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MUSIC AT ROMAN CONFRATERNITIES TO 1650: THE CURRENT STATE OF RESEARCH

NOEL O'REGAN

Confraternities were ubiquitous in the religious, social and working lives of the citizens of early modern Rome. They managed hospitals and organised a whole spectrum of other social work, looking after the poor and prisoners, distributing dowries, burying the dead and redeeming captive galley-slaves; they regulated professions and trades; they helped foreigners find their feet in the city and kept them in contact with others of the same nationality as well as promoting national devotional practices; they taught Christian doctrine and even ran banks. As the reformed churches played down the effectiveness of doing good works in the search for salvation, so the Roman Catholic church gave them increased emphasis, enrolling and supporting confraternities in their propagation. Confraternities were built into the fabric of urban life, providing networks of contact and influence and also opportunities for inter-class interaction. By their nature they were also an essential part of the city's religious life, especially after the Council of Trent intensified the process of devotionalisation and increased clerical control that had begun at the start of the sixteenth century. As Ronald Weissman has pointed out,¹ Italian Renaissance confraternities provided a synthesis of interior spirituality and collective action, a symbiosis between interior penance and corporate acts of public reconciliation such as the taking of the discipline. By contrast, he describes baroque confraternities (i.e. from the early seventeenth century onwards) as tending to become more narrowly devotional and more specialised in their choice of good works, as well as being more hierarchical and more under the direct control of the clergy.

Confraternities also articulated the city's annual cycle of religious observance and religious entertainment, in both of which music in the broadest sense of that word played an important role. They celebrated the ancient feasts of Christmas, Easter, Ascension and Pentecost, as well as the four big Marian feasts of Candlemas, the Annunciation, the Assumption and the Nativity of the Virgin; Rogation days and Corpus Christi were also occasions for processions which brought an inevitable sense of competition. They looked after many of the ancient religious icons of Christ and of his mother which formed the basis of much of the city's popular piety.² Each confraternity celebrated at least one patronal feastday with solemnity and pageantry in which music had an important role to play. Most confraternities had their members wear habits of a distinctive design and colour; they included hoods which could help preserve the anonymity of the members. The habits inculcated a sense of belonging to an exclusive group while also adding colour and body to the city's numerous processions. From the mid-16th century the Forty Hours devotion assumed a prominent role in confraternal public display and private devotion. Music also had a significant part to play in spiritual dramas, from the *sacra rappresentazione* of the

¹ Ronald F. E. WEISSMAN, 'Cults and Contexts: In Search of the Renaissance Confraternity' in *Crossing the Boundaries: Christian Piety and the Arts in Italian Medieval and Renaissance Confraternities*, ed. Konrad Eisenbichler, Kalamazoo/Mich. 1991 (Early Drama, Art, and Music Series Monograph 15), pp. 201-220.

² For example those of Christ in S. Lorenzo ad Sancta Sanctorum and of Mary in S. Maria Maggiore. See Barbara WISCH, 'Keys to success. Propriety and promotion of miraculous images by Roman confraternities' in *The miraculous Image in the late Middle Ages and Renaissance* eds. Erik Thunø and Gerhard Wolf. *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici*, Rome 2004, S. 161-184.

Passion organised by the Arciconfraternita del Gonfalone in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries to the Lenten oratorios produced in the oratory of Arciconfraternita del SS. Crocifisso and in other oratories in the seventeenth.³

The recent book by Jonathan Glixon⁴ on music in Venetian confraternities has brought together all the information available in Venetian archives on the musical activity of the *scuole grandi* and *scuole piccole* and placed it in the context of the status and devotional operations of those bodies. I am currently engaged in writing a similar book on the musical activity of Roman confraternities in the period 1480-1650. This article seeks to survey the state of research up to the present on Roman confraternities as well as making some general comments on the important place occupied by music in confraternal life and on the archival and other resources available for such research.

While Roman confraternities had much in common with the Venetian *scuole* there were differences. There were no direct Roman equivalents to the six major *scuole grandi* though the larger Roman devotional and hospital-governing confraternities occupied something of the same position. The presence of significant numbers of the patrician class in Roman devotional confraternities such as the Gonfalone, SS. Crocifisso, S. Gerolamo della Carità, S. Maria dell'Orazione e Morte, SS. Salvatore, S. Spirito in Sassia and SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini gave them the same sort of high profile as the *scuole grandi*. The Venetian *scuole* were subject to close supervision and scrutiny by the state; they were all dissolved by Napoleon in 1797 and their archives have ended up in the Venetian *Archivio di Stato*. While also kept under church/state supervision Roman confraternities were allowed more diversity and independence; some died out or were suppressed by the papacy over the centuries, others ceased after the unification of Italy in 1870, but many continue to function to this day and their archives have ended up in a variety of locations (see below). In Rome the church exercised power through the office of Cardinal Protector: every confraternity had one and they were considerably involved with the organisation of the larger confraternities.⁵ The devotional confraternities also had a governor, chief guardian or *primicerio*, who was invariably an upwardly-mobile cleric working in the papal Curia. Equally, patrician control of all but the trade and artisan confraternities was maintained by the election of one or more members of prominent Roman or foreign families to the guardianate.

The exact number of Roman confraternities active at any one time is hard to establish. Appendix 1 lists the 120 or so currently known to have existed up to 1650 together with their (often approximate) date of official foundation and the present location of their archive (where that survives).⁶ A small nucleus of devotional

³ Hereafter these and other confraternities will be referred to simply by their short title or patron saint(s) without any further appellation.

⁴ J. GLIXON, *Honoring God and the City: Music at the Venetian Confraternities, 1260-1807*, Oxford 2003.

⁵ For instance meetings of the *congregazione segreta* or *particolare* which oversaw the day-to-day running of confraternities often met at the house of the Cardinal Protector.

⁶ The working list in Appendix 1 is based on those in Matizia MARONI LUMBROSO and Antonio MARTINI, *Le confraternite romane nelle loro chiese*, Roma 1963 and in Luigi FIORANI et al., *Repertorio degli archivi delle confraternite romane*, in: *Ricerche per la storia religiosa di Roma* 6, 1985, S. 175-413. A few obscure confraternities whose existence was transitory or difficult to prove have been omitted. Some of the smaller artisan companies, in particular those which were grouped under the general umbrella of S. Maria dell'Orto are also not included. For a full list of these see Saverio FRANCHI e Orietta SARTORI, *Il seicento musicale romano*, in:

confraternities and those running hospitals was in existence in medieval times. Many more were added during the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the second half of the sixteenth century seeing the greatest number of new foundations. As well as devotional confraternities there were two other main categories: those associated with members of foreign nationalities and their churches (including those from other Italian states) and those which catered for members of the various professions and artisan trades. As the papal court grew in importance and power after its return to Rome in 1417, so the numbers of clergy, diplomats, tradesmen and vagabonds from other countries multiplied; foreign invasions brought more people and there were always pilgrims, some of whom remained in the city for some time. One after another, the nationalities formed their own confraternities for mutual support and spiritual sustenance; the bigger nationalities had more than one.⁷ Those associated with the great European powers – Spain, France and the German Empire – were all centred around the Piazza Navona and reflected the political rivalry of their nations, acting in many ways as an arm of their diplomacy. Professional and artisan confraternities can be difficult to pin down: they grew out of medieval guilds or *università* (also called *nobil collegio* or *accademia*) and the date of their emergence as full-blown confraternities is often uncertain. Some, indeed, never became confraternities in the strict sense while in many respects acting as such, celebrating one or more patronal feastdays with solemnity and processions, and maintaining a church - or a chapel within a church - with an attendant chaplain to say masses.⁸ Other corporations ran a *università* and religious *compagnia* side by side.⁹ From the early sixteenth century Blessed Sacrament confraternities began to be founded; being parish-based, these were increasingly encouraged by the church as the century progressed, particularly in the wake of the Council of Trent.

While the basic term was *confraternita* others used included: *compagnia*, *sodalizio*, or *pia unione*. Most Roman confraternities eventually attained the status of *arciconfraternita* which gave them the right to aggregate similar confraternities from cities and towns outside of Rome and of Italy. Those aggregated companies shared in the spiritual benefits of the archconfraternity and, if visiting Rome – for example during Holy Years – could expect to be given hospitality. In some cases lines of demarcation are not easily drawn. The Compagnia del Divino Amore, for example, while devoted to prayer, good works and mutual support, was never regarded strictly as a confraternity (i.e. no statutes survive); it was more of a secret religious society.¹⁰ After a relatively short existence (c. 1513-1524) its members went in one of two directions: some, like Gaetano da Thiene and Cardinal Gian Pietro Caraffa (the future Pope Paul IV) went on to found a religious congregation, called the Theatines after Gaetano da Thiene; those who wished to remain in the lay state began to infiltrate the existing confraternity of S. Giacomo in Augusta which ran a hospital for incurable patients, particularly those suffering from venereal disease. Demarcation is also difficult in the case of the various institutions associated with the charismatic figure of

Luoghi della Cultura nella Roma di Borromini, hrsg. von Barbara Tellini Santoni e Alberto Manodori Sagredo, Roma, 2004, S. 480-481.

⁷ For example there were three confraternities for German/Flemish citizens: S. Maria della Pietà in Campo Santo, S. Maria dell'Anima and S. Giuliano dei Belgi; the Castilians had S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli while the Aragonese/Catalans/Valencians/Majorcans had S. Maria di Monserrato; different French nationalities were catered for by S. Dionisio e Luigi dei Francesi, S. Ivo dei Bretoni and S. Nicola dei Lorenesi.

⁸ For example S. Eligio degli Orefici.

⁹ For example S. Luca dei Pintori prior to its being elevated to the status of Accademia in 1593.

¹⁰ See Daniela Sorfaroli CAMILLOCCI, *I Devoti della carità: Le confraternite del Divino Amore nell'Italia de primo cinquecento*, Napoli 2002.

S. Filippo Neri: one of the founders of SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini in the late 1540s, he later moved to the chaplains' house attached to the church of S. Gerolamo della Carità. While seemingly not a member of that confraternity he used its premises to commence his oratory devotions which bore some resemblance to the devotions held in their own oratories by members of confraternities. Later he was appointed parish priest at the church of S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini and made use of the oratory which belonged to the Florentine confraternity of the same name; eventually he was persuaded to move to S. Maria in Vallicella where the priests of his fledgeling congregation were building a new church. Here he continued to preside over devotional activities, those of his *oratorio vespertino* in particular mirroring those of confraternities.¹¹ He also continued to provide spiritual assistance to the members of SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini and was also called in to provide spiritual counsel to those of SS. Crocifisso in S. Marcello in preparation for the Holy Year of 1575.¹²

HISTORIOGRAPHY OF ROMAN CONFRATERNITIES AND MUSIC

Since the 1980s historians have been paying more attention to confraternities across Europe and in Italy in particular, recognising their importance in religious history.¹³ In Rome historians such as Luigi Fiorani, Anna Esposito and their collaborators have been doing systematic work, culminating particularly in two dedicated volumes of the periodical *Ricerche per la Storia Religiosa di Roma*: Volume 5 has a variety of articles about confraternities of different types while Volume 6 contains a comprehensive survey all surviving Roman confraternity archives. At the same time, art historians such as Josephine von Henneberg, Barbara Wisch and R.E. Keller have been researching the fresco cycles which adorned the walls of the oratories which the most important confraternities constructed during the sixteenth century.¹⁴ The drama historian Nerida Newbiggin has written about the *Sacra Rappresentazione* of the Passion put on in the Colosseum by the Roman Arciconfraternita del Gonfalone in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.¹⁵

Music historians too have been paying more attention to Italian confraternities in recent years.¹⁶ In the past, research into the musical life of Roman confraternities

¹¹ See Arnaldo MORELLI, «Il tempio armonico» *Musica nell'oratorio dei Filippini in Roma (1575-1705)*, Roma, 1991 (Analecta Musicologica 27).

¹² See O'REGAN, *Institutional Patronage* S. 28. Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Fondo Arciconfraternita del SS. Crocifisso in S. Marcello, P I 57, S. 74

¹³ For a recent summary of Italian confraternity studies see Christopher F. BLACK, *The Development of Confraternity Studies over the past Thirty Years* in: *The Politics of Ritual Kinship*, hrsg. von Nicholas Terpstra, Cambridge 2000, S. 9-29. The other articles in that book give a representative sample of research being done on Italian confraternities, including Lance LAZAR, *The First Jesuit Confraternity and Marginalized Groups in Sixteenth-century Rome*, S. 132-149. That book's bibliography gives a pretty comprehensive selection of writings in English and Italian on the subject.

¹⁴ Josephine VON HENNEBERG, *L'oratorio dell'Archiconfraternita del Santissimo Crocifisso di San Marcello*, Rome 1974; Barbara WOLLESON-WISCH, *The Archiconfraternita del Gonfalone and its Oratory in Rome: Art and Counter-Reformation Spiritual Values*, Ph.D. diss. University of California, Berkeley 1985; R.E. KELLER, *Das Oratorium von San Giovanni Decollato in Rom* (Biblioteca helvetica romana, 15), Rome, 1976

¹⁵ Nerida NEWBIGGIN, *The decorum of the Passion: The Plays of the Confraternity of the Gonfalone in the Roman Colosseum, 1490-1539*, in: *Crossing the Boundaries: Christian Piety and the Arts in Medieval and Renaissance Confraternities*, hrsg. von Barbara Wisch and Susan Munshower, *Papers in Art History from The Pennsylvania State University* 6, 1990, 1, S. 82-117.

¹⁶ Glixon's work on Venice has already been mentioned; other work on music and the Venetian *scuole* include Denis ARNOLD, *Music at the Scuola di S. Rocco*, in: *Music and Letters* 40, 1959, S. 229-241; idem., *Music at a Venetian Confraternity in the Renaissance*, in: *Acta Musicologica* 37, 1965, S. 62-72. For Florence see Blake WILSON, *Music and Musicians: The Laudesi Companies of Republican Florence*, Oxford 1992 and John Walter

was confined to four: S. Spirito in Sassia, SS. Crocifisso, S. Luigi dei Francesi and the Compagnia dei Musici dedicated to S. Cecilia.¹⁷ S. Spirito and S. Luigi were the only confraternities to maintain regular choirs over the period under review, the latter for reasons of national prestige and the former because of the multifarious nature of its religious activities. In support of its cult S. Spirito built up one of the largest collections of music of any Roman institution which, though now scattered across a number of libraries, can be reconstructed because of the characteristic monogram (a cross with a double crossbar) with which the confraternity's possessions were marked. S. Spirito was an unusual hybrid in that the lay confraternity ran in parallel with a religious order, the whole headed up by a *commendatore*;¹⁸ it ran a major hospital and an important church, as well as housing and educating orphans, and organising dowries for its orphaned girls. Music at S. Spirito was first investigated by Antonio Allegra and Pietro de Angelis while reconstruction of its music holdings was begun by Guido Mattei Gentili and continued by Raffaele Casimiri and Lawrence Feininger. A conference held in 2001 explored all aspects of the history of the Ospedale di S. Spirito, including a session on its music with papers by Raoul Meloncelli, Giancarlo Rostirolla and Agostino Ziino, as well as a general survey of music at Roman hospital-running confraternities by this author. The earliest indications of some singers at S. Spirito come from 1488¹⁹ and, though there are no relevant surviving archival documents there from before 1550, we know from outside sources that a small number of adult singers and a few boys continued to be maintained. By the early seventeenth century there were eight-ten adult singers and some boys; these numbers gradually waned until the choir was finally disbanded in 1737. Its vast musical holdings were concentrated particularly on the polychoral idiom used for large-scale festal celebrations when outside singers and instrumentalists were brought in to augment the regular singers.

As in the case of S. Spirito the focus for music-historians' study of SS. Crocifisso was more on the musical product than on the institutional context which produced it: in this case it was the Latin oratorio, in whose development SS. Crocifisso played a very significant role. This was explored by Domenico Alaleona who privileged archival information relevant to Lenten devotions and the oratorio and ignored much else. More recently Juliane Riepe has expanded on his work on Lenten music while this author has extended the archival search to patronal feastday and other celebrations for which musicians were employed.²⁰ The close involvement of the papal singers in the affairs of this confraternity, of which they were members, made it something of a counter-balance to the Compagnia dei Musici, with the papal singers enjoying the spiritual and material benefits of confraternity membership without, apart from some exceptions, joining the musicians' confraternity. Some

HILL, *Oratory Music in Florence, I: recitar cantando, 1583-1655*, Acta Musicologica 51, 1979, S. 108-136. For Bologna see Juliane RIEPE, *Die Arciconfraternita di S. Maria della Morte in Bologna*, Paderborn 1998. For Siena see Frank D'ACCONE, *The Civic Muse: Music and Musicians in Siena during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, Chicago, 1997.

¹⁷ For writings on individual Roman confraternities see the bibliography at the end of this paper which is organised by confraternity. These references will not be footnoted in succeeding paragraphs.

¹⁸ The most important holder of this office in the sixteenth century was Bernardino Cirillo who was *commendatore* from 1556-1575. His critique of church music in a 1549 letter to Ugolino Gualteruzzi is discussed in: Claude PALISCA, *Bernardino Cirillo's Critique of Polyphonic Church Music of 1549: its Background and Resonance*, in: *Music in Renaissance Cities and Courts: Studies in Honor of Lewis Lockwood*, hrsg. von Jessie Anne Owens and Anthony M. Cummings, Michigan, 1997.

¹⁹ Christopher REYNOLDS, *Papal Patronage and the Music of St. Peter's, 1480-1513*, Berkeley 1995 S. 332.

²⁰ This will be published in my forthcoming book on Roman confraternities and their music.

musicians became involved with other confraternities, taking up office and playing a part in their organisation and charitable work; classic examples were Tomás Luis de Victoria and Francisco Soto who attended meetings of the Castilian Arciconfraternita della Resurrectione and acted as dispensers of charitable monies to needy members.²¹

Jean Lionnet carried out extensive research in the archives of S. Luigi dei Francesi in the 1980s resulting in two supplementary volumes of *Note d'Archivio: nuova serie* which were devoted to a study of its musical life during the seventeenth century. Earlier work by Hermann Walter Frey covered the sixteenth century. Earlier again Alberto Cametti had explored the evidence for the existence of a music school for the training of boys based in S. Luigi. This school had been seen as playing an important role in the transmission of the Roman style of Palestrina and his followers. In reality it corresponded to the normal training of a small number of choir-boys carried out by the *maestro di cappella* of all such small choirs; the singing boys were entrusted to the care of the *maestro* who supervised their education, including that given by a *maestro di grammatica*. During the tenure of the post of *maestro di cappella* by, first, Giovanni Maria Nanino and, later, by his younger brother Giovanni Bernardino the boys were lodged with the two composers who shared a house, the younger brother being married. It was presumably for training these choirboys that the *Regole di contrappunto di Giovanni M. Nanino e del suo fratello minore Giovanni Bernardino* were written.²²

The French nation commenced the building of their large and prestigious church of S. Luigi in 1518 and at about the same time began to support a handful of regular singers. This was put on a firmer footing under Firmin Le Bel in the 1540s and by 1552 there were seven adult singers and two boys; thereafter the confraternity maintained roughly this number (often with more boys) until the end of 1686. As one of the relatively few regular choirs in the city, on a par with those at S. Giovanni in Laterano, S. Maria Maggiore and S. Lorenzo in Damaso, the singers of S. Luigi were in constant demand from other confraternities to sing at their patronal feastday and other celebrations. Indeed it was this market, with its consequent boost to the pay of the *maestro di cappella* and singers, which enabled these relatively small choirs without rich endowments to survive. Successive *maestri di cappella* at S. Luigi also played an important role in training choirboys, some of whom were to become distinguished musicians and composers in their own right.²³

The impetus for study of the Compagnia dei Musici was the crucial role played by its successor body, the Accademia di S. Cecilia, in Roman musical life up to the present. Remo Giazotto's book remains the standard text, though now in need of some updating. William Summers has also reviewed the first decade of the Compagnia's existence. The musicians' confraternity was in many ways typical of those of other professions, on the one hand seeking to regulate entry into, and the conduct of, the city's musical business and, on the other, celebrating a triple cult of patron saints (Cecilia, Gregory the Great and the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin) with Mass and Vespers. Its members did not wear habits and did not have their own

²¹ N.O'REGAN, *Tomás Luis de Victoria, Francisco de Soto*. Other examples will be presented in my forthcoming book on Roman confraternities and their music.

²² A copy of this treatise survives in manuscript in Bologna, together with various *contrappunti* attributed to Giovanni M. Nanino and Costanzo Festa. See Gaetano GASPARI, *Catálogo della biblioteca del Liceo Musicale di Bologna*, vol. 1, Bologna 1890, S. 301-302.

²³ CAMETTI, *La Scuola*.

church, using a succession of churches belonging to the Barnabite order for their cult and an adjoining room for their meetings. After an initial burst of activity in the 1580s the Compagnia seems to have gone largely into abeyance until it was revitalised and refounded under Pope Gregory XV in the early 1620s. The complex relationship and power struggles between its members and those of the Cappella Pontificia form a fascinating backdrop to the story of Rome's musical life in the seventeenth century. Nino Pirotta has explored what little is known of the confraternity of the street musicians, the *sonatori ad'aria*, also dedicated to S. Cecilia and based at the church of S. Rocco.

That the archival research of Raffaele Casimiri led him into the archives of at least some confraternities is clear from his discovery of payments to Victoria from both of the main Spanish confraternities, that of the Resurrezione at S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli and that of S. Maria di Monserrato, and from the devotional SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini.²⁴ He did not, however, publish studies of these institutions. My own research in the archives of these bodies in the late 1980s and early 1990s led to further papers on Victoria's activities in the two Spanish churches, together with more information about their musical activities in general. Research in these and other confraternity archives has also informed a number of articles which I have published on composers active in late Renaissance and early Baroque Rome: Girolamo Frescobaldi, Ruggiero Giovanelli, Orlando di Lasso, Luca Marenzio and Giovanni P. da Palestrina.²⁵

Others who have published material from the two Spanish confraternity archives are Jonathan Couchman (in connection with his work on Felice Anerio),²⁶ Francesco Luisi (who has examined the large-scale procession organised by the Resurrezione on Easter Sunday morning around the Piazza Navona) and Klaus Pietschmann (who has looked at the first half of the sixteenth century). Scholars who have published research into other confraternity archives include H. Wessely-Kropik on S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini and Jean Lionnet on S. Maria della Consolazione. The proceedings of the 1986 conference in Sora on Cardinal Robert Bellarmine included a paper by Giancarlo Rostirolla which examined the simple *laude spirituali* and other religious songs associated with the catechetical activities of the confraternity of the Dottrina Cristiana. This is just one in a series of papers by Rostirolla covering the *lauda spirituale* in both its Oratorian and Jesuit contexts throughout Italy.²⁷

The 1992 conference *La musica a Roma attraverso le fonti d'archivio* marked something of a milestone in Roman archival studies in music, bringing together an impressive number of scholars covering a broad range of periods and institutions.

²⁴ R. CASIMIRI, »Il Vittoria« nuovi documenti per una biografia sincera di Tommaso Ludovico de Victoria, in: Note D'Archivio 11, 1934, 111-196

²⁵ Noel O'REGAN, Ruggiero Giovanelli's Freelance Work for Roman Institutions, in: Ruggero Giovanelli: Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi (Palestrina-Velletri, 12-14 giugno 1992), Palestrina 1999, S. 63-78; idem. Orlando di Lasso and Rome: Personal Contacts and Musical Influences, in: Orlando di Lasso Studies, hrsg. von Peter Bergquist, Cambridge 1999, S. 132-157; idem., Marenzio's Sacred Music: the Roman Context, in: Early Music 27, 1999, S. 609-620; idem., Palestrina, a Musician and Composer in the Market-place, in: Early Music 22, 1994, S. 551-570; idem., Girolamo Frescobaldi and the Roman Archconfraternity of the Gonfalone, in: Irish Musical Studies 4, 1996, S. 189-202.

²⁶ Jonathan P. Couchman, Felice Anerio's Music for the Church and for the Altemps Cappella. Diss. University of California, 1989.

²⁷ These papers have recently been reissued in a volume offered to Professor Rostirolla on the occasion of his 60th birthday: *La lauda Spirituale tra cinque e seicento: poesie e canti devozionali nell'Italia della controriforma, studi di Giancarlo Rostirolla, Danilo Zardin e Oscar Mischiati*, Roma 2001.

The *Atti* published in 1994 include papers on S. Spirito in Sassia by Patrizia Melella, on S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli by Jean Lionnet and by this author on S. Rocco.²⁸ In addition the volume published a trawl through the Roman *atti notarili* for the year 1590 by Vera Vita Spagnuolo and collaborators which yielded a considerable amount of new information relevant to confraternities and music.²⁹ My 1995 monograph on musical patronage at SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini from its foundation in 1550 to 1650 was the first book-length study of music at a Roman confraternity. Research in that confraternity's archive, as well as that of the Gonfalone, also informed my paper in the *Atti* of a 1997 conference in Ronciglione on the life and music of Domenico Massenzio and Tullio Cima; Günther Morche's paper on Massenzio's involvement in the Jesuit-sponsored Congregazione dei Nobli Aulici is included in the same volume. More recent work to use confraternity archives has included that of Klaus Pietschmann on German musicians in Renaissance Rome and Saverio Franchi on the confraternity of the Angeli Custodi. Arnaldo Morelli made reference to music at S. Maria di Loreto dei Fornai in his study of Filippo Nicoletti while Rainer Heyink is engaged on a comprehensive study of the archive of the German S. Maria dell'Anima.

ROMAN CONFRATERNITY ARCHIVES

The archives of Roman confraternities have had a mixed history, particular since the unification of Italy in 1870.³⁰ After the incorporation of Rome into the new Italian state confraternities and other religious institutions which were involved in running hospitals and social work were forced to give up either their complete archives, or at least that part of them which dealt with the running of the hospitals and other institutions, to the newly-formed Archivio di Stato. As a result the complete surviving archives of SS. Annunziata, S. Caterina dei Funari, S. Giacomo degli Incurabili, S. Maria della Consolazione, S. Rocco, SS. Salvatore, S. Spirito in Sassia, SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini are now in the Archivio di Stato. A part of the archive of S. Giovanni Decollato is also found there while the account books remain at the premises of the confraternity. More recently the archives of S. Gerolamo della Carità and S. Maria di Loreto dei Fornai have been placed there as a repository.

Most confraternity archives were left *in situ* in the nineteenth century, some subsequently being neglected and losing documents. In the twentieth century the gradual diminishing or ceasing altogether of their activities led to many confraternities placing their archives for safe keeping in either the Archivio Segreto Vaticano (the Gonfalone, SS. Crocifisso in S. Marcello, the Pietà dei Carcerati), the Accademia dei Lincei (S. Maria in Aquiro degli Orfani) or the Archivio del Vicariato (this is now the major repository of confraternity archives which are too many to list here but see Appendix 1). The archives of national confraternities still remain in the care of those institutions or of the administrative bodies which have succeeded them. Some of the artisan confraternities or *università* remain active in regulating their trade or profession and continue to have custody of their archives; the majority of these

²⁸ A further confraternity paper in this volume, Franco PIPERNO, *Musica e musicisti per l'Accademia del Disegno di San Luca (1716-1860)*, S. 553-563, is outside the period covered in this article.

²⁹ Vera V. SPAGNUOLO, *Gli atti notarili dell'Archivio di Stato di Roma*, in: *La musica a Roma attraverso le fonti d'archivio*, Atti del convegno internazionale, Roma 4-7 Giugno 1992, hrsg. von Bianca M. Antolini, Arnaldo Morelli, Vera V. Spagnuolo, Lucca 1994, S. 507-519.

³⁰ Antonio FIORI, *Confraternite romane tra Crispi e Giolitti*, Archivio della Società romana di Storia Patria 113 (1990), 285-346.

artisan archives, however, have been lost or preserve no materials before 1650. While most of those archives that do survive *in situ* allow access to scholars, such access is restricted in terms of time and availability of personnel, and in one or two cases is currently denied because of reconstruction work or lack of personnel. Of the 120 or so confraternities known to have existed before 1650, 81 retain some archival material with 63 of those having surviving material of some significance from before 1650.

The most comprehensive guide to the current whereabouts of individual confraternity archives is the *Repertorio degli Archivi delle Confraternite Romane* which makes up the major part of the periodical *Ricerche per la storia religiosa di Roma* Volume 6 (1985), undertaken by a group of researchers under the direction of Luigi Fiorani. This, together with my own research, is the basis for the listing in Appendix 1. Inevitably the contact details given in that volume are now out of date with many no longer applicable. The art historian Michael Erwee plans to include an updated list of archival locations and contact details in his forthcoming revision of Anthony Blunt's *Guide to Baroque Rome*.

ROLES OF MUSIC IN CONFRATERNAL LITURGICAL AND DEVOTIONAL ACTIVITIES

Membership of at least one confraternity became almost essential for male and many female citizens in late sixteenth-century Rome. There were both spiritual benefits - special indulgences and prayers said after death - and material ones - assistance during hard times, treatment during illness, access to dowries for children and the guarantee of a decent burial. Beyond that there was the opportunity to take part in corporate charitable activity, the chance to network – especially in the larger devotional confraternities which included members from all social classes – and a general sense of what Eve Kosowsky Sedgwick has called ‘homosocial interaction’ where members of the same sex (both male and female) undertook a part-communal life of prayer and social action which was modelled to an extent on that of the medieval friars.³¹ Confraternities presented an outlet for the devotional needs – both private and corporate – of lay people, particularly in a city like Rome where religious and secular authority were one and the same and, consequently, religious and political interaction were inextricably intertwined.

Music had a variety of roles to play in this interaction. It was indispensable to the great set-piece occasions such as annual patronal feastday celebrations, the unveiling of relics, the Forty Hours devotion or the inauguration of a new Cardinal Protector. It was also essential for the many processions which confraternities organised: those during the octave of Corpus Domini or Holy Week or those with the *zitelle*, the girls to whom dowries were being given, which took place on one of the patronal feastdays. Many confraternities, too, had obtained from successive popes the privilege of securing the release of a prisoner, condemned to death or to the galleys, on their patronal feast; the prisoner was brought in procession from prison to

³¹ Eve KOSOWSKY SEDGEWICK, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire*, New York 1985. This term is also used by Jennifer Fisk RONDEAU, *Homosexuality and civic (dis)order in late medieval Italian confraternities*, in: *The Politics of Ritual Kinship: Confraternities and Social Order in Early Modern Italy*, hrsg. von Nicholas Terpstra, Cambridge, 2000, S. 30-47.

the confraternity's church or oratory on the vigil and, dressed in the confraternity's habit, was made a centrepiece of the next day's celebrations, all to musical accompaniment. Music functioned as a means of attracting people to services – leading to a hoped-for increase in the offerings of alms. The playing of a trumpeter normally accompanied the public announcing of the indulgences which accompanied special services and which also served as a means of attraction. Music could also be used for prestige purposes, particularly by the nobility who were prepared to pay for it. The oratorio performances in the oratory of SS. Crocifisso and in other oratories in the seventeenth century were funded by the aristocracy on this basis, while the national churches vied with each other in using music to boost national pride. Oratory music also reinforced the sense of corporate devotional activity, especially during Holy Week when the *Tenebrae* offices were generally sung in polyphony. This complemented the chanting of the offices, particularly the office of the Blessed Virgin, in which confraternity members regularly took part. As the historian Angelo Torre has written 'singing and above all flagellation tended to reinforce a sense of internal social cohesion'.³² The major confraternities maintained both a church and an oratory. The former was their interface with the city and the world, where large-scale celebrations could take place attracting the public; the latter was a private place, used for meetings as well as for chanting offices, taking the discipline and carrying out other small-scale devotions. Poorer confraternities had to be content with a chapel within a church and a simple room in which to hold meetings.

Roman confraternities' use of music followed a regular pattern which can be reconstructed from statutes and archival documents from the late fifteenth century onwards. Prior to that, the surviving documents are very patchy but do indicate the presence of musicians. At S. Spirito in Sassia, for example, the former papal singer Antonio Zaccaro da Teramo was paid for copying and illuminating an antiphonary as well as for singing and teaching music to all in the hospital in 1390.³³ The 1495 statutes of the then recently-reformed Confraternita del Gonfalone³⁴ lay out the various roles played by music in the broad sense in the confraternity's life and these remained the same, with some shifts in emphasis, until the end of the *ancien regime* in the 1790s. At the most basic level members would have known and sung simple plainchants such as: the *Pater noster*, *Ave Maria*, *Credo*, the *Salve Regina* and other Marian antiphons, the *Miserere* and the other penitential psalms, the office of the Blessed Virgin. Generally confraternities gathered on one designated Sunday per month to sing the office in the oratory, then process to their church for mass and general Communion; some did it more frequently. Saturday evening devotions were also common, in oratory or church, with the chanting of the *Salve* and some litanies. Small numbers of singers of polyphony could be brought in to supplement the diet of plainchant and confraternities developed a variety of strategies to supply these. Confraternities which had responsibility for a church with an organ employed an organist who could be asked to provide singers for a limited number of feasts and devotional services. Some had an arrangement with a *maestro di cappella* or experienced singer at another institution to provide polyphony on special occasions;

³² Angelo TORRE, *Faith's boundaries: ritual and territory in rural Piedmont in the early modern period*, in: *The Politics of Ritual Kinship: Confraternities and Social Order in Early Modern Italy*, hrsg. von Nicholas Terpstra, Cambridge, 2000, S. 143-261.

³³ Anna ESPOSITO, *Maestro Zaccaro*; Agostino ZIINO, *Ancora su »Magister Antonius dictus Zacharias de Teramo«*.

³⁴ These are given in full in Anna ESPOSITO, *Le »confraternite« del Gonfalone (secoli XIV-XV)*, *Ricerche per la storia religiosa di Roma* 5, 1984, S. 91-136.

others had a similar arrangement with a freelance singer/musician. Others again went into the market-place each year and sought a musician who would organise a group of singers and, perhaps, players to provide music for the two sets of Vespers, mass and whatever processions were called for.

The level and quality of music used depended on the type of confraternity and the importance of its cult. In general the artisan and professional confraternities only had polyphonic music once or twice a year on patronal feasts, used to give lustre to Mass, Vespers and processions on a major festal occasion. National confraternities, particularly those of the major powers, used music for propaganda; in celebrating their national saints' days and other celebrations such as the births of royal heirs or military victories they were essentially fulfilling an ambassadorial role in which the putting on of a good show, with the best music available, was important. This was also the case for the processions which they organised, particularly that during the octave of Corpus Christi. The relative proximity of the national French, German and Spanish churches in a cluster close to the Piazza Navona only served to heighten the sense of competition. Devotional confraternities had the most consistent use of music, particularly during penitential seasons and in their oratories. This came to a climax in Holy Week with the singing of the Tenebrae offices and a procession to S. Pietro and the Vatican palace on Holy Thursday/Good Friday. A number of these confraternities also mounted a series of devotional exercises on the Fridays of Lent, or on another day of the week. The role of music in these grew in importance in the last decades of the sixteenth century and into the seventeenth, culminating in the oratorio performances in Latin or Italian for which Rome became a model for the rest of Europe.

Apart from the two confraternities which maintained regular choirs - S. Spirito in Sassia and S. Luigi dei Francesi – a number of other confraternities supported groups of singers at certain times and disbanded them at others, due to financial problems. The Gonfalone had a *maestro di canto figurato* from at least 1495 and a regular choir of up to eight singers from at least 1517 until about 1534; the Good Friday *sacre rappresentationi* of the Passion in particular needed singers. It established a choir again in 1587, only for it to be disbanded in 1589. Among other confraternities with choirs of regular singers before 1650 were: S. Rocco (1574-5, 1581-94 (made up largely of *cappellani cantores*) and 1600), SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini (1591-3), S. Maria della Consolazione (1597-1617), S. Maria di Monserrato (1583-88), S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli (1616-1623), S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini (1586-after 1600), S. Maria dell'Orto (1589-92), S. Maria di Loreto dei Fornari (from at least 1613-1694).³⁵ These dates refer to choirs of professional singers, named and paid as such in the surviving archival documents. Many of these were relatively short-lived and reflect the difficulty confraternities had in finding regular sources of finance to support such choirs. None of these managed to put the choir on a solid financial footing based on annuities from land or rents. Finance came from pledges or collections among the members and had to be supplemented from general funds, thus lessening the money available for charitable ends. Most of the time confraternities were content to spend quite large sums of money hiring in professional singers for one or two major patronal feastdays in the year. Before the late sixteenth century this demand was able to be satisfied by the small number of regular *cappelle*

³⁵ This information has been derived by the author from the respective archives, apart from S. Maria di Loreto which comes from MORELLI, *Filippo Nicoletti*.

in the city: S. Pietro in Vaticano, S. Giovanni in Laterano, S. Maria Maggiore, S. Lorenzo in Damaso, S. Luigi dei Francesi, S. Spirito in Sassia. Indeed it was this opportunity for extramural work which helped keep these choirs going, supplementing the relatively meagre regular income paid to *maestri* and singers.

By the 1580s polychoral music for two, three and sometimes more choirs had become the fashion, especially for festal Vespers, and so there was a greater demand for extra singers, not just by confraternities, but by all Roman religious institutions, even those with a small regular choir. Some of the more experienced singers serving in those regular choirs began to organise music on a freelance basis on days when their services were not required in their own church. Appendix 2 lists the known extramural employments by Roman confraternities of the two Nanino brothers, Giovanni Maria and Giovanni Bernardino, with the sums paid to cover other musicians as well as themselves. Both were important players on the Roman musical scene but with quite different career paths and these differences are reflected in their work patterns. Giovanni Maria was a cleric who spent a relatively short time as *maestro di cappella* at S. Maria Maggiore (c. 1567-1575) and at S. Luigi dei Francesi (1575-1577) before joining the Cappella Pontificia in 1577, where he remained until his death. Before joining the papal choir he was paid relatively small sums of money for providing singers at patronal feasts. Once a papal singer his outside involvement was relatively small but he was paid much more, reflecting the importance of the singers he could bring with him. Giovanni Bernardino, on the other hand, married and had a family; he spent his life in a series of churches as *maestro di cappella* and payments for outside work cover the whole of his career. His permanent employment included two of the churches whose regular singers were most in demand by those institutions without the funds to maintain their own *cappelle*, S. Luigi dei Francesi (1591-1608) and S. Lorenzo in Damaso (1608-1618). While his largest payments came from the well-off SS. Crocifisso, there are also payments from much less well-endowed confraternities such as S. Omobono dei Sarti; they too were prepared to pay money to outside musicians to help solemnise their patronal feastdays.

The absence of a choir of professional singers did not mean a total lack of polyphonic music on a regular basis. All confraternities maintained chaplains to say the masses required by legacies and endowments. Many of these were musically literate (the composers Tomás Luis de Victoria and Francesco Soriano, for instance, filled posts as chaplains during their careers) and could sing at least simple polyphony. One of the chaplains could be named as *maestro di cappella* and made responsible for organising the others. At S. Rocco in the 1580s, for example, there are extant inventories of music passed from one chaplain to another as the role of *maestro* was circulated. The chaplains also sang plainchant, as could members of the confraternity. Some chaplains and confraternity members could also improvise in falsobordone. A number of confraternities paid small sums to singers of falsobordone based in their oratories for providing music at processions and devotional activities. For processions, also, it was customary to invite groups of friars from the city's many houses of mendicant orders who would have sung plainsong. Groups of singing orphans were similarly invited, from the orphanages at S. Maria in Aquiro and the Ospedale del Lettorato. Both friars and orphans were paid small sums and often, like the musicians, given food. Confraternities thus consumed

music in a wide range of musical styles, from complex polyphony to plainchant with everything in between.

Only a handful of confraternity archives now preserve any music from before 1650: SS. Crocifisso, S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini and S. Luigi dei Francesi are among those which do.³⁶ Many other confraternity archives preserve some payments for the purchase or copying of music, or include inventories of the music which can provide evidence for patterns of music consumption.³⁷

CONCLUSION

It was said of Pope Pius V (1565-72) that he wished to turn Rome into one great convent and to some extent this might be said to have been achieved under him and his successor, Gregory XIII (1572-85). Membership of at least one confraternity became a political and social necessity and the liturgical and devotional activities in which they engaged predisposed the populace to hearing plainchant, *falsobordone* and polyphony in church and oratory services. The proliferation of confraternities through the sixteenth century led to an ever-increasing volume of masses, vespers, processions and devotions filling ever more days in the calendar. This in turn led to increased activity on the part of musicians, increased consumption of sacred music and increased levels of publication by Rome-based composers. The success of Rome's more important musical institutions was to a large extent founded on a broadly-based pyramid of lesser bodies whose sacrifices in order to maintain even a minimum level of musical activity contributed to keeping the peak of that pyramid as high as it was. All of these bodies were in a fluid symbiosis with each other and we cannot understand the functioning of the minority of the city's great choirs without knowing as much as we can about the majority of lesser institutions.

APPENDIX 1

Roman Confraternities founded before 1650 arranged in chronological order of foundation according to type, with current location of archival material where it is known to survive

AEE	Archivos de los Establicimientos Españoles en Roma
ASR	Archivio di Stato, Roma
ASV	Archivio Segreto Vaticano
AV	Archivio Storico del Vicariato
conf.	archive held at confraternity or successor institution
Lincei	Accademia dei Lincei, Biblioteca Corsiniana

³⁶ The music in the archive of SS. Crocefisso will be described in my forthcoming book on Roman confraternities and music. For S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini see Helene WESSELY-KROPIK, *Mitteilungen aus dem Archiv*. For S. Luigi see Jean LIONNET, *La Musique a Saint-Louis*, première partie, S. 141-144.

³⁷ The surviving payments and inventories will be looked at in some detail in my forthcoming book on Roman confraternities and music. See also N. O'REGAN, *Le pratiche della musica nelle chiese e nelle confraternite di Roma nel Cinquecento*, Atti del Convegno: Produzione, circolazione e consumo: per una mappa della musica sacra dal tardo Medioevo al primo Seicento, Venezia 1999 (forthcoming); idem., *Music at the Roman Archconfraternity of San Rocco*; Giancarlo ROSTIROLLA, *L'Archivio musicale della Chiesa annessa all'Ospedale di Santo Spirito*.

CONFRATERNITY	Date of Found.	Location of archive
CONFRATERNITIES RUNNING HOSPITALS		
S. Spirito in Sassia (General)	1268?	ASR
Smo. Salvatore (General)	1288?	ASR
S. Giacomo degli Incurabili (syphilitics)	1339?	ASR
S. Maria della Consolazione e delle Grazie (general)	1505	ASR
S. Maria della Pietà dei Pazzarelli (mentally ill)	1548	conf.
Sma. Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti (pilgrims and convalescents)	1560	ASR
S. Elisabetta e sua Visitazione dei Poveri Ciecchi e Storpi (disabled)	1621	
DEVOTIONAL CONFRATERNITIES AND THOSE SPECIALISING IN SOCIAL WORK		
Gonfalone (ransom of galley slaves from 1581)	13th c., refounded 1486	AV
S. Michele Arcangelo ai corridori di Borgo	1432?	conf.
SS. Annunziata (dowries)	1439	ASR
Cintura del S. P. Agostino e della S. M. Monica	1439	
SS. Pietro e Paolo dei sacerdoti secolari (pilgrim priests)	1459	
Sma. Concezione in S. Lorenzo in Damaso	before 1465	AV
Smo. Rosario in S. Maria sopra Minerva	1481	
S. Giovanni Decollato dei Fiorentini (those condemned to death)	1490	conf + ASR
S. Rocco (plague; illegitimate mothers and babies)	1499	ASR
S. Maria del Carmine alle Tre Cannelle	1515	conf.
S. Gerolamo della Carità (prisoners)	1520	ASR
S. Giuliano	1524	
Smo. Crocifisso in S. Marcello	1529	ASV
S. Maria del Sacro Monte di Pietà (bank)	1524	
	CHECK	
S. Maria della Visitazione degli Orfani (orphans)	1540	Lincei
S. Giuseppe dei Neofiti (those preparing for Baptism)	1543	
S. Maria del Pianto (sick poor)	1546	AV
S. Caterina della Rosa Delle Vergini Miserabili (prostitutes)	1549?	ASR
S. Maria dell'Orazione E Morte (collecting dead bodies)	1552	AV
Smo. Nome di Dio in S. Maria sopra Minerva	1559	
	(Statutes only)	AV
Dottrina Cristiana	1560	AV
SS. Dodici Apostoli	1564	conf.
Pietà dei Carcerati (prisoners)	1579	ASV
Sma. Annunziata (Collegio romano)	1581	
S. Bernardo	before 1591	
S. Maria del Suffragio	1592	AV*
Smo. Stimmate di S. Francesco	1595	AV
SS. Orsola e Caterina	1599	AV*
Sette Dolori di Maria	1607	
Immacolata Concezione e S. Ivo avvocato dei poveri oppressi	1616	AV*
S. Maria delle Gioie	1616	AV
Sma. Natività di Nostro Signor Gesù Cristo degli Agonizzanti	1616	AV*
SS. Angeli Custodi	1621	AV
Nobili Aulici	1628	Collegio romano dei padri Giuseppini d'Asti
S. Anna per le donne	1640	Archivio delle Scuole Pie (S. Pantaleo)*
S. Antonio di Padova	1649	

CONFRATERNITIES OF FOREIGN NATIONALITIES

S. Giuliano dei Belgi	1444	conf.
S. Giovanni Battista della Pietà dei Fiorentini	1448	conf.
S. Maria della Pietà in Campo Santo dei Teutonici e fiamminghi	1449	conf.
S. Caterina dei Senesi	1458	conf.
S. Ambrogio (e S. Carlo from 1612) dei Lombardi	1471	conf.
SS. Dionisio e Luigi dei Francesi	1478	conf.
S. Maria di Monserrato dei Aragonesi	1495	AEE
S. Maria dell'Anima dei Tedeschi	1500	conf.
S. Nicola dei Lorenesi (1766 united with S. Luigi)	1508?	conf.*
S. Ivo dei Bretoni (1582 united with S. Luigi)	1513	conf.
SS. Vincenzo/Alessandro e Bartolomeo dei Bergamaschi	1539	conf.
S. Antonio dei Portoghesi	1540	conf.
S. Gerolamo dei Schiavoni	1544?	Pontificio Collegio Croato di S. Girolamo dei Illirici
S. Giovanni Battista dei Genovesi	1553	conf.
SS. Faustina e Giovita dei Bresciani	1576	conf*
SS. Petronio e Giovanni Evangelista dei Bolognesi	1576	AV*
Smo. Resurrezione degli Spagnoli	1579	AEE
S. Spirito dei Napoletani	?1576/1585	AV
S. Maria d'Itria/Odigitria dei Siciliani	1594	conf.
Smo. Sudario dei Piemontesi dell'Ordinario Palatino	1597	Sede
SS. Benedetto e Scolastica dei Norcini	1615	AV and conf.*
S. Croce dei Lucchesi	1631	Archivio di Stato di Lucca
S. Casa di Loreto dei Piceni	1633	conf.

CONFRATERNITIES ARISING FROM GUILDS AND TRADES

S. Anna dei Palafrenieri	1378	conf.
SS. Cosma e Damiano dei Barbieri	1440	
S. Lorenzo Martire degli Speciali	1450	conf.
S. Elisabetta dei Fornai tedeschi	1487	S. Maria della Pietà in Campo Santo*
S. Maria dell'Orto (Mercanti in Trastevere)	1492	conf.
S. Maria di Loreto dei Fornai	1507	ASR
S. Eligio degli Orefici	1509	conf.
Sma. Annunziata dei Cuocchi e Pasticcieri	1513	
S. Maria degli Angeli e di S. Agata dei Tessitori	1517	
SS. Biagio e Cecilia dei Materassi	1521	
S. Gregorio Magno dei Muratori	1527	AV*
S. Maria della Quercia dei Macellai	1532	conf.*
S. Giuseppe dei Virtuosi al Pantheon	1534	conf.
S. Maria della Purità dei Caudatari	1538	
S. Marta dei Serventi del Palazzo del Papa	1538	
S. Giuseppe dei Falegnami	1540	AV
SS. Crispino e Crispiniano dei Calzolai	1549	S. Maria della Pietà in Campo Santo*
SS. Paolo e Bartolomeo dei Vaccinari	1552	
S. Elena dei Credenzieri	1557	
SS. Biagio e Ambrogio dell'Arte della Lana	1560	
SS. Giovanni Evangelista e Nicola di Mira degli Scrivani e Copisti	1561	
S. Maria degli Angeli e di S. Lucia dei Cocchieri	1565	

Sma. Concezione della Madonna e dei Quattro SS. Dottori della Chiesa degli Stampatori	1566	
SS. Martino e Sebastiano della Guardia Svizzera	1568	
S. Eligio dei Ferrari	1575	conf.
S. Omobono dei Sarti	1575	AV
Smo. Sacramento e dei SS. Andrea Apostolo e Maria Salome dei Vascellari	1575	
S. Matteo dei Bancherotti	1578	
Compagnia dei Musicisti di Roma (S. Cecilia)	1585	Accademia di S. Cecilia and Archivio dei Barnabiti, Milan
S. Luca dei Pittori e Scultori	1588	Accademia di S. Luca
S. Barbara dei Bombardieri	1594	
S. Bernardino da Siena dei Rigattieri (split off from Materassi)	1595	
SS. Sebastiano e Valentino dei Merciarì	1595	
SS. Quattro Coronati dei Marmorari	1596	Accademia di S. Luca
S. Giuliano degli Albergatori	1600?	
SS. Tommaso d'Aquino e S. Giovanni dei Dio dei Librai	1600	

BLESSED SACRAMENT CONFRATERNITIES

Smo. Sacramento in S. Giovanni in Laterano	1493?	conf.*
Smo. Sacramento e Cinque Piaghe in S. Lorenzo in Damaso	1508	AV
Smo. Sacramento in S. Giacomo in Scossacavalli (Carmelites - orig. S. Maria In Transpontina)	1513	
Smo. Sacramento in S. Maria sopra Minerva (thought by many to have been the earliest – 'Confraternita-madre')	1539	AV
Smo. Sacramento e di Maria SS. del Carmine (S. Chrisogono)	1543	ASR*
Smo. Sacramento in S. Pietro in Vaticano (workers in S. Pietro)	1548	Rev. Fabbrica di S. Pietro
Smo. Sacramento e Nome di Dio in SS. Celso e Giuliano in Banchi	1560	AV*
Smo. Sacramento in S. Maria in Trastevere	1564	AV*
Smo. Sacramento della Concezione della BVM e della Madonna della Cintura, e dei SS. Martiri Trifone, Respicio e Ninfa	1571	
Smo. Sacramento in SS. Quirico e Giulitta	1575	
Smo. Sacramento in S. Lorenzo in Lucina	1576	
Smo. Sacramento di S. Maria in Via	1576	AV
Smo. Sacramento e S. Andrea Apostolo (S. Andrea delle Frate)	1576	
Adorazione Perpetua del SS. Sacramento e di tutti i Santi (Pantheon)	1578	
Smo. Sacramento in S. Eustachio	1582	
Smo. Sacramento e S. Nicola in S. Nicola di Mira	1583	
Smo. Sacramento e Congreg. di Maria SS. della Neve in S. Biagio dell'Anello	1584	
Smo. Sacramento di S. Stefano e di S. Maria della Neve	1640	AV*

* no material of likely musical significance survives from the period before 1650.

APPENDIX 2

EXTRAORDINARY PAYMENTS FOR CONFRATERNITY SPECIAL FEASTDAY CELEBRATIONS TO THE NANINO BROTHERS

GIOVANNI MARIA NANINO (b. Tivoli c. 1545, d. Rome 1607)

?1567-1575

Maestro di cappella, S. Maria Maggiore

1575-1577		Maestro di cappella, S. Luigi dei Francesi	
1577-1607		Tenor, Cappella Pontificia	
1604, 1605		Served as maestro di cappella, Cappella Pontificia	
1567	SS. Crocifisso	Patronal feast (Discovery of Holy Cross)	0.90
1568	S. Luca dei Pintori	Patronal feast (St. Luke)	1.50
1569	S. Luca dei Pintori	Patronal feast (St. Luke)	1.50
1570	S. Luca dei Pintori	Patronal feast (St. Luke)	1.50
1571	S. Luca dei Pintori	Patronal feast (St. Luke)	1.50
1575	Gonfalone	Patronal feast (St. Lucy)	4.20
1576	SS. Trinità	Patronal feast (Trinity)	8
1576	SS. Crocifisso	Patronal feast (Exaltation of Holy Cross)	2
1576	S. Maria del Pianto	Patronal feast (Miracolo della Madonna)	4
1593	S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli	Forty Hours	17.50
1597	SS. Crocifisso	Lenten music in oratory and Holy Thursday procession	110
1598	SS. Crocifisso	Lenten music in oratory and Holy Thursday procession	141.20
1604	Gonfalone	Holy Thursday procession [+ papal singers]	66

GIOVANNI BERNARDINO NANINO (b. Vallerano c. 1560, d. Vallerano 1618)

May 1585-October 1586		Maestro di cappella, SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini (non-stipendiary)	
?-1591		Maestro di cappella, S. Maria ai Monti	
1591-1608		Maestro di cappella, S. Luigi dei Francesi	
1608-1618		Maestro di cappella, S. Lorenzo in Damaso	
1612-16 (at least)		In service of Cardinal Alessandro Peretti-Montalto	
1585	SS. Trinità	Patronal feast (Holy Trinity)	4
	SS. Trinità	Corpus Christi	4
1586	SS. Trinità	Patronal feast	1.50
1587	Gonfalone	Holy Week lamentations and Holy Thursday Procession	22
1595	SS. Crocifisso	Patronal feast (Discovery of Holy Cross)	12
1596	S. Giacomo degli Incurabili	Patronal feast (St. James)	15
1598	SS. Crocifisso	Patronal feast (Discovery of Holy Cross)	5
1598	S. Omobono dei Sarti	Patronal feast (S. Omobono)	6.50
1599	S. Omobono dei Sarti	Patronal feast (S. Omobono)	6.50
1600	S. Omobono dei Sarti	Patronal feast (St. Anthony)	2
	S. Omobono dei Sarti	Visit to four churches	12
	SS. Salvatore in S. Maria sopra Minerva	Patronal feast (Transfiguration)	3.60
1601	SS. Crocifisso	Holy Thursday Procession	42
	SS. Crocifisso	(Discovery of Holy Cross)	10
	SS. Crocifisso	(Exaltation of Holy Cross)	8
1603	SS. Salvatore in S. Maria	(Transfiguration)	8
1607	SS. Crocifisso	Holy Thursday Procession - coro grosso	32
1606	S. Rocco	Patronal feast (St. Roch)	25
1608	S. Rocco	(St. Roch)	25
	SS. Crocifisso	Lenten music in Oratory	198
1612	Dottrina Cristiana	Patronal feast (St. Martin)	6
1613	Dottrina Cristiana	(St. Martin)	6
	Dottrina Cristiana	Disputa della Dottrina Cristiana	6
1616	S. Maria del Pianto	Patronal feast (Miracolo della Madonna)	15
1616	Spirito Santo dei Napoletani	Festa del Spirito Santo	15/20

APPENDIX 3

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