali *ducati* 115 se debiano tuor dall'officio [della moneta] dal oro per la caxone stessa, e siano obligadi i dicti piffari tromboni et trombetti che serano electi far *continua* residentia in questa terra et cadauna volta che a lor serà comandado *per* el prefato principio et essa Signoria, far quello circa l'exercitio suo che serà de bisogno.

De parte 102

De non 29

Nonsine 8

2. I-Vas, Commemoriali, reg. 15, c. 55r, 7 luglio 1458:

Terminatio *quod* provisio *ducatorum* ccxL annualis pro tubetis Serenissimi domini Ducis detur duobus tubetis et tribus piffaris

MCCCCLVIII die VII Julii

Terminatum et deliberatum fuit per Serenissimum et Excellentissimum *dominum*, *dominum* Pasqualem Maripetro, inclitum venetiarum ducem et *cetera*, tam ex antiqua et solita auctoritate ducatus hactenus servata per Illustres predecessores suos quam vigore partis capte in consilio Rogatorum sub die XV maii MCCCCLVIII, quod *omnis* et tota provisio, sive salarium deputata tubetis et pifaris quod ascendit ad *summam* annualem *ducatorum* CCXL deputetur et integre dari, et persolvi debeat *infrascriptis* duobus tubetis et tribus pifaris electis per eius sub et successive aliis qui de tempore in tempus loco quovismodo deficientium per eius *Serenitatem* electi et deputati erunt, cum hac conditione et ordine *quod* predicti pifari et tubete obligentur *habere* domicilium et facere continuam residentiam in hac civitate *nostra* venetiarum et in solennitatibus solitis et occurrentibus et quocienscumque requisiti fuerint et opus fuerit teneantur *personaliter* se exercere. Et ulterius cum effectu etiam providere *omnibus* suis sumptibus et expensis quod similiter habeantur sex tubete qui cum sex tubis magnis argenteis in quibuscumque solennitatibus se exercent juxta consuetudine, quibus quisque de *presenti* fieri debeat cedula sex mensium futurorum que incipi debeat a die captionis partis *suprascriptae* et sic observetur de reliquis suis futuris cedulis. Et ex nunc eius serenitas etiam terminat et declarat quod omnes pifari et tubete praeter *subscriptos* qui de presenti scripti essent et reperirentur cassentur et cassi de cetero esse intelligantur.

Suprascripta terminatio lecta fuit prefato Serenissimo principi ipso die in presentia *Infrascriptorum dominorum* consiliariorum, et de eius mano scripta in hoc *commemoriali*.

Nomina consiliariorum

Ser Alexander Marcello	Ser Petrus Bembo	Ser Johannes Leono
Ser Lazarus Mauro	Ser Andreas vendramino	Ser Dominicus Diedo

Nomina *predictorum* Sonatorum

Magister Bartholomeus pifarus  
 Matheus Laçari pifarus  
 Laurentius Antonii pifarus  
 Georgius de Mothono tubeta  
 Georgius Theodori de Corphoo tubeta

3. I-Vas, Senato Terra, reg. 4 (1456 - 1461 *mv*), 16 maggio 1460, c. 141v.:

Deliberatum fuit quod tubetis et pifaris qui *serviunt* in solennitatibus et aliis agendis *nostris* ut pro honore civitatis continue in civitate starent darentur inter omnes eos ducati viginti in *mense*, quorum partem recipiunt ab officio monete auri et partem a camera camerationis nri *communis* a qua cum multa difficultate denarios suos *habere* possunt et sit provedendum. Vadit pars quod ut habeant pecunias suas de *tempore* in tempus creditum et rationes sue transferantur in totum a camera camerationum ad officium *rationum* veterum illi partis quam dicti pifari et tubete habent a camerarijs comunis tam de tempore praeterito et etiam de tempore *in tempus* ab ipso officium rationum veterum dictis pifaris et tubetis persolvatur pro ea parte que eis solvatur *per* officium predictum camerationis. Et ut hac melius facere possint captum sit quod dicti officiales rationum veterum exigant et afficient ad incantum traiectum barcharum et burchorum transeuntium per Liza Fusinans cum hoc quod ille qui ipsum traiectum habebit non possit accipere ultra quatuor soldos pro quolibet barcha et burchis juxta solitum.

De parte 117  
 de non 5  
 Non sine 3

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Rodolfo Baroncini, “Zorzi Trombetta and the Band of *Piffari* and Trombones of the *Serenissima*: New Documentary Evidence,” *Historic Brass Society Journal* 14 (2002): 59-82.

<sup>2</sup> This, at least, is the image that emerges from Daniel Leech-Wilkinson’s article, “Il libro di appunti di un suonatore di tromba del quindicesimo secolo,” *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 16 (1981): 16-39. His essay is in any case a valuable contribution, as it is the first to furnish a close detailed description of *Zorzi*’s diary and the music it contains.

<sup>3</sup> Baroncini, “Zorzi Trombetta,” 64.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 66ff.

<sup>5</sup> In the discussion that followed the submission of my first article on *Zorzi* to the *HBSJ*, some of the scholars assigned to examine it raised the possibility of a similar risk. Daniel Leech-Wilkinson in particular, in his constructive criticism of my essay, noted that “the central question anyone will ask of this article concerns the identification of *Zorzi* Trombetta da Modon with Georgius Nicolai de Mothons. I very much want to believe that they are the same person, but it must be said that the evidence is not very firm.” (Conveyed in an e-mail message from Stewart Carter to me, dated 20 April 2002.) [Editor’s note: As a matter of policy, the *HBSJ* does not reveal to an author the identity of a reviewer. In the present instance, Prof. Leech-Wilkinson gave his permission.]

<sup>6</sup> Now in the Archivio di Stato di Venezia, the three documents are appended here (Appendix, documents 1-3). The documents of 15 May 1458 and 16 May 1460 were already partially known, as they were published in 1986 by Edoardo Giuffrida in *Fiati. II sezione. Antichi libri e strumenti moderni*, exhibition catalogue, Venice, Assicurazioni Generali Building in Piazza San Marco, September-October 1986 (n.p., n.d.), 46-47, documents 2 and 3). I say “partially known” because the two documents from the *Cancellaria Inferiore* (doge, busta 168) reproduced by Giuffrida are actually late (in all likelihood, seventeenth-century) copies. They differ significantly from the originals that are obviously—since they are two senate resolutions—in the Senato Terra series (reg. 4, fols. 72r and 141v). The divergence between the two sources, already evident in the 1460 document (among other things, the copy is written in the vernacular, while the original is in Latin), is especially serious in the document of May 1458, for which, moreover, Giuffrida gives an incorrect date (15 May 1463 instead of 15 May 1458). Compared to the original, the copy, besides presenting significant lexical differences (towards the middle of the text, for example, the term *trombone* in the original becomes *trombetti* in the copy), contains transcription errors and critical omissions of text. In the second part of the text, the phrase that reads in the original “per quelli che sogliono elezer gli altri” (“among those whom the others usually choose”) appears in the copy as “per quelli che sono esser degl’altri” (“among those who belong to the others”). Moreover, a long phrase present in the original (“i qual ducati 115 se debiano tuor dall’officio dal oro per la caxone stessa et siano obligadi i detti piffari tromboni e trombetti che saranno electi” (“which 115 ducats must be taken from the gold office for this reason, and the said *piffari*, trombones, and trumpets that are chosen must be obligated”) is omitted from the copy. The document in question has been more recently reproduced, in the version quoted by Giuffrida, by Jeffrey Kurtzman and Linda Maria Koldau, in their article “Trombe, Trombe d’argento, Trombe squarciate, Tromboni, and Piffari in Venetian Processions and Ceremonies of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,” *Journal of Seventeenth Century Music* 8, no. 1 (2002) (the article appears on the web at <http://www.sscm-jscm.org/jscm/v8/no1/Kurtzman.html>).

<sup>7</sup> See Appendix, doc. 1.

<sup>8</sup> According to the Venetian mythography widespread in the sixteenth century, the six silver trumpets had been donated, along with a white candle, lead seals, sword, gold ring, umbrella, and eight

standards, by Pope Alexander III to Doge Andrea Ziani in 1177 as a reward for his role in the fight against the emperor Federico Barbarossa. Above and beyond their origins, the trumpets, along with the other six *trionfi* cited above, were a symbol not only of ducal dignity (the doge being raised in this way to the rank of a great sovereign) but also of the jurisdictional autonomy of Venice. The use of the trumpets, which were displayed in procession like the other symbols of triumph, is mentioned for the first time in the ducal promissione, or oath of office, of 1229, sworn by Doge Jacopo Tiepolo (see Edward Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* [Princeton (NJ): Princeton University Press, 1981]). Despite the fact that many chroniclers—from Martino da Canal to Francesco Sansovino—speak more or less explicitly of silver trumpets whenever they refer to the instruments, it appears that in reality during the earliest phase they were merely of copper. Sanudo (who is usually precise in his reports) is credible when he says that starting only in 1524, when the legend of the papal gifts had become so strong as to be accepted as dogma, the trumpets were recast in silver (see Marin Sanudo, *I diarii*, ed. R. Fulin, F. Stefani, N. Barozzi, G. Berchet, and M. Allegri [Venice: Visentini, 1879-1903], vol. 35, col. 387, 1 February 1523, *more Veneto* 1524). On this topic, see also Kurtzman and Koldau, “Trombe, Trombe d’argento, Trombe Squarciate,” chap. II, 8, with an extensive bibliography.

<sup>9</sup> See Appendix, doc. 1.

<sup>10</sup> Baroncini, “Zorzi Trombetta,” 61.

<sup>11</sup> The fact that from the late fourteenth century, a large number of wind instrumentalists (and especially brass players) were living in Venice can be deduced from documents concerning musical practice in the *Scuole piccole*. A resolution of 1373, present in the *mariegola*, or membership rolls, of the Scuola di San Giovanni Battista e di San Giovanni Evangelista, establishes that the *Scuola*, from that moment on, could not accept more than *otto trombadori* (“eight trumpeters”) as members, a measure aimed, evidently, at stemming the surfeit of requests for admission from *tubatores* and instrumentalists in general (see Elena Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco. Organizzazione e prassi della musica nelle chiese di Venezia nel Rinascimento* [Florence: Olschki, 1998], 253). Numerous wind instrumentalists are listed in the *mariegola* of the Scuola di Sant’Anna, which also dates from the second half of the fourteenth century (*ibid.*, 291-92). Moreover, further evidence of the presence in the city of a large group of wind instrumentalists is given by the fact that from 1468 (but presumably from much earlier) a *scuola*, i.e., a guild, *de trombettieri et sonadori*, was in existence (see Baroncini, “Zorzi Trombetta,” 66).

<sup>12</sup> As we shall soon see, a substantial number of the first- and second-generation of members of the doge’s wind band were not originally from Venice, but came in equal measure from the subject cities on the mainland (Padua, Treviso, Verona, etc.) and the colonies of the naval dominions (Methone, Corfù, Ragusa [Dubrovnik]).

<sup>13</sup> See Appendix, Document 1.

<sup>14</sup> In effect, this alarm was well-founded. Rich, important city-states like Florence and Siena, but also—as we shall see—much less important ones, had arranged long before this to maintain a permanent ensemble of *piffari* and trombones. In Florence, a permanent ensemble of *piffari* existed from 1386 on. Made up initially of only three reed instruments, the group was later, in 1444, completely reformed and given a *tuba retorta*; see Giuseppe Zippel, *I suonatori della signoria di Firenze* (Trent, 1892), 14-16 and 23-24; Timothy McGee, “Giovanni Cellini, piffero di Firenze,” *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 32 (1997): 201-21; McGee, “In the Service of the Commune: The Changing Role of Florentine Civic Musicians,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 30 (1999): 727-31; and Keith Polk, “Civic Patronage and Instrumental Ensembles in Renaissance Florence,” *Augsburger Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft* 3 (1986): 53 and 59. Siena moved slightly later than Florence to establish a civic band of *piffari* in 1408; see Frank A. D’Accone, *The Civic Muse: Music and Musicians in Siena during the Middle Ages and the*

*Renaissance* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1997), 443-44.

<sup>15</sup> Even though there are no specific studies on the civic music produced by the subject cities on the mainland, it is very likely that important, and subsequently musically very active towns like Brescia, Verona, and Padua maintained permanent wind ensembles from the beginning of the century. In Verona—according to some documents cited by Paganuzzi—it appears that a civic wind band was operating from the 1420s; see E. Paganuzzi, *La musica a Verona* (Verona: Banca Mutua Popolare di Verona, 1976), 79-85. But the head start of the subject cities on the mainland with respect to Venice in this field is confirmed by the fact that even a small, non-influential town like Crema beat the Sovereign City—albeit on a small scale—by resolving in 1451 to hire one “Arasium de Menovo de Crema in piferum dicta Comunitatis ... ad sonandum e sonare debendum ad offertas” (“[We hire] Arasio (son of) Menovo from Crema as shawm player of the aforesaid town with the duty of playing at the moment of the oblation ceremony.”) (Crema, Archivio Storico del Comune, Provisioni, Reg. 1, 1449-1553, fol. 72, 21 June 1451).

<sup>16</sup> The fact that some of the senators were opposed to the idea of setting up a permanent ensemble of *piffari* is attested by the fact that the resolution of May 1458, while passing by a large majority, was certainly not approved unanimously. Of 139 senators voting, 37 (including those opposed and as well as those abstaining) were against the project. This is a minority, but not a negligible one, which seems indicative of the persistence in the Venetian mercantile aristocracy of a ‘hard core’ that remained reluctant to invest resources in art and culture.

<sup>17</sup> See Lewis Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara, 1400-1505* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 68-69.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 317-18.

<sup>19</sup> The ensembles employed by important civic or court patrons (and thus representative of a general trend) in cities such as Florence, Siena, Bologna, and Mantua comprised four members around the middle of the century. For Florence, see note 14; for Siena, see D’Accone, *The Civic Muse*, 413-554; on Mantua, see William F. Prizer, “Bernardino piffaro e i pifferi e tromboni di Mantova: strumenti a fiato in una corte italiana,” *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 16 (1981): 151-84; and finally, on Bologna, see Osvaldo Gambassi, *Il Concerto Palatino della Signoria di Bologna: cinque secoli di vita musicale a corte (1250-1797)* (Florence: Olschki, 1989). A unique exception to this trend is given by the Duke of Savoy, who from 1446 onward seems to have employed a permanent wind band of five members; see Robert John Bradley, “Musical Life and Culture at Savoy, 1420-1450” (Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, 1992), 320; I am indebted to Keith Polk for calling my attention to this last work.

<sup>20</sup> See Keith Polk, *German Instrumental Music of the Late Middle Ages: Players, Patrons and Performance Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 59, 69, 79, where Polk observes that “for most of the upper echelon southern German nobility five (with a distribution of three *pfeifer* and two slide trumpets) seems to have been almost an archetype.” Other German patrons maintaining five-part ensembles around the middle of the century, were the Count of Württemberg (1455, Augsburg, SA, BB, fol. 39: “5 gulden des pfallentzgraffen pfeffern und trumettern”), the Duke of Austria (1454; Augsburg, SA, BB, fol. 54v: “5 guldin dry pfyffern und zwein trubettern herzog Albrecht von Österrych”), and the Landgrave of Hessen (1465 Regensburg, SR, fol. 40v: “des lanntgrafen von Hessen trummetern und pfewffern ir fünffen”). I am indebted to Keith Polk for this information.

<sup>21</sup> Confirming what we said above, the residence requirement was reiterated in the ducal decree issued two months later: “quod predicti pifari et tubete obligentur habere domicilium et facere continuam residentiam in hac civitate nostra venetiarum” (“that the aforesaid *piffari* and *tubete* shall be obliged to live and to take up continuous residence in our city of Venice”); see Appendix, Document 2.

<sup>22</sup> See Appendix, Document 2.

<sup>23</sup> In my earlier article (“Zorzi Trombetta,” 67-68), I noted that the term *tubeta* was an archaic expression normally used in ducal chancellery texts in Latin as the equivalent of the vernacular trombone; thus it was the right word—at least from 1480 onwards—to designate also the trombone proper. However, it is another matter altogether, given the fact that its meaning changed according to the circumstances and also the chronological period, to understand if the term *trombone* used in the resolution of 15 May 1458 actually refers to a trombone, or—more credibly, given the rather early date of the document—to a slide trumpet. On this question, see Keith Polk, “The Trombone in Archival Documents: 1350-1500,” *Journal of the International Trombone Association* 15 (1987): 25-30.

<sup>24</sup> See Baroncini, “Zorzi Trombetta,” 67 and 73, Document 1.

<sup>25</sup> A comparison of the two lists gives further evidence in support of my hypothesis (see “Zorzi Trombetta,” 67 and 69) that Zorzi played a leading role in the sphere of the ducal ensemble. The switch in the order of the names between the 1458 list (in which Zorzi, the first of two *tromboni*, appears fourth) and that of 1481 (where Zorzi’s name is at the top) is not a casual choice, but one indicative of his growing prestige, due to his skill and the experience he had acquired in the sphere of the ensemble. In fact, in 1481 Zorzi, the only remaining founding member, had accumulated such an impressive number of years of service (23) as to constitute by itself a certain element of respectability and authoritativeness.

<sup>26</sup> A complete description of the musical pieces in Cotton Titus A. XXVI, including those attributable to Zorzi, appears in Leech-Wilkinson, “Il libro di appunti,” 18-26, 31, and 39. For a transcription of the pieces by Zorzi and, in particular, the four two-part counterpoints to the tenor of Dunstable’s chanson *Puisque m’amour*, see Lorenz Welker, “Alta capella. Zur Ensemblepraxis der Blasinstrumente im 15. Jahrhundert,” *Basler Jahrbuch für Historische Musikpraxis* 7 (1983): 119-65, here 159-61. Further comments on these pieces can be found in Polk, *German Instrumental Music*, 158-59; and Baroncini, “Zorzi Trombetta,” 63.

<sup>27</sup> See Baroncini, “Zorzi Trombetta,” 61-63.

<sup>28</sup> The letter in question is transcribed in its entirety and discussed in detail in Baroncini, “Se canta dalli cantori overo se sona dalli sonadori. Voci e strumenti tra Quattro e Cinquecento,” *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 32 (1997): 327-65, here 348-58. Among the many scholars who have studied this question, see Dietrich Kämper, *Studien zur instrumentalen Ensemblesmusik des 16. Jahrhunderts in Italien*, *Analecta musicologica*, vol. 10 (Cologne: Böhlau, 1970); William F. Prizer, “La cappella di Francesco II Gonzaga e la musica sacra a Mantova nel primo ventennio del Cinquecento,” in *Mantova e i Gonzaga nella civiltà del Rinascimento* (Verona: Mondadori, 1977), 274; Prizer, “Instrumental Music / Instrumentally Performed Music ca. 1500: The Genres of Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Rés Vm<sup>7</sup> 676,” in *Le concert de voix et des instruments à la Renaissance*, Actes du XXXIV<sup>e</sup> Colloque International d’Etudes Humanistes (Tours, 1-11 July 1991), ed. Jean Michel Vaccaro (Paris: CNRS, 1995), 185; and Giulio M. Ongaro, “Gli inizi della musica strumentale a San Marco,” in *Giovanni Legrenzi e la cappella ducale di San Marco*, Atti dei convegni internazionali di studi (Venice, 24-26 May 1990, Clusone 14-16 settembre 1990), ed. Francesco Passadore and Franco Rossi (Florence: Olschki, 1994), 215-26, here 218-19.

<sup>29</sup> However, it is not an easy task, in moving from a purely conjectural phase to something more concrete, to fill in the gaps with definite facts. Research on the repertoires of the doge’s *piffari* is particularly difficult because of the lack of information on polyphonic practice and the repertoires cultivated at the time in the Basilica of San Marco and the major Venetian churches.

<sup>30</sup> Other information found in the document concerns the timing of the payment of the salaries (it was established that the salary was to be paid to the five members of the ensemble every six months, starting from the date of their selection), and, even more interesting, the preemptory order to strike out the

names of any other previously listed instrumentalist. This is indisputable evidence that before the foundation of the permanent ensemble, there existed a list of apparently trustworthy players on which the doge and the *Signoria* habitually drew for the major ceremonies.

<sup>31</sup> As we have seen, the first mention of the use of silver trumpets dates to 1229, but it is not clear when the group acquired the status of a permanent ensemble.

<sup>32</sup> On the late introduction of humanist culture in Venice, see the exemplary work by Mario Pastore Stocchi, "Scuola e cultura umanistica tra due secoli," in *Storia della cultura veneta, Dal primo Quattrocento al Concilio di Trento*, ed. G. Arnaldi and M. Pastore Stocchi (Vicenza: Neri Pozza, 1980-81), vol. III/1, pp. 93-120, in which he highlights the basic incompatibility between the mercantile and utilitarian ethic of Venice and the models and ideals of humanism.

<sup>33</sup> An emblematic figure of a professional humanist, Guarino Veronese (1375-1460) lived in Venice from 1414 to 1419. The advocate of a liberal pedagogical system, Guarino brought to Venice the interest in classic Greek and Latin culture that the mercantile concerns and troubles connected with expansion of the city's dominion had not yet allowed to emerge. Guarino's teaching represented a real turning point for the young patricians of Venice; the first authoritative exponents of local humanism, Barbaro (1390-1450) and Giustinian (1388-1446), were formed in his school. Giustinian in particular, besides being a refined student of Greek and Latin language and literature, also cultivated poetry and music. On Venetian humanism, see the enlightening studies by Vittore Branca, *La sapienza civile, Studi sull'umanesimo a Venezia* (Florence: Olschki, 1998); and idem, "L'umanesimo," in *Storia di Venezia*, IV, ed. A. Tenenti and U. Tucci (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1996), 723-55. On Giustinian as a poet and musician, see M. Dazzi, *Leonardo Giustinian, poeta popolare d'amore* (Bari: Laterza, 1934); W.H. Rubsamen, "The Justiniane or viniziane of the 15th Century," *Acta Musicologica*, 29 (1957): 172-84; and Nino Pirrotta, "Ricerche e variazioni su O Rosa bella," *Studi Musicali* 1 (1972): 59-77.

<sup>34</sup> Founded at Giustinian's initiative, the Scuola di San Marco's purpose was to give instruction in grammar and rhetoric to the notaries of the chancellery. Nonetheless, in accord with the humanist spirit, the *scuola* was open to all (patricians and citizens alike) and instruction was given free of charge.

<sup>35</sup> The delayed creation of the ensemble of *piffari* and *tromboni* on a permanent basis is part and parcel symptomatic of the general delay that Venice was destined to suffer, compared even to her dominions on the mainland, in fields outside the strictly artistic and musical sphere. I allude here to Venice's delay, compared with other places in Italy, in providing basic education, which instead of being administered and guaranteed by the state (as was the case even in small mainland cities under Venetian dominion) was entrusted for the most part to private teachers. See Gherardo Ortalli, *Scuole e maestri tra Medioevo e Rinascimento. Il caso veneziano* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1996), 50-55.

<sup>36</sup> Called *dux pacificus* by Sanudo, Pasquale Malipiero was doge from 30 October 1457 to 7 May 1462. Although Sanudo maliciously observed that the most noteworthy event of his reign was the 'public festivities' after his election, in reality Malipiero was the promoter and/or witness not only of the establishment of the doge's wind band, but also of two other deeds worthy of being remembered: the erection in 1460 of the archway of the Arsenal, a great and strongly innovative public work (the first major example of Renaissance art in Venice) and the founding in 1459 of a magistracy for health care (see Marin Sanudo, *De origine urbis Venetae et vitae omnium ducum*, ed. Lodovico Antonio Muratori, in "Rerum italicarum scriptores," tome XXII (Milan: Typographia Societatis Palatina in Regia Curia, 1733), coll. 1165-70; Francesco Sansovino, *Venetia città nobilissima ... con aggiunta di tutte le cose notabili della stessa città, fatte, & occorse dall'anno 1580 fino al presente 1663 da D. Giustiniano Martinioni* (Venice: Stefano Curti, 1663), 578; and Andrea Da Mosto, *I Dogi di Venezia nella vita pubblica e privata* (Milan: Martello, 1960), 177-79. On the Arsenal archway, see Frederic C. Lane,

*Venice. A Maritime Republic* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973); on the magistracy for health care, see *Cronaca Malipiero*, in “Annali Veneti di Domenico Malipiero. Parte quinta. Degli avvenimenti della città,” *Archivio Storico Italiano*, tome VII, part II (Florence, 1844), 651-720, here 653.

<sup>37</sup> See Appendix, Document 3.

<sup>38</sup> The document reveals that the group was given a total of 20 ducats per month. Since the ensemble was made up of five persons, each individual musician received a monthly sum of four ducats, raised to five ducats in 1481; see Baroncini, “Zorzi Trombetta,” 67.

<sup>39</sup> When, in 1444, Zorzi—probably little more than 20 years old—began writing his notebook, Giustinian was still alive. The presence of a lyric text by him in the manuscript, independently of its possible destination in music, is highly significant. It seems to me symptomatic, on one hand, of the broad dissemination that Giustinian’s literary works enjoyed during his lifetime and, on the other hand, of the receptive sensitivity of Zorzi who, in his eagerness for knowledge—already a strong Renaissance trait, projected as it was toward the most varied fields of learning—appears to be taking part, albeit indirectly, in the salubrious humanistic wind that was blowing in Venice with increasing force starting around mid-century.

