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**Citation for published version:**

O'Regan, N 2008, 'Giovanni Maria Nanino and the Roman confraternities of his time'. in G Monari & F Vizzacarro (eds), *Atti e memorie della Società Tibertina di storia e d'arte: Atti della Giornata internazionale di studio, Tivoli, 26 October 2007*. vol. 31, Tivoli, pp. 113-127.

**Link:**

[Link to publication record in Edinburgh Research Explorer](#)

**Document Version:**

Author final version (often known as postprint)

**Published In:**

Atti e memorie della Società Tibertina di storia e d'arte

**Publisher Rights Statement:**

© O'Regan, N. (2008). Giovanni Maria Nanino and the Roman confraternities of his time. In G. Monari, & F. Vizzacarro (Eds.), *Atti e memorie della Società Tibertina di storia e d'arte: Atti della Giornata internazionale di studio, Tivoli, 26 October 2007*. (Vol. 31, pp. 113-127). Tivoli.

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# **GIOVANNI MARIA NANINO AND THE ROMAN CONFRATERNITIES OF HIS TIME**

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Giovanni Maria Nanino was employed successively by three of Rome's major institutions: S. Maria Maggiore (1570 or before - 1575), S. Luigi dei Francesi (1575-1577) and the Cappella Pontificia (1577-1607). Like virtually all musicians active in late 16<sup>th</sup>-century and early 17<sup>th</sup>-century Rome, he also engaged in a certain amount of freelance activity for institutions which did not have their own regular choir. This activity was mainly for Roman confraternities and it is on this aspect of Nanino's work that this article will concentrate. Since he achieved a place in the Cappella Pontificia at a relatively early age (33 or 34) his two earlier known appointments were shorter than those of many others of his generation. They were, however, at two of the most prestigious musical *cappelle* in the city and would have given Nanino considerable musical, liturgical and administrative experience which must have stood him in good stead both in the Cappella Pontificia and in his freelance work.

It is not possible to say when Nanino took up the position of *maestro di cappella* at S. Maria Maggiore (more will be said about this below). We also don't know which, if any, positions he might have held in the city before that. His name does not appear in known Roman archival sources before 1570 (see below). S. Maria Maggiore was one of the four major basilicas visited by all pilgrims to the city with a full liturgical programme serviced by a choir of 6-8 adult men and 3-4 boys.<sup>1</sup> Similar forces were employed by the French national church of S. Luigi, which made use of music as an important part of its diplomatic offensive on behalf of the French monarchy and state.<sup>2</sup> Both of these choirs, together with those of the Cappella Giulia, S. Giovanni in Laterano, S. Lorenzo in Damaso and, to a lesser extent, S. Spirito in Sassia and a few other temporarily-established choirs, engaged in outside work for institutions without a regular choir.<sup>3</sup> This work supplemented the salaries of the *maestro di cappella* and of the singers and must have played a significant part in allowing these relatively small choirs to survive.

## **TABLE 1**

### **PAYMENTS TO GIOVANNI MARIA NANINO FOR *MUSICA STRAORDINARIA***

Extracted from Roman confraternity archives

COMPAGNIA DI S. LUCA DEI PINTORI

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<sup>1</sup> VITO RAELI, *Nel Secolo di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina alla Cappella della Basilica Liberiana*, Roma, 1920.

<sup>2</sup> HERMANN-WALTER FREY, *Die Kapellmeister an der französischen Nationalkirche San Luigi dei Francesi in Rom im 16 Jahrhundert*, in "Archiv für Musikwissenschaft", a. XXII (1965), pp. 272-293; a. XXIII (1966), pp. 32-60.

<sup>3</sup> My forthcoming book on Roman Confraternities and their Music, 1486-1650, will give full details of known employments of musicians by Roman confraternities.

			<i>scudi</i>
[1568	Maestro di cappella di S. Maria Maggiore [?Giovanni Maria Nanino]		1.50]
[1569	Maestro di cappella di S. M. Maggiore [?Giovanni Maria Nanino]		1.50]
1570	M. Giovanmaria [Nanino] maestro di cappella di S. M. Maggiore		1.50
1571	M. Giovanmaria [Nanino] maestro di cappella di S. M. Maggiore		1.50
1572	Maestro di cappella di S. M. Maggiore [Giovanni Maria Nanino]		1.50
1573	Maestro di cappella di S. M. Maggiore [Giovanni Maria Nanino]		1.50
1574	Maestro di cappella di S. M. Maggiore [Giovanni Maria Nanino]		1.50

#### OTHER CONFRATERNITIES UP TO 1577

[1569	S. Rocco	Feast of S. Rocco [‘cantori di S. M. Maggiore’]	3.50]
1573	SS. Crocifisso	[Holy Thursday procession?]	12
1575	S. Ambrogio dei Lombardi	Feast of S. Ambrogio	4
	Gonfalone	Feast of S. Lucia	4.20
1576	S. Maria del Pianto	Festa del SS. Miracolo [maestro di cappella di S. Luigi]	4
	SS. Crocifisso	Holy Thursday procession (‘sei cantori’)	12
		Exaltation of the Holy Cross (‘dui vesperi’)	2
	SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini	Feast of the Holy Trinity	8
	S. Gerolamo della Carità	Feast of S. Gerolamo [cantori di S. Luigi]	4
1577	S. Eligio degli Orefici	Feast of S. Eligio [maestro di cappella di S. Luigi]	3

#### OTHER CONFRATERNITIES AFTER 1577

1593	S. Giacomo dei Spagnoli	Quarant’ore for Archconfraternity of the Resurrection	17.50
1594	SS. Crocifisso	[Fridays of Lent?]	57.50
1597	SS. Crocifisso	Fridays of Lent	110
1602	SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini	Pilgrimage a Loreto	
	S. Caterina della Rosa o dei Funari	Feast of St. Catherine (decreti)	
1604	Gonfalone	Holy Thursday procession (‘maestro di cappella di Nostro Signore + cantori della Cappella Pontificia’)	66

Table 1 lists all the casual confraternity employments which are so far known for Giovanni Maria Nanino. It is not a large number in comparison with some of Nanino’s contemporaries, for example his younger brother Giovanni Bernardino. This reflects the older Nanino’s having spent most of his working life as a member of the Cappella Pontificia whose singers, while they did undertake some freelance work, had to organise singers and instrumentalists in each case (not having a fixed choir at their disposal – the Cappella Pontificia only performed as a body in the Cappella Sistina or elsewhere when the pope was present) and so did it sparingly; their higher status on the Roman musical scene also meant that they could be more selective in taking on outside employments. We can assume that Giovanni Maria was more active during his pre-Cappella Pontificia days than the surviving payments would imply. Many confraternity archives have not survived and, in those which have, payments often simply register ‘cantori’ or ‘musica’ without specifying who was responsible; this is particularly so in the 1570s. The Holy Year of 1575, in particular, should have seen Nanino active in meeting visiting confraternities and accompanying them and Roman bodies around the four and seven churches, as were other Roman contemporaries.<sup>4</sup> In some of the employments in Table 1 Nanino is not specifically mentioned by name but the church from which the choir came

<sup>4</sup> See NOEL O’REGAN, *Institutional Patronage in Post-Tridentine Rome 1550-1650*, RMA Monographs VII, London, RMA, 1995.

– S. Maria Maggiore or S. Luigi dei Francesi – is listed and, since we know that Nanino was *maestro* at that particular time, it is reasonable to suppose that he was in charge of the music. In these cases the title used in the archives is given in brackets.

Giovanni Maria Nanino's known provision of *musica straordinaria* covered nine confraternities. Table 1 divides this work into three sections: that for the Compagnia di S. Luca dei Pintori, that for other confraternities before his move to the Cappella Pontificia in 1577 and that as papal singer. As described above, it was customary in Rome for institutions without a regular choir, as well as for those with just a small number of regular singers, to hire in extra singers, instrumentalists and organists to provide music for patronal feastday celebrations and for processions. These singers normally sang at Mass and both first and second vespers, as well as during those processions which accompanied the patronal feastday. Many of Rome's confraternities also organised processions on either Holy Thursday or Good Friday to St. Peter's basilica in order to view the relics of the Passion held there, before moving on to the *sepolcro* in the Cappella Paolina of the Vatican.<sup>5</sup> Musicians, normally at least two groups – one small and one larger – accompanied this procession and this meant most confraternities hiring in singers and a *maestro di cappella*. Almost all of Nanino's work falls into these two categories; patronal feastdays and the Holy Week procession. A third important category was his provision of music during Lent at the oratory of SS. Crocifisso.

Taking his service for the Compagnia di S. Luca dei Pintori first, this seems essentially to have been an activity which was expected of whoever held the post of *maestro di cappella* at S. Maria Maggiore.<sup>6</sup> The small church of S. Luca (officially dedicated to SS. Cosma e Damiano) was very close to that basilica and belonged to it. An undated mid-century agreement between the artists and the basilica's chapter survives in the Compagnia's archives, setting down that the latter would retain all the fixed income of the church and surrounding ground, while the artists would have all donations and the use of the building and furniture, with the possibility of making any improvements and enlargements they wished.<sup>7</sup> A solemn mass was to be celebrated on the patronal feast of St. Luke on the 18<sup>th</sup> October, for which a relic from the saint's arm was carried into the church from the basilica. Nanino's predecessors as *maestro*, including Adrian Valent and Palestrina, had also provided music for Mass and Vespers on the patronal feast. The amount of money paid was very small – 1.50 *scudi* – which would seem to imply that the amount of music and number of singers cannot have been very great: it was hardly enough to pay for even four singers. It seems likely, however, that the singing was undertaken as an obligation by the singers of S. Maria Maggiore and that the money paid did not cover the real cost. The payments to Palestrina in the 1560s specify that he provided music for the 'messa grande' and for second vespers.

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<sup>5</sup> NOEL O'REGAN, *Processions and their Music in Post-Tridentine Rome*, in "Recercare", a. IV (1992), pp. 45-80.

<sup>6</sup> ARCHIVIO DELL'ACCADEMIA DI SAN LUCA, b. 41, f. CHECK

For full details of music provided for S. Luca see my forthcoming article, *Artists and Musicians in early baroque Rome: contacts and commissions* which is planned for publication in "Recercare".

<sup>7</sup> See SERGIO ROSSI, *La compagnia di San Luca nel cinquecento e la sua evoluzione in accademia*, in "Ricerche per la Storia religiosa di Roma" a. V (1984), pp. 368-394.

The ‘Universitas pictorum et Societas Sancti Lucae’, as it was called in the mid-sixteenth century, filled a dual role as the organising guild of the painters and as guardian of their cult.<sup>8</sup> That cult included devotion to the Blessed Virgin, particularly to the icon known as the *Salus populi romani*, preserved in S. Maria Maggiore and reputed to have been painted by St. Luke, the other focus of their cult. The painters took part in the celebrations in the basilica on the feast of the Assumption on the 15<sup>th</sup> August as well as celebrating their own patronal feast. In the late 1580s, when Pope Sixtus V built the Cappella Sistina on the right-hand side of the basilica, this small church was torn down and the artists, who were by now in the process of becoming an Accademia, were given the church of S. Martina in the Foro romano which they were to rebuild in the 1630s as the church of SS. Luca e Martina.<sup>9</sup>

We do not know when Nanino took up the position of *maestro* at S. Maria Maggiore since there is a gap in the basilica’s archives between 1563 and 1572. The archives of the confraternity of S. Maria di Loreto dei Fornai make it clear that Nanino did not immediately succeed Palestrina as *maestro* at S. Maria Maggiore since they record a payment for music on their patronal feast on 8<sup>th</sup> September 1567 to Giovanni Battista Montanara, ‘maestro di cappella di S. Maria Maggiore’.<sup>10</sup> Palestrina was paid by the Compagnia di S. Luca dei Pintori for music provided on their patronal feast on 18<sup>th</sup> October 1566 and was similarly described in the payment as ‘Maestro di cappella di S. Maria Maggiore’. Montanara must have succeeded Palestrina sometime in late 1566 or early 1567. The earliest specific payment so far found to Nanino as *maestro* at the basilica is that for music at S. Luca on 18<sup>th</sup> October 1570. At the same time Montanara is nowhere specified as *maestro* of the basilica after 18<sup>th</sup> October 1567 so that Nanino could have taken up the post any time after that date. If he were there in 1568-9 then he also provided the music at S. Luca in those years and, in 1569, provided music for the patronal feast of S. Rocco on 16<sup>th</sup> August for that confraternity (‘scudi tre dati contanti alli cantori de Santa Maria Maggiore per esser loro venuti a cantar messa et vespero il di della nostra fesat de Santo Roccho’);<sup>11</sup> these employments are included in brackets in Table 1. Nanino organised the patronal feastday music at S. Luca up to 1574; in April 1575 he moved to S. Luigi dei Francesi and the payment for music at S. Luca in that year was made to ‘M. Jo. Pietro contralto di cantori di S. Maria Maggiore’.

Nanino’s first major employment by a big prestigious confraternity was at SS. Crocifisso in 1573. This devotional confraternity was to feature regularly in his life thereafter. It had been organising processions on Good Friday since at least 1530, the date of the earliest payment for musicians.<sup>12</sup> In its early years the confraternity’s

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<sup>8</sup> Books and Statutes – check Grove Art

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<sup>10</sup> ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI ROMA (henceforth ASR), *Fondo S. Maria di Loreto di Fornai*, b. 20, f. 111.

<sup>11</sup> ASR, *Fondo Ospedale di S. Rocco*, b. 175, non-foliated.

<sup>12</sup> ARCHIVIO SEGRETO VATICANO (henceforth ASV), *Fondo Arciconfraternita del SS. Crocifisso in S. Marcello*, A XI 2 (non-foliated). See DOMENICO ALALEONA, *Storia dell’Oratorio Musicale in Italia*, Torino, 1908; rist. Milano, Fratelli Bocca, 1945, p. 327.

procession was headed by the crucifix which was its *raison d'être* (it had survived a fire at the church of S. Marcello in 1519 and was credited with saving lives during the plague of 1522) but later this was thought too fragile to process and was replaced by a copy.<sup>13</sup> The procession moved to the night of Holy Thursday during the 1550s and alternated between the two thereafter; essentially the various confraternities involved processed throughout the night between the two days. It involved processing through the streets from S. Marcello to the Ponte San Angelo, across to the Borgo and then to the basilica of S. Pietro to be shown the *Volto santo*, the veil of Veronica, and the lance with which Longinus pierced the body of Christ on the cross. From the 1550s, the procession then went to the Cappella Paolina in the Vatican Palace to visit the sepulcro set up there. Some of the members were *disciplinati*. The singers wore the black habit of the confraternity. The 1573 payment does not specify what it was for: 'a M. Giovanni Maria Nanino mastro di capella di Sta. Maria Magior scudi dodici come apare per mandato'<sup>14</sup> but it was paid on the 27 March and similar sums of money were paid for the Holy Thursday procession in these years.<sup>15</sup> In 1576 Nanino was paid 12 *scudi* by SS. Crocifisso for this procession, specifying that he led six singers: 'a M. Giovanni Maria Nanino mastro di capela de Santo Aluisio per haver compagato con sei cantori la nostra prosesione il giovedì santo a Santo Pietro'.<sup>16</sup> Since he received the same 12 *scudi* in 1573 we can presume that there were also six singers then.

During the *anno santo* of 1575 Nanino provided music for the patronal feast of S. Lucia, patron of the Arciconfraternita del Gonfalone: 'a M. Giovanni Maria maestro di cappella di S. Luisi per la musicha fatta in Santa Lucia la vigilia e la festa'.<sup>17</sup> The Gonfalone was the oldest of Rome's confraternities and one of the most active in organising processions and other devotional activities. The sum of money involved, 4.20 *scudi*, would just have covered the six or so adult singers and 2-3 boys employed at his new posting of S. Luigi dei Francesi. Only one further payment to Nanino survives for this year, one of four *scudi* for Mass and both Vespers on the patronal feast of S. Ambrogio on the 4<sup>th</sup> November for the Confraternita di S. Ambrogio dei Lombardi.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> *Statuti et ordini della Venerabile Arciconfraternita del SS. Crocifisso in S. Marcello di Roma, con l'origine di essa*, Roma, Blado, 1565. See also MATIZIA MARONI LUMBROSO e ANTONIO MARTINI, *Le confraternite romane nelle loro chiese*, Roma, fondazione Marco Besso, 1963, pp. 106-109 and N.O'REGAN, *Processions* cit.

<sup>14</sup> ASV, *Fondo Arciconfraternita del SS. Crocifisso in S. Marcello*, b. A XI 48 (non-foliated). In quotations from archival sources abbreviated words are written out in full but original spelling is retained. D. ALALEONA, *Storia dell'Oratorio*, cit, f. 331, says that Camillo Lando provided music for the Holy Thursday procession but he gives no source for this. It is possible that there was more than one choir involved, as there was in other years, including 1576 when a Fra Beccatello was paid four *scudi* for himself 'con altri sui compagni musici' for the procession as well as Nanino being paid 12 *scudi* (see below).

<sup>15</sup> See D. ALALEONA, *Storia dell'Oratorio*, cit., pp. 330-331.

<sup>16</sup> ASV, *Fondo SS. Crocifisso*, b. A XI 50, f. 24.

<sup>17</sup> ASV, *Fondo Arciconfraternita del Gonfalone*, b. 187, non-foliated.

<sup>18</sup> ARCHIVIO DI SS. AMBROGIO E CARLO, b. 89, f.?

The Lombard confraternity had been erected by Pope Sixtus IV in 1471 and maintained a church, oratory and hospital on the site now occupied by the church of SS. Ambrogio e Carlo al Corso.<sup>19</sup>

1576 was Nanino's busiest year, at least from the evidence of the surviving archival records. He worked twice for SS. Crocifisso, providing music for the Holy Thursday procession, as described above, and for the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross on 14 September: 'a M. Giovanni Maria Nanino cantore scudi dui per haver' cantato dui vesperi uno alla vigilia e l'altra la festa di Santa Crocie prossima passata'.<sup>20</sup> He also provided music for the patronal feast of SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini ('a Maria Nanino maestro di capella di S. Luigi per la musica fatta la vigilia della festa della Santissima Trinità et due vespri fatti'), in the same year in which Palestrina had organised music for their Lenten Friday devotions.<sup>21</sup> Here the 8 *scudi* he was paid would have covered at least eight singers and possible twelve, i.e. enough for some double-choir music, such as was just emerging in Rome.<sup>22</sup> Nanino's other confraternity involvement in this year was at S. Maria del Pianto, one of the smaller and poorer devotional confraternities.<sup>23</sup> It was founded to honour an outside painting of the Madonna which was reputed to have wept when a murder was committed nearby; its main festival on the second Sunday of January commemorated the first miracle attributed to the painting. It also went in procession on Holy Thursday and it is possible that Nanino also provided music for that occasion in 1576 since the payment of 4.50 *scudi* is recorded as having been made simply to 'cantori'.<sup>24</sup> Incidentally this confraternity was to provide a dowry to Anna, daughter of Giovanni Bernardino Nanino, in 1628 so that she could become a nun in the convent of SS. Annunziata a S. Basilio, under the name of Sor Maria Costanza.<sup>25</sup>

In 1577 Giovanni Maria provided patronal feastday music at S. Eligio degli Orefici, the confraternity of gold-workers at their church of S. Eligio off the Via Giulia.<sup>26</sup> Although they were a relatively rich confraternity who later spent larger sums of money on music, in this year they only spent 3 *scudi* which again probably meant only 4-6 singers. In that same year Nanino became a papal singer and there is a long gap in the surviving archival records before he again organised outside music. Now the amount of money involved was much greater, reflecting in part the fact that he would have brought a number of papal singers with him who added to the prestige of the event and who

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<sup>19</sup> Lumbroso.... Giulio Bonola-Lorella, *Arciconfraternita dei SS. Ambrogio e Carlo della Nazione Lombarda* in Roma (Rome, Tipografia dell'Unione Cooperative Editrice, 1907)

<sup>20</sup> ASV, *Fondo SS. Crocifisso in S. Marcello*, b. A XII 1576 (non-foliated).

<sup>21</sup> ASR, *Fondo Ospedale SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini*, b. 1068, f. 29. See Noel O'Regan, *Institutional Patronage*

<sup>22</sup> NOEL O'REGAN, *The performance of Roman sacred polychoral music in the late 16th and early 17th centuries: evidence from archival sources*, "Performance Practice Review", a. VIII (1995), pp. 107-146.

<sup>23</sup> ARCHIVIO DEL VICARIATO DI ROMA, *Fondo Dottrina Cristiana*, b. 18 (*S. Maria del Pianto, Libro Entrate-Uscite 1575-1584*), f. 103.

<sup>24</sup> *Ivi*, f. 104.

<sup>25</sup> *Ivi*, b. 184, p. 195.

<sup>26</sup> ARCHIVIO DI S. ELIGIO DEGLI OREFICI, b. 210, non-foliated.

charged greater sums of money than other singers. In 1593 he provided music for one of the two Quarant'ore celebrations put on by the Archicofradia dela Resurrection attached to the Castilian church of S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli on the Piazza Navona in September (the other one was in May). The Cappella Pontificia as a body sang for the patronal feast of S. Giacomo, by long tradition because of the number of Spanish singers in the choir. For the Quarant'ore organised by the confraternity of the Resurrection, Nanino would probably have provided singers for the Masses and processions which began and ended the devotion, as well as having some motets sung during the course of the event. The payment reads: 'pagar al S. Jovanni Maria Neni (sic.) los escudos diez y siete y medio de moneda enquando se concerto la musica para la oración delas quarenta horas...22 Settembre 1593. Io Giovanni Maria Nanino ho ricevuto li sopradetti scudi dicisette e mezzo....questo di 23 di Settembre 1593.<sup>27</sup>

The archives of SS. Crocifisso record a payment of 57.30 *scudi* to Giovanni Maria Nanino on 21 April 1594 but does not specify what it was for: 'a Giovanni Maria Nanino per distribuire alli cantori'.<sup>28</sup> This payment is followed by others made to a number of musicians for the Good Friday procession for that year so that Nanino's payment must have been for music in the confraternity's oratory on the five Fridays of Lent. SS. Crocifisso initially took part in Lenten Friday devotions at S. Maria sopra Minerva but, in 1559, took the decision to start organising its own series in a room designated an oratorio provided by the Servite fathers who ran the church of S. Marcello. The earliest payment to musicians for these Friday devotions comes from two years later, in 1561, when one *scudo* was paid to 'li cantori per li sette salmi per tutta la quadragesima'.<sup>29</sup> The seven penitential psalms feature regularly in discussions about these devotions thereafter, which also featured a sermon. In 1562 the confraternity began to build their own oratory, designed by Vignola, which was completed in 1568.<sup>30</sup> In 1597 Nanino again provided music for the five Fridays, his payment now more than double that three years earlier; the lamentations during the offices of Tenebrae in Holy Week were also sung under his direction in this year.<sup>31</sup> This followed a particularly extravagant two years in 1595 and 1596 when Luca Marenzio and Paolo Quagliati organised the music and up to 409 *scudi* were spent in 1595 and 182 *scudi* in 1596.<sup>32</sup>

We are fortunate that a list of singers employed with Nanino in 1597 survives and this is reproduced in Table 2. This list is taken from Domenico Alaleona's book on the

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<sup>27</sup> ARCHIVOS DE LOS ESTABLICIMIENTOS ESPAÑOLES EN ROMA, *Fondo S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli*, b. A IV 120, non-foliated.

<sup>28</sup> ASV, *Fondo SS. Crocifisso in S. Marcello*, Z X 1, f. 50. This payment is not given in D. ALALEONA, *Storia dell'Oratorio Musicale in Italia*, cit.

<sup>29</sup> ASV, *Fondo SS. Crocifisso in S. Marcello*, F XIX 23 (non-foliated).

<sup>30</sup> See JOSEPHINE VON HENNEBERG, *L'oratorio dell'Archiconfraternita del Santissimo Crocifisso di San Marcello*, Roma, 1974

<sup>31</sup> *Ivi.*

<sup>32</sup> For more detail on Lenten music at SS. Crocifisso see: NOEL O'REGAN, *Marenzio's golden chain: music and homosocial bonding in late sixteenth-century Rome*, Atti del Convegno – CHECK



History of the Oratorio.<sup>33</sup> He does not give an archival catalogue number for his source and I have not so far found a record of this payment in the confraternity archive. However there are records there of the total sum, 110 *scudi*, though the recipient is not named ('per altrettanti pagati alli musici per la Quadragesima passata nel oratorio'), so there is no reason to doubt Alaleona's reliability.<sup>34</sup> There are only six singers mentioned, one bass, two contraltos and three others plus Nanino; there were two papal singers and three singers came from the households of important cardinals, Odoardo Farnese, Ottavio Acquaviva and Ascanio Colonna. This reflects the increasingly patrician nature of the membership of SS. Crocifisso as does the large sum of money involved. The oratory of SS. Crocifisso was becoming the most fashionable location for Lenten devotions in a city where attendance at such devotions was seen as necessary in the politico-religious climate under Pope Clement VIII. There are also payments to the organist Oratio Sormano who must have doubled on the harpsichord, since Pompeo Zoccolone was paid for tuning it. The small number of singers would suggest small-scale concertato music for one or two singers, such as was becoming common at this period. There is also a payment to a copyist for the music. I will come back to talk about possible music later.

Giovanni Maria Nanino's most consistent confraternity involvement was with SS. Crocifisso: this is not surprising given that the papal singers were strongly connected with this confraternity. They were all members and the singers took turns in serving as members of the *tredici*, the representatives of the *rioni di Roma* who liaised between the confraternity and its members in each of the *rioni*. This gave them a say in the affairs of the confraternity since they were *ex officio* members of the *congregazione segreta* which met regularly, though singers varied a lot in their actual commitment to the confraternity as judged by their attendance at these meetings. In 1585 Nanino acted as one of the *tredici* at SS. Crocifisso, his only year to do so, but he showed commitment in attending meetings and, we can assume, in the discharge of his duties.<sup>35</sup> This was an important year for Rome's musicians, in which the Compagnia dei Musici was recognised by Pope Sixtus V and the papal singers decided not to take part.<sup>36</sup> As a result they drew closer to SS. Crocifisso, looking to it to provide both spiritual benefits and material ones, in the form of health insurance and the provision of dowries for relatives.

In July 1601 the Arciconfraternita della SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini decided to undertake a pilgrimage to the shrine of the Madonna at Loreto after Easter in 1602 as thanksgiving for the highly successful *Anno Santo* of 1600.<sup>37</sup> This return pilgrimage had also been undertaken by SS. Trinità in 1576 after the 1575 *Anno Santo*.<sup>38</sup> On that

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<sup>33</sup> DOMENICO ALALEONA, *Storia dell'Oratorio Musicale in Italia*, Torino, ??, 1908; rist. Milano, 1945, p. 335.

<sup>34</sup> ASV, *Fondo SS. Crocifisso in S. Marcello*, b. A XI 54, f. 61v.

<sup>35</sup> ASV, *Fondo SS. Crocifisso in S. Marcello*, b. 58, ff. 187-188

<sup>36</sup> REMO GIAZOTTO, *Quattro secoli di storia dell'Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia*, 2 vol., Roma 1970. WILLIAM SUMMERS, *The Compagnia dei musici di Roma 1584-1604: a Preliminary Report*, in "Current Musicology" XXXIV (1982), pp. 7-25.

<sup>37</sup> ASR, *Fondo Ospedale della SS. Trinità*, b. 62, non-foliated. 22 July 1601 and following.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibidem*.

occasion Palestrina and singers from the Cappella Giulia had gone along and sang in cities along the way such as Perugia, as well as at Mass and the Quarant'ore celebrated in Loreto. In 1602 G. M. Nanino was chosen as well as thirteen of the best papal singers and four trumpeters, 'the best who could be found'.<sup>39</sup> The Cappella Pontificia suspended its normal singing activities for about three weeks as a result.<sup>40</sup> Since SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini was the Roman confraternity officially charged with looking after pilgrims, the pilgrimage would have had the character of an official Roman and papal visit to the shrine. There is no record of how much, if any, money Nanino received – it may have been seen as part of his duties as a papal singer; all expenses, including horses, servants and food, would certainly have been covered.

Nanino's final recorded provision of *musica straordinaria* was for the Holy Thursday procession of the ancient Arciconfraternita del Gonfalone in 1604.<sup>41</sup> Its archives record the payment as follows: 'al Signore Giovanni Maria Nanino maestro di capella di Nostro Signore scudi sesantasei di moneta cioè scudi 60 si donano alla detta capella e scudi sei per donare a dui pretti che preseme con essa capella favorirono la nostra archiconfraternita alla processione del Giovedì Santo'. Nanino had been elected *maestro di cappella* of the Cappella Pontificia for this year. The papal singers would have formed one choir while Francesco Soriano, *maestro di cappella* at S. Pietro in Vaticano, was paid a further 40 *scudi* for a second choir.<sup>42</sup> In fact this seems to have been the last year that the Gonfalone organised this procession – no further payments to musicians survive after this year until it was revived for the *Anni santi* of 1625 and 1650.<sup>43</sup>

None of these payments make any reference to the actual music performed, something normal in Roman archives – such information was not relevant to the financial transaction which was being recorded. The choice of music seems to have been left to the *maestro* in charge. Giovanni Maria Nanino's surviving works cover a wide range of genres which would have been appropriate for these occasions: masses, motets, lamentations, Magnificats. Only one of the confraternities for which Nanino provided musicians preserves any music from this period: this is SS. Crocifisso, which has a number of surviving manuscripts from the late 16<sup>th</sup> century though sadly these are now very incomplete.<sup>44</sup> Two of them contain attributions to Nanino.

One of these is a single *cantus* partbook out of an original set of three or four, containing just two pieces: a setting of the Lenten Marian antiphon *Ave Regina* by Giovanni Maria Nanino and an anonymous three-voice motet in two parts, *Nos autem*

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<sup>39</sup> ASR, NOEL O'REGAN, 'Musical ambassadors'

<sup>40</sup> BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA,

<sup>41</sup> ASV, *Fondo Gonfalone*, b. 408, f. 22.

<sup>42</sup> *Ivi*, f. 20v.

<sup>43</sup> *Ivi*, b. 409, f. 169v (Pietro Olivieri received 180 *scudi* for the procession in 1625) and b. 418, f. 93 (Francesco Foggia received 150 *scudi* for the procession in 1650).

<sup>44</sup> All of the surviving music is preserved in ASV, *Fondo SS. Crocifisso*, Q XX 3. Full details of this music will be given in my forthcoming book

gloriari/*Tuam crucem adoramus*. The *Ave Regina* has the rubric 'A.3' on the versicle 'dignare me laudare te virgo sacrata' which completes the piece; since this is not given at the beginning it is likely that the rest of the piece was for more than three voices. The anonymous *Nos autem gloriari* in two parts which follows was copied by the same scribe, the Cappella Giulia singer Alessandro Pettorini, so this piece could also have been composed by Nanino; its text is clearly appropriate for Holy Week. Pettorini also copied the bulk of another single surviving *cantus* partbook from an original set of twelve, which seems to have been copied in the 1590s. Most of the 19 pieces contained in it are anonymous but composers whose names are written in are Fabrizio Dentice, Hippolito Tartaglino, Ruggiero Giovanelli and Giovanni Maria Nanino. Towards the end of the partbook the name of Giovanni Maria Nanino appears on f. 53 which is, however, blank. This is followed by four settings of the *Salve Regina*. The first of these is anonymous and the number of voices is not specified. The second is labelled 'primus chorus a 12' and the name 'Giovanni Maria Nanino' is written on top. The other two settings are labelled 'primus chorus a 5' and are anonymous. It is likely that the first setting is by Nanino, as is definitely the second. The other two could also be by him. None of these pieces in either manuscript is found among Nanino's known compositions and none correspond with settings in any other manuscript that I have so far seen.<sup>45</sup> Since only single *cantus* parts survive it is difficult to make any stylistic judgements about these pieces.

It is certainly possible that this music was commissioned directly from Nanino by SS. Crocifisso and its performance there might also have been organised by him in 1594 or 1597. Even if this was not the case it was certainly copied for the confraternity and performed there, if not by Giovanni Maria Nanino, then perhaps by his younger brother who also organised music for SS. Crocifisso on many occasions.<sup>46</sup>

This article has presented a general review of the work of Giovanni Maria Nanino for nine Roman confraternities. He provided *musica straordinaria* for a range of confraternities from poorer bodies like S. Maria del Pianto or S. Luca dei Pintori to larger, richer and patrician-dominated bodies like SS. Crocifisso or SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini. While some of his employments were more significant than others, all were examples of how Rome's musicians, as well as working for those few institutions with regular choirs, came into the market-place and provided relatively simple devotional music for processions, as well as large-scale music to impress and seduce the crowd during patronal feastday celebrations. All of this increased the variety of settings in which Giovanni Maria Nanino's sacred music was heard. Nanino was himself a member of at least one confraternity – SS. Crocifisso, to which all the papal singers belonged and on whose governing body he served in 1585. Whether or not he became a member of the Compagnia dei Musici, approved by Pope Sixtus V in that same year, must remain an open question. The papal singers as a body voted that they would not become members but madrigals by Nanino feature prominently at the start of two collections which have

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<sup>45</sup> The most comprehensive listing is that given in Schuler,

<sup>46</sup> In 1595, 1598, 1600, 1607, 1608. Full details will be given in my forthcoming book on Roman confraternities and their music.

been closely linked to the Compagnia: *Dolci Affetti* of 1582 and *Le Gioie* of 1589.<sup>47</sup> As a prominent member of the Cappella Pontificia Nanino is unlikely to have joined the Compagnia officially but his reputation as perhaps the premier Roman madrigalist meant that he was still chosen to head up these two important publications. His sacred music has not achieved the same reputation, which is a pity since much of it is very fine and all of it is very representative of the best of Roman music composed for use in the city's major basilicas and in institutions such as lay confraternities.

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<sup>47</sup> See Nino Pirrotta ed., *I musicisti di Roma e il madrigale: Dolci Affetti (1582) e Le Gioie (1589)*, Roma, Accademia Nazionale di S. Cecilia, 1993.