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# DE TROMBONIS

Trombone and Trombonists in Renaissance Croatia

by

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## 1 INTRODUCTION

In Europe, the trombone was generally in use from its murky appearance in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, reaching its high peak in the late Renaissance and early Baroque. We do not have any concrete information about trombone and trombone ensemble in Croatia in the period, but by looking at evidence from Rector's Chapel in Dubrovnik and trombone players' nationalities, I suggest that they were present and active.

Renaissance Croatia was not so different than the rest of the Europe: it was a humanist melting pot of cultures and ideas. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Croatian lands were governed by two political powers: in the east by the Republic of Venice, which ruled over Dalmatia and Istria, and in the west by the Habsburg Empire. The bright spot was modern-day city of Dubrovnik, which stood as a free democratic republic. After the Ottoman conquest of Bosnia in 1463, Croatia was open to forces from the southeast, therefore becoming surrounded by three political and war powers – Venice on the west, Habsburg on the north and Ottoman empire from the south. All three threatening cultures left some cultural impact already in the early days of oppression, but the quickly-spreading Italian *humanismus* was far the most implemented one. It first took root on the Adriatic coast, which was to become the musical focal points for hundreds of years.

Italian, or more precisely, Venetian, renaissance compositional style was flourishing with new ideas, with trombones, cornetts and other wind instruments being the most widely used instruments. As we know, musicians travelled for work, and coastal Croatia, as a part of Venice, was not excluded as a work destination. Italian humanists, theorists, philosophers, merchants, and finally, musicians frequently visited and worked in Croatia (as well as the other way around), opening a door to ongoing cultural exchange. Given its place in the Venetian empire, it is hard to believe that Croatia at the time did not hear or use cornetts and trombones in their cities, as the culture of its usage is so widespread and known in neighbouring countries.

The main goal of this thesis is to define where and when trombone and ensembles including trombone was used, who were the musicians, if there were any preferred ensembles etc, between 1400 and 1600. In the course of research, I use primary sources in form of historical documentation and secondary sources including recent research on different aspects of Croatian early music. With good understanding of social-historical context and through thorough analysis of historical documents of the Republic of Dubrovnik, musical terminology in early Croatian lexicons, and correlation with Renaissance instrumental performance practice, I will try to present the potential course of trombone playing in early modern age Croatia.

## **2 RENAISSANCE CROATIA: History and Development Overview**

The Republic of Croatia is a country at the crossroads of Central and Southeast Europe on the Adriatic Sea: geopolitically it is a central European and Mediterranean country, while geographically it is located in the southern part of Central Europe and the northern of the Mediterranean. Its closest neighbours are Slovenia in the northwest, Hungary in the northeast, Serbia in the east and Bosnia and Herzegovina in the southeast. The narrowest border is with Montenegro in the south, while it shares the Adriatic Sea with Italy.

Over the centuries different territories have been called “Croatia” in historical sources. In the early Middle Ages, the name designated the area in the hinterland of the central Dalmatian cities of Split, Trogir and Zadar, although the Slav tribe of Croats settled a much wider region, including Pannonia and probably what is today Montenegro. Later the territory called Croatia broadened to include areas to the north and west, but after the Ottoman conquests of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries it was restricted to a narrow belt between Slovenia in the west, the vast Ottoman empire in the east, the Drava river and the Hungarian border in the north, and the Adriatic Sea in the south. As the Ottoman presence in the area hindered around 1590’s, Croatia regained its former territory and as a part of the triune kingdom of Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia, finally became more than only the north-western part of the present state, but a whole country.<sup>1</sup>

The Slavs appeared in Europe with other newcomers during the great migration of peoples in the Early Middle Ages. In the course of the sixth and seventh centuries, the Croats settled the territory between the Pannonian Plain and the Adriatic Sea, on the territory of the former Roman province of Illyricum. In this period, the Croats were deeply and indelibly marked by their encounter with the Mediterranean culture of Antiquity still carried heavily by the native people of Illyricum in Illyrian cities heavily influenced by Roman culture. That culture had been established when the Slavs arrived, and it became their inheritance, remaining one of the most evident formative influences of their spiritual and cultural history, after accepting the Latin language as the language of their earliest literacy. The heritage of Antiquity, the Mediterranean spirit of the cities (which reflected in the customs and rites) and Western European Christianity are the constant and enduring coordinates which defined the cultural life of the Croats.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Goldstein, Ivo, *Croatia: A History*, Hurst & Company: London (1999), 1-2.

<sup>2</sup> Stipčević, Ennio, *Renaissance Music and Culture in Croatia*, Brepols: Turnhout (2015), 13.

## 2.1 Political Situation

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Croatian lands had been predominantly under the domination of two political powers. Venice, which had consolidated its rule on the eastern coast of the Adriatic, including the Istrian peninsula (*La Provincia dell'Istria*), where Venice occupied the coastal area, while the inland territory was ruled by the Habsburgs (*Grafschaft Mitterburg*). The Venetian *domini da mar* also included Dalmatia as far as Boka Kotorska,<sup>3</sup> so that the only territory free from their reign was the free Republic of Dubrovnik. The *Serenissima*, unlike the Hungarian empire, did not offer good military protection, it instead exploited their subjects economically. While Venetian rule impacted especially badly on the peasants, the Hungarian Court's dominion focused on the systematic impoverishment and neglect of the Croatian nobility.<sup>4</sup>

After the fall of Bosnia in 1463, the Ottoman threat was extremely close. Cornered by Venice, Hungary and the Ottoman Empire, the Croats found themselves on the borders of conflicting worlds.<sup>5</sup> In 1493, the Croatian army suffered a catastrophic defeat in battle with the Turks on Krbavsko polje, when the Turks lay bare the central regions near the border with Bosnia.<sup>6</sup> In 1517, Pope Leo X had called Croatia, as well as some other European countries, "the ramparts of Christendom" (*antemurale christianitatis*). Two years later, the humanist Tomo Crnić (Niger) described the country's desperate plight to the Pope and pleaded for help. If none came, said Niger, Croatia would surrender to the Ottomans and thus open their way to the West. Between 1510 and 1530 Croatian humanists, aware of the catastrophe towards which Croatia was heading, addressed not only the Pope, but a number of West European potentates, in speeches and letters, to ask for protection. The situation deteriorated from year to year: in 1521 the Ottomans conquered Belgrade, the "golden key" to Europe, piercing the defence line at its most sensitive point. The way to Slavonia, the region between the rivers Sava and Drava, now lay open before them.<sup>7</sup> The Ottoman victory in 1526 against Hungarian-Croatian forces in the battle of Mohacs provided control over the Upper Croatia and Slavonia. After the battle, the death in battle of Ludovic II Jagiello and the chaos that ensued, the Croatian Assembly held in Cetin in 1527 chose to seek the protection of the Habsburgs, electing Ferdinand Habsburg for their king. Doing so, the Croats deliberately disobeyed the decision of the Hungarian nobility who elected Ivan Zapolya. In this way, in 1527, the last formal link which might have invoked the personal union established in the Middle Ages was broken, and after the Assembly in Cetin

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<sup>3</sup> In 1409, the Hungarian-Croatian king Ladislaus of Naples sold Dalmatia to Venice for 100 000 ducats.

<sup>4</sup> Stipčević, *Renaissance Music and Culture*, 13-14.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 14.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 14.

<sup>7</sup> Goldstein, *Croatia*, 34.

both Croats and Hungarians became very dependent on the new centre of power – Vienna.<sup>8</sup> The Turks captured Klis, the last fortification of the Dalmatian-Hungarian kings in 1538. Only in 1593 the Turkish invaders were finally stopped before Sisak.<sup>9</sup> At that point, the Croatian territory under Habsburg rule had been reduced from 50 000 to 20 000 square kilometres; it even began to officially call itself *reliquiæ reliquiarum olim inclyti Regni Croatiae* (the remains of the remains of the formerly glorious kingdom of Croatia). For the Habsburgs it represented no more than a small cog in their great European project.<sup>10</sup>

At the time of the greatest weakness, when little was left of the formerly large kingdom but its name, Croatia and Slavonia finally united after many centuries of division. In 1558 their *sabors* united into a common body of “estates and orders”, ending the division into two administratively separate dukedoms, which led to isolating Dalmatia and centring the gravity of Croatian state from Dalmatian cities to the north – in Zagreb and Varaždin. Re-centring to the continental part also reflected in the northern Adriatic in the development of Rijeka and Senj harbours as a military and trade focal points.<sup>11</sup>

In this sombre environment Dubrovnik was a complete exception: ridding itself of outside patronage of any kind such as it had had in earlier centuries and underpinned by favourable contracts with the vast and prosperous Ottoman Empire, it reached the peak of its development in the sixteenth century, mainly due to trade. Although Dubrovnik’s business contacts reached distant lands, it had the special advantage that its merchants were the main mediators between the Balkans and Italian ports and cities. They had unquestionable advantages over Western merchants: an existing trading network developed in earlier centuries, knowledge of the language and the fact that Dubrovnik presented no kind of military threat to the Ottomans or any other neighbouring country. This glory came to an end in 1667 with the catastrophic earthquake, when about the half of population was killed. Only outstanding diplomatic skill managed to preserve the city’s independence, but it never regained its old glory and wealth.<sup>12</sup>

The parts of Croatia under Ottoman rule had a very different fate, but it certainly was not as black as folk tradition records. As one system of government and way of life disappeared, the Ottoman administrative system of *sanjaks* was immediately established and the land that had been left uncultivated was mostly settled by Christians from the interior. Some towns even had more inhabitants than during Hungarian-Croatian rule and became administrative or economic centres where markets were organised. Towns in Slavonia developed most quickly,

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<sup>8</sup> Stipčević, *Renaissance Music*, 17.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* 14-15.

<sup>10</sup> Goldstein, *Croatia*, 36.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* 36-37.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* 37.

especially Osijek, while small settlements in the barren Dinaric region lagged behind. Overall, conditions in the Ottoman Empire were relatively favourable and this was reflected in Croatian lands under its rule, which lasted till the late sixteenth century and partly even into the seventeenth.

## 2.2 Cultural Context

In most Western and Central European states, during fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, the middle classes had enjoyed economic prosperity and the benefits of the spiritual, philosophical and cultural movements of Humanism and the Renaissance, while Croatian villages and farms were devastated over and over again, leading to enormous demographic losses and migrations of the population. The limitations of political freedoms and economic instability had weakened the middle class, and in the bordering regions, religious institutions often remained the last defenders of Croatian cultural identity.<sup>13</sup>

The first humanistic centres in Croatia sprang up along the Adriatic coast. Strong incentives came from Venice and the Apennine Peninsula as a whole, and the new ideas fell on fertile soil in the coastal towns and cities mostly founded during Greek and Roman colonization. The closeness of Italian culture was a decisive factor in the growth of Humanism and the Renaissance in Croatian lands. The coastal cities ruled by Venice lived in undemocratic conditions, but they were free to develop their cultural activity. Unlike them, the northern regions of Croatia received considerably less cultural and artistic encouragement from the Hungarian Court. Innovative people and ideas migrated mostly from south to north.<sup>14</sup>

While in the Early Modern Age Europe was marked by an accelerated exchange of merchandise, people and ideas, Croatian provinces had less mutual contact than ever before, owing to neglected and impassable roads made insecure by frequent raids. That certainly could not encourage the exchange of more complex and refined artistic ideas. Regional particularities and variations can perhaps be best seen in the coexistence of the culture's many alphabets and languages. In Adriatic Croatia, dominated by Venice, the language of administration and education was mostly Italian, whereas the native Croatian prevailed in daily communication and literature, and Latin and Italian were mostly reserved for scholarly discussions and treatises. In northern Croatia, which recognised the rule of the Hungarian Court, the language of administration and education was Latin, and Croatian was spoken by the people. It is interesting to note that in the coastal area, church services were conducted both in Croatian and Latin. The

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<sup>13</sup> Stipčević, *Renaissance Music*, 15.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

use of three scripts (Latin, Glagolitic and Cyrillic), added even greater complexity to this endemic linguistic situation.<sup>15</sup>

### 2.3 Reformation and Counter-Reformation

Renaissance humanism influenced Luther's Reformation. In Eastern European countries, Protestantism was considered to be a logical consequence of previous development of *studia humanitatis*. Critical thinking, as well as presenting uncomfortable metaphysical and social questions advocated by the humanists, helped protestant ideas to spread, not as militant politic text, but as utopian speech about improving the already optimistic world. The Reformed spirit came to the Slavs through the most famous European continental humanist – Desiderius Erasmus Roterodamus. With the help of his writings that came from the printers in Venice, it spread in schools and universities, parliaments and court offices. In the elite of contemporary Europe, he raised the general level of religious and spiritual tolerance.<sup>16</sup>

The great European social movement of the Reformation took strong root in Slovenia, but in Croatia itself it only appeared in fringe areas and was later crushed by the onslaught of the Counter-Reformation. The ideas of the Reformation had a strong impact on the growing interest for church services conducted in the native language and the printing of religious and didactic manuals. The centre of a very agile printing and publishing shop was in Urach, near Tübingen, Germany, where thanks to a group of Croatian and Slovenian biblical scholars the foundations were laid for Protestant activity in the Slavonic south. Between 1555 and 1568 the Croatian Protestants printed 27 books in Croatian (in all three scripts – Glagolitic, Cyrillic and Latin) and 8 more in Italian, all comprising about 25 000 books.<sup>17</sup> In the Slavic Mediterranean that same religious movement was spreading slowly: similar to Italian processes, the people were suspicious to any intellectual and spiritual messages of the Protestants. In the cities of northwest Croatia, Istria and near Slovenian border, Protestantism was a movement of lower social level, peasants and commoners, and was not accepted by the critical mass of magnates.<sup>18</sup>

The reaction to the movement of the Reformation was coordinated at the Council of Trent, which was in session from 1545 to 1563. The Jesuits appeared in Croatian lands about 1562, but only at the start of seventeenth century did it become possible for them to found their Residences (Dubrovnik in 1604, Zagreb in 1606 and Varaždin in 1633). Very soon the Jesuit schools became the focal points of the religious, intellectual and cultural life. The ideas of the Counter-Reformation were particularly welcomed by the Zagreb Chapter, where the reaction

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<sup>15</sup> Stipčević, *Renaissance Music*, 18.

<sup>16</sup> Novak, Slobodan Prosperov, *Slaveni u Renesansi* (The Slavs in the Renaissance), Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska (2009), 629.

<sup>17</sup> Stipčević, *Renaissance Music*, 109.

<sup>18</sup> Novak, *Slaveni u Renesansi*, 659.

against Lutheranism had gained additional motivation for political reasons: the wish of the Church to avoid Habsburg tutorship.<sup>19</sup> It is essential to stress that all the Jesuit efforts were not radical Counter-Reformation moves, for the simple reason that the Reformation did not take deep roots on this territory.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Novak, *Slaveni u Renesansi*, 115.

<sup>20</sup> Stipčević, *Renaissance Music*, 116.

### 3 MUSIC IN CROATIA BETWEEN 1400–1600

As most of the Europe at the time, musical culture of sixteenth-century Croatia reflected Europe's dominant stylistic trends, along with the continuation of mediaeval traditions, the influences of Reformation and Counter Reformation, and the constant presence of autochthonous folk musical expression.<sup>21</sup> The many layers of compositional textures of sixteenth-century European musical culture is also significantly present in Croatian music and along it, Croatian music very clearly reveals the influence of original folk music and popular religious song, whose characteristics can be reconstructed from later notated sources. Exactly like literature, drama and art, the musical heritage of sixteenth-century Croatia is organically intertwined with the real needs of the society from which it sprang: from the urban lute song to popular religious hymns, musical fragments of theatre performances to polyphonic madrigals.<sup>22</sup>

#### 3.1 Manuscripts and Church Scriptoria

Since the Middle Ages, many churches and monasteries in Croatia had their own scriptoria – rooms inside monasteries designated for copying manuscripts. Most of these were to be found along the eastern Adriatic coast in Dubrovnik, Korčula, Hvar, Split, Trogir, Šibenik, Zadar and Rab, but also in the northern Croatia, where the most important one was in Zagreb. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, activities in scriptoria start to decline because of the development of printing techniques.<sup>23</sup>

Most of the existing Croatian codices were crafted in scriptoria of Zagreb Cathedral and various cities on the Adriatic Coast, and from Cres in the north to Dubrovnik in the south. The scribes' liturgical, miniaturist, musical and other attributes of these codices are generally known, although they never signed their work.<sup>24</sup> The transcription, illumination and notation of liturgical books were commissioned from foreign and local artists, some of which are known to us through records left by their patrons, and others which remain anonymous.<sup>25</sup> Between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries — the golden age of political and cultural life in Dubrovnik — the scriptoria of Franciscan and Dominican monasteries were important centres of new ideas. But not all the Dalmatian scriptoria were in the position to execute their own production of musical-liturgical codices. For example, the Franciscan monastery in Zadar has a collection of several antiphonaries and graduals produced in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Italy by Bolognese and Paduan artists. Manuscripts also circulated from one monastery

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<sup>21</sup> Kos, Koraljka, „Croatian Music Culture During the Period of the Renaissance“, *Arti musices: Special issue* (Zagreb: 1/1970), 74.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid. 75.

<sup>23</sup> Stipčević, Ennio, *Renaissance Music and Culture in Croatia*, Turnhout: Brepols (2015), 29.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid. 37.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid. 39.

scriptorium to another, which can be shown, for example, in the codices in the collection of Osor Cathedral, on the island of Cres, which were produced in Zadar.<sup>26</sup>

### 3.2 Music Printing

From the fifteenth century to the first half of the eighteenth century, Croatian territory did not have a printing house equipped for the printing of music. Most works by Croatian Renaissance composers were published in Venice, but also in other European cities: Rome, Fossombrone and Vienna. A large number of music prints and collections by Croatian Renaissance and Baroque composers were dedicated to national events and occasions, and to native patrons and music lovers, but these were integrated into the large multinational European market.<sup>27</sup> The incunabula found in Croatian libraries are comparatively well indexed, while sources printed into the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are not. The surviving music in incunabula prints probably does not reflect the musical production of the period, but it is just an insignificant relic of much richer repertoire.<sup>28</sup> Almost all incunabula come from the Venetian printing shops, which were been Croatia's biggest supplier in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>29</sup>

Fifteenth-century music printing repertoire consisted mostly of chant, which since the Middle Ages has been circulating in various manuscripts. In this early flourishing period, two printers originating from Croatia gave their contribution to musical printing.<sup>30</sup> **Andrija Paltašić** (c. 1450–c. 1500, Andrea Paltassichis da Cattaro) and **Dobrić Dobričević** (1457–c. 1500, Boninus de Boninis, Boninus Raguseus). Even though the music printing was of secondary importance to both Paltašić and Dobričević (they were renowned printers of other types of publications), they still marked the beginning of music printing by Croatians. Paltašić printed at least 42 volumes in his sixteen years of active work in Venice, while Dobričević worked in Venice, Verona, Brescia and Lyon.<sup>31</sup>

In the first decades of sixteenth-century printing and publishing polyphonic music, another two printers from Istria left a considerable mark on music printing of the time. Andrea Antico da Montona (from Motovun) and Jacques Moderne da Pinguente (from Buzet) branched out in their printing business to include music printing, Antico in Venice and Rome, and Moderne in Lyon. No Croatian book printer of the sixteenth century achieved greater European fame in this field of work than these two Istrian masters.

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<sup>26</sup> Stipčević, *Renaissance Music*, 41.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid. 48-49.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid. 49. On the same page and forward there is a comprehensive list of *incunabulae* containing music.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid. 50.

<sup>30</sup> Stipčević, *Renaissance Music*, 53.

<sup>31</sup> Paltašić printed *Missale Romanum* in Venice in 1485–86, and that is the only music print by him known to us, while Dobričević printed three music books: *Missale Ordinis Carmelitanum* in Brescia, 1490, *Missale Cabilonense* in Lyon, 1500, and *Missale Bellicense* also in Lyon in 1503. Stipčević, *Renaissance Music*, 54-55.

Nothing is known about **Jacques Moderne's** early years in Buzet, one can only suppose that his basic education – an apprenticeship in music printing – was acquired in Venice. In any case, the Venetian period of Moderne's career is surrounded by a veil of imponderables. However, we do know that he resided in Lyon in the period from 1532 to 1560, where he published at least 120 different books, among them 40 music publications comprising masses, motets, madrigals, chansons and instrumental compositions. He started by publishing books concerning medicine and law, along with liturgical manuals, and achieved great success on the market publishing *Motetti del Fiore* (1532–39), a collection of motets by the composers of the period in 4 volumes, and with an anthology in 11 volumes, *Parangon des chansons* (1538–1543). Generally respected, excellent in graphic, printing and musical work, he was called *Grand Jacques*, but unfortunately, his printing activity had no greater impact on the musical or any other life of his native land.<sup>32</sup>

**Andrea Antico** has been slightly more researched than Moderne. Born as Andrija Motovunjanin (c. 1480–after 1539), he acquired the famous pseudonym in his professional life as a music printer and publisher, anthologist, intabulator and composer. Coming from Motovun in Istria, he was active in Rome (1510–18) and Venice (1520–21, 1533–36) and printed about 30 music books. He was one of the most notable music printers of his time, admired by his contemporaries as an experienced musician and printer who knew how to edit texts and to select attractive musical repertoire for his prints. He started his printing career in 1510 with the collection *Canzoni nove con alcune scelte de varii libri di canto* and mastering the technique of printing the whole woodcut page, which he mostly cut himself, printing them in *quarto* format, more profitable than *folio* format.<sup>33</sup>

We still do not really have a complete picture of the European music print market in Europe, and as for the Croatian market for music prints, we have no idea whether it even existed before music printing started to work in Zagreb mid-eighteenth century. We do know that a rather limited market for Croatian books – mostly literary, scholarly and religious – existed in the Renaissance in parts of Dalmatia and in Dubrovnik, but we have little information about the circulation of music prints on Croatian territory in general.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Stipčević, *Renaissance Music*, 55-56.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid. 56-61.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid. 62.

### 3.3 The Music

Sixteenth-century Croatian compositions surviving in manuscript or published form, along with those the existence of which is interfered from indirect sources, represent nearly all the typical sixteenth-century musical forms: vocal monophony (liturgical, paraliturgical and folk music), vocal monophony with instrumental accompaniment, vocal polyphony and instrumental music. The only two categories that could potentially relate to trombone music are vocal polyphony, both secular and sacred, and instrumental music, so we will involve only those.

#### 3.3.1 Vocal Polyphony

The highest level of professional Renaissance music-making was also present in Croatia, but to a smaller extent. Its greatest exponent was Julije Skjavić (Giulio Schiavetto). The few existing sources of Croatian secular and sacred vocal polyphony primarily present smaller forms, in particular the motet. We have no proof that any Croatian composers composed a Renaissance polyphonic mass.<sup>35</sup>

Among the secular genres, the most widespread were the *frottola* published by Andrea Antico from Motovun and the *gregescha*, two of which are found in Schiavetto's work. The master form of secular polyphony, the madrigal, appears in four pieces,<sup>36</sup> two by Andrea Patricio from Cres and two<sup>37</sup> by Giulio Schiavetto. Schiavetto also published a collection of madrigals in 1563<sup>38</sup>, but two parts of this collection of thirty four- and five-part madrigals have been lost, so this great opus remains a torso without a head.<sup>39</sup> The Croatian Renaissance seems to have been acquainted only with madrigals in the Italian language.<sup>40</sup>

The only Renaissance instances of Croatian motets are those by Giulio Schiavetto in his collection *Motetti a cinque et a sei voci*, Libro primo (1564). We learn about the *libro secondo* (1565) in old catalogues, but it has never been found.<sup>41</sup>

#### 3.3.2 Instrumental Music

There is evidence in Croatian sources of the presence of instruments and instrumental music in everyday life. As we will see in chapter 4, the information about paid musicians on festive and daily occasions is present in the Dubrovnik archives. Next to the name and surname of the

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<sup>35</sup> Stipčević, *Renaissance Music*, 66.

<sup>36</sup> In Antonio Barges, *Il primo libro de villotte a quattro voci con un'altra canzon della galina novamente da lui composte & date in luce*, Venice: Antonio Gardano, 1550.

<sup>37</sup> These 2 madrigals appear in *I dolci et harmoniosi concerti fatti da dviere eccelentissimi musici sopra varij soggetti. A cinque voci. Libro secondo*. Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1562.

<sup>38</sup> *Li madrigali a quattro e a cinque voci nuovamonte composti*, Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1563.

<sup>39</sup> Kos, "Croatian Music Culture", 66.

<sup>40</sup> Stipčević, *Renaissance Music*, 245.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.* 258.

instrumentalists, sometimes generalised (or not even present), we find the instrument they played and how much they were paid for it. From the wide spectrum of common instruments of the renaissance – trumpets, flutes, small drums, cornets, lutes – the organ and organ players are, as expected from the sixteenth century, mentioned the most often as having extraordinary status.<sup>42</sup>

Aside from the instrumental already mentioned in Bossinensis's collection, we have no other purely instrumental music collection connected to Croatia until Francesco Usper's 1595 collection of *Ricercari et arie francesi*.

### 3.4 Composers: The Sixteenth Century

Some musicians have left traces in the Dubrovnik archives, which preserve the most documentation about Renaissance music in Croatia today. Even before we start mentioning potential composers, it is important to mention that we still do not possess a single autograph of Croatian music written down by a Croatian Renaissance composer, or by a foreign musician who lived and worked in Croatia at the time.<sup>43</sup> The writings of Ambroz Gučetić (1563–1632), Bishop of Makarska and Trebinje, provide useful primary information about **Benedict Babić** (1540–1591), a Dominican organist and composer. Gučetić was a historian, Dominican priest and a member of the monastery where Babić had lived before him.<sup>44</sup> He mentions Father Benedict as a Bachelor of Theology (*Theologiae Baccalaureus*), Master of music (*Musica Magister*) and a unique organist. Babić left a lot of music in the monastery, both for organ and voices. He wrote sermons for Christmas, Epiphany, Lord's Supper and the Vespers, works that Gučetić writes existed in 1590 (*Extitit anno 1590*).<sup>45</sup> Serafin Crijević, another Dubrovnik writer, also mentions Babić as having an excellent knowledge in the art of music, singing beautifully, playing the organ and leaving behind numerous manuscripts.<sup>46</sup> Both Crijević and Gučetić are proof that Babić's written works from 1590 or before were still present in the Dominican monastery in Dubrovnik in the mid-eighteenth century, while the music was either stolen from the archives and destroyed or lost.

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<sup>42</sup> Kos, "Croatian Music Culture", 67.

<sup>43</sup> Stipčević, *Renaissance Music*, 244.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.* 46.

<sup>45</sup> Gozze, Ambrosio, *Catalogus virorum ex familia Praedicatorum in literis insignium*, Venetiis: 1605, 41: *Fra Benedictus Baba Rhagusinus sacrae Theologiae Baccalaureus . . . in Musica Magister, in pulsation organi unicus nostris temporibus. Fuit Gloria Conventus Rhagusini; a secularibus omnibus amabatur, venerabatur, et etiam mirabatur. Riliquit post . . . in eius convent. Multa opera musicalia, multa quae in organis cantatur et pulsator. Sermones de Nativitate, Annunciatione, Coena Domini. Extitit anno 1590.*

<sup>46</sup> Crijević, Serafin Marija, *Bibliotheca Ragusina in qua Ragusini scriptores eorumque gesta et scripta recensentur*, I-IV, Stjepan Krsić (ed.), Zagreb: JAZU (1980), I, 157: *... musices artem optime coluisse; mira igitur canebat et organa pulsabat, immo et fabricabat; de eadem arte nonnulla reliquit scripta.*

**Šime Budinić** (1530/35–1600) was a priest, secretary of the Zadar Archdiocese, translator, poet, church writer and promoter of the Trent reforms. He started working in Zadar as a clerk and notary, moved to Rome, and after 1585 came back to Zadar and died there.<sup>47</sup> The first information that Budinić had some connection to music goes back to 1554, where we find his name in a dedication by Giandomenico Martoretta in *Il terzo libro di madrigali a quattro voci* (Venice, 1554). Several of Budinić's poems in the Croatian language and fragments of music notation can be found on the margins of small booklets which contain rough drafts of letters and office documents of the Zadar notary's office. Concluding from the four short examples of musical writing in the style of Renaissance florid counterpoint<sup>48</sup> found in these documents, we can say Budinić it is not necessarily excluded that he wrote more elaborate music, that was, as the case with most Croatian music of the time is, lost. The bigger probability is that Budinić was an amateur who had basic knowledge of counterpoint, but never devoted time to in-depth study of it, and yet he is the only Croatian "composer" actually traced on paper.<sup>49</sup>

Mentioned and represented for the first time in Barges' collection of *villotte* from 1550 (*Il Primo libro de Villotte a Quattro voci con un'altra Canzon della Galina Novamente da lui Composte et date in luce*), **Andrea Patricio** (fl. 1550) was a composer from Cres, and probably the older cousin of well-known philosopher Francesco Patrizio (Frane Petrić, 1529–1597). The sentence that Barges wrote in the dedication to Girolamo Fenaruolo, where he mentioned several artists that enjoyed Fenaruolo's patronage, is also all we know about this composer's biography:

*Mandovi ancora alcune poche ma soavi compositione del Magnifico Cavalliero il S. Andrea Patricio da Cherso, le quali credo che molto vi piaceranno.*

*I also send you some pleasing compositions by Magnificent Andrea Patricio from Cres, which I hope will bring you pleasure.*<sup>50</sup>

Andreis valorised his four madrigals as very far from the affective idiom of mid-century Venetian madrigal production.<sup>51</sup> His work demonstrates respect for poetic syntax but brings somewhat restrained polyphony. However, Patricio's madrigals show his familiarity with the most advanced stages in the development of this genre, as well as the blending of elements of Italian *frottola* and the Dutch polyphony.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Stipčević, *Renaissance Music*, 239.

<sup>48</sup> Detail description of the writing in Stipčević, *Renaissance Music and Culture in Croatia*, 239–244.

<sup>49</sup> Stipčević, *Renaissance Music*, 244.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid. 252. In Andreis, Josip, *Music in Croatia*, Zagreb: Institut za muzikologiju (1982), 37.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid. 253.

<sup>52</sup> Andreis, *Music in Croatia*, 36.

As it is usual in the case of all Croatian musicians, we do not know much about and we do not have a lot of music from **Julije Skjavetić** (also Schiavetti, Schiavetto, c. 1520/1530, fl. c. 1560). His country of origin is discernible from his name: it is a diminutive form of *schiaivo*, the Italian name for Croats along the Adriatic. Archival documents from the city of Šibenik hold a record of a number of persons named Skjavetić between the early sixteenth and late seventeenth centuries (Schiauetich, Schauetich and Scauetich),<sup>53</sup> therefore there is a big chance he could be born in Šibenik. His place of education is unknown, but we know that he worked for Girolamo (Jerolim) Savorgnano, bishop of Šibenik from 1557 to 1573. His entire musical oeuvre known to date (with some exceptions) was published by Girolamo Scotto. Skjavetić was first presented with two five-part madrigals, *Appariran per me le stele* and *Era il bel viso suo* in the anthology *I dolci et harmoniosi concetti fatti da diversi et eccellentissimi musici sopra vari soggetti, a cinque voci, libro secondo* (Venice, Girolamo Scotto, 1562).<sup>54</sup> A year later he brought out his first book of madrigals for four or five voices. This first independent body of work by Skjavetić has unfortunately not survived in its entirety, but only the cantus, altus and tenor books survived. In 1564 he published his first book of motets, and published the second book next year (1565), but it has not been found.<sup>55</sup> Two *gregesche* by Skjavetić were included to the anthology *Il primo libro delle gregesche* (Venice, Angelo Gardano, 1564), which is also the penultimate time he appeared on the printing market. After the second, now lost, book of motets in 1565, we lose track of him.<sup>56</sup> The second book of motets was mentioned in two inventory lists, in 1596 and 1604, of the contemporary Italian printers.<sup>57</sup>

The **Curtoys** family was present in the Republic of Dubrovnik from the middle of sixteenth century and Dubrovnik enjoyed their musicianship for a whole century: **Lambert the Older** (c. 1520–fl. 1542–83) was *maestro di cappella* of Rector's Chapel from 1554 to 1570, **Henry** from 1573 to the 1620s, and **Lambert the Younger** until the 1670s.<sup>58</sup> From the whole family, only Lambert the Older left music composed in Dubrovnik. He was probably of Franco-Flemish origin. As a composer, teacher, singer and, interestingly, trombonist, he worked mainly in Italy and Dubrovnik. In 1570 he moved to Udine where he was *maestro di cappella* until 1573, when he disappears from the documents and reappears in the same position in 1578–79 in Treviso Cathedral, and then again in 1582–83 in Vincenza. Apart from the individual motets

<sup>53</sup> Ibid. 37. Stipčević, *Renaissance Music*, 257.

<sup>54</sup> Županović, Lovro, *Julije Skjavetić: Vokalne skladbe I, duhovne, Moteti u pet i šest glasova (1564)*, Muzički informativni centar: Zagreb (1995), VII.

<sup>55</sup> Stipčević, *Renaissance Music*, 258.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid. 258.

<sup>57</sup> Županović, *Julije Skjavetić*, VI, footnote 14.

<sup>58</sup> Miho Demović, *Glazba i glazbenici u Dubrovačkoj republici*, JAZU: Zagreb (1981), 67-68.

published in 1543<sup>59</sup>, Curtois' surviving published music includes one work in *Il primo libro delle Muse a tre voci* (Venice? 1562), a spiritual madrigal in six parts in *Musica spirituale . . . a cinque voci* (Venice? 1563), and the entire *Madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice? 1580), which includes a madrigal in two parts by his son Henry. The *Madrigali* is dedicated to three young aristocrats of Ragusa, who were probably among Curtois' many students. Three madrigals by "Lamberto" are found in anthologies: two in *Il secondo libro dei madrigali . . . misura di breve* (Venice? 1543) and one in *Il primo libro delle muse a 5* (Venice? 1555),<sup>60</sup> but all of them are of dubious authorship. The only piece of instrumental music is canzona *Petit Jacquet*, that is allegedly written by him, but probably of questionable provenance.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Stipčević, *Renaissance Music*, 274. In collection *Il secondo libro de li madrigali de diversi eccellentissimi autori*, Venice, A. Gardano: 1543.

<sup>60</sup> Bridges, Thomas W., „Courtois (Courtoys, Curtois), Lambert“, *Grove Music Online*, retrieved 23. 12. 2018 (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000006722>)

<sup>61</sup> Stipčević, *Renaissance Music*, 273-5.

#### 4 THE RECTOR'S CHAPEL OF THE REPUBLICA RAGUSINA (1301–1667)

Dubrovnik is unique as only southern Slavic city that managed to expand, politically and administratively uniting around 100 kilometres between the bay of Boka Kotorska and the bay of Neretva, creating a city-state that already in the fourteenth century had all characteristics of a modern organised state. A well developed and brilliantly executed foreign policy of neutrality during the long period of violent wars between the Turkish Empire and western European countries, guaranteed Dubrovnik complete independence and freedom in internal affairs until 1808, when it fell under Napoleon. Historians divide the history of Dubrovnik into four periods, depending on which state externally governed it. It starts with the formation of the city in the seventh century, under Byzantine rule until 1205, followed by Venetian rule from 1205 until 1358, Croatian-Hungarian rule from 1358 until 1526 and finally Ottoman rule from 1526 until 1808. In all periods Dubrovnik was completely free, except for the Venetian period, when both internal political and economic freedom were partially hampered.<sup>62</sup>

Being very close to the Strait of Otranto, which separates the Adriatic Sea from Ionian Sea, Dubrovnik became one of the biggest and, in some periods, the only economic and trading centre in the Balkans. It was the trading spot between the east and the west, therefore fortifying its own economic power and wealth.<sup>63</sup> As we have seen in previous chapter, the rest of Croatia did not have the benefit of peace, freedom and fortune, while Dubrovnik was able to build its culture in different forms without interruption, therefore prospering in literature, theatre, arts and music. In the next pages we will follow one of the most important musical ensembles in Croatia in the Renaissance: the Rector's Chapel or "Cappella" – also mentioned in sources as *concerto di piffari*, *compania delli piffari* and *societas tibicinum* – whose activities can be followed from the beginning of the fourteenth century until the beginning of the nineteenth century.

##### 4.1 History of the Cappella and Its Social Context

The first known players of the Cappella were recruited from the ranks of town messengers, called *zduri* (singular: *zdur*). Messenger's duties were to execute tasks given by the rector and his deputies: communicating the new orders and laws to the public in the city and in the wider territory of the Republic, taking care of entrusted affairs and people, and collecting the debts of the citizens.<sup>64</sup> Before announcing the novelty, the messenger would gather the townspeople by blowing in his trumpet. This tradition was also present in other cities: in Drač, for example, we

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<sup>62</sup> Miho Demović, *Glazba i glazbenici u Dubrovačkoj republici*, JAZU: Zagreb (1981), 1.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid. 1.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid. 69 and footnote 302.

find townspeople gathered in the church on 25<sup>th</sup> of January 1383 *ad sonum tubicte* (by the sound of trumpet), or in the Italian cities of Trani and Bari on the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> of February 1472, where trumpeters Nardum (Trani) and Petrus (Bari) read the charters to the people.<sup>65</sup>

The first *zdur* in Dubrovnik was Matheus Preco, mentioned for the first time on the 17<sup>th</sup> of August, 1301, proclaiming a decision of the Rector.<sup>66</sup> In next years, the number of trumpet-messengers grew, as we can see from the decision of the great council (*Consilium Maius*) of the 28<sup>th</sup> of February, 1302, that stated that one trumpeter was to be appointed in each of the listed cities' construction places (the cities were Breno, Belen, Stivaca, Vergato, Malce, Jancheto, Umbla and Palice) and to give a signal for the beginning and the end of the working day.<sup>67</sup>

From the duty of the trumpet-messenger, the Cappella was slowly born. The number of trumpeters steadily grew throughout the years, as well as the number of other instruments used (on 27<sup>th</sup> of April 1331 we find the phrase *cum aliis instrumentis*<sup>68</sup>). Their duties also grew: not only did they perform when they were needed by the Rector, but they also performed at townsmen's festivities such as weddings.<sup>69</sup> In these early years of the Cappella, the names of the players are not recorded, but only the general terms for instrument groups, such as *tubator*, *fistulator*, *cornicinus* and other.

In the second half of the fourteenth century, documents mentioning musicians are more numerous and their content is richer. Next to the name – and sometimes even a surname – we find the name of the instrument he played, the country he came from, as well as the payment he received and the reason he came there. This is unfortunately not widely applied in all documents- some are scarcely written. In the 1360s, the number of musicians in Dubrovnik fell, so letters were sent to Italy in order to find and bring more players to the city. A few years after that event, we do find new players coming from Italy.

In the 1370s, we notice the first German instrumentalists in Dubrovnik. On the 28<sup>th</sup> of November 1378, the *Consilium Maius* approved the employment of three German players that have already been in Dubrovnik (*tres sonatores theutonicos qui sunt in Ragusio*<sup>70</sup>). It is unclear why and in which circumstances they came to Dubrovnik, and unfortunately their names cannot be traced in documents.<sup>71</sup> It is indeed interesting how early the German musicians may be noticed in Dubrovnik documents, as, for example, in Florence, they are mentioned only in the

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<sup>65</sup> Demović, *Glazba i glazbenici*, 69.

<sup>66</sup> Reformationes 1, 17.

<sup>67</sup> Reformationes 1, 32.

<sup>68</sup> Reformationes 10, 14.

<sup>69</sup> Demović, *Glazba i glazbenici*, 70.

<sup>70</sup> Reformationes 24, 217.

<sup>71</sup> Demović, *Glazba i glazbenici*, 74. Reformationes, 24, 144; 30, 13, 36.

middle of the fifteenth century. From 1378 until 1558 we find dozens of musicians from German-speaking countries: Helias Theutonicus, Juanis Theutonicus, Radasinus Theutonicus, Peterchinus Allemanus, Pater Noster de Prussa, Petrus de Colonia, Matheus de Zanzpizolo and Petrus Germanus.<sup>72</sup> German players in Dubrovnik were mentioned in popular literature of the time, too: Ragusan renaissance poet Mavro Vetranović (1482–1576) mentions them in one of his carnival songs (*Lanci Alemani, trumbetari i pifari*), describing how the Germans came to Dubrovnik to teach the townspeople how to play the trombones. The refrain of the song mentions trombones in Ragusan dialect (*trumbun, trumbuni*) and trombone-playing (*trumbetati*, literally translated as *tromboning*):

<i>Mi smo prišli u ove strane,</i>	<i>We arrived in this land,</i>
<i>neka vam je sada znati,</i>	<i>Let it be now known,</i>
<i>da naučimo Dubrovčane</i>	<i>That Ragusans be taught</i>
<i>u trumbune trumbetati.</i> <sup>73</sup>	<i>How to play the trombone.</i>

At the end of the fourteenth century we finally find names of players from Croatian cities or with clear Croatian origin,<sup>74</sup> which becomes, in the context of Ragusan documentation, a normal occurrence. Furthermore, from 1402 until 1549 we find players of Greek origin,<sup>75</sup> some of them being very active trombone players (e.g., Laurentius Manes). In the same period we also notice the presence of Italian musicians. We find more Croatian musicians in the documents from the beginning of the fifteenth century. The most important moment of the period is the appearance of Nicolaus de Ysagrabia (Nicolaus from Zagreb) in 1415, because it confirms that Zagreb has also had the opportunity to educate musicians in the early fifteenth century. Zagreb holds the tradition of educating highly skilled musicians in 16<sup>th</sup> century, too, as we find musicians from Zagreb playing in Udine.<sup>76</sup>

In 1455, Chapel's trumpeter, Filipus de Drivasto (who is found under multiple names because aside being a trumpeter, he was also a banner and knife maker)<sup>77</sup>, was given a task to find three new players – *suorano*, *tenor* and *contratenor* – stressing that the players should be *sufficienti et avantesati et inteligetii in l'arte del sonar* (sufficient, advanced and intelligent in the art of playing), which points out the tendency of the Senate to have good and intellectually capable musicians in the court. Another interesting point is the Senate's suggestion for searching musicians first in Senj, and in case of failure, in Ljubljana (Slovenia) and similar

<sup>72</sup> Demović, *Glazba i glazbenici*, 74.

<sup>73</sup> *Pjesme Mavra Vetranovića*, Stari pisci hrvatski III, JAZU: Zagreb (1871), 249–248.

<sup>74</sup> Reformationes, 31, 3', 33, 195', 173'.

<sup>75</sup> Demović, *Glazba i glazbenici*, 79.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.* 87.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.* 92.

places, as the Senate considered those cities to be sources of brilliant musicians.<sup>78</sup> That fact is important for getting the idea of musical development in other cities in the region: Senj and Ljubljana had obviously developed musical life, if the word spread more than 500 kilometres from Dubrovnik, and if they had the possibility to send musicians from their cities.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as the Flemish school was developing and flourishing, Dubrovnik was also under its influence, but to a lesser extent. Even though Dubrovnik was not as much of a centre as other bigger courts, it had some Flemish musicians present. In 1425, we find proof of employment of Gallus Piffarus (whose full name has not been written, only the name of his country and instrument he played), in 1440 Andreas de Bruggis (also mentioned as Andruscus Budin, Bruevich, de Bruggis, Francigena, de Flandria), and in 1449, Petrus Bodon, who was probably the most interesting personality of Flemish origin. Petrus came from the Burgundian court (*firma pifaris ducis de Bergogna*)<sup>79</sup> and was highly paid for his time. In 1449, three Flemish singers also came to Dubrovnik (*tres cantores francigenas*)<sup>80</sup>. With the presence of these instrumentalists and singers, it is hard to exclude the presence of polyphony and new Franco-Flemish musical style.

In 1484, we notice once more a shortage of competent instrumentalists in Dubrovnik, therefore the *Consilium Maius* gave permission to the Rector and *Consilium Minus* to employ two trombonists and one *piffaro*.<sup>81</sup>

In spite of serious plague epidemics in the first half of the sixteenth century<sup>82</sup>, Dubrovnik was still an attraction to many musicians – during a period of approximately fifty years, historical documentation records around 20 musicians, which is, for the time, a high number. After the last epidemic in 1540, the number of musicians was still growing. In 1554, we notice the employment documents of Lambertus Gallus (also known as Lambert Courtoys the Older), who as a good musician, enjoyed a lot of privileges from the Senate.<sup>83</sup> He stopped working in Dubrovnik in 1570 and moved to Udine, leaving behind a son and grandson, both musicians. His son Henry Courtoys is mentioned in 1573, when he was employed as a *tibicen*<sup>84</sup> until around 1629. Lambert's grandson and Henry's son – Lambert Courtoys the Younger – entered the chapel in 1621, taking over the *maestro di cappella* title. The Courtoys dynasty ruled the Ragusan Chapel, from 1554 to 1570 under Lambert Courtoys the Older, from 1573 to

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<sup>78</sup> Lettere e commisioni de Levante, 144, 162'.

<sup>79</sup> Consilium Maius 9, 79.

<sup>80</sup> Consilium Maius 9, 71'.

<sup>81</sup> Consilium Rogatorum 24, 266.

<sup>82</sup> Demović, *Glazba i glazbenici*, 102. According to historian Serafino Razzi, plague epidemics happened in 1500, 1503, 1516, 1526, 1527 and 1540.

<sup>83</sup> Consilium Rogatorum 52, 89.

<sup>84</sup> Consilium Rogatorum, 62, 125.

1639 under Henry Courtoys and from 1621 to 1664 under Lambert Courtoys the Younger, leaving big musical legacy behind them.<sup>85</sup>

In the first half of the seventeenth century, records about the chapel are scarce. The chapel had problems with inconsistent salaries within the ensemble and some instrumental positions had not been filled for decades. Those were the last entries in historical documents of Dubrovnik Republic, which we are able to follow from 1300 until the big earthquake that struck Dubrovnik in April 1667. It destroyed almost the whole Republic, together with the material and cultural treasures that the Republic had been curating for hundreds of years. It also stopped the natural development of the ensemble, as many players were killed, so that in the end of the seventeenth century, the cappella was rebuilt along different lines, adjusting to the new aesthetic ideals: the ensemble added strings and the newly formed orchestra replaced the old-fashioned cappella, while the *banda* (consisting of only brass and winds) played when the Rector was entering and exiting his residency. In some cases, both ensembles joined and grew into orchestra that counted up to 5 violin players until the end of the eighteenth century. When the ensemble recuperated from the earthquake and started growing healthily, Napoleon occupied Dubrovnik in 1806, destroying its independence and reorganising it among the new Illyrian Provinces.<sup>86</sup> He forcibly retired the whole ensemble, ending the musical tradition of Dubrovnik.<sup>87</sup>

#### ***4.1.1 Social Context of the Cappella***

The status of Ragusan players was mostly due to the vicinity to the Republic and Rector. They were well informed and well trusted throughout the whole Republic. They were not poor, as archival documents sometimes indicate. As noviciates in the vocation, they indeed earned less money, but that was common to all of the vocations. After some time, they would financially grow, and as we can see in their last wills they usually ended up with a respectable number of assets.

Some musicians, wishing to earn more, worked double-time as mirror makers, merchants, shoemakers, trumpet-messengers, bartenders, hawk breeders, singers, bombardiers, doctors, etc. It was common to do two jobs in order to quickly obtain wealth. Additional music-related jobs they sometimes pursued included instrumental teaching or performing at weddings and other festivities.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Demović, *Glazba i glazbenici*, 112.

<sup>86</sup> Čosić, Stjepan, "Dubrovnik Under French Rule (1810–1814), *Dubrovnik Annals* 4 (2000), 103-104.

<sup>87</sup> Demović, *Glazba i glazbenici*, 141.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.* 140.

## 4.2 Specifications of the Cappella

The purpose of existence of Rector's Chapel was, as it was explained in the letter addressed to the *Consilium Rogatorum* by Lambert Courtoys the Younger in 1621, to be the *ornamento di questa illustrissima et eccellentissima republica*<sup>89</sup> – the “ornament the most famous and excellent republic.” Hence, we can conclude that enhancing the reputation of the Republic one of the purposes of the ensemble. Players responded to the head of the state – the Rector. Demović states that from certain documents<sup>90</sup> we can conclude that the musicians of the cappella were not only at the disposal of the Rector, but as well as of the rest of Ragusan people for all kind of musical service, no matter what their class or financial status was.<sup>91</sup>

The Cappella consisted out of three kind of musicians, according to payment records: there were *piffari* – exclusively working in the field of musical arts and commonly thought of as musicians. Their payment was up to 210 *perpers* or 5 golden ducats per month. Secondly we find the trumpeters and drummers, working as city guards. Their payment was minimal, but they increased it by doing different jobs (jobs like *zdur*, running a hotel, breeding hawks and others already mentioned). The last genus of the cappella were string players, who did not have tenured positions at the court, but they probably also performed on different occasions and taught string instruments to young people.<sup>92</sup>

The number of musicians involved was relatively large in certain years. Some documents indicate fifteen musicians at the same time.<sup>93</sup> The origin of musicians was varied: we can divide the players to native and foreign. Most native players were sons of Dubrovnik citizens, but there were also some naturalised ones – usually the sons of newcomers that settled in Dubrovnik. Foreign players came from Italy, Germany, Franco-Flemish areas, Spain and Greece. The largest number of musicians came from Italy: Venice, Verona, Treviso, Padova, Rimini, Firenze, Bresanone, Pace, Reato, Lecce, Brundisi, Aschuli, Monopoli, Napoli and Palermo.<sup>94</sup> The picture is definitely not complete, as many archival documents do not mention the nationality or origin of certain players. We can conclude however, that players from all around Europe brought a part of their culture to Dubrovnik, making it a musical multicultural center. Venice exerted the most influence on Dubrovnik, not because a lot of Venetian musicians were present in Dubrovnik, but rather because a lot of Ragusans travelled to Venice

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<sup>89</sup> Consilium Rogatorum 87, 155.

<sup>90</sup> Diversa Notariae 13, 334'.

<sup>91</sup> Demović, *Glazba i glazbenici*, 130.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid. 131.

<sup>93</sup> In 1415, for example, we find Petrus de Colonia, Georgius de Segna, Radota Nacharinus, Tvrdislaus Sonator, Milissa Piffarus, Johannes de Pace, Peterlinus Piffarus, Andronicus Piffarus, Cola Trombeta and Nicolaus de Ysagrabia and others that have not been mentioned in archival documents at the given year, but have been mentioned a year before or after, therefore they were probably still there.

<sup>94</sup> Demović, *Glazba i glazbenici*, 139.

for different reasons (buying instruments, work or taking lessons). There is a substantial possibility that musical material was also bought and brought from Venice (the printing centre of Europe at the time), just as instruments were, as we shall see below.

#### **4.2.1 The Musical Skills of the Players**

The Ragusan government always insisted on the highest level of musicianship when employing new musicians. They were employed for one or two years, and if they did not meet expectations, they would be fired. When searching for musicians from other countries, letters from the government to other courts explicitly demanded only the best musicians: in 1361, for example, *Consilium Minus* was searching for *duos bonos tubatores meliori pretio quo poterit*<sup>95</sup> (two good trumpeters for the best price possible) from the Rector Pagano in Poliniano and found them. In 1590, the same institution also requested a confirmation of aptitude for two Venetian musicians being sent to Dubrovnik from Venice by Giovanni Bosano.<sup>96</sup> That Dubrovnik was a destination for musicians incoming from different courts in Western Europe (for example, Peter de Bodono coming from the court of Burgundy—another important musical centre) indicates that it employed musicians on a higher level.

#### **4.2.2 Instruments of the Cappella**

From the beginning to the end of the chapel, the trumpet in all forms was present: we find it described in Latin variants as *trombetta*, *trombecta*, *tubecta* and *tuba*, and players are mentioned as *tubator*, *tubicinus*, *tubicen*, *trombator*, *tubeta*. In the same period we find the drum and drummers (*taburelo*, *tamburelo*, *tamburino*, *tamburlino* and similar). Demović notices that the term *cum aliis instrumentis* comes into notary practice already in the first half of the fourteenth century, while other instruments are specified from the middle of the century. Chronologically, instruments appear gradually, in sync with other European countries: in 1349 possibly the shawm appears (*zaramela*),<sup>97</sup> 1385 the cornetto (*cornicine*),<sup>98</sup> 1423 the harp and lute (*liuto et arpa*)<sup>99</sup> and in 1465 the trombone (*trombonus*).<sup>100</sup> Beside these terms, we find the terms *piffarus* and *tibicinus*, which have twofold use: as a general term for wind player, or as a term of the players' vocation. There were also other instruments mentioned, usually payment documents corresponding to festivities: *sonatores*, *timpanistas*, *gnacharinos*, *tibicines*, *tubicines*,

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<sup>95</sup> Lettere de Levante II, 17, 27.

<sup>96</sup> Lettere et commisioni di Ponente 6, 96.

<sup>97</sup> Reformationes 15, 4.

<sup>98</sup> Reformationes 26, 17.

<sup>99</sup> Consilium Minus 3, 56'.

<sup>100</sup> Consilium Maius 12, 29.

*citharedos* and others.<sup>101</sup> The instruments were often the property of the player, as we see from the last will of many musicians of the chapel.<sup>102</sup> The instruments were usually bought in Venice and brought over, but sometimes they could also be bought in Dubrovnik. Players knew how to play many instruments, as is possible to see from job applications. For example, Joseph Johannis Maria mentions in 1549 that he is able to play the flute, trombone and shawm<sup>103</sup>, while Lambert Courtoys the Younger, in 1621, mentions his ability to play cornetto, trombone and shawm.

#### 4.2.3 Performance Practice

It is general knowledge, that Renaissance court musicians were known for professional playing different instruments, and so did the musicians of the Cappella. The Cappella performed in the Rector's court, palaces of noblemen, on city streets and in churches. Their first duty was performing for the Rector, as is confirmed from Serafino Razzi's description from 1588, saying that the Rector was always accompanied by music when he had to go on an official duty.<sup>104</sup> Those duties were diverse: from participating in all bigger church feasts, to partaking in public shows and parties (usually centred around St. Blaise and during carnival), to welcoming diplomats and other prominent guests. All these occasions would have been accompanied by cappella musicians.<sup>105</sup>

Other duties given by the Senate included playing reveilles and marches around bigger feasts (e.g., blessing and launching new ships into the sea), but also some more exquisite duties, such as performing at events that would enhance the reputation of the Republic. As a reward for exceptional service for the Republic, in 1466, the musicians were instructed to play *una Serenada ossia Matinata di Musica* every Saturday evening in front of the palace of Šime Allegretti.<sup>106</sup> Another record, from 1529, describes musicians playing *singulam saltem cantilenam* every Saturday and Sunday evening after compline (night prayer) in front of the altar of St. Cross and the Mother of God,<sup>107</sup> and performing a song of thanks in front of the church altar after successful church feasts.<sup>108</sup> Another official duty was to participate in the liturgy of St. Blaise in both of his churches in the city (the cathedral and the votive church), as noted in 1583 by Razzi.

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<sup>101</sup> Consilium Maius 21, 180'-181.

<sup>102</sup> As an example, the largest will is in Testamenta Notariae 40, 20.

<sup>103</sup> Testamenta Notariae 13, 41.

<sup>104</sup> Razzi, Serafino: Storia di Raugia, Lucca (1590), 184.

<sup>105</sup> Demović, *Glazba i glazbenici*, 135.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid. 135 and footnote 723.

<sup>107</sup> Consilium Minus 36, 56'.

<sup>108</sup> Demović, *Glazba i glazbenici*, 136 and footnote 273, 275.

An unusual occasion when the musicians were ordered to play was for the execution of death sentences, a task which a lot of musicians tried to avoid, as they were uncomfortable. In private arrangements the musicians played at the invitation of citizens: they would perform at diverse family celebrations, mostly weddings. They would also be summoned by different noblemen in their palaces or mansions in the vicinity of the Republic.<sup>109</sup> Along with the performances they were obliged to give in the Republic, the musicians also had guest appearances in neighbouring courts in Bosnia and Herzegovina.<sup>110</sup> These guest appearances were frequently connected to diplomatic or politic motives, providing a pleasant atmosphere for signing a new treaty or similar.<sup>111</sup>

It seems that all musical repertoire of the Rector's Chapel in Dubrovnik was either destroyed in the earthquake of 1667, stolen in the same year by neighbouring courts, stolen years after in different wars, or just taken away somewhere else.<sup>112</sup>

### 4.3 The Trombone Players of the Cappella

On the 5<sup>th</sup> of April 1465, we find a novelty in the documents of the *Consilium Maius*:

*Prima pars est de conducendo ad salarium Communis nostri Gregorium de Medina /cinganum/ pro trombono et tubicine pro unum annum proxime futurum cum salario ypperperorum centum triginta et cum aliis pactis modis et conditionibus consuetis.*

That is the first known record of employment of trombone player in the cappella: **Gregorius de Medina** (probably the Medina in Andalusia as we generally do not know of trombone playing in Saudi Arabia). He is employed under the same circumstances as players before him: for one year (*pro unum annum proxime futurum*) for salary of 130 Ragusan *perpers* “in the same manner and under the customary conditions” (*cum aliis pactis modis et conditionibus consuetis*).<sup>113</sup> He appears only once in historical documents.

In 1484 there was a slight shortage of players, so two trombonists and one *shawm* player were hired. The two new trombonists were Johannes Antonius de Tarvisio and Zanetus Augustini de Durachio.<sup>114</sup> Both were employed for the same salary of 5 golden ducats a year. It seems that the government decided to employ them because they were already in the city at the time and had proven themselves to be good musicians.

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<sup>109</sup> Demović, *Glazba i glazbenici*, 136.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.* 136.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.* 137.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.* 140.

<sup>113</sup> *Consilium Maius* 12, 29.

<sup>114</sup> *Consilium Minus* 22, 179.

**Johannes Antonius de Tarvisio** came from Treviso in the province of Udine. As we see in documents from 1498 and 1500, he was a trombone player (referred to as *tubicen*<sup>115</sup>) and soap maker.<sup>116</sup>

**Zanetus Augustini** was from Durrës in Albania. In 1486 he married Petronella, the daughter of Božićko Božidarević,<sup>117</sup> who died after four years of marriage. After her death in 1490, the official inventory of her possessions was made in which *una cassa da trombetta* (possibly “a trombone case”) was identified.<sup>118</sup> In 1491 Zanetus married for the second time, to Maria, daughter of Filippo de Burgo.<sup>119</sup> He was imprisoned in the same year (no reason given), as well as in 1492 because of a theft.<sup>120</sup> We find him imprisoned one more time in 1487, supposedly because of the theft of 17 ducats, but it was later discovered that the theft was planted: the thief was Johannes Franciscus Tubicen, who ran away from Dubrovnik.<sup>121</sup> Zanetus died in 1495.<sup>122</sup>

In 1485 **Herculus Trombonus** was introduced in the employment documents.<sup>123</sup> He temporarily replaced Johannes Antonius, before travelling to Venice in 1486,<sup>124</sup> where he might have stayed, as documents recording him in the future have not been found.<sup>125</sup>

From all the Greek musicians present in Dubrovnik, Demović appreciates **Laurentius Manes** the most, probably because of his reputed musicianship. He is mentioned for the first time in 1504 in a musical duel in composition with another trombonist, Marchettus Saracenus. In that duel, Laurentius unilaterally won, as Marchetto did not appear at the competition.<sup>126</sup> His full name we find in his last will from 1548.<sup>127</sup> Laurentius had the privilege to work in the Cappella from the early years of his life<sup>128</sup> – in 1504, the year of the competition, he already had five years of service behind him, which means that in the year of his death (1548), he had at least fifty-three years of service altogether. Demović concludes that Laurentius had a high level of musicianship, due to his long tenure in the Cappella, winning the competition and, last but not least, the probably massive library and *instrumentarium* he possessed and, after his

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<sup>115</sup> This is not impossible as it was probably a different scribe for different documents – the scribe/s writing down the decisions of *Consilium Minus* and *Maius* was, as we will see in the next chapter, consistent with the use of term *trombonus* for the trombone player.

<sup>116</sup> *Diversa Cancelariae* 92a, 167. *Consilium Minus* 24, 255.

<sup>117</sup> *Dotes* 9, 3'.

<sup>118</sup> *Diversa Cancelariae* 87, 46.

<sup>119</sup> *Dotes* 9, 46.

<sup>120</sup> *Consilium Minus* 24, 74. *Consilium Rogatorum* 27, 5.

<sup>121</sup> We have no information about Johannes Franciscus Tubicen.

<sup>122</sup> *Consilium Rogatorum* 25, 160. *Diversa Cancelariae* 91, 47.

<sup>123</sup> *Consilium Minus* 22, 282'.

<sup>124</sup> *Consilium Minus* 23, 14'.

<sup>125</sup> Demović, *Glazba i glazbenici*, 101.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.* 82–83.

<sup>127</sup> *Testamenta Notariae* 40, 20'.

<sup>128</sup> Demović, *Glazba i glazbenici*, 83. *Consilium Rogatorum* 49, 83.

death, left to three of his cappella colleagues. The term *omnes libros musicos et instrumenta musicalia* he left behind refers to manuscripts and printed books, probably including his own work (if he entered a composing competition, he probably had his own compositions, too) and instruments.<sup>129</sup> His wife Marietta and two children, daughter Maria and son Aloisius, all died in plague epidemics.<sup>130</sup>

The other competitor of the 1504 competition was **Marchettus Saracenus**. His surname, *Saracenus*, refers to a term widely used among Christian writers in Europe during the Middle Ages. This could indicate the continuation of a spoken language tradition: in the early centuries of the Common Era, Greek and Latin writings used this term to refer to the people who lived in desert areas in and near the Roman province or Arabia Petraea, who were specifically distinguished from others known as Arabs.<sup>131</sup> In this context of colloquial language, Marchettus seems to be of Arabic origin. Before 1504, he is not mentioned at all. In 1512 we find him being dismissed from service, having committed some kind of a violation,<sup>132</sup> and from all given evidence, Demović concludes that Marchettus probably died in 1533.<sup>133</sup>

By the middle of the sixteenth century, there were plenty of trombonists around. We can conclude that from the case of **Alfons Magister**. He was a trombonist with the highest academic title of the time (*magister*), who worked as a soldier at the market, as all places in the cappella were filled out in 1538.<sup>134</sup>

In 1541, we find information about the travels of **Antonius Patavinus**, a trombonist from Padova (his nickname Patavinus tells us his origin).<sup>135</sup> He has travelled for three months from Dubrovnik to Italy for private work (*pro cuiusdem eius negotiis*).<sup>136</sup>

In the last will of Laurentius Manes<sup>137</sup> we notice the name of **Dominicus Mauri**, who died just three years after Laurentius, in 1552. He was a successor of Laurentius' inheritance and he was succeeded in cappella by another trombone player, **Lucentius de Neapoli** (*pro trombone in locum Dominici Mauri*),<sup>138</sup> about whom we do not have any information, except that he came from Naples and played trombone around 1555.<sup>139</sup> The fact that Dominicus Mauri was referred to as *tibicinus* should not confuse the reader, as other documents, clearly state he was a trombonist (see footnote 79).

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<sup>129</sup> Demović, *Glazba i glazbenici*, 84.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid. 84.

<sup>131</sup> Daniel, Norman, *The Arabs and Mediaeval Europe*, Longman (1979), 385.

<sup>132</sup> *Consilium Rogatorum* 13, 110'.

<sup>133</sup> Demović, *Glazba i glazbenici*, 85-86.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid. 103.

<sup>135</sup> *Consilium Rogatorum* 44, 157.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid. 44, 157.

<sup>137</sup> *Testamenta Notariae* 341, 171'.

<sup>138</sup> *Consilium Rogatorum* 51, 111'.

<sup>139</sup> Demović, *Glazba i glazbenici*, 106 and footnote 637.

Just after Laurentius Manes died in 1548, **Joseph Johannis Marie** addressed the *Consilium Rogatorum* in 1549 for a place in the cappella. He mentions that he was schooled by good teachers in his youth and that he learned a lot of good skills from them, such as playing the flute, contratrombone and *piffaro* (... *nel sonare di piffari, fiauti se non contratrombone*). The *Consilium* accepted him into service in 1549.<sup>140</sup> He travelled to Italy and worked in the Cappella for at least 30 years.<sup>141</sup>

The first known record about **Lambert Courtoys** dates to 1553, when he is mentioned in a letter of Jan Nasco, Franco-Flemish composer active in Venice to *L'Accademia filarionica di Verona*, expressing his gratitude for the decision of the Academy to accept Lambert as a musician to take part in carnival performances that are about to follow.<sup>142</sup> Just a year after that, in May 1554, we find Lambert's name in Ragusan documents, where he is mainly referred to as Lambertus Gallus, which strongly suggests his Franco-Flemish origin. He was employed as a trombonist with a normal salary.<sup>143</sup> His career in Dubrovnik advanced successfully: he was trusted with more important tasks from the government, aside from his playing in the Cappella. He travelled to Italy several times for few months and in 1570 is found in Udine, entering into the service of the *magister capellae*, in the time Ippolito Chamaterò was absent from his post (1570-1574). His service in Dubrovnik was highly praised in Dubrovnik: *Dominus Lambertus Gallus, qui proximi annis Epidauriensium ecclesiae summa cum laude inservivit* (Sir Lambertus Gallus, who served for a year in Dubrovnik with distinction).<sup>144</sup> After a 3-year service, Lambert left Udine. It is not known where he worked after that for next few years, but we find him in Treviso and in Vicenza (from 1578 to 1583). After that, we do not find any more information about him.<sup>145</sup> He left his son and grandson, Henry and Lambert Courtoys the Younger in Dubrovnik, who continued the tradition of *maestri di cappella*. It is interesting that Lambert was mentioned as *musicus* in the document of 1569<sup>146</sup> (*Lambertum musicum*), which is the first time that term was used for anyone in Ragusan archives.

**Sylvestrus Trombonus** was employed in 1579,<sup>147</sup> and also belongs to a group of trombonists we do not know much about. Demović is suspicious about his identity, thinking he might be the same player as one that opened a bookstore in Dubrovnik in 1567 and whose son Dominik plays in the cappella from 1587.<sup>148</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> Consilium Rogatorum 49, 83.

<sup>141</sup> Demović, *Glazba i glazbenici*, 105.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid. 108.

<sup>143</sup> Consilium Rogatorum 52, 89.

<sup>144</sup> Atti Capitolo Udinese II, 145–6. Demović, *Glazba i glazbenici*, 109.

<sup>145</sup> Demović, *Glazba i glazbenici*, 111.

<sup>146</sup> Consilium Rogatorum 89, 59.

<sup>147</sup> Consilium Rogatorum 65, 145.

<sup>148</sup> Demović, *Glazba i glazbenici*, 107.

## 5 THE TROMBONE-RELATED TERMS IN THE HISTORICAL DOCUMENTATION OF DUBROVNIK REPUBLIC

### 5.1 Trombone – Posaune – Sacqueboute: Short Overview

The genesis of contemporary words for *trombone* (with correlates in French and Italian: *trombone*) and *Posaune* (in German speaking countries) is widely known: *trombone* is derived from the Italian “*Tromba*” + the augmentative suffix “*-one*”, literally meaning “a big trumpet”, while the German term comes from the term for long straight trumpet<sup>149</sup>: *bucina*, which became the French *buisine*, becoming *Bûzine* in middle-high German, *Busûne* at the end of middle ages, to *Buzaun* and finally *Posaune* in the sixteenth century.<sup>150</sup> Modern French term *sacqueboute* was derived from Old French *saqueboute*, which Curt Sachs explains as a derivation from Old French *saquier*, to pull, and *boter*, to push,<sup>151</sup> that also exists in the Spanish nickname for the trombone (*sacabushe* meaning “draw-pipe”). The modern correlate in English speaking countries, *sackbut*, was derived from the same French term, with various spellings in the earliest fifteenth century documents: *saykebud*, *shakebutte* and *shagbolt*.<sup>152</sup>

We find several compound synonyms in historical documentation, such as the French *trompette brisée* or *trompette rompue*, and Italian *tromba spezzata*, *tromba da tirarsi* (which could also indicate a slide trumpet).<sup>153</sup> In Latin, we find the general term *tuba* or compound term *tuba ductilis* used in many different Latin dictionaries.

The term *Trombone* appeared first in 1439 in archival documents of d’Este family in Modena: the *tubicen* that played *tuba ductilis* was named *trumbonus*. Already in 1459, the archival documents in Florence mention *trombone* when describing a trombone player as an equal member of a *saltarello* ensemble.<sup>154</sup> Other written sources include Tinctoris (*De inventione et usu musicae*, c. 1486),<sup>155</sup> Olivier de la Marche (1488) and Sebastian Virdung (1511). They all use the same or similar term that had been in use for two or three decades. The use of the trombone is documented in France from 1486 (i.e., the *sacqueboute* in the Burgundian court), in Spain from 1474 (*saccabuche* in Ferdinand’s court), while *Pusaunen* are mentioned in 1469 in Heidelberg.<sup>156</sup>

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<sup>149</sup> Bate, Phillip, *The Trumpet and Trombone*, London (1972), 131.

<sup>150</sup> Tuksar, Stanislav, *Hrvatska glazbena terminologija u razdoblju baroka*, HMD & MIC KDZ, Zagreb (1992), 456.

<sup>151</sup> Bate, *The Trumpet and Trombone*, 130.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.* 130.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.* 131.

<sup>154</sup> Tuksar, *Hrvatska glazbena terminologija*, 456.

<sup>155</sup> “... *tibicinus adiuncti tubicines: ea tuba quam superius tromponem ab Italis: et sacqueboute a gallicis appellari diximus: melodiosissime clangunt.*” Tinctoris, *De inventione et usu musicae*, ff. 4v.

<sup>156</sup> Tuksar, *Hrvatska glazbena terminologija*, 457.

## 5.2 Trombone in the Historical Documents of Ragusan Republic

Even though, as we have seen, trombones were not explicitly mentioned in the earliest Croatian dictionaries, the historical archives of Dubrovnik, with Council records as early as 1301, present a slightly different situation. In latter, we can track the history of trombone players' salaries from 1465 – around the same time when trombone appears in other European countries (twenty-six years before Modena and six years before Florence!), therefore, Dubrovnik can be considered as the third European location to record the appearance of the trombone; there it was used as an instrument of the aristocracy and the city ensembles.<sup>157</sup>

As a necessary technicality, it is important to mention that all official documents of the Republic, in concordance with the official administration language of the Croatian littoral in the Renaissance, are written in Latin, therefore I use all names and terms in the original language, translating only when necessary.

In the early years of Cappella documents, approximately 1300-1450, notaries used the general terms such as *tubator*, *fistulator*, *cornicinus* (trumpeter, flutist, cornettist) instead of using the whole names of musicians, therefore making it harder to distinguish what instrument certain person actually played. In accordance with that, one could not rule out that one of those terms (*tubator*, *trombator*, *trubecta*, *tubicinus* – all the players of the Cappella are listed in Appendix B) referred to a trombone player. As mentioned, the first document that explicitly mentions the trombone in the Ragusan Republic is the record of the Great Council on 5<sup>th</sup> of April 1465, where it was determined that a certain Gregorius de Medina would receive a salary of 130 Ragusan *perpera*<sup>158</sup> for one year of trombone and trumpet playing under the common conditions of employment:

*Die 5 Aprilis 1465 (Consilium Maius 12, 29)*

*Prima pars est de conducendo ad salarium Co(mmun)is nostri Gregorium de Medina /cinganum/ p(ro) trombono et tubicine p(ro) unum annum p(ro)x(ime) fut(urum) cum salario yp(er)p(perorum) centum triginta et cum aliis pactis mo(d)is et c(on)ditionibus c(on)suetis.<sup>159</sup>*

After 1465, trombone players are mentioned in the context of salary records twelve more times before 1579 (in the span of 122 years), and in historical documents thirty-six more times. The following list consists of original mentions of trombonists from these historical documents<sup>160</sup>, organized chronologically, together with the document name:

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<sup>157</sup> Tuksar, *Hrvatska glazbena terminologija*, 458.

<sup>158</sup> Ragusan *perpera* is a historical currency, a type of silver coin issued and used in the Republic.

<sup>159</sup> Miho Demović, *Glazba i glazbenici*, 245.

<sup>160</sup> The historical documents concerning the Rector's Chapel of Dubrovnik are presented in Demović, *Glazba i glazbenici u Dubrovačkoj republici*, 181–128.

Testamenta Notariae 24, 149 (1483): *Testamentum Pelegrini de Padua tubicinis . . .*  
*Item ho uno trombone et camise tre alle Danze . . . Item agio qua in*  
*casa uno trombon*

Consilium Rogatorum 24, 266 (1484): *duos trombonos*

Consilium Minus 22, 179 (1484): *Zanetum Augustini de Durachio trombonos*

Consilium Minus 22, 261 (1485): *aliis piffaris et trombonis . . . de eo piffari et*  
*trombones*

Consilium Minus 22, 282 (1485): *Captum fuit de acceptando Herculem trombonum*  
*ad supplendum pro Johanne Antonio trombone*<sup>161</sup>

Dotes 9, 3 (1486): *Ego Zanetus Augustini trombonus*

Consilium Rogatorum 25, 160 (1487): *ad liberationem Zanetti tromboni ad preces*

Consilium Minus 23, 119 (1488): *et Zanetus tromboni*

Consilium Minus 23, 187 (1489): *donando Zaneto trombono*

Consilium Minus 23, 202 (1489): *de dimittendo Zanetum trombonum*

Diversa Cancelariae 87, 46 (1490): *in domo Zanetti tromboni*

Consilium Minus 24, 74 (1491): *Captum fuit de dando Zaneto trombone*

Dotes 9, 46 (1491): *Ego Zanetus Augustini trombonus*

Consilium Rogatorum 27, 5 (1492): *pro fallito Zanetum trombonum*<sup>162</sup>

Consilium Minus 24, 255 (1493): *aut vendere Johanni Antonio trombono*

Diversa Cancelariae 94, 135 (1500): *Johannes Antonius trombonus*

Diversa Cancelariae 97, 133 (1504): *Ad instantiam Laurentii tromboni . . . precepisse*  
*Marchetto trombono . . . det pignus Laurentio trombono tamquam victori.*

Consilium Minus 30, 183 (1510): *de acceptando supplicationem Laurentii tromboni .*  
*. . Io Lorenzo trombono*

Diversa Cancelariae 102, 185 (1511): *Laurentius trombonus*

Consilium Rogatorum 32, 127 (1512): *filium Laurentii tromboni*

Consilium Rogatorum 13, 110' (1512): *Marchetum trombonum nominatum*

Testamenta Notariae 341, 171' (1527): *lasso a Tomaso piffaro mio trombone e*  
*cornetto per amor . . . fazo la mio erede mio padre Lorenzo trombon*

Lamenta de Foris 94, 143 (1533): *Marchetto trombono negro fecit lamentum*

Consilium Rogatorum 44, 8 (1538): *de acceptando Magistrum Alfonsum trombonum .*

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<sup>161</sup> The same Hercules Trombonus is found with term *tubicinus* just a year after, in Consilium Minus 23, 14 from 13<sup>th</sup> of October 1486: *Captum fuit de concedendo Herculi tubicini quod pro duobus mensibus possit ire Venetias non livrando salarium.*

<sup>162</sup> In Diversa Cancelariae 91, 47 from 5<sup>th</sup> of January 1496, we can notice the same Zanetus Augustini, who we have seen as a trombone player, as *tubicinus*: *... et bonis quondam Zanetti tubicinis Communis...*

*. . debeat spettativa trombonis primi*

Testamenta Notariae 37, 219 (1539): *Testamentum quondam Cattarine servitialis olim Marchetti tromboni. Marchetto saraceno trombono . . . mi lasso mi patrono Marchetto trombono*

Consilium Rogatorum 44, 157 (1541): *Antonium Patavinum trombonum*

ASSM XVI, 15/8 (1547): *spetando ditto Giovanni Maria e Moro Trombone*

Testamenta Notariae 40, 20' (1548): *Io Lorenzo Zorzi Manes Trombono . . . miei libri di canto instrumenti trombone*<sup>163</sup>

Consilium Rogatorum 49, 83 (1549): *Lorenzo Trombono . . . ne possendo stare la compagnia delli piffari senza lo secondo trombone . . . doppo questo non poco esercitato tanto nel sonare di piffari, fiauti se non contratrombone . . .*

Consilium Rogatorum 50, 62 (1551): *de dimitendo Josephum trombonum*

Consilium Rogatorum 51, 111 (1552): *acceptando Lucentium de Napoli pro trombono*

Consilium Rogatorum 51, 78 (1552): *de addendo provisioni Josephi trombonis*

Consilium Rogatorum 52, 89 (1554): *de acceptando Lambertum Gallum pro trombono nostro*

Consilium Rogatorum 65, 145 (1579): *de acceptando Syvestrum trombonum pro nostro trombono*

Lettere et comissioni di Ponente 6, 96 (1590): *Le due parti che mancano son question cioè la quinta parte, et la parte del contralto, la quinta parte si vuol de sapia sonare, la principalis di trombone, pifaro et cornetto, il contralto sappi sonare principal di cornetto et pifaro, et sonando anche trombone sarra cosa bona.*<sup>164</sup>

Consilium Rogatorum 87, 155-155' (1621): *al sonar d'instrumento di fiato che sono del cornetto, il pifaro et il trombone*<sup>165</sup>

As we can see, the use of term *trombonus* in historical documents of Ragusan Republic is constant. The documents are diligently following one way of writing without any major mistakes in spelling or similar. We do find words with certain missing letters: the problem of missing letter 'm' in the middle of the word seems to be common (*trobano* appears several times; but also happens in other grammatical cases: *trobani, trobonum, trobones*). The letter 'm' missing in the end of the word appears once in case of *trobonu*.

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<sup>163</sup> The last will of Manes, there written in secular language – Italian.

<sup>164</sup> This citation is taken from a letter expressing the need for more players, as one was missing in the contemporary Cappella. The letter was sent to Venice; therefore, it is written in Italian.

<sup>165</sup> This citation is taken from the employment request by Lambert Courtoys the younger and therefore written in Italian.

The use of *tubicen* is interesting. We saw in two cases that the same players were mentioned as *trombonus* and *tubicenus* in the same document, each entry a few years apart. The term *tubicen*, as we mentioned before, had much more general use – it was used for any kind of a brass player; literally it was a term for a trumpeter.

## 6 CONCLUSION

Despite the political distractions by Venice, Habsburg and Ottomans that were a constant threat to Renaissance Croatia, its musical development suffered everywhere but in the Republic of Dubrovnik. We have seen that music flourished, within certain limits and up to a certain point, but it was not suppressed completely, as we might have thought. We can confirm that the trombone and trombone ensembles were present in Renaissance Croatia, mainly in the Republic of Dubrovnik, from the year 1465 onwards, at least until the great earthquake of 1667. It was not only foreign trombonists, as we might have thought, but also Croatians, who took part in the Republic's main musical body – the Rector's Chapel.

While still without a direct link to the repertoire that was played, but with proof of a strong cultural exchange with neighbouring Italy, we can presume Croatia had similar musical traditions as Italy and other European countries. There trombones, in the sixteenth century, participated in playing polyphony and played mostly sacred vocal repertoire until the first purely instrumental compositions.

With regard to all possible additional research concerning the later development of trombone and trombone ensemble use in Croatia, we are safe to say that Renaissance Croatia was no different in trombone use than the rest of Europe in the Renaissance. Hopefully this research will raise further questions about early trombone playing in Croatia and has helped to clear up the foggy picture of music in Renaissance Croatia.

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## APPENDICES

All information presented in next four tables are result of Demović's work, but for the sake of being more accessible, I have either digitalized them or comprehensively organized them for easier use in accordance with their use in this work.

### a/ List of Trombone Players in Rector's Chapel 1301-1667

Year	Full name (Latin)	Place of Origin
1465	Gregorius de Medina	Medina-Sidonia, Spain
1484–1495	Zanetus Augustini	Durrës, Albania
1484	Johannes Antonius	Tarvisio, Italy
1485	Herculus Trombonus	n/a
1504–1549	Laurentius Manes	Greece
1504–1516	Marchettus Saracenus	n/a
1538	Alfons Magister	n/a
1541	Antonius Patavinus	Padua, Italy
1549–1552	Dominicus Mauri	n/a
1549–1551	Joseph Johannis Mariae	n/a
1552	Lucentius de Neapoli	Naples, Italy
1554–1570	Lambert Courtoys	Franco-Flemish
1579	Sylvestrus Trombonus	n/a

**b/ List of All Instrumentalists in Rector's Chapel 1301-1667<sup>166</sup>**

In addition to this very useful table of all instrumentalists that Demović collected from the historical documents from Dubrovnik archives, it is important to mention that many of the players that have no regional denotate in their name (such as Gallus or de Neapoli, etc.), either originate from Croatia, region or Dubrovnik itself, which is obvious from version of their name in Croatian. Some of the names (very unambiguous are Mihelko – Michelcho in Latin; Radiša – Radissa; Vlahuša – Vlahussa; and similar) and surnames (Kostić – Costich; Stojac – Stoiach; Ivanišević – Ivanissevich) are a part of Croatian heritage and still in use today. Those were Latinised or Italianised in the documents, as the notaries tend to write them in Italian or Latin.<sup>167</sup> I have also modernized certain historical names of the cities, so the reader has less trouble positioning it on the map.

	<b>Year</b>	<b>Full name (Latin)</b>	<b>Instrument</b>	<b>Place of Origin (Today)</b>
1.	1301-1302	Matheus Preco	trombetta	n/a
2.	1331	Nicola Mathiae	trombetta, aliis instrumentis (in continuation a/i)	Pontignano, Italy
3.	1331	Angelus de Nei	trombatore, a/i	n/a
4.	1334	Giannes Tubator	tubator	n/a
5.	1333-1356	Michael Canni	taburello, tubecta, a/i	Venice, Italy
6.	1335-1345	Bernardus de Perpignano	trombator	Perpignano, France
7.	1335	Dragan de Prisren	trombator	Prizren, Kosovo
8.	1335	Progon Tubator	tubator	n/a
9.	1349	Constantinus Turbator	turbator	n/a

<sup>166</sup> Demović, *Glazba i glazbenici*, 277-281.

<sup>167</sup> Demović, *Glazba i glazbenici*, 9.

10.	1349	Constantinus Zaramela	zaramela	n/a
11.	1354	Georgius Tubator	tubator	n/a
12.	1364	Yamca Tubator	trombeta, tubator	n/a
13.	1365-1391	Cola de Monopolo	n/a	Monopoli, Italy
14.	1379-1380	Helias Theutonicus	sonator, piffarus	Germany
15.	1379-1380	Juanis Theutonicus	sonator	Germany
16.	1380	Thomasius de Neapoli	trombator	Naples, Italy
17.	1380	Chola Antiquior	trombator	n/a
18.	1380-1383	Chonco Sonator	sonator, fistulator	n/a
19.	1380	Nicolo Junior	tibicinus	n/a
20.	1381-1385	Antonius frater Cole	tubator	n/a
21.	1385	Zugolanus Cornicinus	cornicinus	n/a
22.	1385-1399	Radassinus Theutonicus	piffarus, sonator, cornicina	Germany
23.	1389-1390	Colla de Palermo	trombeta, tubator	Palermo, Italy
24.	1390-1404	Colla de Durachio	trombeta, tubicinus	Durrës, Albania
25.	1391-1418	Colla de Brundusio	trombeta	Brindisi, Italy
26.	1395	Nicolaus de Florentia	tubator	Florence, Italy
27.	1395-1396	Robertus de Ascholli	tubetta	Ascoli Piceno, Italy
28.	1397-1415	Pater Noster de Prussa	piffarus	Prussia

29.	1397-1415	Peterchinus Allemanus	piffarus	Germany
30.	1397-1399	Jurech de Brin	piffarus	Brinje, Croatia
31.	1399-1408	Bencho Ivanisevich	piffarus	n/a
32.	1402-1405	Thomasius de Candia	tubicinus	Crete, Greece
33.	1406-1408	Antonio Petrucci	tubicinus	Verona, Italy
34.	1412	Stipan Nicholich	tubator	n/a
35.	1412	Radovaz Vochoslagic	sonator	n/a
36.	1414-1421	Johannes de Pace	tubeta	Pace?
37.	1415-1421	Aloysius Johannis	tubeta	n/a
38.	1415-1449	Georgius de Segna	piffarus	Senj, Croatia
39.	1415-1432	Petrus de Colonia	piffarus	Cologne, Germany
40.	1415-1416	Nicolaus de Ysagrabia	piffarus	Zagreb, Croatia
41.	1415-1437	Tvrdeglau Piffarus	piffarus	n/a
42.	1415	Milissa Piffarus	piffarus	n/a
43.	1415	Radota Nacharinus	nacharinum	n/a
44.	1415-1444	Andruschus Piffarus	piffarus	n/a
45.	1417-1434	Franciscus de Reato	tubeta	Reato, Italy
46.	1418	Filius Cole	tubeta	n/a
47.	1423	Vochmir Sonator	piffarus, sonator	n/a
48.	1423	Frater Zlatonocich	piffarus, sonator	n/a
49.	1423-1438	Johannes Volchaz	tubeta	n/a
50.	1423-1431	Radeta Tubeta	tubeta	n/a
51.	1423	Ioculator de Canali	ioculator	Canale, Italy

52.	1423	Georgius ab Arpa	arpa	n/a
53.	1424-1457	Johannes Grechus	tubeta	Arta, Greece
54.	1424-1430	Theodorus Grechus	tubeta	Arta, Greece
55.	1425	Ostoia Piffarus	piffarus	n/a
56.	1425-1427	Gallus Piffarus	piffarus	Gaul
57.	1429	Marcus Tubeta	tubeta	n/a
58.	1430-1459	Andreas Tubeta	tubeta	n/a
59.	1431	Georgius de Candia	tubeta	Crete, Greece
60.	1436	Radissa Piffarus	piffarus	n/a
61.	1437	Barnaba Piffarus	piffarus	n/a
62.	1438	Biga Radich	piffarus	n/a
63.	1438	Antonius Graechus	tubeta	Greece
64.	1439	Michazio de Canali	piffarus	Canale, Italy
65.	1440	Pribien Piffarus	piffarus	n/a
66.	1440	Andraco Piffarus	pirffarus	n/a
67.	1440-1464	Andreas Budin	tubeta	Brugge, Belgium
68.	1441-1461	Filippus de Drivasto	tubeta	Drisht, Albania
69.	1442	Gerogius de Narente	piffarus	From Neretva (Narenta) River valley
70.	1443-1445	Matheus de Zanpiccolo	piffarus	Germany
71.	1445-1463	Marchus Graechus	tubeta	Greece
72.	1446	Stoiaz Lautarius	lautarius	n/a
73.	1446	Marinus Stoiach	lautarius	n/a
74.	1449-1453	Petrus Bodon	piffarus	Bergogna, Italy / Breginj, Slovenia

75.	1450	Andreas de Licio	piffarus	Licio, Italy
76.	1450-1510	Costa Piffarus	piffarus	n/a
77.	1453	Petrus Allegretus	piffarus	n/a
78.	1456-1461	Bartholomeus Piffarus	piffarus	n/a
79.	1458-1484	Gabriel de Arimino	tubeta	Rimini, Italy
80.	1461-1480	Vlahussa Filippi	tubeta	n/a
81.	1463	Radassinus Tubicinus	tubicinus	n/a
82.	1463	Petrus Nicholich	piffarus	n/a
83.	1465-1471	Michael Andreae	tubeta	n/a
84.	1465	Gregorius de Medina	trombonus	Medina-Sidonia, Spain
85.	1470	Laurentius de Francisco	tubicen	Padua, Italy
86.	1481-1520	Jacobus Costich	piffarus	n/a
87.	1482	Helias Filippi	tubeta	n/a
88.	1482-1483	Pelegrinus de Bartholomeo	tibicinus	Padua, Italy
89.	1484-1495	Zanetus Augustini	trombonus	Durrës, Albania
90.	1484	Johannes Antonius	trombonus	Tarvisio, Italy
91.	1484	Franciscus Martii	piffarus, tenorista	Venice, Italy
92.	1485	Herculus Trombonus	trombonus	n/a
93.	1487	Johannes Franciscus	tubicen	n/a
94.	1488	Peterchinus Piffarus	piffarus	n/a
95.	1488	Petrus de Crupa	tamberlinus	From Krupa
96.	1498	Dobrio Glumaz	piffarus	n/a
97.	1496-1513	Franciscus Danielis	tibicinus	Padua, Italy

98.	1503	Pether Lautar	lauta	n/a
99.	1503	Michelcho Lautar	lauta	n/a
100.	1504-1549	Laurentius Manes	trombonus	Greece
101.	1504-1516	Marchettus Saracenus	trombonus	Saracen <sup>168</sup>
102.	1510-1527	Alolysius Manes	piffarus	n/a
103.	1520-1532	Tomas Costich	piffarus	n/a
104.	1528	Aloysisus Piffarus	piffarus	n/a
105.	1529	Franciscus Piffarus	piffarus	Venice, Italy
106.	1532	Rado Trompeta	trompeta	n/a
107.	1538	Joseph Piffarus	piffarus	n/a
108.	1538	Alfons Magister	trombonus	n/a
109.	1539-1587	Bartholomeo Rossi	trombonus	n/a
110.	1541	Antonius Patavinus	trombonus	Padua, Italy
111.	1541	Sigismundus Piffarus	piffarus	n/a
112.	1542-1549	Vicentius Simonis	tibicina soprano	n/a
113.	1549	Johannes Marini	tibicinus	n/a
114.	1549-1552	Dominicus Mauri	tibicinus	n/a
115.	1549-1551	Joseph Johannis Mariae	trombonus	n/a
116.	1552	Lucentius de Neapoli	trombonus	Naples, Italy
117.	1554-1560	Johannes Flamengus	tibicinus	Franco-Flemish
118.	1554-1570	Lambert Courtoys	trombonus	Franco-Flemish
119.	1555-1558	Petrus Germanus	tibicinus	Germany

<sup>168</sup> According to Tolan, John in *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination*, Columbia University Press: New York (2002), p. 15, and Encyclopaedia Britannica, „Saracen“, the term has been used to denotate any person – Arab, Turk, or other – who professed the religion of Islam, and it seems it was like that since the early Christianity until the 18<sup>th</sup> century and Age of Discovery.

120.	1555	Micoch Tamburello	tamburello	n/a
121.	1555-1559	Johannes Aloysii	tibicinus	n/a
122.	1558	Hector Brixiensis	tibicinus	Brixen, Italy
123.	1558-1563	Johannes Alfonsi	tibicinus	n/a
124.	1560	Pietro de Argentina	piffarus	Srebrenica, Bosnia and Herzegovina
125.	1567	Dominicus Musicus	musicus	n/a
126.	1567-1573	Vivivanus Dominici	musicus	n/a
127.	1573-1629	Henrik Courtoys	tibicinus	n/a
128.	1579	Sylvestrus Trombonus	trombonus	n/a
129.	1584	Dominicus Sylvestri	piffarus	n/a
130.	1597	Boscio Tamburino	tamburino	n/a
131.	1627-1664	Lambert Courtois Junior	piffarus	n/a
132.	1627	Petrus Negrini	tibicinus	n/a
133.	1627	Leonardo Belhuomo	tibicinus	n/a
134.	1627-1665	Johannes Vincentii	tibicinus	n/a

### c/ Historical Documents from Dubrovnik Republic Used in this Work

The historical documents used are all taken from Demović's monograph, as they are not accessible online and hard to access physically. He drew the information from the archival documents of different government institutions: great council (*Consilium maius, Maggior Consiglio, Veliko vijeće*), minor council (*Consilium minus, Minor Consiglio, Malo vijeće*) and senate (*Consilium rogatorum, Consiglio dei Pregadi, Vijeće umoljenih*). Furthermore, he also drew from other archival documents, such as last will testaments (*Testamenta notariae*), the conclusions of the great and minor councils and the senate (*Reformationes*), wedding documents (*Dotes*), letters sent to the east (*Lettere e commisioni de Levante*) and to the west (*de Ponente*), writings of the Dubrovnik office (*Diversa cancelariae*), notary's office (*Diversa notariae*) and others.

The documents presented in the table below are in order of appearance, with footnote numbers provided (in the leftmost column) for easier orientation through this work. The document content is presented completely, with abbreviations restored to their full form to what I added some annotations that are crucial to the understanding of information.

66	<p><b>Reformationes 1, 17.</b> Die 17 Augusti 1301.</p> <p>Captum fuit in Consilio Rogatorum ad sonum campane congregato et clamatum per loca consueta per Matheum preconem quod omnes ille persone que scripte sunt ad solvendum imprestitum . . . solvere debeant usque ad diem dominicam primam venturam.</p>
67	<p><b>Reformationes 1, 32.</b> Die 18 Februarii 1302.</p> <p>Die Dominicio XVIII intrante Februarii capta fuit pars in Minori Gonscilio<sup>169</sup> ad sonum campane more solito gongregato<sup>170</sup> quod una trombeta debeat constitui in Breno, Bellen, Stivaca, Vergato, Jancheto, Umbla, Malce, Palice que trombeta debeat sonare in diebus laboratoribus omni mane et sero et quando mane pulsabunt omnes laboratores qui accepti fuerunt ad laborandum in aliqua parte illius contade ire debeant ad sonum dicte trombecte et non debeant dividere a laborio suo quoque in sero donec dicta trombecta sonabit et quod nullus laborator possit ire ad laborandum in aliqua alia parte illa die nisi ad illa personam pro qua acceptus fuerit et solutus sub pena</p>

<sup>169</sup> This is obviously either a *lapsus manus* by the original notary or a transcription mistake by Demović. Logical correction would be *consilio*, which is an alternative spelling of word *consilio*.

<sup>170</sup> Lapsus manus: congregato.

	yperperorum V pro uno quoque quod quidem consilium clamatum fuit per loca consueta.
68	<p><b>Reformationes 10, 14.</b> Dies 27 Aprilis 1331.</p> <p>Item in eodem Maiori Consilio captum fuit et deliberatum per LVI ipsorum consiliariorum quod predictus dominus comes cum suo Minori Consilio tam presenti quam futuro habeat plenam et liberam potestatem, auctoritatem et baliam a dicto Maiori Consilio eligendi et salariandi duos usque tres trombatores cum aliis instrumentis pro duabus annis cum illo salario, pactis, e conventionibus quibus eis videtur.</p>
70	<p><b>Reformationes 24, 217.</b> Die 28 Decembris 1378 (1379).</p> <p>Prima pars est de dando libertatem domino Rectori et Parvo Consilio ad salariandum tres sonatores theutonicos qui sunt in Ragusio pro uno anno proxime futuro pro illo salario et cum illis pactis et conditionibus prout dicto Consilio melius videbitur expedire. Captum per XLVI.</p>
71	<p><b>Reformationes 24, 144'.</b> Die 4 Decembris 1380.</p> <p>Prima pars est de recipiendo ad salarium nostri Communis pro uno anno proximo THomasium de Neapoli, trombatorem, dando eidem pro salario suo dicti anni yperperos centum et non aliud, et dando eidem nunc solutionem sui salarii pro tribus mensibus, cum hac conditione quod ipse teneatur trombare in servitio communis quandoquumque fuerit requisitus.</p> <p>Qui Thomasius acceptavit salarium in modis et formis supradictis.</p> <p>In margine: Thomasius, trombator de Neapoli.</p>
	<p><b>Reformationes 30, 13.</b> Die quinto Madii 1395.</p> <p>Robertus quondam Marchgi Adde de Ascholi trombetta in dicto Minori Consilio acceptus fuit pro trombetta nostri communis pro uno anno proxime futuro cum salario yperperorum centum.</p> <p>Qui Robertus iuravit fidelitatem Dominationi Ragusii.</p>
	<b>Reformationes 30, 36.</b> Die XIII Madii 1369.

	Robertus de Ascholli tubetta in dicto Minori Consilio firmatus fuit ad salarium communis Ragusii pro tubetta cum salario modis et gonditionibus gonsuetis <sup>171</sup> .
74	<p><b>Reformationes 31, 3'</b>. Die 23 Augusti 1397.</p> <p>Jurech de Brin pifferus in ipso Minori Consilio acceptus fuit ad salarium nostri Communis pro uno anno proxime futuro ad officium pulsandi cum modis conditionibus et pactis prout tenetur Radassin piffarus et cum salario yperperorum centum decem prout percipit ipse Radassin excepto quam pro domo qui non intelligatur quod ipse Jurech debeat aliquid habere pro domo. Qui Jurech die suprascripto acceptatus et juravit fidelitatem Regimini Ragusii.</p> <p>In margine: Pro Jurech piffaro.</p>
	<p><b>Reformationes 31, 33</b>. Die 23 Augusti 1397.</p> <p>Jurech piffarus in ipso Minori Consilio confirmatus fuit in ipso eius officio sonandi pro uno anno proximo futuro inchoato a die finiti sui termini cum salario modis et conditionibus consuetis.</p>
	<p><b>Reformationes 31, 195'</b>. Die 23 Augusti 1399.</p> <p>Prima pars est de firmando Jurech piffarum pro uno anno proxime futuro a die finiti sui termini cum sallario et modis e conditionibus consuetis.</p>
	<p><b>Reformationes 31, 173'</b>. Die 30 Augusti 1399.</p> <p>Prima pars est de firmando ad salarium nostri Communis Jurech piffarum pro uno anno proxime futuro a die finiti sui termini cum salario consueto yperperorum centum decem et ultra yperperos decem pro affictu domus.</p>
78	<p><b>Lettere e commisioni de Levante, 144, 162'</b>. Die 18 Martii 1455.</p> <p>Rector de Ragusi cum el suo consiglio allo provido Philippo Trombeta dilecto nostro salariato salutem. Accomettemoti che col nome de Dio et del glorioso Martire messer santo Biasio nostro protector et confalonier te debi partir de qua et andar adretura a Segna et de li in Lubiana over altrove dove sentirai esser buoni pratici et sufficienti pifari et sforzerati de trovar et haver tre pifari zoe uno suorano l'altro tenor et lo terzo contratenor che siano sufficienti et avantesati et intelligenti in l'arte del suonar persone de bona et etade et de buono condicion li quali possendo haver conducti et fermerai al</p>

<sup>171</sup> Lapsus manus: conditionibus consuetis.

	<p>salario del nostro Commune. Alli quali te demo liberta possi prometer de salario de yperperos centotanta in zoxa nel anno per chadaun de loro guardando a far piu avantoso porai per il notro commune. Condugandoli et affirmandoli per doi anni li quali debbono començar il zorno che entreranno in barcha aver altro legno quod per vegnir in Ragusi la paga de qual loro salario debbono haver in principio d'ogni quatro mesi secondo lusanza delli altri nostri salariati. Et cum altri parti de haver el pagamento da special persone secondo usanza. Et quando a conduri persone sufficiente delle qual siamo buon serviti li quali bravato et conducto piu presto che povereti ve partireti et vignereti a Ragusi perche ne havendo gran bisogno.</p>
79	<p><b>Consilium Maius 9, 79.</b> Die 7 Novembris 1449.</p> <p>prima pars est de conducendo ad salarium Communis nostri Petrum Francigenam pifarum pro uno anno proxime futuro cum salario yperperorum centum octuaginta quinque secundum quod habent alii pifari nostri et fcum aliis pactis modis et conditionibus consuetis. Per LVI contra XVI. Firma pifari ducis de Bergogna.</p>
80	<p><b>Consilium Maius 9, 71'.</b> Die 3 Octobris 1449.</p> <p>Prima pars est de conducendo illos tres cantores francigenas qui istis diebus venerunt Ragusium pro unum anum proxime futurum cum salario yperperorum centum viginti totis tribus. Et cum pacto, et conditione quod teneant venire cottidie ad officia que celebrantur aut in sancta Maria, aut in ecclesia sancti Blasii, et alibi secundum quod requirentur pro aliqua solemnitate. Per LXXXIII contra VI.</p> <p>In margine: pro tribus francigenis cantoribus conductus<sup>172</sup>.</p>
81	<p><b>Consilium Rogatorum 24, 266.</b> Die 21 Augusti 1484.</p> <p>Prima pars est de dando libertatem domino Rectori et suo Minori Consilio achordandi duos trombonos et unum pifarum tenorem.</p>
83	<p><b>Consilium Rogatorum 52, 89.</b> Die 29 Maii 1544.</p> <p>Prima pars est de acceptando Lambertum Gallum pro trombone nostro cum solita sua provisione. Per XXX contra V.</p>
84	<p><b>Consilium Rogatorum 62, 125'.</b> Die 28 Augusti 1573.</p>

<sup>172</sup> Lapsus manus: conductus.

	<p>Prima pars est de acceptando Henricum Lamberti pro tibicine nostro deinde dicetur cum quo salario.</p> <p>Prima pars est de ei constituendo ducatorum auri quinque ad mensem. Per omnes contra VIII.</p> <p>Die 26 Novembris 1573.</p> <p>Prima pars est de mutuando Henrici Cortesis tibicini ducatos auri quindecim cum fideiusioni ser Simonis Luce de Bona quos restituere debeat ex eius apolitiis stipendii videlicet ducatos auri duos ex qualibet apolitia. Per omnes contra II.</p>
89	<p><b>Consilium Rogatorum 87, 155.</b> Die 21 Januarii 1621.</p> <p>Prima pars est de acceptando supplicationem Lamberti Cortoys lecta in presenti consilio. Per omnes contra II.</p> <p>Illustrissimi et eccellentissimi Signori, Desiderosi di impiegarmi tutto il tempo di mia vita in servizio di Vostre Eccellenze ho atteso all amusica particolare professione de miei antenati e particolarmente al sonar d'istrumento di fiato che sono del cornetto, il pifaro et il trombone. Per ornamento di questa illustrissima Republica fu istituto il concerto di pifari che sono cinque, et hoggi sono a pieno si, ma parte di loro ridotti dall'età tanto avanti, che sara assai il dirsi che pochi anni piu potranno durare al servizio ne sara disdicevole fra loro ancora haveri il sesto per adesso che sara il cornetto, qual' m'offerisco di sonarlo io et mancando il primo di essi subintrar al suo loco in sua vece come d'adesso mi offerisco et esibisco prontissimo. Però humilmente le supplico restino l'Eccelenze loro servite di accetarmi per hora per aggiunta della loro musica predetta con l'ordinario et solito slario del pifaro toccando secondo l'occorenza quelli di detti istrumenti che piu aggradara et riuscira meglio nel concerto et succedendo dopo la morte o mancamento d'alcuno di entrar nella vece di quel tale che morisse e per altro accidente venesse a mancare. La grazia altra che sara degna delle mani di benignita loro, et che m'obligera in perpetuo sara forse anche incetivo al altri lor' sudditi di porsi in sul tal professione per non avere occasione poi col tempo di farli condurre da straniere provintie. Che Nostro Signore le felicit.</p>
90	<p><b>Diversa Notariae 13, 334'.</b> Die 20 Aprilis 1423.</p> <p>In Xristi nomine Amen. Anno nativitatis eiusdem MCCCCXXIII indictione prima, die XX mensis Aprilis in Minori Consilio Civitatis Ragusii ad sonum campane et ad</p>

	<p>plenum modo solito congregato . . . nobiles et sapientes . . . ser Martolus de Zriva, ser Zupanum de Bona et ser Aloysium de Gozis cives Ragusions liet absentes sed tamquam presentes . . . legitimos procuratores, actores, factores et ceteros nuncios et syndicos speciales . . . expresse ad inveniendum, alloquendum, conducendum et confirmandum duos probos et expertos pipharos et totidem probos et expertos tubicines artis ipsorum preoptime expertos et omni modo ut conducti et firmati Ragusium veniant artem ipsorum operaturi pro illo tempore et temporibus et cum illo salario, modis, pactis et conditionibus atque provisionibus prout et sicut dictis sindicis et procuratoribus et cuilibet eorum in solidum videbitur convenire. Nec non cum his pactis et conditionibus specialiter videlicet quod dicti piphari et tubicine et eorum quolibet semper continuo eris congruis et temporibus equirentibus teneantur et debeant sonare et fistulare tam coram domino Rectore et dominis Ragusinis quam etiam quibuslibet aliis eos exquirentibus sicut fuit hactenus constructum...</p>
95	<p><b>Lettere e commisioni de Levante II, 17.</b> Die 21 Novembris 1360.</p> <p>Exemplum littere destinate Pasche de Bonda. . . Nobile et savio Pasche de Bonda salute et tuto bene . . . Anchora te chometemo che tu ne debi mandar II boni trombatori chomo nuy te scrivesimo per Ciuco de Merculin, et mandali cum li primi, tioandoli al nostro soldo a messe, se tu il paray aver, per lo melior mercado che tu puoy. E se tu non li puoy aver a mese, et tu il acorda ad anno per lo melior mercado che tu puoy, dando li a saver che li daremo da Nadal per lor vestir bracia VIII de drapo et de maco altro tanto per cascadam. Et co che il avanca de noce et de maynade sera suo, che li valera molti denari al ano.</p>
	<p><b>Idem. 27.</b> Die 21 Julii 1361.</p> <p>Ex parte domini rectoris ser Nicole de Saracha et Parvi Consilii, missa fuit littera comito Pagano de Poliniano, continens ei effectum, quod debeat reperire duos bonos tubatores meliori pretio quo poterit, expedendo et promictendo eius ad plus ducatos L, videlicet unicuique ducatos XXV, domum, robas, et lucrum quod facient de ipsorum arte.</p>
96	<p><b>Lettere e commisioni di Ponente 6, 96.</b> Die 29 Aprilis 1590.</p> <p>... Nota de pifari dana ci da Rigo e mandata al Bona. Le due parti che mancano son queste cioè la quinta parte, et la parte del contralto, la quinta parte si vuol de sapia sonare, la principalsi di trombone, pifaro et cornetto, il contralto sappi sonare principal</p>

	<p>di cornetto et pifaro, et sonando anche trombone sarra cosa bona. Li detti siano sufficienti per le dette parte, a sapere se detti siano sufficienti bisogna dar di testa al capo di detti musici qual è maestro Giovanni Bosano sonatore dell Illustrissima Signoria che lui sapra dar riquaglio di loro.</p>
97	<p><b>Reformationes 15, 4.</b> Die 1 Octobris 1349.</p> <p>Die primo mensis Octobris Constantinu Turbator Constantinus Zaramela assumpti fuerunt ad salarium yperperorum XXXV pro quolibet in anno pro domino comitem et suum Minorem Consilium ex auctoritate eis atributa a Maiori e Generali Consilio.</p>
98	<p><b>Reformationes 26, 17.</b> Die 11 Augusti 1385.</p> <p>Radasin, Conzo, Zugolanus, fuit receptus ad salarium Communis more solito in dicto consilio.</p> <p>In margine: Pro cornicine Zugolono.</p>
99	<p><b>Consilium Minus 3, 56'.</b> Die 26 Martii 1423.</p> <p>Captum fuit de portando ad Maius Consilium de dando magistro Georgio sonatori de liuto et arpa domum Communis quam tenebat Bernardus balistarius videlizet a parte superiori servata statione dicte domuns.</p> <p>In margine: Pro Georgio sonatore.</p>
100	<p><b>Consilium Maius 12, 29.</b> Die 5 Aprilis 1465.</p> <p>Prima pars est de conducendo ad salarium Communis nostri Gregorium de Medina cinganum pro trombono et tubicine pro unum annum proxime futurum cum salario yperperorum centum triginta et cum aliis pactis modis et conditionibus consuetis. Cinganum est cassum.</p>
101	<p><b>Consilium Maius 21, 180'-181.</b> Die 26 Ianuarii 1539.</p> <p>Prima pars est de dando libertatem Domino Rectori Consilio, et Magnifico Consilio Rogatorum donandi et expediendi ut res Melius videbitur sonatores, timpanistas, gnacharinos, tibicines, tubicines, citharedos, cantores et omni genus musicorum qui venient ad honorandum solemnitatem festi gloriosi martiris et protectoris sancti Blasii.</p>
102	<p><b>Testamenta Notariae 40, 20'.</b> Testamentum quondam Laurentii tubicinis.</p>

	<p>Millessimo quingentessimo quadragessimono Indictione VII die vero XIII<sup>mo</sup> mensis octobris Ragusii, hoc est testamentum quondam Laurentii Georgi Manes greci tubicinis illustrissimi Domini Ragusini. . .</p> <p>Anno Domini 1548. Die VIII Junii Io Lorenzo Zorzi Manes Trombono considerando la fragilita humana e come la nostra vita presente e sottoposta a piu pericoli della morte e nulla cosa anzi piu certa della morte e piu incerta dell'hora della morte onde volendo conformare con la volonta di Dio e stare sempra a parechiato come dice Gesu Christo nell suo evangelo estote parati qui nescitis diem neque horam quando veniat Dominus. Al presente trovando mi sano del corpo e sincero della mente faccio e ordeno questo mio ultimo testamento annullando tuti gli altri che per il passato fossero fati. . . voglio che i miei libri di canto instrumenti trombone e flauti e tabaso sia dato ai miei compagni per amore.</p> <p>Ioannes Marini, Bartolomeus, Vicentius, Dominicus tibicines civitatis Ragusii sponte confessi fuerunt habuisse a suprascriptis omnes libros musices et instrumenta musicalia ipsi relictata in testamento suprascripto IX<sup>o</sup>.</p>
107	<p><b>Consilium Minus 36, 53'.</b> Die penultima Martii 1529.</p> <p>Captum fuit de percipiendo et sic preceptum fuit omnibus tibicinis et tubicinis salariatis nostris quod de cetero qualibet die sabbati hora completorii debeant tibiis et tubis canere ante imaginem sacri Crucifixi in ecclesia sancti Blasii et ante altare beate Mariae semper Virginis singulam saltem cantilenam et quibuslibet diebus dominicis ante presentiam Excelentissimi Domini Rectoris sub pena perdendi salarium diei illius qua contra facerent vel eius qui permissa observare neglixerit. Cum hoc quod qualibet hebdomada unus eorum sit caput inter eos pro aetate et quod caput voluerit id tibiis canatur et non aliud.</p>
113	<p><b>Consilium Maius 12, 29.</b> Die 5 Aprilis 1465.</p> <p>Prima pars est de conducendo ad salarium Communis nostri Gregorium de Medina cinganum pro trombono et tubicine pro unum annum proxime futurum cum salario yperperorum centum triginta et cum aliis pactis modis et conditionibus consuetis. Cinganum est cassum.</p>
114	<p><b>Consilium Minus 22, 179.</b> Die 2 Septembris 1484.</p> <p>Captum fuit de achordando et conducendo Johannem Antonium de Tarvisio et Zanetum Augustini de Durachio trombonos et Franciscum Marchi de Venetiis</p>

	<p>piffarum tenoristam per unum annum proxime futurum cum salario ducatorum quinque in mense pro quolibet eorum aut monete Ragusii pro equivalentia ducatorum quinque pro quolibet eorum et quod in principio quolibet ipsum dari debeat paga pro duobus mensibus que ipsis defalcari debeat transactis prius quator primis mensibus et a presenti mense in antea eis debeat fieri paga de mense in mense semper in principio mensis excepto quod uque ad unum mensem eis dari debeat paga pro aliis duobus mensibus et transactis duobus mensibus singulo mense habere debeant pagam.</p>
116	<p><b>Consilium Minus 24, 255.</b> Die 23 Martii 1493.</p> <p>Captum fuit quod Paulus Andree si volet possit mutuare aut vendere Johanni Antonio trombono unum milliare aut duos cineris pro faciendo saponem non obstante quod ipse Paulus sit francus a Duana et si vendet emptor teneatur solvere Dohanam.</p>
	<p><b>Diversa Cancelariae 92a, 167.</b> Die 20 Februarii 1498.</p> <p>Johannes Antonius tubicen et Leonardus Blasii tinctor convenerunt cum Johanne Antonii Gabrielis presente et stipulante quod dictus Johannes teneatur, obligatur sit habere curam se diligentiam ponere quod in purgandis pannis qui de cetero purgabuntur cum sapone dictorum Johannis Antonii e Leonardi saponem consignandus per eos ipsi Johanni non amittetur nec aliquis illum furabitur . . . sed pro ipsis Johanne et Leonardo ut melius fieri poterit coligatur. . .</p>
117	<p><b>Dotes 9, 3'.</b> Die 17 Mai 1486.</p> <p>Ego Zanetus Augustini trombonus salariatus Communis Ragusii confiteor quod super me et omnia mea bona pro dote et parhivio Petronelle filie Bosigchi Boxidarevich sartoris uxoris mee habui et recepi a dicto Bosigcho socero meo mihi dante et solvente pro dote et parhivio predictos yperperos centum viginti grossorum Ragusii et exagia auri decem quam dotem habui et recepi secundum ordines et consuetudines Ragusii.</p>
118	<p><b>Diversa Cancelariae 87, 46.</b> Die 3 Junii 1490.</p> <p>Hoc est inventarium repertorum in domo Zanetti tromboni per me cancellarium scriptum post mortem Petronille uxoris dicti Zanetti in presentia Johannis Antonii tromboni et Jacobi pifari et hoc mandato domini consuilis inferius registratum cuius tenor est ut infra videlicet . . . una cassa da trombeta.</p>
119	<p><b>Dotes 9, 46.</b> Die 12 Februarii 1491.</p>

	<p>Ego Zanetus Augustini trombonus salariatus Communis Ragusii confiteor quod super me et omnia mea bona pro dote et parchivio Marie filie Filippi de Burgo . . . uxoris mee habui et recepi de Petro Johannis fratris dicte Marie mihi dante et solvente pro dote et parchivio de suis propriis denaris pro dote et parchivio predictos yperperos trecentos septuaginta seks. Quam dotem habui et recepi secundum ordines et consuetudines Ragusii. . .</p>
120	<p><b>Consilium Rogatorum 27, 5.</b> Die 17 Novembris 1492.</p> <p>Prima pars est de habendo pro fallito Zanetum trombonum iuxta ordinem de insultibus assassinariis pro lamento contra eum facto per Radum Tristanum et pro contumatio sua in quam incurrit non comparento ad chridam et per manus sibi debeat trunchari. – Secunda pars est de non habendo ipsum pro fallito iuxta dictum ordinem quantum ad trunchationem manus.</p>
	<p><b>Consilium Minus 24, 74.</b> Die 31 Mai 1491.</p> <p>Captum fuit de dando Zaneto trombono yperperos decem resto solutionis sibi retente quando fuit in carcere.</p>
122	<p><b>Diversa Cancelariae 91, 47.</b> Die 5 Januarii 1496.</p> <p>Nicola Vlatchovich Ianarius dicens quod ad instantiam suam factum fuit per Franciscum Menzetich cancellarium criminalium unum inventarium de rebus et bonis quondam Zanetti tubicinis Communis pro quo nventario dixit solvisse grossos XVIII ad interrogationem Antonii Bosichovich presentis declaravit quod Antonius predictus habeat meliora iura in dictis bonis dicti quondam Zanetti tubicinis pro instrumento quod habet. . .</p>
	<p><b>Consilium Rogatorum 25, 160.</b> Die 8 Aprilis 1487.</p> <p>Prima pars est de intrando in hoc Consilio ad liberationem Zanetti tromboni ad preces et requisitionem fratris Basili Ordinis Minorum qui predicat in sancta Maria.</p> <p>Prima pars est de liberando istum Zanettum quia habuit duodecim squossos corde in tribus vicibus et nihil confessus fuit et attento quod Johannes Franciscus tubicen qui aufugit confessus fuit se esse furem . . .</p>
123	<p><b>Consilium Minus 22, 282’.</b> Die 22 Aprillis 1485.</p>

	<p>Captum fuit de acceptando Herculem trombonum ad supplendum pro Johanne Antonio trombone qui est ad confine incipiendo die XXV presentis.</p>
124	<p><b>Consilium Minus 23, 14'.</b> Die 13 Octobris 1486.</p> <p>Captum fuit de concedendo Herculi tubicini quod pro duobus mednsibus possit ire Venetias no livrando salarium.</p>
127	<p><b>Testamenta Notariae 40, 20'.</b> Testamentum quondam Laurentii tubicinis.</p> <p>Millessimo quingentesimo quadragessimo nono Indictione VII die vero XIII<sup>o</sup> mensis octobris Ragusii, hoc est testamentum quondam Laurentii Georgi Manes greci tubicinis illustrissimi Domini Ragusini. . .</p> <p>Anno Domini 1548. Die VIII Junii Io Lorenzo Zorzi Manes Trombone considerando la fragilita humana e come la nostra vita presente e sottoposta a piu pericoli della morte e nulla cosa anzi piu certa della morte e piu incerta dell'ora della morte onde volendo conformare con la volonta di Dio e stare sempra a parechiato come dice Gesu Christo nell suo evangelo estote parati qui nescitis diem neque horam quando veniat Dominus. Al presente trovando mi sano del corpo e sincero della mente faccio e ordeno questo mio ultimo testamento annullando tuti gli altri che per il passato fossero fati. . . voglio che i miei libri di canto instrumenti trombone e flauti e tabaso sia dato ai miei compagni per amore.</p> <p>Ioannes Marini, Bartolomeus, Vicentius, Dominicus tibicines civitatis Ragusii sponte confessi fuerunt habuisse a suprascriptis omnes libros musices et instrumenta musicalia ipsisi relicta in testamento suprascripto IX<sup>o</sup>.</p>
128	<p><b>Consilium Rogatorum 49, 83.</b> Die 24 Octobris 1549.</p> <p>Illustrissimi Signori,</p> <p>Magistro Lorenzo Trombone quale dal principio della giovanezza sua e venuto al servizio di Vostre Signorie Illustrissime sendo cosi piaciuto a Dio e passato presente vita ne possendo stare la compagnia delli piffari senza lo secondo trombone per questa causa Gioseph figliolo di Giovanni Maria piffaro havendo sin hora ben consumati gli anni sua sotto buoni magistri e fatto tale profito nella musica che hora mai compare et da buon saggio di se havendo se doppo questo non poco excitato tanto nel sonare di piffari, fiauti se non contratrombone tal che la compagnia puo comparere honoralmente supplica alle magnifice Signorie Vostre se degnano volerlo accettare nel luogo del detto</p>

	Lorenzo assegnandoli quella honesta provisione quale Vostre Signorie giudicarano necessario accio se possa mantenere nel studiare e secondo che le lo Signorie Vostre vederano che lui giornamente andra megliorando poterono augmentarli la sua provisione secondo giudicarano sia conveniente. Offerendo tutta vita servir alle Signorie Vostre con diligenza e fedeltamente andare perserverare nel studio accio se possa gloriare con l'adiuto e favore di Vostre Signorie havere fatto profitto nella musica e riuscito singolare sonatore con promessa ancora di pregare sempre Iddio per le Signorie Vostre quali Dio felicitati. . .
132	<b>Consilium Rogatorum 13, 110'.</b> Die 17 Aprilis 1512.  Prima pars est de cassando a <sup>173</sup> salario Communis nostri Marchetum trombonum nominatum in suprascripto processo. Omnes contra I.
135	<b>Consilium Rogatorum 44, 157.</b> Die 1 Julii 1541.  Prima pars est de dimittendo per tres menses Antonium Patavinum trombonum possit non livrando salarium ire in Italiam pro cuiusdem eius negotiis.
136	Ibid.
137	<b>Testamenta Notariae 341, 171'.</b> Die 4 Decembris 1527.  Testamentum quondam Aloysii Laurenti tibicinis . . . nuper peste defuncti . . . Io Aloysio piffaro essendo infirmo del corpo tamen per grazia di Dio sano della mente recomando midelle parole del Salvatore estote parati quia nescitis diem neque horam . . . lasso per decime et primitie alla sancta Maria Maggiore yperpero I per anima mia, item lasso a santa Maria delle Danze yperpero I per l'anima mia . . . lasso a Tomaso piffaro mio trombon e cornetto per amor, item lasso a prete Domenico i mio scioppo per messe de santo Gregorio per anima mia, fazo lo mio erede mio padre Lorenzo trombon, facio i miei epitropi a li quali racomando anima mia mio padre Lorenzo prete Marin de Givannditto Churtela e prete Dominico de Natal. Hoc testamentum nullo testimonio rumpi possit.
138	<b>Consilium Rogatorum 51, 111'.</b> Die 19 Octobris 1552.

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<sup>173</sup> Lapsus manus: ad.

	<p>Prima pars est de acceptando Lucentium de Napoli pro trombone in locum Dominici Mauri qui recessit et cum eidem provisione quam dictus Dominicus habebit. Per XXXIII contra XIII.</p>
140	<p><b>Consilium Rogatorum 49, 83.</b> Die 24 Octobris 1549.</p> <p>Illustrissimi Signori,</p> <p>Magistro Lorenzo Trombone quale dal principio della giovanezza sua e venuto al servizio di Vostre Signorie Illustrissime sendo cosi piaciuto a Dio e passato presente vita ne possendo stare la compagnia delli piffari senza lo secondo trombone per questa causa Gioseph figliolo di Giovanni Maria piffaro havendo sin hora ben consumati gli anni sua sotto buoni magistri e fatto tale profito nella musica che hora mai compare et da buon saggio di se havendo se doppo questo non poco excitato tanto nel sonare di piffari, fiauti se non contratrombone tal che la compagnia puo comparere honoralmente supplica alle magnifice Signorie Vostre se degnano volerlo accettare nel luogo del detto Lorenzo assegnandoli quella honesta provisione quale Vostre Signorie giudicarano necessario accio se possa mantenere nel studiare e secondo che le lo Signorie Vostre vederano che lui giornamente andra migliorando poterono augmentarli la sua provisione secondo giudicarano sia conveniente. Offerendo tutta vita servir alle Signorie Vostre con diligenza e fedeltamente andare perserverare nel studio accio se possa gloriare con l'adiuto e favore di Vostre Signorie havere fatto profito nella musica e riuscito singolare sonatore con promessa ancora di pregare sempre Iddio per le Signorie Vostre quali Dio felicitati. . .</p>
143	<p><b>Consilium Rogatorum 52, 89.</b> Die 29 Maii 1554.</p> <p>Prima pars est de acceptando Lambertum Gallum pro trombone nostro cum solita sua provisione. Per XXX contra V.</p>
144	<p><b>Atti Capitolo Udinese II, 145'-146.</b> Die Mercurii 19 Aprilis 1570.</p> <p>Reverendus Dominus Vicentius de Perso decanus collegialis ecclesiae Utinensis nec non Reverendi Domini canonici in eadem ecclesia personaliter residentes, capituariter de more congregati in sacrario ipsius ecclesiae, totumque eiusdem Capitulum representantes, ne chorus praedictae ecclesiae et presbyteri ac clerici eam frequentates, qui musica scientia institui opus habent, aliqui incomodi capiant, ob defectum magistri capelle quum prestans vir dominus Hippoitus amataro Romanus qui aliquo temporis spatio huic muneri vocavit onus ipsum superioribus mensibus demiserit, et iis modo</p>

	<p>oblatius sit vir musicae facultatis excellentia insigniter commendatus Dominus Lambertus Cortois Gallus, qui proximis annis Epidauriensium ecclesiae summa cum laude inservivit, oblatum occasionem sibi minime pretermitendum duxerunt. Quam ob rem in locum praedicti domini Hipolyti in trienium continuum hodie inchoatum eundem dominum Lambertum favorabiliter et omnibus annuentibus elegerunt ac conduxerunt ad dictum manus exercendum, cum stipendio ducatorum 30 ad L 694 pro ducato, frumenti staria 18, speltae staria 6 et milii staria 6 ac vini congiorum decem, omnia ad mensuram communis Utini, in annos singulos. Et interim ipse dominus Lambertus omne studium diligentiamque adhibeat in erudiendis gratis et sine alia mercede presbyteris et clericis omnibus huic ecclesiae inservientibus eos docendo artem canendi cantum firmum et figuratum: et festis diebus per totum anni circulum intersit horis consuetis in choro ipsius ecclesiae curetque ut in ea musici concentus fiant anni temporibus convenientes: atque omnia naviter prestat ad quae ratione praedicti officii tenebitur et sicuri alii eius in dicto officio praecessores ante hac prestiterunt. Quae omnia bene intellecta idem dominus Lambertus acceptavit, et ita se exequuturum promisit, ac pro his perpetuo observandis ambae partes obligarunt omnia bona sua etc. Actum Utini in sacrario premissae exlesiae presentibus domino presbytero Damiano de Bontadis, presbytero Petro Ragno, capellanis Utinensibus et domino Josepho Boetio organiste testibus habitis etc.</p> <p>In margine: Eligitur dominus Lambertus Cortois in magistrum capellae.</p>
146	<p><b>Consilium Rogatorum 89, 59.</b> Die 13 Martii 1569.</p> <p>Prima pars est de licentiando Lambertum tibicinem et musicum ut per tres menses possit ire in Italiam cum hoc dum fuerit absens ei salarium communis currere minime debeat. Per omnes contra I.</p>
147	<p><b>Consilium Rogatorum 65, 145.</b> Die 26 Novembris 1579.</p> <p>Prima pars est de acceptando Sylvestrum trombonum pro nostro trombone cum salario consueto. Per XIX contra XVI.</p>

#### d/ Trombone-Related Historical Documents of Dubrovnik Republic

In the table below I present all documents that concern trombones or trombonists in the archives. They are organized chronologically, with the year in the leftmost column.

1465	<p><b>Consilium Maius 12, 29.</b> Die 5 Aprilis 1465.</p> <p>Prima pars est de conducendo ad salarium Communis nostri Gregorium de Medina cinganum pro trombono et tubicine pro unum annum proxime futurum cum salario ypperperorum centum triginta et cum aliis pactis modis et conditionibus consuetis. Cinganum est cassum.</p>
1483	<p><b>Testamenta Notariae 24, 149.</b> Die 7 Aprilis 1483.</p> <p>Testamentum Pelegrini de Padua tibicinis . . . Io Pelegrino fiol de Bartholomeo pipharo de Ragusi, Paduan nativo, essendo amalato ne la dicta citta de Ragusi de la suetta di Domino Dio tamen sendo de sana et sincera mente mia fazo et ordeno quetio mio ultimo testamento. In prima lasso per la decima et primitia usata a sancta Maria Mazor in Ragusa grossi 6. Item lasso a santa Maria alle Danze grossi 4. Et perche ho li mei parenti a Padua et fratello voglio che morando io tutto mio bene sia di loro fora di quello che havero testato per anima mia . . . Item ho uno trombon et camise tre alle Danze come sa prete Helia per le manu sue . . . Item agio qua in casa uno trombon novo cum la sua guayna, et una zaramella soupran de pipharo . . . Anchora ho una spada impeyuata per man de Helia trombeta da Pasqual guardian de San Lorenzo che mori . . . Et fazo li mei epitropi Bartholomeo Sfodrato notario di Ragusi et Marco Cancellier alle quali racomando tuti li facti mei. . .</p>
1484	<p><b>Consilium Rogatorum 24, 266.</b> Die 21 Augusti 1484.</p> <p>Prima pars est de dando libertatem domino Rectori et suo Minori Consilio achordandi duos trombonos et unum pifarum tenorem.</p>
1484	<p><b>Consilium Minus 22, 179.</b> Die 2 Septembris 1484.</p> <p>Captum fuit de achordando et conducendo Johannem Antonium de Tarvisio et Zanetum Augustini de Durachio trombonos et Franciscum Marchi de Venetiis piffarum tenoristam per unum annum proxime futurum cum salario ducatorum quinque in mense pro quolibet eorum aut monete Ragusii pro equivalentia ducatorum quinque pro quolibet eorum et quod in principio quolibet ipsum dari debeat paga pro duobus mensibus que ipsis defalcari debeat transactis prius quator</p>

	<p>primis mensibus et a presenti mense in antea eis debeat fieri paga de mense in mense semper in principio mensis excepto quod uque ad unum mensem eis dari debeat paga pro aliis duobus mensibus et transactis duobus mensibus singulo mense habere debeant pagam.</p>
1485	<p><b>Consilium Minus 22, 282’.</b> Die 22 Aprillis 1485.</p> <p>Captum fuit de acceptando Herculem trombonum ad supplendum pro Johanne Antonio trombono qui est ad confine incipiendo die XXV presentis.</p>
1485	<p><b>Consilium Minus 22, 261.</b> Die 26 Novembris 1485.</p> <p>Captum fuit quod Costa piffarus possit ire ad sonandum ad nuptias pauperum artificium a quos piffari comunis ire non poterunt et de illo quod ipse Costa lucrabitur teneatur aliis piffaris et trombonis dare ratam suam videlicet tres quartos lucre et sibi unum quartum dicti lucre attento quod de eo piffari et trombones lucrantur dant ratam suam Jacomino filio ipsius Coste.</p>
1486	<p><b>Dotes 9, 3’.</b> Die 17 Mai 1486.</p> <p>Ego Zanetus Augustini trombonus salariatus Communis Ragusii confiteor quod super me et omnia mea bona pro dote et parchivio Petronelle filie Bosigchi Boxidarevich sartoris uxoris mee habui et recepi a dicto Bosigcho socero meo mihi dante et solvente pro dote et parchivio predictos yperperos centum viginti grossorum Ragusii et exagia auri decem quam dotem habui et recepi secundum ordines et consuetudines Ragusii.</p>
1487	<p><b>Consilium Rogatorum 25, 160.</b> Die 8 Aprilis 1487.</p> <p>Prima pars est de intrando in hoc Consilio ad liberationem Zanetti tromboni ad preces et requisitionem fratris Basili Ordinis Minorum qui predicat in sancta Maria.</p> <p>Prima pars est de liberando istum Zanettum quia habuit duodecim squossos corde in tribus vicibus et nihil confessus fuit et attento quod Johannes Franciscus tubicen qui aufugit confessus fuit se esse furem . . .</p>
1488	<p><b>Consilium Minus 23, 133.</b> Die 12 Junii 1488.</p> <p>Captum fuit de addendo salario Peterchini ducatum unum in mense ita quod admodo habeat ducatos quinque in mense sicut habent Johannes Antonius et Zanetus tromboni cum hoc quod teneatur servire de piffaro, de canto et de bombardata.</p>

1489	<p><b>Consilium Minus 23, 187.</b> Die 26 Februarii 1489.</p> <p>Captum fuit de donando Zaneto trombono yperperos decem in auxilium faciendo sibi unam vestem attento quod fuit Venetiis cum magna expensa causa emendi instrumenta sue artis qua emit et attulit Ragusium.</p>
1489	<p><b>Consilium Minus 23, 202.</b> Die 4 Mai 1489.</p> <p>Captum fuit de dimittendo Zanetum trombonum et Peterchinum et Jacobum tubicines quod cause voti possunt ire Rachametum livrando salarium cum hoc quod teneant reverti cum barcha cum quam ibunt. Et si secus fecerint a reditu dicte barche in antea non livrent salarium.</p>
1490	<p><b>Diversa Cancelariae 87, 46.</b> Die 3 Junii 1490.</p> <p>Hoc est inventarium repertorum in domo Zanetti tromboni per me cancellarium scriptum post mortem Petronille uxoris dicti Zanetti in presentia Johannis Antonii tromboni et Jacobi pifari et hoc mandato domini consuilis inferius registratum cuius tenor est ut infra videlicet . . . una cassa da trombetta.</p>
1491	<p><b>Dotes 9, 46.</b> Die 12 Februarii 1491.</p> <p>Ego Zanetus Augustini trombonus salariatus Communis Ragusii confiteor quod super me et omnia mea bona pro dote et parchivio Marie filie Filippi de Burgo . . . uxoris mee habui et recepi de Petro Johannis fratris dicte Marie mihi dante et solvente pro dote et parchivio de suis propriis denaris pro dote et parchivio predictos yperperos trecentos septuaginta seks. Quam dotem habui et recepi secundum ordines et consuetudines Ragusii. . .</p>
1491	<p><b>Consilium Minus 24, 74.</b> Die 31 Mai 1491.</p> <p>Captum fuit de dando Zaneto trombono yperperos decem resto solutionis sibi retente quando fuit in carcere.</p>
1492	<p><b>Consilium Rogatorum 27, 5.</b> Die 17 Novembris 1492.</p> <p>Prima pars est de habendo pro fallito Zanetum trombonum iuxta ordinem de insultibus assassinariis pro lamento contra eum facto per Radum Tristanum et pro contumatio sua in quam incurrit non comparento ad chridam et per manus sibi debeat trunchari. – Secunda pars est de non habendo ipsum pro fallito iuxta dictum ordinem quantum ad trunchationem manus.</p>

1493	<p><b>Consilium Minus 24, 255.</b> Die 23 Martii 1493.</p> <p>Captum fuit quod Paulus Andree si volet possit mutuare aut vendere Johanni Antonio trombono unum milliare aut duos cineris pro faciendo sapones non obstante quod ipse Paulus sit francus a Duana et si vendet emptor teneatur solvere Dohanam.</p>
1500	<p><b>Diversa Cancelariae 94, 135.</b> Die 5 Augusti 1500.</p> <p>Johannes Antonius trombonus ex una parte, Gregorius carazarius ex altera parte de omnibus et singulis differentiis quas habent inter se quamcumque de causa . . . compromiserunt et compromissum fecerunt inter eos inter Hyeronimum Monaldi speciarum et Florium Johannis Flori tamquam eorum arbitros . . .</p>
1504	<p><b>Diversa Cancelariae 97, 133.</b> Die 20 Junii 1504.</p> <p>Ad instantiam Laurentii tromboni Andreas riverius comunis retulit mandato magnifici Domini Michaelis de Calistis Rectoris denuntiasse et precepisse Marchetto trombono quod per totam presentem diem 21 Junii 1504 debeat comparuisse et eius canciones portasse coram electis arbitris inter eos secundum pactum inter eos factum et pro quod pignora sunt posita alias elapso presente die intelligatur amisisse pignus et ulterius non audiatur.</p> <p>Die 22 Junii 1504. Adouardus organista et Jacobus tibicen dixerunt Marchettum non comparuisse.</p> <p>Die 23 Junii 1504. Adouardus supra scriptus venit et dixit una cum fratre Benedicto de sancto Dominico in presentia partium declarasse cantionem Marchetti multo deteriore cantione Laurentii et sic Marchetum superatum a Lurentio in ordine dicti cantus et ita sentiaverunt.</p> <p>24 Junii 1504 antescriptus Antonius riverius retulit mandato domini rectoris contra scripti precepisse Jacobo tibicini quod det pignus Laurentio trombono tamquam victori.</p>
1510	<p><b>Consilium Minus 30, 183.</b> Die 19 Septembris 1510.</p> <p>Captum fuit de acceptando supplicationem Laurentii tromboni pro filio suo ponendo pro piffaro soprano in locum Jacobi Coste qui discessit cum conditionibus dicte suplicationis que est huius tenoris videlicet.</p>

	<p>Magnifici Signori, Io Lorenzo trombono devotissimo et fidel servitor dele Signorie Vostre desideroso che il mio figliolo viva et mora qui alli servitii delle Signorie Vostre et ceh non vada cercare altro pane essendo andato via no et in brevi sufficiente piffaro sovrano come non possono far iudicio le Signorie Vostr esempre ben disposte en inclinate verso li vertuosi se degnano il dicto mio figliulo acceptar per piffaro sovrano in loco del dicto Jacomo senza alcun salario per questo primo anno ma in avanti se le Signorie Vostre vederano la sufficienza sua meritar qualche provisione che allora quelle li provedano de quello honesto salario el qual parera al Signorie Vostre coquastarni meritar la sufficienzia sua e le sue vertute alle quale le inclinato e quelle e sforza die e nocte aquistar per servire et fare honor a esse Signorie Vostre le qual miser Domino Dio conservi in sempre felicissimo.</p>
1511	<p><b>Diversa Cancelariae 102, 185.</b> Die 28 Ianuarii 1511.</p> <p>Laurentius trombonus salariatus comunis Ragusii ex una parte et Aduardus organista similiter salariatus ex altera sponte et animo deliberato pro differentia seu defferentiis qua invicem habent pro erudition musices qua docuit Aduardus filium ipsius Laorentii et de solution stipendiis et mercedis quam meretur dictus Aduardus dicta de causa et de omnibus ex ipsa causa et circa ipsam causam attinentibus et dependentibus compromiserunt meser ser Marinum Jacobi Ghetaldi, ser Franciscum Val. de Sorgo et Jacobum Costich piffarum.</p>
1512	<p><b>Consilium Rogatorum 13, 110<sup>7</sup>.</b> Die 17 Aprilis 1512.</p> <p>Prima pars est de cassando a<sup>174</sup> salario Communis nostri Marchetum trombonum nominatum in suprascripto processo. Omnes contra I.</p>
1512	<p><b>Consilium Rogatorum 32, 127.</b> Die 9 Junii 1512.</p> <p>Prima pars est de conducendo ad salarium Communis nostri Aloysium tibicinem filium Laurentii tromboni pro tibicine seu piffaro. Prima pars et de dando ei de salario yperperos quinque in mense.</p>
1527	<p><b>Testamenta Notariae 341, 171<sup>7</sup>.</b> Die 4 Decembris 1527.</p> <p>Testamentum quondam Aloysii Laurenti tibicinis . . . nuper peste defuncti . . . Io Aloysio piffaro essendo infirmo del corpo tamen per grazia di Dio sano della mente recomando midelle parole del Salvatore estote parati quia nescitis diem neque horam</p>

<sup>174</sup> Lapsus manus: ad.

	<p>. . . lasso per decime et primitie alla sancta Maria Maggiore yperpero I per anima mia, item lasso a santa Maria delle Danze yperpero I per l'anima mia . . . lasso a Tomaso piffaro mio trombon e cornetto per amor, item lasso a prete Domenico i mio scioppo per messe de santo Gregorio per anima mia, fazo lo mio erede mio padre Lorenzo trombon, facio i miei epitropi a li quali racomando anima mia mio padre Lorenzo prete Marin de Givannditto Churtela e prete Dominico de Natal. Hoc testamentum nullo testimonio rumpi possit.</p>
1533	<p><b>Lamenta de Foris 94, 143.</b> Die 13 Julii 1533.</p> <p>Marchetto trombono negro fecit lamentum contra Aniza de Simco Merzievich dicendo che mi a detto villania et tratto di sasso senza alcuna mia causa. Testis Petar de Gabro.</p>
1538	<p><b>Consilium Rogatorum 44, 8.</b> Die 24 Februarii 1538.</p> <p>Prima pars est de acceptando Magistrum Alfonsum trombonum in soldum platee nostre cum provisione trium ducatorum quolibet mense cum hoc quod teneatur sonare instrumentum suum quando opus est et servire in platea et aliis servitiis Communi nostri quandoquaque sibi precipietur et de pluri habere debeat spettativa trombonis primi qui vacavit quovis modo.</p>
1539	<p><b>Testamenta Notariae 37, 219.</b> Die 20 Februarii 1539.</p> <p>Testamentum quondam Cattarine servitialis olim Marchetti tromboni. MLCCCXXXIX Indictione duodecima die vero vigesimo mensis Februarii Rhagusii. Hoc est testamentum quondam Cattarine servitialis ilim Marchetti tromboni repertum in notaria publica civitatis eiusdem ubi datum fuerat ad salvandum inter alia testamenta viventium secundum consuetudinem civitatis . . . cuius tenor sequitur et est talis videlicet In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Amen. 1516 a di 7 Agosti Io Cattarina servitiale de olim Marchetto Saraceno trombono, essendo sana delle mente mia . . . faccio et ordino el mio ultimo testamento e mia ultima volonta . . . Item lasso al mio padre spirituale prete Nicolo di Stagno yperperi dieci che debbia dirmi dua para de messe di santo Gregorio per anima del mio patrono Marchetto e per anima mia . . . casa mia con giardino et tutte le sue raggioni e pertinentie posta sopra Canale quale casa con le sue raggioni e pertinentie sia de ser Marin Bon di Gondola . . .</p>

1541	<p><b>Consilium Rogatorum 44, 157.</b> Die 1 Julii 1541.</p> <p>Prima pars est de dimittendo per tres menses Antonium Patavinum trombonum possit non livrando salarium ire in Italiam pro cuiusdem eius negotiis.</p>
1547	<p><b>Acta Sanctae Mariae Maioris XVI 15/8.</b> Die 27 Aprilis 1547.</p> <p>Vincenzo Siciliano piffaro costituito davanti li soprascritti signori et interrogato medio juramento debbia punctualmente referire tutto quello che lui negocio qualla matina che furono attaccato le palize depose in questo modo: Signori Magnifici, in questa matina avanti il giorno et avanti l'Ave Maria uscisi di casa et passai per la via dove stava Giovanni Maria piffaro nel vicino di ser Paolo Luce di Sorgo et essendo presso la casa sua lo sibillai chamandolo col zuffolo a dovere uscire. Il qual Giovanni Maria mi rispose col sibello secondo li costumi qual e fra di noi piffari e di la partiti andando la volta di Bartolo pifaro et con Bartolo andamo alla piazza dove essendo alla botega di Critio spetando ditto Giovanni Maria e Moro Trombone e essi davanti l'Ave Maria un puoco di tempo supragiunge detto Giovanni Maria quale andava di parte della via de caligari et essi arrivando si passeremo a sonar la matinata . . .</p>
1548	<p><b>Testamenta Notariae 40, 20'.</b> Testamentum quondam Laurentii tubicinis.</p> <p>Millessimo quingentesimo quadragessimo nono Indictione VII die vero XIII<sup>mo</sup> mensis octobris Ragusii, hoc est testamentum quondam Laurentii Georgi Manes greci tubicinis illustrissimi Domini Ragusini. . .</p> <p>Anno Domini 1548. Die VIII Junii Io Lorenzo Zorzi Manes Trombono considerando la fragilita humana e come la nostra vita presente e sottoposta a piu pericoli della morte e nulla cosa anzi piu certa della morte e piu incerta dell' hora della morte onde volendo conformare con la volonta di Dio e stare sempra a parechiato come dice Gesu Christo nell suo evangelo estote parati qui nescitis diem neque horam quando veniat Dominus. Al presente trovando mi sano del corpo e sincero della mente faccio e ordeno questo mio ultimo testamento annullando tuti gli altri che per il passato fossero fati. . . voglio che i miei libri di canto instrumenti trombone e flauti e tabaso sia dato ai miei compagni per amore. . . Ioannes Marini, Bartolomeus, Vicentius, Dominicus tibicines civitatis Ragusii sponte confessi fuerunt habuisse a suprascriptis omnes libros musices et instrumenta musicalia ipsi relictis in testamento suprascripto IX<sup>o</sup>.</p>

1549	<p><b>Consilium Rogatorum 49, 83.</b> Die 24 Octobris 1549.</p> <p>Illustrissimi Signori,</p> <p>Magistro Lorenzo Trombono quale dal principio della giovanezza sua e venuto al servizio di Vostre Signorie Illustrissime sendo così piaciuto a Dio e passato presente vita ne possendo stare la compagnia delli piffari senza lo secondo trombone per questa causa Gioseph figliolo di Giovanni Maria piffaro havendo sin hora ben consumati gli anni sua sotto buoni magistri e fatto tale profito nella musica che hora mai compare et da buon saggio di se havendo se doppo questo non poco excitato tanto nel sonare di piffari, fiauti se non contratrombone tal che la compagnia puo comparere honoralmente supplica alle magnifice Signorie Vostre se degnano volerlo acetare nel luogo del detto Lorenzo assegnandoli quella honesta provisione quale Vostre Signorie giudicarano necessario accio se possa mantenere nel studiare e secondo che le lo Signorie Vostre vederano che lui giornamente andra migliorando poterono aumentarli la sua provisione secondo giudicarano sia conveniente. Offerendo tutta vita servir alle Signorie Vostre con diligenza e fedeltamente andare perserverare nel studio accio se possa gloriare con l'adiuto e favore di Vostre Signorie havere fatto profito nella musica e riuscito singolare sonatore con promessa ancora di pregare sempre Iddio per le Signorie Vostre quali Dio felicit. . .</p>
1551	<p><b>Consilium Rogatorum 50, 62.</b> Die 21 Aprilis 1551.</p> <p>Prima pars est de dimitendo Josephum trombonum quod per trimestem possit ire in Italiam et interim stipendium curere sibi non debeat.</p>
1552	<p><b>Consilium Rogatorum 51, 78.</b> Die 17 Junii 1552.</p> <p>Prima pars est de addendo provisioni Josephi trombonis et postea dicetur quantum sit addendum. Prima pars est de sibi addendo ducatum unum quolibet mensem et quod per trienium proxime futurum non possit amplius petere aliquam additionem. Per omnes contra XIII.</p>
1552	<p><b>Consilium Rogatorum 51, 111'.</b> Die 19 Octobris 1552.</p> <p>Prima pars est de acceptando Lucentium de Napoli pro trombone in locum Dominici Mauri qui recessit et cum eidem provisione quam dictus Dominicus habebit. Per XXXIII contra XIII.</p>

1554	<p><b>Consilium Rogatorum 52, 89.</b> Die 29 Maii 1554.</p> <p>Prima pars est de acceptando Lambertum Gallum pro trombono nostro cum solita sua provisione. Per XXX contra V.</p>
1579	<p><b>Consilium Rogatorum 65, 145.</b> Die 26 Novembris 1579.</p> <p>Prima pars est de acceptando Sylvestrum trombonum pro nostro trombono cum salario consueto. Per XIX contra XVI.</p>
1590	<p><b>Lettere e commisioni di Ponente 6, 96.</b> Die 29 Aprilis 1590.</p> <p>... Nota de pifari dana ci da Rigo e mandata al Bona. Le due parti che mancano son queste cioè la quinta parte, et la parte del contralto, la quinta parte si vuol de sapia sonare, la principalsi di trombone, pifaro et cornetto, il contralto sappi sonare principal di cornetto et pifaro, et sonando anche trombone sarra cosa bona. Li detti siano sufficienti per le dette parte, a sapere se detti siano sufficienti bisogna dar di testa al capo di detti musici qual è maestro Giovanni Bosano sonatore dell Illustrissima Signoria che lui sapra dar riquaglio di loro.</p>
1621	<p><b>Consilium Rogatorum 87, 155-155'.</b> Die 21 Januarii 1621.</p> <p>Prima pars est de acceptando supplicationem Lamberti Cortoys lecta in presenti consilio. Per omnes contra II.</p> <p>Illustrissimi et eccellentissimi Signori, Desiderosi di impiegarmi tutto il tempo di mia vita in servizio di Vostre Eccellenze ho atteso all amusica particolare professione de miei antenati e particolarmente al sonar d'istrumento di fiato che sono del cornetto, il pifaro et il trombone. Per ornamento di questa illustrissima Republica fu istituto il concerto di pifari che sono cinque, et hoggi sono a pieno si, ma parte di loro ridotti dall'età tanto avanti, che sara assai il dirsi che pochi anni piu potranno durare al servizio ne sara disdicevole fra loro ancora haverei il sesto per adesso che sara il cornetto, qual' m'offerisco di sonarlo io et mancando il primo di essi subintrar al suo loco in sua vece come d'adesso mi offerisco et esibisco prontissimo. Però humilmente le supplico restino l'Eccellenze loro servite di accetarmi per hora per aggiunta della loro musica predetta con l'ordinario et solito salario del pifaro toccando secondo l'occorenza quelli di detti istrumenti che piu aggradara et riuscirà meglio nel concerto et succedendo dopo la morte o mancamento d'alcuno di entrar nella vece di quel tale che morisse e per altro accidente venesse a mancare. La grazia</p>

	<p>altra che sara degna delle mani di benignita loro, et che m'obligera in perpetuo sara forse anche incetivo al altri lor' sudditi di porsi in sul tal professione per non havere occasione poi col tempo di farli condurre da straniere provincie. Che Nostro Signore le felicit.</p>
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