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## The career of the “most excellent” Bolognese Paolo Cavalieri\*

Among the fifteen «eccellentissimi musici della città di Bologna» [most excellent *musici* in the city of Bologna], gathered in the 1590 anthology *Le gemme*,<sup>1</sup> Paolo Cavalieri is represented by a whole two compositions, confirming the prestige he enjoyed among the circle of already well-known Bolognese polyphony authors in the second half of the 16th century.

The earliest biographical information about him can be found in a few accounting records from the S. Petronio Musical Chapel (cash registers). These contain entries for occasional money grants from the “Fabbrica” or

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\* This text is drawn from my BA dissertation in Music Studies entitled *Il Primo Libro de Madrigali a cinque voci (1585) di Paolo Cavalieri*, which I defended at Scuola di Lettere e Beni culturali of Alma Mater Studiorum – Bologna University, during the academic year 2017-2018, under the supervision of Professors Cesarino Ruini and Mauro Casadei Turrone Monti, to whom I am grateful. The edition of *Primo libro di madrigali a cinque voci* by Paolo Cavalieri, which I edited, is currently in print.

The following acronyms are used: ASP (Archivio della Fabbriceria di S. Petronio di Bologna); I-Bas (Archivio di Stato di Bologna); I-Bc (Museo internazionale e biblioteca della musica di Bologna); I-Bca (Biblioteca comunale dell'Archiginnasio di Bologna); I-Bgd (Archivio generale arcivescovile di Bologna); DBI (*Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Roma, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960 - ...); New Grove (*The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, London, Macmillan, 2nd edition, 2001); Nuovo Vogel (*Bibliografia della musica italiana vocale profana pubblicata dal 1500 al 1700*, 3 voll., edited by Emil Vogel, Alfred Einstein, François Lesure, Claudio Sartori, Pomezia-Ginevra, Staderini-Minkoff, 1977); RISM *Recueils* (Répertoire International des Sources Musicales, Serie B/I: *Recueils imprimés XVI<sup>e</sup> –XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, I, München-Duisburg, Henle, 1960).

<sup>1</sup> *Le gemme. Madrigali a cinque de diversi eccellentissimi musici della città di Bologna*, Milan, Eredi di Simon Tini, 1590<sup>13</sup>: cfr. Nuovo Vogel, p. 349. See also the extensive study by FRANCO PIPERNO, *Gli “eccellentissimi musici della città di Bologna”. Con uno studio sull'antologia madrigalistica del Cinquecento*, Florence, Olschki, 1985, pp. 63-93. *Le gemme* consists of 21 pieces written by different polyphony composers from Bologna, which have come to us incomplete (the Bass voice is missing). Copies of it are kept at the Municipal Library in Lodi (C, A, T), Berkeley University (A) and at the British Library (Q).

“Fabbriceria” to him,<sup>2</sup> which show that Paolo Cavalieri<sup>3</sup> first entered the “schola” of the Basilica<sup>4</sup> as a cleric in August 1571. Here he studied grammar and singing for free, and began his training, which was to have a major impact on his career as a church singer, composer and theologian. This appears extraordinary, even for his epoch.

Following the papal bull issued by Eugene IV, dated October 4, 1436, clerics had to be born from a legitimate marriage, in the city of Bologna or at least its diocese, they had to be between ten and fifteen years of age, and show no physical defects.<sup>5</sup> Because his birth date does not appear on baptismal records, this document helps determine that the Cavalieri from Bologna must have been born ten or eleven years earlier at the most (1559-1560).<sup>6</sup> What is instead certain is the name of his father: Giacomo Cavalieri (Jacobi de Cavaleriis), as shown by a notary deed by Domenico Castellani<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> OSVALDO GAMBASSI, *La cappella musicale di S. Petronio. Maestri, organisti, cantori e strumentisti dal 1436 al 1920*, Firenze, Olschki, 1987, p. 10, note 3; GAETANO GASPARI, *Zibaldone musicale di memorie, documenti, estratti di opere stampate e manoscritte, lettere, autografi, ecc., in gran parte per servir di materiali alla storia, alla biografia, e alla bibliografia della musica - Libro di spese della fabrica 1568 al 1585*, manuscript in I-Bc, UU.12/4, pp. 68, 69, 70, 72, 73 and 74. Gaetano Gaspari faithfully records all donations, which Paolino received over his training years at S. Petronio as an acknowledgement of his singing talent, and of a worth that was beyond his years.

<sup>3</sup> In the various documents consulted, both manuscript and print, the name “Paolo” and the family name “Cavalieri” are variously spelt. The following are the spellings used in Italian and Latin: Paolino Cavalieri, Paulino Cavalieri, Paulus Cauallerius, Paulus Cavalerius, Paolo Cavaglieri, Paolo Cavallieri, Paulus de’ Cavalerijs, Paulo Cavaliero, Paolo Cavalier, Paulus Cavalirius, Paulus Cavalierus, Paulus Caballerius, Paulo Cavalino, Paulus Cavalarius, Paulus Cavallaris.

<sup>4</sup> For a long time, the basilica of S. Petronio housed one of the most prestigious musical institutions, not just in the city but in the whole country: the musical chapel, which arose during the 15th century, and disappeared on the threshold of the 20th century. Cfr.Cfr. OSCAR MISCHIATI, *La cappella musicale e il suo archivio*, in *La Basilica di San Petronio in Bologna*, edited by Luciano Bellosi, II, Bologna, Fondazione Cassa di Risparmio in Bologna, 2003<sup>2</sup>, pp. 323-330: 323.

<sup>5</sup> OSVALDO GAMBASSI, *La scuola dei “Pueri cantores” in S. Petronio (1436 - 1880 ca.)*, «Note d’archivio per la storia musicale», n.s., III, 1985, p. 11.

<sup>6</sup> The following documents were consulted: I-Bca, ms. B.857: BALDASSARRE CARRATI, *Indici battesimali 1550-1559*, ff. 78, 110, 120, 132, 135, 177, 197, 202, 223; and ms. B.858: *Indici battesimali 1560-1569*, ff. 17, 20, 47, 57, 63, 81, 90, 115, 157, 196.

<sup>7</sup> Domenico Castellani, born in Bologna on March 6 1551, died in Bologna possibly after 1608, and served in Bologna’s «Collegio de’ Notari» in 1573. The following year he moved to Rome as a notary of the Roman curia, where he served until 1580. Upon his

dated 1587.<sup>8</sup>

In 1574 Paolino,<sup>9</sup> still a boy, was appointed singer at the musical chapel (his role in the vocal section is not specified). His duty was to recite the divine offices in the choir and enter the choir stalls wearing the clerical vestments, namely a surplice and beret. In the *pueri cantores* school he learned how to sing psalms, verses and antiphons, joining the canons and *mansionari* in their daily choral mass service, vespers and canonical hours.<sup>10</sup> The young Cavalieri certainly took part in the solemn events on major festivals of the liturgical year, in the presence of the highest authorities of Bologna's city government. For these activities, he received a monthly salary of two lire, which in time grew to three times as much.<sup>11</sup>

What emerges from the S. Petronio documents is that during the first year of his education, Cavalieri was assigned to a musical group comprising a vocal section of 27 singers, and an instrumental accompaniment consisting in an organ, a trombone and a cornet,<sup>12</sup> under the direction of *magister cantus*<sup>13</sup>

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return to Bologna, in 1590 he was appointed chancellor of the City senate. Cfr. GIOVANNI FANTUZZI, *Notizie degli scrittori bolognesi*, IX, Bologna, Stamperia S. Tommaso d'Aquino, 1794, p. 83 f.

<sup>8</sup> I-Bas, Notarile, Castellani, Domenico, 6/6, Atti di legittimazione e privilegi, Reg. A (1371): «Registrum A. Beneficialium Actorum Capituli Ecclesiae Metropolitanæ Bononiæ ab anno 1586 ad 1590. Rogitum Dominici Castellani Cancellarii», April 8, 1587.

<sup>9</sup> In the payment orders contained in the *Libri di spese* of the S. Petronio chapel, Paolo Cavalieri is mentioned under the name Paolino Cavalieri, as a "chierico e cantore" [cleric and singer], in the years 1574-75, 1577, 1579-82. Cfr. Archivio della Fabbriceria di S. Petronio, Bologna, file no. 559/2, Cash registers «Mandatorum depositario», 1568-1585.

<sup>10</sup> GAMBASSI, *La scuola dei "Pueri cantores"* cit., p. 7.

<sup>11</sup> GAETANO GASPARI, *La storia dell'arte musicale in Bologna al XVI secolo*, in «Atti e Memorie della Regia Deputazione di Storia Patria per le provincie di Romagna», I/2, 1875, p. 124. Cfr. Archivio della Fabbriceria di S. Petronio, Bologna, file no. 559/2, cit., from f. 48r onwards. The register, which bears the writing «Libro di spese della Fabbrica» on its spine, shows the gradual salary raise offered to Paolino Cavalieri, from 1 lira to 6 lire, as well as yearly grants of 8-10 lire. Only one gap of about 9 months exists between October 1573 and June 1574 (ff. 76v-89r).

<sup>12</sup> GAMBASSI, *La cappella musicale di S. Petronio* cit., pp. 83, 86 and 87.

<sup>13</sup> The *magister's* task was to teach singing daily for one hour and a half to two. His lessons were paid for by a grant from the capitular or episcopal *mensa*, or revenue office, and he could not claim any payment from his pupils, who could therefore benefit from free instruction: cfr. OSVALDO GAMBASSI, «*Pueri cantores*» *nelle cattedrali d'Italia tra Medioevo e età moderna*, Florence, Olschki, 1997, p. 61. Until the last years of the 16th century, the title *maestro di cappella* coincided with that of *maestro di canto*: cfr. GAMBASSI, *La scuola dei "Pueri cantores"* cit., p. 8 f.

Stefano Bettini, known as “il Fornarino” [the Baker]. In the following years, 1577-1583, the singing master was Bartolomeo Spontoni and the number of singers grew to include 38 voices:<sup>14</sup> an expansion was necessary in order to perform two-choir pieces, or “a dui chori” *battenti*, (*responsiva ac alternata* music), which had become very popular.<sup>15</sup>

The papal bull does not specify what genre of singing the clerics should be taught, that is, whether they had to be instructed only in Gregorian canto “fermo” or also in the unwritten counterpoint practices on canto fermo, as well as in canto “figurato”, or measured polyphony. According to Oscar Mischiati, the latter hypothesis is the most likely, for it ensured that parts of the office and mass could be performed in polyphonic form, especially at the most important festivals, such as Saint Petronio’s.<sup>16</sup> It is therefore plausible that during the same period, besides his duties for the liturgical service, Cavalieri had also been introduced to the study of counterpoint and polyphony.

After reaching puberty, and having lost the typical child register, Paolino continued to serve at the basilica in the male ranks of the musical chapel. This allowed him to put to use the knowledge he had acquired during his school and choral practice training.<sup>17</sup> In the last years he spent at S. Petronio, Cavalieri appears in documents with the title “don”, indicating that he had begun his ecclesiastical career (in 1580 he received orders of exorcist),<sup>18</sup> and from December 30, 1582 his name stopped being included in the «mensuali mandati», or monthly payments.<sup>19</sup> From this moment on, the sources are silent about him for two years.

On december 20, 1584 Cavalieri dedicated to Cavalier Michele Bonelli Ghislieri, born Carlo Antonio Bonelli, and known as “Cardinale

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<sup>14</sup> GAMBASSI, *La cappella musicale di S. Petronio* cit., p. 294.

<sup>15</sup> During the most solemn ceremonies, the *schola cantorum* of S. Petronio clerics was enhanced, not only by the organ of the Basilica and the soloist (often foreign) singers, but also by the instrumentalists of the so-called “concerto palatino”: pipes, trumpets and *trombetti* created an evocative, expanded setting which symbolized the highlight of the religious and civil institutional life of the bolognese community.

<sup>16</sup> MISCHIATI, *La cappella musicale e il suo archivio* cit., p. 323.

<sup>17</sup> GAMBASSI, *La scuola dei “Pueri cantores”* cit., p. 20.

<sup>18</sup> I-Bgd, *Liber Promotionum Ordinationum et Functionum pro R. D. Archipraesbitero Bononiensi 1571* (from 1571 to 1592), f. 31v. In the church order, the ‘minor orders’ included: readers, chanters, ostiaries, exorcists and acolytes; among the ‘major orders’ were subdeacons and deacons. Cfr. GAMBASSI, «*Pueri cantores*» cit., note 8 p. 14.

<sup>19</sup> GASPARI, *La storia dell’arte musicale in Bologna al XVI secolo* cit., p. 125, note 1.

Alessandrino”,<sup>20</sup> his *Primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci*, which was printed the following year.<sup>21</sup> The dedication expressly mentions a favour that the composer apparently obtained from the cardinal, having to do with the Chapter of the San Pietro cathedral.<sup>22</sup> According to Gaetano Gaspari, this

<sup>20</sup> Born in Bosco, in the province of Alessandria, on November 25, 1541, he was named Antonio, in honour of his maternal great-uncle Antonio Ghislieri (a family originally from Bologna), who had become Pope Pius V in 1566. He entered the Dominican order in Rome in 1560 under the name fra' Michele, and was appointed “cardinal nipote”, or cardinal-nephew, on March 6, 1566, in place of Cardinal Carlo Borromeo. He was also assigned many diplomatic missions as a papal legate in France, Spain and Portugal from 1571 onwards. In 1591 he was appointed cardinal-bishop of Albano. He died in Rome, at the age of 57, on April 1, 1598, and was buried in the Church of S. Maria sopra Minerva. Cfr. ADRIANO PROSPERI, *Bonelli, Michele*, in DBI, 11, 1969, p. 766 ff. and <[https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/michele-bonelli\\_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/michele-bonelli_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/)> [accessed 13 January 2019].

<sup>21</sup> PAOLO CAVALIERI, *Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci*, Venice, Giacomo Vincenzi & Ricciardo Amadino, 1585. There are two print copies of this collection, which have been handed down integrally, including all five partbooks, and are kept in Italy (Museo internazionale e biblioteca della musica, Bologna, accession number: R.400) and in Sweden (Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek, Utl. vok. mus. Tr 336-340). To these must be added the manuscript score version of the only Italian print witness, written by Bolognese composer and organist Giuseppe Busi in the second half of the 19th century (when he was a counterpoint teacher at the Bologna Music College), kept at Museo internazionale e biblioteca della musica in Bologna (accession number: SG.H.II.15). For more in-depth information about Giuseppe Busi, cfr. GIOVANNI MASUTTO, *I maestri di musica italiani del secolo XIX*, III, Venice, Cecchini, 1882, p. 32.

<sup>22</sup> The following is the text of the dedication: «All'illustrissimo e reverendissimo signor mio Padron Colendissimo, il signor Cardinale Alessandrino. Essendo io stato sforzato (Illustrissimo e Reverendissimo Signore) da una istanza amorevole d'amici a mandar fuori questi primi miei madrigali, non m'è occorso andar molto pensando a chi debba dedicarli, poiché non ho Padrone a quale più mi trovi obbligato, che a V.S. Illustrissima e Reverendissima, essendomi da lei venuto questo efficace favore appresso il molto Reverendo Capitolo di questa Cattedrale, per il quale posso al suo tempo sperare utile e onore. A lei sola dunque ero io debitore di drizzarli, per darle qualche piccolo segno della molta mia gratitudine e devozione verso lei. Il che tanto più prontamente faccio, sapendo io che la naturale sua benignità, solita a riguardare agli animi più che agli effetti, si degnerà gradirli, se ben per loro stessi poco degni del nome e della protezione di lei, alla quale riverentemente m'inchino e dono in perpetua servitù. Di Bologna il dì 20 dicembre 1584. Di V.S. Illustrissima e Reverendissima. Devotissimo e obbligatissimo servo, Paolo Cavalieri» [To my most illustrious, most reverend Lord, and highly esteemed Master, signor Cardinale Alessandrino. Having been compelled (o Most Illustrious, Most Reverend Lord), at loving behest of friends, to bring out these very first madrigals of mine, it did not take me much thinking as to whom I should dedicate them, since I do not have a Master to whom I feel

musical homage seems to testify to Cavalieri’s deference towards the eminent cardinal, with the aim of propitiating his own appointment as a *mansionario*, a beneficed clergyman with a guaranteed income, of S. Pietro,<sup>23</sup> given that the *mansioneria* title was only assigned to people whose abilities and skills were deemed adequate to the remarkable position they would hold.<sup>24</sup> However, considering the tone of the dedication, it also cannot be ruled out that it was meant to repay a favour he had already received, namely an easier transition from S. Petronio to S. Pietro.

In 1586 Cavalieri became subdeacon and on April 8, 1587<sup>25</sup> he obtained a prestigious appointment as *mansionario suddiaconale* at the Bologna cathedral of S. Pietro, as reported in the register of appointments to the *mansionario* position: «1587 8 Aprile: D. Paolo Cavalieri nominato dal Capitolo alla mans. suddiac. vacata per morte di D. Ercole Deletti» [1587 8 April: D. Paolo Cavalieri appointed by the Chapter to the post of mans. suddiac. vacated due to the death of D. Ercole Deletti].<sup>26</sup> Finally, he obtained

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more obliged than you. Therefore I do this all the more promptly, knowing that your natural benignity inclines you to consider the soul’s disposition rather than the effect, and that you will therefore deign to appreciate them, although they in themselves be hardly worthy of the name and protection of you, to whom I reverently bow and offer myself in perpetual servitude. Bologna, December 20th, 1584. The most devoted, most obliged servant of Your Illustrious, Most Reverend Lordship, Paolo Cavalieri].

<sup>23</sup> GAETANO GASPARI, *Catalogo della biblioteca musicale G. B. Martini di Bologna*, III: *Musica vocale profana*, Bologna, Forni, 1961, p. 57 sg.: «Dal principio della dedicatoria può dedursi che intorno a quell’epoca il Cavalieri fosse per diventar mansionario nella nostra cattedrale» [From the opening of the dedication it can be inferred that around that time Cavalieri was about to become mansionario at our cathedral].

<sup>24</sup> The mansionario positions were few and coveted, mainly because they provided a substantial income and a title that ensured higher respectability. The selection was therefore strict, and required perfect theoretical and practical knowledge of Gregorian chant, as well as of polyphony. Cfr. GAMBASSI, *La scuola dei “Pueri cantores”* cit., p. 23.

<sup>25</sup> Cfr. I-Bgd, *Liber secretus III* (binder 65), ff. 12s, 12d, 13s, 13d (the letter “s,” for sinistra, indicates that the pagination distinguishes the numbers of folios between left/right instead of the traditional recto/verso): on April 9, 1587 a first convocation of the canons took place. On May 26 Cavalieri was admitted to practice *mansioneria suddiaconale*; on June 20, Cavalieri submitted his apostolic letter. On June 23, having obtained the bull that allowed him to proceed, he was welcomed to the *mansioneria*, where he took the customary oath. It is worth noting that the apostolic letter and the bull, both from Rome, were generally reserved for appointments of some note. The procedure was most likely initiated by cardinal Bonelli himself.

<sup>26</sup> I-Bgd, Mansionarie - Nomine, folder 94, file 4. Ercole Deletti was rector of the parish of S. Matteo delle Pescherie, a priest at Consorzio di Porta Ravegnana and at Consorzio

a deaconship (1587) and a presbyterate (1588)<sup>27</sup>, and thus completed his ecclesiastical career.<sup>28</sup>

The register of mansionari appointments makes reference to the deed written by notary Domenico Castellani,<sup>29</sup> which contains the full description of the ritual, including the oath ceremony. Paolo Cavalieri accepted the office of *mansionario suddiacono*, walked up to the main altar, said the oration while kneeling down, kissed both sides of the altar, the chandeliers, tablecloths and cross. Then, after the bell rang and the choir door opened, don Paolo took a seat in his stall, on the right side of the choir, that of the archdeacon. All this was done as a token of true acceptance of the *mansioneria* and of all things pertaining to the office.<sup>30</sup>

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maggiore di S. Pietro, a subdeaconal *mansionario* from 1574 to 1587 at S. Pietro cathedral: cfr. I-Bas, Notarile, Cattani, Lorenzo, 7/19, 1574-1575; I-Bgd, *Liber secretus II* (binder 64), f. 126r, 30 July 1574; f. 126v, 17 August and 7 October 1574; I-Bgd, Archivio consorziale del clero urbano di Bologna, Consorzio di Porta Ravennana, Documents II/A – 5°-252, 13 January 1578; II/A – 5°-255, 31 July 1582; I-Bgd, Atti frammentari del Foro arcivescovile, 9, deed by Lorenzo Cattani, 4 September 1581.

<sup>27</sup> Cfr. I-Bgd, *Liber Promotionum Ordinationum et Functionum pro R. D. Archipraesbitero Bononiensi 1571* (1571 to 1592), ff. 31v, 91v.

<sup>28</sup> Following GASPARI, *La storia dell'arte musicale in Bologna al XVI secolo* cit., p. 125, the most reliable biographies of Paolo Cavalieri (e.g.: New Grove, 5, p. 301; *Dizionario enciclopedico universale della musica e dei musicisti*, edited by Alberto Basso: *Le biografie*, II, Torino, UTET, 1990, p. 161; *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Personenteil*, 4, Kassel-Stuttgart, Bärenreiter-Metzler, 2000, p. 472) erroneously give 1582 as the year of his priestly ordination. Indeed, his is a fairly unusual case, since he became subdeaconal *mansionario* at Bologna's S. Pietro cathedral (April 6, 1587), even before being ordained as a priest (1588).

<sup>29</sup> I-Bgd, Mansionarie - Nomine, folder 94, file 3: «1587 8 Aprile Paolo Cavalieri rog.º Domenico Castellani. Copia [libro secreto] no. 3 fol. 12 [filza] 29 no. 5. Died Sud.º li 3 Febbrajo 1614, as in Libro Secreto del Consorcio Segn. † fol. 80».

<sup>30</sup> I-Bas, Notarile, Castellani, Domenico, 6/6, Atti di legittimazione e privilegi, Reg. A (Registrum Beneficialium Actorum Capituli Ecclesiae Metropolitanæ Bononiæ ab anno 1586 ad 1590. Rogitum Dominici K\*ni [Castellani] Cancellarii, A [8 Aprils 1587]), c 36v: «... venerabilis vir dominus Ioannes Baptista de Cisiis, Presbyter Bononiæ sacrista Metropolitanæ ecclesiae Bononiæ, commissarius in hac parte Reverendissimorum dominorum Canonorum et Capituli ecclesiae præfatae, [...] dominum Paulum duxit apud altare maius ecclesiae præfatae ac ibi, debita oratione omnipotenti Deo genibus flexis devote facta, et dicto altari, præmisso signo Sancta Crucis, reverenter deosculato, cornua, candelabra, tobaleas et Crucem altaris præfati in eiusdem domini Pauli manibus posuit eumque illa tangere et amovere, hostiumque et campanam chori ecclesiae præfatae aliquantulum sonare et claudere, ac aperire, et in novissimo stallo a dextris dicti chori, videlicet a latere domini Archidiaconi ecclesiae præfatae stare ac sedere, aliosque actus necessarios, et in similibus fieri

As a mansionario he had to fulfil the duties required by his position: celebrate a set number of votive masses during the year, provide assistance and service during the sacred celebrations, the sung performance of the choral officiation (which was staggered over the course of the day according to the different canonical hours), and take part in the conventual mass.<sup>31</sup> From a document, again by notary Castellani, we learn that don Paolo Cavalieri was a mansionario “prebendato”, which means he received an annuity of 48 bolognese lire from the land assigned to his office and subsequently leased.<sup>32</sup> Paolo held this post until his death, taking up residence in Santa Lucia college.<sup>33</sup>

In the accounting books kept at Archivio arcivescovile di Bologna we find the payments that were made to Paolo Cavalieri as a rector of the subdeaconal *mansioneria* of the Bolognese cathedral,<sup>34</sup> especially at the main religious festivals of the liturgical year, particularly in December.<sup>35</sup> The yearly orders

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consuetos facere fecit, prout sic ipse illos fecit in signum veri Mansionarii, ac veræ, realisque et actualis tenutæ corporalisque possessionis Mansionariæ præfatæ ac eidem annexorum iuriumque et pertinentiarum eiusdem quoruncunque qua tenuta, et corporali possessione adepta statim præfatus dominus Paulus coram testibus et me notario infrascriptis protestatus est se velle præfatam mansionariam eiusque bona, res et iura unita, et perinentia universas non solum animo sed etiam corpore de cetero tenere ac possidere velle petiitque publicum de præfatis per me notarium confici instrumentum ...».

<sup>31</sup> Cfr. *La cappella musicale nell'Italia della Controriforma*, edited by Oscar Mischiati and Paolo Russo («Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi nel IV Centenario di fondazione della Cappella Musicale di S. Biagio di Cento»), Florence, Olschki, 1993, p. VII.

<sup>32</sup> Cfr. I-Bas, Demaniale, 234/421, Campioni 2 Instrumenti 1586-1616, deed by Domenico Castellani, 26 March 1588, f. 26v f.: «Aprobatio locationis D. Pauli Cavalerij»; cfr. I-Bas, Notarile, Castellani, Domenico, 6/6, ff. 122r-122v: «Ratificatio Capituli locationis factæ per D. Paulum Cavalerium Do. Jo: Baptistæ Locatello». Subsequently, on 23 May 1592, Paolo Cavalieri leased to Ercole Locatelli part of the land belonging to his mansioneria, according to an assignment under a release agreement [assegnazione con patto di francare] stipulated in 1574 in favour of don Giuseppe Calandrino, then rector of the mansioneria: cfr. I-Bas, Notarile, Castellani, Domenico, 6/6, ff. 72v-74v.

<sup>33</sup> I-Bas, Notarile, Castellani, Domenico, 6/6, f. 74v. In 1779, father Martini also drew up a list of the mansionari of S. Pietro who had followed each other up to then, mentioning «D. Paulij Cavallerius». Cfr. I-Bc, *Carteggio di G.B. Martini*, ms. H.63.66, f. 82.

<sup>34</sup> I-Bas, Demaniale, 247/2041, Miscellany regarding canon and mansioneria prebends for 17th-18th centuries. 8 April 1587 is the date of the bull of Capitolo di S. Pietro which assigns Paolo Cavalieri a deaconal mansioneria, not a subdeaconal one, as reported in all other sources quoted in the notes.

<sup>35</sup> I-Bgd, Archivio capitolare di S. Pietro, Contabilità varia, folder 46, file 3. From 1591 to 1598 we find as many as 55 payments, both nominative and miscellaneous, in amounts from



of payment document regular attendance by Cavalieri, who was assigned an average *prebenda mansionaria* [benefit] compared to his other colleagues. On extraordinary occasions, special prebends were paid out in the form of unspecified “corbi” and “nappi” [jars], or even “castellate” [barrels] of white grape,<sup>36</sup> harvested from the leased land.

An analysis of the above mentioned orders reveals that the size of the prebend varied according to two main factors: greater or lesser commitment, and rank. Next to Cavalieri, we can indeed notice members of Bologna’s senatorial families, who were often granted the highest prebends,<sup>37</sup> on account of the different treatment given to noblemen (who belonged to the canon community) and non noblemen (whose highest possible aspiration was to become *mansionari*). It can therefore be inferred that Paolo Cavalieri, who never received the highest prebend, was not from a high-ranking family, yet even though he came from a family of modest origins, he obtained all possible accolades for his abilities and commitment.<sup>38</sup>

The importance of his role is confirmed by many documents, in which he appears as a member of Consorzio maggiore della Metropolitana di S. Pietro,<sup>39</sup> where he fulfilled «molti obblighi e gravezze d’Anniversarij, e Messe

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1 lira to about 194 lire.

<sup>36</sup> I-Bgd, Contabilità varia, 46/3, cit., c. 240v, payment no. 206, «† Adi ∞ ottobri 1597». The reverends with the highest titles received twice or even three times the predetermined quantity of grape (whose value was equivalent to 1 lira 20). Cavalieri was among those who only received one batch of grape.

<sup>37</sup> I-Bgd, Contabilità varia, 46/3, cit., f. 17r, payment no. 29, «† Adi 31 xbri 1591». The following names stand out: Calderini, Caprara, Malaguti, Malvezzi, Sampieri and Bolognetti. As we can see, they are granted a generous prebend, the equivalent of 11 corbi, while the other priests (including Cavalieri) are assigned a lower prebend of «corbi 3 e nappi 10».

<sup>38</sup> Cfr. GAMBASSI, «*Pueri cantores*» cit., p. 55. Children from humble families could enjoy free access to cultural education, which would otherwise be denied to them given their lack of financial means. This is why Paolo Cavalieri, having no noble ancestry, could not aspire to hold offices higher than that of mansionario, but nonetheless achieved the highest rank allowed to a man of his status, entering the Chapter of the city cathedral and supporting himself almost solely from the income from his prebends.

<sup>39</sup> The Consorzio Maggiore di S. Pietro had nothing in common with the four city clergymen associations, but gathered the Bolognese clergy that served at the cathedral: 20 beneficed chaplains, twelve mansionari and the sacrist. Cfr. I-Bgd, Archivio capitolare di S. Pietro, Consorzio Maggiore di S. Pietro, no. 250 (Miscellanea), 14 January 1591; I-Bgd, Cancellerie vecchie, Collazioni no. 261 (H199) 4, file 2, year 1593, deed no. 187 by Francesco Barbadori. As of 30 August 1593, the name Paolo Cavalieri appears in a list of ten mansionari of Bologna’s metropolitan church.

da sodisfare in varie Chiese della Città» [many obligations and festivities for Anniversaries, and Masses to be performed in various Churches of the City].<sup>40</sup> From the year 1600, for example, his name appears on payments received for *prima messa*<sup>41</sup> and for “floriana”,<sup>42</sup> complemented by a table of points assigned yearly.<sup>43</sup> Connected to the mansioneria suddiaconale was an obligation to perform one mass a week, for which, in case of a dispensation, he would have to pay the Fabbrica di S. Pietro eight lire, thirteen soldi and four denari on the feast of San Michele.<sup>44</sup> From 1594 to 1613 his name appears<sup>45</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Cfr. ANTONIO MASINI, *Bologna perlustrata*, Bologna, for the heir to Vittorio Benacci, 1666, p. 280.

<sup>41</sup> I-Bgd, Consorzio maggiore di S. Pietro, no. 230, Massarie from 1600 to 1614, ff. 38v and 39r (year 1600), 81v and 82r (1601), 84v, 85rv, 86rv and 87r (1601), 118v and 119r (1602), 165v and 166r (1603), 193v (1604), 406v (1612), 427v (1613), 453v and 455v (1614). This may be the first mass on a minor festival day, when several mansionari could also act as celebrants, in the absence of a higher-ranking priest.

<sup>42</sup> MARIO FANTI, *Esperienze esemplificative italiane del rapporto tra documentazione archivistica e pastorale: Bologna*, in «Archiva Ecclesiae», 43-44, 2000-2001, p. 174. The term “floriana” referred to points assigned according to mansionari offices. However, it is unclear what the office in question was. Floriana may be a word from the local jargon, referring to the Bolognese tradition of celebrating “Decennali eucaristiche” or “Addobbi”, which took place in all parishes of the city every ten years. Cfr. I-Bgd, Consorzio maggiore di S. Pietro, no. 230, cit., ff. 44v and 45r (year 1600), 77v, 88v and 89r (1601), 126v and 127r (1602), 409v (1612), 427v and 430v (1613), 455v (1614). In the first two folios, Cavalieri receives a medium-high prebend for the duty recorded in the «florianæ tabula» of the year 1600 (899 points, the equivalent of 38 lire, 6 scudi and 5 denari).

<sup>43</sup> I-Bgd, Consorzio maggiore di S. Pietro - no. 230 Massarie, ff. 38rv, 44v, 45r, 51v, 77v, 81v, 82r, 84v, 85rv, 86rv, 87r, 88v, 89r, 99r, 118v, 119r, 126v, 127r, 165v, 166r, 193v, 194r, 368v, 406v, 409v, 427v, 430v, 435v and 455rv. In f. 455v we find the last entry for a payment made to him: «Nota delli danari pagati alli RR.di consorziali per la p.ma Messa l'anno 1614 | D. Paulo Cavalieri p.16 £ 11-1 ---». Regular attendance of divine offices was acknowledged through the assignment of a monthly score, which involved a different wage. In this case, points range from a maximum of 1045 in 1603 to a minimum of 16 in 1614. Still, it is worth noting that the list of names for the ministers serving at Consorzio di S. Pietro (about 32-35 priests) did not follow a ranking/salary order, but hierarchical criteria determined by seniority: from 1600 to 1614, Cavalieri indeed went from status n. 12 to n. 3, with one exception, recorded on the year of his death (no. 33 of 35).

<sup>44</sup> I-Bgd, Campioni della tabularia di S. Pietro no. 307, letter DD (1587), ff. 12r and 12v; letter EE (1588), ff. 9r and 9v.

<sup>45</sup> «R. D. Paulus Cavalerius Sacrae Theologiae Doctor». In the Bologna school, the term *doctor* was initially used as a synonym of *magister* and *dominus*. This is why in sources the name of Cavalieri is associated with the following synonymous expressions: “Sacrae Theolog. Magister”, “Sacrae Pagine Doctor”, “Theolog. Facul.tis Doctor”.

among the «RR. DD. Consortialium S.ti Petri» who were witnesses to public documents recorded in the deeds for various lawsuits,<sup>46</sup> purchases,<sup>47</sup> long-term leases<sup>48</sup> and other notarial documents.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Cfr. I-Bas, Demaniale, 142/329, Capitolo di S. Pietro – Processi del Consorzio di S. Pietro 1363-1595, lawsuit no. 9 against Antonio Gabella and Melchior Rizzoli, December 14, 1594, deed by Cesare Montecalvi, ff. 51r-58v; I-Bas, Demaniale 144/331, Capitolo di S. Pietro – Processi del Consorzio di S. Pietro 1597-1625, lawsuit no. 16 against Giacomo Romanzi, 19 October, 1602, deed by Annibale Ostesani, ff. 44r-48v; lawsuit no.18 against Giacomo Bucchi, 17 July, 1608, deed by Vittorio Barbadori, ff. 33v-38r; lawsuit no. 19 against Gio. Locatelli, 13 March, 1613, deed by Pirro Belliossi, ff. 5v-11r. Cfr. also I-Bgd, *Liber secretus III* cit., ff. 88r, 88v and 89r (27 and 29 October, 5 November 1604), deeds by Pirro Belliossi and Tiberio Castellani. In regard to this document it is worth noting that Paolo Cavalieri stands out in a list of 23 ministers as one of three sacred theology doctors: «Paulus Cavalerius, Bern.us Bensingatus, Laurentius Vecchius Sac. Theolog. Doct.».

<sup>47</sup> Cfr. I-Bas, Demaniale, 182/369, Istrumenti e scritture del Consorzio di S. Pietro 1317-1785, Libro E, nos. 46 (24 February, 1596), 48 (19 December, 1596), 49 (18 January, 1597), 50 (21 February, 1597), 51 (31 January, 1598), 52 (14 August, 1598); I-Bas, Demaniale, 183/370, Istrumenti e scritture del Consorzio di S. Pietro, Libro F, nos. 1 (8 May, 1600), 6 (1 June, 1602), 7 (2 January, 1603), 8 (3 March, 1603), 13 (12 January, 1604), 18 (29 January, 1605) and 32 (28 April, 1609). These deeds were all drawn up by notary Girolamo Folchi and contain the name «R. D. Paulus Cavalirius Sac. Theol. Doc.» as a member of the presbyter association of Bologna's S. Pietro cathedral.

<sup>48</sup> Cfr. I-Bas, Demaniale, 182/369, deeds by Girolamo Folchi, libro E, nos. 54 (31 July, 1599) and 55 (24 November, 1599); I-Bas, Demaniale, 183/370, deeds by Girolamo Folchi, libro F, nos. 9 and 10 (27 September, 1603), 14 (13 July, 1604), 15 (15 October, 1604), 19 (9 November, 1605) and 29 (10 February, 1609); I-Bgd, Archivio Capitolare di S. Pietro, Consorzio maggiore di S. Pietro, no. 236 (accounts from 1527 to 1630), f. 166r: «Adi 5 di Maggio [1604] £ 4 e soldi dieci di q.ni dati al S.r Procu.re d'ordine del S.r Provosto et Con.ne per haver notato le positioni nella causa del sagristano, et per haver veduto insieme a M. D. Paolo Cavalier e M. D. Giobatta Passanti deputati le positioni prodotte da esso sagristano contro li Consortiali» [Today 5 May [1604] £ 4 and ten soldi paid to S.r Procu.re d'ordine del S.r Provosto et Con.ne for having written down the positions in the lawsuits of the sacristan, and for having considered along with the appointed M. D. Paolo Cavalier and M. D. Giobatta Passanti the positions produced by said sacristan against the Consortiali]. Cfr. also I-Bgd, Archivio capitolare di S. Pietro, Consorzio maggiore di S. Pietro, no. 207 - Miscellanea di Congregazioni e Consorzio, deeds by Pirro Belliossi (27 October, 1604, 3 November, 1604); I-Bas, Notarile Vittorio Barbadori, H (1607-1610) f. 152v and M (1609-1611) ff. 174rv and 176r; I-Bas, Campione del Consortio di S. Pietro 1567-1717, no. 199/386, from f. 84v (17 November, 1595) to f. 137r (2 October, 1613).

<sup>49</sup> Cfr. I-Bas, Demaniale, 183/370, Capitolo di S. Pietro, Libro F, nos. 25 (barter, 17 March 1607), 35-37 (transfer, 4 and 23 January 1610), 43 (Promissione, 29 December, 1610). Cfr. also I-Bgd, *Liber secretus III* cit., ff. 88r («Die XXIX octobris 1604, die Veneris»), 88v («Die vigesima septima Octobris 1604») and 89r («Die tertia 9bris 1604»), which records

The rules of conduct prescribed by the Chapter concerning mansionari, canons, chaplains, sacrists and clerics of the Cathedral were very rigorous, and even provided for penalties of different degrees («i sacerdoti saranno sotto pena ad arbitrio nostro ma al tempo suo») [the ministers will be subject to penalty at our discretion but in due time],<sup>50</sup> depending on the different forms of negligence or on-compliance.<sup>51</sup> Not even the virtuous Cavalieri managed to avoid transgression of this strict clerical system, based on an absolute, unwavering compliance with a long list of duties and prohibitions. A few years after his appointment as mansionario, there is a report of an episode in which he was banned from «daily distribution» because, having refused to sing in the choir and at the lectern, he had been replaced by cleric Cristoforo Frattamusa, who was paid a salary of three lire monthly (the equivalent of a mansionario income).<sup>52</sup> The reason for Cavalieri's refusal is not explained, but the ban was called off after a few days.<sup>53</sup>

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a quarrel between the sacristan and the Consorzio over the distribution on the anniversary of the dead of the Chapter, and the payment to the sacristan's cleric helper.

<sup>50</sup> I-Bgd, Consorzio maggiore di S. Pietro, no. 207/5, miscellany of congregazioni and consorzio documents, f. 39r: «Alcuni ordini per il buon governo pacifico stato et salute delle anime de vivi, et morti si del Consortio della Cathedrale come delli quattro Quartieri di Bologna fatti da Mons.re Ill.mo et R.mo Cardinale Paleotti Vescovo conforme alle ordinationi di Mons.re R.mo Visitator Apostolico et anco delle constitutioni de detti consortij publicati sotto di XVII Dicembre M.D.LXXVI» [Rules for the good, peaceful government and the salvation of the souls of the living and the dead, both of Consortio della Cathedrale and of the four Districts of Bologna established by Mons.re Ill.mo et R.mo Cardinale Paleotti Vescovo in keeping with the regulations of Mons.re R.mo Visitator Apostolico and also of the statutes of said consortij published on the day XVII December M.D.LXXVI].

<sup>51</sup> Cfr. GAMBASSI, «Pueri cantores» cit., p. 63, note 28; ELITA MAULE, *La formazione musicale dei chierici della cattedrale di S. Pietro a Bologna: la scuola di canto*, «Quadrivium», V, 1994, pp. 144-160.

<sup>52</sup> I-Bgd, *Liber secretus III* cit., f. 29s: «Die 13 Novembris [1591] Reverendi Canonici suspenderit posito partito et unanimi consensu R.dum d.num Paulum Cavalerium mansionarium ... nolentem cantare in Choro neq. ad Legile à Choro Metropolitanæ, a quotidianis distributionibus per totum annum [...] substituerunt eius loco D.num Christophorum Frattamusam clericum in dicta ecclesia [...]». In this folio, the letter “s”, for sinistra, indicates that the pagination distinguishes the numbers of folios between left/right instead of the traditional recto/verso.

<sup>53</sup> I-Bgd, *Liber secretus III* cit., f. 29s: «Die 22 No.bris [1591] RR.di Can.ci absolverunt et habilitaverunt R.dum D. Paulum Cavallerium, ita ut in pristinum reposuerunt, a dicta suspensione, declararuntque de caetero ipsum fore, et esse, prout erat ante dictam suspensionem».

His theology studies earlier in life, and important posts later earned Cavalieri a prominent ranking within the Bolognese clergy. From a catalogue drawn up by scholar and historian Giovanni Nicolò Alidosi Pasquali (1568-1625), we learn that from 10 February, 1592 «Paolo Cavallieri era nel Collegio di Teologia»,<sup>54</sup> as also documented by the *Catalogo de' Membri dell'antico Collegio Teologico*.<sup>55</sup> He had effectively earned a doctorate in theology on February 20, 1592 under the guidance of a Dominican Father.<sup>56</sup> Having achieved the highest level in theological knowledge,<sup>57</sup> he was suggested for the job of supervisor in the appointment of doctoral students as members of the Civil College,<sup>58</sup> and in 1603 he joined, as a *magister in sacra pagina*,<sup>59</sup> the Sacred Pontifical College,<sup>60</sup> whose theology lectures were traditionally held in churches and convents in Bologna, or in one of the sacresties of S. Pietro

<sup>54</sup> GIOVANNI NICOLÒ ALIDOSI PASQUALI, *I dottori bolognesi di teologia, filosofia, medicina e d'arti liberali dall'anno 1000 per tutto marzo 1623*, Bologna, Nicolò Tebaldini, 1623, p. 163, «Paolo Cauallieri, Mansionario di S. Pietro allo 10 di Febraro 1592. Era nel Collegio di Teologia».

<sup>55</sup> Quoted by archiepiscopal archivist SERAFINO MAZZETTI, *Memorie storiche sopra l'Università e l'Istituto delle scienze di Bologna*, Bologna, Tipografia di S. Tommaso d'Aquino, 1840, p. 325, who describes it as «una cronologia di quanti mai tennero signoria o governo sulla Città e sul territorio bolognese così nello spirituale che nel temporale» [a chronology of all those who ever exercised lordship or rule over the City and territory of Bologna, both in the spiritual and in the secular domain], in which we read: «1592 (10 Febb.) Cavalieri Paolo bolognese, Mans. della Cattedrale».

<sup>56</sup> Cfr. Bologna, Pontificio Seminario Regionale Flaminio “Benedetto XV”, *Acta Collegii Theologici ab anno 1362 ad annum 1824* [manuscript without pressmark], f. 64v.

<sup>57</sup> The long, demanding theology curriculum included a one-year novitiate, three years of literary studies, two years of logic, three of philosophy (physics, psychology, metaphysics) and four years of theology. To obtain a doctorate, along with the title of «maestro in teologia», the candidate had to teach logic, philosophy, and finally theology (first moral, then dogmatic and formal), and sit a final exam as *lector* in Bologna. Cfr. ALFONSO D'AMATO, *I Domenicani e l'Università di Bologna*, Bologna, Edizioni Studio Domenicano, 1988, pp. 353 sg.

<sup>58</sup> I-Bas, Studio, Secret books of Collegio civile, reg. 142, years 1597-1608, ff. 34r-v, «Die 8<sup>a</sup> Julij [1600]». This document shows that Paolo Cavalieri was also an expert on civil law (*Ius Cæsaris*) as well as canon law, or *utroque iure*.

<sup>59</sup> FRANCESCO CAVAZZA, *Le scuole dell'antico studio bolognese*, Milano, Ulrico Hoepli, 1896, p. 37; cfr. I-Bgd, *Liber secretus III* cit., f. 89r: «Die tertia 9bris 1604 [...] Rdo D. Paulo de Cavalieris Sacræ paginæ doctori Mansionario».

<sup>60</sup> I-Bas, Studio bolognese no. 99, memberships from 1603 to 1620, 13 September, 1603: «D. Paulum Cavallaris», ff. 4v and 5r.

cathedral.<sup>61</sup>

In the so-called *Codice bolognese* of the theology faculty of Bologna University, kept at the regional Pontifical seminar, we read that Paolo Cavalieri held high ecclesiastical dignities as “dean” and “promotor” of the Sacred theological College and, in the course of twenty years (from 1592 to 1612) served as a member of the commission that awarded doctoral degrees to candidates belonging to different religious orders, who were then inducted «in nostro Almo collegio».<sup>62</sup> A confirmation of the deep theological knowledge of Paolo Cavalieri comes from an 18th-century writing by Theodoro Eleutherio,<sup>63</sup> who includes him among the theologians who were part of Congregazione *De auxiliis divinae gratiae* towards the end of 1601.<sup>64</sup>

His remarkable clerical career also led him to hold the capitular rank of priest (years 1600-1602), provost (years 1603-1607, 1609, 1610)<sup>65</sup> and

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<sup>61</sup> A provision by the III Lateran Council existed on this matter, according to which a school of theology had to be established at S. Pietro cathedral. To fulfill this requirement, starting from 1587, the archbishop of Bologna Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti had granted in perpetual emphyteusis a few rooms in the archbishopric. Cfr. CAVAZZA, *Le scuole* cit., pp. 144 and 205.

<sup>62</sup> Cfr. Bologna, Pontificio Seminario Regionale Flaminio ..., *Acta Collegii ...* cit., ff. 64<sup>rv</sup>, 65<sup>r</sup>, 67<sup>v</sup>, 68<sup>rv</sup>, 70<sup>v</sup>, 75<sup>r</sup>, 76<sup>v</sup> e 78<sup>v</sup>. In folio 68<sup>v</sup> dated 26 March, 1599 we read: «R. D. Antonius folianus de Bononia fuit doctoratus in sacra Theologia per admodum R. D. Jon: Baptistam ab Horto Canonicum & existente decano R. D. Paulus de Cavalerij's Mansionario Bonon.s Ecc.æ Metropolitanæ». Cfr. also FRANZ EHRLE, *Universitatis Bononiensis Monumenta. I più antichi statuti della facoltà teologica dell'università di Bologna*, I, Bologna, 1983, pp. X-XXX.

<sup>63</sup> Cfr. THEODORO ELEUTHERIO, *Historiae controversiarum de divinae gratiae auxiliis sub summis pontificibus Sixto V Clemente VIII et Paulo V*, Antwerp, Typis Petri Jacobs, 1705, pp. 136-138. On p. 137 we read: «PAULUS CAVALERIUS, Sacrae Theologiae Collegii Bononiensis Doctor». In the oath underwritten by Paolo Cavalieri we read that he, along with several theology doctors of Bologna University, took a stand and embraced the Jesuit version.

<sup>64</sup> This was a ministry established in 1602 by Pope Clement VIII with the aim of rigorously examining the validity or erroneousness of the theological theories formulated by Spanish Jesuit Luis De Molina (1535-1600), around which a heated debate had broken out between Dominican and Jesuit theologians. Cfr. GAETANO MORONI, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica da S. Pietro sino ai nostri giorni*, XVI, Venice, Tipografia Emiliana, 1842, p. 147 f.

<sup>65</sup> I-Bgd, Consorzio maggiore di S. Pietro, no. 230, Massarie from 1600 to 1614, f. 368<sup>v</sup>, 1 October 1610.

prior (1608) of Consorzio di Porta S. Procolo,<sup>66</sup> up to the prestigious rank of president of Congregazione degli Otto (years 1608–1612):<sup>67</sup> «Praepositus quarterij Portae S. Proculi R. D. Paulus Cavaleri sacrae Theolog. Doctor ...»;<sup>68</sup> «R. D. Paulus Cavalerius Sacrae Theologiae Magister octo presidentium clero quarteriorum Civis Bon. Prior». <sup>69</sup> As a prevost prior of the clergy, he also attended the induction ceremony for new consortium members. This included a test to check the singing proficiency of the candidate, who had to intone a preface and sing the «Messa da morto pro' Pluribus Sacerdotibus» [Requiem mass for Many Ministers].<sup>70</sup>

In parallel with his ecclesiastical career,<sup>71</sup> Reverend Cavaleri continued to

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<sup>66</sup> The Consorzio di Porta Procola was one of four consorzi, or districts, that the city of Bologna had been divided into ever since Medieval times: Porta Piera, Porta Ravennate, Porta Procola and Porta Stiera. Each consorzio was led by a triennial prevost, a *massarius*, a *ministralis*, a *depositarius* and a *cantor*. Cfr. I-Bgd, Archivio consorziale del clero urbano di Bologna, Consorzio di Porta Procola, III C3°, Accounts from 1563 to 1609. The frontispiece of the Book of Masseria of the Consorzio di Porta Procola shows the following words: «Mancano li dieci ani dal'Anno 1590 al 1600» [There is a ten-year gap between 1590 and 1600]. See the deeds by notaries Domenico Bergonzoni (5 March, 1596), Paolo Monari (25 February, 1602, 14 June, 1606 and 9 February, 1607), Vittorio Barbadori (28 January, 1609 and 27 October, 1611) and Pompeo Dolfi (7 April, 1612) kept in I-Bgd, Archivio consorziale del clero urbano di Bologna, III A2°, Consorzio di Porta Procola, Documents no. 84-162 from 1590 to 1721.

<sup>67</sup> Starting from the first half of the 16th century, the Congregazione degli Otto was the central ruling body of the four consorzi of the Bolognese clergy, reflecting the peculiar spirit of association that characterized commune society both in the religious and civil sphere. It was formed by two representatives from each consorzio, headed by a prior (*Prior Dominorum Otto*) alternately elected every year by each consorzio. Cfr. *L'Archivio consorziale del clero urbano di Bologna (secoli XI – XX)*, inventory drawn up by Mario Fanti, Bologna, Costa, 2009, pp. 7, 12 e 14.

<sup>68</sup> I-Bgd, Congregazione degli Otto, Documents from 1585 to 1722, Venerabile clero di Bologna, folder V/G 1° 1 Minutes, f. 51v. (1610); cfr. also I-Bgd, Cancellerie vecchie, no. 263 (H/201) 2, deed n° 183 by Vittorio Barbadori on 14 October 1603: «R. D. Paulus Cavalerius Sacrae Theologiae Magister Praepositus quarterij portae S. Proculi».

<sup>69</sup> I-Bgd, Congregazione degli Otto, cit., f. 53v. (1612). Cfr. also I-Bgd, Cancellerie vecchie, Collazioni n. 264 (H/202) 2, year 1608, deed n° 351 by Vittorio Barbadori of 6 November 1608, 10 November 1608 and deed n° 382 of 4 July 1608.

<sup>70</sup> I-Bgd, Congregazione degli Otto, sec. V, class E, no. 3: *Accettazione d'un Consorziale nel Quartiere di Porta Ravegnana*.

<sup>71</sup> Cavaleri's teaching activity in these years contributed to the education of the clergy, following the episcopal programme of Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti, who had set about to institute congregations for cases of conscience, and introduced theology and scripture

practice the musical art, focusing especially on the composition of religious music:<sup>72</sup> some of his psalms and 8-part motets with two choirs<sup>73</sup> belong to a group of scores dating back to the early years of the 17th century. We know little or nothing about the development or origin of these polyphonic manuscripts. According to a reasonable hypothesis, they come from the bolognese monastery of San Salvatore of the Congregazione renana dei canonici regolari di S. Agostino;<sup>74</sup> after entering Father Giovanni Battista

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lectures in the public Studium, which was instrumental in the moralizing relaunch of the city of Bologna. From the seminar established by Paleotti came a new generation of ministers, who were educated for a renewed spirit of faith and piety. Cfr. MIRIAM TURRINI, *L'insegnamento della teologia*, in *Bologna nell'età moderna (secoli XVI-XVIII)*, II: *Cultura, istituzioni culturali, chiesa e vita religiosa*, edited by Adriano Prosperi, Bologna, Bononia University Press, 2008, p. 447 ff.; cfr. also MARIO FANTI, *Bologna nell'età moderna (1506-1796)*, in *La storia di Bologna*, 2, edited by Antonio Ferri and Giancarlo Roversi, Rome, Gruppo editoriale l'Espresso, 2007, p. 31 ff.

<sup>72</sup> In the miscellaneous collections we find guest musicians from Veneto (Teodoro Clinio, Giovanni Croce, Costanzo Porta, Ludovico Balbi, Ippolito Baccusi, Vincenzo Ruffo), Mantua (Michelangelo Serra, Giovanni Battista Giachettini, Benedetto Pallavicino), Brescia (Floriano Canali, Giovanni Paolo Caprioli, Fiorenzo Maschera, Luca Marenzio), Bologna and the Emilia region (Paolo Cavalieri, Giovanni Battista Mantovani, Andrea Rota, Ascanio Trombetti, Giulio Belli, Vincenzo Dal Pozzo), Rome (Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, Ruggero Giovannelli) besides a few internationally renowned figures (Adrian Willaert, Tomás Luis de Victoria, Jacob Regnart, Lupus Hellinck). Cfr. OSCAR MISCHIATI, *Un'antologia manoscritta in partitura del secolo XVI. Il ms. Bourdeney della Bibliothèque nationale di Parigi*, «Rivista Italiana di Musicologia», X, 1975, pp. 265-328: 273.

<sup>73</sup> The manuscripts are kept under the following classification numbers: Q.33, Salmi a 8 voci di autori diversi, «Partitura ms. in fol., di 100 carte, della fine del secolo XVI o del principio del secolo XVII»: ff. 28r-29v: «Pauli Cavallerii, *Dixit Dominus Domino meo*»; Q.36, «Psalmodia diversorum auctorum 8. vocibus – Ms in 8°, del principio del secolo decimosettimo, di carte 186»: ff. 68v-75r and 120r-126v: «Pauli Cavallerii, *Dixit Dominus*» and «*Lauda Jerusalem*»; Q. 39, «Cantiones sacrae diversorum auctorum – Ms in 8° del secolo XVII in partitura, di carte 224», collected in one single volume: «D. Pauli Cavallerii, *Confitemini domino*» (ff. 45r-47v), «*Misericordias domini*» (ff. 48r-51r), «*Omnes gentes plaudite manibus*» (ff. 51v-55v), «*Veni in hortum meum*» (ff. 55v-59r) and «*Surge propra amica mea*» (ff. 59v-63r). Cfr. GAETANO GASPARI, *Catalogo della biblioteca musicale G. B. Martini di Bologna*, II: *Musica vocale religiosa*, edited by Napoleone Fanti, Oscar Mischiati and Luigi Ferdinando Tagliavini, Bologna, Forni, 1961, pp. 169, 342, 343 e 395. Cfr. also OSCAR MISCHIATI, *La prassi musicale presso i canonici regolari del Ss. Salvatore nei secoli XVI e XVII e i manoscritti polifonici della biblioteca musicale “G. B. Martini” di Bologna*, Rome, Torre d'Orfeo, 1985, pp. 88, 90, 94, 95, 101 and 102.

<sup>74</sup> MISCHIATI, *Un'antologia manoscritta* cit., p. 268 (note 11). Cfr. also OSCAR MISCHIATI, *Le miscellanee come specchio degli interessi storico-musicali di padre Martini*, in *Padre Martini*.



Martini's library, they were subsequently incorporated into the collection of Bologna's Music College, and today are preserved in three large manuscript collections at Museo internazionale e biblioteca della musica in Bologna.

According to the Bolognese musicology scholar, Oscar Mischiati, since the size of these manuscripts is comparable to the format of today's study or pocket scores, their purpose could not have been other than the teaching of counterpoint and composition, a didactic purpose of putting together an anthological repertoire of model examples, probably addressed to the *schola* annexed to a major musical chapel like that of the Canonici renani.<sup>75</sup>

The manuscripts mentioned above constitute quite a unique group, since they are written in score, at a time when musical works were normally written in separate, removable parts, the so-called 'partbooks'.<sup>76</sup>

A confirmation of the remarkable quality of these polyphonic compositions is the simple fact that in 1856, an archivist and librarian, Gaetano Gaspari sent to his friend, the Roman abbot Fortunato Santini (Rome, 1778 – Rome, 1861),<sup>77</sup> the score transcription of the above-mentioned anthology collections. These copies, containing several 8-part pieces by Paolo Cavalieri and different 8- or 12-part compositions by such major Italian and foreign masters as Marenzio, Palestrina, Rota, Victoria and Willaert, are now kept at the Archivio Santini in the Münster Diocesan

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*Musica e cultura nel Settecento europeo*, edited by Angelo Pompilio, Florence, Olschki, 1987, pp. 17-26: 25. As Mischiati maintained, the manuscript codices drawn up in score form constitute a whole set, dating back to the last years of the 16th and early 17th century, originally from the congregation of Canonici Regolari Lateranensi. They were probably composed in the Bologna vicarage, which was home to many brothers who practiced the musical professions of organist, maestro di cappella, composer and music copyist. These are unique sources for the works of the composers belonging to the same renana congregation, such as Clinio, Canali, Caprioli, Giachettini, Serra and Pietro Cavalieri.

<sup>75</sup> MISCHIATI, *Un'antologia manoscritta* cit., pp. 268, 272; Cfr. MISCHIATI, *La prassi musicale* cit., p. 79 f. and note 66.

<sup>76</sup> OSCAR MISCHIATI, *Padre Martini e la sua biblioteca*, in *Collezionismo e storiografia musicale nel Settecento, La quadreria e la biblioteca di padre Martini*, Bologna, Nuova Alfa Editoriale, 1984, p. 133.

<sup>77</sup> The owner of an immense musical collection, Fortunato Santini had a long exchange of correspondence with Gaspari, consisting of 120 letters that span 13 years (1848 to 1861). This «armonico carteggio» between the Roman and the Bolognese comprised musical catalogues, documents, books, transcriptions of published or manuscript music works, and was aimed at complementing and enriching their respective musical collections. Cfr. *Epistolario Fortunato Santini - Gaetano Gaspari (1848-1861)*, edited by Salvatore de Salvo Fattor, Faleria (VT), Recercare, 2019, p. XIV.

Seminary.<sup>78</sup>

In the last years of his life he taught singing to the clerics<sup>79</sup> of the *pueri cantores* school at the Metropolitan church,<sup>80</sup> as a coadjutor of the maestro di cappella Lorenzo Vecchi,<sup>81</sup> and was therefore remunerated with extraordinary

<sup>78</sup> Münster, Diözesanbibliothek, «Composizioni a Otto voci di diversi Autori»: SANT HS 3511 (3 and 5) no. 8 («*Dixit Dominus Domino meo* di Paolo Cavalleri», pp. 117-130) and n.16 («*Lauda Jerusalem Dominum* di D. Paolo Cavalleri», pp. 225 - 238); SANT HS 1196 (1, 2 and 3) no.11 («*Confitemini Domino* di D. Paolo Cavalleri», pp. 93-100), no.12 («*Misericordias Domini* di D. Paolo Cavalleri», pp. 101-109), no.13 («*Ommes gentes plaudite* di D. Paolo Cavalleri», pp. 110-120), no.14 («*Veni in hortum meum* di D. Paolo Cavalleri», pp. 121-130) and no.15 («*Surge prospera amica mea* di D. Paolo Cavalleri», pp. 131-142). Cfr. *Epistolario Fortunato Santini - Gaetano Gaspari*, cit. p. 243 f. and note 34 (letter no. 94 of 16 July, 1856), in which we read: «... Se ben ricordo in una lettera Ella si compiacceva scrivermi, che mi avrebbe mandato alcune cose di maestri antichi in partitura: così ne avrò due grandi vantaggi, di guadagnar tempo, che è irreparabile; di avere delle copie di partiture fatte forse da grandi maestri. Ella con suo bell'agio ne potrà fare una piccola scelta... Sincerissimo amico Fortunato Santini». [If I remember correctly, you took pleasure in writing to me that you would send a few things by ancient masters in score: this will bring me two great advantages: I will save time, which can never be recovered; I will have copies of scores that might have been made by great masters. You may make a small selection of them at your leisure... Your most sincere friend, Fortunato Santini] Cfr. also I-Bc, Carteggi, Ep. Gaspari-Santini. From a short annotation by Gaspari, jotted down on Santini's original letter, we find out more specifically which materials were sent to the Roman minister on that day. These are musical compositions marked with the numbers 1704, 1705 and 3380 according to the Sarti catalogue (which dates back to around 1840), corresponding to the current classification numbers Q.37 («*Cantiones sacræ diversorum auctorum*»), Q.38 («*Cantiones sacræ diversorum auctorum*») and Q.36 («*Psalmodia diversorum auctorum 8 vocibus*»).

<sup>79</sup> Gaetano Gaspari was therefore mistaken in assuming that Paolo Cavalieri had become maestro di cappella: cfr. GASPARI, *La storia dell'arte musicale in Bologna al XVI secolo* cit., p. 126.

<sup>80</sup> Every year, in the presence of the camerlingo, mansionario and maestro di cappella of the Bolognese duomo, the clerics submitted to a strict selection, which resulted in the formation of three classes, each containing about eight singing clerics: one canto fermo class with singers that had a basic level of training and vocal ability, described as “principianti” [beginners], who were only able to intone gregorian chants; a second singing class, whose members were referred to as “perficienti” [advanced], with intermediate singing abilities; and a third canto figurato class, with more expert and qualified singers, the so-called “perfetti” [proficient], «disposti a cantare così di petto come di voce» [able to sing both with their chest and voice], who were therefore fit to perform the more complex part of the vocal repertory, consisting of polyphonic and contrapuntal pieces with singing ornamentation: cfr. GAMBASSI, «*Pueri cantores*» cit., p. 167.

<sup>81</sup> Lorenzo Vecchi (Bologna, before 1564-Bologna, 3 March 1628), first appointed as

payment orders.<sup>82</sup> The lessons took place daily after lunch, and the fee added up to 10 Bolognese lire.<sup>83</sup> From the memoirs of Father Martini we also learn that Paolo Cavalieri was a singing teacher to the clerics of the cathedral: «1595. Paolo maestro di musica a chierici è licenziato a 22 Marzo eletto maestro di musica D. Fabrizio Barbieri» [Paolo music teacher to the clerics is dispensed on March 22, D. Fabrizio Barbieri appointed as music teacher].<sup>84</sup>

Musical knowledge was therefore a key competence for an aspiring minister, as is shown by an instruction document dating from 1581-82 that lists the 14 criteria required in order to «vedere la fede di quelli che si hanno da ordinare» [test the faith of those who are to be ordained], in

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chaplain and subsequently as mansionario in 1589 in Bologna's cathedral of S. Pietro, became maestro di cappella of it from 1599 to 1618. He composed four 8-part masses in the traditional antiphonal style. Two of his 5-part madrigals (*Se de' miei giusti prieghi*, on a text by Cesare Rinaldi, and *Fallace ardir e troppo stolte voglie*, anonymous) were printed in the miscellaneous collection *Le gemme* cit. In 1618 Vecchi retired and was succeeded by his pupil and assistant Domenico Brunetti: cfr. GAETANO GASPARI, *Musica e musicisti a Bologna. Ricerche, documenti e memorie riguardanti la storia dell'arte musicale in Bologna*, Bologna, Forni Editore, 1969, p. 500. Also according to the above-mentioned Martini manuscript (I-Bc, M.51), the mansionario Lorenzo Vecchi held the post of maestro di cappella of the Bologna cathedral from 1599: «1599. D. Laurentius De Vecchius Mansionarius deputatus Magister Capellæ et Musicæ [...]». Cfr. also I-Bgd, *Liber secretus IV* (binder 66), f. 2v (31 August 1618), f. 3r (26 October 1618) and f. 5r (31 December 1618).

<sup>82</sup> Cfr. Bologna, Fondazione del Monte di Bologna e Ravenna, Archivio storico della Banca del Monte di Bologna e Ravenna, 36-15, Campione Q, f. 668s: «M. DC. xii. / Colleggio del Seminario de dare .../... a di 11 detto [dicembre] ... a D. Paulo Cavalieri, dice per *completamento* di suo salario del *presente* anno d'insegnar à cantare a Chierici ... – L. 30 : – » [Seminar College to give L. 30 to D. Paulo Cavalieri, on December 11th, as a supplement to his salary this year for teaching singing to the Clerics]. Thanks to Lars Magnus Hvass Pujol for reporting to me the unpublished source.

<sup>83</sup> I-Bgd, Chapter Archive of the metropolitan church of Bologna - Seminar, folder 108, file 4, document. 3: 1608: 22 Sett.re. *Visita fatta da' D. Fabio Fabri, uno degli Assonti del Colleggio del Seminario*: «Preterea Magister docens cantum musicalem, qui est R. D. Paulus Cavallerius, qui post prandium immediate quotidie pueros docet, et pro sua mercede habet quolibet mense 10 libras de monet. Bonj.».

<sup>84</sup> I-Bc, ms. H.64, *Zibaldone martiniano*, f. 154, 22 March 1595. The identity of «Paolo maestro di musica» can be deduced from the index, contained in f. 236, under the letter “C”, where the family name is spelt out and refers to the annotation: «Cavalerius p. 154»; this manuscript is also the reference for GASPARI, *Zibaldone musicale di memorie* (I-Bc, ms. UU 12 cit.), p. 216, who faithfully reports Martini's content, referring to the sources he has drawn from: «... come dall'indice di un giornale, e come dalle notizie del P. Giamb. Melloni nel ms E. p. 154». In this case, too, Paolo's identity is revealed in the index, UU.12/1, p. 423: «Cavaliere D. Paolo – p. 216», while the name of Martini is mistaken for Melloni.

which Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti had a specific test added «del cantar et scrivere ... per quelli che domandano d'essere admissi et promossi ad usum Cathedralis» [singing and writing... for those who ask to be admitted and promoted ad usum Cathedralis].<sup>85</sup> As proof of his high-level musical expertise, in 1609 and 1613 don Cavalieri also appeared among the four examiners (representing as many historical districts of Bologna) in the commission for the canto fermo exam at the archiepiscopal Seminar College established by Cardinal Paleotti.<sup>86</sup> Indeed, the new statutes of Consorzio della cattedrale (1577) prescribed that «niuno potesse ammettersi in Consorzio che non sapesse cantare i salmi e la Messa in cantu firmo: imponendo perciò un esame al riguardo» [nobody could be admitted to the Consorzio who could not sing the psalms and cantu firmu Mass].<sup>87</sup>

We know nothing else about his life until the time of his death, which occurred at 54 or 55 years of age. The manuscript death records compiled by Baldassarre A. M. Carrati,<sup>88</sup> do not contain any death date for the Bolognese

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<sup>85</sup> I-Bgd, Cancellerie vecchie, 193/1°, Istruzione years 1581 and 1582, point 9, «Chi non ha sufficienza di lettere di che si faccia particolare essamine inanci a S. S.ia. Ill.ma et del canto fermo inanci al deputato» [He who is not adequately trained in letters will have to take an examination before His Lordship and a cantus firmus test before the delegate].

<sup>86</sup> I-Bgd, Congregazione degli Otto, cit., ff. 48v (year 1609) and 54v (year 1613). In folio 54v we find a list of the four examiners along with the following writing, in the part referring to Paolo Cavalieri: «Examinatores pro cantu firmo ..., Pro Consortio Portæ S. Proculi D. Paulus de Cavalerijis». Only a few cathedrals could afford to recruit a teacher especially for canto fermo, thus exempting the maestro di cappella from this duty and allowing him to instruct clerics in canto figurato and counterpoint. The task of the canto fermo teacher was to instruct clerics three times a week, specifically in the singing of psalms, verses and antiphons for daytime divine offices: cfr. GAMBASSI, «*Pueri cantores*» cit., pp. 62, 126 and 161.

<sup>87</sup> FELICE GALLINETTI, *La congregazione del clero dei quattro consorzi dei quartieri di Bologna*, Bologna, 1916, historical notes reproduced in *L'Archivio consorziale del clero urbano di Bologna* cit., p. 42. The text of the statutes is in I-Bgd, Archivio capitolare della metropolitana di Bologna, n. 207/7, *Costituzioni del Consorzio Maggiore*, ff. 90v, 91v and 92r (2 October 1619): «Constitutio. De non admittendo in consortium Sacerdotes alienigenos, et scientia Cantus firmi expertes. ... che sappiano cantare il canto fermo sopra di che dovranno essere esaminati da due consorziali deputati, ò da deputarsi dalla congregazione, dà quali ne otteranno fede in iscritto per mostrarla con gl'altri requisiti dalle nostre constitutioni ...» [who can sing canto fermo, for which they will have to be examined by two appointed consortium members, or to be appointed by the congregation, from whom they will obtain a written certificate to be shown along with the other requisites as per our statutes].

<sup>88</sup> I-Bca, mss. from B.910 to B.928.

musician, although in the *Liber secretus III* of the S. Pietro chapter Archive we can read the following: «Die 3 Februarii [1614]. R.dus D.nus Paulus Cauallerius Mansionarius Ecclesiae Metropolitanæ Theologiae Magister, atque, in arte musica peritissimus, brevi morbo absumptus interiit».<sup>89</sup> The same obituary can be found in a memoir manuscript by Father Giovanni Battista Martini (Bologna, 24 April, 1706 – 3 August, 1784),<sup>90</sup> where however it turns out to be 3 February, 1613. This inaccuracy from the Franciscan scholar is probably at the origin of the erroneous death date of Paolo Cavalieri that we find in all his biographies.<sup>91</sup> The date of 3 February 1614 is also confirmed by his appointment as a mansionario of S. Pietro: «Morì il Sud° li 3 febbraio 1614 come il Libro Secreto del Consorcio Segn. † fol. 80»,<sup>92</sup> and from a document of the Chapter archive we learn that he was buried in S. Bernardino.<sup>93</sup>

The canons regarded his death as «perdita molto considerevole rispetto alla musica» [a considerable loss with respect to music],<sup>94</sup> and therefore

<sup>89</sup> I-Bgd, *Liber secretus III* cit., f. 148r.

<sup>90</sup> I-Bc, ms H.64, *Zibaldone martiniano*, ff. 154 and 155. Cfr. also I-Bc. ms. M.51, ff. 119r, 129r, 139r and 140r, where we also read the following annotation: «non si rileva però se fosse organista o maestro di Cappella» [it is however not specified whether he was an organist or a maestro di cappella].

<sup>91</sup> Cfr., for ex.: New Grove, 5, p. 301; CARLO SCHMIDL, *Dizionario universale dei musicisti*, I, Milan, Sonzogno 1926, p. 31; *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Personenteil*, 4, Kassel-Stuttgart, Bärenreiter-Metzler, 2000, p. 472; *Dizionario enciclopedico universale della musica e dei musicisti: Le Biografie*, 2, Turin, UTET, 1990, p. 161. Gaetano Gaspari also reports this erroneous date of death: cfr. GASPARI, *Catalogo della biblioteca musicale G. B. Martini di Bologna*, II: *Musica vocale religiosa* cit., p. 395.

<sup>92</sup> I-Bgd, Mansionarie - Nomine, folder 94, file 3, cited in note 34. ALIDOSI PASQUALI, *I dottori bolognesi* cit., p. 163 instead gives a different date of decease: «Paolo Cauallieri, Mansionario di S. Pietro [...] morì nell'anno 1614 à primo di Febraro».

<sup>93</sup> I-Bgd, Archivio capitolare di S. Pietro, Consorzio maggiore di S. Pietro, folder n. 251 (Libri secreti / Matrici from 1579 to 1767), file 2, f. 17 (3 February, 1614): «1614 3 feb. Morte di D. Paolo Cavalieri Doctore di Sacra Teologia Mans.° si portò à S. Bernardino». The location could be the Convent of S. Bernardino e S. Marta (suppressed in 1799) which occupied what is now Piazza dei Martiri 1943-1945 (formerly P.zza Umberto I) in Bologna, after which the Pugliole di S. Bernardino are named. However, it could also refer to the chapel of S. Bernardino in the church of S. Francesco or in the Basilica of S. Petronio: cfr. MASINI, *Bologna perlustrata* cit., p. 322 f.

<sup>94</sup> I-Bgd, Archivio capitolare della metropolitana di Bologna, folder 3, file 17 «Minute di lettere dei Can. e Cap.li Bologna al Card. Scipione Borghese ed altri», document no. 2: «4 febbraio 1614 - Minuta di una lettera del Capitolo al cardinale Borghese raccomandarli soggetti per la Mansionaria vacata per la morte di D. Paulo Cavalieri» [Minute of a letter of

immediately sent a letter to the Roman Cardinal, Scipione Caffarelli Borghese, asking him to urgently appoint a worthy successor, whose qualities would be «molto proporzionate al bisogno et servizio di questo Choro» [proportional to the needs and services of this Choir].<sup>95</sup> The answer of the high priest came within about ten days<sup>96</sup> and, after three months,<sup>97</sup> the vacant subdeaconal mansioneria was assigned to Raffaele Pinchiari, «sacerdos bononiensis et sacrista cerimoniae magister».<sup>98</sup>

In the bibliography concerning Paolo Cavalieri we find repeated references to the Bolognese minister and composer, Pietro Cavalieri, born Vincenzo de Cavalieriis, son of the same Giacomo, father of Paolo, who changed his name on 19 February, 1581 upon entering the Order of Canonici regolari lateranensi,<sup>99</sup> and is sometimes referred to as Pietro da Bologna or Petrus Bononiensis (Bologna, 1565 – Mantua, 2 January 1629).

In one case, Gaetano Gaspari identifies him with Paolo Cavalieri, as can be read in a note drawn from his catalogue:

Rimarrebbe a decifrarsi se vi siano stati due Cavalieri, compositori di musica,

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the Chapter to Cardinal Borghese recommending individuals for the Mansionaria vacated due to the death of D. Paulo Cavalieri].

<sup>95</sup> Cfr. previous note.

<sup>96</sup> Cfr. I-Bgd, Archivio capitolare della metropolitana di Bologna, folder 3, file 15 «Lettere dell'Arciv. di Bologna Borghese Caffarelli Card. Scipione ai Can. e Cap. di Bologna», document no. 14. Cfr. also I-Bgd, *Liber secretus III* cit., f. 148r, containing the letter of February 6, 1614 sent by the Chapter to Cardinal Scipione Caffarelli Borghese and the answer of the high priest of 15 February, 1614.

<sup>97</sup> On May 5, 1614: cfr. I-Bas, Notarile, Tiberio Castellani from 1614 to 1616, deed no. 59; cfr. also I-Bas, Demaniale, series 64/251, file XXXXII n° 9, «Tenuta di D. Rafaeli Pinchiari d'una Mansionaria in S. Pietro – Rog.° Tib. Castellani». Tiberio and Domenico Castellani were two of seven chancellors of the Episcopal Curia, who had been given the task of keeping ecclesiastical deeds in their files.

<sup>98</sup> After only 4 years, on December 1, 1618, Raffaele Pinchiari resigned and was replaced by Marco Antonio Bernia: cfr. I-Bgd, Archivio capitolare della metropolitana di S. Pietro, binder 94, file 5, document 1, Mansionarie - Nomine, f. 12; cfr. also: I-Bgd, *Liber secretus IV* cit., f. 3v, «Die 2<sup>a</sup> 9bris [1618] - Collatio Mansionariae, Rinunciatio collationis»; I-Bas, Notarile Tiberio Castellani, 1617-1618, deed no. 114 of November 2, 1618, «Bulla mansionariae subdiaconalis RD Marci Ant. de Bernijs»; I-Bas, Demaniale, 247/2041, cit. in note 34.

<sup>99</sup> Cfr. I-Bas, Demaniale, *Corporazioni religiose dei Canonici regolari di S. Salvatore e S. Maria di Reno*, series 205/2652, III, f. 50: «D. Petrus bonon. qui Vincentius in seculo vocabatur filius quondam Jacobi de Cavalieriis et 19 Februarii 1581 indutus fuit habitu canonicorum post primam».

l'uno per nome Pietro, l'altro per nome Paolo, ovvero se una persona sola portasse accoppiati i nomi di Pietro e Paolo. ... In altro ms. del Liceo avvi il mottetto Paratum cor meum Deus a 8 voci in partitura di D. Pietro Cavalieri bolognese. Un Dixit Dominus Domino meo a 8 voci di Paolo Cavalieri trovasi manoscritto in antica partitura del principio del sec. XVII in un Codice del liceo, frammezzo a molti altri salmi di Costanzo Porta e di Teodoro Clinio.<sup>100</sup>

[It remains to sort out whether there were two Cavalieri, both of them music composers, one named Pietro, the other named Paolo, or if one single person bore the two names Pietro and Paolo. ... Another ms. of the Liceo contains the 8-part motet Paratum cor meum Deus in score form by D. Pietro Cavalieri bolognese. A manuscript 8-part Dixit Dominus Domino meo by Paolo Cavalieri exists in an ancient score of the 17th century in a Codex kept at the Liceo, among many other psalms by Costanzo Porta and Teodoro Clinio.]

However, as early as in 1985 Oscar Mischiati had suggested that Paolo might be the brother of Pietro; to back up his thesis he makes the following argument:

È possibile che egli fosse parente (forse fratello) di quel Paolo Cavalieri documentato come chierico (dal 1571) e cantore (dal 1574) nella cappella musicale di S. Petronio e dal 1584 mansionario della Cattedrale (S. Pietro), *magister theologiae*, definito «in arte musica peritissimus», morto il 3 febbraio 1614; ciò è tanto più plausibile considerando la presenza di sue composizioni in quegli stessi manoscritti bolognesi Q 36 e Q 39 che ospitano anche quelle di Pietro.

[He may have been a relative (perhaps a brother) of the Paolo Cavalieri who is documented as a cleric (since 1571) and singer (since 1574) at the musical chapel of S. Petronio, and since 1584 as a mansionario of the Cathedral (S. Pietro), *magister theologiae*, was described as «in arte musica peritissimus», and died on 3 February, 1614; this is all the more plausible considering that compositions of his are found in the same Bolognese manuscripts, Q36 and Q39, that also contain those of Pietro.]<sup>101</sup>

Mischiati documents the frequent changes in the convents Pietro resided in during those same years,<sup>102</sup> due to his alternative duties as a maestro di

<sup>100</sup> GASPARI, *Catalogo della biblioteca musicale G. B. Martini di Bologna*, II: *Musica vocale religiosa* cit., p. 395. This erroneous identification of Pietro with Paolo Cavalieri still exists today in the catalogue of the Santini archive in Munich, where the sacred compositions of the two brothers are kept, and are described as belonging only to Paolo Cavalieri: cfr. RISM, online catalogue, [https://opac.rism.info/index.php?id=6&no\\_cache=1&tx\\_bsbsearch\\_pi1\[\]=advanced](https://opac.rism.info/index.php?id=6&no_cache=1&tx_bsbsearch_pi1[]=advanced), see entry «Paolo Cavalieri» (accessed 17 December 2019).

<sup>101</sup> MISCHIATI, *La prassi musicale* cit., p. 16, note 22.

<sup>102</sup> *Ivi*, pp. 25-28. The following is a list of places where Pietro Cavalieri traveled from 1581

cappella at the Belluno cathedral.<sup>103</sup> It is interesting to note that he made an «extra trip» to Bologna in 1614, in the same year when his brother Paolo died. The fact that the trip was marked “extra” meant that the canon was authorized by a special permit to reside outside the monastery he had been assigned to for duly justified reasons. It can therefore be supposed that Pietro the canon had traveled to his native town, in that year, on the death of his elder brother.<sup>104</sup>

In conclusion, this documentary study, aimed at retrieving biographical information on the Bolognese composer and the context in which he worked, has allowed to: correct the year of his death and priestly ordination; define the musical role he played in the cathedral as a singing teacher and coadjutor to the maestro di cappella; shed light on his family relationship with Pietro Cavalieri, and fill in the blanks in his background and cultural engagement as a theologian.

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to 1628 in his capacity as renano canon: Fano, Treviso, Ravenna, Venice, Candiana (near Padova), Ferrara, Orvieto, Piacenza, Brescia, Forlì, Mirandola, Milan, Gubbio.

<sup>103</sup> Mischiati reports on p. 16 that «L'attività bellunese di Pietro non è ricordata in FRANCESCO PRALORAN, *Storia della musica bellunese*, I, Belluno, 1885, che tuttavia, a p. 5, per gli anni 1607-1612, registra un silenzio delle fonti» [Pietro's activity in the Belluno area is not recorded in FRANCESCO PRALORAN, *Storia della musica bellunese*, I, Belluno, 1885. However, the author mentions, on page 5, that the sources are silent during the years 1607-1612].

<sup>104</sup> I-Bas, Demaniale, 176/2623, ff. 58 and 60; has a list of regular Lateran canons returning to Bologna, along with their name and origin. Among them is also a «Petri bononiensis». Nowhere does the document explain why the transfer licence was granted. Only in a few cases does the definition «extra travel» appear.



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*Abstract*

This article aims at retrieving new information about composer Paolo Cavalieri and the cultural context in which he operated. It also amends a few biographical details and sheds light on as-yet-unknown aspects of his remarkable, multifaceted activity. A prominent figure of the Bologna clergy, Cavalieri was trained at the schola of San Petronio, and went on to work at San Pietro cathedral as a mansionario (a beneficed clergyman with a guaranteed income), holding several important offices in the city of Bologna between the 16th and 17th centuries.

What emerges from documentary research (which involved direct consultation of many original 16th-17th-century documents) and from possible links between different local archive sources, is an unusual figure in the Bologna community, a musician who was appreciated for his madrigals and liturgical polyphony, but also distinguished himself as a theology teacher.

*Keywords*

Bologna, 16th century, psalms, motets, madrigals, theology.

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