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ABSTRACT

Research has been undertaken on Palestrina, the main figure in Roman liturgical music at the close of the 16th century, and on Carissimi who enjoyed a similar position in the mid-17th century. While there exists a considerable stylistic distinction between the work of these composers, little attempt has been made to trace the transition of the intervening generation. It has been held that Romans so revered the memory of Palestrina as to continue to imitate his style, and to allow no place for the manifestation of an idiom more typical of the seicento, with its monodies and the continuo. The thesis examines this repertory, and indicates that Roman composers did keep pace with progressive tendencies which were becoming apparent throughout the peninsula. The small-scale motet was popular in Rome from the 1590s; the solo and concertato motets gained currency in Rome from the second decade of the century; and the basso continuo was standard from 1603 onwards. A different view therefore emerges from the traditional one stated in Bukofzer's Music in the Baroque Era where Rome is described as the 'bulwark of traditionalism'.

Chapter I gives an introduction to previous literature and Chapter II deals with historical and artistic aspects of the period. The thesis then falls broadly into two parts, the one archival and the other dealing with the music. Chapter III discusses references to music in the archives of five churches. The music is then discussed according to liturgical function: the Mass is treated in Chapter IV; music for the divine office (Vespers, Matins and Compline) in Chapter V; and the motet in Chapter VI. Finally, a synthesis of archival and musical material is presented in the one area where this is possible, the multiple-choir repertory commonly called the 'colossal Baroque'.

Dissertation presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the University of Durham (Faculty of Music)

LITURGICAL MUSIC IN ROME (1605-45)

by

Graham Peter Dixon

Volume I

St. John's College, Durham

December 1981

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17 MAY 1984

We saw the canonization of 5 Saints. viz.
Isidoro di Madrid Francesco Xaviero di Navarra
Teresa di Giesu Filippo Neri Fiorentino and
this was solemly performed by the Pope the
Cardainals of the Court and many other Church-
men. The Church of S:t Peeter is the strongest
and the most goodlie building of the world and
within it is the Sepulcher of S:t Peeter and
S:t Paulo with many other things of great note.

From the diary of an anonymous English traveller
to Rome in 1622, GB-Lbl, Harleian Ms 6867, f. 31v

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PREFACE

This dissertation is concerned with a broad field of musical activity; while the music of Palestrina and Carissimi is well-known, the intervening generation of Roman composers has generally been forgotten by scholars and performers alike. The intention is to cover the work of a considerable number of mostly minor musicians, a reasonable approach since Rome, unlike Venice, was not dominated by a few figures of outstanding importance. I trust that this thesis, in opening up so wide an area, will provide the necessary sense of perspective for further work on Roman sacred music. By using the word 'liturgical' in my title I have excluded sacred music not written for performance at church services, such as oratorio and the spiritual madrigal. Many other interesting avenues of research have presented themselves in the course of my studies, but these have temporarily been put aside in order to provide an overall view of musical life during three pontificates. All but a handful of surviving publications from the period have been consulted, but I recognize that deeper stylistic analysis would be a fruitful line for further research. Likewise, to work in the archives of ten churches is only to scratch the surface of the wealth of documents which wait to be examined. While I consider myself fortunate to have come across as much archival information as is presented here, I accept that later scholars will inevitably bring more material to light, especially if the documents are one day arranged systematically and procedures for consulting them improved.

After introductions dealing with the position of scholarship and the religious and artistic life of 17th-century Rome, the thesis falls into two sections, one archival and the other

dealing with the music. The first presents my findings in the archives of five churches in the form of short essays, and the second deals with the music according to liturgical function: the Mass, music for the divine office and the motet. Finally I have attempted a synthesis of archival and musical material in the one area where it is practicable, that of the 'colossal Baroque'.

Hardly any of the music I have discussed is available in modern editions, and therefore an appendix of complete and partial musical examples is included. My transcriptions to date comprise about three times the amount presented here, and it has been difficult to select items for inclusion. My principle has been to try and create a balance between those which use a representative style and those which stand apart from the bulk of the repertory.

During the course of my research I have worked in a large number of libraries,¹ and I would particularly like to thank the staff of the Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Bologna, the Vatican Library and Secret Archives, the Bischöfliche Bibliothek, Münster, the British Library and Durham University Library. My thanks are due to Dott. Giancarlo Rostirolla and M Jean Lionnet, who were of great assistance in helping me begin my archival work in Rome, as well as to the many parish priests who completed my questionnaire about the archives of their churches in November 1978. This research would not have been possible without the generosity of the Department of Education and Science, the British Council, the Italian Government, the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst, and the Zentrum für kulturelle Auslandsarbeit of the German Democratic Republic.

I am grateful to my colleagues at the University of Liverpool for their support and especially to Professor Basil Smallman for generously allowing me time to finish this dissertation. But I am particularly indebted to Dr Jerome Roche, whose guidance and encouragement have so greatly helped my research.



University of Liverpool

December 1981

1. In this note and throughout the dissertation the RISM sigla for libraries are employed.

I have worked in B-Br; D-B, F, Kl, Müs; DDR-Bds; F-Pc; GB-Cu, DRc, DRu, DRuc, Lbl, Lcm, Lkc, Lu, Lwa, Ob, Och; I-Ac, Bc, Bof, Bsf, Bsp, CEC, Fn, FA; Frascati-Archivio del duomo, Ls, LA, MC, Oc, Ras, Rc, Rco, Rf, Rsg, Rsgf, Rslf, Rsmt, Rv, Rvat, R-Secret Vatican Archives, R-archivio del vicariato, REM, Sac, Sc, Sd; P-Kj and corresponded with A-Wgm, Wn, D-Mbs, Rp; E-V; F-Pm; I-Mcap (d), MOe, Nf, Od, VECap; NL-DHgm; P-Gd, WRu; S-Skma, Uu.

ABBREVIATIONS AND TERMS

Periodical and library sigla follow the system set out in New Grove.

CATB stands for canto, alto, tenor, bass; the term canto has been treated as an English word.

CF is used for cantus firmus.

DBDI refers to Dizionario biografico degli italiani (Rome, 1960-)

Ex. refers to an abstract from a larger composition in Appendix VII.

LU refers to Liber Usualis with Introduction and Rubrics in English, edited by the Monks of Solemnes (Tournai, New York, 1963)

MGG refers to Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, edited by F. Blume (Kassel, 1949-)

New Grove refers to The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, edited by S. Sadie (London, 1980)

No. refers to a complete composition reproduced in Appendix VII.

Shortened titles are used in the footnotes where an author is listed for more than one work in the bibliography; where an author is mentioned for one work only, the name alone is given in the footnotes. Short titles are generally used for musical publications; the full bibliographical material is given in Appendix V and the bibliographies.

Money: A sum of money written in the form 'three scudi 40' means three scudi, forty baiocchi. In 17th-century Rome there were ten baiocchi in a giulio and ten giuli in a scudo. Other contemporary units of currency are not referred to in the text. In our period a labourer earned about seventeen baiocchi for a day's agricultural work, and a mason could earn as much as forty baiocchi per day.

The letters RISM appear before three types of reference:

RISM 1634¹: This refers to an anthology in F. Lesure, Recueils imprimés, XVI^e-XVII^e siècles: liste chronologique (Munich, Duisburg, 1960)

RISM 1619a: When a composer published more than one item in a year, this form of reference is often encountered in Einzeldrucke vor 1800 (Kassel, 1971-).

RISM A 365: This also refers to Einzeldrucke vor 1800 (Kassel, 1971-). A is the first letter of the composer's name, and the editions are numbered within the publication according to the order (to) their inclusion.

Concertato: The broadest sense of the word 'concertato' can apply to any music with an essential continuo part. In 17th-century Rome the term was used for music in which the scorings vary during the course of a work; here, of course, the organ was essential to support the thinner textures. It is the latter, more restricted Roman sense of the term which is understood throughout the dissertation.

Since completing the dissertation a book has been published in English on the churches of Rome: R. Beny and P. Gunn, The Churches of Rome (London, 1981). Besides giving excellent illustrations and diagrams of the churches, a map of Rome showing the principal churches (pp. 260-61) is provided.

CHAPTER IINTRODUCTION

The choice of subject for this dissertation was prompted by Viadana's preface to the Cento concerti ecclesiastici (1602), in which he stated that his small-scale motets were first performed in Rome in the final years of the 16th century:¹

I saw that some of these Concerti, which I composed five or six years ago when in Rome (happening then to bethink myself of this new fashion), found such favor with many singers and musicians that they were not only found worthy to be sung again and again in many of the leading places of worship, but that some persons actually took occasion to imitate them very cleverly and to print some of these imitations;....

The picture he presents is at variance with much that has been written about early Baroque Roman music. It has long been held that, while Venetian music at the opening of the seicento was progressive and interesting, the contemporary generation of Roman composers was so overshadowed by the memory of the recently deceased Palestrina that it continued to imitate his style (albeit lifelessly) and remained impervious to more challenging Northern developments. Viadana's comment clearly indicates that this was not the case, for his progressive small-scale music was very much in vogue in Rome in about 1596. This notion is further supported by the fact that two figures at the forefront of the introduction of monody in Florence were Roman by birth - Emilio de'Cavalieri and Giulio Caccini.

It became evident, even after a brief investigation, that Viadana's publication was representative of a large body of progressive Roman music whose existence has for the most part been overlooked by scholars. Most recent research in the period has been directed



towards north Italian music which appeared, at least initially, to be more attractive and to have exercised a stronger influence on subsequent musical development. Witzmann's bibliography of writings about Italian 17th-century church music is evidence that Roman music has been seriously neglected in comparison with that of the Veneto:²

If we comprehensively review the literature on Roman church music of the early Baroque, we can only repeat that research so far has only been concerned with a small part of the work to be done. Basically only Giovanni Maria Nanino, Ruggiero Giovannelli, Girolamo Frescobaldi and Domenico Massenzio have until now been researched. In the cases of Francesco Soriano and Giovanni Francesco Anerio only a portion of their output has been uncovered. Paolo Quagliati, Felice Anerio, Giovanni Bernardino Nanino, Vincenzo Ugolini, Romano Micheli, Antonio Cifra, Gregorio Allegri, Paolo Agostini, Virgilio Mazzocchi, Domenico Massenzio and Paolo Tarditi, to name but a few, are mentioned quite frequently in specialist literature, but none of these masters has so far received the appreciation due to him.

The need for research in this field was emphasized in 1962 by Feininger:³

.....it is a piece of news even for the Catholic Church that between 1600 and 1800 there was any Catholic music at all, and that it did not end with Palestrina and his immediate imitators, and only begin with Perosi.

Feininger described the area as an 'inconceivable gap in the history of music',⁴ and his first point in treating the period was that:⁵

In Rome between 1600 and 1800 there were a number of significant musicians who are scarcely known by name in the history of music and who devoted their entire activity to liturgical Gebrauchsmusik.

Arnold, almost twenty years later, remarked that 'little has been written on the Roman school', in the bibliography section of the Concise Oxford History of Music.⁶

Roman music of the early 17th century is not, however, without some attendant bibliography: many comprehensive histories of music have made some reference to it, and in recent years a few composers have been studied in some depth. It emerged in a preliminary study

that Rome was not dominated by a few great composers in the way that Monteverdi and Grandi provide a focal point for the examination of Venetian music. My dissertation is therefore concerned with a broad selection of composers and their music; this is in order to discover those minor figures who, while not of sufficient importance to demand an individual study, were responsible for the bulk of musical activity. Certainly some composers were more prominent, but detailed consideration of their work has been sacrificed to concentrate on the more average musical life of the city. Similarly, little archival work has been undertaken on the large basilicas so that the core of musical activity in smaller parishes was not overlooked.

A survey of literature shows how important genres of Roman music (the small-scale and the concertato motet) have been neglected by historians in favour of the view that there were only two elements in the Roman repertory: the imitation of Palestrina, and later magnificent polychoral music - the 'colossal Baroque'. Both of these styles were certainly represented but, as will be shown later, the heart of liturgical music lay in progressive pieces with continuo, which were as popular in Rome as in the North. The contribution of previous studies will now be discussed in the form of a chronological analysis to provide a compendium of views, an introduction to this particular project, and the means of assessing the extent to which historical literature has been responsible for the rather one-sided view of the period which is commonly encountered.

Killing's publication of 1910,⁷ in which he describes the holdings of the Santini-Sammlung in Münster, is one of the few surveys based on a thorough examination of the music. The Münster collection of Roman liturgical music is sufficiently wide-ranging to allow a balanced picture of the music to emerge; and the progressive styles of the few-voiced and concertato motet are not ignored. Killing set out to

comment on the content of a library rather than to contribute to musical history, and accordingly his work has not gained the wide currency it deserves. Had this sound analysis of the music become better known, it could have served to correct some of the opinions already referred to, misconceptions which subsequent studies would never have propagated had they been based on the same knowledge of musical sources.

Peter Wagner's monumental contribution to the history of polyphony, Geschichte der Messe (1913), must be given the benefit of the doubt with regard to its treatment of 17th-century music, since, as far as I know, only the first volume was issued. In the chapter 'Die Missa bei den Italienern und Spaniern' he dealt with 17th-century contributors to the prima prattica mass under the heading 'römische Schule', and mentioned masses by Francesco Soriano and Giovanni Francesco Anerio, treating in some detail the latter's Missa Paulina Burghesia.⁸ Wagner failed, however, to indicate the presence of more progressive styles in Rome or to consider the mass in the context of the forward-looking genres of the motet and Vespers psalms. Incidentally, he dealt in considerable detail with Viadana's Missa dominicalis for solo voice - even printing the entire work in an appendix; and thus he showed himself not entirely unprepared to treat more advanced styles in his first volume. The strict chronological arrangement of his book is set aside to deal with Palestrina in the tenth and final chapter, after passing consideration of the Roman school. While this indicates his view of Palestrina as a point of reference for all mass composition, it is misleading since it suggests that later Roman composers were unable to go any further stylistically than the great master who dominated their thought. Perhaps his final sentence indicates the direction which the subsequent volume would have taken, for it shows that Wagner was not oblivious of progressive tendencies, even if he did

identify these with the North:⁹

Even before his [Palestrina's] eyes were shut, forces were already at work in and around northern Italy preparing the basis of a new art. Even the mass, as we have just seen, was not unaffected by the change.

A similar bias towards the North is found in Ursprung's Die katholische Kirchenmusik (1931). In this otherwise comprehensive study, Roman composers of the generation after Palestrina are treated in a few sentences. One is, however, pleased to note the inclusion of a list of composers and mention of the concertato style. Ursprung appears to have had a false impression of the importance of monodic writing in Rome, and said little really about the music:¹⁰

Rome surpassed even the north Italian centres of music in the number of composers writing in the monodic style; here worked, for example, Agazzari, Giovanni Francesco Anerio, Giovanni Bernardino Nanino, Giovanni Nicolo Mezzogorri, Domenico Massenzio, Paolo Quagliati, Luigi Rossi, Paolo Tarditi, Filippo Vitali. From the beginning, Rome had prominence. Lazaro, active in the Friuli region, marked his concertos for one voice 'alla Romana'.

The first thorough investigation of few-voiced liturgical music is Adrio's Die Anfänge des geistlichen Konzerts of 1935. He noted that Venice was a larger publishing centre than Rome, but concentrated on style to the exclusion of any discussion of places of activity, their interaction and relative importance. By the inclusion of a list of publications and his comments on Agazzari,¹¹ he did, however, acknowledge that Roman composers were not averse to using more progressive styles. No specific picture of Roman music is delineated, and his study comprises a detailed survey of a few Italian composers whose output relates to an analysis of the situation in Germany.

One of the few Italian contributions to the history of the period, Storia della musica, was produced jointly by della Corte and Pannain, and published in 1942. The section on the seicento was reprinted virtually unchanged in 1972 under the title La musica italiana nel

seicento.¹² This work suffers from an unrepresentative choice of composers, and the inclusion of a vast quantity of bibliographical material at the expense of any information derived from the books themselves. Cifra receives a complete biography and bibliography, while one sentence is devoted to the style of his music:¹³

Among the best and most faithful preservers, therefore, of the school of Palestrina, as far as polyphonic music is concerned, he reveals on the other hand the influence of the Florentine school, adopting the monodic and concertato style in motets especially and also in secular works.

This brief assessment of his output is erroneous: his prima prattica compositions comprise only two volumes of masses and, leaving aside the question of Florentine influence, he left no church music for solo voice. Moreover, he was one of the least interested in the concertato style; none of his compositions are so designated, and few contain even a trace of the idiom. Gregorio Allegri received similar short shrift; the atypical but well-known Miserere is the only piece discussed in any detail.¹⁴ After an incorrect list of works, Francesco Foggia is described as the 'representative of the transition from the severe polyphonic style.....to that concertante',¹⁵ despite the fact that he appears to have written nothing in a prima prattica idiom and that the concertato style had been introduced some thirty years before his first publication. The Missa salisburgensis, which has been convincingly shown not to be by Benevoli,¹⁶ is discussed in some detail, and this is followed by similar misrepresentations of other composers. Agostino Agazzari, one of the most celebrated and influential composers in Rome at the turn of the century, is relegated to the section 'In altre città' since he was born in Siena. That such ideas could find their way to print is indicative of the confusion still surrounding Roman music of this period.

Bukofzer, in his Music in the Baroque Era (1947), included a

section, 'Tradition and Progress in Sacred Music', in which Rome did not fare much better.¹⁷ It is probably this volume which is to blame for mistaken attitudes towards the field among readers of English. In the midst of a rather Venetian-biased section, he stated that:¹⁸

While Venice was the center of progress in sacred music, Rome was the bulwark of traditionalism.....

He then went on to describe the 'colossal Baroque' as simply a multiplication of the stile antico, and concluded his brief mention of Roman music without any reference to the vast quantities of small-scale and concertato pieces:¹⁹

The staunchest conservatives among the composers perpetuated a living tradition of renaissance music under the name of stile antico, a term that in itself implied the awakening of a historical detachment from the current stile concertato. In the struggle between tradition and progress the old style became more and more the symbol of churchliness; As early as Agazzari, Palestrina was raised to the dignity of an infallible model. Palestrina's direct emulators and successors, Felice and Giovanni Anerio, Giovanelli, Soriano, Nanino, and Allegri..... slowly transformed their model by applying the harmonies and accentuating rhythms of the time which distinguish the stile antico from the real Palestrina style.

In Music in the Renaissance, first published in 1954, Reese had the same basic time limit as Wagner - 1600. A similar picture is presented in both volumes since Reese was also prepared to extend his survey of orthodox polyphony into the early years of the century, but not to entangle himself in the problems of the Baroque. Placing his section 'Other Romans, including Marenzio, the Naninos, and the Anerios' after that on Palestrina, he dealt with the stile antico up to Soriano and included a number of comments which show an awareness of the transition that was taking place. For example, on Giovanni Bernardino Nanino he wrote:²⁰

The fact that Giovanni Bernardino was younger than his brother, Giovanni Maria, is very clearly reflected in his production, for he was one of the first composers to abandon the old style of the Roman School for the new music with figured bass.

Fellerer also contributed to the growing consciousness of stylistic progress in his entry on the city in MGG, where he stated that, after the end of the 16th century:²¹

There are numerous collections of motets by Roman composers for one to four voices with continuo, which were influenced by the traditional polyphonic voice parts.

Paul Kast, in the following section on Roman cappelle and the development of the church style, gave second place to the stile moderno, while paying more attention to the polychoral and antico styles.

From 1964 a number of American dissertations appeared which treat specialized aspects of the music; three of these deal with fields of interest which, although important, are unrepresentative of the period as a whole and tend to propagate the idea of Rome as a centre of conservatism. Kniseley (1964), Johnson (1965) and Williams (1971) all considered stile antico masses (those of Soriano, Crivelli and G.F. Anerio respectively), works which bear little relation to the more progressive mainstream of musical activity.

In Volume IV of the New Oxford History of Music, published in 1968, Redlich mentioned Agazzari and G.F. Anerio as the successors of Viadana and 'pioneers of spiritual monody'.²² He neither mentioned that they were active in Rome nor included them in the section 'Venetian influence in Rome', which is devoted to the continuation of the prima prattica and the encroachment of the polychoral idiom from the 'progressive' North. Redlich did not clarify the situation, and one could still be forgiven for believing that Rome was nothing more than the centre of an anachronistic compositional style. Coates and Abraham in the same volume made some reference to the use of continuo in the works of Palestrina's pupils²³ yet failed to mention the stylistic developments even in dealing with G.F. Anerio, the bulk of whose compositions are in a style far removed from that of his mentor.

In his article in the New Oxford History of Music, Volume V,

Roche recognized the importance of few-voiced writing in Rome, and mentions the fact that this 'concertato' music existed alongside the stile antico and 'colossal Baroque' style.²⁴ In a brief but balanced study, he put the various aspects of Roman music into some perspective, but still perpetuated the notion that Roman music was subservient to that from the North; it is perhaps nearer the truth to say that Roman composers were not very interested in what their Northern contemporaries were doing. A similar approach is found in Geschichte der katholischen Kirchenmusik, edited by Fellerer the following year. Various genres are discussed under a number of chapter headings: 'Die altklassische Polyphonie', 'Die Mehrchörigkeit', 'Die kirchliche Monodie', and 'Die konzertierende Kirchenmusik'. This publication presents a survey which is not dominated by the persistence of the Palestrina ideal, nor by the 'colossal Baroque'. Similarly, Abraham in his recent Concise Oxford History of Music (1979) mentions that progressive music was composed by G.F. Anerio and G. Allegri, and debunks the false idea that the 53-part Salzburg Mass was by Benevoli.²⁵

It remains the case that no thorough examination of the music has been undertaken. It is clear that Roman music has suffered on account of the attention devoted to the Veneto; an exaggerated view of the importance and influence of Palestrina; and the idea that the Church was intent on, and successful in arresting developments in musical style so as to exclude all but the pure polyphonic idiom of the late 16th century.

NOTES

1. Strunk, 421
2. Witzmann, 92. The author gives dates for each composer; these have been omitted in translation.

3. Feininger, 'Die katholische Kirchenmusik', 147.
4. Feininger, 'Die katholische Kirchenmusik, 147; the original reads 'eine unfassbare Lacune in der Musikgeschichte'.
5. Feininger, 'Die katholische Kirchenmusik', 148.
6. Abraham, 883.
7. Kirchenmusikalische Schätze der Bibliothek des Abbate Fortunato Santini (Münster, 1908).
8. 430. The stile antico mass will be considered below.
9. Wagner, 454.
10. Ursprung, 206.
11. A section is devoted to Agazzari (41-44), and Adrio includes an example of a motet; his approach however remains strictly analytical, rather than attempting to show the position of Agazzari in the Roman circle. Nothing is included which suggests that he was anything other than an isolated figure.
12. 2 vols (Milan, 1970-72).
13. Testi, ii, 238.
14. Testi, ii, 239-41.
15. Testi, ii, 241.
16. Hintermaier, 965-66
17. Bukofzer, 64-70.
18. Bukofzer, 68.
19. Bukofzer, 69.
20. Reese, 483.
21. MGG, xi, col. 711.
22. Redlich, 537.
23. Coates and Abraham, 368.
24. Roche, 'Liturgical Music in Italy', 366-69.
25. Abraham, 345.

CHAPTER IIRELIGIOUS AND ARTISTIC THOUGHT

A considerable amount of literature has been devoted to the period of the Council of Trent and the Catholic Reformation; it is not the purpose of this chapter to augment knowledge in this field, but to extract from previous research the salient factors which form the background for musical activity in 17th-century Rome.¹ The Church in the period of the early Baroque was functioning (as it was for four centuries) in accordance with practices laid down by the decrees of the Tridentine Council (1545-64) so it is to the proceedings of this rather fragmented assembly that we must direct our attention to grasp the origins of later ecclesiastical developments. Penco has enunciated the far-reaching consequences of the Council thus:²

Catholic life in Italy during the 17th century developed almost completely under the standard of the fulfilment of the Tridentine reform as far as it concerned the dioceses and the religious orders, spirituality and piety, literature and sacred art.

It is inappropriate to discuss whether the Catholic Reformation, which reached its focal point in the Tridentine decrees, was simply a movement fired with a zeal to retain its hold on remaining Catholic territories in the face of what seemed (at the time) to be a highly successful Protestant rebellion; or whether, in fact, its inspiration was more positive. Suffice it to say that early 16th-century Europe was swept by a powerful religious awakening: for some this meant more fervent service within the Church, whereas others felt unable to express their faith through the existing ecclesiastical system. It was in an attempt to heal the resultant schism, reform the Church, and present a

united front against the Ottoman Empire that the Council was summoned to Trent by Paul III in 1542, after a number of abortive endeavours to achieve such a gathering. The Council opened in 1545, and in the course of nineteen years, three sessions, and as many pontificates, it defined a code of practice which was to endure substantially unchanged until the recent Second Vatican Council. The delegates at Trent could have satisfied themselves with a condemnation of the Reformers, but as Jedin has noted:³

The Council was not contented with anathematizing heretical statements as was the practice of earlier councils, but rather it gave a positive expression of Catholic teaching, on which preaching and the catechism as well as academic theology could be based.

The Council's unequivocal and outspoken definition of the faith provided a solid and fearless basis for consequent action; in the words of G.L. Mosse, 'The Council of Trent formulated Catholic orthodoxy in the sixteenth century; the beginning of the seventeenth saw the further triumphant progress of the Catholic Reformation'.⁴ An awareness of being part of the 'triumphant progress' was particularly strong in Rome, for that city increasingly became the apex of Counter-Reformation activities.

The Tridentine Council was, however, concerned with more than the definition of dogma, and ordered the implementation of practical reforms, particularly with regard to the absenteeism of the clergy and their lack of education. Bishops were required to reside in their dioceses and accordingly models of pastoral interest were set by Charles Borromeo in Milan and Matteo Giberti in Verona; both of these reformed their sees according to Conciliar principles. In the new wave of pastoral concern the churches of Rome were inspected by Clement VIII himself in a series of visitation.⁵ Seminaries were established, including the national colleges in Rome, in response to the Council's call for effective teaching of the faith; these institutions were to

ensure an adequate intellectual and spiritual preparation for men entering the priesthood.⁶ The Church was thereby revitalized to face the challenge of the Reformation and to express in an articulate manner the renewal that it was undergoing:⁷

.....despite the awful losses that it had suffered through the falling away of whole nations, it [the Council] thoroughly renewed Church life through its reform decrees, and rebuilt the Church with renewed strength to protect its existence, indeed, to win back lost positions.

The reform was gaining ground throughout the Church, from the hierarchy to the humblest lay-person. The occupants of the Chair of Peter were themselves men of exceptional calibre, whose holiness and application to Church affairs were an example to their contemporaries. The austere and determined Paul IV (1555-59), and the humble, saintly Pius V (1566-72) helped to usher in an era of piety and fervour characterized by new religious orders, whose members were consumed with an outgoing missionary spirit. This aggressive zeal was combined with military discipline in the Jesuits, of whom Jedin speaks in these terms:⁸

But it was not only theology that was fighting, the whole Church was filled with the spirit of battle. Ignatius of Loyola, the soldier, gave his compañia not only the form but also the spirit of Christian warfare; through his Exercises the spirit flowed into wide areas.....there were no passive onlookers - there must not be any!

Both Oratorians and Jesuits were freed from the duty of reciting the daily office in community, a dispensation which reflects the outward looking nature of these orders, whose raison d'être was involvement in the outside world. Incredible efforts were made in this direction, and by the second half of the cinquecento Jesuits were active in most northern Protestant countries, as well as in a sizeable proportion of the New World. St. Francis Xavier is the greatest name to emerge from this inspiring chapter of Jesuit history, and through his courage, and that of his fellow missionaries, it could be said by the 1580s that the

Church had won back the same number of souls that it had lost to Protestantism. Parker noted in this connection that, 'overseas Catholic missions show an almost continuous story of success in the sixteenth century'.⁹ In Europe too the activities of the Society of Jesus were extensive, as Pastor records:¹⁰

The Jesuits were to be seen in his [Gregory XIII] service amid almost all the nations of Europe..... It was above all the Jesuits who, in every kind of disguise, and at the risk of their lives, sought to bring aid to persecuted Catholics in the Protestant kingdoms.....

Though their work was not of such a spectacular nature, the Oratorians strove equally hard in Rome to revive individual piety among the laity. The work of St. Philip Neri, their founder, was evaluated by Pastor in highly laudatory terms:¹¹

.....as the 'Apostle of Rome' he devoted to her more than fifty years of labour, and to him more than to anyone else was it due that as early as 1576 the Venetian ambassador, Paolo Tiebolo, was able to write that the whole city had abandoned its former frivolity, that its customs and manner of life were without any question moral and Christian, so that it might be said that from the point of view of religion Rome was in a good state.....

Oratorians fostered lay-devotion by means of informal, extra-liturgical meetings consisting of talks interspersed with vernacular hymns and prayers. The movement represents an attempt to educate and spiritually to help the Roman laity through a direct, less other-worldly approach to faith. Popular piety at this time was further fired by the tales of the success of the Church in far-away lands; the exotic nature of the missions of St. Francis Xavier especially captured the people's imagination.

The spiritual awakening was coupled with a desire to transform Rome, the centre of Christendom, into a city comparable in splendour to ancient Rome, the centre of the Empire. While others had dreamed of effecting the radical change, it was Sixtus V who applied himself

energetically to the task, and who succeeded in ushering in the trans-
figured Roma triumphans:¹²

In Rome the threads of Church life were woven together. There national colleges for the education of priests were founded whose loyalty to the Papacy was indubitable. The most significant theologians of the time were active at the Roman Jesuit College, which stands today as the Gregoriana, richly endowed by Gregory XIII. The Vatican library occupied a new building and attracted scholars. The cupola of St. Peter's was completed, and the new Baroque art was introduced in Rome; the Gesù, the main church of the Society of Jesus, was copied everywhere where the order led by the General Acquaviva established itself. The city of Rome was restored and modernized by the building of new streets and squares..... Baroque Rome was no longer the centre of Christianity, but only the centre of the Roman Catholic Church. But it announced to the world that the papacy, said by some to be finished, had survived its hardest inner and outer attack, and had regained a religious and moral authority which the Renaissance papacy was in the process of losing.

In this period of reconstruction new churches were raised to accommodate new orders, such as the Gesù for the Jesuits and the Chiesa Nuova for the Oratorians, as well as to honour recently canonized saints like St. Charles Borromeo and St. Ignatius. Some churches were thoroughly restored, such as S. Maria in Trastevere under Paul V. Enthusiasm for building gave rise to a great demand for work in the fields of architecture and art. The immediate aftermath of Trent was characterized by a certain austerity but, despite this, art was soon considered a powerful tool in the educative and missionary work of the Church. As Wittkower remarked, 'the practice of art was far from being extinct: it was turned into an important weapon to further Catholic orthodoxy';¹³ and Jedin goes further by mentioning artists in the same breath as other types of missionaries:¹⁴

But we must not forget that the same spirit filled nuncios whom Pius V and Gregory XIII sent to the most threatened areas, the preachers of controversy who fought in the chancels with the Protestants, even the painters who portrayed the victorious battle of Cattolica against heresy on the ceilings and walls of newly built Baroque churches.

The principles of sacred art were outlined by the Tridentine Fathers, who demanded three things from the artist: clarity, realistic

interpretation, and an inspiration to devotion.¹⁵ Similar guidelines were expected to govern musical composition - another means of communicating the dogmas of Holy Church. The clarity of the text was a feature emphasized by the Cardinals' Commission of 1564 and 1565, and practised in its most severe form in the music of Vincenzo Ruffo.¹⁶ Other publications also claimed to offer music in the style demanded by Trent.¹⁷ A movement against traditional polyphony and cantus firmus composition was initiated, the fulfilment of which can be seen in small-scale music from the opening of the 17th century. Durante's Arie devote of 1608 for solo voice emphasizes this point in the preface:¹⁸

Devono primieramente i Compositori considerar' bene, qualche hanno da comporre, sia Mottetto, Madrigale, o qualsivoglia altra cosa, e procurar di adornar con la musica le parole, con quelli affetti che gli si convengono, servendosi di toni appropriati, acciò con questo mezzo siano i lor concetti con più efficacia introdotti negli animi delle Ascoltanti.....

First the composers must consider well that which they are to compose, whether it be a motet, a madrigal or anything else, and seek to adorn the words with music with the appropriate sentiments, using the proper tones, to the end that by this means their concepts may be more effectively introduced into the souls of the listeners....

Under the leadership of St. Philip Neri the early Oratorians recognized the value of vernacular song as a tool to communicate the faith.¹⁹

Secular associations in the setting of the Mass were shunned, and for a number of years the parody mass was in decline, until a relaxation within the Church meant that profane models were once more tolerated, despite the rulings of Trent.

The context for Tridentine music was the revised liturgy formulated by the Council; this reasserted and strengthened the Church's position to withstand Protestant opposition to the idea of the Mass as a sacrificial offering. Klauser explains this in his history of the liturgy:²⁰

As a result of the attacks made by Luther and Zwingli on the mass, but equally, however, as a consequence of the generally widespread discontent on the part of Catholics with the discordant, one might even say, chaotic state of liturgical practice and the similar condition of liturgical books, the Council of Trent, viewing the immense number of abuses and perceiving that the bishops would never deal with the problem of reformation if left to themselves felt bound to keep a watchful eye on the process of reforming the books used for the eucharist and the hours of prayer, and at the same time to watch over (as is only natural) the reform of liturgical practices codified in these books.

A new Breviary and Missal were published in 1568 and 1570 under Pius V, the revised Pontifical under Clement VIII in 1596, and the Ritual under Paul V in 1614. In 1577 Gregory XIII requested Palestrina and Zoilo to undertake the revision of liturgical chant;²¹ this involved purging and correcting it so as to establish the traditional melodies in a less debased form. The attempt failed, and eventually the problem was reconsidered by Paul V, who set up a commission to investigate the situation in 1608. This resulted in the publication of a Gradual in 1614 by the Stamperia Medicea²² in which the chant was only further debased, causing the Pope to withhold his permission for its use by the entire Church.

In 1588 Sixtus V was prompted by his concern for the purity of the liturgy to establish the Sacred Congregation of Rites, which was responsible for safeguarding the Church's ceremonies and resolving liturgical problems.²³ That such an organization was set up demonstrates the desire of the papacy to effect a thorough reform of, and to exercise a firm control over every aspect of ecclesiastical life. To this end the popes of the post-Tridentine era applied themselves with uncompromising determination.

The austerity of the period of reformation was not however to last: encouraged by its own successes, the Church entered a flamboyant era of triumphalism - Roma triumphans - which in some ways proved the antithesis of the Catholic Reformation proper. Mayer expressed it thus:²⁴

The Catholic movement of reform carried initially a sharply outlined, rational, anti-sensual character, a seriousness, a severity and a sobriety which seem to contradict the Baroque feeling for life.

The achievements of the Church in Europe and overseas, which succeeded in putting Protestantism on the defensive and eventually precipitated the Thirty Years' War, have already been commented upon. The victory against the Turks at Lepanto in 1571 also contributed to raising the optimism of the Church, much of which was expressed in unprecedented devotion to the Virgin. It was, however, a number of events in the 1620s which signified the end of the zealous period of Catholic Reformation. Despite the encouragement of missions by the College for the Propagation of the Faith, founded in 1622, the spirit of aggressive evangelism was on the wane. Even the Jesuits, once so earnest in preaching the Gospel in strange lands, fully embraced the triumphant Rome of Urban VIII and abandoned much of their previous austerity in favour of more worldly preoccupations. The canonization of the leading characters of the period of reform by Gregory XV in 1622 set the final seal on the era of struggle since, by recognizing these figures as saints, the Church was acknowledging that it had been saved through their efforts. This event initiated a period of exuberant self-confidence with the Church secure in the belief that it had managed to consolidate its position and that the battle to retain its power was over. The more relaxed, easy-going atmosphere was fostered with the election of Urban VIII in 1623. His humanist interests aroused a second period of Renaissance in which poets and artists were given the encouragement and the scope to exercise their skills, and the style of the papal court approached in some measure that of the absolute monarchies of 17th-century Europe. More than anything else, it was the consecration of St. Peter's basilica in 1626, one hundred years after the laying of the foundation stone, which provided a symbol of the

sense of triumph in the Church. As is depicted so well on the tomb of St. Ignatius in the Church of the Gesù, Religion was deemed to have triumphed over Heresy.

Triumphalism and flamboyancy naturally found artistic expression. Encouraged by the patronage of Urban VIII, many artists, foremost among these Bernini, turned their attention to the construction of new edifices for the beautification of the Eternal City. The achievements of this Pope in artistic patronage are catalogued in Pollak's survey of the era,²⁵ an impressive testimony to the extent of his contribution. Typical is Bernini's grandiose baldacchino for St. Peter's, which, though solid in conception, is far from devoid of ornament - its very proportions represent the pagan world vanquished by the Church's power. Such an appeal to the senses was not foreign to the earliest days of the Catholic Reformation; in his Spiritual Exercises, Ignatius had adopted a very sensual approach, requiring the devotee to imagine the torments of hell in a very physical manner. So it was not the case that the 17th century introduced a new, sensual method to reach the soul, but rather that the old procedures were no longer placed at the service of a wholly spiritual message, but used to impress the people with the glory of the now-victorious Church.

Music ran parallel with art in this respect, and showed a marked increase in scale and impressive effects from 1620 onwards. Urban VIII encouraged music as part of his all-embracing interest in art, and a number of liturgical publications by Antonio Maria Abbatini, Kapsberger, Vincenzo de Grandis, Stefano Landi and Pietro Paolo Sabbatini were dedicated to him. His interest was not confined to liturgical music, and he was responsible for initiating the spiritual opera in Rome. As Grout says:²⁶

The leading patrons of opera at Rome were the powerful family of the Barberini, princes of the church. Their palace had a theatre with a capacity of over three thousand, which was opened in 1632 with one of the most important operas of the Roman school, Landi's Sant'Alessio.

In liturgical music, however, the spirit of the pontificate was perhaps best reflected in the use of large-scale polychoral groupings, references to which are encountered with increasing frequency in archives.²⁷ Such music was written with the intention of impressing the gathering, rather than providing a lucid commentary on, or communication of the text. The less stringent mood of the period is symbolized in the appearance, once again, of masses on secular models,²⁸ a manner of composition strongly censured by the Council of Trent.

It was not, however, as if the hierarchy had lost their Tridentine concern for correct liturgy for in 1628 Urban VIII issued a series of regulations regarding the place of music in services. Here he shows a continuing concern for purity and for the avoidance of profane associations:²⁹

Decreta gñalia, servanda in omnibus
Ecclijs; et presertim in Basilicis
alijsque Collegiatis Urbis.
Emanata San:mo dñum Nrum Papam
Urbanum viij - de Anno 1628

General decrees, to be observed
in all churches, and especially
in basilicas and other colleges
of the city. Issued by the Holy
Father Pope Urban VIII in 1628.

..... Omnes in Choro reverenter,
distinte, et devote himnis, et
Canticis Deum laudent, nec per
sincopem, sed facto puncto in
medio versicule, officii recitent,
verba nō concidantur, nec sequens
psalmi versiculus inchoetur, quia
prior integre absolutus est
Horas Canonicas, tam Canonici,
quam reliqui omnes, alta voce
pronunciant, voces suas Cappell-
anis, et Cantoribus adiūgentes.

.....Everyone in choir should
praise God reverently, distinctly
and faithfully with hymns and
canticles, and should recite the
office avoiding elision and making
a pause in the middle of the
verse; the words should not be
curtailed nor should a versicle
be begun until the previous one
is finished completely. As
many canons as remain shall
recite the canonical Hours
clearly, adding their voices to
those of the cappellani and
singers.

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In sollemnibus festis, Cantores, Seu Capellani, ubi Cantores nō erāt proprias illius diei Antiphonas as Vesperas canant, nihil alienū ab ea festivitate; in missa seu alijs horis, ad muliendas aures in Ecclesijs modulent, nihil profanū, nil impurū, Sacrae cātiones nō tantū verbis, sed ne quo ad modulamen canendi redoleant. Cantus, et soni graves sint, pij ac distincti, domui Dei, ac divinis Laudib. accomodati, ut simul verba intelligantur, et ad pietatē auditores excitant.

On solemn feasts singers or cappellani (where there are no singers) should sing the correct Vespers antiphons for the day and nothing foreign to the feast. At Mass or the other Hours they should sing nothing profane or impure in the churches to pleasure the ears - songs should be sacred not only in their texts, but in no way smacking of florid singing. The songs and their sound should be serious, pious and clear for the House of God, suitable for the divine praises, so that both the words are understood and the hearers moved to piety.

In his La musica ecclesiastica, Agostino Agazzari, as late as 1638, adopted a similar stance with regard to the expression of liturgical texts in an intelligible manner.³⁰ He based his theory on the study of Plato, an approach common in humanist music theory at the close of the 16th century.³¹ Agreeing with Marsilio Ficino's position in his commentary on Plato, Agazzari states 'Denique armonia orationem sequi debet, non oratio armoniam',³² and thus leads into a humanist discussion of the effects of music. His complaint is against the 'confusion of our times', in which 'similar light ditties may be approved of in the Holy Church, the House of God, which are reputed to be unsuitable in the houses of men'.³³ He argues forcibly in favour of the attitude of the Council of Trent, and condemns secular and frivolous musical settings:³⁴

.....proposto dirò, che la Musica Ecclesiastica sia quel canto, & armonia animata dalle sacre parole, à fine di cantar la gloria, e lodi di Iddio in Santa Chiesa ad imitation del Cielo.

.....I shall say that Church music is that song and harmony inspired by the sacred words, with the purpose of singing the glories and praises of the Lord in imitation of heaven.

and goes on to speak against those pieces based of profane airs, in which the words of the Mass are set 'with sensual delight and novelty'.³⁵

The words of the liturgy, he says, must be taken seriously otherwise one is in grave danger of falling into heresy; in illustration of this he cites a setting of the Credo for two choirs, where one sings 'non erit finis' to which the other responds 'erit finis'. Agazzari was keen, however, to preserve music within the Church, but he notes that various popes had wished to ban it 'on account of the confusion and soup of the words in their counterpoint and fugues'.³⁶ His high view of music places it second only to theology as a discipline: the latter discusses the essence and greatness of God, while music sings of the same and will continue to do so in eternity.

The fact that Agazzari felt it necessary to write in such terms indicates that he was among those who believed that a general musical decline had taken place in the second quarter of the seicento. He presumably discerned this decline in grandiose liturgical spectacles where there was little concern for clear expression of the text, and rather more interest in the impressive effect of the ceremonies themselves. Despite the evident artistic quality of music from this period, other writers noted the danger of moving away from Tridentine principles in favour of more secular styles. The Church authorities were not unaware of this: a document of the Congregazione della sacra visita dated October 20, 1639 reads like a precis of Agazzari's treatise. It uses very strong language in an attempt to do away with abuses common in Roman churches, and it was presumably circulated to all religious institutions in the city.³⁷ The Jesuit Drexel pursued a similar line of thought in his Rhetorica caelestis of 1636.³⁸

Without offense to you let me say, ye musicians, that now a new species of singing is dominant in the temples, but it is showy, curtailed, very little religious, indeed, but more suitable for theater or dances than for the temple..... I beg you, let at least something of the old religiosity of sacred music be revived.....

This was however a flourishing period for music itself. In 1628

Giustiniani spoke of the 'fervour that music arouses in the souls of men during the celebration of the divine offices, and in the uniting of many people's spirits on the occasion of singing together, as may be observed daily in the processions of the religious brotherhoods and societies through the streets of the city'.³⁹ The French violist, Maugars, sent to report on the state of Italian music, wrote in a most complimentary manner in 1639 about the quantity of music and the skill of the musicians in Rome:⁴⁰

That which I beg you to notice is that they never sing the same motets twice, and there scarcely passes a day in which there is no festival in some church, and where some good music is not managed; certainly one is assured of hearing new compositions every day.

With regard to the quality of the music Maugars remarked that 'they compose their motets with more art, learning and variety of ornamentation than ours';⁴¹ and that 'we [the French] compose admirably Airs de mouvement, and the Italians marvellously church music'.⁴² Clearly the singers were very capable, and Maugars remarked:⁴³

these Italian musicians never practise together, but sing all their parts at sight; and what I find even more admirable is that they always keep together.....

Notwithstanding the blemishes, the city of Rome, within one hundred years of its sack and virtual destruction by Charles V, had become a showpiece for the rest of Christendom, and displayed almost unprecedented self-confidence. Rome had not only won back all the ground that the sack and Protestantism had taken from her, but was in a positive position of power which even exceeded that of previous epochs:⁴⁴

What nobody had dared to hope before the Council had happened: the papacy and Rome were in quite a different sense the centre of church life from the time of the great schism and the era of the Renaissance papacies.

Yet the early Baroque was not an age of total secularization after the battle: the pontificate of Urban VIII specially was a period in which missionary activity was encouraged, largely through the extension of the work of the College for the Propagation of the Faith, and in which there was further revision of the Breviary, the performance of various canonizations, and the decrees of the Council of Trent were, to some extent at least, upheld.

NOTES

1. The term Catholic Reformation has generally been adopted rather than Counter-Reformation on account of arguments presented in Jedin, Katholische Reformation; he uses the term to express the view that the movement which swept Europe in the 16th century was a positive religious awakening rather than a negative reaction to Protestantism, a Counter-Reformation. This section owes a considerable amount to German-speaking authors, who have contributed extensively to this field of Church history. Hubert Jedin's work on the Council of Trent and its aftermath represents the foremost contribution to this area of scholarship, and it is to his writings that I am particularly indebted. Chadwick, 251-362 gives a brief English account of the subject, and Jedin, A History presents a thorough survey of the Council.
2. Penco, ii, 1.
3. Jedin, Katholische Reformation, 53.
4. Mosse, 182.
5. Some idea of the miserable state of the Roman churches immediately after the Council is given in Monticone.
6. The colleges also educated men who did not intend to be ordained, but their primary task was to train seminarians. See Culley, A Study, 18.
7. Jedin, Katholische Reformation, 57.
8. Jedin, Katholische Reformation, 33. A brief history of the Jesuits is found in Brodrick.
9. Parker, 56.
10. Pastor, xix, 4.
11. Pastor, xix, 162.

12. Jedin, 'Katholische Reform', 443-44.
13. Wittkower, 1.
14. Jedin, Katholische Reformation, 34.
15. See Lockwood, Pope Marcellus Mass, 19.
16. Lockwood, The Counter-Reformation discusses the works of Ruffo in detail, and gives a thorough account of the place of music in this period.
17. See Coates and Abraham, 317-18. The preface to Palestrina's Missarum liber secundus makes a comment to that effect; it is quoted in translation in Lockwood, Pope Marcellus Mass, 24-25.
18. Reprinted with a German translation in Goldschmidt, 29-33.
19. Smither, A History, i, 39-76 gives the early history of the order and its music.
20. Klauser, 117.
21. The complex story of the revision of the chant is discussed in great depth in Molitor.
22. Graduale de Tempore.....
23. The rulings of this body are available in Decreta authentica.....
24. Mayer, 124, quoted in Jedin, Katholische Reformation, 44.
25. Pollak, Die Kunsttätigkeit.
26. Grout, 64.
27. See below on the 'colossal Baroque', 295.
28. By Vincenzo Ugolini (1622), Antonio Cifra (1621) and Marco Scacchi (1634); see below, 129-30, 139, 302-03.
29. Archives of S.Maria in Cosmedin, Libro IV-2, Decreti Capitolari Lib.o II (1618-51), f. 186.
30. Full text in Appendix I, Doc. 1.
31. See, for example, Giovanni de'Bardi, Discourse in Strunk, 290-301. The activities of this circle are discussed in Palisca, 'The Camerata'.
32. Agazzari, La musica, 4. See the preface of Monteverdi's Scherzi musicali (Venice, 1607), where similar views are expressed (see Strunk, 408-09).
33. Agazzari, La musica, 6.
34. Agazzari, La musica, 7.
35. Agazzari, La musica, 11.

36. Agazzari, La musica, 14.
37. Full text in Appendix I, Doc. 2.
38. Drexel, i, 66, quoted in Fellerer, 'Church Music', 589, note 60.
39. Giustiniani, 75.
40. Maugars, 28.
41. Maugars, 27.
42. Maugars, 42.
43. Maugars, 28.
44. Jedin, Katholische Reformation, 63.

CHAPTER IIIARCHIVAL STUDIESPATRONAGE AND SUPPORT FOR ROMAN LITURGICAL MUSIC

Most provincial Italian cities could boast no more than one institution, generally the Cathedral or Ducal Chapel, where there were regular performances of liturgical music. The maestro in such an institution would have been responsible for the direction of a small group of singers and, if sufficiently accomplished, would have composed some settings of liturgical texts for them to perform. In exceptional cases, an enterprising and gifted maestro might have issued his works in the large publishing centres of Rome and Venice and thus, perhaps helped by a flattering dedication to some dignitary, increased his chances of promotion to a more prestigious post in a larger town.

Rome on the other hand offered church musicians many opportunities for employment: the city was full of churches,¹ and the maestri of no less than fourteen establishments achieved a mention on the title-pages of published music during our period, for, having recovered from the sack of a hundred years before, the city was increasingly the focus of ecclesiastical life. In addition to these fourteen institutions, a number of others were musically active, and in these were found composers of note at an early stage in their careers together with those maestri who, though surely capable practitioners of their art, never secured a post in one of the great churches. Rome attracted a host of gifted musicians who, motivated by the opportunities which the city offered, left their native towns in the provinces to seek improvement; among these were Paolo Agostini from Vallerano, Abundio Antonelli

from Benevento and Antonio Maria Abbatini from Città di Castello. Some, such as the Augustinian Friars Girolamo Bartei and Agostino Diruta, were sent to Rome by their order to direct the music at its mother church, S. Agostino.

Though Rome certainly drew people of stature, it is far from true to say that every church was bursting with musical activity; indeed there were not nearly enough musicians to go round. It is recorded in the archives of S. Maria in Cosmedin that a decision was made not to invite a cardinal for a special feast since there was no-one capable of singing Mass sufficiently well;² and in S. Maria della Rotonda (the Pantheon) outside musicians were regularly hired on the feast of All Saints (perhaps to keep up appearances) even though virtually no other music took place in the church during the year. Even the English College was in a similar situation, as we shall see later.

The bodies which patronized composers of liturgical music can be divided into a number of groups: the Vatican with its two cappelle; other basilicas and churches; mother churches of religious orders; national churches; colleges and seminaries; confraternities and, lastly, private individuals of high rank who maintained large households and encouraged the composition and performance of sacred music by way of recreation. Most of these categories were not found outside Rome, and for that reason a study of patronage in the city brings to light some colourful and varied fields of activity.

The Vatican maintained two distinct cappelle, the Sistina or Cappella Pontificia, reserved exclusively for papal functions,³ and the Giulia, instituted by Pope Julian II in 1513, which furnished music in St. Peter's.⁴ These cappelle, the most prestigious in Rome, succeeded in attracting the most capable and experienced maestri and singers. They performed music in two distinct styles; while in the

basilica itself the music provided by the Cappella Giulia was in the mainstream of stylistic development with some pieces in newer styles, including the species of multiple-choir writing termed 'colossal Baroque', in papal ceremonies (with the Cappella Sistina) the archaic prima prattica style persisted.⁵ This anachronism, peculiar to the Sistine choir, was the outcome of a conservative approach by means of which the hierarchy sought to express their belief in the unchanging nature of the Catholic faith despite the vicissitudes of the previous century. Both cappelle were sizeable establishments and by the mid-17th century the Cappella Sistina comprised about thirty singers, and the Giulia about twenty; these numbers were substantially greater than those employed in other churches.

Positions at St. John Lateran and S. Maria Maggiore were also much coveted by maestri and musicians, since these are major basilicas, and the former the pope's cathedral as bishop of Rome.⁶ The men employed by these basilicas were often productive as composers: among those active in the Lateran were G.F. Anerio, Curzio Mancini, Abundio Antonelli, Antonio Cifra, Antonio Maria Abbatini, Virgilio Mazzocchi and Francesco Foggia, and in the Cappella Liberiana of S. Maria Maggiore worked Francesco Soriano, Vincenzo Ugolini, Paolo Tarditi, Giuseppe Giamberti, and Foggia. A certain amount of work on S. Maria Maggiore has already been completed,⁷ and the archives are so large that any discussion of them would detract from the object of securing an overall view of musical activity. Those of St. John Lateran are closed to the public at the time of writing.

Like any city Rome has its parish churches which are independent of any religious order, and without national or collegiate associations. These were sometimes wealthy enough to support a cappella, and in a number of cases revenue from the leasing of property and vineyards was used to this end. Many churches enjoyed the patronage of a

titular cardinal and, if he were sufficiently generous, his donations would go a long way towards meeting the cost of music. Occasionally, a service was funded by a private individual: the archives of the Gesù record a payment for music on the feast of St. Francis Xavier in November 1628:⁸

On the eighteenth day of the said month for the music of Vespers on account of a benefit received from St. Francis Xavier from a person devoted to him 24 -

When the Jesuits celebrated their centenary in 1639 the ceremonies were paid for by the papal nephew, Antonio Barberini.⁹

Some churches supported regular cappelle: in S. Maria in Trastevere and S. Lorenzo in Damaso, for instance, these consisted of about eight singers, maestro and organist. One can, however, be sure that in the majority of churches only the most elementary chant was heard. A church such as S. Maria Rotonda (the Pantheon) is perhaps more typical: music on anything but a basic level was confined to one festival or perhaps two each year when outside musicians were hired.

Religious orders in Rome were represented by mother churches, many of which patronized a considerable amount of musical performance. In the Augustinian S. Agostino and the Oratorian S. Maria in Vallicella the members of the order comprised at least a proportion of the cappella; consequently it is more difficult to assess the extent of musical activity, since fewer documents relating to payment are to be found. The Dominican S. Maria sopra Minerva was clearly a church with a flourishing musical tradition;¹⁰ sadly its archives are lost, and accordingly information is scarce. Della Valle mentions the singing of nuns in S. Lucia in Selci, San Silvestro, S. Maria di Monte Magnapoli, S. Chiara and in S. Spirito in Sassia, showing that musical performance was not confined to the male orders.¹¹ It does however seem that female orders were discouraged from being too much involved with music,

and in 1625 the Congregazione della sacra visita only permitted the use of 'canto figurato' two or three times on principal feasts in communities of nuns.¹² The Gesù, mother church of the Jesuit order, was the scene of some of the most impressive music in seicento Rome, but this was due in some measure to its connection with the Seminario Romano, with which it shared its singers.

The seminaries, founded during the late 16th century in response to the Tridentine concern for a well-educated clergy, were also centres of music-making, and boasted some of the finest maestri. The Seminario Romano has already been touched upon, and the German College was also musically important.¹³ It was linked to the church of S. Apollinare (just as the Gesù had connections with the Seminario Romano) and consequently that church enjoyed remarkably elaborate musical performances. Another Jesuit church, S. Maria dei Monti, was able to employ some of the most distinguished Roman maestri, including G.F. Anerio, Paolo Tarditi and Steffano Bernardi. Such an exceptional group of musicians was probably attracted to the church on account of the attached Compagnia dei neofiti, founded by St. Ignatius in 1542.¹⁴ The archives of the church, contained in the Archivio del Vicariato, are so fragmentary as to prevent a full picture of its life being researched.

Another phenomenon peculiar to Rome is that of the national churches, chief among which are S. Luigi dei Francesi, S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli, and S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini. S. Luigi was particularly well endowed, and its archives reveal a picture of considerable musical activity involving some of the foremost musicians of the time.¹⁵ The Florentine church was a special case since much of the music was bound up with its charitable confraternity, the Arciconfraternita di S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini.¹⁶ The confraternities were common sources of musical patronage; in addition to that of the Florentines, which for

a while employed Alessandro Costantini, the Arciconfraternita dell'Orazione e Morte employed Sigismondo Arsilli, Giuseppe Giamberti and Pietro Paolo Sabbatini and was praised by della Valle,¹⁷ and that 'della Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini' also supported a cappella of which Paolo Agostini was maestro for a time. In 1630 when Cardinal Francesco Barberini was received as protector of the Franciscan Arciconfraternita della Stimata there was evidently splendid music, despite the fact that this body does not appear to have had any regular musical performances:¹⁸

and on entering the church, the musicians in the choir sang various motets for eight voices with organ and other instruments.

The Arciconfraternita del Gonfalone supported an organist for Mass and Vespers on feasts and for the singing of the Salve Regina on Saturdays.¹⁹ Statutes of the confraternity also provide for solemn music at Mass and first and second Vespers of the patronal festival of SS. Peter and Paul, and on the feast of the founder St. Bonaventure.²⁰ Free-lance musicians seem to have made themselves available for performances in churches where there was no regular cappella, and payments to Sabbatini are found in the archives of S. Maria della Rotonda and S. Maria in Cosmedin.

Another group of maestri came within contact of Rome and frequently published works in the city - holders of posts in the provinces. While many cathedrals in the surrounding area, including Frascati,²¹ Tivoli,²² and Orvieto, occasionally found a maestro with some printed music to his credit, many composers were drawn to the most attractive provincial post, that at the Santa Casa in Loreto. Well-established composers were prepared to leave adequate posts in Rome to work there, among these Antonio Cifra. This renowned place of pilgrimage maintained a fine musical tradition,²³ unequalled by any of the provincial cathedrals, where a more modest approach within a more limited budget

was necessary. Some provincial maestri eventually rose to positions in Rome itself, the most famous of these being Carissimi; less ambitious musicians on the other hand must have been contented with their minor situations.

In addition to musicians who received support for church duties, a small number of composers of liturgical music were privately employed in wealthy households, probably with more general musical tasks. Kapsberger was supported by the Barberini; and after leaving his post as organist of S.Maria Maggiore, Paolo Quagliati was in the employ of the Ludovisi family. Both the Ludovisi and the Barberini were prominent in the ecclesiastical sphere: Gregory XV was a member of the Ludovisi and Urban VIII of the Barberini. The pieces composed under their patronage were presumably intended for use in private chapels or for spiritual recreation.²⁴

The need for work on specific Roman institutions was pointed out by Witzemann, who remarked on the lack of research in this field:²⁵

We know still less about the Roman church cappella, and in the 17th century this is even valid for the examples of St. John Lateran, S.Maria Maggiore, S.Luigi dei Francesi and S.Giovanni dei Fiorentini.

The largest basilicas have deliberately not been considered in this dissertation since it is my intention to provide a general view of Roman musical life and, at the time of writing, many of their archives are inaccessible. The documents pertaining to St. Peter's are so vast as to require many theses on them alone.²⁶ Two churches have been chosen for their connection with religious orders, the Gesu and S. Agostino. S. Lorenzo in Damaso and S. Maria in Trastevere were studied for their reasonably large choral establishments unconnected with any religious order. The situation at the Pantheon makes an interesting example, since the relative poverty of its position means that it was probably more typical of Roman parish churches, some

details of which are also included. To avoid darting from one church to another in illustration of certain points and thereby failing to provide a unified picture of music in any one establishment, it has been thought best to include a sequence of short essays describing the musical life of particular churches.

NOTES

1. Trattato, 128 gives the number of churches as 359. These were not all public places of worship, but include private chapels of monasteries, churches used occasionally for special celebrations and others of similar status. A brief, but informative guide to the churches of Rome is Zeppegno and Mattonelli. Lumbroso and Martini concentrate on the confraternities and their churches.
2. Archives of S.Maria in Cosmedin, Libro IV-2, Decreti Capitolari Lib.o II (1618-51), f. 42v. The entry, dating from September 5, 1627, relates to priests singing on the feast of the Nativity of Our Lady; this would seem to indicate that even the most elementary plainsong was beyond the resources of the church.
3. Jean Lionnet is engaged in work on the archives of this institution. An outline of its history is found in Adami, xxv ff.
4. Rostirolla, 101-09 distinguishes clearly between the two cappelle and gives a detailed account of the foundation of the Cappella Giulia.
5. Original documents concerning the repertory of the Cappella Sistina are presented in Frey, Das Diarium and Frey, Die Gesänge. Musical works still in the possession of the Cappella Sistina are listed in Llorens, Capellae Sixtinae Codices, which merits comparison with the companion volume on the Cappella Giulia, Llorens, Le opere.
6. S.Paolo fuori le mura, the other major basilica, had no musical tradition. The community only seems to have been in residence for part of the year since the area was so prone to epidemics; consequently no permanent musical establishment was possible. This view has been expressed in conversations with a number of Roman acquaintances well versed in the history of their city; so far I have been unable to discover a source which confirms this notion.
7. Published in Raeli.
8. Archives of the Gesù, Libro 2006, Libro Dell'entrate et spese della Sacestia Dall'anno 1620, November 18, 1628, unfoliated: adj. 18. detto p la musica di ũ Vespro p una gratia ottenuta da

S^{to} fran.^{co} Xaverio da una persona sua devota 24 -. The corresponding entry in the Entrata is also anonymous.

9. See full title of Relazione della solenne festa: 'fatta Dall' Emin.^{mo} e Rev.^{mo} Sig.^{re} Card. Antonio Barberino'.
10. See Maugar's description of Vespers on the vigil and feast of St. Dominic, when the music was for ten choirs, quoted below, 308. Orbaan, 291 describes the funeral of Margarita Sanrocchi which took place in the church on November 1, 1617; the coffin was carried 'coronata di lauro et favorita da virtuosi d'accompagnamento et di molte compositioni attorno il fereto'. Della Valle also mentions music in the church (see Solerti, 175).
11. Solerti, 166.
12. Decreti generali, no. 1: Nelle Chiese delle Monache di Roma..... si proibiscono le musiche, tanto di voci, come d'istromenti, etiandio ne'giorni d'alquando si veste, fà professione, ò prende il velo alcuna delle Monache, volendo, che in ogni caso restino contente della Musica, che fanno, & possono fare le medesime Monache con li proprij Organi, & non con altri instrumenti, usando il canto fermo, & non figurato, il quale canto figurato si permetterà solamente per due, ò tre volte l'anno nelle feste più principali di dette Chiese, conforme à quello, che sarà stabilito dall'Illustriss. Sig. Card. Vicario. It could simply be because men would have to be brought in to perform polyphonic music; clearly this could not be allowed too often.
13. The German College has been examined in Culley, A Study, and in Casimiri, 'Disciplina musicae', xvi (1939), 1 ; xix (1942), 102, 159; xx (1943), 1.
14. See Lumbroso and Martini, 181-83.
15. Jean Lionnet has prepared an article which is awaiting publication on the archives of this church.
16. Wessely-Kropik has outlined the content of these archives.
17. Solerti, 176. See also Montaigne's descriptions of the Good Friday ceremonies in Pastor, xx, 558.
18. Matteucci, 160.
19. Statuti, 94: Della Chiesa, e Cappellani di S.Lucia. Cap. LXII. Si terrà ancora un'Organista per sonar l'organo alle Messe, e Vespri, & il Sabato à sera alle Salve &c., & ancora qualche Musico per i giorni delle feste, ad arbitrio della Congregatione Segreta.....
20. Statuti, 97: Delle feste dell'Oratorio. Cap. LXIV. Per esser il nostro Oratorio dedicato alli Santi Apostoli Pietro, e Paolo, e per esser stato san Bonaventura fondatore della nostra Archiconfraternità; ordiniamo, che nelle feste di quelli Santi, cioè alli 29. di Giugno, & alli 14. di Luglio, si faccia nel detto Oratorio festa solenne, con farvi cantare in musica la messa, & il primo, e secondo Vespro, e si faccia adornare il

detto Oratorio di dentro, e di fuori ad arbitrio delli Guardiani.

21. My examination of the cathedral archives at Frascati revealed a good deal of information about its foundation in the first years of the seicento, but few documents made any reference to music.
22. Music in this cathedral has been treated in Radiciotti; he provides a comprehensive list of maestri, but little information about specific events.
23. Music in the Santa Casa has been examined in Tebaldini.
24. This would follow in the tradition of Palestrina's Motectorum..... liber quartus (1584) on texts from the Song of Songs, and relates to Roche, Madrigal, 100-04 on the spiritual madrigal.
25. Witzmann, xlviii (1976), 81-82.
26. Giancarlo Rostirolla is writing a detailed book on the Cappella Giulia, and Jean Lionnet is engaged on the same task for the Cappella Sistina.

THE CHURCH OF GESÙ

The Gesù stands in its own piazza close to the ancient centre of Rome and is a place of unparalleled importance for the Jesuit order of which it is the mother church. Built between 1568 and 1584, it is often cited as a building of particular significance for its architectural embodiment of the spirit of the Catholic Reformation; yet the artistic expression of religious thought and feeling is not only found in the outward design of the church, but also in the musical performances which enriched its liturgical worship.

The triumphalism of the early Baroque is reflected in the architecture of the Gesù: the vast interior is decorated with ornate splendour in a style whose strength reflects the absolute authority of the Counter-Reformation Church. It was largely due to the Jesuits that the Church had been able to regain such power. Musical activity there communicated similar ideas: spectacular large-scale music for many choirs, designed to impress rather than to put across the text became popular as well as music for a few voices using a more flamboyant vocal style than that of the prima prattica. Instruments were used with increasing frequency to augment the forces and to add more colour and excitement. To provide some context for the assessment of the references to music in the papers of the Gesù we turn first to the rubrics relating to worship there.¹

A manuscript volume entitled Ordine, et Osservationi della nostra Chiesa per tutto l'Anno² survives in the Jesuit archives; it is dated 1584, the year in which the church was completed. It contains ceremonial instructions for the church, probably the result of deliberations at its foundation. The volume is important from the musical angle since it shows the extent to which music was considered

an integral part of liturgical functions. Much of the material could apply mutatis mutandis to other Roman churches, but it also contains references to festivals celebrated with special solemnity in the Gesù, such as the patronal festival of the church.

The Ordine open with basic instructions on which services are to be sung: these give some idea of the singers' duties and of the context for the performance of some of the musical repertory, such as Matins and Compline settings. Special festivals are then dealt with in some detail, the role of the choir being mentioned frequently.

Mass, the most important liturgical function, was to be sung 'On all Sundays and feasts where there is a sermon',³ indicating that when a day was of sufficient importance to merit a sermon music was also in order. Not all services of the church were so frequently an occasion for musical performance: Matins, for instance, was only sung on Christmas night and, as the office of Tenebrae, on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday of Holy Week.⁴ These occasions are those for which printed polyphonic settings of the service are found.⁵ The office was regularly sung on Christmas night as a prelude to the Midnight Mass and, similarly, Matins for the triduum sacrum has always held a special place in the liturgical cycle.

Sung Vespers, however, took place with considerably greater frequency, that is, on Sundays, feasts of obligation and vigils of feasts.⁶ It was therefore sung as often as the Mass, and on greater feast-days both first and second Vespers were adorned with music. The fact that Vespers was to take place without music on the feast of the Holy Innocents (except when it fell on a Sunday) suggests that the cappella was given a much deserved rest on that day, after the succession of post-Christmas festivals. In the case of the Gesù it was a most necessary respite since the church had to be prepared for the patronal festival on January 1.

Compline was often used as a Lenten devotion in Rome⁷ and the Gesù was no exception to this practice. Rubrics dealing with the office indicate that it was sung on St. Matthias's Day, on the Annunciation when it fell in Lent, and during Holy Week.⁸

The public recitation of the office holds a special place in the routine of the Jesuits. It is one of the few orders that does not call for its daily communal recitation and therefore the solemn performance of, say, Vespers on festivals would have been an event of remarkable importance.⁹

Instructions relating to the singers are given in connection with many major festivals. On the feast of the Purification, February 2, singers are mentioned since candles had to be provided for them.¹⁰ The members of the cappella were required to carry them in the procession which preceded the Mass; they formed the fourth group in the procession, behind the thurifer, crucifer and the brothers of the order.¹¹ On Palm Sunday the same processional order was followed, and after the procession the cantori were directed to move to the choir to begin singing the Mass. During the same function the choir had a role to play in the liturgical singing of the Passion.¹² Until the triduum sacrum the only further directions for the choir concern the singing of Compline on Monday and Tuesday.¹³ The services of singers were anticipated on Holy Thursday since the rubric for the Missa In coena Domini prescribes that the cappella sings a motet during the communion.¹⁴ Singers are mentioned again in connection with the ceremonies which follow the Mass: the directions state that the choir should continue to sing while the host is placed in the tabernacle on the altar of repose and that after this section of the service they should return to the choir to sing Vespers.¹⁵

Corpus Christi was an important event at the Gesù: the cappella was to sing hymns and psalms during the procession of the Host and a

motet when the company had returned to the church.¹⁶ Though not strictly a feast, the singers were also required on All Souls' Day since they took part in the ceremonies which followed the Mass, including the singing of the Responsoy Libera me.¹⁷ Practical directions are found for Christmas; these explain how to deal with the darkness and with the strenuous programme the festival demanded. Candles were lit for the Midnight Mass so the singers could see clearly, and they were ordered to rest from after the midnight liturgy until the Mass of the Day at which they were to sing.¹⁸

This outline of the main ceremonies of the liturgical year shows that singers were considered to be an essential part of the liturgy. Since the volume dates from 1584, it contains no mention of any Jesuit saints who were so enthusiastically venerated during the period under consideration.¹⁹ A later document concerned with liturgy in the Gesù is found in the records of the visitation of Roman churches under Urban VIII.²⁰ This includes an updated list of feasts celebrated in the church, including that of the Circumcision (the dedication of the church being to the name of Jesus) and those of some recently canonized Jesuit saints:²¹

Solemni ritu Ecclesia Celebrat
festum S.^me Circumcisionis necnon,
et dedicationis Ecclesiae, ac SS.
Ignatij fund^ris die 31. Iulij.
Franc^{ci} Xavierij 2^a xbr^ris; ac B.
Franc^{ci} Borgiae die 2. 8br^ris.

The church celebrates solemnly
the feast of the Most Holy
Circumcision, also the dedication
of the church, and St. Ignatius,
the founder, on July 31, St.
Francis Xavier on December 2,
and St. Francis Borgia on October
2.

Archival documents show that these were lavishly celebrated and that no expense was spared in securing a magnificent musical accompaniment for the liturgy. Unfortunately, the archives of the Gesù are only reasonably complete from 1620 onwards; after this date it is possible to find many references to the employment of musicians and to expenses

on festivals. The records are in some ways disappointing since there are certain aspects, such as repertory, about which they reveal little.

Music in the Gesù was bound up with that in the Seminario Romano and singers from the latter institution were at least partially responsible for liturgical performance in the church.²² The connection between the Gesù and the seminary was so close that from 1575 the seminarians were expected to attend the church on feasts:²³

The clerics from the Seminary after having been able to go on feasts to St. John Lateran, St. Peter's, S. Maria Maggiore and S. Marco, it was resolved by the Cardinal Protector that, on account of its greater proximity, their church should be the Gesù of Rome, to which they were obliged to go at least to Vespers when there was music.....

The regulations relating to the maestro and organist of the Seminario indicate that they were required to be present in the Gesù on Sundays and double feasts, and the cantori of the Seminario were also given instructions which presuppose their attendance in the Gesù. These directions state that Vespers psalms should be intoned by two singers and that a motet should be sung at the end of the office and after the Magnificat on greater feasts. On other occasions at Vespers falso-bordone psalms sufficed, with a motet in place of the Marian antiphon. At Mass on festivals one motet was sung after the Credo, one during the elevation and another at the conclusion of the service; on other days fewer motets were sung. Extra singers were hired on special feasts to provide music 'a due Chori' for Vespers, and 'a sei e otto voci' for the Mass.²⁴

It is clear from the archives that the church was closely connected with the papal establishment as well as the Seminario: singers described as cantori del Papa were in regular employment in the Seminario and the church, and on a number of feasts other members of the Cappella Sistina seem to have sung in the Gesù. The regular cantori are mentioned in Nappi's Annali among those receiving a salary

from the Seminario:²⁵

There were twenty eight [persons] in salaried employment, among these there was a maestro di cappella with some papal singers who received board together with a room and who committed themselves to sing at Vespers and Mass on feasts when the papal cappella was not present.

Throughout the period covered by the archives there were regular payments to a number of cantori del Papa for their services in the Gesu.²⁶ During 1620 two such cantori, Martino and Montagno, were paid at the adequate rate of forty scudi per annum.²⁷ It appears that the Seminario undertook to give them a room and food, while the church actually paid them. In March 1621 Guidobaldo was included in payments to cantori del Papa, and the three of them continued to receive wages until Montagno's place as alto was taken by one Ferdinando in November 1622.²⁸ From 1625 payments were made regularly to four cantori for their duties in the church, the recipients of these sums being Martino, Ferdinando, Guidobaldo and Francesco. The first three, tenor, alto and soprano respectively, must have been very content with their positions as they remained in the regular service of the Gesu into the 1640s.²⁹ In addition to the four cantori del Papa there were generally two other singers who received salaries from the church, albeit at a lower rate of pay.

On special festivals considerable numbers of extra musicians were engaged; such occasions must have called for music and ceremonial of a particularly solemn nature, in keeping with the exultant spirit of a city which had evolved into Roma triumphans of the Catholic Reformation. Occasionally one is given some idea of the extent of the augmented forces from records of the purchase of gloves for the singers; for instance, in June 1621 fifteen pairs were acquired in connection with Corpus Christi showing that at least that number of singers were employed.³⁰ For the same feast in 1623 only ten pairs were procured; this is, of course, only an indication of the minimum number of singers

present.³¹

The cantori were directed by a maestro who was responsible for music in both the Seminario and the Gesù. This emerges clearly in 1628 when a sum was given to the maestro of the Seminario for directing the music in the church.³² Bonifazio Graziani is called 'Maestro di Cappella nella Chiesa del Gesù e Seminario Romano' in an anthology of 1648 and on the title-page of his 1650 motet collection; this confirms the plurality of tenure in the mid-century.³³

The Gesù archives are not too helpful in identifying holders of the combined post of maestro. Casimiri in his study of the Seminario Romano provided a certain amount of information about these figures, drawing heavily upon the Annali of Nappi.³⁴ It is superfluous to discuss his findings here, and only the extra information derived from the archives of the Gesù will be presented.³⁵

The first mention of a maestro in the archives dates from November 17, 1620 when 'S^r Abondio' was paid six scudi as his salary.³⁶ A payment in the following year for the purchase of music by 'Abund' leads one to some interesting speculations.³⁷ The fact that the name Abundio is mentioned in both references implies that the maestro was interested in acquiring copies of his own compositions with a view to performing them. The only Abundio known to have published church music in Rome during this period was Antonelli, about whom there exists no definite biographical information after 1616, in which year he was maestro at Benevento.³⁸ These payments suggest that in 1620 he could have been maestro at the Gesù, an opinion put forward by Pitoni but absent from Nappi and Casimiri.³⁹

Domenico Massenzio first appears in the archives as maestro in December 1623, but his connection with the church dates from at least 1612 when, according to Nappi, he celebrated Mass on the feast of SS. Abondio and Abbondantio.⁴⁰ In the same year he dedicated his

motet collection, Sacrae cantiones....liber primus, to a member of the Farnese family, Odoardo; this strengthens the idea of an association between Massenzio and the Gesù since the Farnese were among its greatest patrons. His 1616 publication⁴¹ describes him as 'Illustrissimorum Sodalium B.V. Assumptae in Aedibus Professorum Societas Iesu Romae Musicae Praefecti'. This congregation was important in the life of the Gesù, and a vivid description survives of its part in the celebration of the Forty Hours' Devotion in 1640. Title - pages of Massenzio's works show that he held this post until at least 1618.⁴² He was certainly connected with the church in some capacity in 1621 since in April he received a gift of three scudi 10.⁴³ In June of the same year he received two scudi, and in December he was paid three for Christmas music, on which occasion he was described simply as 'musico'.⁴⁴ He also received four scudi in April 1623 and three in December where for the first time in the archives he is given the title of maestro⁴⁵ - it could well be that he helped out during the interregnum between Capocci and Cima.

Alessandro Capocci served as maestro before January 1624, since in that month he received his final payment of four scudi.⁴⁶ His publications of 1623 and 1624,⁴⁷ however, describe him as 'In Seminario Romano, Musicae Moderatoris', showing that he held both posts. It is probable that he left soon after July 1623 since in that month a small silver cross was bought for the maestro.⁴⁸ This would have been an appropriate gift for someone retiring from the post. In keeping with the plurality of office it is notable that no regular remuneration for the maestro of the Gesù appears in the archives, whereas payments were made frequently to the organist and organ tuner; this suggests that the maestro was paid by the Seminario.

Though not mentioned in the archives, Tullio Cima was probably Capocci's real successor; his Motecta....liber secundus of 1625

describes him as 'Abundii Antonelli Discipuli, ac Seminarii Romani Musicae Praefecti'. It could well be that Antonelli (had he held the post) was responsible for recommending a pupil to the authorities.

After Capocci and Massenzio no maestro of the church is mentioned by name in the archives until the late 1630s. In January 1638 Stefano Fabri was paid as maestro for 'musica straord^a' on the feast of the Circumcision;⁴⁹ and in December 1639 he received another sum, the receipt for which indicates that he had just relinquished the position of maestro:⁵⁰

On the twenty-seventh of the said month four scudi 20 to Signore Stefano Fabri, the previous maestro di cappella 4 - 20

Despite having left, Fabri maintained his connections with the Gesù; in December 1645 he was paid for directing music at the patronal festival, the maestro being indisposed.⁵¹

Organists remain mostly anonymous, though there were regular payments to holders of the office. A few names are found, such as that of Orazio Verini, who was paid two scudi 50 a month from December 1638,⁵² and Matteo who was paid at the same rate from the beginning of 1645.⁵³ It is possible to deduce from a payment to his heirs dated January 1644 that Verini died in November or December 1643.⁵⁴ In March 1644 an organist was paid for replacing Verini from December onwards.⁵⁵ The organ played an important part in music at the Gesù for, in addition to regular payments to an organist and tuner, expenditure of one hundred and fifty scudi is recorded for the purchase of an instrument in September 1625.⁵⁶ It does seem unfair that the organist was paid a half scudo each month whereas the tuner took one scudo; perhaps the organist's pay was made up to a more reasonable level by a separate wage from the Seminario. The size of the tuner's payments indicate that the organ was well maintained.

As previously mentioned there were certain festivals which were celebrated with particular solemnity, namely the Circumcision, St. Ignatius, St. Francis Xavier and the martyrs of Japan. On these feasts vast expenditure was often undertaken, far in excess of that on universally important days like Christmas and Easter. The amount spent on these solemnities was enormous, bearing in mind that a singers' monthly wage for part-time duties was around two scudi. The first time that the feast of the martyrs of Japan was celebrated following their canonization by Urban VIII in September 1627 an outlay of seventy-six scudi ⁴⁰ was made,⁵⁷ and for the canonization of St. Ignatius in March 1622 seventy scudi was spent on the musical aspect of the event alone.⁵⁸ An interesting picture of the relative importance of certain festivals emerges from the pattern of expenditure: in the 1620s the most popular festival, assessed by average payments made, was that of St. Francis Xavier (whose journeyings had captured the popular imagination), then came Bl. Francis Borgia, St. Ignatius, the Circumcision and lastly the Jesuit martyrs. It is a strange order of priorities with St. Francis Xavier being given more attention - or at least greater expenditure - than the founder of the order, and both of these being celebrated more lavishly than the mystery of Christ in honour of which the church is dedicated. The situation was apparently reformed in the 1630s when the patronal festival took pride of place, the other feasts generally falling into the background. In addition to these regular events a number of occasions took place which recall the special connection that existed between the church and the Farnese family.⁵⁹ One such reference relates to the episcopal consecration of Cardinal Odoardo Farnese, when small payments were made for the music and for preparing the church.⁶⁰

The cappella often required extra forces on festivals since, as

the century progressed, polychoral music was frequently performed, sometimes with instrumental participation.⁶¹ Occasionally extra voices were provided by the cappella of another church; sometimes papal singers came, presumably on account of connections established by the cantori del Papa who served the Gesù on a permanent basis. In December 1623 a payment was made to singers from two of the major basilicas in connection with the forthcoming dedication festival and feast of the Epiphany.⁶² That singers coming from the Vatican were treated with all possible respect is shown in an account of December 1633 when a carriage was procured to transport them from St. Peter's for the first Vespers of the Circumcision.⁶³ A carrozza was also provided for the same feast from 1638 to 1640.⁶⁴ In 1638 eight singers from St. Peter's were involved in the Corpus Christi procession; they received six scudi 40.⁶⁵ It is reasonable to suppose that the almost yearly expenditure of that amount for the feast-day was in respect of the same cappella - entries generally refer to 'Musici strarij' or simply 'Musici' making identification impossible.

Archives record that, in addition to extra voices, instrumentalists were hired from 1623 onwards. That this was a regular practice is shown by an entry in December of that year which records the employment of a violinist for feast-days.⁶⁶ The earliest indication of an instrument, a violin, being used in the church dates from January of the same year, when one was used on the patronal festival.⁶⁷ From then on instruments seem to have been a regular feature on feast-days. The incredibly high expenditure, eighty scudi, for the feast of St. Francis Xavier in 1626 included payments to instrumentalists; and the archives even mention that the maestro composed music specially for the occasion.⁶⁸ In 1630 the maestro was again required to produce new music for this festival, and he was paid a sizeable amount for the composition of a mass for four choirs.⁶⁹ Though no mention of

instruments is made in the archives, the scale of the outlay for music, seventy-two scudi, makes it obvious that they were used. In 1638, when the emphasis had moved away from Jesuit saints to the feast of the Circumcision, the use of four choirs with instruments is recorded on that day,⁷⁰ and in the same year on the feast of St. Ignatius the word 'sinfonia' occurs for the first time in the archives indicating something different from 'la musica'.⁷¹ The use of this term suggests that instruments were given a more independent role, possibly performing their own parts, as opposed to doubling the voices. Indeed, they may have performed as a separate unit. On the feast of Bl. Francis Borgia in 1638 the 'sinfonia' is again recorded as a distinct item, for which the maestro received eight scudi in addition to that for 'la musica'.⁷² An archival entry from January 1641 shows that on at least one occasion there were sufficient instruments to form an independent group:⁷³

On the first day of the said month forty scudi for the music of the Most Holy Circumcision in four choirs with eight instruments 40 -

Later in the 1640s a series of payments appears to indicate that interest in instrumental music was on the wane. At Christmas 1644 the extra forces were five voices and one violin,⁷⁴ while on the feast of the Circumcision in the following year payment was made simply to the cantori, 'Marco Violini' receiving a small gift.

These extra voices and instruments formed ensembles for the magnificent polychoral music for which the church was famous from at least 1616 onwards. In that year the diarist Gigli described the first Mass celebrated by Giovanni Francesco Anerio, who had recently held the post of maestro in the Seminario; on that occasion the music was for eight choirs, arranged in the galleries above the chapels.⁷⁵ Usually the music on festivals was for four choirs, such as at the Mass for the celebration of Bl. Francis Borgia in 1630.⁷⁶ Occasionally,

however, only three choirs were employed, as in the earliest record of polychoral music in the archives, dating from 1625 when, following Bl. Francis Borgia's beatification in 1624, his feast was celebrated for the first time.⁷⁷

From 1635 accounts of polychoral forces occur with increasing frequency, particularly in connection with the Circumcision and, to a lesser extent, for St. Ignatius. Archival evidence shows that the music was accompanied by more than a single organ: in August 1633 a payment was made for pumping the second organ on the feast of St. Ignatius.⁷⁸ It was the usual practice to position the voices and instruments close to the organ with which they were performing. An interesting archival entry, mentioning music for four choirs with an organ above the door, occurs on the feast of St. Ignatius in 1640 - this music must have had a dramatic effect.⁷⁹

The centenary of the founding of the Jesuit order in 1639 was an occasion for great festivities, and a description survives of the events which took place. Little reference is made to music, but enough is said to indicate that it was of incredible splendour with seven choirs and a multitude of instruments;⁸⁰ it was paid for by Antonio Barberini, nephew of Urban VIII. In the following year the Forty Hours' Devotion was honoured with great solemnity in the presence of the college of cardinals. A printed account of the event survives;⁸¹ an apparato was erected depicting scenes of Moses and the tribes of Israel in the desert, and the music was of the highest order:

.....to honour such a solemn function the cappella began with exquisite music for three choirs, the greater part of which was composed of the most famous musicians of the papal chapel, who in their music made clear the possibilities of singing.....

The feast of the Circumcision in 1646 was also most impressive; the record of payment notes that the 'Musica della Circuncisione' was for

four choirs, and that of the second Vespers for five.⁸²

As is frequently the case in archival work, it is impossible to determine the musical repertory, since only scanty indications of this remain. The purchase of Antonelli's works, already noted, tells us little about the style of music since one of his four motet collections is in an archaic style⁸³ while the others adopt a progressive idiom, and contain small-scale motets. It is clear that polychoral music played a large part on feasts, but none of the music is identified. In October 1639 only the obvious is stated when the choir was paid for singing 'messe e motetti' during the octave of SS. Cosmas and Damian⁸⁴ - it was on this feast in 1540 that the bull establishing the Society of Jesus was issued.⁸⁵

A slightly more helpful entry occurs in May 1623, when sixty baiocchi was paid for the rebinding of a large book of music - this could be a choir-book of prima prattica compositions.⁸⁶ One piece of incontrovertible evidence relating to small-scale music in the Gesù can however be derived from a payment of March 1639 when four scudi were spent to acquire Cifra's motets.⁸⁷ A collected edition of his small-scale motets had been issued in the previous year.⁸⁸

Another indication of what was sung occurs in a payment dated December 1645; this relates to a group of eight singers and organist who performed the Litany on a regular basis.⁸⁹ The custom of singing the Litany of Our Lady in Rome was mentioned by Viadana on the title-page of his Litanie of 1613; here he stated that it was sung 'in the Holy House of Loreto and in the churches of Rome each Saturday and on feasts of Our Lady'.⁹⁰ It is probably this tradition to which the archives allude, the eight singers being employed to perform one of the numerous settings of the Litany for that number of voices.

In addition to showing the role of the cappella during the Church's year, the archives of the Gesù are important for outlining

the tendency to honour festivals peculiar to the individual church with greater solemnity than feasts of universal importance. The main musical value of the archives lies in their provision of a clear documentary background to the 'colossal Baroque'. Above all it emerges that the Jesuits were concerned to communicate their firm commitment to the tenets of the post-Conciliar Church not only by art and architecture, but also by music.

MAESTRI

Agostino Agazzari (1606)
 Annibale Orgas (1607?-10)
 Giovanni Francesco Anerio (1611)
 Domenico Massenzio (1612-16)
 Lorenzo Ratti (1616-17)
 Giovanni Pietro Biandra (1618-19?)
 Giovanni Boschetto Boschetti (1619?)
 Abundio Antonelli (1620)
 Anselmo Anselmi (1621-22)
 Alessandro Capocci (1623)
 Domenico Massenzio (1623)
 Tullio Cima (1625)
 Antonio Maria Abbatini (1626?)
 Alessandro Costantini (1627)
 Virgilio Mazzocchi (1628)
 Nicolo Borboni (1629?)
 Giovanni Battista Riva
 Stefano Fabri (1638-39)
 Giosepe Vanini
 Sebastiano Traetti
 Pietro Heredia (1639)
 Giovanni Battista Chiavarino (1640-41)
 Carlo Cecchelli (1642-47)
 Bonifazio Graziani (1648-50)

Note to list

This is a revision of Casimiri's list which is based on that in Nappi's Annali (see Villoslada, 126). The positions held by Agazzari, G.F. Anerio, Massenzio, Ratti, Capocci, Cima, Cecchelli and Graziani can be confirmed by reference to the title-pages of their publications. It is also possible that Alessandro Capece was maestro there in 1636; his Neapolitan Responsorii of 1636 describe him as maestro at the Gesù and Collegio dei nobili. While this could apply to the institutions of those names in Naples, the idea of setting the Christmas Responsories ties in well with the output of other composers at the Gesù in Rome.

NOTES

1. The documents examined for this section were found in the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Via dei Penitenzieri 20, Rome.
2. Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Chiesa del Gesù (hereafter ACdG), Libro 2007. The date appears at f. 10.
3. ACdG, Libro 2007, Ordine, f. 9: Tutte le Domeniche, et Feste, nelle quali si predica, si suol cantar la Messa.
4. ACdG, Libro 2007, Ordine, f. 9v: 1. Si canta il Matutino la notte di Natale.
2. I tre giorni della Settimana Santa, cioe Mercoledì, Giovedì, et Venerdì, ch'è l' Uffitio delle Tenebre.
5. See below, 191.
6. ACdG, Libro 2007, Ordine, f. 10: 1. Si suole cantare il Vespero tutte le Domeniche, et Feste di precetto, etiamche non si legga, eccetto il giorno dell'Innocenti, se non venisse in Domenica. [...]
3. Si suole cantare il Vespero le seguente Vigilie, cioe della Circuncisione, della prima Pasqua, nella Messa del Sabato Santo, della Pentecoste, del Corpo di Christo, dell'Assunzione della Madonna, et del Natale.
7. See below, 196.
8. ACdG, Libro 2007, Ordine, f. 10v: Si canta la Compieta il giorno di San Matthia, et il giorno della Madonna dell'Annuntziata, cioe di Quaresima.....
9. Brodrick, 75-76.
10. ACdG, Libro 2007, Ordine, f. 14: 2. La mattina à buon hora,

avanti d'aprire le porte della Chiesa si benedicono alcune delle candele preparate in Sagrestia, parte per li nostri di Casa, parte per li Cantori, parte per li devoti, et benefattori.

11. ACdG, Libro 2007, Ordine, f. 15v.
12. ACdG, Libro 2007, Ordine, f. 19v: Finita l'Epistola, si mettono li Leggij come hanno di stare, al lato dell'Evangelio per cantare il Passio, et vengono di Sagrestia tre Diaconi, o vero tre Sacerdoti parati da Diaconi senza Tonicelle, et loro con li suoi Missali insieme con li Cantori cantano il Passio.
13. ACdG, Libro 2007, Ordine, f. 20.
14. ACdG, Libro 2007, Ordine, f. 23: Mentre si fa la comunione, li Cantori in Choro cantano un Mottetto.
15. ACdG, Libro 2007, Ordine, f. 24-24v.
16. ACdG, Libro 2007, Ordine, f. 34: Reso il Thuribolo, et finito il Motetto, il celebrante si leva in piedi.....
17. ACdG, Libro 2007, Ordine, f. 36-36v: Finito l'ultimo Evangelio della Messa grande, li Accoliti levano al Celebrante la Pianeta, et il Manipolo, et in questo mezzo li Cantori cominciano a cantare nel Choro il Responsorio.....
18. ACdG, Libro 2007, Ordine, f. 37: Si preparano nel choro tre candalieri con tre torcie bianche, accio li Cantori possano veder bene a cantare il Matutino, and f. 37v: finite le laudi, li Cantori se ne tornano al Seminario, dove sentono le sue Messe, et si riposano per insino che sia tempo di tornare à cantare la Messa del giorno.
19. St. Ignatius and St. Francis Xavier were canonized in 1622, and Bl. Francis Borgia was beatified in 1624.
20. Contained in the Vatican Secret Archives.
21. Arch. Segr. Vat., Arm. VII.112, f. 555.
22. See Casimiri, 'Disciplina musicae', xii (1935), 4-14 and Villoslada, 127-28.
23. Casimiri, *ibid.* 11.
24. Casimiri, *ibid.*, 11-13.
25. Casimiri, *ibid.*, 4.
26. See ACdG, Libro 2006, Libro Dell'entrate et spese della Sacestia Dall'anno 1620, unfoliated.
27. ACdG, Libro 2006, Libro Dell'entrate (1620-), March, June, September, December 1620.
28. ACdG, Libro 2006, Libro Dell'entrate (1620-).

29. They were still being paid in 1645 (see ACdG, Libro 2009, Entrata e Uscita per la Sagrestia del Giesu di Roma, December 1645, f. 77. Libro 2061 is a copy of this volume).
30. ACdG, Libro 2006, Libro Dell'entrate (1620-), June 14, 1621: adj. 14 detto p. 15. para di guanti a Musici p lottava del sacramo 3 -
31. ACdG, Libro 2006, Libro Dell'entrate (1620-), July 23, 1623: e a di 23 s^{di} 1:80 dati al Guantaro p 10 para di guanti dati a Cantori p l'ottava del Corpus Dñi 1:80.
32. ACdG, Libro 2006, Libro Dell'entrate (1620-), February 6, 1628: Adj. 6 detto al mro di Capella del Sem^{fio} p la musica di nri martiri 76 - 40
33. RISM 1648¹: Florida verba a celeberrimis musices auctoribus binis, ternis, quaternisque vocibus (Rome, 1648) and Motetti a due, tre, quattro, cinque, e sei voci (Rome, 1650).
34. Casimiri, 'Disciplina musicae', xii (1935) 1, 73; xv (1938), 1, 49, 97, 145, 225.
35. See the list at the conclusion of this section.
36. ACdG, Libro 2006, Libro Dell'entrate (1620-), November 17, 1620.
37. ACdG, Libro 2006, Libro Dell'entrate (1620-), November 9, 1621.
38. See title-page of his Liber tertius diversarum modulationum (Rome, 1616).
39. See Pitoni, 523. Nappi's list of maestri is reproduced in Culley, A study, Plate I following p. 208.
40. Casimiri, 'Disciplina musicae', xv (1938), 11.
41. Sacrorum cantuum....liber tertius (Rome, 1616)
42. RISM: M 1311-13.
43. ACdG, Libro 2006, Libro Dell'entrate (1620-), April 11, 1621.
44. ACdG, Libro 2006, Libro Dell'entrate (1620-), June 10 and December 27, 1621. In 1622 Massenzio was connected with the Arciconfraternita dell'Orazione e Morte; he was paid for directing the music for the annual Good Friday procession (see Archives of the Arciconfraternita dell'Orazione e Morte, Libro 208, Libro del Camerieno. 1618. 1619. 16xx. 16xxi, September 21, 1622, f. 116: Al s^{re} Domenico massenzio sc trenta per la musica fatta ne la precessione del venerdi santo cō m^{to} de ssri Guardiani n^o 85 30 -).
45. ACdG, Libro 2006, Libro Dell'entrate (1620-), April 3 and December 1, 1623.
46. ACdG, Libro 2006, Libro Dell'entrate (1620-), January 30, 1624:

A di 30 detto scudi quatro a S^r Alessandro Capoccio gia m.o di Capella per ordine di N.P. 4 -

47. Responsoria.....opus secundum (Rome, 1623) and Fasciculus myrrhae.....liber secundus, opus tertium (Rome, 1624). The latter publication must have gone to press before he resigned his position at the Gesù.
48. ACdG, Libro 2006, Libro Dell'entrare (1620-), July 23, 1623: e p una Crocetta d'Argento p darla al M^o di Cappella - 50
49. ACdG, Libro 2009, Entrata, January 4, 1638, f. 2: Adi 4.^{do} sdi Quaranta. m^{ta} pagati al S^r Stefano m^o di Cappella di N^{ra} Chiesa p la musica straord^a p il g^{no} della Circoncisione, che fu a 4 chori con Instrumti diversi 40 -
50. ACdG, Libro 2009, Entrata, December 27, 1639, f. 23: Adi 27. detto sⁱ Quattro et 20. m^{ta} Als^r Stefano Fabri m^o di cappella passato 4 - 20.
51. ACdG, Libro 2009, Entrata, December 1645, f. 77: p la Musica della Circoncisione quale fece il Sig^r Stefano Fabri p esser amalato il Mastro a 4 Chori et il secondo Vespro a 5 Chori..... 44 - 10
52. ACdG, Libro 2009, Entrata, December 27, 1638, f.13: Adi d^o sdi cinque. m^{ta} dati al S^r Oratio Organista p Nov' e xbre 5 -
53. ACdG, Libro 2009, Entrata, June 30, 1645, f. 69.
54. ACdG, Libro 2009, Entrata, January 1644, f. 53: A gl'Heredi del q. S^r Oratio Verini Organista p Ott^{re}, e 9bre passati 5 -
55. ACdG, Libro 2009, Entrata, March 1644, f. 54: Al Organista preso dopo la morte del q S^r Oratio Verini, da Dec^{re} 10 -
56. ACdG, Libro 2006, Libro Dell'entrare (1620-), September 2, 1625: adj. detto p un'organo p la Chiesa comprato dall'heredi del S^r fonseca 150 -
57. ACdG, Libro 2006, Libro Dell'entrare (1620-), February 6, 1628: Adj. 6 detto al m^{ro} di Capella del Sem^{rio} p la musica de nri martiri 76 - 40
58. ACdG, Libro 2006, Libro Dell'entrare (1620-), March 24, 1622: adj detto a M^{ro} di capella p la musica della Conon^e 70 -
59. Cardinal Alessandro Farnese was responsible for the building of the Gesù, while a later Farnese cardinal, Odoardo, built the sacristy.
60. ACdG, Libro 2006, Libro Dell'entrare (1620-), June 30, 1621: adj. 30 detto p spese fatte nella Cons^{g^e} del S^r Card^e farnese in parare la chiesa g^{li} 12. in musica g^{li} 12. et porta robbe et altre spese g^{li} 6 3 -
61. For the wider context of polychoral music see Chapter VII.
62. ACdG, Libro 2006, Libro Dell'entrare (1620-), December 1623: et piu sc. 7:50 dati a 4 cantori di S.M. Maggiore et uno di S. Pietro p la Musica della Circōcisione e promiserò venire ācora

- l'epifania p essere stati solamente al p^o Vespro e Messa
7 - 50
63. ACdG, Libro 2060, Entrata e Uscita della Sagres., December 31, 1633: Adi Detto p 60 p una Carozza p condurre li musici di S. Pietro alli primi Vesperi - 60
64. ACdG, Libro 2009, Entrata, January 15, 1638, f. 2; January 3, 1639, f. 14 and January 2, 1640, f. 25.
65. ACdG, Libro 2009, Entrata, June 9, 1638, f. 7: A di 9 d^o sei et 40 m^{ta} per otto cantori di S. Pietro presi p la n'ra Processione del Corpus Domini 6 - 40
66. ACdG, Libro 2006, Libro Dell'entrate (1620-), December 31, 1623: e piu s^{di} 2 di mancia al Violino pche ci serve ordinariamente p gratis tutte le feste dell'āno 2 -
67. ACdG, Libro 2006, Libro Dell'entrate (1620-), December 26, 1622: e piu datti al S^r Leonardo che sona il violino p la festa della Circoncisione 2 -
68. ACdG, Libro 2006, Libro Dell'entrate (1620-), December 3, 1626: adj. 3. detto p la musica di S^{to} fran^{co} Xaviero, alli musici et strumenti; et al m^{ro} di capella p avere composte lope di nuovo sc 10 in tt^o 80 -
69. ACdG, Libro 2060, Entrata, December 4, 1630: Adj. 4 detto p la musicha del nro S^{to} P. fran^{co} Xaviero sc 72 et al m^{ro} di Capella che la fatta del Sem^{rio} et composto la Messa di nuovo a 4 Chori sc 8 in tt^o 80 -
70. ACdG, Libro 2009, Entrata, January 4, 1638, f. 2: Adi 4. d^o s^{di} Quaranta. m^{ta} pagati al S^r Stefano m^o di Cappella di Nrā Chiesa p la musica straord^a p il g^{no} della Circoncisione, che fu ā 4 chori con Instrum^{ti} diversi 40 -
71. ACdG, Libro 2009, Entrata, July 30, 1638, f. 8v: Adi d^o s^{di} Quarantotto m^{ta} pagati p la Musica e Sinfonia di d^a festa 48 -
72. ACdG, Libro 2009, Entrata, September 30, 1638, f. 10: Adi d^o s^{di} otto. m^{ta} pagati al medemo p la sinfonia in d^a musica e festa 8 -
73. ACdG, Libro 2009, Entrata, January 1, 1641, f. 38: Adi p^{mo} detto sⁱ Quaranta. m^{ta} spesi nella musica della SS^{ma} Circoncisione ā 4 Chori con otto Instrum^{ti} 40 -
74. ACdG, Libro 2009, Entrata, December 30, 1644, f. 63: Adi 30 A 5 Musici et un violino che aiut^o nelle feste di Natale 8 - 55
75. See below, 301.
76. See note 69.
77. ACdG, Libro 2006, Libro Dell'entrate (1620-), October 1625: A dj. 2. detto p la musicha a tre chori p il B. f^o borgia 40 -
78. ACdG, Libro 2060, Entrata, August 1, 1633:con p 25 ad'un

Garzone che alzo li Mantici del 2° Organo.....

79. ACdG, Libro 2009, Entrata, July 31, 1640, f. 31: Adi 31 d° sⁱ Trentacinque. m^{ta} pagati p la Musica di d^a festa fatta à quattro Chori con un'organo sopra la porta 35 -
80. Relazione della solenne festa.....
81. Relatione del solenne apparato.....
82. See note 51.
83. Sacrarium cantionum.....liber primus (Rome, 1614).
84. ACdG, Libro 2009, Entrata, October 8, 1639, f. 23.
85. Brodrick, 80.
86. ACdG, Libro 2006, Libro Dell'entrate (1620-), May 16, 1623: a adi d° 60 al legatore di libri p haver rilegato et assetato un libro grāde di musica, credosi doverebbero rifare dal Seminario Rom° - 60
87. ACdG, Libro 2009, Entrata, March 4, 1639, f. 15: Adi 4 d° sdi due et 50 m^{ta} spese ne motetti del Cifra compri p noi 2 - 50
88. Sacrae cantiones..... (Rome, 1638).
89. ACdG, Libro 2009, Entrata, December 1645, f. 77: Alli 8. Musici et Organista della Lettanie p dⁱ 3 Mesi 27 -
90. 'nella santa casa di Loretto et nelle chiese di Roma ogni sabbato & feste della Madonna.'

S. MARIA IN TRASTEVERE¹

The basilica of S. Maria in Trastevere with its impressive mosaic-covered facade is situated in a piazza, the spaciousness of which is a welcome contrast with the narrow alleyways characteristic of Trastevere. The district, originally called Transtiberim, is so named because of its situation on the other side of the Tiber from the main centre of the city. One of the most ancient in Rome, the basilica was probably founded in the third century. The building in use during our period dates from the time of Innocent II, who rebuilt it in 1140. It is justly famous for its mosaics which, in keeping with its dedication, depict Marian themes, particularly the Assumption.

The pontificate of Paul V (1605-21) was an important one for the church, for during that time it was extensively restored. It was as part of this renovation that the two organs high in the galleries were installed, a fact which indicates a developed interest in musical performance. The interest in the basilica shown by Paul V was shared by a number of cardinals whose generous benefaction enabled musical activity to flourish.

The archives of S. Maria in Trastevere contain a fascinating picture of the growth of a musical foundation.² Starting the 17th century with few resources, but helped by the patronage of some wealthy titular cardinals, the church rose within a short period to be one of the most musically prestigious in Rome. Many musicians associated with S. Maria at the outset of their careers later passed on to one of the major basilicas.

At the turn of the seventeenth century the only references to music in the archives are the following monthly payments:³

[to the sacristan] and further for pumping the organ - 50
 I Arnaldo organist have received 1 - 50

Arnaldo Moretti was appointed as organist in mid-July 1603, and it appears that until March 1607 an organist was the only musician employed by the basilica.⁴ Moretti was succeeded in October 1605 by Giovanni Battista Ricchi, who in turn was succeeded by a very distinguished organist at the beginning of his career, Girolamo Frescobaldi.⁵ The last-mentioned stayed as organist at a salary of one scudo 50 a month until May 1607, and it was during his term of office that the cappella was initiated. The decision to form a cappella was recorded in the capitular decrees:⁶

March 10, 1607

It was decreed that the Reverend Fathers Pellegrino and Petrollino should make provision for music on festivals to the very best of their ability, with a monthly sum of thirteen scudi for distribution to the singers and maestro. The musicians should be eight in number, and concerning the reckoning of the said sum: this should be made up of one hundred scudi provided by the Illustrious Titular Cardinal, and the rest from capitular funds.

Eight singers were duly employed, and one week later the chapter decided to thank the titular cardinal, Mariano Pierbenedetti,⁷ for the generosity of his donation:⁸

March 17, 1607

Afterwards it was decreed that certain of the Reverend Fathers, Canons, should approach the Illustrious Titular Cardinal to thank him for so greatly favouring and assisting the chapter, and especially for the provision of one hundred scudi that had been made.

Ventura Cristallini was appointed as the first maestro in mid-March 1607, and at the end of that month received six scudi 50 for himself and the cappella.⁹

Documents from June 1614 show that the monthly payment to maestro and singers was then in the order of twenty-three scudi.¹⁰ The account book of the sacristy records sources of patronage for the cappella, for instance in April 1618:¹¹

and further I have received from the builder to pay the organist for the said month 50
 and further I have received from our tax collector to pay for the music for the said month 14-- 50
 and further I have received from Cardinal Aldobrandini to pay for the music for the present month as a result of a command directed to Signori Henera and Costa 10 -

The translation of Cardinal Aldobrandini to S.Sabina in September 1620 caused the total income of the cappella to fall to around fourteen to fifteen scudi.¹² The revised income is described in the pay-lists as 'in keeping with the reform';¹³ unfortunately no lists of singers from before 1624 are preserved - it would have been interesting to be able to chart their movements during this upheaval.

Looking back some thirteen years we shall now consider those figures involved in the cappella during what was certainly its heyday under the patronage of Cardinals Pierbenedetti, de Montelparo, de Monte and Aldobrandini.¹⁴ Soon after the foundation of the cappella there was a complete change of personnel when both Frescobaldi and Cristallini left towards the middle of 1607. The posts were taken by Giovanni Battista Ricchi (organist two years previously) and Giovanni Battista Alessio, who were elected at the same chapter meeting on June 6, 1607.¹⁵ From this point until 1624 only the names of the maestri and organists are known, since the maestri signed for the wages of the entire cappella. One can see from the appended list of names that these posts were held by some important musicians, notably Domenico Allegri and Fabio Costantini as maestri, and Stefano Landi, Cristofano Piochi and Paolo Agostini as organists. Fabio Costantini's anthology of 1616 was published during his time as maestro;¹⁶ not surprisingly, it is dedicated to the titular cardinal of the basilica, 'Illustrissimo Principi Petro Aldobrandini S.R.E. Cardinali Camerario'. Agostini paid his tribute to the basilica in the dedication of his Spartitura del secondo libro delle messe e motetti a quattro voci of 1627.

The volume is inscribed 'Al Reverendissimo Capitolo e Canonici della Basilica di Santa Maria in Trastevere' and contains the following recollection of his time there:

.....fù sempre alla memoria mea, la Chiesa, & il Capitolo Reverendiss. di S. MARIA in Trastevere. Poiche non solo fù luogo, dove io feci, quasi i primi saggi, di quel che io poteva dal mio piccolo talento sperare; è che a me produsse duplicate corone d'honore (chiamato quivi, dopo il primo servizio d'Organista, dalla Cappella della Santissima Trinità, dove era Maestro; al secondo carico di Maestro di Cappella della lor Basilica) ma campo, dove col mezzo del continuato esercitio, guadagnando vigore; potei acquistar habilita; non solo di servir nel medesimo ufficio ad altare Chiese eminenti; ma di pervenire anche a quel colmo maggiore, ch'è scopo di professori del comporre

.....the church and most reverend chapter of S. Maria in Trastevere have always been in my memory. For not only was it the place where I made almost my first [musical] efforts, for which I relied on my limited ability, and which honoured me in two ways (having been called there after my first post as organist of the cappella of the Most Holy Trinity, where I was maestro, to my second position as maestro in their basilica) but it was also there that by means of continual practice and gaining confidence I acquired skill so that I could not only serve in the same office in other eminent churches but also attain to that great height which is the object of those who practise composition.

Even after the decline in the financial position of the cappella in 1620 the church did not lose the capacity to attract people who later distinguished themselves as fine musicians, especially as maestri, and the cappella remained stable with its original complement of eight singers, maestro and organist. Between September 1623 and January 1624 Orazio Benevoli assumed the post of maestro.¹⁸ He was evidently satisfied with the position since he stayed until 1630, when he moved to S. Spirito in Sassia.¹⁹ For two years, from October 1634 to October 1636, the post was held by Francesco Foggia who left in favour of the position at St. John Lateran. Silvestro Durante became maestro in December 1637; though not in the first rank of Roman musicians, he was sufficiently highly regarded to be a regular contributor to the motet anthologies which appeared in Rome in the 1640s.²⁰

Pellegrino Scacchi, while not as important as those already

mentioned, is a notable figure since he was associated with S.Maria over the course of at least nineteen years in at least three separate appointments. It is very likely that he was some relation, possibly the brother, of Marco Scacchi, a Roman composer who served at the Polish court between 1623 and 1648.²¹ The Liber status animarum of the parish of S.Cecilia in Monte Giordino reveals that Pellegrino Scacchi was residing in the Anerio household in 1614 and 1616.²² It seems probable that Scacchi was a pupil of Giovanni Francesco Anerio; even if he was not receiving formal instruction, he surely benefited from his contact with one of the greatest musicians of the era.²³ This association explains the inclusion of a piece by Pellegrino Scacchi in one of Anerio's motet collections, and it may account for the presence of a good deal of music by Anerio in the archives of the basilica.²⁴

Scacchi was maestro from before August 1619 until 1622, and again for at least part of 1623. An examination of capitular deliberations shows that he was dismissed in July 1622 for an unspecified reason:²⁵

July 14, 1622

.....it was resolved by a secret and unanimous vote that Pellegrino Scacchi should be dismissed from the office of maestro di cappella.....

In August 1622 one Signore Giuleo took over as maestro,²⁶ but on his death the chapter revoked their decision concerning Scacchi and he was reinstated, retaining the post of maestro until at least August 1623.²⁷ The chapter records show the change of attitude:²⁸

January 3, 1623

There was a meeting.....at which they [the chapter] decided unanimously that since Pellegrino Scacchi, the former and devoted servant of the Reverend Fathers, had entreated them humbly offering to serve them with all diligence, vigilance and decorum and furthermore [undertaking] to remain perpetually indebted to everyone, they should deign to honour him with the title of maestro di cappella of their church..... and that he should again be accepted as maestro di cappella.....

In 1628 and 1629 Scacchi was organist at S.Luigi dei Francesi,²⁹ and in the 1630s he returned for two relatively short terms as organist at S.Maria with a remuneration of two scudi a month (from July 1635 to June 1636 and from January to March 1638).³⁰ There is no record of anyone holding the post between these two periods, and it is therefore possible that he was organist for the whole time. Certainly he had a long, if not trouble-free association with the basilica, a connection which may have been renewed with the mention of 'Peregrinus' as organist in March 1644.³¹ This record is ambiguous since no surname is given.

The cappella was employed for both the regular Sunday services and special festivals. The permanency of the foundation is emphasized by the fact that members were paid monthly for singing 'diebus festivis', a phrase used in the chapter minutes of March 1607.³²

Until 1639 the sopranos were paid one scudo 20 a month, as opposed to the one scudo 50 granted to the other singers. At the beginning of that year the pay of the first soprano was raised to the same level as that of the other singers.³³ This implies that the sopranos were boys with unbroken voices rather than highly-prized and therefore highly-paid falsettists or castrati. The handwriting of some sopranos on the receipts is rather immature, a fact which suggests their youth. In spite of their poorer pay, they were granted the privilege of a distinctive purple silk garment.³⁴ As early as April 1607, a month after the initiation of the cappella, cloth was bought for the sopranos' robes:³⁵

To Andrea Carbone, merchant, for serge and linen for the gowns and cottas for the sopranos 5 -

It is impossible to ascertain the exact duties of the cappella since the members received a monthly salary rather than being paid for

each attendance. The archives, therefore, only provide information about special events requiring extra expenditure. Outside singers were often employed to augment the cappella and to allow the performance of polychoral music on the feast of the Assumption, the dedication of the basilica. The earliest reference to this occurs in 1615 when six scudi ⁴⁰ was given to the maestro to meet the extra expense.³⁶

Similar payments occur with some frequency; even when these do not appear in the archives extra singers could have been employed, but paid in a more informal manner with no entry in the main account book. In August 1623 the Assumption was celebrated with particular solemnity: music was performed by three choirs, at least two of which had their own organ:³⁷

and further to two men who pumped the two portable organs used in the said feast when the music was for three choirs and accompanied by ~~three~~ little organs - 30

In the same month Pellegrino Scacchi, the maestro, was paid three scudi extra to cover the cost of musicians for the feast.³⁸ In August 1641 music for the Assumption was for two choirs and use was made of an extra organ,³⁹ and in the following year there was extra expenditure of ten scudi on the feast-day to honour the visit of the titular cardinal, Antonio Barberini:⁴⁰

To the maestro di cappella ten scudi for music on the feast of the Assumption by order of the chapter, on account of the visit of the Honourable Titular Cardinal, as it appears on his receipt 10 -

From 1637 onwards considerable attention was paid to the feast of St. Calixtus - October 14. The veneration of this saint stemmed from the fact that the building of the original basilica was authorized by the Roman Emperor Severus during his pontificate (217-22); in fact, there is a small chapel dedicated to Calixtus in the parish of S.

Maria in Trastevere. In 1637 four extra singers were employed for the festival,⁴¹ and in the following year four singers were again engaged, presumably to form an extra polychoral group.⁴² A document from 1641 confirms that polychoral music was performed on the festival, when three people were paid for pumping three organs.⁴³ In the next year music for St. Calixtus was still more elaborate, a carpenter being employed to construct platforms for the musicians:⁴⁴

To maestro Giuseppe, carpenter, for having made platforms for the musicians for the said feast, when the music was for four choirs at the expense of the illustrious Giovanni Pietro Prata 1 - 20

Towards the end of the 1630s another devotion manifested itself in the basilica, that to a particular image of the Virgin, the Madonna della strada. Documents dated between 1640 and 1644 record that fifteen scudi were spent each year on the music.⁴⁵

At Christmas many churches would have wished to hire extra singers, and on a number of occasions S. Maria was able to procure some; that this could happen despite the demands on singers at this season is a measure of the status of the basilica. Two putti were found to replace two absent sopranos in 1614,⁴⁶ and in 1635 two extra singers were employed for the Midnight Mass.⁴⁷ The giving of a 'Christmas bonus' is found in the archives too: Silvestro Durante must have been well regarded for in 1641 he received the sizeable gift of three scudi.⁴⁸

Another important event was the yearly Lenten station held on Thursday after the second Sunday in Lent.⁴⁹ The statutes of the church prescribe the use of Compline on that day accompanied by a distribution of money to the clergy:⁵⁰

On the day of the Lenten station in this church at Compline twelve giuli should be distributed among the canons and four among the beneficed clergy.

A payment from March 1616 indicates the use of music:⁵¹

for the sum given to the musicians who sang Compline for the station
2 - 50

There is nothing to suggest that these singers were not those regularly employed by the basilica; they could have been receiving these amounts in payment for an additional duty. From 1635 it seems to have been customary to employ four extra singers for the day⁵² - a superb opportunity for a church to mount a demonstration of its wealth and position to impress visitors from other parishes. One can imagine that, despite the Lenten season, the music was elaborate and played an important role. In 1640 and 1642 these payments were linked with the Forty Hours' Devotion, another feature of the Lenten exercises.⁵³

The desire to make an outward impression is also reflected in the processions. The two most regular were those of St. Mark (mentioned as an annual event in the Statuta⁵⁴) and Corpus Christi. The Procession of St. Mark was organized in turn by S. Maria in Trastevere and S. Lorenzo in Damaso.⁵⁵ In 1622 the procession was the responsibility of S. Maria, and in April this reference occurs in the archives:⁵⁶

and further to our singers and organist for this month we reckon twenty-four giuli extra to maestro Pellegrino Scacchi, our maestro di cappella, to increase the number of musicians in the procession of St. Mark which, this year, has been our responsibility, having precedence over the canons of S. Lorenzo in Damaso.....

The processional route was from the basilica of St. Mark to St. Peter's, and in 1626 Benevoli received two scudi 50 for the five extra voices engaged for the occasion.⁵⁷ As many as six extra musici were employed in subsequent years to participate in the procession during which the Major Litanies were sung.⁵⁸

Records exist of the employment of outside singers for Corpus Christi processions from 1622 onwards. The most interesting of these

dates from 1622 when the Pope, Gregory XV, presided.⁵⁹ Another papal occasion in which the cappella took part was the consecration of the rebuilt basilica of St. Peter's on November 18, 1626. The Libro Dell'Amministratione describes the event:⁶⁰

The procession took place today at the twentieth hour (about 1 p.m.) from S. Marco to St. Peter's by order of Pope Urban VIII for the consecration of the church of St. Peter which His Holiness performs tomorrow. So many priests and religious, all the clergy of Rome, were present, and we processed to St. Peter's and around the Church but did not enter because it was locked.

Benevoli was paid for four outsiders on this occasion.⁶¹

We have seen the types of event in which the cappella was involved, but what can one say about the music that was performed? Sadly no music-lists of the period exist, and therefore any statement must be based on rather insubstantial archival evidence. Music for the Mass seems to have been largely retrospective; this is reflected in the chapter's order that a book of masses by Soriano be purchased in 1612.⁶² This reference clearly relates to his Missarum liber primus (1609) which contains prima prattica settings for four to eight voices. In 1619 mention was made of the rebinding of a large book of masses; this suggests the continuing use of stile antico music.⁶³ As late as December 1642 there is another reference to the refurbishing of choir books, an indication that they were still used.⁶⁴ There is also the record of the recopying of a 'messa de morti' into a new book; while this could have been the plainsong of the Requiem, it was conceivably a polyphonic setting in choir-book format.⁶⁵ G.F. Anerio's collection of six archaic polyphonic masses, Missarum quator, quinque et sex vocibus.....liber primus, published in Rome in 1614, is still in the possession of the archives; it was probably purchased during the early years of the seicento. A predilection for retrospective music is also reflected in the archives' possession of Abundio

Antonelli's Sacrarium cantionum.....liber primus (1614); this, his most conservative volume, is filled with canons and other contrapuntal devices, and adopts an old-fashioned approach to the vocal lines.

In contrast, Anerio's settings of the Litany of Our Lady were purchased in November 1616.⁶⁶ This must be his publication of 1611, Litaniae, in which he demonstrated a more forward-looking style in writing for seven and eight voices and in the inclusion of an early example of the 'Mottetto Concertato', Jubilemus in arca Domini Dei à 8.⁶⁷ A copy of the 1626 reprint of this work remains in the archives of the basilica.⁶⁸ Other music with a Marian bias can still be found in the archives, such as Agostino Diruta's Viridarium Marinanum.....opus XV of 1631. This collection of litanies and hymns to the Virgin for four to six voices was certainly used on festivals of the saint in whose honour the basilica is dedicated.

Another collection known to have been bought during the period is mentioned in an archival entry of December 22, 1608; evidently this did not allow much time for practice before Christmas:⁶⁹

and further given to the maestro di cappella four giuli to buy four books of Responsories which are to be used for the night of Christmas and during Holy Week, which books will remain in our church - 40

These could well be Pomponio Nenna's Responsorii di Natale, & di Settimana Santa, a quattro voci, published in Naples in 1607. It is the only collection of Responsories published in southern Italy before the date of purchase to contain the music for both Christmas and Holy Week. Another setting of the Christmas Responsories, G.F. Anerio's Responsoria Nativitatis Domini.....ternis, quaternis, octonis vocibus, is still in the archives where it survives in both editions, that of 1614 and that of 1629. The performance of elaborate music during the office was one reason for the employment of extra singers: those

hired for the Midnight Mass would have taken part in the Matins which preceded it.

Costantini's anthology of 1616 (mentioned above) was issued while he was maestro. Its forward-looking small-scale motets clearly reflect one aspect of musical repertory in the basilica. His 1618 Scelta di motetti di diversi eccellentissimi autori à 2, à 3, à 4, et à 5..... Libro secondo, opera quarta,⁷⁰ though published after he had left Trastevere for Orvieto, contains a motet which must have been written in Rome. In Costantini's setting of Calistus est vere martyr à 2 he makes clear his link with Trastevere by mentioning a saint particularly connected with the basilica. This provides conclusive evidence that motets in a progressive style for few voices were performed during liturgical functions in the basilica.

We have already noted the use of polychoral music on large festivals; some of this repertory is preserved in the archives in manuscript. These sources contain masses for two four-part choirs and continuo by Agostini and Abundio Antonelli, a Magnificat for the same forces by Orazio Benevoli, and another mass by Lorenzo Ratti which also includes two violin parts.⁷¹

While there are some frustrating gaps in the material, the archives of S.Maria in Trastevere are relatively complete and enable a clear picture of musical activity to emerge. It is interesting to note that a significant number of important musicians began their careers during this flourishing period in one of the most ancient churches of Rome, situated at the heart of the traditional life of the city.

MAESTRI AND ORGANISTSMaestri

Ventura Cristallini	March 1607 - April 1607
Giovanni Battista Alessio	June 1607 - February 1608
Giovanni de Gentili	March 1608 - June 1608
Domenico Allegri	September 1609 - March 1610
Giovanni de Gentili	April 1610 - September 1610
Cristofano Giullardi	October 1610 - July 1613
Domenico Geanelli	September 1613 - at least August 1614
Fabio Costantini	October 1615 - before May 1618
Paolo Agostini	after October 1615 - May 1618
Pellegrino Scacchi	before August 1619 - July 1622
Giuleo	August 1622 - December 1622
Pellegrino Scacchi	January 1623 - at least August 1623
Orazio Benevoli	before January 1624 - June 1630
Tomasso Luna	July 1630 - October 1631
Egidio Guardabassi	November 1631 - August 1634
Francesco Foggia	October 1634 - October 1636
Giovanni Moresi	November 1636 - November 1637
Silvestro Durante	November 1637 -

Organists

Arnaldo Moretti	July 1603 - August 1605
Giovanni Battista Ricchi	October 1605 - December 1606
Girolamo Frescobaldi	January 1607 - November 1609
Giulio Virchi	December 1609 - March 1610
Stefano Landi	April 1610 - May 1610
Filippe de Heymissen	June 1610 - March 1612
Cristofano Piochi	April 1612 - August 1612
Regolo Tonio	September 1612 - March 1615
Paolo Agostini	April 1615 - before May 1618
Giacomo Guidi	January 1624 - January 1629
Tomasso Luna	February 1629 - June 1630
Egidio Guardabassi	July 1630 - October 1631
Giuseppe Amadei	November 1631 - March 1633
Tomasso Luna	April 1633 - January 1635

Fabio Costantini	February 1635 - March 1635
Cherubino Nesich	April 1635 - May 1635
Pellegrino Scacchi	July 1635 - before June 1636
Pellegrino Scacchi	Before January 1638 - at least March 1638
Bartolomeo Facineo	January 1639 - March 1640
Vincentius	April 1640 - June 1640
Joannes	July 1640 - December 1640
Francesco Marcorelli	January 1641 - April 1642
Paolo Santino	May 1642 - February 1644
Peregrinus	March 1644 -

Note to Table

Agostini was appointed as organist in April 1615 and eventually took over the position of maestro, as the preface to his Spartitura del secondo libro makes clear. The archives for those years are not particularly informative, and therefore the dates for Costantini and Agostini relinquishing the post are based on the fact that Agostini was appointed to S.Lorenzo in Damaso in May 1618. Costantini is known to have been in Orvieto as maestro by July 1618 (see dedicatory epistle of RISM 1618³).

NOTES

1. The archives of S.Maria in Trastevere are now available to scholars owing to their recent transfer to the Archivio del Vicariato, Rome. They are not catalogued as yet, but shelved in roughly chronologically order.
2. In the light of this it is difficult to understand the curious remark in Cannon, 200 to the effect that no such references exist.
3. Archives of S.Maria in Trastevere (hereafter ASMT), Libro 226, Sagrestia dal 1573 sino al 1616 Riceute &c., January 1605, f. 108:

[to sacristan] e piu per alza mantici	- 50
Io Arnaldo organista ho ricevuti	1 - 50
4. Ibid., July 1603, f. 103v: ho ricevuto per 15 giorno

5. For Ricchi's appointment see ASMT, Libro 226, Sagrestia (1573-1616), October 1605, f. 110 and for Frescobaldi's see January 1607, f. 114.
6. ASMT, Libro 87, Decret: Capitul: ab 1600 Usq: 1612, March 10, 1607, f. 53: Fuit decretū quod RR DD. Pellegrinus et Petrolſ provideant de Musica pro vībus diebus festivis cum menstrua mercedescutorū tresdecim distribuē cantoribus et Mſo Cappellae et Musici debeant e'e n^o octo et ad cōputū d^{ae} mercedes sint compnensa scutj centū debeant per Ill^{mo} [.....] CarIem Titularem assignata et residuum suppleat mensa Capitularis.
7. On his period at S.Maria see Hierarchia, iv, 46, where a list of the titular cardinals is found. De Montelparo, his successor is likely to have been a willing patron of music too; his previous titular church was S.Agostino, where he could well have been responsible for fostering the musical tradition.
8. ASMT, Libro 87, Decret: Capitul: (1600-12), March 17, 1607, f. 53: Postea fuit decretum quod supti RR PP. Can^{ci} deputati accedant ad Ills^m D. CarIem Titularem ad gratias pergendum de tantis in Capitulo collatis beneficijs et gratijs et presertim de assignatione facta scutorū centum pro musicha.
9. ASMT, Libro 226, Sagrestia (1573-1616), March 1607, f. 114v: Io Ventura Cristallini mastro di Cappella ho riceuto p mezo del presente mese 6:50
10. ASMT, Libro 342, Liber Sacristiae.....anno 1609 inceptus, et explenes anno 1617, June 1614, f. 86v: Al m^{ro} di Cappella et Musici, la lor solita provisione 23 -
11. ASMT, Libro 269, Sagr^a Entrat & Uscita dal 1618 sin al 1623, April 10, 1618, f. 2: e più ho ricevuto del Sig^r Fabbricatore p pagare l'organista p il d^o mese - 50
e più ho ricevuto del nostro esattore p pagare la musica p il d^o mese 14 - 50
e più ho havuto del Sig^r Aldobrandini p pagare la musica p il pnte mese in un ordine diretto a SS^{ri} Henera e Costa 10 -
12. ASMT, Libro 269, Sagr^a (1618-23), September 1620, f. 12: Dal Bancho delli SS^{ri} Ricci non si rigrater.o più li scudi dieci per non esser più nro Titolare l'Ill^{mo} Sig^e Car^{le} Aldobrandini, ma in loco l'Ill^{mo} Sig. Car. Cesi. Aldobrandini was titular there from June 4, 1612 until August 31, 1620 (see Hierarchia, iv, 46). Cesi was either not sufficiently wealthy to support the cappella, or simply less interested in music; he was only there until March 29, 1621, when he was translated to S.Lorenzo in Lucina.
13. Ibid., without date (between October 1620 and June 1621), f. 46: Al m^{ro} di Capella Organista, et resto de Musici la solita provisione conforme alla riforma 15 - 60
14. See Hierarchia, iv, 46 for the dates of their association with the basilica.
15. ASMT, Libro 87, Decret: Capitul:(1600-12), June 6, 1607, f. 54: Fuit decretum quod recipiatur pro Mſo Cappellae D. Jo: bap'ta

Alexius proposuit a R.^{mo} D. Filele reservato tamen beneplacito Ills.^m D. Titularis. Fuit et decretū quod accipiatur in organistā D. Jo: Bap'tam Ricchū eu' solita provisione scutos duoru' m.^{ta} pro quōte mense petendo tamen locum in pleno Capitulo.

16. RISM 1616¹: Selectae cantiones excellentissimorum auctorum..... Liber primus. Opus Tertium (Rome, 1616). The preface of this volume (Gaspari, 353) speaks of the cardinal's connection with the basilica.
17. The great height referred to in the quotation is probably his position as maestro at St. Peter's; he was appointed there after leaving S. Lorenzo in Damaso.
18. The last mention of Pellegrino Scacchi as maestro appears on a document dated August 29, 1623 (ASMT, Libro 269, Sagr^a (1618-23), f. 62). Benevoli was paid two scudi as maestro in January 1624 (see ASMT, Libro 266, Ricete de Ministri e Cappellani dal 1617 sin al 1637, unfoliated).
19. See Allegra, 32. His final payment as maestro at S. Maria was in June 1630 (see Ricete (1616-37), unfoliated).
20. Pieces by him appear in RISM 1643¹, 1645², 1648¹, 1649² and 1650¹.
21. See Feicht, 243-89.
22. See Casimiri, 'Disciplina musicae', xii (1935), 9.
23. For a brief assessment of his work see Dixon, 'G.F. Anerio'.
24. See Cannon, 203, 209. A piece by Scacchi is included in Anerio's Ghirlanda di sacre rose..... (Rome, 1619); RISM 1619⁰.
25. ASMT, Libro Armad. III.5, Decret: Capitu: ab anno 1613, f. 8lv:fuit resolutū p̄ vota secreta quod Pellegrinus de Scachis amittat officium Magistri Capellae.....
26. He was paid for music on the feast of the Assumption (see ASMT, Libro 269, Sagr^a (1618-23), August 15, 1622, f. 54: e piu dato a Sr Giuleo nro Mastro di Capella tre scudi per far maggior la Musica de Cantori in detta festa 3 -).
27. See note 18.
28. ASMT, Libro Armad. III.5, Decret: Capitul: (1613-), f. 84: Fuit congregatum.....ubi unamiter statuerunt, et ordinaverunt esse accipiendum per magistrū Capelle huius Basilice Pellegrinū Scacchū, qui supplicant. m. Pelleg.^{no} Scacchi Ser.^{re} antico et devote delli SS.^{ri} RR le supp.^{ca} humilm.^{te} si degnano d'honoralo con Il carico di mastro di Capella nella loro Chiesa, offerendo di servire con ogni diligenza, vigilanza et decoro, oltre che restero perpetuam.^{te} obligato a tutti.....et sit fuit de novo acceptatus in magistrū Capelle..... Clearly the material became too complex for the scribe's limited Latin forcing him to resort to Italian.
29. I am indebted to J. Lionnet for this information.

30. See ASMT, Libro 266, Riceute (1617-37), unfoliated.
31. See ASMT, Libro 270, Riceute (1639, 1644, 1645), list of musicians for 1644, f. 45-53v.
32. See note 6.
33. See ASMT, Libro 270, Riceute (1639, 1644, 1645), f. 1.
34. ASMT, Libro 272, Libro Dell'Amministratione della Sagrestia Contiene l'Uscita dal 1624 sino al 1638 Vi è anche l'anno 1643, Mat 27, 1630, f. 5lv: e più....per canne due e mezza di saia di bergamo paonazza per fare la veste a uno di nostri Cantori soprani, a giulij nove la caña 2:25
35. ASMT, Libro 302, Liber Sachristiae Incept Anno Iubilei 1600, f. 85v: A And^a Gabiani mercantè a bon conto dela saia e tela per le veste e cotte de soprani 5 - . The purchase of this cloth was ordered by the chapter on March 24, 1607 (see ASMT, Libro 87, Decret: Capitul: (1600-12), f. 53: Fuit decretus et quod RD. Camerarius procuret fieri vestes pro pueris pro musicha).
36. ASMT, Libro 342, Liber Sacristiae (1609-17), August 16, 1615, f. 92: A di 16 al m^o di Cappella p suplare alla Musica il giorno della nra festa del Asunta scudi sei 40 6 - 40
37. ASMT, Libro 269, Sagr^a (1618-23), August 15, 1623, f. 62: e piu a doi homini ch hanno alzati li mantici alli doi organi portabili serviti in detta festa, che la Musica è stata fatta a tre Chori, et contre organi piccoli. - 30.
38. Ibid., August 29, 1623, f. 62.
39. ASMT, Libro Armad.XII.17, Riceute (1640, 1641, 1643), f. 52: E piu p un'organista preso di più, che vi era l'organo di Gio. Francesco Contralto che si fece a due Chori - 70
40. ASMT, Libro 68, Riceute (1642), August 16, 1642, f. 46: All'Mro di Cappella scudi dieci m^{ta} per la Musicha la festa dell'Assunta di ordine dell Capl^o per esserci venuto il Card^{le} S^{re} Hon^e Tit^{le} come appare per sua riceuta 10 -
41. ASMT, Libro 272, Libro Dell'Amministratione (1624-38, 1643), October 18, 1637, f. 84v: e più p quattro Cantori p d^a festa 2 -
42. Ibid., October 15, 1637, f. 10lv.
43. ASMT, Libro 272, Riceute (1640, 1641, 1643), f. 52v: E più à Paolo scopatore p tre che alzorno i mantici alli tre Chori della Musica p d^a festa, che fu à quattro fatta da S^r Can^{co} Prata - 45
44. ASMT, Libro 68, Riceute (1642), October 14, 1642, f. 46v: A mro Gios: falegname per haver fatto due Chori p la musica p d^a festa che fu fatta à 4 Chori a costa d'Ille Gio: Pietro Prata 1 -20
45. ASMT, Libro Armad.XII.17, Riceute (1640, 1641, 1643), f. 14v, 5lv; Libro 68, Riceute (1642), f. 46; Libro 270, Riceute (1639,

- 1644, 1645), f. 52.
46. ASMT, Libro 342, Liber Sacristiae (1609-17), f. 89: e piu dato al detto m^{ro} di Cappella giuli cinque per dare al putto ch a suplito in defetto di un soprano - 50
e piu un altro putto per suplire come sopra - 30
 47. ASMT, Libro 272, Libro Dell'Amminstratione (1624-38, 1643), December 24, 1635, f. 77: A di d^o sc. uno p 20 p doi Cantori forastieri p la sud^a notte 1 - 20
 48. ASMT, Libro Armad.XII.17, Riceute (1640, 1641, 1643), f. 53: E più al Mastro di Cappella p la mania della notte di Natale conforme al solito con sua ricevuta 3 -
 49. Missale Romanum, Feria Quinta infra Hebdom. II. Quadragesimae.
 50. ASMT, Statuta Venerabilis Basilicae Santa Maria Transtyberim, 52.
 51. ASMT, Libro 342, Liber Sacristiae (1609-17), March 5, 1616, f. 96v: p tanti dati alli musici che cantorno la cōpieta p la statione sc. 2 - 50
 52. ASMT, Libro 272, Libro Dell'Amminstratione (1624-38, 1643), March 18, 1635, f. 74v: Adi 18. scudi doi p 40 a 4. cantori forast.^r¹ p la festa della statione 2 - 40
 53. ASMT, Libro Armad.XII.17, Riceute (1640, 1641, 1643), March 8, 1640, f. 13 and Libro 68, Riceute (1642) January 20, 1642, f. 45.
 54. ASMT, Statuta....., 50.
 55. The manner of deciding which church should be responsible for the procession on this day was laid down in the decree, Quod proxime, of the Sacred Congregation of Rites dated April 17, 1607 (see Decreta authentica, i, 79).
 56. ASMT, Libro 269, Sagr^a (1618-23), April 2, 1622, f. 52: e piu dato alli nri Cantori et organista per questo Mese computatoci giulij ventiquattro dati di piu a m Pelegriano Scacchi nro Mastro di Capella per crescere la Musica nella processione di S.Marco che quest anno è toccata a Noi a farla havendo la precedenza delli Canonici di S. Lorenzo in Damaso, come p loro riceute 17:70 (total includes rest of pay for that month)
 57. ASMT, Libro 272, Libro Dell'Amminstratione (1624-38, 1643), April 25, 1626, f. 18v.
 58. Brev. Rom. in festo S.Marci, die 25 Apr.
 59. ASMT, Libro 269, Sagr^a (1618-23), May 29, 1622, f. 52v: e piu data alli nri Cantori per questo mese computatoci giulij ventidoi dati a m Peregrino Scacchi nro Mastro di capella p haver cresciuti Cantori nella processione del S.^{mo} sacramēto del Papa, come per loro riceute, dico 17 - (total includes rest of pay for that month)

60. ASMT, Libro 272, Libro Dell'Amminstratione (1624-38, 1643), November 17, 1626, f. 24: che si e fatta hoggi alle 20 hore da san Marco a San Pietro d'ordine di N.S. Papa Urbano Ottavo per la consecratione della chiesa di S.Pietro da farsi da S: Sta dimatina, et vi è stato tutto il Clero di Roma tanto preti e frati, et siamo andati a san Pietro e girato intorno a detta Chiesa ma non ci siamo entrati che era serrata.
61. Ibid., f. 24.
62. ASMT, Libro 87, Decret: Capitul: (1600-12), February 21, 1612, f. 83: Ut admodum Rj. D. Chiozzius sacrista Maior curet ut pro servitio Capellae nrae e'matur liber eam in lucem aeditus Missam, et aliar Musicalium cantionum ecclesiasticar; Francisci Suriani.
63. ASMT, Libro 269, Sagr^a (1618-23), May 28, 1619, f. 36v: e più a di 28 dato a m Domenico legatore de libri, nove giulij per haver fatto la coperta nova di cartone coperta di carta pecora al nro libro grande delle Messe in Musica..... :90
64. ASMT, Libro 68, Riceute (1642), December 25, 1642, f. 47: Per haver fatto rinovar et rappezzar il libro dell'Hynni, il Libro delle messe l'Antifonario di Carta Pecora, un'altro simile rinovato, il libro della Sett^a S^{ta} Un Psalterio, et un'altro libro grande della salve et altri tre libri da Choro 2 - 70
65. ASMT, Libro 342, Liber Sacristiae (1609-17), August 7, 1614, f.87: A di 7. ad Goa'nelli m^o di Capella p haver fatto copiare la messa de morti in un libro novo - 80
66. Ibid., November 30, 1616, f. 102: p una [.....]ta di libri di Musica delle letanie della Madona del'Anerio - 30
67. This piece is transcribed in Appendix VII, No. 66.
68. See Cannon, 203.
69. ASMT, Libro 302, Liber Sachristiae (1600-), f. 95: e piu dato al nro Mastro di capella quattro giulij p comprare libri quattro de responsorij che servano alla Notte di Natale et alla settimana s^{ta} quali libri restarano alla nra chiesa - 40
70. RISM 1618³.
71. Cannon, 219, lists music manuscripts in the archives of the basilica.

S. LORENZO IN DAMASO

The ancient foundation of S.Lorenzo in Damaso derived much of its importance from the fact that its titular cardinal was vice-cancellario of the entire Roman Church.¹ The holders of this, one of the highest ecclesiastical positions,² resided in the palazzo adjoining the church; they were naturally men of considerable means, who were often generous in their patronage of the basilica. Consequently, S.Lorenzo was able to enjoy a flourishing musical tradition and in the 17th century supported a cappella of at least eight voices.

No substantial archival records of a cappella seem to exist from before 1615, but various loose scraps of paper and a few comments in the Uscita della Sagrestia indicate that by the beginning of the 17th century music held an important place in the liturgical worship of the basilica. Singers were employed from at least the time of Paul III (1534-9),³ and in 1584 the cappella was hired to sing at the German National Church, S.Maria dell'Anima, on the feast of Corpus Christi.⁴ The earliest evidence of a maestro di cappella is the title-page of Responsoria, antiphonae, et hymni (1596) by Ioanne Matelart; here this composer from Flanders is described as holding the post.⁵ Matelart was active in S.Lorenzo from about 1565, until his death in June 1607.⁶

From 1605 references to the regular employment of Tiberio Menghi, an organ tuner, appear in the archives,⁷ and in January 1606 Gregorio Florestan 'organista' received twenty-four scudi for his services for an unspecified period.⁸ Concern for the maintenance of the organ emerges in an undated document, probably from the first decade of the century, entitled 'Nota di quello che si e facto ne lorgano di S. Lorenzo in Damaso';⁹ this is a report of a general overhaul which took

place at the considerable cost of twenty-three scudi 10.

It would be reasonable to imagine that polychoral music was heard with some frequency in a church of such importance, even from the beginning of the century. The archives record that in 1605 a carpenter was paid sixty baiocchi for constructing two platforms for musicians on the feast of S.Lorenzo, the patronal festival.¹⁰ The first archival mention of a member of the cappella comes two years later when, in March 1607, 'Sr. D. Angelo Basso della nostra Cappella' was paid four scudi for two months' service.¹¹

The year 1607 appears to have been a flourishing time for the cappella; much music was copied and refurbished, and in September a member of the cappella received three scudi for copying plainsong antiphons for the feast of S.Lorenzo and for the Mass.¹² It was perhaps the case that the death of the ageing maestro, Matelart, in June provided the opportunity for streamlining the running of the cappella; and in October of the following year, 1608, the regulations for the singers were copied onto parchment¹³—clearly the choir was a well-established body.

Terminology in these archives calls for some caution, since at the beginning of each year one of the canons was elected to oversee the musicians. He too was given the title of 'maestro di cappella' or 'magister capellae', a fact which could lead to ambiguity and confusion. For instance, in January 1630 the appointment of Bernardino Scala was recorded; meanwhile Giovanni Giacomo Porro continued to hold the post of maestro with real responsibility for the music.¹⁴

The earliest mention of a 17th-century maestro di cappella (musician) in the surviving documents of the church is found in a loose pile of Giustificationes; it is the receipt which Giovanni Bernardino Nanino signed for his salary in June 1609, the year after

he was appointed.¹⁵ An accomplished composer, Nanino already had considerable experience on assuming the post at S.Lorenzo since for over a decade he had been maestro at S.Luigi dei Francesi where he remained almost until the end of 1608.¹⁶ His acceptance of the position at S.Lorenzo after being maestro at the French church is a testimony to the importance of the basilica. Nanino published four books of small-scale motets while at S.Lorenzo; these presumably cast some light on performance practice there. For some unapparent reason, Nanino only personally dedicated two of the books, those of 1611 and 1618.¹⁷ The first of these, Motecta.....liber secundus, is dedicated to a canon from S.Lorenzo, who was also secretary to the Pope.¹⁸ Cristoforo Margarina wrote the dedication of Motecta..... liber tertius of 1612, and was presumably also responsible for supervising the printing; Margarina was, at least until June 1609, a tenor in the cappella at S.Lorenzo.¹⁹

Nanino held the post of maestro at the adequate salary of six scudi a month until his death in 1618, and his term of office seems to have been a flourishing time for the cappella. A list of Salarati from January 1615 shows the constitution of the cappella, and the members' monthly wages:²⁰

Al Nanino M ^{ro} di Capella	6 -
A Don Michele Basso	4 -
A Don Curtio Basso	4 -
A Don Constantino Contralto Capellano	7 -
A Don Ant.o Contralto	5 -
A Don Erminio Tenore Capellano	6 -
A Aless.ro soprano	4 -
A Bartol.o soprano	1 - 50
A Salvatore cherico di choro	1 - 50
A Bernardo cherico di choro	1 - 50
A Fulvio cherico di choro	1 - 50

Ten singers were paid in addition to the maestro and the organist, whose remuneration is not recorded in the present list. The three cherici di choro received additional sums (recorded in another pay-

book) for their duties as priests; this accounts for their lower salary here. The cappellani received a higher wage for their fuller participation in the liturgy; they were expected to provide intonations.²¹

During Nanino's time as maestro the chapter discussed music on several occasions. It appears that, as in all churches maintaining a cappella, singers absented themselves to sing elsewhere. On March 15, 1614 the chapter prescribed a fine of five giuli for each occasion a singer failed to attend S.Lorenzo.²² The chapter organized all aspects of the church's life, and discussions of expenditure for music on special feasts feature prominently in the minutes. On December 15, 1614 a decision was reached about the celebration of S.Damaso:²³

It was decreed that each year on the solemnity of S.Damaso six scudi should be spent to pay outside musicians and to decorate the nave of the church; and that a request should be made to His Holiness for indulgences for everyone who visits the church on that day.

Accordingly, Nanino received six scudi in the following December.²⁴

In July 1616 it was decided to spend twenty-four scudi on the feast of S.Lorenzo (August 10), as opposed to the usual fifteen.²⁵ Similar decisions are noted with some frequency until 1626, when the archives cease to yield relevant information. Not only the festivals of the two patrons of the church were discussed: in 1615, for instance, Nanino was remunerated for the processions of St.Mark and Corpus Christi - on each occasion he received six scudi for outside singers.²⁶ In 1616 and 1618 he took three scudi for special music at the stational visit on the Tuesday after the fourth Sunday in Lent.²⁷

Following the death of Nanino in 1618, his son-in-law, Paolo Agostini, maestro at S.Maria in Trastevere, was unanimously elected as his successor on May 26.²⁸ Detailed accounts of the identity of the members of the cappella and their salaries do not survive from Agostini's time as maestro. Regular payments for outsiders on

festivals continued, and it seems that the cappella established connections with the nearby Arciconfraternita dell'Orazione e Morte. The account books of that confraternity reveal that between December 1618 and February 1620 Agostini was paid to provide music on various occasions, including the Forty Hours' Devotion and the Good Friday procession;²⁹ and that Agostini lent the confraternity an organ for nine months (until September 1620) while their own was being repaired.³⁰

The election of Gregory XV in 1621 invested this member of the Ludovisi family with the authority to display remarkable nepotism. In his first promotion of cardinals on February 15, 1621³¹ (a week after his own election) he consecrated his nephew Ludovico Ludovisi as titular cardinal of S.Maria Traspontina. Immediately after this rather abrupt rise to fame, Ludovisi was honoured by the printer Soldi in the dedication of the anthology Lilia campi (RISM 1621³), which contains motets for two to four voices by leading composers of the day. On June 7, 1623 he was translated to S.Lorenzo in Damaso, and became vice-cancellario of the Roman Church. Payment of two scudi (surprisingly little) was made to Agostini for the special music on July 8, when Ludovisi took possession of the basilica.³² He proved a generous benefactor, and a document compiled by his secretary Lucantonio Giunti lists the charitable donations which he made on an annual basis, among which is the following:³³

To the chapter and canons of S.Lorenzo in Damaso: each year 432 scudi are paid for the singers and music of S.Lorenzo. The singers of the palazzo receive 350 scudi a year, to which is added seven scudi a month for the music, which one can calculate as alms, being valued at eighty scudi.

Agostini relinquished his post in 1626 to become maestro at St. Peter's, but despite having attained the summit of his profession, he did not forget his one-time association with S.Lorenzo. In 1627 he dedicated his Partitura del terzo libro della messa sine nomine

to the Chapter and canons of the church in the most affectionate terms:

Il partirmi dall'attual servizio delle SS. VV. Reverendissime, non me fece però lasciar la devotione ch'io partiva..... Ma le SS. VV. Reverendissime, che sanno honorare altrui, come gia fecero me, (chiamandomi successore à tanti huomini celebrati nella lor Cappella: mà particolarmente il Sig. Gio. Bernardino Nanino, maestro di quelli che sanno nella mia professione.....).....

My leaving the actual service of the Most Reverend Sirs does not make me abandon the devotion which I had to them..... But the Most Reverend Sirs, who know how to honour another, as they honoured me (calling me as successor to many distinguished men in their cappella: but particularly to Giovanni Bernardino Nanino, master of those who have knowledge in my profession.....).....

Agostini's successor was elected, like all musicians, by capitular decision, and the appointment was recorded on February 15, 1626.³⁴ Though the archival record omits the surname, the new maestro was clearly Giovanni Giacomo Porro, who held the post until August 1630.³⁵ In this period Paolo Quagliati was also linked with the church through the Ludovisi family,³⁶ and the organ which he left the church in his will is mentioned in a payment to one Giovanni 'for having tuned the organ of Signor Quagliati on two occasions'.³⁷ The dedication of his Motetti, e dialoghi (1627) to Ludovico Ludovisi confirms the association.

In April 1629 the name of Vincenzo Giovannoni appears for the first time as organist.³⁸ Until at least the end of 1624 Forestano held the post, having done so from at least 1606.³⁹ It is more than likely that Giovannoni was appointed in June 1626 since the capitular proceedings report:⁴⁰

.....Eodem die fuit receptus p off^o. Organistae D.....

No name is mentioned: probably an absent-minded scribe prepared the report in readiness for the election and then neglected to insert the name of the successful candidate. When Giovannoni is first named

in April 1629, he was being paid at a rate of three scudi 50 a month.⁴¹ He was clearly content at S.Lorenzo since in 1650 he was still organist there.⁴²

In January 1629 begins a curious set of records which creates some confusion about the amounts the singers were paid. Loose papers in the Giustificationes indicate that the salaries were at about the same level as in 1615;⁴³ but one volume, Cappella dal 1629 al 1642, presents what seems to be contradictory evidence. Here the entire cappella signed each month, but for amounts substantially less than those recorded in the Giustificationes; the maestro had two scudi, the soprano a pitiful half scudo and the rest of the cappella one scudo each. Clearly monthly salaries were not received as a lump sum from one source. The 'Entrata' section of this book of the cappella records rents of vineyards and donations from the Confraternita delli Credenzieri among sources of income; one must therefore assume that, while a proportion of the money was provided by those means, the greater part of the members' incomes (as recorded in the Giustificationes) was obtained through other channels, including the patronage of the titular cardinal, and perhaps of other benefactors.

October 1630 saw the appointment of Antonio Filitrani as maestro;⁴⁴ Porro had resigned in August to succeed Giacomo Guidi as Frescobaldi's substitute at St.Peter's.⁴⁵ Filitrani embarked on what was to be a lengthy period of service to the basilica. Musically, it appears to have been an uneventful time: account books suggest an ageing cappella whose members, judging from the time they had been there, were content in their positions, but little of interest appears to have happened except for the usual festivals and processions.

One interesting feature of the period is the apparent rise in the popularity of the soprano singers, who were now paid at least three scudi a month from the 'cappella' account, as opposed to the

other singers who only took one scudo a month from that source.⁴⁶

This could well indicate a growing need to employ sopranos who could perform competently as soloists; Giovannoni's Amore Jesu⁴⁷ certainly requires more than the usual skill from the upper voices, and Maugars commented on the popularity of castrati in the late 1630s.⁴⁸ At S. Lorenzo the sopranos were provided with distinctive robes in 1635.⁴⁹

Towards the end of the 1640s Filitrani proved himself an adequate composer of small-scale motets, and a number of his pieces were included in anthologies.⁵⁰ A certain amount of confusion about their authorship has arisen, but any attribution to Abundio Antonelli can be discounted.⁵¹ Filitrani's compositions suggest that small-scale motets in a progressive style were a regular feature of the repertory at S. Lorenzo. Certainly there was a long tradition of few-voiced music stretching back to Nanino's publications of thirty years before. The archives testify to a parallel tradition of prima prattica music, at least until the late 1620s. In 1606 some masses by Victoria were bound,⁵² and in 1609 Zoilo's Responsories were copied for use in the church.⁵³ Steps were taken in March 1605 to ensure that the choir-books were properly protected, and a wooden box was purchased for storing them;⁵⁴ it is surprising to note that a box for this purpose was still in use in 1627⁵⁵ - the implication is that prima prattica music was still to be heard. The same breadth of musical style is found within the work of one of the maestri, Paolo Agostini. He wrote not only progressive small-scale music (Salmi della Madonna, 1619), but also severe stile antico masses, with intricate canonic devices.

S. Lorenzo in Damaso, then, is an interesting example of a Roman institution where capitular decisions were of great importance in the day-to-day running of the church. Besides filling in some details of the lives of a few noteworthy composers, the archives shed some light on the way in which a cappella was financed, and the variety

of music which was performed. It is of note that the musical establishment had changed little by the time of Fonseca, the historian of the church, who wrote in 1745:⁵⁶

Musicæ Cappella octo Musicorum numero completur, qui ad divinarum rerum contemplationem modulatis vocibus mentes extollunt, ad quorum aures permulcendas alius minister mercede conductus harmonicum Organi concentum edit, & omnes unius Cappellæ Praefectus moderatur.

The musical cappella is composed of eight musicians, who, by their voices, raise the minds of the faithful to the contemplation of divine things; to charm whose ears another paid official makes harmonious sound on the organ, and all are directed by one maestro di cappella.

NOTES

1. From July 5, 1532 onwards, (see Bullarium Romanum, iv, 99 and Hierarchia, iii, 72). For a general history of the church see Martini and Lombroso, 91-92, and Fonseca.
2. Often Papal nephews; see Hierarchia, iii, 72 and iv, 43.
3. See Lockwood, 'A Dispute', 33-34.
4. Schmidlin, 416.
5. See Gaspari, ii, 262.
6. See 'Matelart, Ioanne', New Grove.
7. The archives of S.Lorenzo in Damaso (hereafter ASLD), Uscita della Sagrestia al S.Lorenzo In Damaso 1600-1606, unfoliated, July 10, 1605; September 1, 1605; October 9, 1605; December 28, 1605; March 30, 1606; January 14, 1607; April 16, 1607; August 16, 1607.
8. Ibid., January 2, 1606: A m Gregorio Florestano organista s^di venti quattro m^{ta} a buon conto del suo servitio 24 - ; April 23, 1606: 22 scudi 50; August 25, 1606: 12 scudi; December 19, 1606: 7 scudi 50; February 12, 1607: 6 scudi; April 3, 1607: 4 scudi; June 29, 1607: 12 scudi. Similar payments continue to Florestano in this volume until October 1610.
9. 'Note on what was done to the organ of S.Lorenzo in Damaso'; the document is found among the ASLD, Giustificaciones (1552-1643).
10. ASLD, Uscita (1600-06), September 1, 1605: Al falegname p

mani fattura di due palchetti fatti il giorno di S.Lorenzo p
due Chori di musica 60 - 60

11. Ibid., March 6, 1607. He received the sum of four scudi at monthly intervals.
12. Ibid., September 23, 1607: A m Giorgio fabritij Tenore della nra Cappella scudi tre di m^{ta} p copiatura del Canto Fermo delle Antiphone della festa di S.Lorenzo et della messa, comprisavi anco la carta rigata di fogli dodeci di carta Imp^e sc. 3 -
13. Ibid., October 10, 1608: A Caravita scrittore 60 p haver scritto gli ordini da osservarsi dalli nostri Cantori - 30
14. Porro was paid each month for his services as maestro until August 1630; see ASLD, Cappella dal 1629 al 1642, f. 1-5v. However, we read on f. 7v: Io Ber^{no} Scala Can^{co} et Mro di Capella di S.Lorenzo in Dam^o dell'Anno 1630, ho riceuto dal P. Lud^{co} Ducci Mro di Capella dell'Anno 1629 scudi diciotto 18 - . This book of the cappella is marked with the number two; the first book, potentially a fascinating document, seems to have been lost.
15. ASLD, Giustificationes (1552-1643), June 30, 1609: Io Gio: Ber^{no} Nanini m. di capella di san Lorenzo ho riceuto scudi doi per le mani del S^r Annibale.....dico 2 - . This payment is apparently for December 1607, clearly a scribal error.
16. See Jean Lionnet's forthcoming article on S.Luigi and Frey, 'Die Kapellmeister', xxiii (1966), 57.
17. Motecta.....liber secundus (Rome, 1611) and Motecta.....liber quartus (Rome, 1618).
18. The dedication reads: Per Illustri. et Reverendiss. D. Stellae Stellae Protonot. Apostol. Ac S.Laurentii in Damaso Canonico D.S. Observandiss.
19. ASLD, Giustificationes (1552-1643), June 30, 1609: Io xproforo Margarina Tenore p tutto il mese di Xbre prossimo passato 3 - 0
20. Ibid., Per il mese di Genn^o 1615.
21. See below, 102.
22. ASLD, Acta et Decreta Capitularia ab Anno 1614 Usque ad Annum 1737, March 15, 1614: Decretum ut Cantores qui diebus comūnibus inserviunt alijs Ecclesijs perdant quinq Julios pro qualibet vice.
23. Ibid., December 15, 1614: Fuit decretum, ut quotannis in solemnitate S^{ti} Damaso pro mercede musicos extraordinariorum qui pro ea festivitate invitabuntur, et pro ornamento naulae Ecclesiae expendatur scuta sex, et ut debito tempore petantur a S^{mo} D.N. indulgentiae pro ijs qui eadem die Ecclesiam visitaverint.

24. Ibid., December 14, 1615: Expeditum fuit mandatum scutorum sex Dño Bernardino Nanino chri Mag^ro pro mercede musicorum extraordinariorum in festivitate S.^ti Damasi iux' decretorum anni superioris.
25. Ibid., June 15, 1616: Decretum fuit in Capitulo ut deinceps in solemnitate S.^ti Laurentij pro musica expendantur quindecim scuta solita, alia scuta novem atq. adeo in totum scuta 24.
26. Ibid., July 1, 1615.
27. Ibid., April 6, 1616; April 2, 1618.
28. Ibid., May 26, 1618: Vacante off^o Magistri Capellae Ecclesiae nostrae per obitum bo: me: D. Bernardini Nanini RR. DD. Canonici, convento capitulo, unanimi concensu elegerunt in locum defuncti D. Paulum de Augustinis eius generum. New Grove and other reference works give Nanino's date of death some years later; furthermore New Grove suggests that Paolo Agostini was vice-maestro at S. Lorenzo. This passage provides conclusive evidence that Nanino was dead by May 1618, and that Agostini was the full maestro at S. Lorenzo.
29. Archives of the Arciconfraternita dell'Orazione e Morte, Libro 208, Libro del Camerieno, 1618. 1619. 16xx. 16xxi, ff. 86v, 91, 97.
30. Ibid., September 4, 1620, f. 102v: A Paolo Agostini s.^{di} tredici m.^{ta} p impresto di un organo p nove mesi mentre si faceva l'organo della chiesa come p mand.^{to} delli SS.^{ri} Guardiani n^o 18 23 -
31. Hierarchia, iv, 15-16.
32. ASLD, Acta (1614-1737), July 8, 1623: Expeditum fuit mandatū D. Pauli de Augustinus scutorum.....duorum p musica extraord.^{ria} facta quando Ill.^{mus} D. Card.^{lis} Ludovisius coepit possessionem Vice-cancellari.....
33. See Pastor, xxvii, 324 for the original text.
34. ASLD, Acta (1614-1737), February 15, 1626: Fuit receptus Magister Capellae loco D. Pauli de Augustinus D. Joannes Jacobus.
35. ASLD, Cappella (1629-42), f. 5v contains the last mention of his name. He appears to have been absent in August 1630, since his wages were received by Giovanni Francesco Mancini.
36. See Cametti, 'Paolo Quagliati', 32-33.
37. ASLD, Entrata et Uscita della Fab.^{ca} a S. Lorenzo in Damaso (1624-32), f. 35, headed 1626: A m.^{fo} Giovanni Organario.....p haver accordato due volte l'organo del S.^f Quagliati s.^{di} 2 ½ 50
38. ASLD, Libro di D. Emino Nerocci Sacristano - 1629 1630 -, f. 70v: Io Vincenzo de Joannonis Organista in S. Lorenzo in Damaso ho ricevuto dal M.^{fo} Ill.^{re} Sig.^{re} Christofero Pigri (?) 3 - 50; similar payments appear until August 1630.

39. ASLD, Entrata (1624-32), headed 'Uscita della fabrica 1624':
A Gregorio Forestano Organista p residuo 1623 sc otto þ 60, e
p la solita provisione del pnte Anno 50 - 60.
40. ASLD, Acta (1614-1737), June 15, 1626
41. See note 38.
42. The post is mentioned in connection with his name in the
anthology RISM 1650¹.
43. See table of 'Salarati', 79.
44. ASLD, Cappella (1629-42), list of payments for October 1630.
45. Cametti, 'Girolamo Frescobaldi', 728-29, 747-48.
46. ASLD, Cappella (1629-42), from January 1635 onwards; the first
of these high payments was made to Giovanni Francesco Simonetti.
47. From RISM 1647¹; see Appendix VII, No. 81.
48. Maugars, 35.
49. ASLD, Cappella (1629-42), January 6, 1635, f. 33v: Per otto
canne di saia di Bergamo paonazza p le tre veste de Soprani
scudi sette et vinti et scudi tre p fattura seta e mostre in
tutto 10 - 20
50. RISM 1645²; 1647¹; 1647²; 1649².
51. See 'Filitrani, Antonello', New Grove.
52. ASLD, Uscita (1600-06), May 1606: al M^{ro} Giulio Morelli ligatore
di libri þ 50 sono p hav^{re} rilegato et accommodato le messe del
Vittoria in cartone - 50
53. Ibid., July 17, 1609: A m D. Luca Salvatelli Tenore di S.Maria
Magg^{re} già tenore della nra Chiesa scudi uno þ 80. sono p copia
di diciotto responsorij della Settimana santa d'Annibale Zoilo
p uso della nra Chiesa 1 - 80
54. Ibid., March 15, 1605: E piu scudi uno m^{ta} et þ 60 dati al
falegname per una cassia di Albuccio di pal: sei longa et 4.
palmi larga. p ogni verso d'accordo per mettersi i libri del
coro 1 - 60
55. ASLD, Entrata (1624-32), June 30, 1627: Per far metter un
coperchio alla Cassa delli libri di coro..... - 60
56. Fonseca, 239.

S. AGOSTINO

S. Agostino, the mother church of the Augustinian order, was an institution of high musical reputation in the 17th century: many well-respected composers held the post of maestro there and, judging by the music they composed, the cappella must have been a proficient body of singers. Remarkably therefore, few references to music are found in the archives; the problems raised by this apparent inconsistency can be resolved by considering the nature of the establishment.

In most churches information about the cappella is found by examining the account books and records of the appointment of maestri and individual members by the chapter. Expenditure for singers is only rarely recorded in the archives of S. Agostino, except for monthly payments for putti who sang soprano. Who, therefore, formed the rest of the cappella? The answer is evident when we take into account the type of monastic institution to which the church was attached. There were about ninety Augustinian friars in residence,¹ a vast number by today's standards; even if only a small proportion of these had musical ability, there would have been sufficient voices to form a cappella. Since, then, most of the members of the cappella resided in this flourishing Augustinian house they took no salary for their choral duties. This explanation is borne out by records of payment made to singers hired on festivals at the neighbouring church of S. Luigi dei Francesi; each time a singer from S. Agostino was employed the entry reads 'Fratre di S. Agostino'.² This is also evidence of the high standard of music at S. Agostino, since the rich French church would only have employed the most competent musicians to supplement its own cappella. Della Valle, writing in 1640, confirms this by paying a compliment to the musicians at S. Agostino:³

.....piutosto mi accomodo co'Domenicani della Minerva e con quelli di Sant' Agostino nelle loro chiese; perchè almeno il loro coro mi rende un poco di buon suono all' orecchio.....

.....I sooner frequent the churches of the Dominicans at the Minerva and of the Augustinians; because at least their choirs bring a little good sound to the ear.....

On rare occasions one of the brothers was paid for services in choir. There is no ready explanation for this; perhaps singing in choir was a duty in addition to his normal commitments, or alternatively the brother was especially poor and therefore rewarded as an act of charity.⁴ Boy sopranos were, of course, paid; usually only one was employed at a time, though on a few occasions two appear.⁵ During Lent special devotions took place in the church, and in 1609 the singing of Compline and the litany in the evenings required an extra soprano.⁶ In 1614 another payment was made for Lenten and Easter music, but the actual recipient is not named.⁷ The youth of the sopranos is attested by a document dated January 1607, when the sum of two scudi (two months' wages) was not given to the singer, but to his mother.⁸ This is probably not an isolated incident. It is notable that the one scudo a month a putto earned is almost three times as much as a friar was given on the rare occasions when one was paid.

In April 1610 a curious series of entries begins in the archives, indicating the the popularity of a certain soprano, Angelo, the only one mentioned by name. That he was favoured by the monks is suggested in the purchase of considerable amounts of clothes for him between April and August 1610;⁹ after that date he does not reappear. By 1624 sopranos were earning two scudi a month, double their salary at the beginning of the century.¹⁰

A volume in the archives, Liber canorum.....e varie notizie circa la nostra chiesa versa il 1630, contains a list headed 'Paghe è

salarij che fa ogni año il conto alli officiali'.¹¹ This makes no mention of singers or even of a maestro, and the only entries which relate to music are:

organista	18 - 0	
scorda l'organo	6 - 0	[organ tuning]

Regular payments to organists in the archives concur with this, and as early as 1607 Fra Angelo Tocchi da Cavi was the recipient of the amount.¹² Tocchi was paid in January 1609 for his duties as organist until the end of May 1608, so it appears that he left in that month, his successor being Girolamo Bartei.¹³ Bartei described himself as maestro at the church in his 1609 publication,¹⁴ yet he appears in the archives only in June 1608, when he ordered a large amount of music for the choir;¹⁵ here he is referred to as 'fra Girolamo d'Arezzo'. There is nothing inconsistent in his being called 'maestro' since, as we shall see, the post of organist and maestro was a joint one.

After a short break Tocchi returned as organist, probably in April 1610,¹⁶ and he seems to have remained at S.Agostino until at least 1628.¹⁷ He was involved in some publishing work, and wrote the dedication (to Signora Clementia Muti) of G.F. Anerio's Missarum..... liber primus of 1614. Both Tocchi and Bartei, in common with all organists at S.Agostino, were members of the order; the visitation of the church under Urban VIII on March 10, 1626 provides evidence that the post was filled by one of the brothers:¹⁸

Sequitur suggestum ad praedicationes destinatum, et apud ipsum Organa, quae in solemnitatibus Missarum, & vesperarum per unum ex fratibus pulsantur.

Title-pages of publications confirm that this brother was also responsible for the cappella; in addition to Bartei's 1609 print, many publications by Agostino Diruta describe him as 'Maestro di cappella

& organista',¹⁹ and there are some receipts where the monk acknowledges that his salary is for both positions.²⁰

Concern for the maintenance of the organ is evident from the very beginning of Tocchi's time as maestro; payments to Stefano Biaghi for organ tuning were made regularly until Nicolo Alemp (sic) assumed responsibility for the work in October 1611.²¹ Soon after this, on January 24, 1612, the Chapter decided that the organ should be restored at a cost of fifty scudi, and allocated nine scudi a year towards its upkeep to be paid in six-monthly instalments.²² Accordingly, Pompeo Dedi received payment for six months' tuning in September 1612.²³ Armodio Maccione succeeded Dedi as tuner in that month, and in March 1613 was paid six months' wages at the usual rate.²⁴ Maccione stayed until at least September 1617, when he was paid sixty scudi for what must have been another very thorough overhaul of the instrument.²⁵ The next reference to organ tuning known to me occurs in September 1634 when Ennio Bonifazio was paid.²⁶ Bonifazio, who was also responsible for the organ at S.Luigi,²⁷ stayed until at least 1645 with a salary of nine scudi a year.²⁸

Tocchi's successor as organist appears to have been Agostino Diruta, who arrived as a friar at S.Agostino between May 1626 and August 1630, when his name appears as one of the signatories of a capitular decree - 'Fr. Augustinus Perusinus'.²⁹ He had left by July 1634, the first occasion on which a capitular decree is found without his signature;³⁰ the exact month of his relinquishing the post of organist can be determined from an account dated May 1634, when he received his wages for the previous two years and four months.³¹ A burst of publishing activity accompanied his time at S.Agostino, and eight of his fifteen liturgical collections, published in Rome and Venice, date from 1630 to 1633.³²

Diruta's successor was Fra Sempliciano da Feronio, about whom nothing is known. His name appears in the archives only rarely; in May 1635 he received a year's salary,³³ and in August of the same year he was paid thirty scudi for music on the feast of St. Augustine³⁴ - the last that is heard of him. The next reference to a holder of the post does not occur until August 1641, when Filippo da Cavi was rewarded in connection with the same festival.³⁵ Da Cavi was also active as a composer, and his post at S. Agostino is noted on the title-pages of his publications of 1641 and 1642.³⁶ Like the others he was a member of the chapter, whose decrees bear his signature between May and December 1641.³⁷ Since the next capitular document was signed in April 1642, this can with some certainty be regarded as a terminus ad quem for his leaving the establishment. Following in the tradition of Tocchi, Diruta arrived for a second spell as maestro some time before 1646, in which year his two publications give him as 'In Ecclesia Divi Augustini de Urbe musices praelecto'.³⁸

In common with all Roman churches, great importance was attached to the patronal festival, and the celebrations at S. Agostino must have been exceptionally splendid since the church enjoyed a privileged position as the chief Augustinian institution in Rome. In 1609 the Chapter was faced with a problem about the feast of St. Augustine, since the income of the church had dropped dramatically because the titular cardinal had recently been translated, and the new one had not yet been appointed.³⁹ Despite this, it was decided to celebrate the feast with the usual music,⁴⁰ a decision echoed in the capitular decree of the following year.⁴¹ The importance of celebrating the feast as impressively as possible is clear from the expenditure on related items: in 1606 and 1607 payments were made to a carpenter for the construction of musicians' platforms.⁴² This suggests that

S. Agostino was a centre for polychoral music from an early date, an idea which ties in well with Bartei's double-choir masses, published in 1608.⁴³

In 1614 the cappella of the nearby German College was hired to sing on the feast of St. Augustine; the archives record a large payment, thirty scudi, to Annibale Orgas, maestro at the college.⁴⁴ This marks the beginning of a prosperous period for the church; each year from 1617 to 1623 (with the exception of 1622) polychoral music was performed on the feast. Payments were made on each occasion to more than one person for pumping the organ; usually two people were employed, but in 1620 the music must have been rather magnificent since five people were paid to pump the same number of organs.⁴⁵

What music would have been heard in the church? Unfortunately, the archives tell us little about repertory. The purchase of what was probably the new Medicean Gradual in 1614 indicates that plainsong played a part in the liturgy.⁴⁶ There seems also to have been a tradition of prima prattica music at least until 1628, since in that year a number of choir-books were rebound.⁴⁷ The acquisition of other music is noted on a few occasions; for instance, in 1608 Bartei spent six scudi on 'libri da cātare',⁴⁸ and in 1636 two books of Litanies were purchased.⁴⁹

For more information on repertory one can turn to the published works of the maestri, which were surely intended for performance there. Bartei's two publications while associated with the church suggest that there were no reservations about performing in a progressive style. Missa octonis vocibus, liber primus of 1608 comprises some of the earliest Roman polychoral masses,⁵⁰ and his Liber primus sacrarum modulationum of the following year consists entirely of attractive duets, the only surviving Roman publication to do so.

Reference has already been made to Diruta's publications while organist; these include psalm-settings for three to five voices, progressive concertato masses, small-scale motets, and a set of music for large forces for feasts of Augustinian saints. Much of his music could only have been sung by a choir of considerable ability, and this provides evidence of the quality of the musicians at S. Agostino. His Sacrae modulationes.....opus decimum (1630), for instance, contains music with independent instrumental parts for Augustinian saints: Factus ergo praesbyter à 8, for St. Augustine, is scored for four basses, two violins and two cornetts, while in Gaudeamus omnes à 7 for St. Nicholas there are sinfonie for two violins and theorbo.

Da Cavi's collections of 1641 and 1642 include settings of the basic liturgical texts: the Mass, Sunday Vespers, and the Litany of Our Lady. Though not on a large scale (they are for four and five voices respectively) da Cavi makes good use of the forces at his command. The publication of 1642 confirms his connection with S. Agostino, since the dedicatee is Cardinal Ruggio, titular of the church.

Unlike the other churches with which we are dealing, the music here was provided by the community. Nevertheless, S. Agostino was indubitably capable of maintaining a good standard of performance, and some highly regarded figures were responsible for the music. The nature of the cappella and the consequent lack of documents means that it is impossible to find out a great deal about the situation. It is certain, however, that an impressive display was mounted, especially on feasts peculiar to the Augustinian order.

NOTES

1. Petrocchi, 186; his list contains statistics for every Roman parish taken from a census of 1673.
2. See, for instance, the lists of outside musicians at S.Luigi on August 25, 1608, and August 25, 1633; these will be reproduced in Lionnet's forthcoming article about the archives, and that from 1608 is included below, 296.
3. Solerti, 175.
4. Such a payment dates from September, 1608: Archives of S. Agostino (hereafter ASA), Libro 118, Entrata e uscita della sagrestia (1604-24), f. 36: jte si dato a frati Ambrosi da Benevento professo p servire il Coro e le messe p tre mesi e mezzo cioe mezzo giugno luglio Agosto e 7bre a tre guili il mese 1 - 5
5. In December 1610 two putti were paid sixty baiocchi for singing soprano for a few days: ASA, Libro 118, Entrata e uscita (1604-24), December 1, 1610, f. 58: Per doi putti ch anno servita alcuni giorni la nostra Chiesa in cātare il Soprano giuli sei ch fu per or.ne del m.to R.do pre Prior - 60. Payments to one anonymous soprano occur regularly (see ASA, Libro 118, Entrata e uscita (1604-24), November 1606, f. 21v; December 1606, f. 22; April 1607, f. 23 and f. 23v; November 1607, f. 27v; March 1608, f. 29v; May 1609, f. 43; November 1609, f. 48; April 1610, f. 51 and ASA, Libro 120, Entrata e uscita della sagrestia (1624-36) August 1624, f. 2; September 1624, f. 3; October 1624, f. 4v; November 1624, f. 6; January 1625, f. 8; February 1625, f. 9; March 1625, f. 10; May 1625, f. 11v; June 1625, f. 13; July 1625, f. 13v; August 1625, f. 14; September 1625, f. 14v; October 1625, f. 15).
6. See ASA, Libro 118, Entrata e uscita (1604-24), May 1609, f. 43: jtē p ordine del detto Pre Priore se dato ad un altro Soprano ch aiutato la quadragesima la sera p la cōpieta e lettanie gli se dato presente il pre sotto Priore scudi doi e ½ dieci 2 - 10
7. Ibid., April 21, 1614, f. 85v: A di 21 di Aprile dato al Pre Respōdente il pre Bacc^{te} Girolimo perugo scudi cinque ch anno servito p la musica p tutta la quadragesima e feste di pasqua ch fu per or.ne del m.to R.do pre Priore 5 -
8. Ibid., January 1607, f. 22v: jtē. ho dato alla madre del putto ch Canta il soprano per il mese di Gen.ro et Febraro 2.0.0
9. See, for example, *ibid.*, April 1, 1610, f. 51: A di 7 del sopra detto p ordine del pre Prior fu cōpro da Benedetto....una casacha et un par di calzoni, maniche, e calzetti di mezza lana ch servi p Angelo p far il soprano in Chiesa nostra....li vestimenti costorno 28 giuli e mezzo et un par di scarpe giuli quattro in fatto scudi tre e ½ 25 3 - 25

10. See references to ASA, Libro 120 in note 5.
11. ASA, Libro 21, Liber canorum....e varie notizie circa la nostra chiesa verso il 1630, f. 163.
12. ASA, Libro 86, Ricevute dal 1606 al 1614, April 10, 1607, f. 11.
13. The last payment to Tocchi is found in ASA, Libro 86, Ricevute (1606-14), January 10, 1609, f. 39v.
14. Liber primus sacrarum modulationum (Rome, 1609).
15. See ASA, Libro 86, Ricevute (1606-14), June 1, 1608, f. 26: e più ho riceuto del sopra detto [procuratore] scudi sei quali sono p tãti libri di cãtare p servitio del Coro cõsignati al P. M^o di Cappella fra Girolamo d'Arezzo 6 - . Coradini, 253, notes that Bartei was elected sottopriore on the 14th of that month, and that he was in charge of the music at Pentecost for the Capitolo Generale.
16. In September 1610 he received six scudi (four months' salary) for 'servitio del organo' (see ASA, Libro 86, Ricevute (1606-14), September 12, 1610, f. 62).
17. He received payment from 1610 onwards (see ASA, Libro 86, Ricevute (1606-14), July 10, 1611, f. 78; April 18, 1612, f. 93; January 14, 1613, f. 120; May 20, 1613, f. 127v; December 3, 1613, f. 140 and Libro 88, Ricevute dal 1614 al 1622, August 12, 1614, f. 4v; November 30, 1614, f. 13; June 24, 1615, f. 29; May 16, 1617, f. 72; September 19, 1617, f. 83; May 29, 1618, f. 92; November 11, 1618, f. 99v; April 30, 1619, f. 106v; and Libro 90, Riceute 1622 sino 1635, August 27, 1623, f. 20v; March 31, 1624, f. 31v; January 26, 1628, f. 81). His last recorded payment dates from November 29, 1628 (see ASA, Libro 90, Riceute (1622-35), f. 87v).
18. Arch. Segr. Vat., Arm. VII.111, f. 344v.
19. Diruta 1630a, 1630b, 1630e, 1631a, 1631b.
20. For instance, when Sempliciano da Feronò signed for his salary on May 31, 1635 (see ASA, Libro 91, Riceute dal 1635 al 1638, f. 12v: Io Fra sempliciano da Feronò ho ricevuto.....scuti diciotto m^{ta} sono il salario dell Off^o di Org^a & M^o di Capp^a p un anno maturato l'ultimo di Mag^o in fede 18 -).
21. See ASA, Libro 86, Ricevute (1606-14), October 30, 1611, f. 84v.
22. ASA, Libro 4, Decreti capitolari (1609-27), f. 23v: Die vigesima quarta Januarij 1612. Præs decreverunt restaurare Organum per manus Mri Armonij de Cervetro pro precio scutor quinquaginta, cui etiam dederunt curam mantenendi, tergendij, et allocandi d^{um} Organum pro Salario scutorum novem singulo Anno, de sex mensibus in sex mensis.
23. ASA, Libro 86, Ricevute (1606-14), September 9, 1612, f. 112v.

24. Ibid., March 17, 1613, f. 123v.
25. Maccione was paid on the following occasions: ASA, Libro 86, Ricevute (1606-14), September 15, 1613, f. 135; March 22, 1614, f. 145 and Libro 88, Ricevute (1614-22), March 29, 1615, f. 22; October 4, 1615, f. 34; April 6, 1616, f. 45v; August 26, 1616, f. 52; April 3, 1617, f. 69v; October 1, 1617, f. 81. The final reference relates to the restoration of the instrument.
26. ASA, Libro 90, Riceute (1622-35), September 9, 1634, f. 172.
27. J.Lionnet has found his name in the archives of S.Luigi.
28. He was paid on the following occasions: ASA, Libro 90, Riceute (1622-35), October 9, 1634, f. 174; Libro 91, Riceute (1635-38), October 3, 1635, f. 15v; September 15, 1636, f. 32; October 6, 1637, f. 43 and Libro 92, Ricevute dal 1638 al 1653, September 13, 1638, f. 2v; September 11, 1639, f. 12; August 18, 1640, f. 25; September 1, 1641, f. 34; August 31, 1642, f. 39v; August 29, 1643, f. 45; September 4, 1644, f. 51; September 8, 1645, f. 63.
29. ASA, Libro 5, Decreti capitolari (1630-47), f. 2. Unfortunately the books for 1628 and 1629 are not extant; these might have helped establish a more exact date for his arrival.
30. Ibid., f. 14v contains his last signature, dated August 9, 1633.
31. ASA, Libro 90, Riceute (1622-35), May 5, 1634, f. 165: Ho ricevuto Io Frat Agostino Diruta Perugino scudi quarantadue quali sono p servitio da me fatto nella chiesa p organista per Anni due e mesi quattro finito il servitio il mese d'Aprile prossimo passato, essendo stato sodisfatto del servitio passato come appare dico scudi 42 -
32. RISM: D 3119-26
33. See note 20.
34. ASA, Libro 91, Riceute (1635-38), f. 14.
35. ASA, Libro 92, Ricevute (1638-53), f. 34: Io f Filippo da Cavi Organista di S.Agostino di Roma ho ricevuto.....scudi trenta quali sono p la solita musica p la festa del p. S. Agostino, et in fede sc. 30 -
36. Vespertina psalmodia, quinque vocibus.....liber primus, opus secundum (Rome, 1641) and Psalmi vespertini quatuor integris vocibus.....liber II, opus tertium (Rome, 1642)
37. ASA, Libro 5, Decreti capitolari (1630-47), ff. 79, 79v, 80, 80v, 81, 81v.
38. Davidicae modulationes, et litaniae B. Virginis.....Opus XVIII (Rome, 1646) and Hymni pro vesperis.....opus XIX (Rome, 1646).

39. Cardinal Gregorio de Montelparo was translated to S.Maria in Trastevere on May 28, 1608. His successor Fabrizio Veralli was not installed until December 10. See Hierarchia iii, 67 and iv, 40, 46.
40. ASA, Libro 4, Decreti capitolari (1609-27), August 3, 1609, f. 5: Spiritus S.^{ti} nomine invocato.....et Pribus Capitulis post prandium in refectorio congregatis Adm. Rev.d Pater Prior Mag.r Hieronimus Senensis exposuit semper celebrem in nostra Ecclesia fuisse habitam musicam pro solemnitate S.P.N. Augustini subsidio ab Ill.mo Card.li Montelparo titularis nre Ecclae, facto, quo iam ad alteriorem locum assumpto, et tali solito subsidio deficiente proposuit idem P. Prior num Patres velint more solito musicam haberi sumptibus ipsius Conventus, quod omnes decentissimum, ad Or.nis honorem, et S.P.N. Augustini festi celebrationem maxime conveniens iudicarunt, proinde a Conventu debere fieri expensas, si alicae non fuerint eleemosinae dixerunt.....
41. ASA, Libro 4, Decreti capitolari (1609-27), August 7, 1610, f. 18:decreverunt Dⁱ Pris Augustⁿⁱ festu celebrandum esse omni solemnitate in cantu musico.....
42. See ASA, Libro 118, Entrata (1604-24), September 1606, f. 21; October 1607, f. 27.
43. Missae octonis vocibus, liber primus (Rome, 1608)
44. See ASA, Libro 88, Ricevute (1614-22), September 6, 1614, f. 5v: Io Annibale Orgas M^o di Capp^{la} di S.Appollinare ho ricevuto dal Rj P. f: Gioseppe della Suipa proc^{te} di S.Agostino scudi trenta di moneta per la musica della festa di S.Agostino 30 - . On Orgas's activities at the German College see Culley, A study, 127-28.
45. ASA, Libro 118, Entrata e uscita (1606-24), August 1620, f. 132: jte si e dato a cinque.....che alzissono li manici il giorno della vigilia e festa del pre S^{to} Agostino un'scudo fano cinque organi..... 1 -
46. Ibid., November 1, 1614, f. 9lv.
47. ASA, Libro 120, Entrata e uscita (1624-36), April 1628, f. 38v.
48. See note 15.
49. ASA, Libro 121, Entrata e uscita della sagrestia (1636-54), June 1636 (written 1637 in error), f. 1.
50. It is the earliest Roman publication of polychoral masses to fall in our period; the only precedents are the eight-part masses of Palestrina, Victoria and Giovanelli.

THE PANTHEON

The Pantheon is one of the most historically important buildings in Rome and the only edifice from the Imperial city to survive structurally intact. Originally erected as a temple to all the gods, it was given to Pope Boniface IV by the Byzantine Emperor Phocas in 608. After the bodies of many martyrs from the catacombs had been transported there, the building was consecrated as a place of Christian worship in honour of Our Lady and all the Martyrs - hence its other name, S.Maria ad Martyres. A decree was made that the Pope should say Mass there on the Kalend of November and that this day should be a festival to honour the Virgin and all saints. It was the first church to commemorate the entire company of Martyrs and appears also to have been the first pagan temple to be consecrated to the new religion. During the fifteenth century, when the popes were in Avignon and there were feuds between the noble Roman families, it was converted into a fortress. However, its fortunes changed in 1442 when Pope Eugene IV helped restore the building to a decent place of worship by demolishing shops and hovels which had been constructed in the entrance. Its remarkable circular structure provided a direct model for one of the earliest examples of Renaissance architecture, Brunelleschi's famous cupola for S.Maria del Fiore in Florence; and about a century later the great Renaissance artist Raphael was interred there in accordance with his wishes.¹

Despite origins in antiquity, its historical position and architectural importance, it was not a wealthy church, and accordingly musical activity was rather restricted. Many other churches, often of less historical importance, achieved musical recognition through the patronage they enjoyed on account of their status: the Cappella

Sistina and Cappella Giulia were well endowed because of their pontifical associations; other cappelle, such as those of S.Maria in Trastevere and S.Lorenzo in Damaso received financial support from funds administered by their titular cardinals, and mother churches of religious orders and the national churches were well maintained by the bodies they represented. As an average parish church the Pantheon had no corresponding financial security and derived its income from donations and rents. Here, as in many churches at the time, polyphonic music was something reserved for the greater feasts of the church's year.

Studies in many disciplines, including musicology, have tended to lay stress on important people and institutions. In many cases this has obscured the general situation in a particular area or period. My intention in writing on this church is to show what was happening away from the major basilicas and those institutions with special patronage. The archives of the Pantheon, housed in the Vatican Library,² give a picture which is closer to the reality of the average Roman parish church than that presented by the documents of larger institutions which have dominated the interest of scholars.

The music for normal services in the Pantheon seems to have been provided by two cappellani³ who are mentioned regularly in the pay-lists of the Libri della sagrestia.⁴ Their specific duties are not detailed in the archives since they were paid a monthly salary of three scudi, rather than being remunerated for each task they performed. We do, however, have a useful reference to their singing at Pentecost in 1608:⁵

To the deacon and subdeacon for the day of Pentecost - 20
 To the two cappellani on the same day for singing the Mass and
 Vespers - 30



This state of affairs is confirmed by the report of the apostolic visitation of the church ordered by Urban VIII in August 1625 (except that by then three cappellani were employed):⁶

..... the canonical hours are recited on greater Sundays and during the octaves of Corpus Christi and All Saints. In the same way, Mass is sung on Sundays and feasts of the Most Blessed Virgin as well as those prescribed; on other days Mass is, in fact, celebrated in a simple manner. There is a sacristan and three cappellani, employed according to the wishes of the chapter, who celebrate Mass daily and serve in choir; these receive three scudi a month from the chapter.

Singing was among the regular duties of a cappellano in other institutions too; the Constitutiones of S.Girolamo della Carità, published in Rome in 1603, contain a liturgical prescription to this effect:⁷

Each week one of the afore-mentioned cappellani, with the exception of the sacristan, should be cantor beginning with the most senior. On days of special solemnity there should be two cantors, that is, the one of the present week and he who is to follow in the coming week; but when he is alone, no-one else shall enter with the intonation, unless the cantor for that week is not able to perform that office decently without help.

On average eight sung Masses were held in the Pantheon each month and on each occasion twenty baiocchi were paid to unnamed recipients.⁸ Perhaps these amounts were paid to the cappellani for singing at the Mass, but it is equally possible that they were intended for the sacristan or indeed the celebrant.

Apart from the cappellani the only regular source of music at the Pantheon seems to have been a confraternity. On March 17, 1624 (two days before the feast of their patron, St. Joseph) they left their musicians' platforms in inconvenient places and were instructed by the chapter to remove them. It seems likely that they had been preparing the church for the forthcoming festival which they intended to celebrate with music for more than one choir:⁹

And it was decreed that those of the Compagnia di S. Giuseppe should remove the two musicians' platforms which they have leant on the altar of the Crucifix and on the baptistry, and that they arrange them decently.

The Compagnia referred to is clearly the Arciconfraternita di S. Giuseppe di Terra Santa della Pontificia Accademia dei Virtuosi, which was composed of artists, sculptors and architects, and founded in 1542 under the direction of Desiderio d'Adjutorio, a canon at the church.¹⁰ Most activities of such a confraternity would probably have fallen within the sphere of extra-liturgical popular devotion rather than of the liturgy: processions and the Forty Hours' Devotion would have served as expressions of piety.¹¹

There appears to have been no musical performance during the regular liturgical functions of the church except by two cappellani who probably contributed in a less than expert manner. No payments to organists are recorded on a permanent basis, and it is therefore likely that the repertory did not extend beyond plainsong, since an organ or at least some continuo instrument was essential to the performance of small-scale motets. The Pantheon does not even appear to have had a fixed organ since on a number of occasions payments were made for transporting one to the church, for example, the following from August 1614:¹²

to the child who played the organ and for the transport of the said organ at the time of the Forty Hours' Devotion, one scudo and twenty baiocchi 1 - 20

It is a clear indication of the place of music in lesser churches that the trouble was taken to fetch an organ for the Forty Hours' Devotion since, apart from patronal festivals (in this case All Saints), it was generally extra-liturgical events which aroused the most fervour and attracted the greatest expenditure.

On the feast of All Saints considerable amounts of money were commonly spent on the music because of its historic link with the Pantheon; as stated earlier, it was on account of the dedication of the church that Boniface IV instituted the festival. In 1608, on the occasion of the millennial celebrations of the church's dedication, singers from St. Peter's, presumably members of the Cappella Giulia, provided the music.¹³ On All Souls Day in the same year a payment was made for the provision of music on a more modest scale:¹⁴

To maestro Taddeo, for the music on the day following All Saints
1 - 30

After the visit of the musicians from St. Peter's in 1608 no further mention of music for All Saints occurs in the archives until 1613, when musicians of a neighbouring large institution, S. Luigi dei Francesi, took part in the ceremonies:¹⁵

To the musicians from S. Luigi on the feast of All Saints, eight scudi
8 -

Employment of singers from one of the major establishments was an accepted means of providing music in less musically active churches. In the early seicento, for example, while maintaining an organist in regular employment, the English College hired a maestro to organize music on Trinity Sunday and on the feast of St. Thomas of Canterbury, the full-time position of maestro having been suspended in 1588 due to lack of funds.¹⁶ It was not only the poorer churches which failed to maintain a cappella: the chapter of the German church, S. Maria dell'Anima, one of the most important national churches, discussed the matter of forming a cappella along the lines of that of S. Luigi dei Francesi in 1584, but it appears that one was not formed until much later.¹⁷ In that year the cappella from S. Lorenzo in

Damaso was hired by the Germans to sing on Corpus Christi.¹⁸ The documents of the apostolic visitation of 1625 mention that in S.Maria dell'Anima an organist was employed on Sundays and festivals, but they make no reference to any cappella.¹⁹ Some churches did not even have their own organist: for instance, when Giovanni Bicilli was appointed to the Chiesa Nuova in December 1648 he was also required to play the organ at S.Onofrio and S.Eustachio.²⁰

From 1618 Corpus Christi ranked alongside All Saints in expenditure on music in the Pantheon; in that year musicians were paid ten scudi for participating in the procession.²¹ The proceedings of a chapter meeting in 1625 indicate the importance attached to the provision of music for the octave of Corpus Christi: the members of the chapter met two days after the feast to discuss arrangements for the procession on the following Wednesday - clearly there was no outside patronage here:²²

May 31

The chapter being assembled [.....] they decided that on the following Wednesday in the octave of Corpus Christi the annual procession of the Most Holy Sacrament should take place with a retinue and a suitable attendance of confraternities and religious. And the music and wax was paid for by everyone except by the two who were absent.

It was in connection with Corpus Christi in 1623 that the name of Pietro Paolo Sabbatini occurs for the first time in the Pantheon archives, marking the beginning of an association which was to continue right into the 1640s. Sabbatini's surviving sacred compositions are collected in a volume of eight-part psalm-settings, Psalmi, Magnificat, cum quatuor antiphonis ad vespervas, cum lettanijs B.Virginis, octonis vocibus.....liber primus, opus duodecimum of 1630.²³ One can imagine that an important festal Vespers, such as Sabbatini might well have been involved in at the Pantheon, would have been well served by psalms such as these. The first time he was hired by the Pantheon Sabbatini

signed as follows, confirming that it was customary to hold the Corpus Christi procession on the Wednesday following the feast:²⁴

I Pietro Paolo Sabbatini have received from [.....] ten scudi for the procession which took place in the Rotonda on the Wednesday of Corpus Christi, and in testimony to the truth [of this] I have written this with my own hand.....

In the following year, 1624, Sabbatini received payment for the music on All Saints Day,²⁵ and in 1627 for the stational day on Friday in Easter Week;²⁶ by this time he must have directed some musicians who went to sing at such events. By October 1627 he is known to have been maestro at the Arciconfraternita dell'Orazione e Morte,²⁷ the appointment mentioned on the title-page of his publication of the following year.²⁸ Musicians attached to confraternities may well have taken part in events in various churches; in any case, a choir under Sabbatini's direction visited the Pantheon with some regularity. The archives of S.Maria in Cosmedin record that in 1636 musicians under Sabbatini's direction performed there too; this church was another which maintained no regular cappella.²⁹ The Arciconfraternita dell'Orazione e Morte, with which Sabbatini was connected, had a good musical reputation and in 1640 Pietro della Valle spoke of it in glowing terms.³⁰

The oratori are to me a unique delight; when that 'alla Morte' sang one never missed one performance; in the past year, however, it has not sung, but I go nonetheless to the office every evening during all the octaves, simply for the atmosphere of devotion which has been built up in previous years through good music.

Archives from the 1630s contain little new information. This decade was a trying time for the church, since in 1632 Urban VIII (Maffeo Barberini) removed the bronze supports from the roof; these were then melted down and turned into Bernini's famous baldacchino for St.Peter's. This gave rise to the well-known saying, 'Quod non

fecerunt Barberi, fecerunt Barberini' (What the Barbarians did not do, the Barberini did.). Nevertheless, regular expenditure continued on the feast of All Saints, but the recipients of most of the sums remain anonymous. In 1638 payments was made to a compagnia whose name is unfortunately illegible;³¹ and in the subsequent year the music must have been of a particularly grand nature, since the 'Compagnia di tutti li santi' was paid the rather large sum of twenty scudi.³² The kind of music purchased at this time confirms the idea that performance was restricted to Gregorian chant except when outsiders were brought in on festivals. In March 1635 a set of liturgical books containing the Passion for use during Holy Week was acquired,³³ and in 1637 a new Antiphonale.³⁴ Both of these volumes contain chant of the most basic nature constituting an indispensable part of the liturgy.

One more cheerful point in the musical life of the decade is represented in the 'oratory for the singing of offices' mentioned by Totti in his guidebook Ritratto di Roma moderna, published there in 1638.³⁵ This oratory was almost certainly that of the previously mentioned confraternity of S.Giuseppe which was housed in a building adjoining the church.³⁶ It was surely the same oratory which della Valle had in mind when he wrote in his Discorso of 1640:³⁷

I have willingly attended S.Girolamo, the Chiesa Nuova and the Rotonda Rotonda during all the octaves of saint's days on account of the good music that one hears every evening.

S.Girolamo della Carità and the Chiesa Nuova were associated with two of the leading oratories. It is therefore in keeping with the sense of the passage to hold that the music which della Valle heard at the Pantheon was extra-liturgical and took place in the oratory associated

with the church rather than in the church itself.

Sabbatini's name reappears in the archives of the church in 1641, when he was paid for providing music in June,³⁸ probably for the Corpus Christi procession, and for All Saints in November.³⁹ In the following year he received a gift for organizing the music for the Forty Hours' in July.⁴⁰ Sabbatini became maestro of S. Luigi dei Francesi in February 1629,⁴¹ but appears to have maintained some connection with the Arciconfraternita dell'Orazione e Morte since he was present at their chapter meeting on November 11 of that year.⁴² This, however, seems to be the last mention of his name in the archives of the confraternity, and Antonio Cecchini was appointed as maestro in September 1630.⁴³ After leaving S. Luigi in June 1631 Sabbatini made a living by teaching,⁴⁴ supplementing this by organizing musicians for events such as those at the Pantheon. If, in fact, he did take up an appointment at another church no evidence of this has yet come to light.

The archives of the Pantheon provide an insight into the functioning of a less musically active church and into the life of Roman confraternities. It is important to realize that this church represents the norm rather than the others we have discussed. There are a large number of similar archives of minor churches which have yet to be explored and whose documents could provide us with a corrective by lessening our reliance on studies of unrepresentative large institutions. Contrary to a commonly held notion, not all churches were bustling with regular musical activity, at least not the minor ones, where the situation was probably not so far removed (for) the present state of affairs. The lesser churches in the seicento tended to concentrate extravagance and outward display on extra-liturgical events, such as the Corpus Christi procession, and on

special feasts such as All Saints (in the case of the Pantheon) and the stationary day, when the church would have been visited by all the 'best' people. The general standard of the music was low, and one is tempted - probably rightly - to imagine that the sporadic bursts of expenditure on occasions when the most people would hear the music were simply a means of creating an outward impression (fare la bella figura) in Roman ecclesiastical society.

NOTES

1. General information on the history of the church is available in Brentano, 77-78; Young, 343-44; Gregorovius, i, 106-13; Golzio and Zander, 97; Bartocetti.
2. Contained in the Fondo Pantheon (hereafter FP), typewritten catalogue by Morello.
3. The problems of ascertaining the duties of a cappellano are discussed in a forthcoming article on S.Luigi by J.Lionnet. He concludes that in this period little difference existed between a cantore and a cappellano in church archives. Neither name seems to have implied any particular vocal skills.
4. These are 'cash books' which record the receipts and expenditure of the sacristy.
5. FP, I:30a, Entrata e uscita, May 1608, f. 18v: Al diacono et subdiacono nel giorno delle Pentecoste..... - 20
A doi Cappellani il medesimo giorno per cantare la messa et Vesparo - 30
6. Acta Sacrae Visitationes Apostolicae S.D.N. Urbani VIII. Pars Pa Continet Ecclesias Patriarchales Collegiatas & Parochiales tam Seculares, quam Regulares., Arch. Segr. Vat., Arm. VII .111, f. 101v: [.....] recitantur tantum horae Canonicae in hebdomada maiori, & per Octavas Corporis Christi, et omnium Sanctorum. Item Missa cantatur diebus Dominicis, & in festivitibus B.me Virginis et adest de praecepto, reliquis vero diebus celebrantur missae simpliciter. Adest Sacrista cum tribus Cappellanis ad nutum Capituli amovilibus, qui missas quotidie celebrant, et choro inserviunt, quibus singulis soluntur a Capitulo scuta tria quolibet mense.
[Ac sunt etiam duo Clerici missis, et Choro inservientes, quibus ab eodem Capitulo soluntur scuta duo per quolibet singulo mense.]
7. From the section 'Ordinationes servandas inter Sacerdotes circa Divinum cultum, & eorum cohabitationem' in Constitutiones:

Qualibet hebdomada unus ex praedictis Cappellanis sit Cantor, & incipiatur ab antiquiore excepto Sacrista. In diebus verò solemnitatum duo sint Cantores, videlicet praesens hebdomadarius, & ille qui sequitur in hebdomada futura, sed quando solus est, nullus alius in intonando se intromittat, si ipse hebdomadarius hoc officium praestare ritè per se potest.

8. For the record of Masses in May 1613 see FP, I:30c, Entrata e uscita, f. 18: Per dieci messe cantate scudi doi [.....] cantate all p^o 5 12 13 16 17 19 26 27 e 28 2 -
9. FP, I:8, Decreti Capitolari, March 17, 1624, f. 7: Et fu decreto che li SS.ⁿⁱ della Compagnia di S.Gioseppe levassero li due Palchi della Musica che hanno appoggiato sù l'altare del Crocifisso et su'l Batistero; et si collocassero decentemente.
10. A brief history of this confraternity is given in Martini, 184.
11. For information on the popularity of the Forty Hours' Devotion see Weil.
12. FP, I:30c, Entrata e uscita, f. 60: à quello putto che sono l'organo e per la portatura di d^o organo, nel tempo dell'orone delle 40 hora scudi uno, baicchi 20 1 - 20. Four porters were paid for carrying an organ to S.Maria in Cosmedin on April 6, 1632; it was to be used during the Forty Hours' Devotion (see Archives of S.Maria in Cosmedin, Libro V-6, Entrata, et Uscita delle Collegiata Chiesa di S.a Maria in Cosmedin, àis Scuola Greca. Dal Anno 1618 cominciando; e finendo per tutto 1632, f. 145).
13. FP, I:30a, Entrata e uscita, f. 41v: Per la musica della festa de tutti i S.^{ti} pag.^{ti} a quelli di S. Pietro s.^{di} nove 9 -
14. Ibid., f. 41v: A m Taddeo, per la musica del giorno seguente a tutti i S.^{ti} 1 - 30
15. FP, I:30b, f. 36: Alli musici di S. Louigi p la festa di tutti i santi dato scudi otto 8 -
16. See Casimiri, 'Disciplina musicae', xx (1942), 12-15, and Culley, 'Musical activity', 18-20.
17. See Schmidlin, 416.
18. See Schmidlin, 416.
19. See Schmidlin, 425.
20. Archives of S.Maria in Vallicella, C.I.7, Libro Sesto De Decreti della Congregat.^e dell'Oratorio di Roma dall'anno 1635 sino all'anno 1651, 310 is the record of his appointment: con obbligo di servire la Chiesa alle Messe, et alli Vespri, et ogni giorno il solito, per sonare l'organo &c. doppo i sermoni a S.Onofrio, et S.Eustachio, servir all'oratorio, cioè de giorni festivi, con tutto quello che bisognono.
21. FP, I:31c, Entrata e uscita, July 1618, f. 26v: Per la processione del Corpus D.ⁿⁱ alla musica p supplementi delli dieci scudi 2 -

22. FP, I:8, Decreti Capitolari, May 31, 1625, f. 14: Congregati Capitola [.....] determinissono che Mercoledì pross.o futuro infra octava Corporis Christi si face la Processione di ogni anno del Santissim.o Sacram.o con seguito, et frequentia di Compagnie et Religiose conveniente. Et la musica et cera fu pagati da tutti fuori che dalli due assenti.
23. See 'Sabbatini, Pietro Paolo', New Grove.
24. FP, III:2, Filza di Giustificazioni 1536-1657, June 22, 1623, unfoliated: Io Pietro Paolo Sabatino ho ricevuto dal [.....] scudi dieci di moneta quali sono p la processione fatta nella ritonda il mercoledì del Corpus Domini, et in fede della verita o fatto la p^{te} di mia propria mano.....
25. Ibid., November 2, 1624: Io Pietro Paolo Sabatino ho ricevuto scudi dieci [.....] p la musica fatta in d^a Chiesa il giorno di tutti i Santi, et in fede della verita ò fatto la presente di mia Propria mano questo di 2 9brē 1624.
26. FP, I:33a, Entrata e uscita, April 1627, f. 14: Musica per il giorno della statione fatta dal Sr P. Paulo 8 -
27. Archives of the Arciconfraternita dell'Orazione e Morte (hereafter AAOM), Libro 421, Reg^o de Mandati Della [.....] Compag^a Della Morte16.....] 1647, October 5, 1627, f. 5: e adi 5 d^o Al sig^{re} Pietro Paolo Sabbatini sc uno p 80 m^{ta} pagli sino sotto li 23,6 pag^o p una messa Cantata in levar l'oratione di ord^{ne} d ss^{ri} Guardⁿⁱ 1 - 80
28. Il sesto [libro] di Pietro Paolo Sabatini.....Opera ottava (Bracciano, 1628).
29. Archives of S.Maria in Cosmedin, Libro V-7, Entrata e uscita dal 1633 al 1657, January 15, 1636, f. 34: Alli 15 detto, devono dare giulij sei dati al Sig.r Pietro paolo Sabbatini mastro di Musica di Stefano Cierico de N^{ra} Chiesa, pagato d'ordine del Cap^{ilo} - 60. He was also paid on March 1 (see f. 34v), and in April (see f. 35).
30. Original text in Solerti, 176.
31. FP, I:36b, Entrata e uscita, November 1638, f. 36: Alli ufficiali della compagnia del [.....] p la festa delli santo dato 12 - . This could be the Compagnia dell Santissimo Sacramento, but the writing is rather unclear.
32. FP, I:36c, Entrata e uscita, November 1639, f. 39v: Alla Compagnia di tutti li santi p far la festa scudi venti 20 -
33. FP, I:35b, Entrata e uscita, March 1635, f. 11v: Per tre libri da cantar il Passio - 70
34. FP, I:36a, Entrata e uscita, without exact date, f. 42: Un' Antifonario nuovo moderno p il Choro scudi sei et 30 6.30
35. See Smither, A History, i, 159-60.

36. I have attempted to find information about this confraternity but its archives are not open to scholars.
37. Original text in Solerti, 176.
38. FP, I:37b, Entrata e uscita, f. 20v: A S.r P. Paolo Sabbattini p la musica della d.a process.e solenne scudi otto 8 -
39. Ibid., f. 38: Al S.r P. Paulo Sabattino p la musica di d.a festa scudi dieci 10 -
40. FP, I:37c, Entrata e uscita, f. 21v: Regalo a S.r Sabattino p la musica fatta da esso p le 40 hore 2 -
41. I am indebted to J.Lionnet for this information.
42. AAOM, Libro 112, Libro Delli Decreti Dal 6 Aprile 1607 al 19 Marzo 1632, f. 194.
43. Ibid., September 15, 1630, f. 203v: fu' proposto e risoluto si pigliare p mastro di Capp^a della n^{ra} Archiconf^{ta} R. Antonio Cecchino con dar li il solito.
44. The title-page of his Toni Ecclesiastici colle Sue Intonationi, all'uso Romano (Rome, 1650), describes him as 'Professore della Musica'; it is a work of a didactic nature giving information on the plainsong tones, playing from a figured bass and reading in all the clefs.

CONCLUSION OF ARCHIVAL SECTION

From this selection of five churches, which seem at least initially to have little in common, some general points emerge about musical activity in Rome.

The churches seem to share the method of capitular government; even relatively minor matters, such as the appointment of new singers, were the subject of a members' ballot. The only church where this did not become evident is the Gesù, where the capitular documents (if in fact there were any) are not extant. On one occasion at S.Maria Rotonda the members of the chapter undertook to finance the music for Corpus Christi themselves - a far cry from the lavish support which other churches received from their titular cardinals, or from the accumulated wealth of their order.

There was a good deal of casual work which church musicians could undertake to supplement a regular income from one of the churches. Examples have been cited of cappelle and individual musicians being hired on festivals, and the rise of the large-scale multiple-choir style must have created many openings for musicians looking for some extra employment. It is notable that on great feasts an impressive display was mounted in many churches whatever the usual standard of the music. Such a concentration on outward spectacle, whether for patronal festivals, Corpus Christi processions, or other similar occasions was widespread, and the standard of music on these days was far higher than on normal Sundays.

Clearly archives are not good sources of information on repertory, but they do tell us something about performance practice; the size of cappelle seems to have been about eight musicians, if we take S.Maria in Trastevere and S.Lorenzo in Damaso as the norm. There is

considerable evidence of instrumental participation, a fact which casts doubt on traditional ideas about Roman church music being unaccompanied and conservative. As we shall see this notion is far from the truth.

CHAPTER IVTHE MASSINTRODUCTION

In comparison with the number of motets, far fewer masses were published during the period, and these by a relative handful of composers; whereas about fifty Roman musicians published motet collections, less than twenty produced masses.¹ A distinctive feature of the early 17th-century Roman mass is the retention of an archaic polyphonic idiom: many masses are stylistically not so far removed from the works of Palestrina and his generation. While in the majority of Roman motets the few-voiced texture was adopted (with a bias in favour of two parts and basso continuo), in the masses the traditional scoring for four or five voices generally lingered on and less than half include organ parts. A considerable number of published motets are polychoral, whereas few of the masses are. Moreover, only five masses of the period can reasonably be termed concertato (four of these come from the same publication), a fact which stands in marked contrast with the popularity of that style for motet composition. Clearly composers approached the mass and the motet in two distinct ways. Such a divergence of styles is remarkable since both groups of pieces were designed for performance during the Church's liturgy.

To explain the reason for the retrospective style of the masses, it is helpful to consider the appointments held by contributors to the genre. For this purpose the repertory has been divided into four categories: prima prattica; transitional polyphonic;² concertato;³

and polychoral.

Table I shows publications of prima prattica masses, with the posts held by composers at the time of printing:

TABLE I

1609	Francesco Soriano	maestro, St.Peter's
1614	Giovanni Francesco Anerio	maestro, S.Maria dei Monti
1615	Arcangelo Crivelli	<u>musico</u> , Cappella Sistina
1619	Antonio Cifra	maestro, Holy House, Loreto
1621	Antonio Cifra	maestro, Holy House, Loreto
1627	Paolo Agostini	maestro, St.Peter's
1628	Stefano Landi	priest, St.Peter's; maestro, S. Maria dei Monti; links with Barberini family
1633	Marco Scacchi	maestro to the Polish King
—	Giovanni Francesco Anerio	Roman priest; dedicated to Paul V ⁴ .

A significant proportion of these composers had some connection with the Vatican⁵ (Soriano, Crivelli, Agostini and Landi), while Anerio's undated mass was dedicated to Paul V, showing that it too was written with the ecclesiastical establishment in mind. Cifra was in charge of the music at an important institution within the Roman orbit, which may well have attempted to emulate the severe traditions of the Papal Chapel,⁶ while Scacchi, who was responsible for music at the Polish court, had a large cappella at his disposal and was probably out of touch with the more progressive aspects of Roman musical life.⁷ This seems to suggest that the stile antico lingered on in works by composers whose activities centred on the Vatican, and that it was not the style employed in most churches where, if they could muster the forces, a freer type of polyphonic mass could well have been sung. To complete this picture it is necessary to analyse posts held by composers of other types of masses. The three tables (II, III, and IV) follow:

TABLE II: Transitional Polyphonic Mass

1631	Johannes Hieronymus Kapsberger	No church position, but links with Barberini family
1634	Giovanni Matteo Asola	No post given [posthumous]
1636	Tommaso da Sant'Agata	No church position; as a monk he could have been interested in music for small religious houses
1641	Filippo da Cavi	organist, S. Agostino
1642		

TABLE III: Concertato Mass

1621	Sigismondo Arsilli	maestro and organist, Frascati
1631	Agostino Diruta	maestro and organist, S. Agostino

TABLE IV: Polychoral Mass

1608	Girolamo Bartei	maestro, Augustinian General Chapter, Rome
1614	Giovanni Battista Stefanini	maestro, S. Maria della Consolazione
1622	Vincenzo Ugolini	maestro, St. Peter's
1627	Antonio Maria Abbatini	maestro, St. John Lateran
1631	Johannes Hieronymus Kapsberger	No church position, but links with Barberini family

It is evident that a different group of composers, mainly unattached to the Vatican, wrote masses in more modern styles. Three of these figures were attached to S. Agostino which, with its medium-sized choral establishment, was an ambience in which the newer style could flourish. While not hidebound by the more rigid traditions of the larger basilicas, this church had sufficient vocal resources to make the performance of even polychoral music possible.⁸ The absence of masses in a more developed, transitional polyphonic style is notable, and it suggests that when composers abandoned the stile antico they did it in favour of something completely new, rather than simply extending and updating the old style. The concertato mass only accounts for a

peripheral group of compositions, hardly figuring in the mainstream of the repertory. But polychoral music was accepted on account of the impression of grandeur it conveyed when performed with spatial positioning: such music captured the new Baroque spirit well.⁹ It is interesting to note that Palestrina's 1601 posthumous volume of polychoral masses¹⁰ was published in Venice rather than Rome, a fact which suggests that the Romans were rather reluctant to adopt the style for masses. For this reason it was presumably considered more commercially advantageous to publish in the North.¹¹ None of the composers included in Tables II-IV were connected with the Vatican except Ugolini, whose 1622 collection belongs to the tradition of grand ceremonial music performed at St. Peter's;¹² and even Ugolini had nothing to do with that sanctuary of conservatism, the Cappella Sistina.

The idea of two groups of composers furnishes a non-musical reason for the firm adherence to the prima prattica in mass composition. Linked with the papal establishment, and especially the Cappella Sistina, was a body of composers who strove, undoubtedly under ecclesiastical pressure, to maintain a certain archaic purity in setting the eucharistic texts. Their retention of an outmoded style was not so much a response to an artistic impulse, but rather a condition of employment imposed by the highest church authorities. Even shortly after his death the style of Palestrina was regarded as the ne plus ultra to which all church music should aspire,¹³ and it must have seemed only right that the Mass, the most sacred of all texts, should remain untainted by newer idioms.¹⁴

Outside the confines of the Vatican normal, unstunted musical development continued, in some measure parallel to that of the motet. But while there are instances of freer polyphonic writing with

continuo, of the concertato style, and of polychoral writing, scarcely any masses survive for the small forces which were so popular among writers of motets. There are only two extant masses for less than four voices (Asola, 1634 and Sant'Agata, 1636); even these display a retrospective idiom, and Sant'Agata's has little to do with the style of his own motets.¹⁵ Other factors had some bearing upon the almost total lack of small-scale masses. One might attribute the paucity of such compositions simply to a concern for dignity: we have already seen that musicians associated with the Vatican were anxious to compose in a style that could neither be considered frivolous nor ephemeral. This is probably only a partial explanation. As Viadana remarked,¹⁶ the main reason for the introduction of the few-voiced motet was to help those small groups of singers who were incapable of performance on a larger scale. If a choir lacked the voices to perform a complicated polyphonic mass, it could resort to a well-known plainsong substitute; in the case of the motet there was no equivalent chant alternative. On feasts when simple chants would not have matched the dignity of the occasion, extra singers were hired by small churches to increase the scope of the choir (if there was one), and to obviate the need for small-scale mass settings. In the large basilicas there was a further practical reason for the relative absence of all small-scale music; the vastness of the building would cause any works for too few performers to be lost. Moreover, one of the main reasons for the adoption of reduced textures, the scarcity of musicians, would not have been a problem for most major basilicas.¹⁷

Two related questions still remain. Were the masses of Palestrina and his contemporaries so admired that any church capable of performing them would have been likely to do so, thereby excluding any newly-composed music? Does the popularity of late 16th-century masses,

indicated by their frequent occurrence in the Sistine codices, mean they were also performed in other Roman establishments? Surprisingly, evidence of publication points away from the idea of the continuing widespread acceptance of Palestrina's music in Rome: though he was honoured with thirty-odd posthumous publications, only three of these appeared in the city, the majority of the rest being printed in Venice.¹⁸ This seems to indicate that, at least in Rome, Palestrina's compositions were not generally performed except in those institutions which possessed manuscripts, like the Cappella Sistina. Admittedly, Venice was a larger centre of publishing than Rome, but nevertheless the high ratio (Venice:Rome, 7:1) appears strongly to suggest that Palestrina's music was only performed infrequently in Rome after his death.¹⁹ Anthologies are useful in confirming this view since they can be relied upon to provide samples of the most popular music. Fabio Costantini's Selectae cantiones of 1614 (RISM 1614³) is the only Roman sacred anthology to contain works by Palestrina.²⁰ This is the antithesis of the situation in northern Europe where printing presses, especially in Antwerp, were producing a considerable amount of his sacred music in collections.²¹ The clearest idea of how he was regarded is perhaps found in Costantini's anthology of 1620, published in Orvieto.²² This contains one item by Palestrina²³ and it describes him as 'Padre della Musica'; the implication is that the memory of Palestrina lingered on as an ideal to which one paid ignorant respect. Only in the Cappella Sistina does one find a different situation; about half of the codices apparently dating from the first half of the seicento contain music by Palestrina, indicating a continuing performance tradition.²⁴ Adami, writing in 1711,²⁵ mentioned many works of the composer which were still heard in the Cappella Sistina on festivals.

It can be argued that there was little interest in Palestrina and his contemporaries except in the Papal Chapel, where the musical style was on the whole unsusceptible to outside influence. This concurs with evidence derived from the table of posts held by composers of prima prattica masses. Rome developed much like the rest of Italy as a centre of mass composition, and while composers were not generally engulfed in a shadow cast by Palestrina, the Cappella Sistina - a case apart - was responsible for the retention of the stile antico. The majority of compositions in this style were produced by musicians connected with that Chapel, or, to a lesser extent, with its sister-institution, the Cappella Giulia.

THE STILE ANTICO MASS

Though this type of mass was basically limited to a definite group of composers, their works account for the largest part of the early 17th-century Roman mass repertory. The first publication to fall within the period, Francesco Soriano's Missarum liber primus of 1609, represents the most conservative traits of mass composition. In this volume dedicated to Paul V, Soriano, director of music at St. Peter's, acknowledged his debt to Palestrina by arranging the Missa Papae Marcelli for eight voices.²⁶ As the only eight-part item in the collection it holds an important place, and symbolizes Soriano's reverence for his illustrious mentor. The fact that Soriano added two voices to the six-part original indicates a trend towards polychoral writing, a medium in which Soriano further demonstrated an interest in his 1616 publication.²⁷ This Palestrina arrangement is no isolated expression of homage to the composer who inspired so much devotion in the succeeding generation: an eight-part adaptation of Palestrina's Missa Vestiva i colli by Ruggiero Giovanelli remains in manuscript,²⁸ and in 1619 a publication appeared which includes three Palestrina masses with continuo, one of which is G.F. Anerio's four-part version of Missa Papae Marcelli.²⁹ In this field at least, composers looked back to Palestrina to discern the roots of their own style, and it is interesting to note that 'tampering' with a composer's works so as to bring them into line with current styles was regarded as paying him a compliment - none of the present-day concern for fidelity to composers' intentions here!

Soriano's collection was produced (as might be expected) in choir-book format, without the increasingly popular basso continuo. It

shows his continuing reliance on constructional and canonic techniques: for example, the Missa super voces musicales à 6 is based on a hexachord pattern, which is heard almost uninterruptedly.³⁰ The work finds parallels in Palestrina's Missa Ut re mi fa sol la,³¹ a work certainly known to Soriano who employed a similar constructional method, one which is foreign to the greater part of 17th-century music. The CF generally remains distinct from the other voices, which are unaffected by its steady rise and fall. In Kyrie I the first canto rises in breves throughout, while the other parts are freely composed, except at one point where the tenor goes briefly into canon with the CF. Kyrie II is similarly constructed around an equal-note CF in longae in the alto, while in the Christe the hexachord is treated in a more relaxed manner in the two canto voices, using note-values similar to those of the other parts. Such construction is evident throughout the mass, which arrives at its contrapuntal tour de force in the Agnus Dei: here, in line with tradition, two extra voices are added. This movement contains a complex canon in long notes between the first tenor and second canto; the first half of the canonic voice-part is a mirror-image of the second. Following the conventions of the Franco-Flemish school, the canon is notated on one staff with two clefs (modern edition, 248).

Soriano's Missa ad canones is another example of rather cerebral constructional writing. Like Palestrina's Missa ad fugam,³² the mass is written entirely as a double-canon between the two highest and two lowest voices. The Kyrie is a double-canon at the fourth - each canon at a semibreve's distance. The Benedictus is a double-canon at the unison, and this leads to an Osanna with two canons at the fifth below. The work contains two five-part Agnus Dei, both of which contain a canonic structure: the first is based on the hymn Iste confessor, which appears in equal notes in the alto part, and the

second on Ave maris stella which comes in the canto. There is no apparent reason for the incorporation of these seemingly disparate melodies.³³

Not all the masses in the volume are equally constructional. Missa Nos autem gloriari à 4 contains no canonic writing, though a CF is introduced in the first tenor part of the six-voiced Agnus Dei. The parody material again shows Soriano's reverence for his teacher; it is Palestrina's motet Nos autem gloriari,³⁴ which in turn is based upon the plainsong of the Mass 'in coena Domini' for Holy Thursday. The chant has been reworked to make the melodic material suitable for contrapuntal treatment, and the usual reduced sections are found at the 'Crucifixus' and Benedictus. It is surprising to note the inclusion of two secular parody masses in this seemingly conservative publication. Both are discreetly disguised: Missa sine titulo turns out to be based on Palestrina's Vestiva i colli,³⁵ and Missa Quando laeta sperabam parodies the Rore madrigal Quando lieta sperai.³⁶

Giovanni Francesco Anerio's 1614 contributions to the stile antico mass appear more forward-looking than those of Soriano.³⁷ The format - part-books with continuo - gives the works a more modern aspect which partially belies their real style. For a composer with a number of small-scale motet collections to his credit, this publication for four to six voices may seem a retrospective step; nonetheless, it confirms that a different style was regularly employed for masses. Except for the Missa brevis Anerio's 1614 works obey conventions concerning reduced sections, and head-motifs are a common means of unification. The Kyrie of the large six-part Missa In te Domine speravi introduces melodic material derived from the Te Deum chant, which serves at the opening of all movements except for the Gloria and Benedictus.³⁸ A verse from the Te Deum is used as the title of the mass. There is no CF; however, the long notes at the opening of the

Sanctus, appositely based on the plainsong 'Sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth' in the Te Deum, momentarily give the impression of one. The Christe and 'Crucifixus' are for four voices, while the Benedictus uses only three. In keeping with tradition, an extra voice is added in the Agnus Dei to form a canon at the fourth. The mass relies on the interleaving of polyphonic and homophonic writing, with continually changing vocal groupings. The voices often unite in strong chordal sections, such as at 'laudamus te' in the Gloria, which contrasts effectively with the contrapuntal opening of the movement. The Credo, the most homophonic movement on account of the length of its text, contains a pictorial element at 'descendit de caelis', where the two lowest voices are omitted; this is followed by the entry of all voices in a low tessitura at 'et incarnatus'.

By contrast, Anerio's Missa brevis à 4, also from 1614, is a short, relatively simple work of a more functional nature. An unusual feature is the tripla setting of Kyrie II; this ties in with the directness of the work, as do the largely homophonic Gloria and Credo. The style of this mass is not quite as unremitting as that of Missa della battaglia (which we shall examine later), and some respite is granted at the close of the Sanctus where imitative vocal pairs are introduced.

In addition to the masses of 1614, Anerio produced a Missa Paulina Burghesia à 5 which survives in manuscript in the Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome.³⁹ It is dedicated to Paul V (Paolo Borghese) and the title-page gives Anerio as 'sacerdote'; it is thus clear that it dates from between Anerio's ordination in 1616,⁴⁰ and the death of that Pope in 1621. The mass is also entitled Quem dicunt homines, and though the manuscript contains an eight-part motet of the same name there is no thematic connection between the works.⁴¹ The text, 'Quem dicunt homines' (containing the central statement 'Tu es Petrus') and the dedication make it more than likely that the motet and the mass

were composed for a specific pontifical occasion. The manuscript is headed 'Ad canones Quinq. Vocibus', and the mass is rich in counterpoint of a very learned kind.⁴² It is canonic throughout, and every interval is used as a basis for the canons:

<u>Section</u>	<u>Canon at:</u>	<u>Number of voices</u>	<u>Canon</u>	<u>Resolution</u>
Kyrie I	4th	5	T	AII
Christe	unison	4	AI	AII
Kyrie II	5th	5	B	TII
'Et in terra'	octave below	5	C	T
'Qui tollis'	octave	5	B	AII
'Patrem'	unison	5	BI	BII
'Et incarnatus'	2nd	5	TII	TI
'Crucifixus'	octave	3	C	T
'Et ascendit'	octave	5	C	TI
Sanctus	4th	5	T	AII
Osanna	3rd	5	T	A
Benedictus	6th	5	B	AII
Osanna	7th	5	T	C
Agnus Dei I	5th	5	B	T
Agnus Dei II	octave	6	TI/TII	CI/CII

As well as arranging the Missa Papae Marcelli and adding continuo to some of Palestrina's masses, Anerio contributed a mass of his own to the collection, Messe a quattro voci....., published by Soldi in 1619. Anerio's mass, della battaglia, though mainly in a polyphonic style, contains a continuo part, a common enough feature of motet writing by this time.⁴³ Since the smoothly flowing polyphony of much of the mass is anything but battle-like, one must ask what is meant by the term 'della battaglia', and why such an apparently secular title should be applied to a mass. In contrast with the general style of the work, exemplified in the well-devised three-part 'Canon ad unisonum' of the Benedictus (No. 1), the Gloria and Credo are unusually direct and have many repeated notes based around unsophisticated harmonic patterns (Ex. 1). It seems that the title has no direct connection with combat, and that it simply means that parts of the mass (the Gloria and Credo) have something in common with music written to depict

battle.⁴⁴ In this brief setting, Anerio presumably adopted the style for the sake of compression, rather than with any descriptive purpose in mind. Santini Handschrift 87⁴⁵ contains another mass attributed to Anerio, Missa la battaglia. Though dated 1608, it is not a contemporary manuscript. The Gloria and Credo present the atmosphere one would expect of a battle piece, being simple almost to the point of triteness, with a succession of rhythmically unimaginative chords. More interest occurs in the other movements, where there is some basic counterpoint, albeit of a vertical four-square nature. In fact, the pervasive simplicity would cause one to doubt Anerio's authorship were it not for his other similar mass, 'della battaglia'.

The other end of the stylistic spectrum is encountered in the polished counterpoint of Arcangelo Crivelli's masses. Crivelli, though a native of Bergamo in the North,⁴⁶ was a musico in the Cappella Sistina in 1615, when he published his Missarum liber primus. Produced in choir-book format without bassus ad organum, the volume contains prima prattica compositions for four to six voices (the same range of scorings used by Anerio in the previous year) with a good deal of constructional writing. Missa Ave maris stella à 4 is based on the hymn of that name⁴⁷ and reaches its climax in the Agnus Dei à 6, where three voices are in canon (No. 2). Such addition of voices in the Agnus Dei is common in this collection: for instance, Missa Cantate Domino à 4 uses two extra voices, with two two-part canons. Missa Ave maris stella, then, is subtly constructed about the chant which is not used as a CF; the three sections of the Kyrie are based on successive phrases of the hymn as is shown by the incipits (Ex. 2). The unifying factor of the mass is the opening fifth with which the hymn opens. Reduced numbers of voices are not found, though the Benedictus does deviate from the usual CATB scoring in favour of the

high CCTT combination. In that movement the voices sing in pairs, both voices of each pair sharing the same material: despite the fact that the writing is never canonic, the effect is that of a double-canon. In the Credo the loss of momentum at the falling phrase 'passus et sepultus est' is very effective - its simple homophony stands apart from the complex counterpoint by which it is flanked.

Another four-voiced mass from the collection is the Missa super litanias sanctorum, which makes use of the plainsong of the Litany of the Saints as its basis.⁴⁸ A short extract from the Gloria shows how compact is Crivelli's treatment of the material (Ex. 3). The monotones of the litany chant create a problem for the composer attempting to paraphrase it. Crivelli solves the problem skilfully by preserving the contour and feel of the original phrases and without resorting to repeated notes. The Agnus Dei à 5 is perhaps the highpoint: canonically constructed, the material used for the canon between the alto and tenor closely follows the 'Agnus Dei' section of the Litany, creating a remarkable unity between the mass and its model.

Antonio Cifra might seem an unlikely contributor to the prima prattica mass, since his earlier prints present him as a prolific writer of small-scale motets. However, the widespread retention of the stile antico for masses is clearly demonstrated in that even Cifra adopted this idiom for his choir-book collections of 1619 and 1621.⁴⁹ These works betray little of his more customary style of writing and show that the two styles were not mutually exclusive: those in the first book use chant as a basis, while the masses from the second employ a larger range of source material in line with the waning austerity of the time.

Missa Conditor alme siderum à 4 from Cifra's 1619 collection is founded on the Vespers hymn of that name,⁵⁰ whose melodic motifs permeate the texture throughout. On only one occasion is that chant

used as a CF, namely in Kyrie II; here the last two lines of the hymn appear in the canto in semibreves, followed by a repeat of the last line in breves. The growing tendency to give the most important material to the upper voice is evident here as well as in the Missa Lauda Sion from the same volume, where the sequence melody is prominently placed in the upper voice at 'qui tollis' in the Gloria. This is in line with an increasingly vertical view of texture, found with the introduction of the figured bass, and in the consequent fashion for monodic writing. There is a certain degree of freedom in the handling of plainsong in these masses: in the Osanna of both settings mentioned above, Cifra uses a curious triple-metre transformation of the chant. The example from Missa Conditor alme siderum shows the rhythmic peculiarities which result from this treatment (No. 3). In Agnus Dei II of the same mass three extra voices are added; it is constructed as a two-part canon resolved in inversion and exhibits Cifra's skill as a contrapuntist - an area of his ability undisclosed in his motets.⁵¹ While this mass includes supplementary voices, there are no reduced sections; it does not, however, lack variety since use is made of different scorings - CAAT for the 'Crucifixus' and AATB for the Benedictus. The use of canon is also found in Agnus Dei II of the Missa Magnum haereditatis mysterium; here two extra voices are required, and there is a three-part canon. Not fully written out in the part-book, the canon is notated on one stave with the designation: 'Canon in Subdiapente [5th below], & Subdiapason [octave below], Trinitas in Unitate'.

Cifra's Missarum liber secundus of 1621 contains masses based on a wider and quite remarkable selection of material. There are two on secular models, Missa S'All'Hor che più sperai (Kyrie, No. 4) and Missa Vestiva i colli - a rare genre in Rome in the period; the former is based on a piece from Nenna's first book of four-voiced madrigals of

1613,⁵² and the latter on the well-known work by Palestrina.⁵³ It may seem surprising that such masses were composed in the period following the Tridentine Council with its emphasis on liturgical purity. However, the 1620s were a period of considerable relaxation after the immediate post-conciliar era, and consequently some such works found their way to print. Another example which remained in manuscript is Gregorio Allegri's mass on the madrigal Che fa hoggi il mio sole by Marenzio.⁵⁴ This five-part mass is not particularly musically distinguished; its importance lies in being a late example of a parody of one of Marenzio's most popular madrigals. Though the manuscript dates from 1664, the mass was certainly composed some forty years earlier.⁵⁵

As well as masses on secular models, Cifra's 1621 volume contains two highly structured works: Missa Ut Re Mi à 4 and Missa Tribularer à 6. The former does not use the hexachord as a structural CF, but as a device to shape each of the phrases; it passes from part to part, on most occasions both rising and falling, as well as generally directing the course of the vocal lines. Cifra was not afraid to exercise a certain amount of freedom in his handling of this fundamental element of the work; for example, at 'qui tollis' the fourth note is sharpened, giving a different harmonic sense to the passage - in modern terms, a modulation to the dominant. In two movements, namely the Benedictus and Agnus Dei, the scalic motif assumes a CF role for a brief section, being presented in longer, though unequal note-values in the upper voice. The Agnus Dei is nonetheless surprising in that Cifra fails to avail himself of any of the possibilities for canonic writing offered by his material. Elsewhere in the 1621 masses, however, this movement is written canonically; in Missa Fuit homo à 4 a fifth voice is added in canon

at the fourth with the tenor.

The powerful Missa Tribularer à 6 is perhaps the most unusual work in the collection: its use of ostinato and polytextuality is unparalleled in any mass of the era. Except in the four-part *Christe* and '*Crucifixus*' the first alto repeats an almost monotoned phrase to the words '*Miserere mei Deus*' - a technique similar to that in Josquin's motet of the same name.⁵⁶ The pattern does not stay at the same pitch, but rises and falls stepwise (*Credo*, Ex. 4). *Kyrie II* has the phrase in canon between canto and alto at the fifth below, but elsewhere Cifra avoids canonic writing. The only biblical occurrence of the word '*tribularer*' is in Psalm 119, which opens '*Ad Dominum, cum tribularer, clamavi et exaudivit me*'; it is probable that in this mass Cifra was seeking to capture the mood of the psalm. Performance during Lent, or at other penitential times, was clearly the intention.⁵⁷

Paolo Agostini's contribution to the genre amounts to eight printed masses, spread between seven publications, and one mass in manuscript. In contrast with his *Vespers* publication of 1619 which exhibits distinct progressive features, the masses with one exception are consistently prima prattica, and display an almost obsessive interest in constructional techniques, to the point of 'decorating' the pages with little canonic pieces in many cases totally unrelated to the works themselves.⁵⁸ Agostini's works appeared in spartitura (score) in six volumes in 1627,⁵⁹ the year following his appointment as maestro at St. Peter's. At least the first four contain masses which had previously been published in choir-book format. As Agostini explained at the back of his Spartitura delle messe del primo libro, he wanted to republish them in score for very practical reasons, as well as to provide those interested with the opportunity of seeing them in that form:⁶⁰

Si conosce chiaramente, che stampar Messe ò altra cosa, che sia, se non v'è Spartitura non si cantano principalmente nelli paesi ch'anno poche voci; perche suplisca l'Organo hō voluto mettervi in spartitura con tutte le parti tutte stese, per quelli, che non vogliono sonare sul Basso stese, come gia si sonava, & e molto profitto a quelli, che vogliano far professione di sonare & anco per non far tropp'errori nel cātarsi, che uscendo qualche parte per quelli che non sono troppo sperimentali nel saper rimettere, con dett'occasione di vedere tutte le parte, sarà facilissimo agiustarli.....

One who prints masses or other things knows clearly that if there is no score they are not sung in places where voices are in short supply; therefore in providing the organ part I have wished to print all the parts themselves in score for those who do not want to play on the bass itself, as formerly one played; and this is of great benefit to those who wish to learn to play, and also to avoid errors in the singing. In issuing a portion[of my work] with the opportunity of seeing all the parts, it will be very easy to perform for those who are not too inexperienced at knowing how to realize them.....

The original prints of these books of masses (of which, astonishingly, no surviving copies are known) are alluded to in Agostini's remark in the preface to his Spartitura del secondo libro; here he explained that he would not write out the entire two hundred solutions to a canon 'as one sees in the large book....for the sake of brevity'.⁶¹ After his death, a collected volume of his masses came out in choir-book format in 1630; this edition, Missarum liber posthumus, was dedicated by his son, Giovanni Maria Agostini, to Cardinal Francesco Barberini. It is useful for giving some indication of when the masses were first printed; it seems that they were not early works. The Missa pro vigilijs, ac ferijs, ad canones à 4, included in the Spartitura delle messe del primo libro, is dated 'Ann. Iubi. 1625', enabling us to place the first book of masses in his output. The volume of 1630 also contains a heading 'Liber Secundus Missarum A.D. 1626', following which masses from the primo libro are printed.⁶² Out of what appears to be an error emerges, therefore, the essential information of the date of Agostini's second book of masses.

The exceptional masses in Agostini's collections are those which are not dominated by canonic or other structural devices. Such a work

is Missa Gaudeamus which is a parody of his own motet in honour of St. Cecilia. That they are closely linked is shown in Example 5. The mass is for five voices, but by marking the second tenor part 'si placet' Agostini did admit the possibility of four-part performance. All the movements except the Credo are united by a head-motif, the opening passage of the motet. Further economy is achieved by repeating Kyrie I as Kyrie II, and the use of the same Osanna section after both Sanctus and Benedictus. Even in this straightforward prima prattica idiom Agostini felt the need to introduce a small amount of canonic writing; this he did in the Agnus Dei where the second tenor, now obligatory, is written in canon at the fifth with the bass part. An interesting feature is the picturesque scoring of the 'et incarnatus', with the three highest voices at 'de spiritu sancto' providing a foil to four voices in a low tessitura at 'et homo factus est' - a musical depiction of the Incarnation.

Missa Ave Regina coelorum à 4 from Spartitura del secondo libro is also a parody mass. Its basis is a motet by Teofilo Gargari⁶³ (also printed in the volume), which in its turn is loosely based on the chant Ave Regina coelorum. Despite the conventional polyphonic style of the mass, Agostini conceals a number of canons; these are resolved in the space left between movements on the pages. As he explained in the preface:

Nel Basso si sono cavate, in tutti, Canoni di più forte, & anco per obbligo, che sempre vi sia l'ultimo soggetto del Canto del terzo Kirie accomodato in tutti li finali del Basso, di tutta la Messa, sopra Ave Regina coelorum à 4. del Sig. Teofilo Gargari Musico Eccellentissimo di N.S.

In the bass are hidden in all the movements more canons which are complex and con obbligo, based always on the last motif of the canto part of the third Kyrie, which is included in the bass part throughout the mass, which is based on Ave Regina coelorum à 4 by Sig. Teofilo Gargari, most excellent musician to the pope.

The word canon is written in the score to indicate where the device occurs, and the puzzles are solved where space allows, such as Example 6, 'cavato dal fine del Credo'. On the first page the plainsong incipit of 'Ave Regina coelorum' is written out, as well as a canon on the soggetto cavato motif derived from the vowels of the title; the latter is apparently susceptible of two hundred solutions. Such intricacies hardly affect the style of the mass, which is polyphonic with occasional passages of stilo familiare like 'et incarnatus' (Ex. 7), which in its tertial relationships displays considerable harmonic awareness.

Two other Agostini masses composed largely without severe canonic devices are however built around another framework - the hexachord. These are Missa Ut, Re, Mi, Fa, Sol, La à 5,⁶⁴ and Missa sine nomine,⁶⁵ published in score in 1627. Both witness to Agostini's incredible skill in constructing intricate counterpoint. In Missa Ut, Re, Mi he makes great use of cerebral organization, while the other, sine nomine, is freer with the hexachord simply pervading the vocal lines, though not in a particularly learned manner. Missa Ut, Re, Mi relies heavily on the hexachord CF: for example, it rises and falls in each section of the Kyrie in semibreves in the canto - again an example of a prominent role given to the highest voice. The Gloria and Credo are less organized, but the ultimate in this kind of planning is achieved in the Sanctus and Benedictus, which are so mathematical in their approach as to make them worthy precursors of the Second Viennese School. The Sanctus, headed 'Obligo di tutti i motivi di ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la d'un istesso valore' finds Agostini rearranging the degrees of the scale in various orders, with ever-increasing intervals between the notes, ending with a plain sixth in the canto (GEG) (Ex. 8a). Similarly the Benedictus, headed 'Obligo, di far tutti i gradi di ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la' (Ex. 8b) presents the hexachord in the tenor, starting with the first two notes, then the first three,

and thus moves in stages towards the presentation of the entire hexachord at the central point of the movement; from then on the opening half is repeated in inversion. The arrangement of the hexachord in the Osanna is a retrograde of that in the Benedictus. But there is still more: the constructional focal point of the piece is reached in Agnus Dei II for eight voices; in this the hexachord, canonically treated in the two highest parts, lays the foundation for two further canons, both for three voices:⁶⁶

Clefs

G ²	Canon: hexachord
C ²	Resolution, at the 5th
C ³	Canon
G ²	Resolution, at the 7th
C ²	Resolution, at the 3rd
F ³	Canon
C ³	Resolution, at the 5th
F ³	Resolution, at the unison

Missa sine nomine contains an Agnus Dei canon with an identical structure, but with an optional free voice. It is clearly a re-working of the canon shown above, and the thematic material is closely related. Elsewhere in the sine nomine mass, however, the scale pattern is not used structurally; there are some imitative points with canonic implications, such as the opening of Kyrie I, but no CF appears. The most remarkable piece of organization in the mass is the 'et surrexit', a double-canon, in which the two upper and two lower parts share the same material. Ingeniously, the interval of the canon is decreased by one step each phrase, beginning at the octave and ending at the unison (Ex. 9).

The third group of Agostini's masses are the totally canonic ones. Two of these are intended for non-festal occasions: Missa pro vigilijs, ac ferijs, from the primo libro, and Missa pro feriis, ad canones.

Neither contains Gloria or Credo.⁶⁷ Some features are common to both masses: each movement is a four-part canon, apart from the Benedictus which in both masses is for three voices. These include some remarkable devices: the Benedictus from the primo libro presents the possibility of invertible counterpoint at the twelfth. The alternative methods of performance are outlined in the score:

Questo Benedictus à 3. il Tenore fa Canon con l'Alto & Soprano, & havēdo riguardo al contrapunto alla 12. il Soprano tacera & si potrà cantare in Basso 12. più basso.

This Benedictus à 3 has the tenor in canon with the alto and soprano, and having regard for counterpoint at the twelfth the soprano may keep quiet and its part may be sung by the bass a twelfth lower.

The other Benedictus contains an equally remarkable contrivance, whereby the tenor is allowed the alternative of coming in a semibreve late and a tone higher (No. 5); amazingly, it works.

While of rather greater proportions, the parody mass Missa Benedicam Dominum is also canonic throughout, like the motet on which it is based; naturally, the motet is also by Agostini. It is a double-canon: four voices are arranged in two canonic pairs, except in the Benedictus which is a three-part canon. Here, and in the Missa Si bona suscepimus, an insight is given into the continuo practice of the period. The organ part is headed 'basso continuo of the motet and mass Benedicam Dominum (totally in canon) for those who do not wish to play in four parts'.⁶⁸ This suggests that there must have been a sizeable school of musicians who scored works and then doubled the voices, instead of playing a more chordal continuo part from the bass line.⁶⁹ Agostini, more than many composers, adhered strictly to the prima prattica in these masses; this, combined with rather studied polyphonic contrivances, invests his music with a particularly archaic feel. This is all the more surprising since he freely used small forces, with solos and an indispensable continuo part, in his Vespers publication

of 1619. The Agostini masses reprinted in 1627 may well represent the style expected of a composer closely associated with the papacy. He capitalized on his recently gained fame as maestro of St. Peter's to publish such an extended series of masses and contrapuntal puzzles, and in doing so surveyed his past career through dedications to people for whom he had worked previously and to his home town of Vallerano.⁷⁰

One further mass by Agostini remains: its inscription states that it was composed in 1628 expressly for St. John Lateran, and at the request of Virgilio Mazzocchi, the maestro at that church.⁷¹ Stylistically, this four-part mass is far more modern than the others we have discussed: there are none of the contrapuntal devices, but rather a more relaxed, less complex transitional-polyphonic style. The texture is vertically rather than contrapuntally conceived over a figured bass part, and there is some solo writing in the Gloria, while the 'Crucifixus' is a CA duet. Harmonically, the 'Et incarnatus' stands out for its descending chromatic lines, and there are short tuneful fughetts. It might be difficult to credit Agostini's authorship; yet such diversity within the work of one figure is understandable in a period of stylistic flux.

Another composer closely linked with the Vatican was Stefano Landi who, as 'Clerico beneficiato' at St. Peter's, published a stile antico mass in 1628. This work, dedicated to Urban VIII, is entitled 'In benedictione nuptiarum' - an inscription for which no explanation is given. One can reasonably assume that it was composed for the wedding of the Pope's brother, Taddeo Barberini, who married Anna Colonna at Castel Gandolfo on October 24, 1627. Since the dowry alone was 180,000 scudi, one can imagine that magnificent celebrations attended the ceremony, including this publication as a memento of the occasion.⁷² Its musical style is hardly what one would expect from the composer of Il Sant'Alessio, or from one whose Responsories were not welcomed by

the Cappella Sistina.⁷³ Published in choir-book form, it uses a severe prima prattica idiom and is written for six voices, except for the *Christe*, '*Crucifixus*' and *Benedictus*, where the two lowest voices are not required. *Agnus Dei II* contains two canons at the fifth and at the octave above, and two extra voices are added. A section of the *Kyrie* illustrates the retrospective style; it appears not to be based on any pre-existent material (No. 6).

Landi also composed a book of masses, Missarum liber primus, which is no longer extant; it is mentioned in an inventory compiled in Innsbruck during the 17th century.⁷⁴ This could well be the lost collection of 1639 discussed by Hucke.⁷⁵ In his preface, Landi acknowledged his debt to Palestrina, his example and unsurpassed master:

A propria, et inveterata huius basilicae germana disciplina, et apto ad canendum scribendi style nihil discedere impensino curavi, praeunte me invicto duce Petro Aloysio Prenestino, hujus nostri Odei quondam moderatore dignissimus; a quo qui descriverunt, in laqueos saepe garrulitatis et scurrilitatis incidisse non dubitandum.

Following the ancient tradition of this basilica [St. Peter's], I have personally taken great care not to deviate from the style which is fit for singing, the unsurpassed exponent of which, Palestrina, once the judge of these our odes, being my example; he who separates himself from this style often falls without a doubt into the snare of babbling and buffoonery.

That such a statement could have been made towards the end of the 1630s is a convincing testimony not only to the preservation of the Palestrina style, but also of a certain attitude. Significantly, the preface heralded a publication of masses, not psalms or motets - Landi's contributions to these genres are far more progressive. It could well be that in writing such a manifesto Landi was trying to re-establish or at least to emphasize his respectability as a church composer, after the storm created by his Responsories at the beginning of the decade.

Though not active in Rome, Marco Scacchi was of Roman extraction and chose to have his four-part masses of 1633 published there, despite the fact that Venice and the German centres were more accessible to

Poland.⁷⁶ These four works, produced in the service of the Polish King, are composed in an archaic idiom, though certain more progressive ideas can be noted. In Missa Quando sperai, based on the canzonette of the same name,⁷⁷ he showed less concern for flowing polyphony than for producing a well-defined rhythmic structure. The metrical pattern of Kyrie I, for instance, is very regular: each voice enters two breves after the previous one, and the three repeated notes of the opening serve as a strong anacrusis (No. 7). Its rather four-square nature was noticed even in previous centuries since, in the copy belonging to the Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome, ink bar-lines have been added to emphasize the rhythmic aspect of the work. Though his approach to rhythm tended to be rather forward-looking, at least for the stile antico, Scacchi adhered to some conventions of traditional mass composition. Missa Sancta Maria has reduced sections at the *Christe*, *'Crucifixus'*, *'Pleni sunt'* and *Benedictus*, and he added two voices in *Agnus Dei II*; a double-canon. Perhaps the most remarkable piece of construction is the four-part *Osanna* of Missa sine nomine, where Scacchi shows an appreciation of early Renaissance techniques. Each voice is notated with a different mensural time-signature, but all share melodic material in a quasi-canonic way.⁷⁸ It is not particularly complex rhythmically, the obscure notational aspect being employed simply as an exercise in mensuration (No. 8). The academic aspect of this mass is also evident in the eight-part *Agnus Dei* in which each choir sings its own canon. Here Scacchi shows himself to be akin to Agostini in his use of highly cerebral schemes, a feature of their music which ties in with the vogue for canonic writing as an end in itself. It seems that, with the passing of the prima prattica as a general musical idiom, some composers aimed to keep alive the academic aspect of the style; but by concentrating on the purely technical side of composition, the effect was often contrived and stilted. This led

some musicians into an artistic impasse, exemplified in the canonic publications of Romano Micheli and Pier Francesco Valentini,⁷⁹ which are not so much music for performance as exercises in contrapuntal ingenuity. The preoccupation with technical aspects of composition combined with the novelty of the basso continuo to hasten the demise of the stile antico. Scacchi's publication is among the last of a fading tradition. Despite some continuing performances of masses in this style, and the fact that the idiom had persisted longer with the mass than with any other genre, no later publications in a similar vein survive.

SECONDA PRATTICA

Excluding polychoral pieces which were accepted in Rome quite readily on account of their extrovert grandeur, there were no publications of seconda prattica masses until 1621. In that year the maestro at Frascati published a volume of concertato music which included a mass.⁸⁰ It stands almost alone in the 1620s as a mass which is neither strictly stile antico nor polychoral. The otherwise unknown composer, Sigismondo Arsilli, was a native of Senigallia, a small coastal town north of Fano, in an area of the country which would have been open to Northern influence. This is significant since Northern composers were, at this time, inclined to demonstrate less reserve in their settings of the Mass than those in Rome.⁸¹ It is even possible that Arsilli fell under the influence of Viadana who, at least in 1612, was active in nearby Fano.⁸² Arsilli's mass is designated 'concertato à 4' and, while little solo writing occurs, the title is certainly justified. It contains much homophony of the kind that stems from a vertical conception of texture rather than from the merging of vocal lines. An example of this is the 'et resurrexit', where the combination of chordal writing and strong rhythms produces a powerful effect. This section follows the equally homophonic three-part 'Crucifixus' which achieves its poignancy through the use of tertial relationships. Sporadically placed bar-lines in the score draw attention to the rhythmic aspect of the work, and to the importance of its regular metre. The Sanctus, more contrapuntal than many of the movements, shows the general style (No. 9). Particularly notable are the short bass solo (followed by the sudden homophonic combination of voices at 'Domine Deus'), the rather sprawling melisma at 'pleni', and the word-painting at 'caeli et terra'; the last leads to a bold

concluding section which, deviating from tradition, repeats the word 'Gloria . . . '.

It was some ten years before another composer went into print with concertato masses: Agostino Diruta, maestro at S. Agostino, published four settings for five voices in 1631.⁸³ They are named according to their tones since there is no pre-existent material to distinguish them. Stylistically they are also alike and each contains much syllabic writing dictated by the natural stress of the words. Often the effect is striking: the repetition of the word 'resurrexit' to dotted rhythms contributes greatly to the 'Et resurrexit' of Missa 3^a ottavo tono (Ex. 10). Little solo writing occurs, but differing vocal groupings are used for various phrases, always returning to a tutti refrain. This is demonstrated in the Gloria of the Missa seconda (No. 10), where the preferred reduced scoring is for three voices; many of the phrases are short and rhythmically pointed, but greater reflectiveness is shown when flat tonality is introduced at 'miserere nobis'. It ends with strong, full writing, and one is left in no doubt as to the vertical conception of the music: this is particularly exemplified in the 'Domine fili' section, a homorhythmic trio constructed as a duet over the bass, the two upper voices moving in parallel thirds. The work is, in fact, a negation of the contrapuntal technique of the prima prattica mass; semblances of imitation occur only momentarily, and then always within a firm harmonic outline. There are no other Roman publications in our period to contain real concertato masses. The next mass possibly to warrant the term is Francesco Foggia's Missa à 5 of 1650, but here the nomenclature is not applied.⁸⁴

The year 1629 saw the issue of a mass which, though not concertato, stands on the borderline between prima and seconda prattica. Missa brevis à 4 is Abundio's contribution to a collection of music by

the three Antonelli brothers.⁸⁵ It is difficult to categorize, since its simple four-part writing is often vertically rather than contrapuntally formed. The style of the vocal lines belongs to the prima prattica, as does the formal scheme, reduced forces for the Benedictus and a six-part Agnus Dei. Despite this the mass was published in part-books, and almost certainly with continuo, though this last book is not extant. The harmonic style tends away from modality, and there is a developed sense of modulation and tonality. It employs a head-motif as a means of unification, and is apparently not based on any pre-existent material. A via media style is used, interesting for partial retention of stile antico conventions, but with chordal harmonies and a forward-looking sense of tonality.

In the same year as Diruta's masses were published, Kapsberger dedicated a volume of three masses to the reigning Pope under the title Missa Urbanae. If anything, these works for four, five and eight voices are rather dull. Kapsberger seems to have been reluctant to employ a concertato idiom and by this stage had reacted against the more fanciful style of his youth.⁸⁶ Caught between these two poles, his writing is subject to a rather tedious lack of rhythmic flexibility, and the music continues in one relentless tutti. He is not at his best here, since his forte lay in small-scale music with colourful texts: the dryness and the size of the mass ordinary caused him to adopt an idiom which he was unable to exploit to good advantage.

Sant'Agata was almost alone in publishing a mass for less than four voices in Rome during the period. His three-part work, which appeared in a 1636 motet collection,⁸⁷ stands in contrast with the rest of the volume on account of its flowing, though simple, polyphony.⁸⁸ It is a missa brevis in conception; there is no inessential elaboration, and the voices often unite in a homophonic section. As a monk, Sant'

Agata may have been interested in producing something suitable for small religious houses.⁸⁹ The Sanctus illustrates the simplicity of the texture (No. 11).

Like Diruta, Filippo da Cavi was concerned with music at S. Agostino. Two masses by him, one incomplete, survive; these are found in collections mainly of Vespers music dating from 1641 and 1642.⁹⁰ In these masses da Cavi neither turned back to the prima prattica nor adopted a concertato style. Instead there is a more unified deployment of vocal forces. Unlike Kapsberger, da Cavi managed to produce a workable musical style in this vein. The fully extant mass of 1642 for four voices is basically in a G minor tonality, and contains some thoughtful writing; for instance, the words 'Jesu Christe' in the Gloria are set to long notes in homophony and marked 'piano'. The Credo contains a succession of falling sixths at 'descendit de coelis', an effective device which leads to a clearly defined modulation to C major at 'et homo factus est'. The latter device could be interpreted as symbolizing the change of state of the Incarnation, an idea borne out by the presence of a similar modulation at the 'et incarnatus' of the 1641 mass. Reduced forces are used in the 'Crucifixus' which is followed by a triple-time 'et in spiritum' in which all the voices combine. The culmination of the mass is the Agnus Dei which, unlike earlier settings, is not constructed around a canon for augmented vocal forces (No. 12). Using no more than the standard four voices, da Cavi created a moving setting by skilful handling of tonality. After a contrapuntal opening, the texture fragments to introduce a succession of phrases with falling diminished fourths at 'miserere nobis', encapsulating the pleading nature of the text and introducing a curious feeling of weakness through the restless alternation of major and minor thirds.

The survey of non-polychoral masses in the seconda prattica

is of necessity brief as there is little material. In comparison the polychoral mass was popular, and it is the genre which we shall now consider.

THE DOUBLE-CHOIR MASS

Even before the end of the cinquecento, Roman composers had begun to employ this style, which had been characteristic of the North of Italy since at least the 1550s.⁹¹ Palestrina himself produced four double-choir masses, parodies of his own motets, which were published in Venice in 1601.⁹² He wrote in a style acceptable in the Veneto, and in his time probably less favoured in Rome; nevertheless these works are evidence that even Palestrina - a Roman through and through - was prepared to experiment with double choirs in writing masses. He was not alone in this since Victoria composed three masses for eight voices, and one each for nine and twelve,⁹³ and Giovanelli arranged Palestrina's Missa Vestiva i colli for eight voices.⁹⁴ The trend towards eight-part mass writing in Rome can also be witnessed in Soriano's arrangement of the Missa Papae Marcelli.⁹⁵ Archives confirm this tendency, and it is clear that services accompanied by music for multiple choirs took place with increasing frequency during the first half of the 17th century.⁹⁶

The first collection of polychoral masses to fall within our period is Girolamo Bartei's Missae octonis vocibus, liber primus of 1608, which antedates all Roman concertato masses and even motets. It contains four eight-part masses, one of which is a requiem. Though its movements have plainsong incipits, the Missa pro defunctis is not plainsong-based in the strict manner of Heredia's prima prattica setting, published in Rome in 1646.⁹⁷ The Dies irae opens with phrases related to the chant, but this melody is soon left behind in the brisk alternation between choirs. For reasons of brevity Bartei gives a line of the sequence text to each choir in turn, producing a certain degree of textual overlap. Missa Laetentur caeli

employs simple triple-metre writing in Kyrie II and at 'et resurrexit' in the Credo, both of which sections consist of unembellished rhythmic patterns used canonically between the choirs. The introduction of such a device at 'et resurrexit' is particularly effective, since it follows the only example of a reduced texture in any of the masses, the 'Crucifixus' for the first choir alone. Much direct writing occurs in this mass which, despite its title, fails to suggest a parody or paraphrase source. No use is made of constructional devices, but interest is maintained by exploiting the rhythmic potential of the text: for instance, both choirs combine in animated dotted rhythms at 'et expecto resurrectionem mortuorum'.

In Bartei's Missa brevis, which contains more tutti writing than the other masses, the movements open contrapuntally: in Kyrie I, the *Christe* and *Agnus Dei*, the first choir develops a point of imitation before the second enters to initiate the polychoral dialogue. Such openings indicate that, whatever the general style of the mass, Bartei felt compelled to pay lip-service to accepted norms of mass writing, exemplified in the prima prattica. Messa sopra la battaglia, in common with Anerio's masses of the same name, is based on simple harmonic patterns, such as the bold tonic-dominant alternation at the beginning of the *Gloria* (Ex. 11). Counterpoint is, however, in evidence at the fanfare-like motif which introduces both Kyrie I and the Credo (Credo, Ex, 12) - clearly a call to arms. Both choirs are generally given a series of simple cadential passages, each overlapping with the previous one; occasionally the voices combine in a tutti section. The technique of producing a stream of continuous sound by dovetailing the phrases is so pervasive that when a rest occurs in all voices simultaneously it has great effect: at the end of the phrase 'sepultus est' this device is used before the first choir enters triumphantly with 'et resurrexit'. The rarity of

similar publications shows that such polychoral settings of the ordinary were far from common, at least until the 1620s. Perhaps Bartei's progressive approach stemmed from a knowledge of what was performed on the North, an awareness which he could have acquired in Arezzo at the turn of the century.⁹⁸

Giovanni Battista Stefanini must also have come under the influence of Northern trends in mass composition; he had been active in Modena, Turin and Milan before 1614, when he published a collection in Rome comprising motets, psalms and a mass.⁹⁹ This was his only publication in the city during his short period as maestro of S. Maria della Consolazione there. His Missa Laetare Jerusalem is typical of the polychoral style; often the movements open with some imitative work before proceeding to alternation of choral blocks, this being the principle on which most of the piece is based. The mass contrasts with the concertato motets in the same volume, in which the rigid dialogue of choirs is never so prolonged.

Frescobaldi's double-choir masses hold a special place in the repertory because they are based on secular material.¹⁰⁰ Messa sopra l'aria della Monica and the Messa sopra l'aria di Fiorenza are both contained in a manuscript in the Lateran basilica,¹⁰¹ and the fact of their authorship can be convincingly argued. The latter is constructed over a bass pattern which was used commonly from the time of its inclusion in a Florentine intermedio in 1589. The association of this bass figuration with Florence suggests that the masses were produced during Frescobaldi's time in the city, that is, from December 1628 to April 1634. A modern reprint of the works provides an extensive bibliography to illustrate the use of the two models, as well as a detailed analysis of their structural function in the two masses; it is not necessary to add to the thorough work of that publication, and therefore some brief comments on musical style will suffice.

In both masses the forces are handled in a fundamentally homophonic manner, alternation between the choirs being the essence of the pieces. On occasion, generally at the opening of a section, the texture is more contrapuntally organized, frequently in an imitative manner. The mass on the aria della Monica contains greater rhythmic variety, serving to relieve the four-square ostinato pattern; the other mass, however, adheres more strictly to a homophonic style with fewer inessential notes, and admits less irregularity of rhythm.

Standard reduced sections occur, in which one choir is responsible for the presentation of a portion of text. Moreover, the 'et iterum' in the mass on the aria di Fiorenza is set for two cantos and two tenors, and differs from the remainder of the work in that it presents a less vertical style. This passage includes an independent continuo part, confirming the indispensable nature of the organ in performance.

Triple metre is found in both masses; in the mass on the aria di Fiorenza it makes for a direct approach, lacking the refinement of similar sections in the other mass, where some counterpoint is employed. Harmonically, the mass on the aria della Monica contains some interesting moments: for example, the words 'miserere nobis' in the Gloria are set to a rising chromatic phrase, which stands out effectively from the pervasive G Dorian tonality.

Despite the necessity to treat such lengthy texts, Frescobaldi avoided the pitfall of monotony, and produced two masses which, though differing in character, effectively exploit the medium. It is interesting to observe this composer bringing his sensitivity to musical style and form to a genre with which he was presumably relatively unfamiliar.

NOTES

1. It is interesting to note that this is the reverse of the position in Palestrina's output, where the mass is the most important genre.
2. This term is applied to masses which use an up-dated polyphonic style; published with continuo, they have more flexibility in the vocal lines.
3. These are masses in which there is some textural interest (see above, ix): various vocal scorings are used for setting different portions of the text.
4. An undated printed title-page precedes the only surviving manuscript copy of this work (I-Rc, Mus. 286). It is impossible to decide whether the mass was printed and a manuscript copy substituted, or if it never reached publication.
5. This term will be used collectively to denote the Cappella Sistina and Cappella Giulia.
6. See Tebaldini, 96-98, which mentions Cifra's activity at Loreto. It is clear from the manuscript collection there (Tebaldini, 27-39) that a good deal of stile antico music was sung.
7. See Feicht, 243-89.
8. See the section on S. Agostino.
9. See especially the sections on the Gesù and the 'colossal Baroque'.
10. Missae quatuor octonis vocibus concinendae (Venice, 1601)
11. This situation is also reflected in the publishing activities of other Roman composers: though dedicated to Clement VIII, Felice Anerio's Sacri hymni for eight voices was published in Venice in 1596 and, as late as 1616, Francesco Soriano issued his large polychoral Psalmi et motecta....liber secundus there. All the other works of these composers were published in the city where they were active.
12. The motet Exultate omnes à 12 was written for the occasion of the installation of Cardinal Borghese as Archpriest of St. Peter's; my edition of this piece is forthcoming.
13. Agazzari, as early as 1607, was talking in these terms (see Strunk, 430); other readings expressing similar opinions are found in Lockwood, Pope Marcellus Mass, 30-36.
14. Palestrina's influence on mass composition is discussed in Hucke, 255-56.
15. See the section on the solo motet, 218. Asola's mass is a reprint of one first published in Venice in 1588.

16. Strunk, 419-20.
17. S.Paolo fuori le mura was an exceptional case among the major basilicas (see 34, note 6).
18. Posthumous publications of his sacred works are RISM: P672, 699, 740. The Venetian ones are: P 659, 661, 662, 663, 665, 666, 675, 675a, 677, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 697, 698, 704, 721, 722, 723, 725, 726, 727, 731, 732, 734, 735, 736, 744, and 750. These lists, of course, exclude anthologies.
19. The purchase and rebinding of copies of masses by Palestrina and his contemporaries have been noted in archives, but instances of this are not common. See section on S.Lorenzo in Damaso, 84; Archives of S.Maria Maggiore, quoted in Raeli, 21: June 24, 1600, 's[cudi] 2:30 a M. Nicolò Mutij sta[m]patore per 2 libro di Messe composte dal Palestrina', and 22: March 1641, 'E più scudi uno e baiocchi quaranta per la compra del primo libro de le messe del Palestrina in libro grosso'; Archives of S.Maria in Vallicella, C.I.6, Libro Quinto de Decreti della Congregazione dell'Oratorio di Roma dall'anno 1614 fino al 1635, January 8, 1627, p.144: si diano al P. Ger^o Rosini dieci scudi per comprare alcune Messe del Pelestrina, et per copiare altre Musiche del P. Franc^o Martini buo. me.
20. Sub tuum praesidium, Fratres ego enim accepi, Caro mea, Hic est panis a 8.
21. Anthologies: RISM 1598² (Nuremberg); 1599¹ (Antwerp); 1600² (Nuremberg); 1601² (Nuremberg); 1607⁰ (Nuremberg); 1609¹ (Antwerp); 1612³ (Strasbourg); 1613¹ (Nuremberg); 1613² (Strasbourg); 1617¹ (Strasbourg); 1621¹ (Antwerp). Publications of Palestrina's works: P 724 (Antwerp); 741 (Antwerp). The lists are complete until 1630.
22. RISM 1620¹.
23. Litaniae della Beata Virgine à 8, Opere complete, xx, 106.
24. Llorens, Capellae Sixtinae Codices.
25. Adami, Osservazioni.....
26. Published in Busch.
27. Psalmi et motecta.....liber secundus (Venice, 1616) contains music for up to four choirs.
28. I-Bsf, Ms. PALESTRINA VI-1 contains 'Missa detta Vestiva i Colli composta a 5 Voci da Gio. Pierluigi da Palestrina e ridotta a 8 da Rugiero Giovanelli da Velletri'. Also in I-Rvat, cappella giulia, codex 122.
29. Published in Busch.
30. The complete works of Soriano are to be published in an edition by Kniseley. So far only the first volume has appeared (Motectorum quae octo vocibus concinuntur, 1597); my review of

this is to appear in ML, Missa super voces musicales is reprinted in Proske, Selectus novus missarum, Volume I, ii, 205, and discussed in Roche, 'Monteverdi and the Prima Prattica', 170-74.

31. Opere complete, vi, 216.
32. Opere complete, iv, 74.
33. Kniseley's suggestion (The Masses (1967), 15) that the work may have been intended for a now obsolete feast-day is surely unfounded: the mixture of Marian texts with those of a Confessor is too strange to allow this. Could it not be that they were simply alternatives?
34. Opere complete, iii, 82. Soriano's mass is reprinted in Proske, Selectus novus missarum, Volume II, ii, 461.
35. RISM 1566³; Opere complete, ix, 117.
36. Musica....sopra le stanze del Petrarca....Libro terzo (Venice, 1548), RISM 1548¹⁰; Opera omnia, iii, 34.
37. They have been transcribed in Williams.
38. LU, 1832.
39. See note 4. It is included among printed music in RISM.
40. An account of Anerio's first Mass as a priest is given in Gigli, 37 and quoted below, 301.
41. It has not been possible to find a model for the mass. The biblical passage which provides the text of the motet is Matthew, 16. 13, the Gospel for St. Peter's day.
42. Here Anerio could well have been influenced by the canonic masses of Palestrina. Agostini's canonic masses, while smaller in scale, are even more severe.
43. Twenty-six Roman publications of liturgical music have survived from the first decade of the 17th century; of these nineteen were printed with organ parts. Only three out of seventy-five publications of the second decade of the seicento lack organ parts; each of these is in a severe archaic style and appeared in choir-book format. Anerio's publication was clearly popular since it ran to the remarkable number of seven editions, the last produced as late as 1689 (RISM 1619²; 1626¹; 1635¹; 1639¹; 1646¹; 1662¹ and 1689¹).
44. For a short account of battle music see MGG entry on 'Battaglia', i, cols. 1405-11.
45. In D-MUs.
46. See 'Crivelli, Arcangelo', New Grove. His masses are transcribed in Johnson.

47. LU, 1259. The inclusion of a mass on this chant could well relate to the dedication of the volume to the Consorzio della misericordia maggiore in Bergamo.
48. LU, 2*-5*.
49. Missarum liber primus (Rome, 1619) and Missarum liber secundus (Rome, 1621).
50. LU, 324.
51. See below, 229. Agnus Dei à 5 of Missa Lauda Sion is similarly constructed and marked 'resolutio per oppositum'.
52. Il primo libro de madrigali à quattro voci (Naples, 1613).
53. RISM 1566³; Opere complete, ix, 117.
54. The mass is found in I-Rvat, cappella sistina, codex 53, and Marenzio's madrigal in Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci (Venice, 1580).
55. Allegri died in 1652, so the manuscript is posthumous; on stylistic grounds it is safe to assert that it dates from the 1620s.
56. Werken, Motetten, ii, 21. Josquin's music enjoyed some popularity in Rome in the early 17th century; I-Bc, Q.34, written in Rome in 1613, contains a number of his works.
57. The text is the Gradual for the Saturday after the second Sunday in Lent.
58. Similar canonic pieces are found in Ugolini's Motecta et missae... liber secundus (Rome, 1622).
59. See Appendix V.
60. Agazzari mentions the practice of playing from score in his 1607 treatise (see Strunk, 431).
61. 'come nel libro grande si vede.....che per brevità non si spartiscono'.
62. RISM makes the error of listing this as a separate publication, on the assumption that the one volume was two volumes bound together.
63. On Gargari see Eitner, iv, 157.
64. From the Spartitura delle messe del primo libro (Rome, 1627).
65. From the Partitura del terzo libro della messa sine nomine (Rome, 1627).
66. Part of this canon is printed (transposed) in Testi, ii, 245.
67. In keeping with the liturgical requirements for ferial days.

68. 'basso continuo, del Motetto, & Messa Benedicam Dominum, tutta in canone per quelli, che non vorranno sonare nelle quattro parte'.
69. This technique was described by Agazzari in his 1607 treatise (see Strunk, 424-31).
70. See table of publications, Appendix V.
71. D-Mūs, Sant. Hs. 16, f.1: Messa a quattro voci di Paolo Agostini Maestro in S.Pietro in Vaticano l'anno 1628, composta espressamente per S.Giovanni Laterano, ad istanza del Maestro di detta Chiesa Virgilio Mazzocchi.
72. DBDI, vi, 180-82.
73. MGG, xi, cols. 713-14.
74. Waldner, 134.
75. Hucke, 255.
76. This book of masses is discussed in Perz.
77. I have not as yet been able to identify the parody source of this mass, but in my search have eliminated settings of the text contained in Claudio Monteverdi, Canzonette.....libro primo (Venice, 1584), Gasparo Costa, Canzonette.....primo libro (Venice, 1580), Alfonso Ferrari, Canzonette.....libro secondo (Venice, 1600), Guglielmo Lipparino, Il primo libro delle canzonette (Venice, 1600), and Flaminio Tresti, Il primo libro delle canzonette (Venice, 1594). Lucrezio Quintiani's Le vaghe canzonette.....libro primo (Venice 1589) also contained a setting; the sol^o copy in DDR-Bds was destroyed.
78. Heinrich Isaac, De radice Jesse, Choralis Constantinus (Nuremberg, 1550): DTÜ, xxviii, 194 is a remarkable example of mixed mensural signatures.
79. One of the most complex is discussed in Smither, 'Romano Micheli's Dialogus Annuntiationis'.
80. Messa, e vespri della Madonna (Rome, 1621).
81. See Roche, North Italian liturgical Music, 155-64, 233-49.
82. The title-page of his Falsi bordoni a quattro voci.....Opera XXVIII (Rome, 1612) gives him as 'Maestro di capella nel Domo di Fano'.
83. Messe concertate.....libro secondo, opera decimaterza (Rome, 1631).
84. Missa, et sacrae cantiones.....opus terium (Rome, 1650).
85. Missa, ac Sacrarum cantionum binis, ternis, et quaternis vocibus. A trino fratrum germanorum Abundii, Francisci, et Angeli Antonelliorum ingenio compositarum, Liber quartus. (Rome, 1629), RISM 1629^o

86. Compare the style of his 1612 publication, 215-17.
87. Motecta.....quibus etiam accessit missa trium vocum.....liber primus (Rome, 1636).
88. Compare his solo motets, 218-19.
89. It is similar in scale to the mass in Grandi's Messa e salmi concertati, a tre voci (Venice, 1630) (see Roche, North Italian Liturgical Music, 124).
90. Vespertina psalmodia.....liber primus, opus secundum (Rome, 1641) and Psalmi vespertini.....liber II, opus tertium (Rome, 1642).
91. See Carver.
92. Missae quatuor octonis vocibus concinendae (Venice, 1601).
93. See Opera omnia, iv, 72, 99; vi, 1, 26, 59.
94. I-Bsf, Ms PALESTRINA VI-1; see above note 28.
95. Edited in Busch.
96. See chapter on the 'colossal Baroque', where masses for more than two choirs will be discussed.
97. RISM 1646¹
98. On his activity in Arezzo see Coradini, xv (1938), 251-55.
99. Concerti ecclesiastici a otto voci.....libro terzo (Rome, 1614).
100. The masses are discussed in Casimiri, 'Girolamo Frescobaldi', and are published in Frescobaldi, Opere complete, i. They are to be dealt with, along with his other vocal works, in an Oxford D.Phil. by Christopher Stenbridge.
101. Archives of S. John Lateran, Mazzo XI, 8.

CHAPTER VMUSIC FOR THE OFFICEVESPERSIntroduction

The largest proportion of published music for the divine office consists of settings of Vespers psalms.¹ Vespers was second in importance only to the Mass, and accordingly was often celebrated with considerable solemnity.² In the 17th-century Roman rite Vespers comprised five psalms, the chapter, a hymn, a versicle and response, the Magnificat and concluding prayer. The only unchanging part was the Magnificat - the central point of the office. The selection of psalms denotes, therefore, the occasions for which Vespers music was intended. As one would expect, printed collections tend to concentrate on psalms appropriate for Sundays and major feasts, a fact which accounts for the large canvas and impressive nature of much of the repertory; on other occasions the office would have been sung to chant. A sizeable portion of Vespers music is polychoral; composers did not seem to show so much reserve in this field as when setting the words of the Mass.

It is important to examine the liturgical function of Vespers publications; the following table shows the content of all Roman Vespers collections and the requirements for greater festivals. This indicates that the range of psalms was rather narrow (only 13 out of 150), and that those used frequently on Sundays and festivals are found in many musical settings. It could not have been common to

Psalms in Vespers Publications

	Dixit Dominus	Confitebor	Beatus vir	Laudate pueri	Credidi	Lauda Jerusalem	Laudate Dominum	De profundis	Nisi Dominus	Laetatus sum	In exitu	Domine probasti	In convertendo	Memento Domine	Beati omnes
Cifra 1609	X	X	X	X	X	X									
Cifra 1610	X	X	X	X			X	X		X			X		
Micheli 1610	X	X	X	X			X	X	X						
Cifra 1611	X	X	X	X			X	X	X						
Piccioni 1612	X	X	X	X	X		X								
Anerio 1614	X	X	X	X	X							X	X		
Capece 1615	X	X	X	X	X		X								
Massenzio 1618	X	X	X	X	X		X								
Agostini 1619	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X					
Nanino 1620	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X			X	X	
Tarditi 1620	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X			X	X	
Arsilli 1621	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X			X	X	
de Grandis 1624															
Gibellini 1624	X	X	X	X		X									
Landi 1624	X	X	X	X		X		X					X		
Talone 1629	X	X	X	X		X	X								
Diruta 1630	X	X	X	X		X	X	X		X					
Sabbatini 1630	X	X	X	X	X		X	X							
Massenzio 1631	X	X	X	X	X		X						X		
Serperio 1631	X	X	X	X	X										
Massenzio 1632	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				X		
Diruta 1633	X	X	X	X	X	X	X								
Massenzio 1634	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X						
Massenzio 1635	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X						
Cima 1636	X	X	X	X	X	X									
Massenzio 1636	X	X	X	X	X	X									
da Cavi 1641	X	X	X	X	X	X		X							
Vitali 1641	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X			X		
da Cavi 1642	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X			X		
Massenzio 1643	X	X	X	X					X				X		
A	X	X	X	X											
B	X	X	X	X		X									
C	X	X	X	X		X		X	X						
D	X	X	X	X	X						X	X			
E	X	X	X	X	X										
F	X	X	X	X	X										
G	X	X	X	X	X	X							X		
H	X	X	X	X	X	X	X						X		
I	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			X		X

A: 2nd Vespers of Sunday and Epiphany. B: 1st and 2nd Vespers of Our Lady, 1st and 2nd Vespers of Virgins, Holy Women and the Circumcision. C: 1st Vespers of Apostles, one Martyr, many Martyrs, Confessor Bishops, Christmas, Epiphany, Ascension, Pentecost and Trinity; 2nd Vespers of Confessors not Bishops and the Ascension. D: 2nd Vespers of Apostles. E: 2nd Vespers of one Martyr or of many Martyrs. F: 2nd Vespers of a Confessor Bishop. G: 1st and 2nd Vespers of the Dedication. H: 2nd Vespers of Christmas. I: 1st and 2nd Vespers of Corpus Christi

sing the entire service to measured music; one of the psalms, In exitu (113) was rarely set on account of its extended text, and it must therefore have been sung to falsobordone or chanted. While most books are suitable for Sundays, some contain additional psalms for feasts of Apostles. This material would also have been useful for male saints, first Vespers of Christmas, Epiphany, Ascension and Pentecost.

There are few hymn-settings, but when they do occur they define the primary liturgical orientation of a collection. Though it bears no statement of suitability for particular feasts, Massenzio's Psalmi... liber primus (1618) includes the 'hymno confessoris'; it is not surprising to find that all the psalms for both Vespers of a Confessor are set. Lucis creator, the Sunday office hymn, appears in the same composer's Quinto libro de salmi of 1635 alongside most of the Sunday Vesper psalms.

Occasionally the core of a volume fulfils usual requirements for Sundays and some festivals, and a less frequently used psalm is introduced to make the book suitable for a particular feast.³ Two psalms, however, were included with a frequency vastly out of proportion with the regularity of the occurrence in the liturgy: Nisi Dominus (126) and Laetatus sum (121). This is because they constitute part of Vespers for feasts of the Virgin.⁴ Their numerous appearances indicate the popularity of Marian feasts, which must often have been celebrated with special music. Many publications are entitled 'della Madonna' or something similar;⁵ and some which have no specific designation are also clearly intended for feasts of Our Lady since they contain Marian psalms, and omit those for Sundays and other festivals. Examples of these are Cifra's Salmi septem.....opus decimum (1611) and Diruta's Salmi intieri.....opera duodecima (1630). Agostini's 1619 Salmi della Madonna concentrates on Marian Vespers,

and includes settings of antiphons, the hymn Ave maris stella and a number of appropriate motets.⁶

Polyphonic settings of Vespers antiphons were not confined to those publications where psalms predominate; some were published in separate collections and others as motets. A comprehensive collection of Cifra's motets, published in 1638,⁷ confirms the tradition of singing antiphons to measured music. This publication, consisting entirely of motets from earlier prints,⁸ contains an index which catalogues the two hundred-odd motets according to the temporal and sanctoral cycles, indicating the liturgical use of each antiphon by the numbers one to five (for the psalms) and 'Magn'. This indexing system is clarified in the preface:

Et affinche il Musico ne possa godere più agiatamente, e con maggior prestezza servirsene si sono tutte in una sola muta unite, e raccolte con beneficio di due Tavoli generali, l'una è su'l principio dell'opera, ove per ordine d'alfabeto si notano i motetti à quante, e quali voci s' siano, l'altra è nel fine, ove ciascuno di essi è riposto à suoi luoghi coll'ordine de Mesi, ò pure à i Comuni ò alle Feste Mobili, ò à tempi altri indifferenti, essendosi parimente l'Antifone proprie de Vesperi co'i numeri notate, e distinte.

And in order that the musician may benefit from it more fully, and use it with greater speed, they are all united in one print, and collected with the addition of two general indexes; one, the first in the work, consists of the motets in alphabetical order with an indication of how many of which voices are required; the other is at the end, where each of them is placed in its position in the year, whether for the Common or the moveable feasts, or for use at other miscellaneous times, including also the Vespers antiphons with their numbers indicated distinctly.

An analysis of Cifra's four 1609 motet collections shows the frequency with which antiphon texts were set as motets:

Analysis of texts in Cifra's four collections of 1609

	Liber I	Liber II	Liber III	Liber IV	Average
Vespers antiphons	40%	67%	62%	57%	57%
Other antiphons	15%	5%	-	5%	6%
Hymns	10%	5%	5%	9%	7%
Biblical	5%	-	-	-	1%
Responsories	15%	9%	28%	9%	16%
Graduals	10%	-	5%	15%	7%
Introit	5%	9%	-	5%	5%
Unidentified	-	5%	-	-	1%

Cifra was not unique in his choice of texts, and publications by other composers produce similar patterns.⁹ Some composers wrote sets of antiphons for the entire liturgical cycle or for a particular festival, rather than simply including a number of antiphons in a motet collection.¹⁰ Giovanni Francesco Anerio's three volumes of Antiphonae of 1613 are specifically arranged to provide music for Vespers throughout the year.¹¹ His antiphons take the form of miniature motets for two to four voices; anything more extended would prolong Vespers too greatly (No. 13). Five two-part settings of Marian Vespers antiphons are included in Agostini's Salmi della Madonna of 1619.¹² Similar provision of motets to replace plainsong antiphons on specific occasions is found in Diruta's Sacrae modulationes.....opus decimum (1630) which comprises music for feasts of major Augustinian saints, also including some hymn-settings. O sanctissime Gulielme is designated 'Al Magnificat l Vesp.', while St. Monica fares better with four antiphons and a setting of the hymn Te ferant linguae. S. Chiara da Montefeltro is represented by a two-part hymn-setting, and St. Augustine has an almost complete set of antiphons for both Vespers. The Magnificat antiphons for his feast, Adest nobis and Hodie gloriosus, are large-scale polychoral pieces; their size denotes the importance which Diruta attached to the feast of the founder of his order.

Psalm 109, Dixit Dominus, opens all festal Vespers, and is often distinguished from the other psalms by its particularly grand scale. Some composers, such as Pietro Pace¹³ and Paolo Quagliati,¹⁴ went so far as to include a Dixit Dominus in their motet collections, as if to ensure that the office had an impressive beginning, even if the rest of the psalms were sung to plainsong or falsobordone. The length of psalm-texts was partially responsible for the retention of falsobordone in the 17th century; it relieved composers of the necessity of setting entire texts polyphonically.¹⁵ Plainsong and falsobordone must have been employed for the lengthy In exitu, which was rarely set to measured music (it has twenty-nine verses); for performing psalms in churches with limited resources, or in larger churches on lesser occasions; and for supplying alternate verses which were not set in a substantial number of collections. Indication of this practice is found in the preface to Agazzari's Psalmi sex....opus duodecimum (1609) which, though published in Venice, followed (in Agazzari's words) the 'uso di Roma'. Here he admits the possibility of using falsobordone and other means to secure variety:

di più se ne deve cantare uno solo per Vesparo, per dar luogo a gl' altri che si cantano à 8, overo a 4. in falso bordone, potendosi tal volta lassar qualcuno di detti versetti, per farlo cantare a qualche bella voce sola in falso bordone

Moreover, if one must sing only one [psalm] for Vespers, in order to give place to others which one sings in eight or four parts in falsobordone, one can each time leave some of the said versets in order to sing them in falso-bordone with some beautiful solo voice.

Massenzio's motet collection, Motecta....liber secundus (1614), contains a De profundis (129) setting, in which alternate verses are set polyphonically. The performance direction reflects what was probably the norm for alternatim psalms: 'One sings a verse polyphonically, and the other in falsobordone'.¹⁶ Specific directions

are not usually found since in Vespers publications this mode of performance would have been taken for granted; in a motet collection, however, Massenzio presumably felt that further explanation was necessary.

There are printed collections of falsobordone harmonizations of the psalm-tones; these were certainly used for supplying alternate verses, as well as for singing complete psalms. One set by Viadana appeared in Rome in 1612;¹⁷ the composer, at that time maestro at Fano, harmonized the eight psalm-tones in seven different ways for each of two choirs. The fact that he employed two choral groups suggests that alternatim performance lay at the root of the style. The two choirs are required to unite for the 'Sicut erat' which, though based on the psalm-tone, is more than a simple harmonization, and is written in eight real parts (Ex. 13). Severi's publication of 1615,¹⁸ though containing much florid writing, is simply one possible way of treating psalm-tones. The versets are mainly for solo voice with accompaniment, and the voice has elaborate passaggi based on the falsobordone. Sabbatini produced a volume on 1650 with a section devoted to harmonizations of psalm-tones.¹⁹ Each tone is provided with a number of examples 'all'uso Romano' in four parts, showing that this manner of psalm singing persisted until at least the middle of the century (Ex. 14). In Psalmi.....liber primus, opus duodecimum (1630), Sabbatini included three verses of four-part falsobordone in the psalm Confitebor. The simplicity of the writing acts as an effective foil to the contrapuntal versets. Other composers were similarly attracted by simple harmonizations and included them as an element in larger works. Soriano wrote a number of such verses in the Magnificats of his 1619 publication,²⁰ for instance, in the Septimi toni (Ex. 15). Agostini's Salmi della Madonna of the same year includes a verse headed 'à 3 in Falso Bordone' in Magnificat Ottavo Tono which is simply a harmonization

of the psalm-tone.

Composers were doubtless influenced by this to include short passages of choral recitation in psalm-settings.²¹ Diruta wrote some verses where the opening words are placed under a longa; this portion was presumably sung in speech rhythm before the introduction of a metrical pulse for the rest of the verse. The technique was sporadically used by Filippo da Cavi in his Vespertina psalmodia....liber primus, opus secundum (1641).

Non-Polychoral Vespers Music²²

The main difficulty confronting the composer of psalm-settings is the length of the texts since, while the motet usually treats only one or two verses, the service of Vespers requires entire psalms to be set. It has already been noted that, following ancient traditions of antiphony, composers overcame the problem by providing music only for alternate verses, with the remainder being left to plainsong and falsobordone. A further way of coping with the length of the texts, whether or not they were set in their entirety, was to adopt a concise musical style with much syllabic writing. Despite the problems, many composers managed to invest their music with some interesting features, causing it to rise above a pedestrian subservience to the words. In the hands of a less skilled composer Vespers music can lack character, since the overriding concern was to cover the text briskly.

Though not published in Rome, Agazzari's three-voiced psalms, Psalmi sex of 1609, are close enough to his activity there to be of relevance.²³ It is reasonable to assume in the light of a preface outlining the Roman usage, that the music represents what Agazzari considered to be the Roman style; as such it is immaterial whether he composed the psalms in Rome, or after he had left for his native Siena. The freedom of performance which Agazzari encouraged within one service of Vespers has already been discussed; his other methods of securing variety are equally notable:²⁴

Per la qual cosa essendo questa mia Operetta, uno fra diversi modi di variare i Salmi, per la vaghezza che apportano fra di loro le parte estreme dei Soprani e Basso, ho voluto per mezzo delle stampe comunicarle a tutti; dichiarandomi che detti Salmi si debbono cantare con l'Organo, ovvero con accompagnatura d'altri

Since this is my little work, one of the many ways of treating the psalms, on account of the charm produced by the interplay of the outer parts, the soprano and bass, I have wanted to tell everyone by means of this print that the said psalms must be sung with organ, or with the accompaniment of other instruments such as the

stromenti come Leuto, Tiorba, &c.
perche altrimenti l'armonia
sarebbe troppo povera.....

lute and theorbo etc., because
the harmony otherwise will be too
thin.....

Such clear indication of a progressive attitude towards performance, the uso di Roma, allows us to discount frequently held notions of Roman conservatism.²⁵ The same acceptance of instrumental music is found in the part-books themselves, where it is stated before the Laudate Dominum (116), 'Before this verse one plays an instrumental piece'²⁶. No music is provided and neither do the psalms contain instrumental parts. One is left to wonder what music would have been played - perhaps part of the psalm itself, or more likely an independent instrumental composition. In some respects the last question is peripheral, since the importance of this publication lies in providing evidence that music in Rome was not treated in such a monochrome manner as later historians have led us to believe. Agazzari showed himself to be progressive in other ways, such as in the use of a solo voice for two sections of the same psalm, Laudate Dominum. However, he seems to have been aware that such writing would not be accepted by everyone, and therefore included alternative settings for more voices of solo verses in the Magnificat, a good example of his general style (No. 14).

Cifra's collection of four-part psalms of the same year, Psalmi septem.....opus septimum, was published in Rome. Stylistically this work is somewhat neutral, consisting of functional polyphony with little change between verses or use of pictorial techniques. When these occur, such as the angular descending phrase on 'respicit in caelo et in terra' in Laudate pueri (112), they stand out as noteworthy features of the music. All the psalms in this volume are alternatim, and the first half of the initial verse is included as an intonation in either the canto or tenor part. The psalm-tone often

permeates the whole of the first verse, and in Dixit Dominus, where the canto intones, this voice continues to sing the chant in a metrical manner during the second half of the verse. In Credidi (115), however, the tenor intones but the canto sings the psalm-tone in the second half of the verse. Though invariably found in the 'Gloria Patri', triple time is not often used: a few isolated bars sometimes occur as an interpolation in the prevailing quadruple metre, usually for particularly important words such as 'nomen Domini' (No. 15).

Cifra followed substantially the same style in his Salmi septem...opus decimum (1611) both in the use of triple metre and in the continuation of the psalm-tone in the second half of initial verses. A slight relaxation with regard to triple time can be detected, and passages of rather greater length are found. In Magnificat I he used this metre to good effect in the second half of the verse 'deposuit potentes', where it symbolizes the contrast between 'potentes' and the 'humiles'. Certain subtleties of scoring add to the interest: Laudate pueri (112) is written, appropriately enough, for three canti and bass, while Magnificat II uses two canti, a bright and attractive deviation from the CATB norm. In the same Magnificat, Cifra based the first verse on the psalm-tone, and then brought it back at the end of the 'Gloria Patri' (Ex. 16). Though the chant is only stated on these two occasions, the entire piece is firmly rooted in that tonality.

Like Agazzari, Romano Micheli included a lengthy 'Ad lectorum' in the preface to his three-part Psalmi ad officium vesperarum..... liber primus (1610). Here Micheli describes performance possibilities in what is a characteristically verbose manner. His purpose in writing was to point out the adaptability of the compositions:

Musicis Cantoribus rem gratam me facturum spero Amice lector, si quid in nostris hisce Motectis, cum iis uti voluerint, osservare & custodire conveniat, paucis monuero.

Animadvertat doctus Organicus posse nostram Psalmodyam pluribus ac variis modis decantari, Nam quamvis moduli ternis vocibus sint attributi, apte tamen & cum iucunditate accomodari possunt, ut suos numeros retineant, si unica voce, vel binis vocibus, sicut si ternis concinantur. Quando quis voce Tenoris illos canere velit, vocem in Cantu effundet Octava inferiori: contra vero Altus in Bassu, Octava alta.

Si binis vocibus proferantur, simul canere possunt Bassus & Cantus, Bassus & Tenor, Duo Tenores, Tenor & Cantus, Altus & Cantus, & duo Cantus.

Quod si ternis vocibus accomodentur, suavior modulatio orietur, si Bassus & duo Cantus simul iungantur, vel Bassus & duo Tenores, aut Bassus, Cantus & Tenor, vel tandem Altus et duo Cantus ad usum Sanctimonialium. Est tamen annotandum quod quando concinnuntur vocibus Tenoris, Bassus, & Cantus, Qui Tenoris vocem profert, debet in Cantu quem primo inchoabit consistere. Decantari possunt singuli Psalmi ternis vocibus, praedictis modis, etiam sine Organo & alio musico instrumento.

Postremo in locis quibuidam ambiguis partis Organicae apposita est Dises# ad significandam Tertiam maiorem, & Bemollis b. pro Tertia minori. Vale.

I hope, dear reader, that musicians and singer will grant me a favour, if, singing these our compositions, those who wish to use them will be pleased to observe and attend to some advise which I shall give. The learned organist can notice in our psalmody many varied manners of singing; for example, though three voices are indicated, they can, however, be rightly and agreeably adjusted in order to retain their metre with only one voice or two voices just as if three voices were singing together.

When anyone with a tenor voice wishes to sing, he may sing the canto part an octave lower: on the other hand, an alto can sing the bass an octave higher. If it is performed by two voices, bass and canto may sing together, bass and tenor, two tenors, tenor and canto, alto and canto, or two canti.

But if three voices are employed, a sweeter melody will result if bass and two canti join together, or bass and two tenors, bass canto and tenor, or finally alto and two canti, according to the custom of the church.

It is noted finally that when it is sung by tenor, bass and canto, he who sings tenor must take the voice part which enters first. Each psalm can be sung with three voices, in the above manners, even without organ or other musical instruments.

Lastly, in fact, at places in both organ parts, a sharp is added to signify a major third and a flat to signify a minor one. Farewell.

In common with those of Cifra, Micheli's psalm-settings consist of a series of short versets based on alternate verses. Each psalm is intoned by the canto, except Laudate pueri which begins without an intonation. Micheli's music is however more progressive than Cifra's in its extended triple-metre sections, for example 'Gloria Patri' of

Laudate Dominum; here Micheli uses lengthy phrases of lively dotted rhythms followed by closely argued counterpoint in quadruple metre (No. 16). His rather clever, eccentric style of writing gives each verset a distinctive character, a feature all too often lacking in psalm composition.

A new means of securing variety is encountered in G.F. Anerio's Psalmi vesperarum (1614) where, for the first time in a Roman psalm publication, the term 'concertato' is applied, namely to the two Magnificat settings for four voices. Unlike Anerio's alternim psalms the Magnificats are through-composed, and the entire text is set. In his motet collections, Anerio had shown himself to be well-equipped to manage the new style, and here the Magnificats demonstrate the same skill. The Magnificat octavi toni has a constantly changing texture, with sections for many vocal scorings leading neatly from one to the next (No. 17). The 'Gloria Patri' exemplifies its progressive nature: after the initial word declaimed by the whole choir over a tonic chord, the names of the three persons of the Trinity are given in turn to the bass, canto and tenor, the tutti entering at 'Sicut erat'. Extended triple-metre sections also lend variety to the music: for instance, the tutti 'suscepit' employs this metre. The remainder of the volume, containing psalms for three and four voices, is more traditional in style, and there is no concertato writing. The vocal lines are generally what one would expect in a conservative polyphonic style, though some contrast is introduced, for example at 'Pace super Israel' (Ex. 17) in the four-voiced Beati omnes (127) - a psalm in which the highest voice very often preserves the outline of the fifth psalm-tone. Different scorings are also found in a number of psalms 'a voci pari' for CCAT, but once the forces are established there is generally little variation within the piece.

The Vespers music of Alessandro Capece was published in Rome in

1615 and the following year in two complementary prints; the first comprises a selection of psalms, and the second Magnificats on each of the eight tones. Capece took the opposite approach to Anerio since his Magnificats are considerably more retrospective than his psalms. Here we see two schools of thought emerging, the one preserving the old style out of reverence to the words, and the other bringing in all the latest ideas to make a striking setting of the climax of the office. Capece's Magnificats, though produced in part-books, lack an organ part, one of the few publications of the period to do so. In one setting only, the Magnificat octavi toni, he adopts a more advanced style with shorter note-values and regular rhythmic patterns. More typical of the collection is the Magnificat primi toni in which the alternatim versets rely on the chant of the first tone. Two are for three voices, while in the 'Gloria Patri' Capece added an extra tenor part in canon with the canto; the canonic voices closely follow the psalm-tone (No. 18). All the Magnificats in the volume are alternatim; the first four set alternate verses from 'Quia respexit', while the others use 'Et exultavit' as the starting point. Though more progressive in using bassus ad organum, Capece's Davidis Cithara Psalmorum (1615) contains no concertato music and makes only limited use of triple time, mainly at 'Gloria Patri'. He set each psalm in alternatim and adopted a basically syllabic style, following the tradition of Cifra's 1609 and 1611 collections. One is astonished to see how Capece eventually emerged as one of the more progressive figures of his age; but a study of this facet of his output must wait until we deal with his motets and music for Matins.

The practice of writing retrospective Magnificats is continued in Massenzio's Psalmi.....liber primus of 1618. With three progressive motet collections to his credit, Massenzio is not a composer who would seem likely to choose a more old-fashioned idiom. One can only

suggest that, as with the Mass, some composers felt a reverence for the monumentality of the text and therefore set it in an archaic way to avoid corrupting the sacred words with the ephemera of the age. Massenzio's second 1618 Magnificat is entitled 'sine organo' - an almost unique indication; it consists of six versets, three for five voices, two for four, and the 'Gloria Patri' for six. Four versets employ a CF, and the 'Gloria Patri' is constructed around a canon in the two canti. Another unusual item in the collection is a setting of the hymn Iste Confessor for feasts of Confessors;²⁷ the style used here differs vastly from that of Magnificat II. It contains two tutti and three duet versets, the continuo being obligatory. The psalms, however, maintain a full texture throughout, with some relief provided by occasional sections of triple metre, especially at the 'Gloria Patri'. Only passing attention is given to the musical depiction of the text, such as at the verse 'dispersit' in Beatus vir (111), where a number of semiquavers are introduced and there is a more definite rhythmic orientation. The same tradition of keeping the Magnificats retrospective is continued in Soriano's Passio D.N. Iesu Christi..... Magnificat sexdecim (1619). While laid out in choir-book format, these four-part settings are similar to those of Massenzio both in their archaic constructionalism, and in their use of psalm-tone CFs. In Soriano's output, however, such works do not stand out as exceptional; the Passions in the same volume are equally stile antico, and Soriano can justifiably be considered among the most reactionary composers of his generation.

Though his Psalmi vespertini of 1620 were issued in part-books with bassus ad organum, G.B. Nanino did admit an alternative manner of performance since he directed 'Con il basso per l'organo se piace'.²⁸ This was not his only concession to tradition, since he followed the accepted manner of constructing the 'Gloria Patri' about a canon at

the fifth.²⁹ As in Soriano's collection of the previous year, an example of falsobordone was included, namely the 'Sicut erat' of Lauda Jerusalem (147). There is no concertato writing (impractical without continuo), the only deviations from the standard four-voice scoring being a five-part Nisi Dominus and the three-part 'Et misericordia' from the Magnificat.

In complete contrast with those settings which hark back to the prima prattica, Pietro Pace included a Dixit Dominus and a Magnificat among the motets in his L'ottavo libro de motetti.....opera decimanona (1619). One might see Pace as representing the other school of Magnificat writing, one which was evident in the work of Anerio in 1614. Recognizing the canticle as the focal point of the office, Pace set it with all the latest concertato devices. The six-part Magnificat and the Dixit Dominus freely employ solo and duet sections; also notable in the former is an instance of choral recitation at 'Et misericordia'. The title-page of this print describes the content as 'il tutto concertato', an epithet which applies to the psalms as well as to the motets.

Agostini's publication of the same year (1619) is one of the most comprehensive collections of Vespers music. Though written for only three voices, Salmi della Madonna resembles Monteverdi's publication of 1610³⁰ - the famous Marian Vespers - in its layout, and in its provision of antiphons, hymn-settings and other Marian texts suitable for performance as motets. There is a great deal of variety in the collection, and all the psalms and the Magnificat are set at least twice. Often the alternatim versets of the psalms contain solo writing, but this feature is more marked in the motets, where the length provides increased scope for changes of texture. The title-page raises some problems which it is impossible to solve with certainty since the necessary material no longer appears to be extant. The

words 'divisa in due parti' occur in the title, but since the volume has an abundance of music for the entire service it is difficult to imagine a companion set of volumes simply providing further settings. That the other parte must complement the present publication (rather than being an internal division) is made clear by the headings of some of the psalms, for instance 'Questo Dixit corrisponde con la 2. parte'. This would make sense of the designation of the first psalm, Dixit Dominus, 'a versi spezzati'. In common with every piece in the collection, only alternate verses are set, but the description suggests that the rest of the verses were not intended for plainsong or falso-bordone treatment, but rather to be sung to polyphony, by a further group of musicians using the books of the seconda parte. This seems the only interpretation, and it must mean that only half of the publication is extant. As for the psalms where no correspondence with another book is indicated, one can suppose that they were sung in alternatim in the usual manner. The theory of spezzato performance is further substantiated by the heading of the second Ave maris stella: 'Ave Maris Stella. Tacet. Lo cantano nella seconda parte'. Since the piece opens with the second verse, 'Sumens illud ave' (plainsong-based, Ex. 18), headed 'Secondo verso risposte', spezzato performance was the intention at least here. Despite its evident incompleteness, this publication illustrates the Roman use of another, the spezzato method of psalm composition, one which became popular in Venetian publications of the mid-cinquecento.

A smaller collection, Arsilli's Messa, e vespri della Madonna (1621), also includes the Marian psalms and Magnificat, but no related pieces. The psalms are concertato and the complete texts are set in a continuous manner. These four-voiced psalms contain few solo passages, but their concertato nature consists in constantly altering vocal groupings, the parts often coming together in a section of

triple metre. Though this is a forward-looking publication, Arsilli seems to have been conversant with psalm-tones (like any maestro), and so when a movement is not intoned, such as the Magnificat, the chant is included in the opening phrase. Some freedom of invention (the composer rather than the liturgy taking the upper hand) is demonstrated at the conclusion of the Magnificat, where curious echoes occur in the 'Gloria Patri' (Ex. 19).

Landi's Psalmi integri quattuor vocibus of 1624 are composed in a similar vein. Unlike Arsilli, he does not advertise his work as 'concertato' (probably indiscreet for one so closely associated with the Vatican) but, if anything, Landi seems more frequently to use reduced sections than Arsilli. In common with the entire collection, In convertendo (125) is through-composed and it makes a good example of his style (No. 19). Interest is maintained by a pictorial approach to word-setting: there are lengthy melismas at 'torrens in austro'; the 'in lacrimis' section introduces some bold chromaticism which contrasts with the subsequent triple-metre passage; and the triple-time 'Gloria Patri' is spirited in style. Landi appended some instructions in the bass part-book which are worth detailing; the fact that he felt it necessary to include them tells us something about the level of performance:

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1. A chi canterà questi Salmi
Li raccorda contar le Pause</p> | <p>1. To those who will sing these
psalms
One must remember to count
the rests</p> |
| <p>2. Chi li sonarà
Che le Chiavi, che sono più
alte della Chiave del Basso,
non le suoni all'ottava bassa</p> | <p>2. To those who will play
That one should not play
an octave lower when a clef
higher than the bass clef is
used.</p> |
| <p>3. A chi li farà cantare
Che legge cantanti securi, è
di buonissima voce, à cioè il
tutto possa riuscire conforme
al decoro della Chiesa, & à
lode del Signore. Iddio, cui</p> | <p>3. To those who will sing
Trustworthy singers, with
good voices, who study in
this way may all succeed to
conform to the dignity of
the Church and of the Lord</p> |

honor, & gloria in saecula
saeculorum, &c.

God, to whom be honour and
glory for ever and ever, etc.

The first two instructions relate to the nature of concertato music; with reduced sections, the rests in an individual part would be more extended, and it would be easy for an inexperienced singer to lose his place. It would have been very rare in the non-concertato style for the organist to have extended passages in anything but the bass clef, and therefore the second instruction is of relevance. The advice would have proved a valuable introduction to the pitfalls of performing concertato music, an idiom still in its infancy.

The 1624 Salmi vespertini of Girolamo Gibellini is his attempt to produce a setting of the utmost simplicity, presumably for churches with limited resources. It could well have been composed with his own situation at Norcia (a small town between Spoleto and Ascoli) in mind. Unlike the publications we have just examined, Gibellini's for two and three voices comprises only alternatim pieces. The small scale of this collection is noteworthy and it contains the only extant example of duet psalms - a surprising fact considering the popularity of this scoring for motets. It could well be that minor churches turned to plainsong, an easily available substitute, when a cappella was not able to sing polyphonic music at the office; as already observed in connection with the Mass, there was no chant to resort to if a choir could not manage to sing a motet - hence the small-scale motet. The style of Gibellini's two-part Magnificat (No. 20) is similar to that of a contemporary motet; the parts move fluently with some regularity of rhythm, and there is no thought of prima prattica retrospection, despite the canticle text.

The publications of Massenzio and Diruta from the beginning of the 1630s initiated a new era in psalm-setting. Both these composers take the idea of through-composition which appeared during the early

years of the century, and develop it using an idiom less hidebound by stile antico conventions. Though this is true for the greater part of Diruta's output, in the Salmi intieri (1630) he still gives the option: 'Con il basso per l'Organo, se piace'. As one would imagine from this direction there is no concertato writing and the four-part texture is fairly consistent. Much of the writing is syllabic and homophonic, but some descriptive moments occur, such as 'velociter currit' in Lauda Jerusalem (Ex. 20); in this passage the dotted rhythms are followed by an extended triple-metre section - the antithesis of the cautious use of this metre one finds at the beginning of the century. The 'qui dat nivem' passage can be considered as a section in its own right as opposed to a mere interpolation; such use of triple metre is increasingly common throughout the decade. In his Dixit Dominus, however, Diruta still felt the need to return to quadruple metre for a few beats at the 'Amen', almost as if the piece would not otherwise have been complete. In contrast with Lauda Jerusalem, the setting of Laudate Dominum (No. 21) is conservative; there is little contrapuntal writing, and a homophonic texture is maintained with little ornamentation - no need for a supporting instrument here. Also retrospective is his need to establish the psalm-tone in the Magnificat; this Diruta does by introducing falso-bordone choral recitation followed by writing closely based on the contour of the tone.

If Diruta's 1630 collection can be regarded as his 'short service', his Psalmi vespertini.....liber secundus, opus sextum decimum of 1633 is, in some ways, his 'great service'. Though written for only three voices in alternatim versets, he employs an immensely florid vocal style with virtuoso runs and repeated semiquavers, as well as prolonged passages of dotted rhythms. Sadly this work is not fully extant, though one can gather that it makes the same use of

triple metre and occasional choral recitation as his 1630 print. It differs, however, from that publication in the occurrence of reduced sections, including a canto solo at 'Usque ad occasum' in Laudate pueri (Quarto tono); an organ accompaniment is obviously indispensable in this collection.

Some useful terminology for dealing with psalm-settings can be derived from Massenzio's Salmi vespertini....libro terzo, opera undecima (1632). In this volume the psalms are categorized as 'concertati' and 'seguiti', with the exception of Lauda Jerusalem for CCCA which is 'à versi spezzati', and in which only alternate verses are set. Both the concertato and seguito psalms set the entire text; the former employ changes in scoring while the latter maintain a reasonably continuous texture, with no voices attaining prominence at any stage in the piece. Extended passages of triple metre occur in this volume, and Beatus vir is in this measure throughout; elsewhere, such as in the Laudate Dominum, it is used for lengthy passages. Also included in this Marian collection is a setting of Ave maris stella designated concertato; this is not, however, through-composed but divided into versets. Different scorings are used for each section: it opens with a canto solo, and there are two duets in addition to the tutti. This piece by Massenzio is an example of what Diruta called 'concertato alla romana' in his Venetian Compline publication of 1623,³¹ where he included a Miserere which, though sectionalized, contains a variety of voice groupings. Diruta's print is known only from the second tenor part, from which it can be deduced that the piece contained duets and trios as well as tutti sections for all five voices. It is this use of different scorings in verset-like sections that appears to have been typically Roman and to have constituted for Diruta the style 'a versetti concertato alla romana'.

In his Quinto libro de salmi vespertini.....opera quintadecima (1633) Massenzio included a setting of the hymn Lucis creator, but no In exitu is found despite the clear orientation of the print towards Sunday Vespers. There are very few publications of any kind exclusively for five voices in the period; and because of the thick texture the style is largely syllabic with a notable absence of florid ornamentation. Much of the vocal writing harks back to the stile antico, though the general conception is vertical. Each psalm sets the entire text without sectionalization and there is little concertato writing. The Confitebor makes considerably more use of varying vocal groupings than do the other psalms: it starts with three voices, then reduces to two canti, and the tutti is not introduced until the tripla at the words 'magna opera'. Though in its vocal deployment the volume is rather conservative, there is a progressive approach to triple time: Laudate pueri is entirely in that metre, and dispenses with the intonation. By contrast, Dixit Dominus is retrospective in using that metre only for short interpolations; this piece is firmly based on the psalm-tone which, after the intonation, occurs in the first canto in long notes - another instance of the Dixit Dominus being single out for special treatment. The Lucis creator is not through-composed but divided into verse sections; two are set as duets, one as a trio and the remaining two for five voices. As is often the case with hymn-settings, considerable use of triple time is made; in fact, only the third verse is in quadruple metre.

The dearth of hymn-settings has already been mentioned in discussing the content of Vespers publications, and one is led to the conclusion that hymns were generally sung to plainsong. A handful of hymn collections did appear; these were no new thing in the 17th century, and even Palestrina had made an important contribution to the

genre in 1589.³² They were however produced infrequently, and the first Roman publication to concern us here dates from 1636, when the Hymni³³ of Filippo Vitali, a member of the papal chapel, were printed in choir-book format. The collection contains thirty-four office hymns in a polyphonic style for four voices. The settings, for the sanctoral and temporal cycles, are for the most part based on plainsong and demand alternatim performance with different music being supplied for each polyphonic verse. The use of a CF is rare though it does occur, for example, in the 'Tantum ergo' verse of Pange lingua gloriosi (Ex. 21). The only other hymn collection which relates to our period is Diruta's Hymni pro vesperis, published in Rome in 1646. It contains fifty-nine office hymns for four and five voices with continuo. Many of the texts are set more than once on account of their importance within the liturgy; for instance Ave maris stella appears six times, and Deus tuorum militum for feasts of martyrs, four times. In all respects this publication is far more advanced than Vitali's; there are verses for reduced forces including solos, as at the opening of Vexilla regis; plainsong no longer rigidly controls the vocal lines; the continuo is essential; and the vocal style is far from the prima prattica. The opening of Exultet orbis à 5 is notable for light two-part writing based on a semiquaver motif which gives way to a section of simple triple metre. One of the Ave maris stella à 4 is akin to the 'aria' style found in Mazzocchi's motet Adsunt dies,³⁴ where a strong rhythm is reiterated within the structure of a well-established quadruple metre. This is the only hymn-setting in the volume to be through-composed - an unusual way of setting a hymn as the natural division into verses was usually respected.

Massenzio's second collection of four-part Vespers psalms appeared in 1636³⁵ and was reprinted within the same year. It

contains psalms described as 'intieri', a term which indicates that the whole text has been set, and which seems to replace the word 'seguito' used in the 1632 collection. One psalm and one Magnificat are concertato; however, the other Magnificat is inscribed 'intieri'. The Magnificat concertata makes effective use of a variety of vocal groupings: there is no intonation, and instead the canticle is introduced by a duet for tenor and alto which is separated from the rest of the movement by a double bar. Solo writing and duets are plentiful, and the full choir enters periodically as a refrain. The psalm Credidi (No. 22) is more typical of this collection for feasts of Our Lady and the Apostles. Its harmonic aspect is governed by the first psalm-tone, and the words are set in a brisk manner, concluding with a simple triple-time 'Gloria Patri'. Interest is maintained by constantly changing scorings, but there is still not a sufficient sense of sectionalization to merit the designation 'concertato'.

The same year, 1636, saw the publication of four-part psalms by Tullio Cima; all of these, unlike Massenzio's, consist of short alternatim versets, with the exception of the second Magnificat marked 'Magnificat Concertata'. The latter piece is through-composed and includes some solo writing: for instance, the 'quia respexit' is written for canto and the 'deposuit' for bass solo, while the latter section contains the usual rising melismas at 'et exultavit'. The rest of Cima's Salmi per il Vespero e dui Magnificat.....opera quinta represents the style, based on the interplay of homophony and counterpoint, which characterizes psalm writing of the era; the short, generally syllabic phrases help to keep the text moving. Little use is made of triple metre save in the doxologies, and in this respect Cima fails to accept the more advanced approach to the metre of some of his contemporaries.

Massenzio's final contribution to the Vespers repertory was his

Davidica psalmodia vespertina.....liber septimus, opus XVII of 1643.

Though written for four voices, like Cima's, the psalms are continuously set. The collection is described on the title-page as 'Integra, & Bipartita'; 'integra' clearly means through-composed and non-concertato, and 'bipartita' refers inexplicably to those which are concertato, about half the content. The Magnificat is described as 'Concertato due canti' and is scored for CCAB. The two canti frequently sing together, and the first verse is a duet, the other voices entering at 'et exultavit' in triple metre. Laetatus sum shows some originality: it begins with an extended triple-time melisma, leading to a quadruple-metre section, which starts with a repeat of the opening words (Ex. 22). The motifs employed in this section are highly rhythmic and regular giving the music a great sense of momentum.

Such a strong Baroque sense of rhythm was foreign to Filippo Vitali, whose Psalmi ad vespertas (1641) is a testimony to the continuation of the stile antico in psalm-setting. Vitali, whose work is inscribed 'Cum Basso ad Organum si placet', was a singer in the Cappella Sistina at the time of the publication. The option of omitting the organ reveals what for the 1640s was a conservative attitude, but it is in keeping with performance traditions of the papal chapel and with his own hymn-settings. All the psalms except one set the entire text, and there are no concertato-style reduced passages, much of the writing being homophonic. Though triple metre occurs, it is stunted in comparison with the developed passages of such writing constructed by his contemporaries. The one psalm that is not continuously set (for obvious reasons) is the alternim In exitu for Sunday Vespers. This piece is in no sense concertato; though the bass is omitted in two verses, a standard contrapuntal style is employed throughout.

In 1641 and 1642 Filippo da Cavi published sets of Vespers music for four and five voices respectively. Da Cavi, maestro at S. Agostino, set the complete texts in a 'seguito', continuous manner with a unified deployment of voices as opposed to a concertato idiom. The interest of the music comes from the animated rhythms secured by declamatory repeated notes and from the striking tonalities. Dixit Dominus from the Psalmi vespertini.....liber II, opus tertium of 1642 is written throughout in what in present-day terms could be described as F minor (No. 23). It is an exciting setting; there is much animated rhythmic writing and the vocal lines are supported by a regularly moving bassus ad organum part. Despite what is in many ways an advanced style da Cavi's music still refers back to its plain-song roots. Where intonations occur they are not printed in plainsong notation instead they are given in metrical form to the canto with organ accompaniment; the intonation is therefore not rhythmically divorced from the music which follows. Sometimes, as in the 1642 Beatus vir, the other voices enter contrapuntally during the intonation which then flows without a break into the rest of the psalm. It is notable that, even with the decline of modality, composers still often based their work on the traditional tones. The liturgical antiphon chants surely restrained composers from exercising complete freedom in this respect and from experimenting with more adventurous tonalities.

The psalms of Francesco Rivaldini,³⁶ published in 1648, help clarify the trends we have noted since after 1645 some of the more salient features remarked upon had crystallized into a more easily definable style. His Vespro.....a quattro voci concertati.....opera prima comprises Vespers psalms and a Magnificat, all of which lack intonations. The solo passages in these works have become more clearly marked out as short movements in their own right, for instance,

in the 'Gloria Patri' of Laudate Dominum (Ex. 23), which also shows a growing melodic sense in the triple-metre sections. The rhythmic aspect has gained even more importance than in da Cavi; quite lengthy sections rely for their interest solely upon rhythmic devices, such as the remarkable opening passage of Credidi (Ex. 24). In keeping with the growing rhythmic preoccupation the basso continuo parts are more regular, providing a strong basis for the work and often moving in note-values not so far removed from those of the other parts.

This collection by Rivaldini indicates the direction in which the period was developing. Psalm composition, with the problem of lengthy texts, played its part in fostering an idiom which was both homophonic and syllabic and, in these respects, in line with the general development of Baroque style. A vertical conception of texture is even more apparent in those psalms which were composed for more than one choir with festive occasions in mind.

Double-Choir Vespers Psalms

The popularity of this genre has already been mentioned in the introduction to Vespers music. Unfortunately the scale of much of this repertory, and the consequent performance problems means that a large proportion of the music never reached publication. A good deal must have remained in manuscripts which have since been lost. The available music represents only a fraction of what was composed during the early 17th century.³⁷ Since an exhaustive study is not possible, it is important to view the few remaining examples as indicators of a larger repertory.

Antonio Cifra has the distinction of publishing the first 17th-century Roman polychoral psalms; his Vesperae, et motecta.....opus nonum (1610) contains six eight-part psalms suitable for Vespers and a Magnificat. These pieces were certainly performed at S.Luigi dei Francesi since the part-books in the British Library are all marked 'Sancti Ludovici'.³⁸ Archival evidence shows that large-scale music for multiple choirs was very popular there on festivals.³⁹ As in his motets, Cifra shunned the concertato style in Vespers psalms and favoured an antiphonal use of forces, each choir functioning as a unit. The psalms are all through-composed, the text being shared between the choirs. On occasion, a special musical style is used in response to the text: 'confregit' in Dixit Dominus elicits short three-note phrases, rapidly exchanged between the choirs, while 'qui in altis habitat' in Laudate pueri calls for a prolonged high G in the canto part. The joyful words 'propterea exaltabit caput' in the Dixit Dominus give rise to a short triple-time interpolation - a rare metre in this publication; it is employed on three occasions at the 'Gloria Patri' and even then a return is made to quadruple time for the 'Sicut erat'.

During the second decade of the century Soriano, maestro at St. Peter's, wrote music for up to four choirs,⁴⁰ following on the tradition established by Quagliati when he published a three-choir Dixit Dominus in 1612.⁴¹ Soriano's successor at St. Peter's, Vincenzo Ugolini, also published large-scale psalm-settings in Venice. In 1628, after leaving the Cappella Giulia, Ugolini issued a collection of eight-voiced psalms, some of which are marked 'cum Organo Concertati', and the rest simply 'cum Organo et sine Organo' - the latter are strictly polychoral, and therefore no organ is required. In each psalm the complete text is set. The Beatus vir is important since it foreshadows developments of the 1630s being in triple time throughout. Occasionally some pictorial element is introduced such as in the first verse of De profundis which, in the concertato setting, is sung by two basses. In 1630 a similar volume, also by Ugolini, appeared in Venice; in his Psalmi ad Vesperas, et motecta duodenis vocibus....liber primus he wrote psalms for three choirs.

Not seeking to create its effect by sheer size of forces, Paolo Tarditi's Psalmi, Magnif. cum quatuor antiphonis....liber secundus of 1620 demands only two choirs. However, the work stands out as one of the most remarkable of the century since it requires instruments to play independent parts in nine of the psalms. The unusual nature of the publication encouraged Tarditi himself to provide some explanation; this he did in an 'Alli lettori' section:

Ho giudicato necessario, per ovviare il concetto, che potrebbbe [sic] farsi di queste mie compositioni, scoprire il fine, al quale hò hauto riguardo nel comporle. E' perche questo non è stato sempre un'istesso, ma in diverse occasioni diverso, quindi è che diverse sono anco l'opere conforme all'occasioni. Non si maravigliano dunque se nella medesima muta hò radoppiato li salmi, perche havendo fatto questa

I have judged it necessary, to avoid the idea which could evolve about these my compositions, to disclose the intention which has guided me in composing them. And because this object has not always been the same, but different at different times, the works vary to suit various occasions. You must not marvel if in the same collection I have

poca fatica à commun'servitio, volsi che à tutti potesse servire si à quelli, che hanno commodità di organo come à quelli che non l' hanno con dichiarare che se bene li primi sei salmi si possono Cantar' ancor senza organo gli altri però che seguono sono all'organo appropriati. Quanto poi al modo di concertare e maniera di cantare sappino, che per lo piu è stato mestieri conformami al gusto di chi li richiedeva e' dispositione di chi haveva à cantare. Et essendo i gusti diversi e' straordinarij tal volta è stato bisogno con qualche Ecco.e somiglianti scerzi scotarsi dall'ordinario. L'istesso mi hà indotto à porui l' istrumenti, quali alle volte sonano la lor' parte, & altre volte servono per ripieno. Per fine essendo stato il mio fine in questa opera servir' tutti li virtuosi non hò dubbio che tutti accetteranno questa opera con quello affetto, col'quale io l'hò fatta, nell' occorrenze con puro affetto la difendino.

duplicated the psalms. Because, having taken this little trouble for the common good, I desire that they will be useful to everyone, those who have the use of an organ and those who have not. I declare that although one can sing the first six psalms without organ, the others, however, which follow are composed with organ. Regarding the manner of playing and singing you should know that for the most part it has been necessary that I conform with the taste of those who requested them and the inclination of those who had to sing them. Since there are various different tastes, sometimes it has been necessary to introduce some echoes and similar unusual tricks. The same has induced me to employ instruments, which sometimes play independent parts, and sometimes serve as ripieno. Finally, since my purpose in this work is to provide for virtuosi, I have no doubt that everyone will accept it in the way which I have composed it, [but] if necessary I would defend it with a clear conscience.

The publication comprises two sections. The first has eight-part polychoral psalms in which the organ is dispensable and no instruments are added; neither is there any sectionalization. These are not remarkable: the standard alternation and combination of blocks of voices occur, with occasional moments of triple metre. The second section of the print is quite unique, however, since there are parts in four supplementary books for lute, theorbo, violin and cornett, as well as the continuo. The entire text is set, but each verse is conceived as a distinct section with its own style and scoring. Tarditi was skilful in his handling of the medium, music for which was doubtless more often performed than published. His technique is shown clearly in Beatus vir à 8, with instruments (No. 24):

Beatus vir:	TI solo, incorporated into opening <u>sinfonia</u> for instruments. Voice part based on eighth psalm-tone.
Potens in terra:	Tutti section for all forces, except violin and lute.
Et justitia eius:	CI, CII and BI with organ accompaniment in triple metre.
Exortum est:	TI, TII and BII with all instruments.
Jucundus homo:	Tutti in triple metre.
In memoria:	BII with organ.
Paratum cor eius:	CI solo with all instruments; introduction of triple metre at 'non commovebitur'.
Dispersit dedit:	TI, TII and BII with organ; leads to triple-metre section.
Peccator videbit:	AI and AII with violin and cornett.
Gloria Patri:	CI and CII with organ; entitled 'A 2 canti in ecco', uses florid vocal style CII echoing CI.
Sicut erat:	Tutti.

At the time of the publication Tarditi was maestro at the Spanish church in Rome, S.Giacomo degli Spagnoli.⁴² Part-books in the Civico Museo, Bologna,⁴³ are marked 'Coll. Germ^{co}', which provides an interesting link with an archival record of that institution; in 1621 the college paid one scudo 20 for a theorbo and violin on Easter Day,⁴⁴ when it could well have been these psalms which were performed.

While maestro of the Cappella Sistina, de Grandis published a collection of Vespers music, Psalmi ad vespervas....liber primus (1624). The psalms are all through-composed, and about half are concertato. The Magnificat is divided into versets which are scored differently, following the tradition of 'concertato alla romana'. It is fair to say that the collection contains nothing particularly distinguished, but it gave rise to a strange and petty publication in Venice in the following year: Alcuni salmi et motetti....posti in spartitura da Filippo Kesperle. Kesperle, who seems to have been a particularly pedantic character, scored the psalms in order to show what he considered the ineptitude of the harmony. He explained this in his preface:

.....non ho potuto far di meno di pubblicare ancora con la stampa..... che le persone intelligenti di questa professione facciano giudizio, che in cotesta Cappella Pontificia sia in tutto estinta la vera maniera del comporre opere di musica.....

I have not been able to do less than publish them again in print.. ...in order that intelligent persons may judge whether in that Cappella Pontificia the true manner of composing musical works is totally extinct.....

He was obviously a second Artusi, and the remarks which appear at the foot of the pages have the air of a returned harmony exercise.

In order to illustrate the tone of the publication two of his comments are reproduced below - it is fairly simple to imagine the instances which inspired them:

A. Fra li doi Contralti ci sono due seconde quale non accorderanno mai frà loro, ne meno si vede in nessuno buon Authore; ne si può dire errore di Stampa perche le due parte cantano con intentione d'accordasi con la parte più grave, ma à volete che accordino bisogna rifare una della due discordanti frà loro.

Between the two alto parts there are two seconds which intervals never agree between themselves, neither are they found in any good author; one could say that they are printing errors because two parts sing with the intention of agreeing with the lowest part, but one who wishes them to agree must rewrite one of the two dissonances.

B. Settima sciolta quale non è troppo laudabile.

Unprepared seventh, which is not too praiseworthy.

This is an interesting publication for it shows that there was still a concern for writing harmony in accordance with closely defined rules; one is, however, led to wonder whether Kesperle held some personal grudge against the composer.

Pietro Paolo Sabbatini included eight-part works in his Psalmi, Magnificat.....liber primus; these are rather more interesting than those of de Grandis. Sabbatini's music is not concertato in the sense of using varying textures, but most of the psalms are divided into versets, each with their own scoring. Only two psalms are strictly polychoral. The Magnificat is set in the same way as the majority of the psalms and is designated 'concertato'. In Confitebor, also set in

this manner, Sabbatini follows the intonation with a setting of the first verse for the four highest voices (Ex. 25); 'sanctum et terribile' is a bass duet, and the work builds up towards the polychoral 'Gloria Patri'. It is also notable for the four-part falsibordoni in which both choirs combine for three verses.

The polychoral portion of Massenzio's prolific contribution to the Vespers repertory is contained in two volumes dating from his most productive period, the early 1630s. His Psalmodia vespertina... ..opus nonum (1631) demonstrates the distinction (also present in Sabbatini's publication) between the polychoral and concertato styles. Unlike those of Sabbatini, Massenzio's concertato psalms are generally through-composed; changes of scoring occur within a continuous texture. The exception is his Confitebor, where each verse has a separate brief section: it is a succession of duets, interspersed with a number of tutti. Magnificat I contains some noteworthy features: the opening verse is set for only four voices and is based on the plainsong, the first tutti entry occurring at 'Et exultavit'; 'fecit potentiam' is a bass duet, while a particularly sensitive moment is found at 'humiles' where all the choir is given the direction 'piano'. As in Massenzio's other works a growing freedom with regard to triple time is evident: Laudate Dominum, In convertendo and Beatus vir are exclusively in that metre. In Laudate Dominum he makes prominent use of the two canti, who sing alternately at the opening before the tutti enters appropriately enough at 'omnes populi'. Massenzio's 1635 publication, Libro quarto de'salmi....opera duodecima, contains psalms for feasts of the Virgin. In addition to the Marian office hymn a setting of the hymn Jesu corona virginum is included because Marian Vespers psalms can also be used for the common of Virgins.⁴⁵ This volume uses the same terminology as his 1632 publication for four voices: each psalm is described as 'seguito' or

'concertato'. All of the psalms set the entire text; those which are designated 'concertato' are divided into versets, while the rest are through-composed in a polychoral manner. As in Massenzio's previous polychoral Vespers publication (1631) the Magnificats are the exception to the rule, using concertato variation of texture within a continuous setting. Magnificat I again shows the growing independence of triple metre since, apart from the first verse, it is used throughout.

A considerable number of years elapsed between Massenzio's publications and the issue of any other contribution to the genre. This is hardly indicative of any decline in the popularity of such music; in fact church archives record the increasing use of multiple choirs during the late 1630s.⁴⁶ It was rather the result of a general lull in publishing activity during these years, and also of the further multiplication of vocal forces - it was pointless to print music which required large numbers of choirs because of the expense involved and the scarcity of churches to perform it. Very few manuscripts remain from this period: a Magnificat by Stefano Fabri is found in the Civico Museo, Bologna.⁴⁷ This is a large-scale festal composition for eight voices sectionalized in a concertato manner.

Much in the same way as Rivaldini's publication helped sum up non-polychoral psalm-setting, Virgilio Mazzocchi's Psalmi vespertini binis choris concinendi (1648) provides a convenient point from which to view the preceding years. Like many contributors to the genre, Mazzocchi wrote his polychoral music while he was maestro at St. Peter's. The print comprises two sets of psalms; the first, for six to eight voices, is entitled 'Vesperae Domini', and the other for eight to ten voices 'Vesperae de B. Maria, et Sanctis'. It is interesting that pieces for saints' days should be of greater proportions than those for Sundays; this relates to archival findings about the lavish celebration of special festivals. Though the title-page states 'binis

choris', many of the psalms show a developed use of concertato techniques. As is often the case, the Dixit Dominus proves to be an exception: both settings are through-composed and relatively free of sectionalization. The ten-voiced setting is structurally identical to any double-choir psalm in a polychoral idiom, except that here each choir contains an extra voice, resulting in a richer texture. With the exception of Laudate Dominum à 6, the remainder of the volume is concertato, with division into versets and a variety of scoring.

Laudate Dominum 'con ripieno' is, in fact, an interesting piece since it is constructed as a dialogue between the two canti and the tutti - an extension of the technique used by Massenzio for the same psalm in 1631. The main substance of the work lies in the canti, and the tutti writing consists of block chords marking the close of each section. Triple time is employed throughout except for the 'Gloria Patri' and 'Amen' sections, the latter being a quick succession of imitative CC duets in thirds, and homophonic tuttis. More characteristic of the collection, however, is the eight-part Magnificat which is 'concertato alla romana':⁴⁸

Magnificat:	First word tutti, followed by a canto duet
Et exultavit:	Tutti
Quia respexit:	CI, CII and A
Fecit potentiam:	Tutti; canti have CF, tone VIII
Deposuit:	CI and CII; tutti; CI and CII; tutti
Suscepit:	AI and AII
Sicut locutus:	Tutti
Gloria Patri:	à 4
Sicut erat:	Tutti

It can be seen that verses are no longer treated individually; instead, more extended movements are formed to give more scope for musical development. The Magnificat à 9 also illustrates this in its prolonged 'fecit potentiam' for three voices, as well as in a drawn out musical response to the text by fragmentation of texture at 'dispersit'.

Also word-oriented is the use of tonality in Nisi Dominus à 8, where

a modulation is made to the strange key of E minor at the words 'qui manducatis panem doloris' (Ex. 26). The volume is more advanced in its use of tonality than its precursors of the 1630s, and modality has receded: Lauda Jerusalem à 10 has a key signature of two sharps and employs a bright tuneful line in triple metre with occasional modulations to A major (Ex. 27). The Dixit Dominus à 10 makes similar use of a rather more adventurous tonality; it is in present-day C minor, notated with two flats. In Mazzocchi's publication, then, certain tendencies which started to become apparent some twenty years earlier came to fruition.

MATINS

Judging by the rarity of musical settings of this office, Matins was rarely sung in a solemn manner except during the last three days of Holy Week and at Christmas.⁴⁹ With one exception, all Matins publications by Roman musicians tackle the provision of music for these seasons, setting the Responsories which conclude the Nocturns. The exception to this is G.B. Nanino's Venite (94) with Invitatories which appeared at Assisi in 1620.⁵⁰ As well as exhibiting the usual interest in Christmas by setting the Invitatory Christus natus est nobis, Nanino included the Invitatory for the feast of St. Francis, Regi quae fecit opera Christi which was clearly intended for performance in the town of its publication. Unlike psalm-settings for other offices, the Venite is divided into two-verse sections; this is in accordance with the liturgical requirement that the Invitatory be repeated after every two verses - the same scheme is followed in Cifra's Venite in Motecta....liber sextus of 1613. Such an inclusion of the Venite in a motet collection is unique as far as I am aware.

Matins for the triduum sacrum is given the special name of Tenebrae, and its celebration has long been regarded as holding a special place in the observance of this solemn period of the church's year. The Responsory settings of the early 17th century find their roots in those of Victoria and generally adopt a somewhat archaic style to reflect the solemnity of the occasion, and because the organ was banned during Holy Week. This further supports the idea that progressive styles were avoided for certain texts because they were considered too lighthearted. Felice Anerio's Responsoria, in which there is no organ part, comprises four-part prima prattica writing with a number of reduced sections for three voices, and an occasional

duo as at 'Collegerunt pontifices'. Though the setting is mainly smoothly flowing homophony or simple counterpoint, the dramatic words of the text sometimes elicit a few moments of triple metre: the sudden and abrupt nature of 'velum templum scissum est' and 'et omnes terra tremuit' is well portrayed, yet Anerio fails fully to capitalize on the drama of the narrative. Black notation is introduced as 'eye music' at the opening of the second Responsoy of the second Nocturn of feria sexta, where the text is 'tenebrae factae sunt' (No. 25).

Continuing the retrospective tradition, Bartei emerges in his Responsoria of the following year as the exponent of a style very different from that of his other works. This conventional prima prattica setting was published in Venice while Bartei was maestro at Volterra, and it contains music in a basically homophonic idiom for four voices in a low tessitura described as 'paribus vocibus' on the title-page. Reduced sections occur, but these are more like 16th-century bicinia than the Baroque duet (Ex. 28). The tonality throughout is basically 'minor', and Bartei skilfully exploits this with the use of suspensions to create an anguished mood. In addition to the Responsories Bartei set the Benedictus (for Lauds),⁵¹ the Miserere (50)⁵² in alternatim, and the antiphon Christus factus est;⁵³ the last provides an example of the affective but traditional feel of the collection (No. 26).

It was not until 1622 that another Tenebrae publication was issued in Rome; this dearth of settings is probably explained by the popularity of cinquecento contributions to the repertory.⁵⁴ Though the Neapolitan composer Pomponio Nenna did use continuo, his style is fundamentally conservative, except for occasional 'expressionistic' sections. It is in the field of harmony that Nenna overturned the conventions of the stile antico while his music preserves a traditional contrapuntal

appearance. The harmonic idiom of Accingite vos sacerdotes looks as if it owes something to Gesualdo in its abrupt and adventurous chromaticism; incidentally, Gesualdo is said to have taught Nenna (No. 27). The 'expressionism' emerges at the opening of Videte omnes (No. 28) where syncopated homophonic writing, heightened by the tertial relationship, expresses the imperative in the text. The use of silence in this section also captures the grief in a rather unorthodox manner.

Another Neapolitan composer, this time publishing in his home city, finally broke the hold of the prima prattica in setting these texts. Alessandro Capece's Responsorii di Natale e di Settimana santa.....opera 25⁵⁵ features solos, dynamic markings and a considerable amount of chromaticism. This uninhibited approach, common to the Neapolitans, is shown in the Responsory Ecce vidimus (No. 29). Such writing from composers living around Naples seems to have had little immediate impact on the Romans themselves, but it (was) probably contributed to the introduction of a more daring style in Rome in the 1640s.

G.F. Anerio's Responsorio Nativitatis Domini of 1614 was a popular and useful publication which achieved a second edition in 1629.⁵⁶ It contains Responsories for Matins of the Nativity, a service held prior to Midnight Mass; it was therefore often written with sizeable forces in mind, making use of musicians who were assembled in readiness for the Mass. Pietro della Valle described the service at the German College in 1639, evoking the solemnity of the night of Christmas:⁵⁷

La notte di questo Natale mi trovai a tutto l'Uffizio e alla messa nella Chiesa di Santo Apollinare, dove si cantò ogni cosa conforme richiedeva la solennità di quella gran festa;.....Nel principio in particolare il Venite

This Christmas night I found myself at the entire office and at the Mass at S.Apollinare where they sung everything in accordance with the solemnity of the said feast;.....At the beginning in particular the

exultemus fu di tanto buona grazia
che io non saprei dir più;

Venite was of such great charm
that I do not know how to say
more;

Anerio's Venite for three voices is divided into versets of two verses in order that the eight-voiced Invitatory may be inserted at the necessary places. It is strange that no alternative Invitatory for fewer voices is provided, since when Responsories are for eight voices Anerio also gives an alternative four-part setting. The volume ends with a Te Deum à 4, of which only alternate verses are set; it contains occasional triple-metre passages, and the verse 'Tu devicto' is for three voices.⁵⁸ Stylistically it is uncomplicated, and Anerio employed homophony and syllabic word-setting to cope with the length of the text. In this respect it resembles the remainder of the volume, which is similarly vertically conceived with the flowing movement characteristic of the stile antico.

Alessandro Capocci published his Responsoria.....opus secundum while maestro at the Seminario Romano. Like Anerio's publication of 1614,⁵⁹ this setting of 1623 can be placed in some historical context by reference to the archives of the Gesù which speak of the solemn performance of Christmas Matins.⁶⁰ Capocci, as maestro at the seminary, was also responsible for music in the Chiesa del Gesù. The Venite is set in four parts, and the two halves of the Invitatory for eight and four voices. A good deal of variety is achieved by changing the music of the Invitatory each time it is repeated. Much of the word-setting is syllabic and considerable use is made of high voices. The appended motet O vere beata nox is for four canti used in a concertato manner with frequent solos: the bright sound of high voices was surely intended to convey the joy of the festival - perhaps one is meant to hear angels. Often in the Responsories Capocci employed reduced textures to emphasize the liturgical structure;

the first Responsoy of the first Nocturn is arranged thus:

Hodie nobis caelorum:	Tutti à 8
Gaudet exercitus:	Tutti à 8
Gloria in excelsis:	CCAA
Gaudet exercitus:	Tutti à 8
Gloria Patri:	Choir I
Hodie nobis caelorum:	Tutti à 8
Gaudet exercitus	Tutti à 8

In common with much joyful writing the 'Gaudet exercitus' refrain is in triple metre.

Capecce's previously mentioned Responsorii of 1636 contains concertato settings of Christmas Matins too. These are more stylistically advanced than in any Roman publication; for instance, the text of the third Responsoy of the third Nocturn is arranged so as to bring out its dialogue elements. The question 'quem vidistis' is posed by canto solo, and is answered by ATB in a highly animated manner with all the voices uniting at the 'Gloria Patri' for a harmonically unsophisticated section of lively triple metre (No. 30). The whole collection exhibits a vitality and freedom rarely approached by native Roman composers during the 1630s.

COMPLINE

Unlike Vespers, Compline was only sung rarely; there remains no Roman publication from before 1630 to contain measured music for the office, despite the fact that it was a popular Lenten devotion. Its use during this penitential season of the liturgical year is mentioned in the archives of a number of churches,⁶¹ and in the two extant Roman publications of Compline music. Massenzio's Completorium integrum of 1630 is inscribed, 'quae in Quadragesima decantari solent', and it includes two motets appropriate to the season. Similarly, Cristoforo Rossi stated in his dedication:⁶²

.....voluptate nuper tractavi, ut
in Completorio, quod singulis
Quadragesimalibus diebus in
insigni vestra Ecclesia solenne
habetur.

.....with pleasure I attended
to this recently so that Compline
should be solemnly celebrated in
your important church on the
special days of Lent.

Evidently his Completorium octo vocibus (1635) was produced with Lenten exercises in mind. During Lent the office of Compline could well have been used in connection with the stational visits; this would account for the large scale of musical settings.⁶³ In 1586 Sixtus V made an attempt to revive the custom of stational visits of the Roman churches in his constitution Egregia;⁶⁴ though his plan was not initially successful, records exist of the observance of those days during the early 17th century.

While Compline music is relatively scarce, the two publications mentioned are not entirely without antecedents. A few composers of Roman extraction, or who were active in Rome are represented in Venetian prints. Agazzari included a set of Compline music in his Psalmi sex.....opus duodecimum of 1609, issued in Venice soon after he had left Rome. The content of this section of the publication

shows the parts of the office usually set to music:

Psalm 4	Cum invocarem
Psalm 30	In te Domine
Psalm 90	Qui habitat
Psalm 133	Ecce nunc
Hymn	Te lucis
Canticle of Simeon	Nunc dimittis

Unlike the relatively large selection of Vespers psalms, the above psalms were used every day for Compline, so would have been appropriate for weekday stations as well as for Sundays.⁶⁵ Agazzari set the service in four parts, a notable indication of its importance, since the Vespers music in the same print requires only three voices. Stylistically it is very much like the Vespers psalms: sporadic falsobordone passages and sectionalized verset writing are found here too. Though primarily directed towards the provision of music for Vespers, G.F. Anerio's Antiphonae, seu sacrae cantiones.....secunda pars (1613) contains settings of the Compline antiphons (No. 31); this is the first example of truly Roman music (written by a Roman and published there) for Compline in the early Baroque.

Soriano's Psalmi et motecta.....liber secundus, published in Venice in 1616, dates from the composer's time as maestro at St. Peter's. It must have been performed in Rome, but being large-scale music was published in Venice to secure a wider market. By no means all the contents are intended for performance at Compline, and the Cum invocarem and Nunc dimittis are included among a larger selection of psalms and motets. The fact that the music is written on such a grand scale despite its non-festal character seems to lend weight to the idea of its performance in connection with Lenten stations. On these days, not only the relics and other precious possessions of the churches were on display, but also the splendour of its liturgical worship. It is possible that Soriano composed these settings for the

stational days at St. Peter's, where music on such a scale could easily have been managed. He employed a straightforward polychoral idiom in eight parts with no reduced sections, except that the opening verse of each piece is for four voices.

Another composer, Romano Micheli, published a Compline setting in 1616.⁶⁶ Though a Roman he was active in the North in Concordia at the time, and therefore publication in nearby Venice was inevitable. The collection is notable in two respects: the fact that the Easter-tide Marian antiphon is included shows that Compline could be used outside Lent; and it is one of the few publications to set the opening blessing, short lesson and Confiteor. It is also an early example of concertato writing by a Roman composer, and Micheli explained how it should be performed in a paragraph at the close of the second basso continuo part:

La presente Compiaeta si dovrà concertare nell'Organo, cioè il Basso, Quinto & Canto da una parte, Tenor, Sesto, & Alto dall'altra avvertendo, che il Quinto e Sesto cantano più frequente e distinto dell'altre parti, & così si potrà anche concertare a due Chori divisi, sonando nell'altro Choro un Violone sopra il Basso particolare accompagnato con qualche altro instrumento.

One will have to perform the present Compline setting with organ, with the bass, quinto and canto on one side, and the tenor, sesto and alto on the other; pointing out that the Quinto and Sesto sing more frequently and distinctly than the other voices and thus one can sing it with two divided choirs, a violone playing the basso particolare in the other choir accompanied by some other instruments.

All the psalms except Cum invocarem are divided into versets for different vocal combinations, including solos. Throughout the volume, the entire text is set rather than alternate verses. The application of the term 'concertato' to this compositional style follows the idea of 'concertato alla romana'. Micheli was clearly therefore either adhering to a style which he had encountered in Rome or to one which later came to be regarded as characteristic of the city.

As already mentioned, Massenzio's 1630 publication was directed

at Lenten performance. Like Soriano's it was by no means small-scale and reflective, since it needs eight voices and continuo. Its use of terminology is interesting, as those psalms which are marked 'concertato' are all divided into separate versets with various scorings. The Nunc dimittis and the two motets are similarly constructed; the former uses a succession of solos, culminating in a tutti 'Sicut erat' (No. 32). Massenzio set only the psalms, hymn and canticle, and the style is closely allied to that of his Vespers publications, with the same sensitivity to the text. For instance, when the words 'in noctibus' occur in the Ecce nunc they are marked 'piano', while the following word 'extollite' receives a 'forte' indication.

Growing freedom with regard to triple metre, noted in connection with Vespers music, is found in the hymn Te lucis ante terminum by Rossi (1635). Rossi set all three verses to identical music, and each line is introduced by the two canti, before being taken up by the four other parts (Ex. 29). The psalm Ecce nunc is also written entirely in triple time. Considerable use is made of the sectionalized concertato idiom in the pieces for eight voices. The outline of the Nunc dimittis shows how Rossi used varying vocal groupings:

Nunc dimittis:	CAAA
Quia viderunt:	CATB
Quod parasti:	BBB
Lumen ad revelationem:	CCTT
Gloria Patri:	CAA
Sicut erat:	à 8

It shows remarkable variety in its use of high voices alone, contrasting with low voices, and culminating in a tutti section. The psalm-tone appears in the first verse, where the canto is based on tone eight, around which the altos weave a contrapuntal texture. The vocal idiom is basically direct and syllabic with little ornamental writing; it is apparent that stylistic progression was somewhat restricted in the field

of psalm composition, owing to problems presented by extended texts.

NOTES

1. This repertory has been discussed in an analytical manner by Fischer. J. Kurtzman is at present engaged in cataloguing 17th-century psalm collections. On the first occasion each psalm is mentioned its number, according to the Vulgate, is given in brackets.
2. See the liturgical regulations of the Gesù above, 38.
3. For instance, when De profundis (129) was included, the intention was to provide music for second Vespers of Christmas. Likewise, In convertendo (125) and the rarely set Domine probasti me (138) indicate a specific interest in the second Vespers of Apostles.
4. They also form part of the liturgy on feasts of other female saints and the Circumcision.
5. For instance, Agostini (1619) and Arsilli (1621).
6. Motets are included on the Marian texts Sub tuum praesidium, Virgo prudentissima, Beata es, Veni in hortum meum, Gaudeamus omnes, Virgo singularis, Ego dormivi, Ab initio and Veni da Libano.
7. Sacrae cantiones (Rome, 1638).
8. RISM: 1609a, 1609b, 1609c, 1609d, 1612a, 1613a, 1614a, 1615a.
9. J. Roche is engaged in analysing the texts of Grandi's motets in a similar way for an article. It seems that the Venetians were more adventurous in their choice of texts than the Romans, who followed the liturgical prescriptions more closely.
10. The content of G.F. Anerio's 1613 publication, Antiphonae, seu sacrae cantiones has been discussed at length in Armstrong. Giuseppe Giamberti's Antiphonae et motecta festis omnibus propria, et communia, juxta formam Breviarij Romani; una cum plurimis, quae dominicis per annum aptari possunt, binis, ternis, quaternisque vocibus concinenda (Rome, 1650) is a work of similar proportions.
11. There is nothing that I wish to add to Armstrong's exhaustive discussion.
12. Dum esset rex (CC); Laeva eius (CT); Nigra sum (TT); Iam hiems transiit (CB) and Speciosa facta es (CT).
13. L'ottavo libro de motetti.....opera decimanona (Rome, 1619).
14. Motecta octonis et psalmus Dixit dominus duodenis vocibus (Rome, 1612).
15. Falsobordone collections were published in Rome by Viadana (1612),

Severi (1615) and Sabbatini (1650). On the use of falsobordone in Northern Italy see Bettley.

16. 'Si canta un verso figurato & l'altro in falso bordone.'
17. Falsi bordoni a quattro voci.....opera XXVIII (Rome, 1612).
18. Salmi passaggiati.....libro primo (Rome, 1615); this publication is discussed in Timms.
19. Toni ecclesiastici colle sue intonazioni all'uso Romano (Rome, 1650).
20. Passio D.N. Jesu Christi secundum quatuor evangelistas, Magnificat sexdecim..... (Rome, 1619).
21. For example, in Agostino Diruta's Salmi intieri.....opera duodecima (Rome, 1630) and Psalmi vespertini.....liber secundus, opus sextum decimum (Rome, 1633).
22. This section includes Magnificats, which pose similar problems to psalms, but excludes any pieces for more than one choir.
23. He left Rome for his native Siena in 1607 (see Barblan, 36-38).
24. On the use of instruments in this repertory see Dixon, 'Roman Church Music'.
25. See letters dated February 20 and May 14, 1616 from Bernardino Castorio, rector of the German College, to Nicolò de Morenberg (quoted Culley, A Study, 165) and an undated document from 1611 also written by Castorio (quoted Culley, A Study, 100).
26. 'Avanti questo verso si fa una sinfonia di stromenti.'
27. LU, 1177.
28. Even if this was the publishers' addition (Nanino had died in 1618, see above, 80), the fact remains that they could be performed in this manner.
29. A similar tradition to adding an extra voice for the Agnus Dei at the conclusion of a mass.
30. See Kurtzman, 'Some Historical Perspectives', 35-37.
31. Compieta concertata, con l'antifone della Beata Vergine, e con un Miserere a versetti concertato alla Romana a cinque voci, con il basso continuo.....opera quinta (Venice, 1623). For a diagram showing the various scorings, see below, 266.
32. Hymni totius anni secundum Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae consuetudinem... necnon hymni religionum (Rome, 1589).
33. Hymni, Urbani VIII Pont. Max. iussu editi in musicos modos ad templorum usum digesti (Rome, 1636).

34. Contained in RISM 1643¹, reprinted in 1647¹.
35. Libro sesto de salmi Davidici.....opera decimasesta (Rome, 1636).
36. Vespro.....a quattro voci concertato.....opera prima (Rome, 1648).
37. Church archives make it clear that a flourishing musical tradition carried on during the 1630s, a decade when very little was published; clearly new compositions were produced, but few manuscripts of double-choir music have survived. One only has to examine the opus numbers of extant publications to gain some idea of how much music from this period has been lost: for instance, only two volumes of motets by A. Capece remain, his fourth and his sixth. A detailed stylistic analysis of Roman double-choir psalm composition is found in Fischer, 'Einige satztechnische'.
38. Benevoli, in whose hand this is written, was responsible for the purchase of a large quantity of books for S.Luigi on May 31, 1631; these part-books of psalms by Cifra are included on the receipt which was discovered by J.Lionnet. On the same occasion sets of part-books for eight-part psalms by Massenzio and Tarditi were also acquired. See Chapter VI, note 118.
39. See J. Lionnet's forthcoming article on S.Luigi, and below, 296-97.
40. Psalmi et motecta quae octo, duodecim & sexdecim vocibus concinuntur.....liber secundus (Venice 1616).
41. Motecta octonis et psalmus Dixit dominus duodenis vocibus (Rome, 1612).
42. The title-page gives him as 'In Ecclesia SS.Iacobi & Illefonsi Hispanicae Nationis, Musices Moderatore'.
43. I-Bc, BB 378.
44. Casimiri, 'Disciplina musicae', 125. Culley, A Study, 161-66 also discusses the use of instruments in the college.
45. The psalms for the Common of Virgins are Dixit Dominus, Laudate pueri, Laetatus sum, Nisi Dominus and Lauda Jerusalem.
46. See below, 307.
47. I-Bc, Z.84.
48. The term itself is not used in the print; since the method of composition was now standard, the designation fell into disuse.
49. See the liturgical prescriptions of the Gesù, 38.
50. Venite exultemus. Psalmus Davidicus ad matutinum in celeberrimis solennijs, tribus vocibus, & organo decantandus (Assisi, 1620).
51. The Canticle of the office, just as the Magnificat is for Vespers.

52. Used at Lauds during the triduum sacrum.
53. Benedictus antiphon for Lauds of Holy Thursday.
54. See the record of the copying of Zoilo's Responsories above, 84.
55. See note to list of maestri of the Church of Gesù.
56. Responsorii della natività di nostro Signore Giesu Christo.....
(Rome, 1629)
57. Solerti, 174.
58. Reprinted in Corolla musica missarum XXXVII, pro vivis ac defunctis, iuncto mortuali lessu etc. selectissimarum: I. II. III. IV. et V. vocibus..... Operum musicorum collectorum, volumen V. Studio ac opera. Joannis Donfridi (Trier, 1628), RISM 1628².
59. Responsoria Nativitatis Domini..... (Rome, 1614).
60. See above, 38, 40.
61. See above, 39, 65-66, 90.
62. Completorium octo vocibus..... (Rome, 1635).
63. This was the situation in S.Maria in Trastevere,
64. Text in Constitutio.....
65. See Breviarum Romanum, 56-58.
66. Compieta a sei voci.....opera quinta (Venice, 1616).

CHAPTER VITHE MOTETPRIMA PRATTICA

An analysis of motet publications gives a good idea of the relative popularity of different styles. It seems to have been the case that the prima prattica was the least practised manner of motet writing in Rome during the early 17th century - a situation very different from the Mass. While larger institutions preserve sizeable manuscript collections of motets in a conventional style,¹ little of this repertory seems to have reached a wider market through printed editions. This suggests that music in the average church was progressive except on a few occasions, like feast-days, when smaller churches enjoyed a visit from an outside cappella. Only eleven surviving motet publications by Roman composers employ a traditional polyphonic style, whose flowing lines and contrapuntal texture stand alone without continuo support. As the table shows, these mainly date from the first quarter of the century:

TABLE (publications including motets, but with no use of the seconda prattica)

<u>1600-04</u>	<u>1605-09</u>	<u>1610-14</u>	<u>1615-19</u>	<u>1620-24</u>	<u>1625-30</u>
6	2	2	0	0	1

Leaving aside anthologies,² Palestrina was only represented in one Roman publication of motets during the seicento, Motecta....quaternis vocibus....liber primus (1622), a reprint of his 1564 collection.³ This militates against the view of Palestrina as the great mentor,

and there is no substantial evidence of interest in his work outside the Vatican except for a few pieces in anthologies.⁴ Curiously, Venetian publishers produced no less than eight prints of Palestrina's music between 1600 and 1613.⁵ His influence over the Romans was limited, though his memory lived on because of the legend that he saved church music from the Council of Trent.⁶

In 1600 the Chapter of St. John Lateran honoured the recently deceased maestro, Andrea Dragoni, by publishing three books of his motets; each of these contains five-part pieces for a third of the liturgical year.⁷ Printed without basso seguente, the music is conventional, and though the word-setting is basically syllabic there are occasional melismas. Dragoni appears to have been reluctant to water down the severity of his style by introducing the triple-time sections used by many of his contemporaries: one instance of his restricted employment of this technique occurs in the joyful 'gaude corona' section of Felix Thomas doctor ecclesiae for St. Thomas Aquinas. The prima pars contains the motet Petre amas me for the feast of St. Peter's Chair, the text of which is a Matins Responsory for the festival. An excerpt (Ex. 30) demonstrates the retrospective style: it opens with a smoothly curving line following the shape of the Responsory chant. In addition to works by Dragoni, the volume contains one motet by Arcangelo Crivelli, O felix dies et jucunda, for the feast of St. Francis of Paula. This motet, which seems almost progressive in comparison with Dragoni's pieces, also employs a traditional five-part texture without continuo. However, it does have a freer, wide-ranging vocal line, with more melismas and greater rhythmic animation; there are some crisp dotted rhythms and a lengthy concluding triple-time passage.

Giovanni Pietro Gallo of Bari published a volume of stile antico motets in five and eight parts in 1600; only the bass part-book

survives.⁸ Gallo describes the circumstances leading to the composition of these motets in his preface; his comment attests the importance of sacred music in Rome:

<p>Et perciò essendomi io fermato in Roma, dove fioriscono particolarmente le compositioni spirituali di musica..... mi sono impiegato nella compositione di alcuni Motetti.</p>	<p>And because I was staying in Rome, where the composition of sacred music flourishes partic- ularly.....I engaged myself in the composition of some motets.</p>
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Though it is not known why he had occasion to be in Rome, or whether he held any post in the city, his motets follow traditional Roman polyphonic conventions. The following year, 1601, saw the publication of Pietro Paolo Paciotto's Motecta, which contains thirty-four motets for major festivals, again using the traditional five voices without organ. Unfortunately only the first canto of the publication survives, but it is possible to see that Paciotto had a conventional approach to polyphony. In the Vatican Library⁹ Paciotto's volume is bound together with the 1608 edition of Giovanelli's Sacrarum modulationum,¹⁰ a work which must have enjoyed considerable popularity for, after its initial publication in 1593, it was reprinted twice in Venice, once in Rome and finally in Frankfurt in 1608. This suggests at least some continuing interest in works from the late cinquecento. Giovanelli's publication includes twenty-eight motets à 5 and eleven à 8, a ratio which concurs with Gallo's publication of 1600. The five-part pieces are firmly stile antico, but they contain some lively triple-time interpolations when the mood is joyful.

Agazzari who, as we shall see, was important in the development of progressive styles in Rome, issued three motet collections there immediately after the turn of the century. Each contains music in a traditional style for up to eight voices, and their popularity is attested by the fact that they were brought together in one volume and republished at Frankfurt in 1607.¹¹ The most important of these is

Sacrae laudes.....liber secundus (1603), which is inscribed 'cum basso ad organum & musica instrumenta' - the first known continuo part in a Roman liturgical collection.¹² The part does not add anything to the texture and is dispensable, as the editor of the Frankfurt collection realized when he omitted it entirely, retaining the indication '& instrumentis apprimè adplicuntur'. Agazzari must have felt it necessary to explain the novelty, and accordingly included a lengthy 'Avvertimento del Autore' which includes the following:

Secondo voglio avvertire quel che suono, che per mancanza della stampa non havendo potuto segnare li #. et li ♭. cioè le terze maggiore, & minori, & i numeri sopra le note conforme al bisogno loro, vogli porger l'orecchio à i cantanti, & secondar la tessitura, se già non volesse segnarli con la penna revendendoli prima.

Secondly, I wish to inform the player that because of the lack of typeface it has not been possible to indicate the # and the ♭, that is the major and minor thirds, and the numbers above the notes according to your needs. I wish that [you] would listen carefully to the singers and follow the tessitura, if it has not been already possible to indicate them with a pen prior to performance.

Given that no parts are included, the instruments are clearly intended to be used colla voce. The use of a bass instrument to double the organ is implied by the inscription 'et. mus. ins.' in the organ book, but this could also indicate a tradition of improvisation over the bass by instruments of higher pitch, a possibility which has been considered elsewhere.¹³

Agazzari achieved interest within a conventional polyphonic approach by sensitive attention to the text. Anima mea liquefacta est à 5 exemplifies the poignancy with which he could infuse his writing: the closing passage 'quia amore languero' is notable for the indecisive fluctuation between major and minor thirds, and for its expressive employment of the falling diminished fifth (Ex. 31). Gaude virgo gloriosa à 5 from the first book of 1602¹⁴ uses a triple-time refrain 'tu es illa dulcis rosa' as a means of unification. Further concern

for form is evident in Quem vidistis pastores à 6 from the same volume which mirrors the AB/CB Responsory layout - the B section is repeated unaltered, except for the interchange of canto and quinto parts. In Ave rex noster à 5¹⁵ structure is again controlled by the text: the first section, which refers to Christ led to crucifixion, is in a sombre quadruple metre, while the second 'tibi gloria osanna, tibi triumphans' embraces a complete change of mood and is set to a lengthy triple-metre passage. A cry for God's intervention, Ego clamavi à 5¹⁶ aptly employs a rising angular melodic line; this motet must have been regarded highly by Agazzari since it appeared in his 1607 collection reworked for two voices.

Agazzari's notion of the centrality of the text is enunciated in the preface of his Sacrae laudes (1603):

Il nuovo stile, ch'io, se non m'inganno, hò tenuto in comporre il mottetto, seguendo il maggior' affetto, che per me si è potuto, del cantare, ed isprimer vivamente le parole (cosa propria del concerto) hami spinto à dichiarar la mia mente intorno al concertare questo mio componimento novello parto di quest'anno. Et primieramente desidero, che chiunque virtuoso si degnerà di cantar'simil'opra, sappi, che questo stile, oltre li cantanti sicuri richiede la misura molto larga, massime nelle esclamationi, & parole affetuose potendo tal volta nel mezzo ristrengerla, com'in qualche proportione, ò fuga ribattuta ritornando poi alla primiera, sendo che cosi si dà piu affetto al canto, & forza alle parole non perdendo la gravità dovuta nella Chiesa.

The new style, which I, if I do not deceive myself, employ in the composition of the motet follows the general mood [of the text]; in order that one is enabled to sing and expound ardently the words (the true purpose of the concerto) I have dared to declare my mind concerning the performance of this my new work, the fruit of this year's labours. Firstly I desire that any virtuous person who deigns to sing similar works should know that this style requires experienced singers and a slow beat, especially in the esclamazioni and in words full of sentiment; on occasion one can tighten the beat, as in some metres or a fuga with a change of time, returning them to the initial beat. Thus one gives more sentiment to the singing and force to the words without losing the seriousness necessary in Church.

Agazzari's works stand apart from those of his contemporaries since by following these principles he succeeded in injecting the prima

prattica with a new vitality. While underlining the seriousness of church music, his was not an uninventive application of the old style for the sake of conservatism. These books do also manifest certain forward-looking characteristics which will be discussed in detail later.

Francesco Martini's Motecta....liber primus of 1607 contains forty-one motets for four voices, one for five and one for seven all without continuo; this is in keeping with a general trend away from the old five-part norm. The index indicates pieces suitable for festivals, including that of the recently beatified Frances of Rome, to whom the volume is dedicated and who is honoured in the only seven-voiced motet, Veniens a libano. The incipit of this piece (Ex. 32) illustrates the strict stile antico style of the volume. Little is known about Martini: he is described as 'Congreg. Oratorij Presbytero.' on the title-page, and was a member of the order in Rome.¹⁷ Curzio Mancini, maestro at Loreto, also demonstrated a partiality for lighter four-part textures in his Liber primus motectorum of the following year. The conservative style suggests that it too was directed at the ecclesiastical establishment; this is borne out by the dedication to Paul V, in whose honour the volume opens with a seven-part Tu es Petrus.¹⁸ Velum templum scissum est à 5, like many of Mancini's motets, is in two partes; it sets a Good Friday Responsory text. Liturgical considerations dictate the AB/CB form, and the section 'et omnes terra tremuit' concludes both halves. His Ascensiontide motet, Ascendens Deus à 4, opens with a strict rhythmic point, using the rising lines commonly associated with the text (Ex. 33). The arrangement of entries gives it a regularity somewhat lacking in subtlety. Given Mancini's post at the time of publication it was natural to include the Litany of Loreto; this text was in frequent use at the place of pilgrimage.

O popule meus à 4 is distinguished from other motets in G.F.

Anerio's Motectorum.....liber secundus (1611) by its adoption of a less flexible style; the long note-values and absence of ornamentation create a static feeling in response to this desolate text from the Reproaches. The piece is basically chordal, but it does include one imitative point at 'nimis amara'. Though there is a figured bass (in common with the rest of the volume) it is dispensable since it mainly doubles the voices. It is significant that Anerio chose to adjust his style for this Holy Week text, yet it is not the only example of his ability to write a more traditional motet. Anerio's Sacri concentus...liber primus of 1613, also issued with continuo, is his one publication to consist entirely of stile antico motets. In some he makes slight concessions to progressive trends by including solo opening sections which, however, soon give way to more conventional textures. Improperium expectavit à 4 is typical; it contains long melodic lines with little animation, punctuated with homophonic sections. It is a sensitive piece, and the falling suspensions at 'contristaretur' capture the grief of the text (Ex. 34). An awareness of constructional techniques is shown in Tu es Petrus à 5 where the quinto voice sings a chant ostinato to the initial words. In the part-book the ostinato is written out only once; it is headed 'Ter quater, en Cantor vocem germinare decebit'. (No. 33).

Similar contrivances are found in Abundio Antonelli's one prima prattica publication, Sacrarum cantionum.....liber primus of 1614. That he regarded such devices as anachronistic, however, is strongly implied in one of the most formal pieces, Cogitavi dies antiquos à 6; it is surely not coincidental that the mention of 'ancient days' is coupled with a strictly ascending and descending hexachord CF in the second canto part (No. 34). Dextera tua Domine à 4 is a canon 'Quatuor in unum', and in Quis similis tui à 6 the canto, baritone and bass sing a three-part canon. The collection also offers some

indication of performance practice: many of the motets are designated 'Cum instrumento', but no parts are provided, neither are any specific directions given. This suggests that Antonelli wished to recommend the use of instruments colla voce, probably the practice at Benevento where he was maestro at the time of publication. The motet collection is the last (known to me) exclusively in the stile antico; subsequently (following the tradition of Anerio's 1611 collection) the old-fashioned contrapuntal motet made only sporadic appearances in response to expressive demands of certain texts.

Anerio's Sacri concentus.....liber quartus of 1617 includes a six-part Jesu dulcissime which, though vertically conceived, lacks the ornamentation and melodic emphasis of the other pieces. The organ part merely doubles the lowest voice and could be omitted. More contrapuntal is Ave verum corpus à 3 in his Sacrarum cantionum.....liber quintus of the following year. This motet, despite its scoring, is structured on successive points of imitation; here Anerio rejects the florid idiom characteristic of the period and, indeed, of the publication and recalls the few-voiced style of the 16th century. The organ is again dispensable and plays a simplified version of the lowest part. Both these motets by Anerio are on eucharistic texts, suggesting that composers reserved a distinctive style for communion at Mass or for extra-liturgical devotions.¹⁹

Domenico Campisi's 1627 Lilia campi.....liber quintus contains a five-part Salve Regina, the style of which differs markedly from the rest of the volume. Using the chant of the Marian antiphon as a basis, Campisi sets alternate verses in a somewhat updated stile antico (No.35). The plainsong sections encourage a modal tonality and a retrospective idiom. While the first verse and 'O clemens' are traditional, the others show some concessions to modernity: the opening phrase of 'Ad te clamamus' leads rapidly to a prominent

syncopation, and lacks the poise associated with the prima prattica; and the first section of 'Eia ergo' demonstrates a flexible, imitative use of triple time, leading into a declamatory section at 'illos tuos misericordes oculos'. While thus deviating from cinquecento contrapuntal models, this Salve Regina is important for it reflects an often undisclosed reverence for the old style.

Though better known for his masses, Paolo Agostini wrote a number of motets: one, Gaudeamus omnes in Domino à 5 in honour of St. Cecilia,²⁰ forms the basis of a parody mass. Characteristically, Agostini uses an unaccompanied contrapuntal style devoid of progressive features. Similar works are occasionally found in manuscripts dating from this part of the century: for instance, Pietro Eredia is represented by a rather undistinguished Contristatus et dolens à 5 in Civico Museo, Bologna, R. 281.

It is evident that, at least for motet writing, the stile antico was in rapid decline during the first decade of the century, and that by the mid-century it had fallen into virtual disuse in most places. The most important exception was in the Cappella Sistina, where the performance of traditional polyphonic music lingered on. As we shall see the greatest Roman wealth of the period lies in the motets for few voices, whose popularity is attested by the large number of publications.

THE SOLO MOTET

In Rome the solo motet was overshadowed by other genres:²¹ while composers showed some interest in the medium by including a few pieces in larger anthologies, there exist very few publications entirely or even predominantly of solo motets. Three collections exclusively of solo motets were published in Rome during the early 17th century. These are distinguished from the main stream of sacred music since their composers were not maestri.²² Ottavio Durante's Arie devote (1608), Kapsberger's Libro primo di mottetti passeggiati (1612) and his Modulatus sacri diminutis voculis concinnati (1630) are the publications in question. Their content differs from solo motets in other collections in that a monodic, declamatory style with a static bass line is employed.

Monody was by no means a new development in Rome when Durante, a dilettante from the region of Viterbo, issued his collection of Arie devote in 1608.²³ Audiences in Rome had already heard the monodies of Giulio Caccini and the famous Rappresentazione di anima et di corpo, through which Florentine monody had been introduced there as early as 1600.²⁴ Though the monodic style was accepted for secular and even spiritual use, it never won a real foothold in liturgical works.

As the full title suggests,²⁵ Durante's publication employs an idiom designed to reflect the meaning of the words, and graced by a considerable amount of ornamentation. His style is not so very unlike that of Caccini yet, as Matejka has remarked, the basic principles were somewhat different:²⁶

While Caccini enunciated the primacy of declamation and put this theory extensively, if not completely into practice in his compositions, Durante gave priority to the theory of expressive ornamentation.

Writing in 1628, Giustiniani mentioned Durante as among the great singers of Rome - masters of the art of embellishment:²⁷

And in addition to these many other sopranos, such as Gio. Luca, Ottavio Durante, Simoncino, Ludovico, who sang in a falsetto voice.....

That Durante was a virtuoso singer 'trying his hand' at composition was evident, for he shows himself to be preoccupied with the creation of impressive vocal effects. For instance, at the conclusion of the bass motet Voce mea he wrote an impressive cadenza for the repeat of the already profusely ornamented second section (No. 36). By way of contrast, Gaudent in caelis (No. 37) has simple four-square melodic writing with little emphasis on virtuosity. The flowing voice part would appeal to a singer wishing to show off his clear vocal timbre. The unusual rhythm on the word 'suum' in that piece was described as being particularly expressive by Caccini in his Le Nuove Musiche of 1601.²⁸ In the light of this and of the general compositional style, one can postulate the direct influence of the Florentines on at least a few Roman musicians. Bearing in mind Durante's unorthodox approach when compared with that of the maestri who wrote solo motets, one must inquire whether the pieces are liturgical or directed at performance in the chambers of princes like parts of Monteverdi's 1610 Vespers.²⁹ The volume opens and closes with monodic settings of vernacular texts suggesting that it was not designed as a liturgical publication.³⁰ This, coupled with a dedication to Durante's patron Cardinal Montalto,³¹ points to its being conceived as a replacement to the waning spiritual madrigal in the field of cultural recreation.³² The vocal ranges of all but one of the pieces make them suitable for performance by a falsettist like Durante who probably sang them himself at the houses of ecclesiastical patrons. The only piece which conflicts with this view of the collection is an alternatim Magnificat on the third tone; it is hard to imagine its being performed out of

the liturgical context with the necessary plainsong.

Another question which must be raised concerns performance practice: were the arie intended for solo voice as opposed to the duet medium? The proposal that more than one voice may have been intended is made on the strength of sporadic text-underlay in the continuo line, for example, at the opening of O rex gloriae and the conclusion of Angelus ad pastores where the music is notated on three staves, the continuo being written separately from the bass voice. At no point in the collection is a second voice essential since the continuo is never more than an accompaniment to the melodic line where most of the interest is concentrated. There are some places, however, where a voice singing with the continuo would enhance the music, as at 'tibi solo peccavi' in the Miserere (Ex. 35). Here the imitation would sound strange if played by the organ alone, and the additional voice makes more musical sense. The basic structure of the motets is that of solo with accompaniment; for this reason they are included here, regardless of whether Durante intended a voice to form part of that accompaniment.

Kapsberger's works, like those of Durante, are not known to have arisen out of any connection with a Roman religious institution for, though he had contacts with the Oratorians and the Barberini family, he seems never to have held a church appointment.³³ In his Libro primo di mottetti passeggiati a una voce (1612) Kapsberger used a monodic style with some exceptionally florid passaggi. These embellishments (characteristic of the composer) are exceptionally prolix and mechanical; they have little to do with expressiveness and appear to be an end in themselves. In their sheer complexity, they are reminiscent of the unreasonable style of improvised ornamentation found in treatises from the end of the cinquecento.³⁴ The melodic lines are poorly constructed with little inventiveness and are often awkwardly

harmonized, lacking a firm sense of chordal progression. Whereas Durante frequently used ABB form, Kapsberger avoided both formal structures and imitation between the continuo part and the voice. His motets, again mainly for soprano, resemble one another in their surfeit of embellishment: typical is Exurgat Deus (No. 38). Ego dormio is the only motet for bass solo and in common with most of that genre it is a tour de force fully exploiting the singer's technique. The vocal part extends over the best part of two and a half octaves in a very ornate style (Ex. 36). Occasionally the continuo breaks into a type of passaggio, for instance in Nigra sum, where the voice sustains a long note over such a flourish.

One can assume that the passaggi found in these works reflect a continuing practice of improvised embellishment. Writing in 1628, Giustiniani provided evidence of this:³⁵

Even all the Maestri di Cappella undertook to instruct certain castrati and boys to sing in florid style and in the new sentimental style. Among these Giovanni Bernardino Nanino, Maestro di Cappella in San Luigi, and Ruggiero Giovanelli developed pupils who had great success.....

and in 1639 Maugars implied that the tradition was on the wane when he described the Italian style as he experienced it in Rome:³⁶

Pour leur façon de chanter, elle est bien plus animée que la nostre; ils ont certaines flexions de voix que nous n'avons point; il est vray qu'ils font leurs passages avec bien plus de rudesse, mais aujourd'huy ils commencent à s'en corriger.

About this manner of singing, it is much more animated than ours; they have certain inflexions of the voice that we completely lack; it is true that they sing their passaggi with much harshness, but today they are beginning to correct this.

The technique was certainly common among falsettists, and della Valle mentions it in connection with his note on Giovanni Luca (probably Conforti):³⁷

mi ricordo di Gio. Luca falsetto,
gran cantore di gorgie e di passaggi,
che andava alto alle stelle.

I remember Giovanni Luca, the
falsettist, the great singer of
gorgie and passaggi which went
as high as the stars.

This is significant since most of Kapsberger's motets would suit the falsetto voice.

By the time Kapsberger published his Modulatus sacri in 1630, he had acquired a more secure grasp of basic compositional procedure. Though there is still a considerable amount of embellishment, it seems less aimless than in the previous volume, and it is constructed over a more harmonically satisfactory continuo line. The unornamented parts of the vocal lines have a more tuneful quality and do not appear simply as transitional passages leading to the next melisma. Alma redemptoris mater for soprano is a well-written piece; not weighed down with excessive ornamentation it preserves a good melodic line. In 1628 Kapsberger included six solo motets within a larger collection of Cantiones sacrae.....volumen primum for one to four voices. These pieces are truly monodic and not just a pairing down of a fuller texture; no prolonged melismas occur and ornamentation is confined to a few notes within a continuing melodic line or used cadentially. O vos omnes for canto solo is a short motet; it has much depth of feeling and shows Kapsberger could be a sensitive composer when he chose to write in a simpler style.

Apart from the prints of Durante and Kapsberger, the solo motet predominates in only two collections. The earlier of these, Gemma musicale.....Con alcuni motetti (1618),³⁸ provides a ready comparison between the solo motet and secular monody. While the motets are by G.F. Anerio, the bulk of the volume comprises monodies with secular texts by Domenico Puliaschi, a canon at S.Maria in Cosmedin and singer in the papal chapel.³⁹ All Anerio's motets are for bass except Felix namque es, which is for alternating bass and baritone.⁴⁰ There is a

distinct difference in style between the two sections of the volume, for Pulaschi used a monodic style with a static bass and freely declamatory vocal line. On the other hand Anerio's voice parts could well have been extracted from a larger polyphonic motet: they maintain flowing lines and slavishly follow the continuo. A short excerpt from each section will illustrate the difference in idiom (Ex. 37).

The other publication which concentrates on the solo motet distinguishes itself from the great corpus of Roman music by its imaginative approach to the medium. This is Sant'Agata's Motecta..... liber primus of 1636; while not a composer of genius, Sant'Agata, a Franciscan friar,⁴¹ shows refreshing originality in his charmingly tuneful melodic lines, as well as in his adventurous use of chromaticism. His style closely resembles that of the Neapolitan Alessandro Capece and on this account it is possible that Sant'Agata hailed from the small village of that name near Sorrento. Though his rather unrestrained approach must have influenced other composers, or at least aroused their curiosity, Sant'Agata is best regarded as an individualist rather than a potent force in musical history. His setting of Lamentabatur Jacob (No. 39) for canto or tenor shows his extreme chromaticism: there are augmented fifth and diminished seventh chords as well as remarkable enharmonic changes.⁴² Central to the motet is a short organ ritornello, a common feature which also occurs in Veni dilecte mi. That motet (No. 40) is notable for its simple tunefulness combined with echo techniques;⁴³ it is a light, almost playful setting of words from the Song of Songs, contrasting sharply with the anguished style of Lamentabatur Jacob. It makes great play on the repetitions of the words 'veni' and 'fuge', and closes with 'fuge' repeated briskly ten times, coming to an abrupt ending. The inclusion of eight motets by Sant'Agata in a Venetian collection

of the same year, Applausi ecclesiastici,⁴⁴ suggests that his music was also popular in the North of the country; the publication was even reprinted in the following year.

More conventional solo motets are generally found in prints which contain only a few examples. Here the style usually owes little to monody, and is closer to Viadana's reduction of the polyphonic motet, though often with more vocal figuration. Continuo parts have a rhythmic orientation which causes the music to move forward in a metrical fashion rather than in the freer monodic style. The first general Roman publication to contain solo motets was G.F. Anerio's Motecta of 1609. In the items for bass and 'baritono' the voice follows the continuo part; this is in contrast to Viadana's use of the 'baritono' where the part is independent of the organ.⁴⁵ These motets do not cultivate a particularly idiomatic vocal line and while there are scalic passages, the freedom offered by the medium has not been realized. When the volume was reprinted in 1620 the solo motets appeared in revised versions; this suggests that Anerio had recognized his initial failure to exploit the genre effectively. A comparison of the two versions of Cantabo Domino (No. 41) illustrates the development in musical style during the decade; the vocal parts in the 1620 volume are more florid and animated, no longer resembling lines from polyphonic motets. The continuo part has been altered too: it is now more four-square and decisive rhythmically - an aspect emphasized by the inclusion of regular barring in the now-figured organ part of the revised version.

Anerio included solo motets in his collections of 1611, 1613, 1617 and 1618; these show a steady trend towards the type of vocal writing of the 1620 reprint. Hymnum cantemus for canto (1617) opens with a lively triple-metre section, and preserves a certain life throughout with considerable freedom in the vocal lines. This

publication contains eleven solo motets - five for canto, and three each for tenor and bass. As in most similar publications, the solo material is more evenly distributed between the voices than in the groups of monodic pieces. The fact that maestri produced music which demanded less virtuoso skill and catered for a greater variety of singers indicates that their collections were more geared to the needs of an average cappella.

G.B. Nanino also composed solo motets: while there is no example in his first collection of 1610, each of his subsequent motet books do contain some. The bass motet, Audi Domine, from the Motecta.....liber secundus (1611) shows his grasp of the style (No. 42); he succeeded in injecting considerable variety into the vocal line. Though there is much doubling, there are short interjections in triple time, expansive runs and a florid final cadenza. Nanino's understanding of the genre allowed him to maintain interest without stooping to the banality of excessive virtuosity, and avoiding a pedestrian and unimaginative vocal line.

Alessandro Costantini included two solo motets in his Motecta..... liber primus of 1616. His setting for tenor of the Pauline text recalling the institution of the Eucharist, Fratres ego enim, is rather dull and the repeated slow-moving notes create a static effect. Doubling with the continuo gives rise to a sparse texture. The central section 'quod et tradidi vobis' is slightly more ornamented (albeit in a stock manner) and accordingly more interesting; however, the style is far from monodic. Alessandro's brother Fabio did not include any examples of solo writing in his motet anthologies, and neither did any other Roman compiler of such publications. The demand for the genre was clearly not great; perhaps the single voice was considered too individualistic and subjective and therefore at odds with the objective spirit of the liturgy.

A wealth of invention is displayed in Ugolini's writing for the medium; each of his nineteen solo motets, spread between four volumes,⁴⁶ has a definite character. Deus canticum novum for canto solo (1617) contains virtuoso florid writing, but without resorting to stock figuration. The constantly moving continuo part saves the musical phrases from sounding structureless, and the piece is organized in ABCB form. Also virtuoso is the bass solo Vidi Dominum (1619) (No. 43), which employs a vast vocal range. Typical of such writing is the low C at 'terra', and the rising and falling scalar passages to depict the idea of 'replebant templum'; it is worth comparing this with Monteverdi's Ab aeterno.⁴⁷

Up to about 1620 solo pieces were included in other collections: Paolo Agostini (1619), Domenico Massenzio (1618), and a sizeable number in Gregorio Veneri's publication of 1621. Agostini's Cantabo Domino from his Vespers collection of 1619 is a lively contribution to the genre in ABA form (No. 44); the A sections comprise tuneful triple-time writing (the material being transposed and repeated to create greater internal unity), while the B section also has a central triple-metre passage. After this the production of solo motets declined rapidly in Rome. The table below represents the number of extant pieces issued in each five-year period (to avoid distortion those publications which we have classified as standing apart from liturgical music are omitted):⁴⁸

<u>1600-04</u>	<u>1605-9</u>	<u>1610-14</u>	<u>1615-19</u>	<u>1620-24</u>	<u>1625-29</u>	<u>1630-34</u>
0	7	30	44	19	13	0
<u>1635-40</u>						
23						

(The period 1635-40 includes 18 from Sant'Agata's collection of 1636)

Solo motets were rarely written after 1625. Their production seems to have been prompted only by a certain type of text which expressed in a highly subjective manner an almost erotic affection for the second person of the Trinity: the intimate nature of the sentiments was obviously considered to be well suited for a single voice. It could well be that even these motets were written to satisfy an extra-liturgical demand. The Forty Hours' Devotion, when the Host was exposed for adoration, was gaining in popularity at this time. It took place in each church in turn throughout the year,⁴⁹ and music was required to match the visual splendour of the events.⁵⁰ Such Christ-directed texts as those found in solo motets after 1620 would have fitted these occasions of eucharistic adoration perfectly.⁵¹

Frescobaldi's O Jesu mi dulcissime, one of the four solo motets in his collection of 1627,⁵² is a well-written example for tenor based on a widely-set text. Using a style which owes a significant amount to monody in its declamatory approach, its slow-moving bass line, and its embellishment, Frescobaldi created an affective and rather passionate setting of the text. Lorenzo Ratti adopted a very florid monodic style in his one extant solo composition, a piece which appears rather out of character with the rest of his output. Jesu dulcedo (No. 45) for canto solo was issued in the Sacrae modulationes...pars tertia of 1628; the text is similar, at least in sentiment, to that set by Frescobaldi. It also has lengthy passaggi rivalling those of Kapsberger, which are declaimed over a static organ part.

Stamegna included one solo motet in his Sacrarum modulationum.... liber primus of 1637; again its text, Dulcis amor Jesu, is of an affective nature. It has a monodic feel in the slow passages (No. 46); these serve as a foil to more animated sections at the words 'sagittis tuis' which are marked 'presto'. The phrases frequently fall in a sighing manner, such as at the word 'languet' which is prolonged with

falling diminished fourths. The fast passages are rhythmically orientated with a regular pulse, but the idiom retains the highly mannered style common in Jesus motets. In the four solo pieces of his Musicum encomium of 1640, Agazzari adopted a more florid, soloistic idiom than elsewhere in the collection. The style is not as sensuous as Stamegna's or even Frescobaldi's: his Laudabo nomen Domini for canto solo has a rhythmically controlled melodic line in which the passaggi play an ornamental rather than a deliberately expressive role. ABB form is used frequently; this is another point of departure from the traditional monodic style.

Agazzari's solo motets are the last extant Roman examples of the genre in the period. None are found in the considerable number of motet anthologies of the 1640s, and it can therefore be argued that it never achieved a strong position among composers who were working in the field of liturgical music. While in several collections the genre features prominently, it only plays a minor role (if indeed it appears at all) in the majority of publications. Interest in the medium peaked just before 1620, but after that it declined rapidly reaching almost total extinction by 1630 - there was no Roman equivalent to the Venetian Ghirlanda sacra (RISM 1625²). It is almost as if composers felt bound to experiment with the new possibilities it offered and promptly abandoned it having produced results which were at variance with the detachment of the liturgy. The genre, however, lingered on until the end of the 1630s as a vehicle for setting personalized texts which were perhaps intended for spiritual recreation or extra-liturgical contexts. When we consider the function of the solo voice in the contemporary Roman spiritual opera it becomes clear that composers did not reject the style except in writing music designed for the liturgy.

THE SMALL-SCALE MOTET

The Early Years: Agazzari, Cifra, G.F. Anerio and G.B. Nanino

Viadana is generally considered to have exercised a seminal influence on the development of the small-scale motet in northern Italy, but his importance with regard to Roman music must not be underestimated. Though published in Venice in 1602 his Cento concerti ecclesiastici⁵³ was not a collection whose influence was confined to the Veneto; indeed, the preface indicates that Viadana's few-voiced motets first appeared in Rome in about 1596. The preface explains his reasons for hurrying the publication to print in 1602 and makes clear the Roman provenance of the motets:⁵⁴

The other less important reason (in comparison with the one aforesaid) which also made me hasten to publish this my invention is the following: I saw that some of these concerti, which I composed five or six years ago when in Rome (happening then to bethink myself of the new fashion), found such favor with many singers and musicians that they were not only found worthy to be sung again and again in many of the leading places of worship, but that some persons actually took occasion to imitate them very cleverly and to print some of these imitations; wherefore, both for the above reason and also to satisfy my friends..... I have made up my mind.....to print them.

This passage indicates the popularity of Viadana's scaling-down of traditional polyphonic textures in Rome, the city commonly regarded as the stronghold of conservatism. Whether or not they were opposed to fundamental change, many Roman churches suffered from the same lack of resources as those in the North, and therefore needed music which could be effectively performed by a small group of singers. The medium, especially in Rome, was not connected with any philosophical or aesthetic considerations like the music of the Florentines: the small forces were purely functional. The relative ease of performance accounts for the immense number of examples of the genre published

throughout the Italian peninsula during the early seicento; these relieved churches of the problem to which Viadana referred in his preface:⁵⁵

I saw that the singers.....were sometimes forced by the lack of compositions suitable to the purpose to take one, two or three parts from motets with five, six, seven or even eight.....

Also significant in Viadana's preface is the mention of other works seeking to imitate the Cento concerti; unfortunately none of these seems to have survived.⁵⁶ Viadana proved the viability of the small-scale medium in Rome but it fell to Agazzari, maestro of the German College, to supply Roman printers with similar motets during the following years. Pitoni suggested that Agazzari learnt the new style of composition from the author of the Cento concerti himself:⁵⁷

.....he was maestro di cappella of the German College of S. Apollinare from March 1, 1602 until October 13, 1603 where he introduced the concerto manner which he had learnt through brief contact with Fr. Ludovico Viadana.

As early as 1603 Agazzari was preparing his first collection of motets for two and three voices with bassus ad organum, and he made an announcement to that effect in the preface of his Sacrae laudes of that year:

Et accettino queste mie note quali esse siano, & paghinsi d'un buon' animo, aspettando in brieve..... qualche saggio de'miei concertini à due, & tre voci.....

And receive these which are my compositions and be satisfied with a good soul awaiting some samples of my concertini for two and three voices to follow shortly.....

The concertini were eventually printed in Rome in 1606 by Aloysio Zannetti as Sacrae cantiones.....liber quartus. One of the earliest publications of few-voiced motets in Rome, and certainly the first by a highly-regarded composer, it opened the floodgates for a succession of similar works by other authors. It appears to have been a parting

gift to Rome since it was dedicated to the students of the Seminario Romano in the year before Agazzari left the city to reside in his native Siena. The collection must have enjoyed immediate acclaim, since in the year of its initial publication it was reissued in Venice and Milan. It continued to be printed until 1633, achieving five Roman and six Venetian prints. The publication contains twenty-four motets for two and eleven for three voices; the proportion of two-part pieces indicates the popularity of this scoring in Rome, a preference which was to last until the 1640s.⁵⁸ The motets of Agazzari represent a considerable stylistic advance on those of Viadana; the vocal lines are less stifled by a rigid adherence to the prima prattica and more advantage is taken of the lighter texture and the supporting role of the organ.

Apparuerunt apostolis (No. 47) for soprano and bass is typical of the volume: in common with many early small-scale motets it opens with a melodic line which in its length, smoothness and slowness of movement owes much to polyphonic antecedents. After the initial phrase the voices proceed with a new freedom: the angular line at 'dispertitae' represents a musical response to the text, each note being separated by the interval of a third, and the short rhythmic phrases at 'tamquam ignis' and 'supra singulos eorum' reflect a new interest in melody. The motet concludes with a triple-metre 'Alleluia' section with lively, well-shaped phrases. The repetition of easily recognizable material in this motet distinguishes it from its prima prattica precursors, and provides a sense of structural unity in the wake of the pervading polyphony which had previously supplied the cohesive element. The organ part is indispensable for filling in what would otherwise have been a rather sparse texture, for accompanying the solo passages, and for providing a sense of unity.

Agazzari's main concern in this volume was the musical depiction

of the text, a preoccupation which he mentioned in the preface of his Sacrae laudes (1603). Despite his success with five and more voices, Agazzari stated in Del sonare sopra'l basso of 1607 that he considered the small-scale medium the ideal for such a response to the text:⁵⁹

I shall say that, since the discovery of the true style of expressing the words.....something which succeeds best with a single voice or with a few voices, as in the modern airs of certain able men and as is now much practised in Rome in concerted music, it is no longer necessary to make a score or tablature.....

Two examples illustrate the practical working-out of this concern: the suspensions in the concluding passage of the grief-laden O vos omnes for two tenors, introduced by the declamation of 'Attendite' over a sustained organ note; and some passages in the bass duet Estote fortes in bello, which include pictorial musical responses to the words 'bello' and 'pugnante'. Low voices were common for setting warlike texts; the vocal range creates an atmosphere appropriate to the words. Thus the oratione is mistress of the armonia in a general sense, rather than by obeying strict Florentine principles of verbal declamation.

There are few formal structures in the collection: no refrains occur and while there are occasional triple-metre sections these are rarely extended enough to give any sense of overall form. Quam pulchra es à 2 is one of the few structurally organized pieces: it exhibits ABB form, an incipit indicating the repeat of the final section 'et desiderant'. Only one solo piece occurs, a setting of 'Mihi autem' for bass which appears to lead into the motet Ut annuntiem omnes à 3; the exact relationship of these two pieces is ambiguous in the part-books. The solo is not monodic and the voice follows the organ, except for slight ornamentation towards the end.

Agazzari published further volumes of such music in 1607 and 1611 after he had left Rome. It is appropriate that the first of these

should have been published in conjunction with Del sonare sopra'l basso since this associates the treatise with liturgical rather than secular music.⁶⁰ The 1607 publication⁶¹ is an extension of the previous year's and was clearly issued in response to its popularity. The only difference in content between the two volumes is the inclusion of two four-part motets in the later one. The same absence of formal structure is evident, though the motet Amen dico vobis à 2 (No. 48) derives a certain sense of form from reflecting the contrasts within the text. After a conventional opening, Agazzari demonstrates the expressive aspect of his style with a series of suspensions at 'quia plorabitis', and with strange chromatic writing at 'vos vero contristabimini'; these sections act as a foil to light triple-metre passages which depict the turning of sadness into joy. The 1607 collection also contains the scaling-down of Ego clamavi, a five-part piece from the third book of Sacrarum cantionum (1603). The two-part arrangement opens with a curious rising melodic line whose angularity depicts the soul's cry to God, while another angular phrase, this time falling, sets 'Deus inclina aurem tuam'. As in the 1606 book Agazzari was concerned to create momentum through compact melodic lines; typical of this is the light motet Assumpta est Maria à 2 which, after an initial phrase conforming to the shape of the antiphon, presents a series of direct, tuneful motifs.

The 1606 collection was Agazzari's last publication before he left the city for his home town of Siena; after that all his publications appeared initially in Venice until 1625, when he again issued some small-scale motets in Rome. During this twenty-year period he must be regarded as belonging to the Venetian rather than the Roman sphere of activity. It is surprising, though indicative of the rift between North and South, that he achieved few reprints of his numerous

Venetian works in Rome. Agazzari's influence remained: his 1606 volume must have had a considerable impact since a number of composers of differing stature soon contributed to the genre in a style much influenced by his achievement.

The year 1609 saw a remarkable burst of activity from Agazzari's successor at the German College, Antonio Cifra. That he published four volumes of motets for two to four voices in that year suggests that such music was in great demand. Cifra must have been only too willing to involve himself in what was clearly an attractive financial proposition. The popularity of his often mediocre music is indicated by the nineteen extant reprints of the four books of 1609, a number of which appeared in Venice. The first small-scale motet collection, his liber primus, was completed by the end of 1608, and the preface was signed from the German College on December 20 of that year. Since the books were compiled within so short a time no stylistic distinctions can be drawn and they can be examined together.

The copy of his Motecta.....liber tertius in the Venetian edition of 1612 contained in the Civico Museo, Bologna gives an indication of one type of church in which these pieces were performed. The first canto book is marked 'della Libr. di S.Fran.co a Ripa' showing that in this Trastevere church, as in others where no permanent cappella was maintained, the possibility of performing motets was welcomed. Like Agazzari's, the volumes are weighted in favour of two-part writing, though a certain number of three- and four-part motets are found in each. Cifra did not follow the avenue of monody to find means of expressing the text; he preferred rather to encapsulate the general atmosphere of the words while maintaining melodic lines in imitation, or running parallel over a mobile organ part. An example of this is the Song of Songs setting, Introduxit me rex (No. 49), from the liber tertius which, like most of the collection, is for two voices. It

starts conventionally with a slow-moving melodic line, but soon abandons counterpoint in favour of the homophonic sonority of parallel tenths at 'in cellam vinarium'. The word 'floribus' calls for a flurry of decorative quavers, while in the closing passage the momentum is lost in an imaginative response to the words 'quia amore languo', with falling diminished fourths - a common device for this type of text. Since this is not an equal-voiced duet Cifra allows the tenor to double the organ, often an octave above; this makes for a certain emptiness not encountered in motets for two equal voices, where the norm is a duet over the bass.

It was frequently the sensuous texts of the Song of Songs which moved Cifra to write in a mannered, expressive style, a further example of which is Anima mea liquefacta est à 2 from the liber primus. Here there is a more agitated approach at 'quia amore languo' which has rapid descending scalar passages in a florid style. Not so openly expressive - and therefore more typical - is Beatus vir for two voices from the liber secundus: it opens with a slow-moving motif but the use of two equal voices means that the lower part is released from following the organ. The voices frequently unite in thirds over the bass showing that Cifra was prepared to sacrifice counterpoint for sonority. A florid example from the liber secundus is Maria virgo, a setting of the second antiphon for Vespers of the Assumption for canto and bass. Its final passage uses ever-quickenening note-values in tenths, the canto concluding with a run of semiquavers which centres about the leading-note of the scale in response to the words 'stellato sedet solio'.

Non est inventus à 2⁶² is evidence of a continuing awareness of chant; the opening passage consists of the initial phrase of the plain-song passed between the voices like a CF. Against this a more animated motif to the words 'similis illis' is introduced, and from 'qui conservaret' the parts engage in a more equal interplay. Its

brevity suggests that it could have been used liturgically as an antiphon.

Though Cifra generally chose standard duet and trio combinations, his desire for apt musical expression of the text sometimes led him to employ other scorings. The most overt use of pictorial scorings are three basses for Magi videntes stellam, the Magnificat antiphon for first Vespers of the Epiphany, and four sopranos for Ex ore infantium.⁶³ Following Agazzari's practice, Cifra made little use of structural forms: the already mentioned Beatus vir is an exception since it suggests ABB form by economical reworking of material in the final section. The second volume also contains a stricter example of the form: Misit Dominus for canto and bass has an embellished repeat of the B section in line with contemporary improvisational practice (Ex. 38).

While most of his motets have homogeneous textures with close vocal groupings, Ecce terra mota est from the liber secundus contains sections of contrasting tessitura for two sopranos and two basses; this reflects the contrast of 'terra' and 'caeli' in the text. After presenting the two independent duets the parts unite to repeat the same material. The antiphonal use of vocal groups is also the basis of Quem vidistis pastores à 4, the Christmas Responsory; here the dialogue is between the two sopranos and the alto and tenor with the two groups singing in thirds and sixths to emphasize their unity.

In 1610 Cifra moved to Loreto to direct the music at the Santa Casa but the stream of motet publications continued unabated. They were issued in Rome with a number of Venetian reprints. Unlike Agazzari Cifra continued to function within the Roman orbit after leaving the city, and his only real entry into the Venetian publishing scene was in 1629. Since Cifra exhibited little stylistic development in the second decade his other publications will be examined here; the four books of 1612 to 1615 are in every way a continuation of

his 1609 series. Doubtless an excellent businessman, Cifra continued to supply the Roman market with motets similar to those which had already found acceptance. His success lay in the production of music which was commercially viable and relatively easy to perform.

Dum esset summus pontifex from the liber quintus (1612) is a setting of this antiphon text for two canti. It seems remarkable that, after an opening phrase which would not appear out of place in Palestrina, Cifra launches into an expansive run of semiquavers, particularly on the word 'migravit'. Generally four-voiced motets adopt a more syllabic style than those for fewer voices, thus avoiding a muddled texture. Lengthy melismas are replaced by simpler phrases and this tends toward a more definite organization of the rhythmic structure - Jesus omnes agnoscite à 4 is an example of this.⁶⁴

Gloriosi principes terrae à 4⁶⁵ contains so many sustained notes that it is almost in stile antico if we leave aside the metrical squareness, some repeated notes and the greater feel for the natural rhythm of each word.

Ornamentation comes to the fore in Beatus Laurentius for two tenors from the 1613 liber sextus: at the word 'orabat' Cifra uses a succession of four-note phrases, the second note of each is marked 't' - trillo. This is a thoughtful sensitive touch, one which reflects a progressive awareness of vocal technique, and it is certain that for each written ornament many more were improvised. Concern for sonority, as opposed to the cerebral intricacy of contrapuntal lines, is reflected in the opening of Audite caeli à 3 (1612) where voices move for extended passages in thirds.

The year 1619 saw the publication of Cifra's Motecta ex sacris cationibus which, like Palestrina's 1584 collection,⁶⁶ set words from the Song of Songs. This volume was clearly meant to stand apart from his others since it does not continue their numeration. Like

Palestrina's collection it would have been conceived as a bridge between the liturgy and spiritual madrigal. Cifra was certainly familiar with the texts through his position at the Marian shrine at Loreto. Stylistically these motets differ little from his other works and, while bringing out the more florid aspect of his technique, the highly perfumed air and eroticism of the Veneto is absent - in short, there is a certain detachment. The reserved approach is reflected in the lack of dialogue and personification as well as in the absence of solo motets. Introduxit me rex à 3 (SSB) is one of his most elaborate pieces: semiquaver runs at 'floribus' gradually increase in frequency and momentum. The rests in the closing passage, combined with the syncopated rhythms of 'languo', add to the expressive madrigalian air and a mannerist feel is initiated through abrupt changes of style. Dilectus meus à 2 (SB) is simpler and lacks the intensity of Introduxit me rex; the vocal line plunges down at 'descendit in hortum meum' (Ex. 39) and though the parts are rather ornate the prevailing tonality is 'major' and a sense of lightness is preserved.

In 1620 another book was issued by Cifra, the Motecta quaternis vocibus. This derives its singularity from containing only four-part motets - not one of the preferred scorings. The content is not archaic in the prima prattica sense, and there is no real concertato writing. Ego sum vitis vera includes a short recitative-like portion at 'sicut dilexit me' for canto, but the textures are basically traditional. Cifra was no enthusiast for the textural concertato style: before 1629, when he produced his three Venetian Motecta, et psalmi, one scarcely sees any indication of an awareness of the idiom.

Throughout his publications the relative importance of various scorings remained the same: the duet was the most favoured medium, but it never excluded three- or four-part motets. In his series of

small-scale pieces Cifra displayed little interest in the solo voice and there is only the occasional hint of concertato writing. His music is firmly rooted in the contrapuntal tradition and he always strove to maintain a balance between the voices, a feature which would have been lost had he used more progressive compositional means.

A collected volume of his motets was printed in Rome in 1638;⁶⁷ its preface testifies to the esteem in which he was held:

Le spesse richieste, che si sono fatte, di vedersi con l'opera rinovata la memoria di così illustre Compositore mostrano a bastanza, quanta gloria egli per l'addietro si habbia acquistato, e quanta se ne prometta per l'avvenire.

The frequent requests which have been made to preserve the memory of such an illustrious composer through the reprinted work shows sufficiently how much fame he acquired in the past, and how much fame he secured for the future.

In order to make this vast collection of about two hundred motets manageable the publisher, Grignani, supplied a comprehensive index divided into two parts - one for the temporal and the other for the sanctoral cycle. In addition to this antiphon texts are noted when these occur, and twelve motets are designated for the elevation.

Also at the forefront of the introduction of the small-scale motet in Rome was G.F. Anerio, who published his first collection in 1609. A pupil of Palestrina and writer of prima prattica masses, he has gained a reputation as a conservative composer. His Motecta of 1609 contradict this however, since they exhibit a whole-hearted adoption of the new scaled-down medium with its expressive possibilities. Though it is again weighted in favour of the duet it is the first Roman publication to include solo motets among other music. The outstandingly progressive idiom of the collection may partly be attributed to Anerio's time in Verona. There he possibly encountered Steffano Bernardi, a native of the town who was well-versed in the expressive style of the North, and published a volume of motets for

two to five voices in Rome in 1610.⁶⁸ Dulcis amor Jesu for canto and bass (No. 50), though not representative of the collection, shows a very advanced response to an affective text. In setting this series of Christ-directed sentiments Anerio uses abrupt and mannered changes of mood. While the opening phrase is expansive with long note-values, that at 'sagittis tuis' moves forward by means of rising quaver runs; 'Ah mi Jesu', a protracted sigh, is expressed by poignant diminished fourths. This motet demonstrates Anerio's refusal to be enslaved by convention, and represents his entry into a new sphere of musical expression. More typical of the volume, but nevertheless progressive in its use of ABB form, is Tres pueri for three canti (Ex. 40) - an obvious piece of imagery. The vocal lines are closer to those of the polyphonic motet but a more vertical conception of texture is emerging.

Though two-part motets predominate, Anerio's next publication, Motectorum.....liber secundus (1611), contains music for a wider variety of scorings and includes solos and pieces for as many as six voices. Some of these like Dies sanctificatus à 2 (CT) recall the bicinia of Viadana, but the occasional embellishments and strong simultaneous cadences establish a more progressive style. In keeping with the retrospective nature of this motet the organ contents itself with following the tenor line. In 1613 Anerio published a cycle of antiphons for the entire liturgical year; contained in three volumes, his Antiphonae, seu sacrae cantiones consist of miniature motets for a few voices, the brevity of which can be explained by their role in the liturgy.⁶⁹

Anerio followed this comprehensive collection with two further publications of small-scale motets in 1617 and 1618, by which time the genre had become firmly established in Rome. The first of these demonstrates Anerio's concern for liturgical relevance, and its informative index shows which motets are suitable for feasts of the

Virgin, Apostles and Martyrs, Confessors, Virgins and the Guardian Angels, as well as designating some for eucharistic use. Isti sunt triumphatores à 3⁷⁰ is in ABCB form with the B section in triple metre to the text 'modo cornatur'; here Anerio exploits the structure of the Responsory text. In Laudem dicite à 3⁷¹ Anerio employs short triple-time sections with some regularity to create a formal structure. The increasing interest in formal arrangement is also found in the liber quintus (1618) where for the first time Anerio employs regular barring in the continuo part. While it is arguable that this is an innovation on the part of the printer rather than of Anerio himself, it nonetheless indicates a more regular concept of rhythm.

As a postscript to the consideration of Anerio and the small-scale motet it should be remembered that he was a highly respected priest, well-connected with both the Jesuits and the Oratorians.⁷² His acceptance of the medium shows that it was not only the stile antico which was ecclesiastically respectable; the clarity of Anerio's word-setting and his musical response to the text were well within the spirit of the Council of Trent.

The same year as Anerio's first publication, 1609, saw the production of similar volumes by Bartei and Pietro Paolo da Cavi. Both of these were members of the Augustinian order and associated with its main church in Rome.⁷³ Bartei's volume, Liber primus sacrarum modulationum, consists entirely of duets - further evidence of the popularity of this medium over the others. He was an adaptable composer and had previously published a set of prima prattica Responsories and four double-choir masses.⁷⁴ When turning his hand to the duet medium he wrote in a progressive style, though not as affective as that of Anerio, and made frequent use of lively and extended triple-metre passages, such as the quasi-canonic opening of Laetentur caeli (No. 51) for two sopranos. The content of Bartei's volume can be evenly divided into two groups:

those written for equal voices, and those for unequal ones. Sometimes the vocal style is old-fashioned, as in Audite caeli à 2 (Ex. 41); but even the opening phrase of that motet contains an octave leap at 'caeli' symbolizing the appeal being made to heaven.

Da Cavi was more retrospective and employed vocal lines which are closer to the spirit of the prima prattica. His collection is atypical since three-part motets predominate. Beatam me dicent à 3 (CCB), a parody of the Magnificat verse in honour of St. Monica, has a lengthy opening section in which the three voices interweave in melodic lines taken from the style of the previous century. At the words 'quia fecit' this texture disintegrates and the voices form pairs, often singing in thirds; the momentum also increases with smaller note-values, and the bass becomes more of a harmonic support (Ex. 42). Veni Domine à 3 (CAB) has a slow-moving contrapuntal texture throughout, but like many of his motets it is progressive in its formal structure, in this case ABB.

Nanino emerges in his Motecta of 1610 as a composer of singular ability. This publication and the three which followed it date from his time as maestro at S. Lorenzo in Damaso. The 1610 collection demonstrates that the new genre had already firmly established itself for church use since each motet is printed with an indication of its place within the liturgical cycle. This volume represents a rather tentative first approach to the medium and, while exhibiting a sound command of the style, Nanino does not emerge as the adventurous composer that the later collections with their solo motets and concertato writing prove him to be. Amor Jesu dulcissime à 4 for the elevation shows his use of harmonic devices to add sonority to the opening phrase: particularly notable is the chord of the flattened sixth which must have sounded very avant-garde to the generation of Artusi. It is vertically conceived throughout, and at 'cibum nostrum'

one voice sings against homophony in the other three. Estote forte in bello for the common of Apostles is for soprano and bass and contains the 'stock' melismas for 'bello' and 'pugnate', while the organ follows the bass part with some modifications. Nanino's later volumes make use of a freer, more idiomatic melodic line, and solo passages are found inserted in sections of a fuller texture. Even the three-part Ecce quod concupivi (1612) is interrupted by a short solo for the third tenor, while Exaudi nos Domine (1611) moves towards the adoption of a concertato idiom with, among other features, a bass solo at 'et secundum' followed by a much embellished canto duet far removed from the conventions of the stile antico (No. 52). An extension of this idea is found in Aruit cor meum à 4 from the same book; this is divided into four short sections, each with a change of scoring. Similar deployment of voices is found in Agazzari's Sertum roseum of 1611 in which two three-part pieces are labelled 'Dialogo'. These are distinguished from the remainder of the content by their solo and duet passages: Gaude virgo gloriosa (No. 53) opens with a solo for each of the voices and then proceeds to a consistent three-part texture of the type normal for a small-scale motet. Agazzari's 1611 publication also contains a Stabat mater à 4 which resembles a prima prattica motet in its long note-values. It is almost totally homophonic with rising chromatic figures and suspensions combining to achieve the doleful atmosphere. These devices together with tertial relationships relate to Agazzari's notion of musical imagery.

Nanino's Motecta.....liber quartus of 1618 contain motets for various liturgical occasions: many of the two-part pieces are for commons of saints, including Amavit eum Dominus for two altos. This motet demonstrates a less complex aspect of Nanino's style, and there are few rhythmic or harmonic intricacies. Throughout the texture is that of a duet over an independent bass, and each phrase is

repeated in imitation between the two voices.

As in Venice the small-scale motet emerged in Rome in the first decade of the 17th century under the influence of Viadana. The popularity of the style enables us to dispense with the myth that the Romans continued to be tied down to the style of Palestrina. It is clear that the new idiom satisfied the need for small-scale, uncomplicated music in the lesser churches.

The Small-Scale Motet 1611-25: A period of little stylistic advance

By 1610 the small-scale motet was established as a viable genre for liturgical use and many composers began to compile collections in which it featured prominently. Production reached its peak between 1615 and 1620, after which, probably due to fading novelty and the saturation of the market, the few-voiced motet fell into a steady decline.⁷⁶ Though this was the quantitative highpoint, the artistic merit of much of the music is debatable, as some composers brought little originality to their works which often lack freshness and vitality. Composers all too often contented themselves with the fact of writing for the new medium and had little concern for whether the music had any value except its novelty. It must of course be admitted that the new style was easier for composers to handle than the contrapuntal devices of the prima prattica. Stylistically therefore the period emerges as one of stagnation; much of the music is a string of stock phrases, and there is often little in one motet to distinguish it from another.

It is important to note the sheer quantity in which these pieces were issued by a large number of composers. Anthologies indicate the demand for few-voiced motets: Fabio Costantini's collections of 1616 and 1618,⁷⁷ G.B. Robletti's publication of 1621⁷⁸ and Francesco Sammaruco's of 1625⁷⁹ contain pieces with continuo by many composers for up to five voices. Even some figures generally associated with the previous generation and the prima prattica are represented;⁸⁰ none of these was ever responsible for a complete volume of forward-looking motets, however their contributions to anthologies show that they did not regard the seconda as a rejection of the prima prattica, but simply its natural extension.

Soriano, maestro at St. Peter's, appears to have remained the sole staunch proponent of the stile antico. While he was prepared to introduce extra choirs in the 'colossal Baroque' manner he showed no inclination to write small-scale pieces. His motet Ingrediente Domino à 4 appears out of place in the anthology Lilia campi (1621) since it is in an archaic contrapuntal style without continuo.⁸¹ Soriano's aloofness was exceptional, and the small-scale motet became so popular that, in 1621, the acting maestro of the Cappella Sistina, Vincenzo de Grandis, issued a book of Sacrae cantiones, the content of which was well in line with contemporary taste. By no means retrospective, de Grandis's Sancta et immaculata for alto and tenor has an accompanimental continuo line and the many well-controlled melismas use lombardic rhythms - only in the long notes of the opening phrase is there any consciousness of the past. His De ore prudentis à 4 (Ex. 43) is also progressive; it opens with a canto solo and continues by making use of various vocal scorings, deriving its form from two triple-metre sections (ABCB, where B is the tripla).

Like de Grandis most composers adopted a modern style though they still retained an awareness of its prima prattica origins. Many works exhibit a stylistic ambivalence, the result of composers' lack of security during the period of transition. In his 1616 collection⁸² A. Costantini opened his Voce mea (Ex. 44) for canto and bass with four semibreves in both parts. These provide a respectable polyphonic-sounding opening before he launches into vocal writing of great freedom, with Caccini-like lombardic rhythms at 'clamavi' and animated descending sequences at 'pronuncio'. Costantini combined the latest vocal devices with their historical antecedents - a blend which characterized music of this decade. Another traditional side of the small-scale motet is the frequent use of plainsong to supply the melodic material. Ugolini set four Vespers antiphons for the feast of

St. Lucy in his 1619 collection;⁸³ in one of these, Orante sancta Lucia, the chant appears in an ornamented version at the beginning. The subsequent motifs are, however, strongly rhythmic and the word-setting syllabic. The conciseness of the piece can be attributed to the need for a brief setting in the liturgical context.

Quagliati's motets often represent the other end of the stylistic spectrum since this composer showed little concern for maintaining any connection with the prima prattica. Though Quagliati was well-established in Rome as organist at S. Maria Maggiore at the time he published his Mottettis et dialogis in 1620, his origins were in north Italy (probably Chioggia near Venice).⁸⁴ One of his family, perhaps his father, was Girolamo Diruta's predecessor as cathedral organist there. He was raised therefore in an area where the latest Venetian developments were commonplace; this is apparent from the affective chromatic style frequently adopted in the publication, as well as from the echo effects and the use of texts from the Song of Songs.⁸⁵ Certain of his motets, such as Vulnerasti cor meum for two sopranos, are in a recitative idiom. In Quae est ista 'à 2 Soprani in Ecco' the second soprano repeats the last two syllables of the other part at the end of each phrase; this is done regardless of the sense, and shows how a meaningful text could be sacrificed for the sake of musical effect.⁸⁶ Stefano Landi's Ego flos campi (1621) for soprano and bass (No. 54) also adopts a florid style with a certain amount of chromaticism.⁸⁷ In this motet Landi - also a writer of stile antico masses - provided an optional coda section 'finis si placet' which was presumably intended for those who still had some energy after singing the main part of the piece! After an animated opening, the coda section slows down to depict the words 'amore languero'; here the full bass range is exploited, and the falling diminished fourths sound static in comparison with the preceding passage.

With the passing of the polyphonic idiom and its successive points of imitation, composers were anxious to find new ways of organizing material in order to preserve a sense of cohesion. Form, texture and rhythm commanded the composers' attention and, as the century progressed, these aspects of composition became more closely controlled. Motets accordingly assumed a greater sense of overall structure. As early as 1611 Angelo Paoletti used refrain form in setting Quam pulchra es à 6.⁸⁸ This, the final tour de force of the publication, has a triple-metre refrain which appears six times, giving the movement some shape. Refrain form seems to have been more common in the North, while the Romans, following Agazzari's example, preferred ABB structure.⁸⁹ Another composer, Pietro Pace, employed some interesting forms in his L'ottavo libro de motetti of 1619: many of the pieces are in ABB form and there is a Confitebor tibi⁹⁰ for two voices in echo. Similarly Pace's L'undecimo libro de motetti, published posthumously by his son in 1625, contains motets for two to six voices in which the ABB structure also appears regularly. Peccata mea Domine à 3 shows his writing at its most affective; the two cantos sing in thirds against the alto in this ABB setting of a penitential text. Notable in Pace's writing is the almost total absence of triple metre: presumably he was content with the ABB form as a means of organization.

Domenico Campisi displays a predilection for structured writing in his Floridus concentus.....liber tertius of 1622. O virgo gloriosa à 3 is in ABA form; the B section, a short quadruple passage, is flanked by triple-metre A sections. The only adjustment at the repeat of the A section is that the two upper voices exchange parts. Campisi's other collection also has a fanciful title: Lilia campi...liber quintus (1627). This volume provides evidence of his continuing interest in form: Gaude fili Hiacinthe for two cantos can

be represented as ABACA, where A is a triple-metre refrain in a lively melodic style. Comedi favum has the sign ||: at the central point of the motet, indicating the repeat of the second section to create ABB form.

Not all structures are so clearly defined: Capece's Domine quinque talenta for two canti⁹¹ is notable for the alternation between triple and quadruple metre, though no actual refrain is employed. The sections of triple metre are not overshadowed as they were at the beginning of the century and are sufficiently extended to mark out the form of the piece. Some composers, such as Tullio Cima, were not so interested in overall formal schemes. Cima's Gaudent in caelis (1621)⁹² does however have a certain sense of organization. This motet, a bass duet, is well constructed; the concise opening section consists of a phrase followed by its transposition up a fourth. The neatly planned scheme of so short a section shows how composers were concerned for formal cohesion. In his Motecta.....liber secundus of 1625,⁹³ Cima demonstrated no more interest in overall form than in his 1621 collection: instead the works often derive a sense of unity from economy of melodic material.

Composers also attempted to arrange their small-scale pieces by organizing the texture.⁹⁴ While in Assumpta est Maria for two sopranos (Ex. 45) from his Concertini.....libro secondo (1619) Allegri wrote two equally important vocal lines, this was not the only way of deploying the voices. For instance, Antonelli included a good deal of solo writing in the context of the duet Quae est ista of 1615;⁹⁵ the lengthy solos are in an embellished vocal style and it is not until the end that the voices unite. These motets are far removed from those of Antonelli's conservative prima prattica publication of the previous year;⁹⁶ he doubtless issued the former with the intention of gaining respect for his sound knowledge of the old style. In three volumes

of progressive Diversarum modulationum⁹⁷ he demonstrated equal facility with the few-voiced medium; this emphasizes the fact that the two styles were not incompatible. In Catalani's Jesu dulcis memoria (1616)⁹⁸ there is a hint of concertato writing within a three-part texture (No. 55). This motet includes solo passages which are symptomatic of a move away from continuous polyphony. A graphical representation of vocal entries will clarify this point:

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C  -----  ---  -----  -----  -----  -----
C  -----  -----  -----  -----  -----  -----
B  ---  -----  -----  -----  -----  -----

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(each dash is equivalent to four minims)

Pietro Pace's Duo seraphim (No. 56) is a good example of how texture could be used to tie in with the words.⁹⁹ Though organist at Loreto, he seems to have been aware of the needs of small churches and designated this motet 'A 2. & à 3 se piace'. Like Viadana, Pace introduced the third voice at the appropriate moment, but he extended Viadana's idea so that the piece ends with a solitary voice singing 'unum sunt'.¹⁰⁰ Cima appears to have little interest in this type of structure, and his 1621 publication has no similar changes of scoring. The three- and four-part pieces are in a loose contrapuntal idiom, with occasional homophonic writing, such as the triple-time section 'pulchra ut luna' in Virgo prudentissima à 4. It differs from earlier contrapuntal styles only in the greater freedom and movement of individual lines, not in matters of texture.

Rhythm too took on a more regular appearance during the period, and this is reflected in some continuo parts by the use of bar-lines. Anerio's employment of bar-lines has already been noted, but he was not alone in this: Boschetti's publication of 1620¹⁰¹ is carefully rhythmically organized with bar-lines in the continuo part. Much of the organ line of Vox dilecti mei for two canti (No. 57) proceeds in

regular minims, providing the root of the chord suggested by the voice parts. Despite the plain rhythms the motet is not without its pleasing qualities: there is a well-shaped opening phrase whose simplicity and self-contained nature give it a certain charm. The same could be said of the lightly ascending dotted notes on the word 'saliens' - an example of word-painting. Bar-lines are also found in Gregorio Veneri's Sacrarium cantionum....liber tertius (1621), which is unusual for its bias towards solo rather than duet writing. Capece's Vidi turbam à 2 (No. 58) of 1624¹⁰² looks forward to the 1640s with regard to rhythm: the continuo line consists almost entirely of crotchets which fall easily into groups of four and mark out the regularly spaced cadences. This 'walking' bass foreshadows those of the 1640s and represents a move to a more symmetrical rhythmic organization.¹⁰³ The year 1621 saw the publication of the anthology Lilia campi in which a good selection of major composers is represented. Only the works of G.F. Anerio and Boschetti have bar-lines in the continuo parts: it was another twenty years before they became a standard feature of Roman music printing.

Two bassus ad organum parts, both by Quagliati, stand out from the rest and cast some light on performance practice. In his contribution to Costantini's collection of 1618,¹⁰⁴ a setting of Cantabo Domino (No. 59) for two canti, the continuo part is notated on two staves with treble and bass clefs; the bass staff presents a normal continuo line, while notes on the treble staff basically follow the second canto part. The two staves are marked 'Chitarra', indicating that the organ was not the sine qua non of liturgical music. Other instruments were certainly used for variety and when an organ was not available, but directions which reflect this tradition are exceedingly rare.¹⁰⁵ Quagliati's Bassus ad organum pro motectis et dialogis of 1620 survives as an isolated part-book. Unlike most

continuo parts, it is not simply a figured bass, but rather provides a reduced score of the motets - generally one voice part and the bass.¹⁰⁶ This would have been of help to a player accompanying the recitative-like writing as well as for instructional purposes. Quagliati was an organist rather than a maestro, a fact which may explain his sensitivity to players' needs. Another instance of the rare provision of instrumental parts occurs in Paolo Agostini's motet Preparate corda vestra.¹⁰⁷ Scored for canto, bass, violin and lute, the instruments play a more independent role than in Quagliati's example of 1618 and some antiphony occurs between the instrumental and the vocal pairs (No. 60).

Certain motets rise above stock formulae by repsonding in an interesting way to the meaning of the text. The Augustinian Paoletti included much pedestrian writing in his Sacrae cantiones of 1611, but in Ego dormio for two tenors (Ex. 46) he shows that composers occasionally took up the challenge of introducing more adventurous elements for dramatically potent sections of text. The opening phrases, which drop a sixth and then a ninth, are a rather clumsy method of depicting the initial words, but they constitute a refreshing change from his less imaginative writing.¹⁰⁸ Also in a reflective mood, Campisi included a setting of the lament of David for Jonathan in his 1622 collection.¹⁰⁹ Doleo super te (No. 61) for two sopranos achieves its moving effect by means of close vocal parts and suspensions, especially in the opening passage. The movement of the vocal lines then increases with stylish rising phrases on the word 'amabilis'. Ugolini's Roman Motecta....liber quartus (1619) was preceded by three similar publications in Venice. Produced while Ugolini was maestro at S.Luigi, it contains a greater number of concertato and sectionalized pieces than do his earlier collections.¹¹⁰ Even here the duet maintained its popularity: it did not require

expert singers and the composer was not forced into the linear restrictions of three-part writing, which tend to mould the lines into a more retrospective style. Veni et coronaberis for three canti for the common of Virgins is closely imitative; the initial word is set to a long note followed by a flurry of semiquavers in imitation. Another well-defined motif is used at 'coronaberis', where the material is a descending sequential figure ornamented with trilli. Florete flores for St. Philip Neri from Allegri's 1621 collection¹¹¹ also uses three canti on account of the text, and four sopranos (notated in G² clefs) are used for the 'feminine' text Nigra sum set by Antonelli in his second book of progressive motets.¹¹² These high scorings capture the mood of the texts as does the use of low voices, for example, in Catalani's setting of Populus qui ambulabant for two basses - the contrasts in the text between 'tenebras' and 'lux' are reflected in pitch contrasts.¹¹³

Antonelli's Lapidabant Stephanum à 2¹¹⁴ is further evidence of this composer's originality; he abandons a flowing melodic line when setting the words 'impetum fecerunt' (Ex. 47) to represent the manner of Stephen's martyrdom. The fact that the stoning took place outside the city is depicted by scalic passages extending to the limits of the singers' ranges. Attention is drawn to the text in a different way by Capece who, setting the text Ave Maria for three canti, used a prominent tertial relationship for the name 'Maria' (Ex. 48). Another response to the text - characterization - is found in Allegri's Magi videntes stellam of 1619¹¹⁵ for three tenors - one for each Magi. Remarkably the one work for which Allegri is now remembered is completely atypical of his output.

By way of a postscript, Angelo Bonetti's two collections of small-scale motets deserve a mention, not on account of any great musical merit, but because they indicate something of the popularity of the

genre.¹¹⁶ Nothing is known of Bonetti, who could well have been an amateur dilettante, but the fact that someone of so little importance contributed to the genre (albeit in an undistinguished manner) suggests that it was not just accepted and appreciated by a professional musical elite.

The Small-Scale Motet 1625-40

Francesco Sammaruco's Sacri affetti of 1625 comprises works by composers at the forefront of musical activity in the 1620s. The inclusion of motets by the two composers who dominated Venetian liturgical music, Claudio Monteverdi and Alessandro Grandi, raises the question of Northern influence in Rome.¹¹⁷ The appearance of Northern composers of the first rank in a Roman anthology is important since, apart from Giovanni Battista Stefanini's Motetti concertati....libro primo of 1626, no extant Roman liturgical publication contains music by composers active in the Veneto.¹¹⁸ One can discount the idea that all new developments in style originated in Venice and filtered through to Rome, for it seems that Romans were either oblivious of, or chose to ignore the works of composers outside their immediate circle.

Sammaruco's collection includes Stefano Bernardi's Dilectus meus for two canti or two tenors, a good example of the 1620s motet (No. 62). It contains in embryo many features which developed as the century progressed. Not even the opening phrase is influenced by polyphonic models, instead it is rhythmically oriented in the same style as the rest of the piece. In some passages a solo voice is given an ornate part to sing; this lack of dependence on counterpoint developed in the 1640s into the frequent use of independent solo passages in the course of two- or three-part motets. Also notable is the accompanimental bass line which bears little resemblance to a polyphonic vocal part; it is angular with frequent leaps of fourths and fifths, and tends to supply the harmonic root of the vocal parts. The rhythmic aspect of the music is also well-defined, for instance, where the bass moves in crotchets at 'et declinentur umbre'. Such movement, emphasizing the pulse of the music, became increasingly characteristic in the following

decades. Also forward-looking is the lengthy triple-metre section, 'dilectus meus descendit'; the extended nature of the passage, compared with the snippets of triple time at the beginning of the century, is indicative of a trend towards using this metre for entire sections, rather than simply as a foil for more substantial portions of quadruple metre. The use of voices in thirds found in this motet became increasingly common, and demonstrates that interest in counterpoint was giving way to a concern for sonority.

In 1625 Agazzari issued his Eucharisticum melos.....opus vigesimum, his first Roman publication (excluding reprints) since the monumental motet collection of 1606. His style does not seem to have developed much in twenty years and it now appears rather unexciting. Considerable use of ABB form is still found, for instance in Bone pastor à 2, and though there are pieces for one to five voices, duets predominate. Another Sieneese composer, Annibale Gregori, also published in Rome in 1625,¹¹⁹ his Sacrarum cantionum.....liber secundus.¹²⁰ The achievement of a rather average composer, it was obviously produced, and perhaps published under the influence of Agazzari, whose presence in Siena must have exercised a considerable effect on music there. There is much use of Agazzari's favoured ABB form, and while Gregori shows some inventiveness the motets could have been produced in Rome some twenty years previously.

The proportion of concertato motets, even ones for few voices, rose considerably during the 1620s. Stefanini, though maestro of the cathedral in Modena, published a collection called Motetti concertati in Rome in 1626. It is interesting that it was not published in Venice, a larger centre of printing and far nearer to Modena than Rome. The Roman provenance suggests that concertato motets were in great demand there at the time. The growing importance of the concertato style had an effect on other music, so that even

smaller pieces began to include solo sections. It is increasingly difficult to draw the line between those motets which are concertato and those which are not; the division between the two styles must now be made in a more arbitrary fashion, for it is impossible objectively to define a point at which the use of different vocal groupings attains structural significance. Some composers such as Cifra, however, generally avoided the concertato idiom in their motets, always preserving a certain balance between the voice parts and never allowing one to attain prominence.

Giuseppe Giamberti,¹²¹ though mainly interested in concertato writing, included some pieces which could not be classed as such in his Sacrae modulationes....liber primus of 1627. The rather mannered opening to Montes et colles à 4 (Ex. 49) demonstrates his imaginative approach: the setting of the initial word is fragmented, but a sense of unity is established at the homophonic triple section 'cantabunt coram'. His Virgini magnae à 5 is conceived as a two-part motet with a superimposed ostinato rather than as a standard five-part motet (Ex. 50). The two bass parts sing in close imitation, over which three canti sing a CF-like ostinato in virtual canon on 'Sancta Maria ora pro nobis'. The treatment of melodic material is similar to that in the Sonata à 8 from Monteverdi's 1610 Vespers - perhaps Giamberti was familiar with that work. Giamberti is at his most subjective in the emotional Anima mea angelorum pane saturata est à 4 (No. 63); a florid canto duet at 'angelorum pane' ends 'piano' and precedes a contrasting TB duet in long note-values, 'languet et liquefiat'. The drooping phrases add to the sense of longing and dynamic markings, uncommon at this date, show a concern for exploiting in performance the expressive potential of the music.

The second book of Frescobaldi's Diversarum modulationum of 1627 has survived incomplete;¹²² it contains his only remaining contributions

to the genre. The duet O mors illa (No. 64) for canto and bass shows him at his most affective, with descending tetrachords at the opening and prominent diminished fourths at 'quam amara' and elsewhere; harmonically it is no less interesting than his organ works. Some of it is rhythmically controlled as at the triple-time section, but the phrase 'te mordens' sounds almost improvised, and chromatic alterations at 'propter mortem' stand out in the midst of the diatonic writing. Frescobaldi's thoughtful use of such devices to meet affective ends is also evident in Civitas Jerusalem (Ex. 51); here we find the peculiar CCTT scoring, the falling diminished fourth in the opening phrase, a succession of drawn-out melismas in 'flere' and monotones on 'doluit Dominus'. Frescobaldi clearly appreciated the expressive potential of harmonic schemes, a idea which did not become commonplace until Stamegna, and which was later developed in the more subjective pieces of Foggia.¹²³ While he used the structures and textures of his time, Frescobaldi shows himself to be ahead of his contemporaries in the matter of expression, and in the imaginative use of chromaticism, line and scoring.

Kapsberger's Cantiones sacrae.....volumen primum (1628) shows another feature of musical style in its extreme simplicity coupled with metrical regularity. Though in Kapsberger's writing this is taken to an extreme, it also appears in the works of other composers. Stylistically this volume is the antithesis of his early highly embellished writing, and nothing that detracts from the steady continuity of the rhythm is permitted. Tria sunt munera is an example of such writing: curiously it is set for two canti, unlike most Epiphany texts which use three low voices depicting the Magi. The rhythmic control is evident in the regularity of the voice entries; the parts are often paired in thirds, another factor which contributes to the direct approach. A slightly later example of organized metre

occurs in Surge amica mea à 2 from Massenzio's Sacri mottetti of 1631. Here the opening phrase leaps upward in dotted rhythms, closely imitated by the other voice (Ex. 52a), the use of a broken chord giving a sense of momentum and urgency. The triple-time section at 'ostende mihi' represents an unsophisticated approach to melody, while the 'vox enim tua dulcis' passage (Ex. 52b) has a certain rhythmic simplicity further highlighted by echo effects. The motifs often rely on the momentum created by an anacrusis - evidence of the growing use of regular metrical schemes. Unlike Kapsberger, Massenzio incorporated a charming example of personification in his three-part motet for the Epiphany, Magi videntes stellam: each of the voices announces its own gift.

The 1630s saw a marked decrease in the publication of liturgical music. While this was the period of the Venetian plague, it is clear that this had little effect on the situation in Rome. It is almost as if, after the particularly fruitful 1620s, the market had reached a point of saturation which diminished the commercial viability of further collections. This is the most probable explanation, since there seems to be no historical event which relates to the decline. The drop in the number of publications was not paralleled by a fall in quality. Composers now often tended to exhibit the originality of thought noted in Giamberti's 1627 collection. This more interesting phase was brought on by the fact that composers no longer felt obliged to imitate polyphonic models. Thus a rather unconventional opening such as that of Media nocte à 3 by Nicolo Stamegna (No. 65) became perfectly acceptable. In this motet, from Sacrarium modulationum..... liber primus (1637), Stamegna used a dramatic change from 'piano' to 'forte' to illustrate the first words, 'Media nocte clamor factus est'. After the stillness of 'media nocte' with its long notes, the sudden 'forte' with a rush of semiquavers is an unexpected but effective

device. An increased interest in the manner of performance is shown by the use of the terms 'piano', 'forte', 'allegro', 'presto' and 'adagio' in the publication, which is the first known to me to make extensive use of such markings.

There is considerable rhythmic regularity in Cristoforo Piochi's Sacrae cantiones.....liber secundus of the same year; frequent use is made of repeated notes and the phrases are brief enough to have a motivic quality. The opening of Impetum inimicorum à 2 (Ex. 53) has four quavers on the same note - a far cry from the self-consciously polyphonic initial phrases of twenty years previously. Similarly the sequences of Deus miserere nostri use a marked rhythm: $\{ \square \square \square \}$. Piochi's music features clear formal structures too: Gaudeamus omnes and Cantabant sancti are both strictly ABA, where A is a triple-metre section, and Panis angelicus prescribes the repeat of the final 'O res mirabilis' passage to produce ABB form. Abbatini's Il quinto libro de sacre canzoni of 1638 also emphasizes structure; for instance, Justitiae Domini à 3 is in ABB form. Abbatini's most innovatory feature is the predominance of three-voiced pieces for two canti and bass, foreshadowing the general preference of the 1640s. Also progressive are the adventurous tonalities used for more affective texts: the eucharistic Panis angelicus à 3 is in what can be called G minor. The increasing tonal variety is reflected in Abbatini's use of natural signs - no earlier example of their employment occurs in music examined for this study.

In 1640 the elderly Agazzari still allowed the duet medium pride of place in his motet collection Musicum encomium. All the pieces are in honour of the Holy Name, and each text contains the word 'nomen'. The style is largely syllabic, and the verbal clarity is in keeping with ideas expressed in his treatise of 1638.¹²⁴ His preference for ABB form still lingered on as, for example, in Sit

nomen Domini for two tenors. Though Agazzari had once been at the forefront of progressive tendencies in Rome his final volume shows that he had failed to keep up with more recent trends. Had he continued to live in Rome rather than move to Siena this perhaps would not have been the case.

THE CONCERTATO MOTET 125

In Rome the term 'concertato' was applied to two distinct categories of motets: those in which the texture changed freely throughout, and those divided into short sections each with its own scoring. Neither group relied on large numbers of voices, and motets of both types are found in as few as three parts. It seemed appropriate here to preserve the contemporary categorization, one which is based on an assessment of the use of texture, rather than the number of voices. Therefore the ensuing sections will consider motets for as few as two voices and for as many as eight. The first type of concertato motet is the kind which Roche described in the Venetian context as the 'textural' motet,¹²⁶ where the interest is not so much in the melodic line as in the constantly varying 'terraced' texture. The second, sectional type is not generally represented in the works of Venetian composers; in fact, the style was known in the North as 'concertata alla romana' and appears to have been peculiar to Rome and its environs.

The Textural Concertato Motet

The earliest Roman examples of writing in this style are found in the works of G.F. Anerio; these also contain the first instances of the word 'concertato' in Rome. One of the eight-part motets in his Litaniae of 1611, Jubilemus in arca Domini Dei à 8 (No. 66), is designated 'mottetto concertato'. This historically important motet contains sections for various scorings and then adopts a standard polychoral idiom for the concluding passage 'Ave sancta virgo'. The bassus ad organum part provides a firm foundation for the reduced sections, the majority of which are for two equal voices. The opening of the motet is striking: the first line of the text is announced in the two canti, after which the tutti enters with the same words in triple metre. This collection was certainly highly-regarded since it was reprinted in Rome in 1626.¹²⁷ Though not using the word 'concertato' Anerio's Motectorum....liber secundus, also of 1611, uses similar techniques of vocal deployment, generally for purposes of personification. Impletis diebus purgationes à 5 for the feast of the Purification contains the text of the Nunc dimittis; these words, originally proclaimed by Simeon,¹²⁸ are sung by a solo voice. Similarly the Epiphany motet Magi ab oriente venerunt à 6, which tells of the Magi visiting Herod and then finding Christ, sets the words of the Magi for three voices, for instance, 'ubi est qui natus est rex Judeorum?'. Dixerunt discipuli à 5 (No. 67) takes the form of a dialogue in which the tutti acts as narrator; it describes the appearance of Christ to Thomas - the words of the former are set as a canto duet,¹²⁹ and those of the latter as a tenor solo. The voices unite in a concluding passage, 'beati qui non viderunt et crediderunt. Alleluia'. This representation of characters creates a form not far from that of the

early oratorio, though without the division into short movements characteristic of the 'concertato alla romana' style. Anerio maintained an interest in the concertato idiom, and in his Ghirlanda di sacre rose (1619) he introduced some textural features in a number of the motets. Laudemus Deum nostrum à 5 opens with a tenor solo and there are a number of solos and duets interleaved with the tutti.

Anerio's use of the concertato style however represents the coming to fruition of some trends evident in the music of Agazzari at the turn of the century. Agazzari's interest in texture at that stage is apparent in Omnes gentes plaudite à 7 which appears in the third book of Sacrarum cantionum of 1603. This piece is entitled 'dialogus' not because it has a dialogue text but since the CA and sesto sing in alternation with the TB and quinto. After a homophonic opening in the first group, triple metre is introduced at the word 'plaudite' and the exchange between choirs begins. The voices finally unite at 'psallite nostro' at which point the strict dialogue ends and freer deployment of the voices commences. During the following ten years Agazzari's style developed, and his Venetian Dialogici concentus (1613) is very similar to Anerio's publication of two years previously.¹³⁰ The similarity is not only in the dialogues but also in the other motets where textural aspects come to the fore. In In illo tempore à 6 Agazzari set the section of St. John's Gospel which culminates in 'Ego sum panis vivus':¹³¹ the words of Christ are given to the tenor, while various combinations of other voices represent the crowd. Though the text is not a dialogue the setting of Domine Dominus noster à 6 (No. 68) contains a number of different scorings: various groupings of one to three voices provide a foil to the tutti refrain sections which declaim 'Domine Dominus noster quam admirabile est nomen tuum in universa terra'. It exhibits what in the North would

have been referred to as the cantilena style.¹³² The structural role of the refrain is given extra prominence since on the first and last occasions the text is set to the same music.

One of the concertato items from Capece's sixth book of 1624,¹³³ Hodie Christus natus est, also adopts this cantilena form; there is a triple-metre tutti 'Noe' refrain juxtaposed with sections for various combinations of voices. On a smaller scale, but also using the form, Anerio's O amoris victoria à 2¹³⁴ for St. Laurence contains solos and duets in between repetitions of the refrain. It is designated 'Canto, Basso, & Tenor insieme', and one part is shared by the tenor and bass voices with the change of voice being indicated by a change of clef. Another example is Domenico Campisi's Laudes ergo à 4 in ABACADA form; A is a simple triple-metre refrain; B and C are reduced sections and D is a tutti passage in quadruple metre (No. 69).¹³⁵ Campisi, a Dominican, included this motet to St. Dominic at the end of his 1622 volume.

Agazzari also applied his interest in texture to small-scale motets which he labelled 'dialogo'; in his Sertum roseum of 1611 two of the three-part pieces are so named. One of these, Gaude virgo gloriosa, opens with a solo for each voice in turn before proceeding to a consistently full texture (No. 53). In his Motecta.....liber secundus of the same year G.B. Nanino also experimented with the possibilities of introducing textural interest into the few-voiced motet. Exaudi nos Domine (No. 52) uses three voices in a variety of combinations: there is quite an extended passage for the bass at 'et secundum' followed by a canto solo in an ornate style - an idiomatic use of the voice far removed from the prima prattica. In Motecta.....liber quartus (1618) Nanino included a Benedicam Dominum à 4 which comprises lengthy canto and tenor solos, a CB duet and tutti

writing. The solo sections are not recitative-like but rather they continue the transitional polyphonic idiom of the rest of the piece. The section 'et laetentur' (Ex. 54) is based on an interesting rhythmic phrase which falls sequentially; this is a refreshing change from the triple metre usually found in connection with these or similar words.

With the small-scale textural motet came the idea of using it as a vehicle for personification. Massenzio made considerable use of the term 'concertato' in his Sacrarum modulationum.....liber quartus of 1618, a collection of small-scale music.¹³⁶ With one exception all the motets for three to five voices are so designated, and two of these seven pieces are divided into versets in the 'concertato alla romana' manner. Ardens est cor meum à 3 is typical of the publication: this Easter motet has a prominent part for canto which enunciates the feelings of St. Mary Magdalene in alternation and occasionally in combination with the other voices. Vincenzo Pace's collection of 1617 also contains a dramatic motet, Unde ememus panem à 3, which describes the feeding of the five thousand; the three voices take the parts of Christ, James and Philip and unite for a final passage of comment and praise.¹³⁷

Francesco Martini's Sacrae laudes.....liber secundus (1617) is a notable testimony to the early popularity of the concertato idiom in Rome. His Motecta.....liber primus of ten years earlier shows him as a strict adherent to the stile antico, the type of composer unlikely to write anything but rather reactionary music. However, by 1617 the situation had altered and Martini had been converted to a more progressive style. Whereas his 1607 collection had been issued without continuo, in this publication he went as far as to include organ parts for the three Marian motets in his first collection. But Martini's change of idiom affected more than his attitude to the

continuo; in addition to a more relaxed style with greater freedom of rhythmic movement, he adopted a concertato approach in seven- and eight-part writing. In Qualis est diebus tuis à 7 (No. 70), designated 'concertato' in the part-books, he makes regular use of canto solos alongside polychoral and antiphonal writing. The solos are rather florid and contrast well with the more rhythmically animated style of the other sections. In some places Martini marked the canto part 'Cantus solo, si placet', indicating that it was not necessary for these sections to be sung by a number of voices - clearly a more personalized form of expression was being admitted.¹³⁸

Catalani was one of the most original contributors to the concertato motet; his setting of the dramatic text Percussit Saul à 6 (No. 71), contained in RISM 1618³, includes a number of solos and duets within a continuous texture. More noteworthy, however, are the stile concitato passages of repeated notes which, in providing a musical response to the text, constitute a stylistic antecedent to the battle scenes of Carissimi.¹³⁹ Even in the provinces the concertato style had achieved a measure of popularity by the middle of this decade; Abundio Antonelli, maestro at Benevento, had adopted the idiom in Dies sanctificatus à 5 in 1616.¹⁴⁰ This motet does not rely on an alternation of reduced and tutti sections since the texture is formed of a succession of different combinations, and the voices do not all come together until the final passage.

One of Agazzari's successors at the German College, Annibale Orgas, also addressed himself to the problem of developing the concertato style. His Sacrarum cantionum.....liber primus (1619) contains a number of motets for full textures but which are introduced by a single voice;¹⁴¹ others exploit more fully the potential of the medium. Jesu dulcis memoria à 6 (Ex. 55) begins with a tenor solo, then proceeds to a brief duet for the canti and, after a full passage on the

name 'Jesu', a short bass solo commences. The remainder of the motet is basically tutti except for 'eius dulcis' where a motif is exchanged between different groups of voices. The concertato idea also influenced the structure of Campisi's full motets. Erit in novissimus à 4 from his 1627 collection is introduced by a bass solo which leads to a CA duet, and finally to the four-part writing which constitutes the remainder of the piece.¹⁴² Similarly Jesu mi rex bone à 4 for the feast of St. Catherine opens with a canto solo which is followed by an AB duet and a return to the canto before the remainder of the motet proceeds in four parts.

Further evidence of the popularity of the concertato motet is the inclusion of a number of examples in collections otherwise biased in favour of non-concertato small-scale music. Two composers, publishing in 1620, issued concertato pieces for eight voices in their motet collections: Quagliati composed a Venite exultemus Domino marked 'Concertati, a soli, & A 8', while Boschetti set Ecce iste venit, a text from the Song of Songs.

The last substantial contribution to the genre of the textural concertato motet is Quagliati's Motetti, e dialoghi.....libro secondo (1627) for eight voices 'concertati con voci sole'. Of particular interest is the format of the publication which affords some insight into performance practice in its inclusion of two bassus ad organum parts, one for each choir.¹⁴³ The thirty motets shed some light on terminology and especially on the terms 'concertato' and 'dialogo'. Fourteen of the items are marked 'dialogo' for a variety of reasons. Motets such as Adjuro vos filiae Jerusalem and Ductus est Jesus could not be other than dialogues since various persons are represented. The former is a series of solos and tutti passages treating questions such as 'Qualis est dilectus meus?' from the Song of Songs, and the latter records the wilderness temptations of

Christ. Here the devil is personified and, after the presentation of the three temptations, the choir responds 'Vade satana'. In addition to the group of dramatic pieces, there are some motets like Ecce sacerdos which, while not setting a dialogue text, are labelled 'dialogo'. This term appears to refer to musical construction since there is continuous antiphony between the tutti and a secondary group of three voices; this is not concertato in Quagliati's use of the word for it lacks the variety of constantly changing vocal textures. Ego dormio is also a 'dialogo'; this example demonstrates that any characterization is sufficient to warrant the use of the term because here the text only presents the feelings of one character.

A number of different combinations of voices must be introduced for a motet to merit the term 'concertato': Jubilate Deo, therefore, is a dialogo despite the two bass solos and a short duet section within the eight-part texture. Accordingly, both Laetentur omnes and Laudate Deum receive no designation at all since their reduced sections are of only minor importance within the polychoral idiom. Laudate Dominum de caelis is, however, truly concertato, for the music constantly moves between different vocal scorings, culminating in a final tutti: it is inscribed 'concertato' in the part-books.

The style of Quagliati's motets is original and interesting: the dialogue Ego dormio (No. 72) contains a remarkable chromatic opening whose descending phrases give an impression of weariness contrasting well with the tutti declamation at 'aperi soror mea'. The texture disintegrates into a type of monody at 'anima mea liquefacta est', where solo voices present the text in a recitative-like manner. This is soon followed by a brief chordal tutti at 'vocavi' leading to a sensitive conclusion which preserves the feeling of grief.

After Quagliati only Giamberti and Kapsberger contributed to the genre. The 1630s saw the decline in the printing of large-scale works

and those compositions for four or fewer voices became the unchallenged holders of first place in the published repertory. The continuing development of the polychoral idiom is well documented in church archives, and it would seem that interest in the concertato idiom was suppressed in an overriding concern to employ as many parts as possible. This 'colossal Baroque' music must wait until another section for consideration.

The Motet 'Concertato Alla Romana'

Agostino Diruta's Compieta concertata.....opera quinta, published in Venice in 1623, is known only from the tenor part-book which survives in the British Library.¹⁴⁴ In addition to a Compline setting and a Marian antiphon, it contains a Miserere which is described on the title-page as 'a versetti concertato alla romana'. The tenor part of this psalm-setting defines what the Venetians meant by 'concertato alla romana', a style of writing rarely encountered in the North.¹⁴⁵ From this part it is evident that the text is divided into verses, and the texture changes from one to the next.

Miserere	Tacet	Cor mundum	à 3
Et secundum	à 2	Ne projecias	Tacet
Amplius lava me	Tacet	Redde mihi	Tacet
Quoniam iniquitatem	à 2	Docebo iniquos	Tacet
Tibi solo peccavi	à 5	Libera me	Tacet
Ecce enim	Tacet	Domine labia	Tacet
Ecce enim	à 2	Quoniam si	Tacet
Asperges me	Tacet	Sacrificium Deo	à 3
Auditui meo	à 2	Benigne fac	à 2
Averte faciem	Tacet	Tunc acceptabilis	à 5
		Gloria Patri	à 5

The style can be viewed as a natural development from the works of late 16th-century contrapuntists who tended to omit a voice part, or occasionally to add one in versets. As in the case of the small-scale and textural motets, it was Agazzari who seems to have formulated the style in Rome. Laudate Dominum à 6 (No. 73), from the third book of Sacrarum cantionum of 1603, is notable both for its sectionalization and for the use of a variety of vocal scorings, namely two high-voice trios and a CB duet. These reduced sections are interleaved with a six-part refrain or 'riposta', 'Laudemus et canemus', and the motet concludes with the tutti passage 'Omnis spiritus laudet'. In his Sacrae laudes.....liber secundus of 1603, Agazzari included two office hymns set in this manner. The verse division of hymns made

them particularly suitable for this type of writing; for example,

Aeterna Christi munera à 8 is scored thus:

v. 1	Choir I
v. 2	Choir II
v. 3	Tutti
v. 4	SSA
v. 5	Tutti

In time the style became regarded as a suitable medium for dialogues and for setting dramatic texts. Abundio Antonelli included a dialogue-motet in honour of St. Francis in his 1616 collection;¹⁴⁶ this setting of Cum in medio à 5 consists of two bass solos and a tutti passage. The first solo introduces the prayer of the saint, the second is the text of the prayer itself, and the concluding section a commentary upon it. In the hands of Catalani the tendency to break motets into short sections developed, and on occasion the result resembles a miniature oratorio. Catalani's only publication, Sacrarum cantionum.....liber primus of 1616, contains a Christmas motet, Angelus ad pastores à 8, which shows the potential of the genre, both as a medium for characterization, and for maintaining the interest when setting a lengthy text. Its structure is reproduced below:

Angelus ad pastores	TI
Annuncio vobis	CI
Noe	CCAA
Pastores autem	TI
Transeamus usque Bethlem	AI, TI
Invenietis infantem	CI
Transeamus et videamus	AATT
Et venerunt	TI
O magnum mysterium	à 4/8
Et subito	TI
Gloria in excelsis	à 8

The joyous triple-metre 'noe' section gives the motet a pastoral air, and much of the solo writing in this 'Dialogo pastorale per il Natale' tends towards recitative, for example, the solo 'Annuncio vobis' (Ex. 56). Not all his dialogue motets are on this scale: the Song of

Songs setting En dilectus meus is a two-part piece for canto and tenor, in which the voices unite in a concluding section 'egrediamur in agrum'. A two-part dialogue also occurs in Stefanini's Motetti concertati (1626) which was composed, as the preface states, while he was active as maestro in Turin. A unique example of a Northern collection published in Rome,¹⁴⁷ the volume opens with Heu me misera, a dialogue between Christ and Mary recalling the scene following the Resurrection. A similar Annunciation dialogue for Mary and the Angel, Ave Maria à 2, is found in Campisi's collection of 1622.¹⁴⁸

Anerio's Sacrarum cantionum.....liber quintus (1618) contains one piece which signals the beginning of his interest in the style, a setting of Venite gentes à 4 in three short sections. Nanino had included an Aruit cor meum à 4 in four contrasting sections in his 1611 motet collection,¹⁴⁹ but it was Anerio who further developed the style after Nanino's death in 1618.¹⁵⁰ The progression can be seen in his Ghirlanda di sacre rose of 1619. This collection, a cycle of motets for the liturgical year, contains many sectionalized items. Some have as many as six verset-like sections, a good proportion of which are solos. Hostes Herodes à 5 for the feast of the Epiphany is one of the more extended pieces:

Hostes Herodes	C
Ibant magi	B
Lavacra puri	à 4
Novum genus	TB
Gloria tibi Domine	à 5

The canto solo adopts an idiomatic vocal style, while the bass section is more reserved, slavishly following the continuo part in the same manner as in the motets of the previous year.¹⁵¹ Even when the motets of this volume are through-composed a certain amount of textural interest is introduced. The rhythms are regular throughout the volume; this is reflected in the division of the continuo part into

regular bars.

A number of psalm-texts, some with an element of dialogue, proved suitable for motet treatment in this manner. Vincenzo Pace included a setting of Domini est terra à 3 in his 1617 publication;¹⁵² while not a dialogue, it is divided into ten short sections and designated 'Concertato in diversi modi'. Domine quis habitabit à 4 from the same collection approaches a dramatic dialogue on account of the question-and-answer nature of the text, taken from psalm 14. Pace responds to this feature of the text in the musical setting, where the questions to which the bass replies are posed by the three upper voices. In Piochi's 1637 setting of the same text for four voices¹⁵³ the same principle is applied (No. 74): the question is posed by the canto and the other voices reply in turn with verses from the psalm. The motet ends with the parts uniting confidently in the verse 'qui facit haec non movebitur'. A similar piece is included in Pietro Pace's motet collection of 1625;¹⁵⁴ Quis est iste à 4 is a dialogue based on psalm 23 in which the first tenor puts the questions and the other voices respond.

Ugolini's first Roman publication of 1619, Motecta.....liber quartus, differs from his earlier Venetian prints in a number of respects and confirms the essentially Roman nature of the style termed 'concertato alla romana'. The marked increase in the proportion of four-part pieces does not appear to arise out of an interest in four-part writing per se, but from a desire to exploit the varied possibilities of vocal groupings offered by that number of voices. A table of the incidence of concertato motets is included below; it shows the number of voices employed in each piece:

			Non-conc.	Concertato	à 1	à 2	à 3	à 4
Liber I	Venice	1616	26	-	5	9	8	4
Liber II	Venice	1617	24	1	4	8	9	4
Liber III	Venice	1618	24	3	6	8	8	5
Liber IV	Rome	1619	16	11	4	11	2	10

Some of the eleven concertato motets from the 1619 collection are divided into small movements; in fact, Caecilia famula Dei à 4 is oratorio-like. Franciscus pauper à 4 is an exceptionally long motet in eight sections, each of which has its distinct scoring. Most of the sections are long enough to stand as independent movements:

Franciscus pauper	SAT
Alleluia	SAT
Absit mihi	B
Lex Deus eius	SATB
De caetero nemo	B
Alleluia hymnis caelestis	SATB
Potens in terra	T
Alleluia hymnis honoratur	SATB

Interest is maintained by varying the scoring, and there are some idiomatic solo passages, and moments of triple metre at the Alleluia sections.

Unlike the previous piece, Allegri's Gustate et videte à 6 (No. 75) does not have a dramatic text; the words constitute a eucharistic commentary of a devotional nature. This motet, from his Motecta for two to six voices of 1621, stands out in a collection of otherwise continuously composed motets for its refrain form and its division into nine parts:

Gustate et videte	à 6
Surges lac gentium	CCT
Gustate et videte	à 6
Pinguis est	TT
Gustate et videte	à 6
Panem de caelo	SS
Gustate et videte	à 6
Cibavit nos Domine	CB
Venite et comedite	à 6

The verbal refrain is set to the same music each time it occurs, and the final tutti section provides a weighty conclusion. Also devotional in character is the Advent piece Rorate caeli à 5 from Kapsberger's Cantiones sacrae.....volumen primum (1628): while most of the pieces in the volume are notable for their extreme brevity and simplicity, the two five-part motets employ a somewhat larger canvas. This piece is constructed in the concertato manner:

Rorate caeli	à 5
Ad te Domine	T
Ego autem	C
Veni Domine	TT
Rorate caeli	à 5

Both Tullio Cima's and Lorenzo Ratti's contributions to the genre are settings of narrative texts; the former's Homo quidam à 5¹⁵⁵ is a dialogue which tells the parable of the man who prepared a feast.¹⁵⁶ Three solo voices represent the people invited and each in turn presents an excuse for being unable to attend. These solos are rhythmic in style rather than declamatory, and the motet concludes with a section of four-part writing, 'Dico autem', which recounts the moral of the story. Ratti's Sacrae modulationes of 1628 provides large-scale settings of the gradual, offertory and elevation for the whole liturgical year.¹⁵⁷ Videntes stellam à 9 for the feast of the Epiphany is structured so as to include a variety of textures:

Videntes stellam	à 9
Et intrantes	AA
Et procidentes	à 9
Stellam quem viderant	CCA
Videntes autem eam	à 9

That this type of concertato writing also appears to have declined in the 1630s is perhaps a false conclusion based on the scarcity of all motet publications. Isolated examples of the 'concertato alla romana' style do appear during the decade - for instance, two pieces

in Massenzio's Compline setting of 1630,¹⁵⁸ and a hymn setting, Jesu corona virginum à 3, in Stamegna's 1637 collection.¹⁵⁹

In the 1640s the principle of sectionalization became so assimilated into the general motet style that the word 'concertato' fell out of use. Many motets dating from that decade are composed in several movements in the manner that would previously have been described as 'concertato alla romana', but as this was now the norm, the term itself no longer appeared.

THE DOUBLE-CHOIR MOTET

At the beginning of the 17th century the polychoral motet had already achieved a considerable foothold in Rome. Palestrina, Victoria, Giovanelli, Felice Anerio and Francesco Soriano among others had contributed to the polychoral repertory in the late cinquecento.¹⁶⁰ The popularity of the genre was not, however, capable of withstanding the introduction of the concertato or 'colossal Baroque' styles with their greater range of possibilities, and therefore the strict double-choir style, based on the alternation of blocks of sound, fell into a decline in about 1620. Around this time there was a marked increase in the number of composers who augmented the possibilities of the polychoral medium by introducing extra choirs.

Giovanelli's Sacrarum modulationum.....liber primus of 1593 reflects late-cinquecento taste; it was a popular collection and reached five editions in Rome, Venice and even Frankfurt.¹⁶¹ In common with those in Gallo's publication of 1600,¹⁶² the motets are for five and eight voices in a ratio of about 5:2. The polychoral pieces are fundamentally homophonic, with the dialogue between the two groups of voices relieved by occasional passages of tutti writing. Vocal lines flow smoothly with few melodic leaps, and some triple-metre sections are included, mainly in conjunction with joyous portions of text. By its publication in three cities and its dedication to the Duke of Bavaria, the volume demonstrates that Roman composers were not cut off from the rest of Europe; rather they were accepted beyond the Roman orbit to a greater extent than they were themselves prepared to accept outsiders.¹⁶³

While Agazzari derives his main historical importance from fostering the small-scale motet with continuo in Rome, he also

published three volumes of more traditional motets for four to eight voices which follow the pattern established by Giovanelli.¹⁶⁴ The most notable features are the inclusion of bassus ad organum from the second volume onwards and Agazzari's intention musically to illuminate the text.¹⁶⁵ A good example of the latter point is the polychoral Stabat mater from the second book; Agazzari employs a homophonic idiom with affective descending lines at 'dum pendeat' and the striking entry of the tutti at the exclamation 'O quam tristis' (Ex.57). In the same vein, Super flumina à 8 from the first book opens with a tertial relationship, a G-G# chromatic alteration in the upper voice; this expresses the sense of desolation in the psalm-text.¹⁶⁶

Agazzari's first publications, unlike his small-scale motets, seem to have attracted few imitators in the following decade. There was no further publication of polychoral motets by a Roman composer until Agazzari's successor at the German College, Antonio Cifra, went into print in 1610. Cifra's Vesperae, et motecta.....opus nonum, which includes eight double-choir motets, is faithful to traditional polychoral principles. In the Easter motet, Angelus Domini (No. 76), Cifra set the opening passage polyphonically for the first choir, but with the entry of the second choir at 'et accedens' the music becomes homophonic and antiphonal. Elementary word-painting is found in the first phrase which falls at 'descendit', and immediately rises again for 'de caelo', a device which rather contradicts the sense of the words. A lively festive conclusion is reached at 'Iam surrexit Alleluia' with the use of triple metre over a repeated harmonic pattern (I-V).

That Cifra continued to avoid the concertato idiom is shown in his publication of psalms, Psalmi sacrique concentus octo vocibus, et organo concinendi (1620),¹⁶⁷ which also includes twelve eight-part

motets; the writing is strictly polychoral and he shows no marked change from the style of his 1610 print. The Christmas motet, Nativitas tua à 8, opens, like Angelus Domini, with contrapuntal writing, and the same contrasts between the vocal groupings and enthusiastic use of triple time are present. It was not until a Venetian publication of 1629,¹⁶⁸ that Cifra first tried his hand at fully developed concertato writing; in other motets of the same year, however, he still used a full texture, for instance, in Vidi turbam magnam à 6.¹⁶⁹

Quagliati's Motecta.....octonis vocibus..... of 1612 was published with continuo, and shows that he, like Agazzari, was concerned to provide a sensitive interpretation of the text. It differs from his 1627 print,¹⁷⁰ in that here Quagliati adhered firmly to the polychoral idiom, using the choirs as distinct blocks of sound in alternation and combination. Exaudi Domine à 8 (No. 77) is typical; beginning with staggered entries in the first choir, the texture soon comes to rely on the homophonic alternation of choirs. The setting shows great thought for the text: the falling sixths of the opening are expressive, as are the unusual chromatic alterations at 'miserere mei' and the sequentially rising tertial relationships between the choirs at 'sed tu Domini'; these seem to reflect the rising optimism of the words at that point. Laudate Dominum de caelis à 8, by contrast, expresses uninhibited joy in setting the entire text of psalm 150. Its rhythms are dynamic and vital with lively passages sung to a monotone emphasizing the pulse, and exuberant triple metre. Madrigalian word-painting also finds a place at 'in sono tubae' (Ex. 58) with its lively arpeggiated writing.

Though Quagliati called his Motetti, e dialoghi.....libro secondo of 1627 'concertati' on the title page, not all the contents can lay claim to that description. About a third are in the same polychoral

style as those of the 1612 publication, while the remainder are designated 'dialogo' or 'concertato'. A motet such as Laudate Deum - strictly double-choir - would not have looked out of place in the 1612 print. The inclusion of two identical bassus ad organum parts is noteworthy, and conforms with the standard performance practice for polychoral music.

Stefanini's Concerti ecclesiastici a otto voci.....libro terzo of 1614 is fundamentally a polychoral publication, but it still includes a number of concertato items; this shows how the increasingly popular style was making inroads into publications of traditional double-choir pieces. Soriano, the maestro of St. Peter's, remained unaffected by such developments and in his one Venetian publication made no concessions to the textural style. His Psalmi et mottecta.....liber secundus (1616) contains motets for eight and twelve voices; the individual choirs are used homophonically, and there is a good deal of rather thick tutti writing. Even the conservative Soriano was inclined to introduce short triple-metre passages to relieve the complex contrapuntal writing. This occurs in his weighty Ecce sacerdos, whose performance one could envisage as part of some impressive papal ceremony in the basilica where he was maestro (Ex. 59). The fact that Soriano, who normally used Roman publishing houses, should choose to have this published in Venice suggests that there was greater demand for such music in the North.

Continuing in the tradition of Agazzari at the German College, Annibale Orgas published a volume of Sacrarum cantionum 'cum basso ad organum & musica instrumenta' for four to eight voices in 1619. No instrumental parts are included, and there are only traces of concertato influence, though in a few cases a solo section introduces an otherwise standard polychoral composition. Omnes gentes à 8 is representative of the volume (Ex. 60); it opens appropriately enough

with a tutti on the first two words which leads to a section of triple metre on 'plaudite' where the word is exchanged between the choirs in a characteristically forceful manner. The indication 'musica instrumenta' ties in with what is known of the musical forces employed at the College.

Diruta's partially extant publication of 1630, Sacrae modulationes.. ...opus decimum, is included here since there are no indications of concertato writing in the surviving parts.¹⁷¹ Among a broad selection of scorings there are a number of polychoral motets, and the two Magnificat antiphons for the feast of St. Augustine are set for eight voices.¹⁷² The instrumental indications are remarkably thorough, parts being provided for violins, cornetts and theorbo. Polychoral in effect is the motet for St. Augustine, Factus ergo presbyter for four basses, two violins and two cornetts;¹⁷³ the use of one high and one low choir was rare in Rome where choirs of equal pitch were the norm. Diruta's setting of Gaudeamus omnes à 7 is for SSAT, two violins and theorbo; it is clear from what remains of this motet for the feast of S. Nicola that instruments alternate with the voices providing sinfonie. The two groups finally unite in a triple-time section at 'Gaudeamus omnes' It is sad that no more of such an unusual and important publication has survived.

The series of extant published polychoral music comes to an end with Diruta's rather idiosyncratic collection. The continuing popularity of motets for more than one choir is evident from archives, but few pieces remain. With the general cut-back in publication at the beginning of the 1630s, the printing of large-scale motets decreased markedly on account of the limited number of churches where performance was possible. Churches which maintained a polychoral tradition would have had a maestro capable of composing appropriate music; clearly, there was little commercial sense in publishing for a handful of

churches with exceptional musical traditions. Publication of music in the large-scale concertato style suffered a similar fate at the same time, making it impossible to know much about either genre after about 1630. The manuscripts which could fill this gap have yet to come to light, or have perished through constant use in performance.

THE MOTET IN THE 1640S

The decade was heralded by a publication by the maestro at St. Peter's which sums up the trends of the 1630s. The motets in Virgilio Mazzocchi's Sacri flores.....opus primum (1640) demonstrate remarkable economy of material and employ a concentrated and unified style. At the opening of Spiritus Domini both voices sing the same material in imitation (Ex. 61); the following phrase 'replevit orbem' is derived from the second half of the opening phrase, and is almost treated canonically. A similar closely argued construction is evident in the extended triple-metre passage which follows the first section. The motet comprises two contrasting sections, a common enough structure in the collection and one which finds a parallel in the growing use of recitative followed by aria in contemporary opera. Ecce radix Jesse à 3 (No. 78) from the same volume is also bipartite: its triple-metre section is notable for the highly organized bass line. Though the lengthy bass pattern is only repeated once, the effect of three minims on each degree of the scale is ostinato-like - again we note considerable economy of material. There is much writing in thirds and the melismas on 'gloriosum' are constructed sequentially. Unlike a considerable number in the collection, this motet is not sectionalized in a 'concertato' way, but flows continuously, the only contrasts being introduced by the arrangement of vocal entries. Salve nos Christe for two altos, however, contains some solos for both voices: this move away from full textures, combined with a tendency towards sectionalization gave birth to the typical motet of the 1640s. This is divided into small movements for contrasting voices in the manner previously referred to as 'concertato alla romana'.

In this decade the elements of musical composition underwent an

expansion: short phrases took on more melodic significance and the verset sections of earlier motets were developed into short, but independent movements. This resulted in motets of greater proportions requiring more vocal skill than those pieces designed to meet the needs of minor churches. Even when motets are not sectionalized, passages of a particular scoring last longer, and the melodic material is given more room to develop. By the 1640s, then, the introduction of solos and reduced passages in the motet was the norm and the term 'concertato' fell into disuse. Moreover, it now became unthinkable that music would be composed with optional continuo parts: the instrumental support was regarded as an integral part of musical texture. This idea of maintaining interest by varying vocal scorings was also responsible for the increased popularity of the trio medium, since three voices offer far more flexibility than two.¹⁷⁴ The growth of three-part writing is illustrated in the following table which shows the content of motet anthologies published in the decade:

RISM:	1642 ¹	1643 ¹	1643 ²	1645 ²	1647 ¹	1647 ²	1648 ¹	1649 ²	1650 ¹
Motets									
a 2	8	6	10	7	10	5	2	4	4
a 3	12	14	9	11	6	9	10	8	8
a 4	6	3	3	4	4	7	4	4	4
a 5	4	2	2	-	4	-	-	-	-

Anthologies rather than one-composer publications are the source of most of the surviving music of the 1640s; few composers went into print with volumes of their own motets.¹⁷⁵ Domenico Bianchi, Florido de Silvestri, Filippo Berretti and Giovanni Poggioli were the compilers of anthologies, and the main composers represented were Orazio Benevoli, Giacomo Carissimi, Stefano Fabri, Antonio Maria Abbatini and Virgilio Mazzocchi.¹⁷⁶ A quite different group of composers featured in the previous extant anthology of Roman sacred music of 1625;¹⁷⁷ the only common factor is Mazzocchi, who clearly remained popular for

longer than most. As we shall see, the change in composers mirrors a distinct change in musical style.

Virgilio Mazzocchi's Filiae Jerusalem à 4 from RISM 1645²

(No. 79) is characteristic of the decade: it is a sectionalized piece, and most of its components are of sufficient length to make the term 'movement' seem appropriate:

Filiae Jerusalem	A
Quo abiit	TT
Quaesivi illum	A
Formosum vidimus	ATTB
Adjuro vos	B
Vox dilecti mei	A
Surge propera	ATTB

The opening solo is in the style of a recitative, and while the other alto solos begin in much the same manner they both proceed to a short tuneful passage of triple metre - a scheme common in operatic writing. Counterpoint is abandoned in favour of sonority in the tenor duet where the voices sing in parallel thirds throughout. The final tutti is an extended triple-metre passage which moves into a quadruple-time section; the simple rhythms of the first part of this tutti constitute a musical response to the word 'surge'. Graziani's Ad mensam dulcissimi of 1650¹⁷⁸ is also a series of solos and duets concluding with a tutti section. Recitative in this publication is more advanced and declamatory than that found in pieces from the early 1640s and the triple-metre solos are of greater dimensions and contain more tuneful, flowing melodies (Ex. 62). Writing in thirds is a feature of the duet section in this motet, as it was in Mazzocchi. Except for the canto solo which leads directly into the first main section, Tullio Cima's Gaudete gentes à 4 of 1648¹⁷⁹ uses an imitative texture in the outer sections. In contrast, the middle passage is a lengthy tenor recitative (Ex. 63), 'Haec dies quam fecit Dominus', which announces the reason for the joy expressed in the motet - the Resurrection.

Repeated notes and anacruses are used to give a strong rhythmic momentum to the triple-metre sections.

Virgilio Mazzocchi's Ecce in terra nostra of RISM 1642¹ also contains an amount of recitative: the first canto declaims the opening over a static bass, and this too is followed by a triple-metre passage. Towards the close of the motet the continuo part shows some regular movement, over which florid vocal parts are constructed sequentially. A similar moving bass (in this case composed of crotchets) occurs in Repleatur os meum à 2 (Ex. 64) by Foggia from RISM 1643¹. These sections with their extreme rhythmic regularity provide a foil to freer recitative writing. An example of the latter is found in Foggia's O vos omnes à 5 (Ex. 65) which opens with a solo to the words 'O vos omnes qui ambulantes in tenebris et umbra mortis'; the style is recitative-like, and Foggia effectively exploits the range of the bass voice in a musical response to the text.

Silvestro Durante's Mirabile nomen of RISM 1645² for two altos and tenor moves into an extended rhythmic section after a freer introductory passage for each of the three voices in turn. This section makes use of verbal declamation, emphasized by writing in thirds, and the economy of material typical of the period is exhibited. Bipartite in structure, the section in quadruple metre is followed by one in triple time; the last of these contains cadential hemiolas which serve to heighten the strong sense of metre. Carissimi's Militia est vita hominis à 3 (No. 80) from RISM 1643² contains rapid repeated rhythms which are not unlike those in the famous battle scenes from Jepthe.¹⁸⁰ The warlike text is depicted by means of reiterated motifs, some of which are based on triads and seem to imitate trumpet calls. In the central section, 'State ergo dilectissime' a solo bass voice is used, but the rhythmic drive is maintained ready for the re-entry of the other voices in a forceful concluding section.

As usual, there is considerable economy of material: sequential patterns move from voice to voice, ideas are developed, and there is no steady flow of new motifs.

Use of contrasting scorings in the course of one piece is common even where there is no division into short movements. Stefano Fabri, in Anima Christi à 5, scored each of the initial phrases for a different voice (Ex. 66); some of these monodic passages contain some very affective chromatic alteration, for example at 'passio Christi'. At 'O bone Jesu' the full choir enters, and a lengthy tutti section follows, into which a bass solo is inserted and a passage aptly written for the three highest voices at 'cum angelis et sanctis tuis'. Vincenzo Giovannoni's affective Amore Jesu à 5 (No. 81) also contains interesting combinations of voices: it opens with a duet section for the two canti, and proceeds through a number of imaginative passages, punctuated occasionally by brief tuttis. The expressive vocal lines combine with the imaginative scoring and 'minor' tonality to make an original setting of the text.¹⁸¹ With this piece we have come a long way from the functional music of the first decade of the century, and singers of a high level of competence are required.

Adsunt dies à 5 (No. 82) by Virgilio Mazzocchi is a piece of remarkable symmetry, the opposite of the rather fanciful approach of Giovannoni's Amore Jesu. It relies for its form on the alternation of vocal groupings and is designated 'aria' in the part-books. Built over two ostinato patterns, the structure of the motet can be represented ABAAABAAABAA.¹⁸² Metrically, the scheme is highly controlled, and the rhythmic pattern established at the opening persists throughout. Sections of duet and trio writing in a marginally more elaborate idiom - introducing quaver passing-notes - alternate with chordal passages for four and five voices. There is no counterpoint as such; the tuttis are entirely homophonic, and the duets move

in consecutive thirds with the bass sometimes doubling the continuo part.

Foggia's two volumes of Concentus ecclesiastici of 1645 are the last collections to come directly within our period. While most of his contemporaries were content to contribute to anthologies, Foggia produced a number of collections of his own music. The most striking feature of many of his motets is their length: it is almost as if each section of a motet written in the previous decade had been expanded into a whole movement to stand by itself. His duet Jubilate cantate from the first volume is song-like in its opening triple-metre section, where the two canti sing in thirds and sixths (Ex. 67a); this is followed by a freer quadruple passage, where both voices have solos culminating in a duet at 'O dulcissime amor Jesu': after a rising phrase on 'O', the parts fall in diminished fourths and similar intervals in a languishing manner (Ex. 67b). The concluding passage of the motet, 'quia tu lux, tu spes', is in a clear G major tonality, and there is an amount of imitation alongside writing in thirds. At this point the continuo line is very mobile, and the controlled rhythmic style of the section is emphasized by the use of regular bar-lines in all parts. Another motet from this collection, Panis angelicus (No. 83) for two canti and bass, shows a different side of Foggia's output in the use of an obscure tonality to draw attention to a text of special poignancy - an increasingly common device. This motet, for the popular trio scoring of the period, is written in what can be called C minor. The first phrase, which occurs in imitation throughout the parts, is characterized by a falling fifth, and Foggia makes use of advanced harmonic practices with many suspensions, even introducing a D^b towards the end. Perhaps intended for the Forty Hours' Devotion, the text is eucharistic, like many which proved the inspiration for affective and subjectively oriented writing.

These volumes were clearly considered to be important contributions to the motet and serious works of some distinction - a far cry from practical music for inadequate choirs which began this account of the Roman small-scale motet. The format of the first volume is a measure of the position which the genre had achieved: it is dedicated to the Archbishop of Cologne, and it includes a eulogy by a Bavarian monk in praise of the composer.

NOTES

1. For the richest collection see Llorens, Capellae Sixtinae Codices. The Lateran has a large musical archive, but no catalogue has been published.
2. Motets by Palestrina appeared in RISM 1614³. Fabio Costantini included one motet by him in RISM 1620¹, published in Orvieto.
3. Motecta festorum totius anni cum Communi sanctorum.....liber primus (Rome, 1564) according to RISM; (Rome 1563) and now lost according to New Grove.
4. See introduction to the mass, above, 120.
5. See Chapter III, note 18.
6. See Chapter IV, note 13.
7. Motectorum.....quae quinque vocibus concinuntur, super omnia fere festa sanctorum, tres in partes divisa, quarum quaelibet continet festa quatuor mensium, liber primus (Rome, 1600).
8. GB-Lbl, C. 9
9. I-Rvat, cappella sistina, codex 490.
10. Giovanelli's works are thoroughly discussed in Winter.
11. Cantiones, motectae vulgo appellatae, quae IV. V. VI. VII. & VIII. vocibus concinuntur, & instrumentis apprimè adplicantur; nunc primum in Germania excusae & publicatae (Frankfurt, 1607). A very small number of the contents of the original books is omitted.
12. The first Roman continuo part seems to have been Cavalieri's Rappresentatione di anima et di corpo.....per recitar cantando (Rome, 1600).
13. In Agazzari's treatise, see Strunk, 424-29. The content of the

treatise has been discussed in Rose, and in Dixon, 'Roman Church Music'.

14. Sacrarum cantionum.....liber primus (Rome, 1602).
15. Sacrarum cantionum.....liber primus (Rome, 1602).
16. Sacrarum cantionum.....liber tertius (Rome, 1603).
17. He had died by January 8, 1627 since on that day a payment was made for copying music by 'P. Franc^o Martini buo. me.' (see Archives of S.Maria in Vallicella, C. I.6, Libro Quinto De Decreti della congregazione dell'Oratorio di Roma dall'anno 1614 fino al 1635, p. 144). His name appears as maestro of the church in the same archive from May 9, 1605 until May 7, 1620 (see Archives of S.Maria in Vallicella, C. I.4, Libro terzo De Decreti della congregazione dell'Oratorio di Roma dall' anno 1592 al 1599 de gl'ufficiali della medesima, pp. 113-28).
18. It is possible that the attraction of seven voices was due to a desire to use as many parts as possible while avoiding the progressive double-choir style.
19. See section on the solo motet, 222.
20. See Appendix VII, Ex. 5.
21. On the position of the solo motet in northern Italy see Arnold, 'The Solo Motet'.
22. About 35% of Roman liturgical publications do not contain 'maestro' on the title-page; it must be noted that reprints frequently omit composers' posts, so the real proportion of non-maestri is far lower.
23. It is one of the few Roman sacred publications to be engraved rather than set in moveable type; Kapsberger's 1612 print is another example of this.
24. Agazzari soon followed suit with a 'dramma pastorale' Eumelio (Venice, 1606); this was an entertainment for the students of the Roman Seminary, similar in style to Cavalieri's 1600 production.
25. Arie devote le quali contengono in se la maniera di cantar con gratia l'imitation delle parole, et il modo di scriver passaggi et altri affetti (Rome, 1608).
26. Matejka, 445.
27. Giustiniani, 71.
28. See musical example in Strunk, 383.
29. Sanctissimae Virgini missa senis vocibus ad ecclesiarum choros ac vesperae pluribus decantandae - cum nonnullis sacris concentibus ad sacella sive principium cubicula accommodata (Venice, 1610).
30. Scorga Signor la gratia tua spirando and Signor che del peccato.

31. This distinguished cardinal, the first created by his uncle Sixtus V in 1585, was titular of S.Lorenzo in Damaso and vice-cancellario until his death in 1623 (See Hierarchia, iv, 56 and Cardella, v, 224-28).
32. See Roche, Madrigal, 100-04.
33. On Kapsberger's style see Kast, 'Tracce monteverdiane'.
34. For example, see Bovicelli's ornamentation treatise: Regole, passaggi di musica, madrigali et motetti passeggiati (Venice, 1594). This is discussed along with other contemporary treatises in Brown.
35. Giustiniani, 71.
36. Maugars, 35.
37. Solerti, 162: Conforti published a volume of falsobordone psalms which are full of the most elaborate embellishments, Passagi sopra tutti li salmi.....libro primo (Venice, 1607).
38. RISM 1618¹³. Republished in the same year as Musiche varie..... con alcuni motetti (RISM 1618¹⁴) on account of the extensive printing errors in the first edition.
39. Puliaschi was a canon of S.Maria in Cosmedin from September 1614 until his death in June 1622 (see Archives of S.Maria in Cosmedin Libro V-4, Uscita dal 1579 al 1617, f. 109 and IV-2, Decreti Capitolari Lib.o II (1618-51), f. 18).
40. On Puliaschi's vocal skills see 'Puliaschi, Giovanni Domenico', New Grove.
41. On his career see New Grove.
42. For information on a Northern figure with similar harmonic propensities see Kurtzman, 'Giovanni Francesco Capello'.
43. Not an uncommon device in the period; an echo motet is found in RISM 1618³. For a more general discussion of echo see Sternfeld.
44. RISM 1636³, reprinted as 1637³.
45. See Viadana, O altitudo divitiarum, Opere, i, 72.
46. Dating from 1616 to 1619; the books of 1616, 1617, and 1618 were printed in Venice.
47. Monteverdi, Tutte le opere, xv, 189.
48. These are Durante (1608), Kapsberger (1612) and (1630).
49. The binding of Arch. Cap. S. Petri. in Vat., cappella giulia 168 is a list of churches in Rome with the dates on which they were expected to hold the Forty Hours' Devotion in 1621. It is entitled Chiese, nelle quali.....

50. See Weil and de Santis.
51. The libretti of two vernacular dialoghi for the Forty Hours' Devotion published in Messina in 1638 and 1639 contain sentiments remarkably similar to those of the motets we have discussed. See Trionfo d'amor and Dialogo d'angioli.
52. Liber secundus diversarum modulationum (Rome, 1627).
53. The solo motets from this publication are published in Viadana, Opere, i.
54. Strunk, 421.
55. Strunk, 419.
56. A reference to a publication which could be one of those to which Viadana's preface refers occurs in the fifth edition of Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians, ii, 461 where a book of motets for two to four voices by Fabio Costantini is mentioned. But this seems simply to perpetuate an apparent error in Fétis, Biographie, and the book referred to could well be Costantini's Selectae cantiones.....liber primus. Opus tertium of 1616 (RISM 1616¹).
57. Quoted in Culley, A Study, 285, Doc. 26. The original is found in Pitoni, Notizia, 610.
58. See below, 280.
59. Strunk, 430.
60. See Dixon, 'Roman Church Music', 51.
61. Sacrarum cantionum.....liber II, opus V. (Milan, 1607).
62. From Motecta.....liber secundus (Rome, 1609).
63. From Motecta.....liber tertius (Rome, 1609) and Motecta.....liber secundus (Rome, 1609) respectively.
64. From Motecta.....opus undecimum, liber quintus (Rome, 1612).
65. From Motecta.....liber sextus, opus decimum tertium (Rome, 1613).
66. Motetorum liber quartus ex Canticis canticorum (Rome, 1584).
67. Sacrae cantiones (Rome, 1638).
68. Motecta binis, ternis, quaternis, et quinis vocibus concinenda (Rome, 1610).
69. See Armstrong.
70. Sacri concentus.....liber quartus (Rome, 1617).
71. Sacri concentus.....liber quartus (Rome, 1617).
72. His first Mass was celebrated at the Gesù and he was maestro at

- the Jesuit church of S.Maria dei Monti. On his connections with the Oratorians see Ponnelle and Bordet, 154, 188-89, 265-66.
73. See above, 91 on Bartei.
74. Responsoria omnia.....paribus vocibus..... (Venice, 1607) and Missae octonis vocibus, liber primus (Rome, 1608).
75. Much material that falls chronologically into this section has been considered in the previous one; the absence of dramatic stylistic development means that it is easier to consider the early output of the initial composers as a whole, rather than creating unnatural and inconvenient divisions between their works.
76. Small-scale motet publications in Rome (including anthologies):
 1610 (2); 1611 (3); 1612 (4); 1613 (3); 1614 (2); 1615 (2);
 1616 (5); 1617 (4); 1618 (4); 1619 (6); 1620 (2); 1621 (5);
 1622 (1); 1623 (1); 1624 (4); 1625 (5); 1626 (1); 1627 (3);
 1628 (1); 1629 (2); 1630 (2); 1631 (1); 1632 (0); 1633 (0);
 1634 (0); 1635 (0); 1636 (1);
77. Selectae cantiones.....Liber primus. Opus tertium (Rome, 1616) and Scelta di motetti.....Libro secondo. Opera quarta (Rome, 1618).
78. Lilia campi (Rome, 1621).
79. Sacri affetti (Rome, 1625).
80. RISM 1616¹: F. Anerio, A. Crivelli and R. Giovanelli.
 RISM 1618³: F. Anerio, R. Giovanelli and E. Pasquini.
 RISM 1621³: R. Giovanelli and F. Soriano.
81. It is a setting of a Responsory text for Palm Sunday, sung as the procession entered the Church.
82. Motecta.....liber primus (Rome, 1616).
83. Motecta sive sacrae cantiones.....liber quartus (Rome, 1619).
84. See Tiozzo, 289.
85. See Roche, North Italian Liturgical Music, 82.
86. Another echo motet is G.F. Anerio's Ave verum corpus from RISM 1618³.
87. From Lilia campi (Rome, 1621).
88. From Sacrae cantiones..... (Rome 1611).
89. A. Gregori, another Siennese composer, was certainly much influenced by Agazzari; his use of ABB form is discussed below, 227. On refrain form in the North, see Roche, North Italian Liturgical Music, 98, 133-34.
90. A setting of the psalm-text Confitebor tibi (110).

91. Il sesto libro de motetti concertati.....opera duodecima (Rome, 1624).
92. Sacrae cantiones.....liber primus (Rome, 1621).
93. He is described as a pupil of Abundio Antonelli on the title-page of this collection.
94. See below, 258 - 78, on the arrangement of texture in works for more voices.
95. Liber primus diversarum modulationum (Rome, 1615).
96. Sacrarum cantionum.....liber primus (Rome, 1614).
97. 1615 and two in 1616.
98. Sacrarum cantionum.....liber primus (Rome, 1616).
99. L'ottavo libro de motetti.....opera decimanona (Rome, 1619). Compare Viadana's setting of the same text in Cento concerti ecclesiastici (Venice, 1602).
100. Recordare mei is also for two or three voices. Kurtzman, 'Some Historical Perspectives', 65 states that Anerio's Duo seraphim (Motecta, 1609) is the only one to reduce to a single voice at the end.
101. Sacrae cantiones.....liber tertius (Rome, 1620).
102. Il sesto libro de motetti concertati,....opera duodecima (Rome, 1624).
103. See Foggia's setting of Repleatur os meum below, 282.
104. Scelta di motetti.....Libro secondo, opera quarta (Rome, 1618).
105. For a fuller description of the role of instruments in this repertory see Dixon, 'Roman Church Music'.
106. This arrangement became more common with the increase of recitative writing in the 1640s; see, for example, Bonifazio Graziani's Aperuit portas à 3 from RISM 1650¹.
107. Sacri affetti (Rome, 1625), RISM 1625¹.
108. His reference to 'Questi concerti musicali' in the preface shows an up-to-date use of terminology.
109. Floridus concentus.....liber tertius (Rome, 1622).
110. See below, 270.
111. Motecta binis, ternis, quaternis, quinis, senisque vocibus (Rome, 1621).
112. Liber secundus diversarum modulationum (Rome, 1616).
113. A similar device is found in Cifra's Terra mota est from

- Motecta.....liber secundus (Rome, 1609), discussed above, 231.
114. Liber secundus diversarum modulationum (Rome, 1616).
115. Concertini.....libro secondo (Rome, 1619).
116. Motecta.....liber secundus (Rome, 1624) and Motecta.....liber tertius (Rome, 1624); only the second canto parts survive.
117. Monteverdi's Ego dormio à 2 and Alessandro Grandi's O bone Jesu à 2.
118. It is notable that when Benevoli purchased music for S.Luigi in 1631, he chose works by Roman composers. A list discovered by J.Lionnet contains music acquired by Benevoli on May 31, 1631, and the following composers are represented: Agazzari, G.F. Anerio, Catalani, Cifra, Massenzio, G.B. Nanino, Ratti, P. Tarditi and Ugolini. Anthologies by Fabio Costantini and Zaccaria Zanetti also appear.
119. On Gregori see New Grove.
120. Only the second canto and organ parts survive.
121. For my biographical discoveries about this figure see Appendix II.
122. The second canto part is lost; this will however be reconstructed in a forthcoming Oxford D.Phil thesis by Christopher Stenbridge on Frescobaldi's vocal music.
123. For instance, Panis angelicus à 3 (No. 83) from Concentus ecclesiastici duarum, trium, quatuor et quinque vocum (Rome, 1645).
124. See Appendix I, Doc. 1.
125. Composers were not concerned to provide strict definitions of the style of their works, and neither were the publishers who saw them into print. This raises a problem of terminology for the scholar wishing to categorize works in a systematic manner since some composers, in issuing a work which was clearly concertato in the manner of their contemporaries, would omit the designation in their collections. Decisions concerning 'concertato alla romana' are generally unproblematic, since no element of personal judgement is involved in determining whether a piece is in this style or not. The textural motet is rather more difficult to define, and the boundary must necessarily be arbitrary. What I have presented here is one solution to the problem, but I am willing to accept that opinions may differ on borderline cases.
126. See Roche, North Italian Liturgical Music, 131-33, 142.
127. Litaniae deiparae virginis, maiores de ea antiphonae temporales, & motecta septem, octonisq vocibus, una cum aliis sacris cantionibus varie modulatis (Rome, 1626).
128. Luke 2. 29-32.

129. Rather like Schütz, who in the Historia der Auferstehung Jesu Christi set the words of Christ as a duet; see Schütz, Sämtliche Werke, iii.
130. Motectorum.....liber secundus (Rome, 1611).
131. John, 6. 32-36, 41-43, 52, 55, 58.
132. Roche, North Italian Liturgical Music, 133-34.
133. Il sesto libro de motetti concertati.....opera duodecima (Rome, 1624).
134. Sacrarum cantionum.....liber quintus (Rome, 1618).
135. Floridus concentus.....liber tertius (Rome, 1622).
136. Another collection of small-scale motets by Massenzio was copied in 1854 in D-Mus, Sant. Hs. 1213, f. 130-57. The pieces are taken from a lost collection of 1624, published in Rome by Zannetti (see f. 130).
137. John 6. 5-14.
138. Compare with solo motet, 222-23.
139. See Carissimi, Jepthe.
140. Liber tertius diversarum modulationum (Rome, 1616).
141. For example, Laetentur cor à 8 opens with an alto solo.
142. Liber campi.....liber quintus (Rome, 1627).
143. This relates to archival references to the pumping of more than one organ for the performance of polychoral music.
144. GB-Lbl, D. 977b.
145. Roche, North Italian Liturgical Music, 207-08 discusses some psalms by Grandi in this form, but it seems that Venetians were not so inclined to sectionalize their compositions.
146. Liber tertius diversarum modulationum (Rome, 1616).
147. The composer's recent employment in Rome may account for this; in 1614 he was maestro at S.Maria della Consolazione. See title-page of his Concerti ecclesiastici (Rome, 1614).
148. Floridus concentus.....liber tertius (Rome, 1622).
149. Motecta.....liber secundus (Rome, 1611).
150. On the date of his death see above, 80.
151. RISM 1618¹³ and 1618¹⁴, his joint collections with Puliaschi.
152. Sacrorum concentuum.....liber tertius, opus tertium (Rome, 1617).

153. Sacrae cantiones.....liber secundus (Rome, 1637).
154. L'undecimo libro de motetti.....opera vigesima quinta (Rome, 1625).
155. Motecta.....liber secundus (Rome, 1625).
156. Luke 14. 16-24.
157. These have been transcribed and discussed in Chauvin.
158. Completorium integrum.....opus octavum (Rome, 1630).
159. Sacrarum modulationum.....liber primus (Rome, 1637).
160. Manuscript sources in I-Bc contain large numbers of eight-part pieces see Gaspari, ii, 169-70, 342-43.
161. RISM: G 2446-50.
162. Motectorum quinque & octo vocum, liber primus (Rome, 1600).
163. On the dissemination of Roman music in a slightly later period see Dixon, 'Durham Chapter Library'. Works by Agazzari were also published in Frankfurt; see RISM A 356 (1607).
164. Some of these pieces have been discussed above, 206-09.
165. The intention expressed in his 1638 treatise, see Appendix I, Doc. 1.
166. Psalm 136.
167. RISM 1621b (Psalmorum.....liber secundus) is simply a reprint of this publication; both were issued in Assisi.
168. Motecta, et psalmi, octonis vocibus (Venice, 1629).
169. Motecta, binis, ternis, quaternis, senis, & octonis vocibus (Venice, 1629).
170. Motetti, et dialoghi.....libro secondo (Rome, 1627).
171. Only the second canto and bass parts survive in I-CEc. Complete contents of the publication are listed in Paganelli, 320-21.
172. Adest nobis and Hodie gloriosus.
173. This piece is marked 'A quattro Bassi e 4. violini, se piace'.
174. This argument can also be applied to the scorings of Ugolini's 1619 publication (see above, 269-70).
175. Foggia produced two volumes of motets in 1645, Domenico Borgiani one in 1646 and Tullio Cima one in 1648.
176. For Athanasius Kircher's assessment of the main Roman musicians of his time see Dixon 'Durham Chapter Library'. On the publishers and the scope of their activity see Sartori, and

on Carissimi's motets see Jones.

177. Sacri affetti (Rome, 1625).
178. Motetti a due, tre, quattro, cinque, e sei voci (Rome, 1650).
179. Sacrarum modulationum.....liber quartus (Rome, 1648).
180. ed. J. Beat (London, 1974).
181. Giovannoni was active at S.Lorenzo in Damaso, and the text of this piece would have been appropriate for the Forty Hours' Devotion which was celebrated with great solemnity in that church (see Weil, 219, 229-31).
182. The Romans seem to have been particularly keen on strophic variations and the use of organized stock basses in their secular music (see Fortune, Italian Secular Song, 17, 21-24, 356, 363). This explains the designation 'aria'. Structurally Mazzocchi's piece is not unique: Foggia's aria Jesu clemens pie Deus à 4 (RISM 1645²) is similar in form and is, if anything, more developed, since a certain amount of variation is found in the bass line.

CHAPTER VII

THE 'COLOSSAL BAROQUE'

The mention of the term 'colossal Baroque' brings to mind the Missa salisburgensis in fifty-three parts, which was long thought to have been written by Orazio Benevoli and performed at the consecration of Salzburg Cathedral in 1628.¹ While it has often been cited in standard textbooks as the prime example of music from the Roman 'colossal Baroque',² it has been shown by Hintermaier that the work is not by Benevoli and, far from being performed in 1628, it dates from the second half of the century.³ In the wake of the historical vacuum created by this discovery it is necessary to re-examine the evidence for multiple-choir music in Rome.

The late works of Palestrina helped to usher in the more vertical, chordal conception of musical texture important in large-scale music of the next decades which relies on exchanges between blocks of sound; clearly his 1601 masses were influential in this. At the very beginning of the 17th century double-choir music was thriving in Rome; Bartei issued four eight-part masses in 1608,⁴ and the same year saw the inclusion of a good number of double-choir motets in a collection by Mancini.⁵ Soriano included an eight-part arrangement of Palestrina's Missa Papae Marcelli in his 1609 collection,⁶ and in the following year Cifra published a set of Vespers psalms for the same forces.⁷ Composers soon took the next step and introduced further choirs, a development designed to exploit spatial possibilities offered by the vast aisles of Rome's basilicas. Archival records show that the multiple-choir medium became widely used. Both Palestrina and Victoria wrote for more than two choirs,⁸ but it was above all the 1620s which saw a marked increase in the performance of this

type of music. Pieces for two choirs were also issued throughout the first half of the century; much was strictly polychoral, whereas some adopted a more concertato deployment of voices. From here onwards we shall confine our attention to music for more than two choirs since only those works which add to the normal eight-part texture, with a view to creating an effect of special magnificence, can be termed 'colossal Baroque'.

The first indication of the use of more than two choirs known to me occurs in the archives of S. Luigi dei Francesi, where accounts for the feast of St. Louis date from the earliest years of the century and show that three choirs and instruments performed regularly.⁹ The documents, dating from G.B. Nanino's time as maestro, indicate that the 'musique extraordinaire de Saint Louis' was the large annual musical event. A pay-list from 1608 will serve to show the size of forces employed in that year:¹⁰

List of extra musicians of August 25, 1608 [payments in scudi]

Primo choro

Domenico del Cardinale Montalto	2
Un castrato	1.50
Un Tenor di Capella	2
Melchior basso	

Secondo choro

Frate di S. Agostino che stà col vesco. di padova	2
Spagnolo di Capella	2
Al Frate del Cardinale Acquaviva Tenore	2
Ercole basso	2

Terzo choro

Gio: Francesco soprano	2
Vincenzo di Capella Contralto	2
Giuseppe di Capella Tenore	2
Un basso	1.50

Istromenti

Cornetto di padova	2
Violino di padova	2
leuto	1.50

Tiorba	1.50
Organo et organista	3
Accorditura dell'organo	1

It is hardly necessary to note that such large-scale polychoral music was reserved for special festivals: no church, however well-endowed, could afford to maintain the required number of musicians, and it was an expensive business to hire large numbers of outsiders. Each year the celebration of St. Louis demanded over thirty scudi.

Apart from patronal festivals other events were celebrated with such music. In S. Luigi special musical forces were employed for the birth of the Dauphin, the future Louis XIII, at a cost of over seventy scudi; sadly the detailed pay-list for this event is no longer extant. The installation of a new titular cardinal was another occasion for great festivities, and on November 26, 1605 when Cardinal Scipione Borghese, the nephew of Paul V, took possession of his titular church, the events were described as follows:¹¹

On the said day Cardinal Borghese accompanied by a large number of Prelates and Gentlemen went to take possession of his titular church of S. Crisogono.....where they sang Mass with three choirs.

S. Crisogono was a relatively minor church, yet on that occasion it was the scene of elaborate music, probably paid for by the titular cardinal himself.

The infrequent and costly nature of this music explains the paucity of sources containing music for more than two choirs. Its publication was simply not viable as a commercial enterprise since the market was too small; this is in marked contrast with the printing of small-scale music, which was frequently issued since most churches could muster the forces required. Large-scale music mainly circulated in manuscripts which were used for performance and

have since been lost or destroyed. In 1815 Santini made copies of some pieces in twelve parts by G.F. Anerio, Agostini, Quagliati, G.B. Nanino and Soriano; he found these in a manuscript in the library of the Seminario Romano. The original manuscript which apparently no longer exists was dated 1605.¹² Eight-part music was frequently issued in print since quite a number of churches had choirs with eight voices; it would therefore have been possible to perform it without musicians from outside.

It is in a publication mainly of eight-part music that we find the earliest example of twelve-part writing to be printed in Rome after the turn of the century. Paolo Quagliati from Chioggia¹³ set the first psalm of festal Vespers in his Motecta octonis et psalmus Dixit dominus duodenis vocibus, una cum basso ad organum of 1612. The scoring probably reflects performance practice at S.Maria Maggiore where he was organist at the time of publication. Clearly intended to provide an imposing opening for the office, the psalm uses the choirs as separate units; they enter dramatically in quick succession and proceed to a weighty tutti section (Ex. 68). Written in an unsectionalized manner, it has an interesting rhythmic aspect which compensates for the unavoidably static harmonic style.

Much multiple-choir music by Roman composers is a good deal less imaginative than works by their Northern contemporaries. While the Romans generally contented themselves with multiplying the basic four-part (SATB) choir, the Venetians had for some time been experimenting with the combination of choirs of different tessiture, and with varied groupings of voices and instruments. Instruments were certainly employed in Rome but, at least early in the century,

they were simply a means of supporting the continuo line and they made no original contribution to the texture.¹⁴ Viadana's Salmi a quattro chori of 1612 contains a lengthy preface which treats in some depth the performance of north Italian polychoral music.¹⁵ His first choir consists of five soloists, the second, the cappella, of at least sixteen singers and instruments as well, while the other two choirs were of high and low pitch respectively and also included appropriate instrumental parts. No similar allocation of distinct characteristics to the choirs is found in Roman music, where the interchange is between equals, each choir functioning as an entity complete in itself. Viadana and his Northern contemporaries were however anxious to indicate that their works could be performed by fewer musicians and, in fact, the third and fourth choirs of Viadana's publication are dispensable. In Rome there was no parallel concern for adaptability since multiple choirs were only used on important occasions when the required forces would have been present. Furthermore, no choir of a Roman composition could have been omitted since each was equally important: no single group of performers was responsible for presenting the core of the musical material.

It was certainly music in this style which graced Vespers in May 1615 when the beatification of St. Philip Neri was celebrated in the church of the Oratorian order which he founded, S. Maria in Vallicella:¹⁶

On Monday at the first Vespers: the Vespers was sung in the said church with great pomp by the most distinguished voices and musicians of Rome arranged in four choirs; at this the people were ravished by the melody and by such sweet concerti. At this Vespers three cardinals were present and the following morning at the Mass nine cardinals with such a crowd of people that it was impossible to believe it.

The archives of this church record payments for pumping the second

organ, an indication of the frequent use of double-choir music on feasts.¹⁷ Musical activity on the scale mentioned in this quotation in not found elsewhere in the surviving documents of the church.

Francesco Soriano, maestro of the Cappella Giulia from 1603 to 1620, was first in a line of maestri at St. Peter's to publish multiple-choir music during the 17th century. Though chiefly known as a composer of stile antico masses, this pupil of Palestrina published works for as many as sixteen voices in Venice in 1616. This collection, Psalmi et mottecta.....liber secundus, shows him to be a more adaptable composer than is generally recognized. The collection was issued in Venice to secure a wider market, rather than because of any lack of interest in the style in Rome. In addition to the double-choir motets and psalms, it contains Magnificat settings for eight and twelve voices and two four-choir settings of the Dixit Dominus. Soriano adopted the standard syllabic, homophonic style in the passages which consist of choirs answering each other; these are punctuated with occasional tutti sections. The voices are not used in a concertato manner and the only deviation from the four (CATB) choral blocks is at the opening of the Dixit primi toni for sixteen voices, which is set for the four canti.

Until now we have considered music for Vespers, but it was not only the texts of the divine office which lent themselves to treatment in this manner. The first Mass celebrated by the composer G.F. Anerio in the Gesù in 1616 was an occasion which the diarist Gigli records with enthusiasm and even amazement:¹⁸

On August 7 Giovanni Francesco Anerio celebrated his first sung Mass in the Church of the Gesù, it being the octave-day of the feast of St. Ignatius Loyola; and on this occasion eight of the fourteen galleries, completed at that time above the chapels of the said church, were completed; in the beginning there were only two such galleries, those nearest to the altar. An infinite number of people came to hear all the musicians of Rome divided into eight choirs in that church; this was without a doubt a thing never heard before.

Though ~~isolated~~ records of multiple choirs exist from before 1620, that year represents a landmark since from then on archives and publications suggest a marked increase in the number of such performances. The 1620s were years in which the spirit of the Church underwent a radical change which precipitated a mood of optimism following the austere years of the Catholic Reformation. The triumphalism was reflected not only in the art, but in the music of the period. Even in less important musical establishments there were occasional productions of large-scale music. S. Agostino, the mother church of the Augustinian order, had maintained a tradition of double-choir music since at least the first decade of the century when the maestro, Bartei, published a volume of polychoral masses.¹⁹ The archives of that church mention the regular performance of polychoral music on the vigil and feast of St. Augustine from 1617 onwards and record that on these occasions two 'poveretti' were paid for pumping the organs.²⁰ In 1620 people were employed to pump five organs on the vigil and feast - presumably one for each choir of voices.²¹ S. Maria in Trastevere was a basilica in which outside singers were often employed. The first reference to music for more than two choirs in the archives there dates from the feast of the Assumption in 1623; this was celebrated with particular solemnity as the entry in the accounts shows:²²

and further to two men who pumped the bellows of the two portable organs used at the said festival when the music was for three choirs and accompanied by little organs - 30

It was during the restoration of the basilica in the reign of Paul V that organs in galleries in the transepts were installed, indicating an interest in antiphonal music in the church.

That the use of an organ to accompany each vocal group was common is shown by Quagliati's publication of Motetti, e dialoghi..... libro secondo in 1627. This was printed with two identical bassus ad organum parts, one for each choir. It was St. Peter's basilica however that possessed both the spatial and financial resources to permit the multiplication of the number of choirs to the extent that we generally associate with the 'colossal Baroque'. A list of organists who received payment in 1628 for the feast of St. Peter shows that the music, under the direction of Agostini, was performed by twelve choirs, each with its own organ;²³ in the spacious nave of the newly completed basilica such music must have created an effect of unprecedented magnificence. In the light of this it is perhaps not surprising that the successors of Soriano, as maestri of the Cappella Giulia, were responsible for the bulk of the extant multiple-choir music. Soriano's immediate successor, Vincenzo Ugolini, was clearly well-schooled in the principles of the medium through his experience as a 'puer cantor' and later as maestro at S. Luigi. His publication, Motecta et missae octonis et duodenis vocibus.....liber secundus of 1622 contains two masses for two and two for three choirs. Three masses are parodies of his own motets which are also included in the volume, and the fourth is remarkable for being a parody in eight parts of a spiritual madrigal by Giovanni Maria Nanino, Sopra il vago Esquilin un tempio sorge;²⁴

which speaks of the devotion to Our Lady in the temple on the Esquiline Hill, clearly S.Maria Maggiore. It would be tempting to suggest that these pieces date from Ugolini's time as maestro there, a post which he left in 1603, but they were certainly written as a later gesture of respect to the basilica.²⁵

The motet Quae est ista for three choirs typifies his style: at the opening an imitative point is treated successively in each choir, a common enough device in music for the medium. The remainder of the motet adopts a basically homophonic style with phrases of varying lengths, as short as four notes (at 'et lilia'), being exchanged between the choirs. This exchange is put aside where, following the central tutti, pairs of voices (CA and TB) introduce a more rhythmically animated phrase in imitation at 'circumdabant eam flores'. The final section is complex, the twelve voices weaving a dense texture over static tonic and dominant harmonies. Exultate omnes à 12 is one of the few motets which can be linked with a specific event. At the head of the motet in the part-books is found an inscription: While the Illustrious Cardinal Borghese enters the Vatican basilica. The archives of the Cappella Giulia for October 29, 1620 contain the following receipt in Ugolini's hand:²⁶

I Vincenzo Ugolini have received [...] eight scudi which are to pay the outside singers who served at the entrance of Cardinal Borghese as archpriest of St. Peter's, eight scudi.....

In 1620 polychoral music for three choirs also took place on the feast of the dedication of the basilica and on St. Peter's Day. For these events lists of payments to outside musicians are still extant, showing that three organs were used (one for each choir),

and in 1621 for Vespers of St. Peter two 'viole' also joined the ensemble. There is evidence that music was composed especially for these events, since a payment was made 'for writing out plainsong and polyphonic music' in connection with the dedication of 1620.²⁷

The masses in the same volume are noteworthy since they constitute the only complete twelve-part settings, save for one by G.F. Anerio. They make much use of reduced textures in selecting various groupings for short sections; this device, derived from the polyphonic mass, would sound extremely effective with voices coming from different parts of the church. It is difficult to grasp the scale of such a work without seeing the complete plan of the vocal scorings; there follows an analysis of the twelve-part Missa Quae est ista:

Kyrie	à 12	'Et resurrexit'	à 12
Christe	CCCAAA	'Et iterum'	CCCAAA
Kyrie	à 12	'Et unam sanctum'	à 12
'Et in terra pax'	à 12	Sanctus	à 12
'Domine fili'	CCCA	Osanna	canon à 12
'Qui tollis'	à 12	Benedictus	CCCAAA
'Patrem omnipotentem'	à 12	Osanna	à 12
'Crucifixus'	TTTBBB	Agnus Dei	à 12

His use of canon in the *Osanna* is notable; such techniques also occur in his small-scale motets,²⁸ but here he shows himself capable of handling such forms on a larger scale. As if to emphasize his interest in canonic devices, he printed a canon at the end of each part-book; none of these have any connection with the liturgy, but all except one textless piece are based on spiritual texts. Such constructional techniques are more characteristic of the prima prattica writing of the period, but here they appear on a larger canvas. Head-motifs derived from the shared material occur in all the masses as a means of unification: for example, in the Missa Beatae à 12 the opening of each movement, with the exception of the Sanctus, is related to the opening of the motet as is the 'Crucifixus'. The *Christe* is related to the 'Ave Maria' section of the motet

and the triple-time 'Genuisti' appears as the 'Et unam sanctam' in the mass. An interesting pictorial device is employed at the 'Et incarnatus' which is divided into four sections: Et incarnatus est/ de Spirito santo/ex Maria virgine/et homo factus est. These phrases are given in turn to groups of equal voices in the order altos, tenors, canti and basses; after this the voices unite to repeat the final phrase, thus achieving a sense of descending movement. Interchange between various vocal groupings is a feature of the works, and in the twelve-part sections the choirs function as separate units, emphasizing the spatial positioning. Stylistically, individual vocal lines are conventional, making much use of stepwise movement with few short note-values. Each line could have in itself been derived from a considerably earlier composition; only in the overall construction of the works does their originality lie.

G.F. Anerio was active in Warsaw in the late 1620s during which time, he, like Ugolini, produced a twelve-part mass, named the Missa Constantia after the wife of Zygmunt III, king of Poland, in whose court he served.²⁹ It is essentially polychoral though, as in Ugolini's masses, some reduced sections occur by way of contrast: the Christe and the 'Crucifixus' are both 'a voci pari'. Ugolini only published one further contribution to the multiple-choir repertory after 1622; this collection of Vespers psalms for three choirs dates from 1630 after he had left St.Peter's and the year before he was appointed maestro at S.Luigi.³⁰

Ugolini was succeeded at St.Peter's by Paolo Agostini in 1626. His large-scale music remains in the archives of the Cappella Giulia and demonstrates his desire to set texts in as splendid a manner as possible; his Dixit Dominus requires six choirs and his Magnificat five.³¹ His manner of handling these massive forces is simply an

extension of the technique of the composers that we have already examined, including the rather static harmonic basis reinforced with the continuo, the homophonic use of each choir as a unit and the constant exchange of short phrases from choir to choir. The Magnificat contains two reduced sections for equal voices: the 'quia respexit' is for five canti and the 'deposuit' for five basses. It is hardly necessary to remark how impressive this music would have sounded when performed with spatially positioned choirs, each with its own organ.

Abbatini, though never maestro at St. Peter's, was clearly interested in the medium. In 1627 he published a mass for four choirs, of which only four voice-parts and basso continuo survive.³² As maestro at the Lateran Abbatini had sufficient resources at his disposal to perform this music which extends Ugolini's style to include an extra choir. It seems that the opening of the Gloria must have been most impressive since the continuo part records 'Cominciano tutti uno doppò l'altro'. Alternation between the choirs and repetition of material can be identified through the recurring phrases of the organ part which, except in the tutti sections, is surprisingly mobile. In addition to the usual reduced passages, Abbatini makes use of a solo voice, the first canto, for a section of the Gloria. The Lateran archives contain another four-choir mass; this work by Lorenzo Ratti is at present inaccessible, so we only have the word of Eitner that it exists.³³ Ratti, a pupil of Ugolini and maestro at the German College from 1623 to 1629, included a small number of motets for more than eight voices in the final volume of Sacrae modulationes of 1628; these are an extension of the concertato idiom, rather than polychoral

in the same sense as the other works we have considered. Given the interest in multiple choirs at St. Peter's it is perhaps not surprising to learn that Frescobaldi contributed to the genre. A Magnificat for four choirs by him was mentioned in an inventory of music in Innsbruck in 1665,³⁴ but the manuscript appears to have been lost.

By the late 1620s the multiple-choir style was a common feature of Roman musical life, a fact to which Giustiniani testified in his Discorso sopra la musica of about 1628:³⁵

Since that time there have been many composers such as Claudio Monte Verde (sic), Giovanni Bernardino Nanino, Felice Anerio and others who.....have tried to soften and simplify the style and manner of composing, and in particular they have written many works to be sung in the churches, in various styles and inventions for several choirs, even as many as twelve. And this style and manner of writing for a great number of good singers has been continued and is in use even today.

No published works for more than two choirs remain from the 1630s, yet the performance of music on this scale continued and still larger numbers of separate choirs were included in this decade. The Jesuits, having embraced the spirit of Roma triumphans, sought to give musical expression to this sense of victory and therefore enthusiastically adopted the grandiose polyphonic style. In their mother church, the Gesù, such music was performed regularly on the patronal festival from the mid-1630s onwards. Usually the music was for four choirs, though sometimes fewer were employed: the earliest reference to polychoral music in the archives occurs in 1625 when, following Bl. Francis Borgia's beatification, his feast was celebrated for the first time with three choirs.³⁶ In 1630 music was provided for the feast of St. Francis Xavier by four choirs at a cost of 72 scudi and the maestro was paid for composing a setting of the Mass.³⁷ Instruments were used frequently in such

performances: records of payments to violinists occur from 1622 onwards³⁸ and in 1626 for the feast of St. Francis Xavier a number of musicians received remuneration.³⁹ In the 1640s this was a regular feature of musical activity; a payment relating to the patronal festival in 1641 shows that eight instruments were used on that occasion in combination with four choirs.⁴⁰ On the feast of St. Ignatius in 1640 an interesting example of spatial positioning was recorded: the music was for four choirs with an organ above the door, presumably accompanying a choir which was also situated there.⁴¹ Four choirs sang at Mass on the octave-day of the feast of St. Ignatius when Cardinal Ludovisi visited the new Jesuit church of S. Ignazio in 1640, the year of its consecration.⁴²

In 1638 the French viol-player Maugars was sent to report on the state of Italian music and he appears to have been more than a little impressed by what he experienced of the polychoral style:⁴³

As well as the advantages they [the Italians] have over us [the French], that which makes their music even more attractive is that they maintain better order and position their choirs better than us, giving to each a little organ which certainly makes them sing with more correctness.

He had the good fortune to be present on the vigil and feast of St. Dominic in the Dominican church of S. Maria sopra Minerva and described the proceedings in some detail, providing an account which deserves to be quoted at some length:⁴⁴

.....of the most excellent concert that I had in Rome on the vigil and feast of St. Dominic in the church of the Minerva. That church is quite long and spacious and contains two large organs raised on the two sides of the main altar where two choirs were positioned. Along the nave there were eight other choirs, four on one side and four on the other, raised on platforms eight or nine feet in height, equidistant and facing each other. With each choir there was a positive organ, as is the custom; one must not be surprised because one can find over two hundred of them in Rome, as opposed to Paris where one knows that one could scarcely find two of the same pitch. The director-composer beat the main tactus in the first choir,

accompanied by many beautiful voices. With each of the others there was a person who did no more than look at the basic beat with the intention of bringing his own into line so that all the choirs could sing in time without getting behind. The counterpoint of the music was figuré, full of beautiful melody and a number of attractive solos. Presently one of the first choir sang a solo, then one from the third, then one from the fourth and one from the tenth answered. Occasionally two, three, four and five voices sang together from different choirs and sometimes parts of each choir sang in turn in emulation of the others. Presently two choirs sang, the one against the other, and two others answered. On another occasion three, four and five choirs sang together, then one, two, three, four and five voices alone; and at the Gloria Patri all ten choirs sang together. I must confess that I never had such a beautiful experience; but above all in the hymn and prose, where the director normally strives to do best, I heard the most beautiful chants of a most exquisite nature, excellent devices with a most attractive variety of rhythms. Again in the antiphons there were very good symphonies for one, two or three violins with organ and some archlutes playing certain airs in dance rhythms, one answering the others.

The same church was the scene of still larger multiple-choir music in connection with the feast of St. Dominic in 1650 when, if we believe Bainsi,⁴⁵ mass was sung to a setting in forty-eight parts by one hundred and fifty singers.

Della Valle's Discorso of 1640 mentions large-scale music performed in the Seminario Romano which had links with the Gesù, and in St. Peter's under the direction of Virgilio Mazzocchi. As maestro of the Cappella Giulia from 1629, he managed to exploit fully the potential of the recently completed basilica as a setting for multiple-choir performance:⁴⁶

.....and if by chance you found yourself the other day in the Collegio Romano at the performance of such very fine music for six choirs composed by the younger Mazzocchi, you would have heard the madrigalian style with longing and lightness, and the motet style with seriousness and well wrought imitation of various old and new airs, spirited recitative of some elegance.....I did not have the fortune to hear that great musical performance that Mazzocchi arranged in St. Peter's a year ago; I do not know whether it was for twelve or sixteen choirs with an echo choir at the top of the dome, but I understand that in the space of that vast temple it was wonderfully effective.

The case of Mazzocchi shows just how much music must have perished: no works by him for more than ten voices were ever published and pieces

of the kind mentioned by della Valle have vanished without trace. While the music of Mazzocchi seems to have been represented, at least in dramatic effect, the highpoint of the 'colossal Baroque', other churches maintained a flourishing tradition of similar music, albeit on a rather reduced scale. At S.Maria in Trastevere the festival of St.Calixtus was celebrated in the early 1640s with some solemnity: in 1641 the music was for three choirs, three people being employed to pump the organs, and in the following year the music was still more grand, a carpenter being hired to construct platforms for the musicians who sang in four choirs.⁴⁷

Orazio Benevoli succeeded Virgilio Mazzocchi as maestro of the Cappella Giulia in 1646 and held the post until his death in 1672. Though he published no large-scale music, a certain amount remains in manuscript and this includes liturgical works of many descriptions. His career included periods of service in a number of churches mentioned in this chapter: he was a 'putto cantore' in S.Luigi, maestro at S.Maria in Trastevere from 1624, maestro at S.Spirito in Sassia from 1630, and held the same post in S.Luigi from 1638 to 1644 in which year he became maestro to Archduke Leopold of Vienna. His motets for one to four voices were issued in anthologies from 1642 onwards and, according to Gürtelschmied in New Grove, none of the masses can be shown to date from before 1643. As regards works on the scale of the Missa Salisburgensis, not even fragments remain scored for such large forces. An extensive search of library catalogues has revealed masses for up to sixteen voices and psalm and Magnificat settings for up to twenty-four voices but no more, save in the exceptional case of the mass performed in S.Maria sopra Minerva in 1650. If, as Bukofzer implies,⁴⁸ by his citation of the

Missa Salisburgensis and his list of 'colossal Baroque' composers, the term is supposed to apply mainly to the first half of the century, then Benevoli cannot figure in it. Most of his polychoral music dates from his period at St. Peter's and not from the period in which the cathedral in Salzburg was consecrated.

While his career clearly therefore involved him with the performance of polychoral music, and while he continued the tradition established by his predecessors as maestri at St. Peter's, Benevoli was neither an innovator nor the sole exponent of his style.⁴⁹ Far from crumbling when the fundamental support of the Missa salisburgensis is withdrawn, the concept of the 'colossal Baroque' is possessed of a new credibility since it does not depend on one work. It can therefore be viewed as a continuing strand of musical activity which, though rooted in the experiments of late 16th-century contrapuntists, attained increasing popularity on account of the religious climate of the early Baroque.

NOTES

1. Printed in Benevoli, DTÖ, x, Jg. V/1 (1903/R).
2. While the term 'colossal Baroque' is used throughout the thesis since it is generally accepted and understood, it would perhaps be clearer if the German term 'Massenstil' were adopted so that the adjective is applied to the style and not to the name of the period.
3. Hintermaier, 965-66. The music at the consecration of Salzburg cathedral was for twelve choirs and directed by the Kapellmeister to the Prince-Archbishop, Steffano Bernardi, who, though a native of Verona, had been active in Rome as maestro at S. Maria dei Monti in 1610; it was perhaps there that he first encountered the multiple-choir style.
4. Missae octonis vocibus, liber primus (Rome, 1608).
5. Liber primus motectorum.... (Rome, 1608).

6. Missarum liber primus (Rome, 1609) reprinted in Busch.
7. Vesperae, et motecta.....opus nonum (Rome, 1610).
8. The Palestrina collected edition contains a small number of pieces for twelve voices, that of Victoria includes a mass, a Laetatus sum and a Magnificat for three choirs.
9. I am indebted to Jean Lionnet for allowing me to see his copies of pay-lists.
10. Archives of S.Luigi dei Francesi, carton 44, liasse 1608.
11. I-Rvat, Cod. Barb. Lat. 6339, f. 77.
12. D-Müs, Santini Hs. 873.
13. See Tiozzo, 289.
14. A practice described in the preface of Agazzari, Salmi sex.....opus duodecimum (Venice, 1609) (see below, 163-64).
15. Reproduced in full in Roche, North Italian Liturgical Music, 191; this work discussed in some detail north Italian music which is only mentioned here.
16. Orbaan, 233.
17. I-Ras, Archives of S.Maria in Vallicella, Libro 119, Entrata et escito (1616-22) and Libro 120, Entrata e Uscita (1626-) contain frequent references to this.
18. Gigli, 37.
19. See note 4.
20. See Archives of S.Agostino, Libro 118, Entrata e uscita (1606-24)
21. See Chapter III, S.Agostino, note 45.
22. See Chapter III, S.Maria in Trastevere, note 37.
23. Casimiri, 'Disciplina musicae', xv (1938), 63.
24. Il terzo libro de madrigali a cinque voci (Venice, 1588)
25. The three twelve-part motets from this collection are to be published in my edition in 1982.
26. I-Rvat, cappella giulia, Archivio capitolo di S.Pietro, 167, f. 251.
27. *ibid.*, f. 253.
28. See Sancte tui Domine, Motecta sive sacrae cantiones.....Liber secundus (Venice, 1617)

29. I-Bc, R. 29.
30. Psalmi ad Vesperas et motecta duodenis vocibus, una cum basso ad organum, liber primus (Rome, 1630)
31. I-Rvat, cappella giulia, V. 71.
32. Missa sexdecim vocibus concinenda (Rome, 1627).
33. Eitner, viii, 135.
34. Waldner, 134.
35. Giustiniani, 71.
36. Chapter III, Church of Gesù, note 77.
37. Chapter III, Church of Gesù, note 69.
38. Chapter III, Church of Gesù, note 67.
39. Chapter III, Church of Gesù, note 68.
40. Chapter III, Church of Gesù, note 73.
41. Chapter III, Church of Gesù, note 79
42. Pollak, 156.
43. Maugars, 27.
44. Maugars, 27.
45. Bainsi, 316, note 636.
46. Solerti, 172.
47. Chapter III, S. Maria in Trastevere, notes 43, 44.
48. Bukofzer, 68 lists Agostini, Abbatini, Benevoli, Domenico and Virgilio Mazzocchi, Massaini and Crivelli as the chief proponents of the style.
49. It is no longer possible to maintain the position enunciated by Feininger, 'La scuola' who stated that Benevoli was 'il vero fondatore di questa tradizione gloriosissima'.

CONCLUSION

While there are some interesting comparisons to be drawn between the sacred music of north and south Italy, I have deliberately sidestepped these issues in the dissertation. The sacred music of Venice is much better known than that of Rome, and it therefore has been my concern to view the Roman field of activity in its own right. This is particularly important since 17th-century Rome has been undervalued as a centre of church music: developments in the North have been viewed as progressive and interesting, whereas Rome, if discussed at all, has simply been seen as a pale reflection of the North.

Though North-South influences are tenuous and hard to define, it is clear that there was no invisible boundary dividing the peninsula in two. North Italian composers found their way to the South and, less frequently, Roman composers spent some part of their active careers in the North. Publishers in Venice, the larger centre, saw considerable amounts of Roman music into print, whereas the reverse was not true. Cross-currents existed, but it would be wrong to set too much store by them. It was in Rome that Viadana gave the initial impetus to the small-scale motet in about 1596 and only later, through his 1602 publication, in the North. Though raised near Mantua, Viadana's influence was clearly not confined to that area: he held a number of posts in various parts of Italy, and can be credited with having fostered much of the widespread interest in the small-scale motet. Quagliati, who provided the stimulus for the large multiple-choir style in Rome, had his roots in Chioggia and would doubtless have been familiar with the music at St. Mark's, Venice and at other large churches

of the Veneto. However, the style as it developed in Rome lacked the imaginative instrumental colours and the concertato and ripieno groups of the North: instruments played a minor role, and the voices were simply grouped in equal CATB choirs. While one could argue that G.F. Anerio acquired a knowledge of the concertato idiom in Verona,¹ this explanation for the style of his 1611 Litaniae takes no account of the fact that the textural concertato style seems to have emerged no earlier in the North. From at least 1618 the sectional concertato style, 'alla romana', was recognized by Northerners as a Roman innovation. Clearly Rome was not the 'bulwark of traditionalism' as Bukofzer has claimed.

Whatever the provenance of the new idioms which so rapidly characterized the repertory, one thing is certain: Roman composers found the styles utterly natural, and there was no sense of their being imposed from outside. There is none of the artificiality that can go with a musical genre brought in from another cultural background. No parallel exists here with the export of the Italian madrigal to England, or of the English viol-consort across the Channel in France.² Though they initially showed some reluctance to set the words of the Mass in newer styles, Roman composers seldom reverted to the stile antico.

Even if the seeds of the Baroque had germinated elsewhere, Rome had fertile soil for them and they grew, developed and flourished there as successfully as anywhere else. The adoption of the new idioms was not seen in opposition to the prima prattica in Rome but as its fulfilment; in Rome there was none of the stylistic polarity found in the North, with polemical writings about the prima prattica and the seconda.³ The Romans took a pragmatic attitude towards the new styles; they adopted them on account of

the styles' suitability for limited resources, and not generally because they felt better able to express the words or to copy classical declamation. In fact the stile antico mass and the moderno motet coexisted for about thirty years, and some composers turned their hands to both styles.⁴ Such composers upheld Palestrina's music as an inspired model; but like many figure-heads his real power and influence was far more limited. The effect of Palestrina's style on the subsequent generation has been overestimated because of the exaggerated respect he has received from both historians and the Church. It is now clear that while they learned basic principles of line and fluency from him, composers rarely engaged in any direct stylistic imitation except in the masses. Musicians preferred the essential basso continuo with the possibilities that it offered for solo writing and the introduction of textural interest; moreover the relative ease of performance opened a wider range of opportunities for small choirs which had previously been forced to give inadequate renderings of stile antico compositions.

It is true that Venetians were more progressive than their Roman counterparts after about 1630. The greater place of instruments in the North stemmed from the long-standing tradition of their use at institutions such as St. Mark's, Venice, where instrumentalists were as important as the singers. Grandi, therefore, was able to introduce idiomatic parts for violin in his motets in the 1620s,⁵ but his Roman contemporaries were on the whole reluctant to do so (though instrumental doubling frequently took place). The instrumental usage in Venice received fresh impetus from the founding of the public opera in 1637.⁶ The violins from the opera house soon found their way into the churches in increasing numbers, as did the popular tunes

of the stage. Roman operas were generally spiritual in tone and patronized by the papacy or a religious institution. There were no public performances in Rome as there were in Venice and therefore operatic influence was more limited. The operatic style in church music, with tuneful melodies to the accompaniment of the string band, was slower in developing in the South.⁷ It is noteworthy that the body responsible for many of the early Jesuit dramas, the German College,⁸ seems to have been the most forward in employing musicians for liturgical functions.

Indications of the use of violins have been found at the Church of Gesù from 1623, the year in which Quagliati wrote songs with independent violin parts in his La Sfera armoniosa. Nonetheless it is not until the late 1640s with Florido's anthologies that we find hints of a nascent tradition of violin sinfonie. Carlo Cecchelli's Ecce qui mortis à 3 with two violins has an instrumental sinfonia which appears three times,⁹ while Domenico Borgiani's 1646 Sumite citharas à 2 shows that the practice of instrumental doubling was still alive.¹⁰ It is designated 'Concertato con istrumenti', yet no parts are provided; appropriately the text is 'Sumite citharas sumite liras sumite organum dulcium, et melliflua facite cantica nostra'.

Despite the minor role of the opera in cultural life, the Roman secular song found a ready audience: Caccini tells how gentlemen praised his songs and D'India relates how cardinals were impressed by his monodies.¹¹ However, the Jesuits discouraged secular song and censors ordered the excision of certain words, such as 'bacio', and 'Dio' applied to earthly love. Secular music seems to have been subject to the same decline as sacred in the 1630s, and D. Mazzocchi, among others, deplored this.¹² We have already noted a considerable stylistic divergence in dealing with Puliaschi and

G.F. Anerio¹³ - mercifully, the profusely ornamented style of Puliaschi and Kapsberger rarely spilled over into church music, though it was frequently found in Roman secular song. Another feature which distinguishes Roman secular from sacred music, and in turn from the music of elsewhere in the Italian peninsula, is the dependence on stock basses such as the Romanesca and the Ruggiero.¹⁴ Many of these patterns are overlaid with the unexpressive runs found in 16th-century singing treatises. In his 1620 publication Landi employed a more balanced and dignified style in strophic variations, as did Quagliati. This structural approach never won a place in sacred music: the pieces labelled 'aria' by V. Mazzocchi and Foggia are strophic in form,¹⁵ but they are untypical not only in their formal structure, but also in their extreme metrical regularity.

If the secular song had little stylistically in common with sacred music, the cantata of the 1630s and 1640s paralleled the development of the motet at least as far as form was concerned.¹⁶ Luigi Rossi, the most prolific writer of cantatas, was however more attracted to the solo voice than were most motet composers. His use of a series of short sections, often consisting of a recitative followed by a brief aria-like passage, follows precisely the structure of the motet; these sectionalized pieces account for one fifth of his work and have been termed 'arie a più parti'. A comparison of the cantatas of Rossi and Carissimi shows the same trend towards fewer, but more extended sections that we see in the contemporary motet. While both motet and cantata composers introduced violin sinfonie (the latter more frequently), writers of motets continued to avoid strophic forms for self-contained

sections.

The oratorio has a good deal in common with the motet as well; in fact there is one motet by Carissimi, Turbabantur impii, which also survives as an oratorio, Dammatorum lamentatio. The close connection between the two genres is emphasized by Archangelo Spagna (c.1636-after 1720):¹⁷

The Latin oratorios, in the beginning, were like those motets which are continuously sung in the choirs of the religious and formerly were heard on every feast day instead of the antiphons, graduals and offertories.

It seems that, according to Spagna, the oratorio developed out of the motet; both adopted the sectionalized form of the cantata and its short recitative and aria sections. By the mid-century there are considerable problems in ascertaining the genre of a particular piece: Mario Savioni used the expression 'cantata for an oratory' and in 1650 Kircher referred to Carissimi's Jepthe as a dialogue, a term common in motet collections even in the 1620s.¹⁸ As suggested in the title of this dissertation, I have dealt specifically with pieces intended for liturgical use and excluded the oratorio: if a volume is labelled 'Motecta' or 'Sacrae modulationes' it is clear that the pieces were intended for the liturgy, even if some items show obvious similarities with the related genre. Certainly some of the more extended narrative motets could have been performed in the context of meetings in an oratorio.

Music by the Roman school of composers seems to have been widely accepted in northern Europe.¹⁹ The work of the German College also seems to have had an impact on musical life in the Teutonic North.²⁰ Given the considerable esteem in which Roman musicians were widely held, it seems strange that they have fallen into relative

oblivion in comparison with those of northern Italy.

The Church moved out of the period of austere, fervent Catholic Reformation to one of increasing flamboyancy and triumphalism in the 1620s. As far as music printing was concerned, the saturation point was reached in around 1620 and, at least to a small extent, the decline in publications was compounded by the economic effects of the Venetian plague. The 1640s was a time of renewed production after the previous decade, but this period did not witness the same rapid growth as at the beginning of the century. Composers rarely brought out their own works, but they now firmly asserted the independence of their style from its contrapuntal antecedents. As Smith remarked:²¹

Rome played a leading role in the cultivation of the Latin motet for single voice or small vocal ensemble. This flourished beside the chamber cantata which it at first clearly resembled and which had grown in importance and sophistication as the Roman opera declined in the 1630s.

Graziani was especially important in this, and his reintroduction of the solo motet in Rome was greeted with more success than its previous appearance earlier in the century. Recitative became an important feature of these motets and in some anthologies the continuo player was given a score to facilitate accompaniment.²²

One example of this is in Aperuit portas à 3 by Graziani from RISM 1650¹ which opens with a lengthy solo for canto. The same anthology contains a setting of Venite omnes gentes by Paolo Tarditi where a contrasting approach to rhythm is evident; this piece is an instance of the 'walking' crotchet bass which composers increasingly favoured in the 1650s. The plague of 1656 must have temporarily affected the progress of this incipient musical re-awakening: by losing only ten per cent of her population Rome was

spared the suffering of Genoa and Naples where over half the inhabitants perished.²³

Urban VIII introduced a humanistic spirit of artistic patronage; his pontificate was a time of increasing preoccupation with worldly affairs, in which even the Jesuits were involved. Under Innocent X remarkable artistic and architectural patronage was maintained;²⁴ this largely centred on the area of the Piazza Navona where the Palazzo Pamphili, the Church of S. Agnese and Bernini's Fountain of the Four Rivers were his major projects. Innocent's pontificate was characterized by the work of Bernini and Borromini; he continued the generous policy towards art and architecture of his predecessor Urban VIII. The papal court was infused with a mood of secularism and its extravagant conduct vied with the palaces of secular monarchs. Spanish influence, more powerful later in the century, gave rise to a new mysticism, exemplified in Bernini's Ecstasy of St. Teresa; this fostered a spirit of quietism, and pervasive religious and ethical apathy.²⁵ This was an insidious attitude, one which allowed much of the moral strength that the Church had gained during the previous century to slip away while the institution preserved the 'form of godliness'.

Nonetheless this was a period of rich artistic achievement and music continued to hold an important place in cultural life. Apart from that of Carissimi, little is known about Roman church music of the mid-century. The oratorio musicale was flourishing, but what was happening in the liturgical sphere? Textbooks have tended to steer us away from Venice in about 1650 in favour of the consideration of Bologna and Rome. Bologna and particularly the church of S. Petronio have been seen as thriving centres of liturg-

ical music,²⁶ while Rome is viewed merely as the home of the oratorio. At this point we uncover a further terra incognita as far as Roman liturgical music is concerned. This would merit detailed consideration, but it is improbable that the musical life of the mid-century matched the intense activity of the early years of the seicento. Jean Lionnet has completed work on the artistic achievements of the Chigi, the family of Alexander VII, and has found that the support given to liturgical music by Flavio Chigi while titular at S.Maria del Popolo seems to have been considerable.²⁷

Returning, then, to the era we have considered, one may perhaps hope that this dissertation will lead to a rediscovery by performers of this forgotten period in which creative activity ranged from elegant miniatures to the splendours of the multiple-choir style. A whole musical tradition capable of attracting the populace to particular churches as well as moving diarists to impassioned eulogies has been unjustly neglected.

It is probably no exaggeration to say that this corpus of music stands worthily alongside many of the glories of the Veneto. Certainly Romans were more restrained and more sensitive to liturgical pressures, but this did not affect the quality of the music. The achievements of Palestrina and Carissimi enclose the period, yet it would be far from the truth to regard it as a lull before the rise of the latter. The number of composers active exceeds the number working during the lifetimes of these men, for everyone wished to try their hand at the small-scale motet in particular and this led to an expansion in music publishing. Between them the composers of the primo seicento, mostly minor names unrecorded in history books, developed a style, a characteristically Roman seconda prattica, which did not imply a

rejection of the Palestrinian idiom and which complemented other artistic manifestations of the spirit of Roma triumphans.

NOTES

1. He was active in Verona from 1609 to 1611; he would certainly have encountered music by Northern composers while there.
2. Mersenne, iii, 198-201 deals with the English viol-consort; though this genre was much admired in France and a few imitations were produced, it never really became part of the French musical tradition.
3. Some examples of these writings are found in Strunk, 393-412. The Artusi-Monteverdi debate is discussed in Palisca, 'The Artusi-Monteverdi Controversy'.
4. This happened to a lesser extent in the North (see Roche, 'Monteverdi and the Prima Prattica').
5. In three books of Motetti.....con sinfonie..... of 1621, 1625 and 1629, discussed in Roche, North Italian Liturgical Music, 263-69.
6. On the Venetian opera see Worsthorne.
7. Roche detects the updated Roman idiom in a motet by Leardini (see Roche, 'Liturgical Music in Italy', 368-69).
8. Agazzari's pastoral drama Eumelio was performed there in 1606; many libretti remain of other dramas performed there in I-Rc.
9. In RISM 1647².
10. Sacri concentus a bina ad quinam usque vocem decantandi (Rome, 1646)
11. Fortune, Italian Secular Song, 24.
12. Ibid., 20
13. See above, 217-18.
14. Fortune, Italian Secular Song, 17, 21, 23, 356-63.
15. See above, 283-84.
16. Abraham, 299-303 discusses the cantata in Rome; his brief survey is of value for giving the formal plan of two cantatas, one by Rossi, the other by Carissimi.

17. Smither, A History, i, 210.
18. Ibid., i, 221.
19. The Polish Kings employed a succession of Roman musicians (see Feicht), and many of their works were issued in anthologies. I have discussed elsewhere the popularity of Roman composers in the Low Countries in the 1650s (see Dixon, 'Durham Chapter Library').
20. Culley, 'The Influence'.
21. Smith, 372.
22. Quagliati's 1620 publication has this type of continuo part (see above, 246-47).
23. Cipolla, 76.
24. Innocent X's artistic patronage is discussed in Pastor, xxx, 381-411.
25. See Wittkower, 89-95.
26. On S. Petronio see Schnoebelen.
27. See Lionnet.

Appendix IDocument I

Agazzari, Agostino, La musica ecclesiastica dove si contiene la vera diffinitione della musica come scienza non più veduta, e sua nobiltà.

(Siena, 1638)

La musica secondo Platone nella sua Republica vien cōposta dell' Oratione, dell'Armonia, e del Ritmo; e quindi è che io per vera intelligenza di lei, estraendola dalle perpetue tenebre, hò voluto darli vita, e l'essere, non come serva, mà come nobil Signora, non come arte da tutti stimata, ma come Scienza sopra l'altre terrene, che hà le sue dimostrationsi, come prova il dotto Zerlino nelle sue dimostrationsi. Per tanto io, col lume, e scotta del già detto Platone arditamente afferisco.

La Musica, e Scienza de Numeri sonori, quali ben composti del Musico all'intento, e fine dell'Oratione, molto meglio muovono, per mezzo dell'Armonia la dirò in Latino per chi la volesse.

Musica est Scientia de numeris sonoris, qui ad mentem Orationis à Musico rite dispositi, per armoniam magis movent. Questa à me pare la sua vera diffinitione, composta del genere, e differenza, e delle quattro cause, delle quali hora discorrere, mà sendo il mio intento ragionar di lei, in quanto Musica di S. Chiesa hoggi traviata dal buono, e dal decoro cōtro il fine di essa, e di Dio che la governa, però ad ogn'altro più dotto & intendente di me, la lassardò trattare in se stessa; Solo mi basta voglino aggradire, e ricever la presente mia diffinitione, ò descrittione, per conoscenza, e grandezza di questa Humana & Angelica Scienza, della quale i numeri sonori servono all'armonia, e l'armonia all'

oratione, come dice Marsilio Ficino ne'Comentari di Platone con queste parole. Denique armonia orationem sequi debet, non oratio armoniam.

Dalla detta diffinitione ogn'un potrà intender gl'effetti della Musica antica, celebrata dalli Scrittori, cioè come Antegeride Musico ò ver Timoteo, accese Alessandro Magno à prender l'armi, come quel Filosofo fece placar un giovine infuriato; col far mutare il Canto, e mille altri effetti, quali tralassando addurrò solo quello di David col Rè Saul & io senza iattantia, solo à gloria della Musica hò fatto piangere molti personaggi per devotione insino un Principe grande, & altre prove, dal che si conoscono gl'effetti degni dell'oratione con l'armonia, sendo che l'armonia sola non può muover l'intelletto, e la ragione, ma dispor l'animo, molto meglio con l'armonia, quale hà simpathia con esso; & à questo fine li Greci trovarono più forti di Canti, chiamati Canto Lidio, Phrigio, Dorico, &c. de quali altro serviva a cose gravi, e meste, altro à cose heroiche, e lode de i Dei, & altro à parole lascive, & amorse à guisa delle nostre arie, & à fine di ciò i Savi di Grecia, come si legge nell'histoire loro, proibirono un tempo simili arie profane della Musica, per la mala conseguenza, che facevano ne gli animi de popoli, e delle donne, stimandoli indegni & indecenti nelle piazze, e case proprie; Esempio veramente à confusione de nostri'tempi; dal quale si può argomentare quanto simili cantilene si convenghino in Santa Chiesa, Casa di Iddio, che sono riputate indegne nelle case de gl'huomini.

Ma alcuno mi dirà, che se bene vi sono l'arie, non per questo vi sono le parole lascive; & io rispondo che ciò non basta à levar l'inconvenienti, perche si contrafà al decreto del Sacro

Concilio di Trento, à gl'ordini de Sommi Pontefici, alle dottrine di molti Santi, e Sacri Dottori, come si dirà appresso, e di più repugna al detto di Platone, poiche sendo l'oratione parte principale della Musica, à quella su hà da obbedire, e da quella si deve cavare la qualità dell'armonia: Hora se nelle parole di Sacra Scrittura, dettata da chi gl'e, ve ne sono di tal leggerezza, e somiglianza alle canzone profane, e secolari, giudicatelo voi. Lasso altre ragioni, che à suo tempo si diranno, solo dirò un caso à proposito avvenuto nella mia Città al mio tempo qual'è, che sonando un Organista debole in una Chiesa la Spagnoletta, ò somigliante, trovandovisi un scemo, e sentendo dal sonata si levo à ballare in tal modo, che fece correre quelli Religiosi à cavarlo di Chiesa, con riso, e disturbo del Popolo. Dunque si puol con ragione considerar quel che può ragionar nelli menti di persone pie, e devote tale abuso; e quanto offenda il sentir le parole sacre in simil'arie, e balli: finalmente per venire al mio tema proposto dirò, che la Musica Ecclesiastica sia quel canto, & armonia animata dalle sacre parole, à fine di cantar le glorie, e lodi di Iddio in Santa Chiesa ad imitation del Cielo.

Hora per mostrar questo canto Ecclesiastico, e per meglio intenderlo, convien considerarlo dalla forma, che sono le sacre parole, dal fine qual'è la lode di Iddio, dal luogo, che è Santa Chiesa, dall'autorità de Profeta David, del Concilio di Trento, da Sommi Pontefici, da Santi Dottori, &c.

Le parole della S. Scrittura, che danno la forma altre sono dell'istesso Dio, quando parla a noi ne i Profeti, ò nell'Evangelio, altre sono dell'istessi Profeti, e Santi, dettati dallo Spirito Santo, con le quali, ò parlano à Dio, ò con Dio, mostrando, e lodando la sua

Bontà: in qualunque modo egli sia, dobbiamo veder la maniera e prudenza con che Dio, e Santi parlano; dunque volendo il Musico vestir dette parole della sua armonia, vuole insieme vestirli della medesima persona, e prudenza, e mantenere il dovuto decoro e non riccorer leggiermente all'arie balli, e comedie, come si usa da molti.

Il fine, qual'è la lode, e grandezza dell'opere di Dio, come nel Salmo, Cantate Domino canticum novum laus eius in Ecclesia Sanctorum, e quel che segue, e nel Salmo 150 e in molti altri, si come nell'Apocalisse cap. 14. e 15. e nel cap 19. S. Giovanni udì cantare in Cielo, Laus et Gloria, &c e doppo s'udì una voce dal Trono, che disse, Laudem dicite Deo nostro omnes Sancti eius, &c. e nel primo libro de Patalipomenon cap. 15 quando il Santo Re David, ordinò & istituì la Musica, e Cantori, e Sonatori per far melodia avanti l'Arca, e compose alcuni Salmi per metterli in Musica, et cantarli in quella occasione, si come egli stesso fece sonando avanti l'Arca; e questo medesimo ordine seguì, & ampliò Rè Salomone, dal che si può considerar che sante, pie, e gioconde melodie fussero quella, tanto in riguardo dell'Arca, quanto in riguardo della presenza Regia, oltre che delle parole, e senso di detti Salmi, come anco dalle parole, che i Santi cantono nel Cielo, registrate nell'Apocalisse, e facil cosa comprender la qualità dell'armonia; Dunque se tanto si premera avanti l'Arca che era figura, quanto si deve premere avanti lo stesso Dio, & Angeli, le lasso giudicare.

Il luogo e Santa Chiesa, Casa di Dio, e di Oratione, e pieno d' ogni Santità, dove non solo le Musiche, ma etiamdio gl'istessi Musici, e Cantori dovrebbero esser Santi, e devoti, ad esempio de

cantori del Rè David quale elesse la Tribù Sacerdotale di Levi per cantar; e sonare avanti l'Arca, onde convenendo al Popolo Cristiano stare in Chiesa con devotione, & humilita adorando, e lodando Dio, à questo deve esser'acceso, & invitato dalle Musiche, e in questo modo si deve comporre, e cantare, e non per compiacimento loro, e dar gusto al Popolo. lo che aborrisce Dio, e, non ascolte arie, che si cantano per le piazze, e ritrovi di donne, e nelle commedie, e serenate, e similmente odià, e non accetta i Musici vani, e gorgie loro, come avvenne ad alcuni Musici di bel cantare, quali cantando esquisitamente con molta loro compiacenza, e senza devotione s'udì una voce per aria che lodò solamente un cantore puro, devoto, e da bene fra essi, qual'era roco, con queste parole: Solus raucus exauditus est. E nel Prato fiorito al primo libro cap. 21. esempio 10. Si legge come cantando alcuni cantori in una Solennità molto curiosamente e vana compiacenza, fù veduto il Diavolo sopra l'Organo empire un gran sacco de'loro canti; dal che si può argomentare quanto spiaccino a Dio l'aria di canzone lascive, e di balli & io stessa ho sentito Salmi, e Motetti, composti nella Ciaccona, e nella Gagliarda, & arie profane note al Mondo, & insino le parole Sante della Messa, tutte cose che distolgono la mente da Dio, lusingando col diletto sensuale, e curiosità, qual sorte di Musica detesta. S. Agostino nel decimo libro delle Confessioni, cap. 33.

Dell'Autorità del Profeta David, addurò solo fra le altre quella del Salmo 146. Laudate Dominum, quoniam bonus est Psalmus, Deo nostro sit iucunda, decora aq; laudatio. Questo medesimo repeta, & à questo ci esorta San Tommaso nell'Hinno del Sacramento: Sit laus plena, sit sonora, sit iucunda sit decora, mentis iubilatio.

Chi puol dubitar qui della nobiltà, decoro, e bellezza della Musica di Santa Chiesa, quale deve esser gioconda all'orecchio, con l'animo come dice l'Eminentis. Bell'Armino, e decora maestosa, e soave, condecante al luogo, & alla persona, che apportì devotione, allegria, e contento à chi l'ascolta.

Il Sacro Concilio di Trento bandisce da Santa Chiesa ogni canto, e suono, che rappresenti ò adduca à memoria canti, e balli profani, ò arie lascive, come nel Decreto de observandis et imitandis in celebratione Missa Sess. 22.

Il medesimo dice Navarra cap. 25 nom. 29 S. Girolamo nell'Epistola ad Ephesios cap. 9 riprende colora, che cantano nella Chiesa, come se fusser nella tragedia, ò teatro, lo che conferma S. Tommaso 22. quest. 91 art 2 ad secundum. San Carlo De vita, & honestate clericor. cap. 13. Detesta non solo i canti profani, ma ancor le gorgie, volendo che il canto sia puro, pio, e s'intendino le parole. Papa Giovanni 22. nella Stravag. Docta Sanctorum, commanda che si bandisca, e scacci dalla Chiesa quelmodo di comporre, e cantare, che toglie la devotione, & induce lascivia.

Finalmente hò detto à bastanza a pro, e favore della Musica Ecclesiastica; horò dirò qualche cosa del Musica, acciò si fugga tal abuso. Dico dunque che il Musico per la Chiesa, sia quello a cui si adatta la diffinitione di sopra; e però non basta la scienza de contraponto sola, a costruire il Musico, nè meno la cognitione dell'Oratione, ma l'una, ed'altra insieme accompagnata con la prudenza, che si ricerca in riguardo de fine e del luogo, &c. Ma per venir più all'individuo, dico che detto Musico sarà quello, quale cavando l'armonia dal sentimento della Scrittura l'accompagna col significato delle parole, e fine di Santa Chiesa.

Stante dunque questa propositione, mi sento obligato di avvisar quei tali, che per comporre i lor capricci, & inventioni, spezzano e stroppiano la Sacra Scrittura, prendendo le parole di quà, e di là, con diversione del senso, stiracchiandole a lor fine, senza decoro, nè riverenza di essa, non considerando chi parla in essa, nè a chi si parla, dal che nascono molte indignità, dirò per esempio come trovandomi ad un Vespero, sentij cātare in un Coro, Domine ad adiuvandum me festina, e l'altro Coro rispondeva, festina, festina Domine, e replicava il primo, Domine Domine festina, ad adiuvandum, & in simili sproposti lo rivolgevano più volte con vilta, e riso di chi l'ascoltava; taccio del Gloria Patri per riverenza nel modo che lo travolgono, & io stesso l'hò sentito cantar sopra la Ciaccona; di più si scorre in qualche heresia per ignoranza, come accadde in una Chiesa, che un Coro di Musica cantava le parole del Credo, Non erit finis, e l'altro a guisa d'Ecco rispondeva, Erit finis, e questo basti per li molti propositi, & indignità, che nascono da compositori che non intendono, e pur si vedono nelle stampe senza provvedimento alcuno; questo poco hò voluto dire per honor' è zelo di S. Chiesa, e riputatione, e difesa della Musica, la quale non per sua colpa, ma per difetto di chi non l'intende, ha corso naufragio in più tempi, da diversi Sommi Pontefici, che l'hanno voluta bandire da S. Chiesa, per la tanta cōfusione, e zuppa delle parole ne loro contraponti, e fughe.

Per fine dirò che si come l'Oratione, Poesia soggetto della Musica, hanno diverse materie, diversi fini, e sentimenti, onde sonate tante sorti di poesie, e rime, così la Scrittura Sacra ha diversità di mistierij, e pēsieri. E però il Musico, che ha da sottoporre l'armonia all'oratione, deve far distintione dall'Hinni,

Mottetti, e Salmi, che sono rime, e canzone spirituali, dalla Messa, e Credo tutto pieno di misterij, qual deve cātarsi devoto, distinto, e senza confusione, lontano da arie mondane, e dallo strepito, e ribattimento di tante fughe, che lo confondono, e tolgono il senso, e offuscano i misterij; non essendo la Chiesa teatro di far mostra del lor sapere, ma le Scuole, & Academie, per la qual cosa la Sacra Congregatione de'Riti, provvedendo à tali abusi ha ordinato, che il Credo nella Messa si canti tutto in Coro con le voci, e senza Organo, & a questo esempio quando si canta da musici in Cappella, dovrebbe cantarsi in stile devoto, puro, e distinto, che si comprendino i misterij, e gl'Articoli, che contiene, e questo è il mio patere rimettendomi, &c.

Della Nobiltà, & Eccellenza della Musica.

La Nobiltà della Scienza si cōnosce dalli suoi principij, dalla forma e materia del fine, & Agente, e ch'ella sia eterna, come dice Aristotile, per la qual cosa la Teologia, perche hà per suo principio, oggetto, forma, e fine Iddio, tiene il primo luogo; doppo la quale vedo io venir la Musica, che ha il suo principio da Dio ne gli Angeli e ne gl'Huomini, la sua forma è la melodia delle sue lodi, la materia sono i numeri sonori, quali come spirituali, & incorrottibili hanno simpathia, e s'internano nell'animo, lo muovono, e cibano. Il fine e l'istessa lode, e gaudio; gl'Agenti sono gl'Angeli, e Santi nel Cielo, e gl'huomini in terra. E se la Teologia discorre circa l'Essenza, e grandezza dal Opere di Dio, la Musica le canta avanti l'istesso, come nell'Apocalisse: Ch'ella sia eterna dicalo S. Giovanni, qual senti cantare il

Sanctus senza mai cessare, e S. Chiesa dic; sine fine, e David Profeta, Misericordias Domini in eternum cantabo, si che alla Musica conviene il nome della più nobil scienza di tutte l'altre sublunari, quali finiranno col mondo, ma ella diverà con l'Eternità del Paradiso, quale e suo luogo con le lodi, e gloria di Dio, che sono suo fine, & oggetto, con i Santi, & Angeli, quali cono suo Agente, e sempre s'i diranno cantare nel Cielo, e far'eterne melodie, quali Sua Divina Maesta ci conceda sentire, e godere per sua bontà.

Il fine.

Document II

Secret Vatican Archives: Miscellanea Arm. VII. 39

Collectan. Sac. Visit. Aptic sub Alex. PP. VIJ, Tom II, f. 62-62^v

La Cong.^{ne} della Sacra Visita Apost.^{ca} sopra li Canti ne divini

Officij:

D'ordine espresso della Sanità di N.S. datoci à bocca s'ordine, e strettamente comanda à tutti li Rev.^{mi} Sacrestani, Capellani, Custodi, Prefetti, ò qualsiv.^a altro nome chiamati, si delle Patriarchali, come di qualsiv.^a altra Chiesa tanto scolare, come Regolare, etiam mendicanti d'huomini, e Donne, et anco degl' Hospedali, e d'altri luoghi pij, che non ardischino per l'avvenire fare, ò permettere nelle loro Chiesa, Archiconfraternità, Università, Radunanze, et Oratorij tanto pubblici quanto privati tra li divini Officij, Canti ò suoni ad immitat.^{ne} d'arie profane, ne meno d' altre parole, che dell'off.^o corrente ò della Sacra Scrittura in quella forma, che in essa seguitam.^{te} si leggono senz'aggiunta alcuna, e senza mutar l'antifone sotto penna della sospens.^{ne} dell'off.^o e rispettivam.^{te} della privat.^{ne} dell'entrate di quel mese all'ufficiale transgressore, et a quelli, che non sono capaci delle dette pene, sotto pene pecuniarie, et altre à nro arbitrio, e nell' istesse penne s'intendino compresi li compositori, e musici resp.^{ti}, nelle quali pene s'intendono incorrere ipso facto che si sarà transgredito.

Di più s'ordina strettam.^{te} alle RR Madre Badesse, Presidenti, Priore, Ministre, Vicarie, et altre Superiore, et ufficiali di tutti li Monasterij de Monache, che non ostante qualsiv.^a protett.^{ne}, privilegio, essentione, ò consuetudine etiam che siano sotto poste

à Regolari non ardischino per l'avvenire fare, ò permettere
Musiche solenne, se non nelli giorni delle feste principali del
titolo, ò Padrone delle loro Chiese sotto pena della privatione
dell'off.^o, e della voce attiva, e passiva da incorrersi ipso facto
senz'altro dichiarazione, et altre pene à noi Riservate. Et in
oltre nelle loro Chiese, quando cantano li musici, non debbono
le monache cantare insieme con essi, ò vicenna. Similmente si
prohibisce, che non debbano permettere, che si faccino palchi
vicino alle ferrate, ò canto in modo, che si possa parlare con
le monache sotto le medesime pene; Ne meno ammettere Mastro
alcuno ad insegnare di canto, ò di strumenti alle crate, ò in altri
luoghi de Monasterij, senz'espressa licenza sottoscritta dall
Em.^{mo} Sig.^r Card.^e Vicario pro tempore sotto l'istessa pena come
di sopra. Dato in Roma nel luogo della solita Cong.^{ne} li 20
Ottobre 1639

Appendix II

Revisions to New Grove

Agostini, Paolo

His name is also found in the form Paolo Augustini Nannini (see archives of the Arciconfraternita dell'Orazione e Morte, Libro 216, Compotista 1614 sino 1626, 81). He was appointed to S. Lorenzo in Damaso in May 1618 not in 1619, and there is no evidence that he was vice-maestro or anything less than maestro there (see the record of his appointment, archives of S.Lorenzo in Damaso, Acta et Decreta Capitularia ab Anno 1614 Usque ad Annum 1737).

Antonelli, Abundio

He was very probably maestro at the Gesù and Seminario Romano in around 1620 (see archives of the Gesù, Libro 2006, Libro Dell' entrate et spese della Sacestia Dall'anno 1620, November 17, 1620 and November 9, 1621).

Benevoli, Orazio

He was appointed to S.Maria in Trastevere in January 1624 (see archives of S.Maria in Trastevere, Libro 266, Riceute de Ministri e Cappellani dal 1617 sin al 1637, unfoliated)

Capece, Alessandro

It appears from Sacchetti-Sasseti, 144 that he assumed the post of organist over a year after becoming maestro.

Carpani, Giovanni

He must have been at S.Spirito in Sassia after 1642 since RISM 1647²,

1648¹, 1649² and 1650¹ give him as holder of the post.

Catalani, Ottavio

He was employed at the German College for some years up to 1613, but definitely left the post in April of that year; the letter which confirms this is in Culley, A study, 126-27.

Cavi, Filippo

He was organist at S. Agostino from at least August 1641 (see archives of S. Agostino, Libro 92, Ricevute dal 1638 al 1653, f. 34). There are also three motets by him in RISM 1642¹.

Cecchelli, Carlo

From 1642 he was maestro at the Gesù and Seminario Romano (see Villoslada, 115-16). He was probably still in Rome in 1650 (see RISM 1650¹).

Cima, Tullio

One further church post is recorded for him; his 1625 publication gives him as maestro at the Seminario Romano and the Gesù.

Costantini, Alessandro

According to Raeli, 20 he was organist at S. Maria Maggiore from April 1635 to March 1643. Cametti ['Girolamo Frescobaldi', 747] notes that he was Ercole Pasquini's substitute as organist at St. Peter's from June to November 1608.

Costantini, Fabio

In 1635 and 1636 he served in some capacity at S. Maria in Trastevere (see archives of S. Maria in Trastevere, Libro 272, Libro Dell' Amministrazione della Sagrestia Contiene l'Uscita dal 1624 sino

al 1638 Vi è anche l'anno 1643, f. 79^V).

Diruta, Agostino

The complex details of Diruta's time at S. Agostino are discussed in the section of the thesis concerned with that church.

Fabri, Stefano

He was maestro at the Gesù and Seminario Romano in 1638, leaving the post before December 1639 (see archives of the Gesù, Libro 2009, Entrata e Uscita per la Sagrestia del Giesu di Roma).

Ferrini, Giovanni Battista

According to M Jean Lionnet he was organist at S. Luigi dei Francesi from 1619 to 1623.

Foggia, Francesco

He must have been appointed at St. John Lateran before 1646, since RISM 1642¹, 1643¹ and 1645¹ name him as the holder of the post.

Giamberti, Giuseppe

He was organist at the Arciconfraternita dell'Orazione e Morte from September 1620 until at least May 1626 (see archives of the Arciconfraternita dell'Orazione e Morte, Libro 216, Compotista 1614 sino 1626, 120 ff.).

Gregori, Annibale

According to his publication of 1635, he was maestro at the cathedral in Siena in that year.

Massenzio, Domenico

He could well have been maestro at the Gesù for a short time towards the end of 1623 (see archives of the Gesù, 'Libro 2006; Libro Dell'entrate et spese della Sacestia Dall'anno 1620).

Mazzocchi, Virgilio

The posts of maestro at the Gesù and Seminario Romano were held in plurality. He was also maestro at the English College for the feast of St Thomas between 1632 and 1644 (see Casimiri, 'Disciplina musicae' xx (1943), 14-15).

Nanino, Giovanni Bernardino

He died before May 26, 1618 (see archives of S.Lorenzo in Damaso, Acta et Decreta Capitularia ab Anno 1614 Usque ad Annum 1737).

Porro, Giovanni Giacomo

He was not appointed at S.Lorenzo in Damaso until February 1626 (see Acta et Decreta Capitularia ab Anno 1614 Usque ad Annum 1737, February 15, 1626).

Puliaschi, Giovanni Domenico

He died on June 10, 1622 (see archives of S.Maria in Cosmedin, Libro IV-2, Decreti Capitolari Lib.o II (1618-51), f. 18). He was appointed to the position of canon at the church in September 1614 (see archives of S.Maria in Cosmedin, Libro IV-1, Decreti Capitolari Lib I (1584-1616), 143).

Quagliati, Paolo

His instrumental publication of 1601 (Sartori 1601b) gives him as organist of S.Maria Maggiore, earlier than implied in New Grove.

Ratti, Lorenzo

His 1617 publication states that he was maestro at the Seminario Romano.

Rossi, Michelangelo

He was at S.Luigi dei Francesi as organist from March 1630 until 1632, according to Jean Lionnet.

Sabbatini, Pietro Paolo

He was maestro at the Arciconfraternita dell'Orazione e Morte from at least October 1627 until at least January 1629. Though he was appointed to S.Luigi dei Francesi in February 1629, it is possible that he continued at the Arciconfraternita until the appointment of Antonio Cecchini in September 1630 (see archives of Arciconfraternita dell'Orazione e Morte, Libro 112, Libro Delli Decreti Dal 6 Aprile 1607 al 19 Marzo 1632, f. 203^V). He is mentioned as maestro on January 8, 1629 (see archives, Libro 421, Reg.^{to} De Mandati Della [...] Compag.^a Della Morte [...] 16[...] 1647) and on March 30, 1629 a payment was made to the maestro for the previous three months' music, implying that there had been no change of maestro. Moreover Sabbatini was present at a general meeting of the confraternity on November 11, 1629, ten months after being appointed to S.Luigi (see Libro 112, f. 194).

Vannini, Bernardino

It is not possible that Vannini became maestro at Viterbo cathedral in 1647 since RISM 1647¹ gives this as a post formerly held by him.

Vitali, Filippo

He was born in 1599 (see Kast, 'Biographische', 68-69).

Manuscript motets in DDR-Bds, held by New Grove to be by Filippo Vitali, cannot be by this composer since they are clearly 18th-century works.

Zoilo, Cesare

He could have been organist at S.Spirito in Sassia after 1621, possibly as late as 1628 (see Allegra, 30-31). More archival work would be necessary to establish a more exact date.

Appendix IIIRevisions to RISM

Abbatini, Antonio Maria, Il terzo libro de sacre canzoni a due, tre, quattro, cinque, e sei voci (Rome, 1634). Only the cover of the second cantus book survives in I-0c; inside this cover is part of Stamegna's Sacrarium modulationum....liber primus (Rome, 1637).

Agazzari, Agostino, Psalmi, ac Magnificat, qui in vesperis solemnioribus decantantur....opus decimum tertium (Venice, 1611). The SAT and Quinto part-books are in I-Bc, not I-Nc.

Agazzari, Agostino, Eucharisticum melos, tum singularibus, tum variis vocibus degustandum....opus vigesimum (Rome, 1625). The first canto part-book lacks pages 9, 10, 15 and 16. Only the cover of the bass part-book survives; inside the cover is a manuscript of anonymous Vespers hymns for tenor from about 1660.

Agostini, Paolo, Liber secundus missarum....Missa ad canones pro vigilijs, ac ferijs, quator vocibus (Rome, 1626 (1625)). The publication does not exist; the entry in RISM is due to the fact that the second half of his Missarum liber posthumus (Rome, 1630) has a title-page 'Liber Secundus Missarum A.D. 1626'. RISM compilers have taken this as the beginning of another book bound with the first, rather than simply a sectional heading.

Anerio, Giovanni Francesco, Motecta singulis, binis, ternisque vocibus concinenda, una cum basso ad organum accomodata (Rome, 1609). A second edition (Rome, 1620) is found in I-Bc.

Anerio, Giovanni Francesco, Litaniae deiparae virginis, septem, octonisque vocibus decantandae, una cum quatuor illis antiphonis, quae pro varietate temporum post completorium cani solent (Rome, 1619). This work is not in the catalogue at I-Rc.

Anerio, Giovanni Francesco, Missa pro defunctis quaternis vocibus cum sequentia, & responsorio.....diligenter correctata a Petro Paolo Sabbatino cum additionis tractus, & bassi continui commoditate canentium (Rome, 1649). Copies of this work are found in I-Rsmt and in the Archivio del duomo, Frascati.

Arsilli, Sigismondo, Messa, e vespri della Madonna, a quattro voci concertati co'l basso continuo (Rome, 1621). No tenor part-book in D-Müs.

Capocci, Alessandro, Motecta binis, ternis, quaternis vocibus decantanda, liber tertius, opus quartum (Venice, 1632). RISM gives the date of this as 1633.

Cifra, Antonio, Motecta quae binis, ternis, quaternis vocibus concinuntur.....liber quartus, opus octavum (Rome, Soldi, 1609). This work is entered in error: the first canto and continuo part-books have different call-marks, making there appear to be two editions. The same error is responsible

for the entry of a second edition of his Motecta quae binis, ternis, quaternis vocibus concinuntur, una cum basso ad organum accomodata.....liber octavus, opus decimumseptimum (Rome, 1615). In reality I-LA possesses one first canto part and one organ part of each work.

Cifra, Antonio, Salmi septem, qui in vesperis ad concentus varietatem interponuntur, quaternis vocibus, cum basso ad organum.....opus decimum (Rome, 1619). This work is not found in I-Bc.

Cifra, Antonio, Missarum liber primus (Rome, 1619). There is also a copy in I-Bc.

Cifra, Antonio, Psalmi sacrique concentus octo vocibus, et organo concinendi (Assisi, 1620) was reprinted in the following year as Psalmorum, sacrorumque concentuum octo vocibus, & organo concinendorum, liber secundus, editio prima (Assisi, 1621). RISM gives these as two unconnected publications.

Diruta, Agostino, Davidicae modulationes, et litaniae B. Virginis.....Opus XVIII (Rome, 1646) is not a reprint of Davidicae modulationes tribus vocibus concinendae, una cum basso ad organum.....opera decima octava (Venice, 1641).

Giamberti, Giuseppe, Antiphonae et motecta festis omnibus propria, et communia, juxta formam Breviarij Romani; una cum plurimis, quae dominicis per annum aptari possunt, binis, ternis, quaternisque vocibus concinenda (Rome, 1650). A copy of the bass part-book survives in the Archivio del duomo, Frascati.

Grandis, Vincenzo de, Psalmi de vesperas, et motecta octonis vocibus quorum aliqua concertata cum litanis B.M.V.....liber primus (Rome, 1604). This is not included in the catalogue of I-Rvat-barberini.

Massenzio, Domenico, Davidica psalmodia vespertina integra, et bipartita, in totius anni festivitibus, quaternis vocibusuna cum litanis.....et gravi ad organum parte depulsandaliber septimus, opus XVII (Rome, 1643). There is no canto part in I-Rsgf, and no parts are at present in I-Rsmt.

Micheli, Romano, Psalmi ad officium vesperarum musicis notis expressi, et ternis vocibus decantandi, una cum parte organica.....liber primus (Rome, 1610). Complete set in I-Bc.

Moretti, Nicola, Sacrorum canticorum octonis vocibus cum basso ad organum.....op. 1. (Rome, 1623). The sole copy of this (I-MC) was destroyed during the Second World War.

Pace, Vincenzo, Novem Magnificat in singulis tonis, binis, ternis, quaternis vocibus varie concinendae, una cum basso ad organum, liber primus, opus quartum (Rome, 1618). There is no trace of this in I-FA.

Rossi, Cristoforo, Sacrae modulationes, quae vulgo motecta dicuntur, binis, ternis, & quaternis vocibus concinendae, una cum basso ad organum.....liber primus (Rome, 1629). No date is given in RISM.

Serperio, Francesco, Missa et vespertinum officium dominicale quatuor vocibus concinen. Cum basso ad organum (Rome, 1631)

Not included in RISM: a set of part-books, published by Robletti, survives in I-Bc.

Tarditi, Paolo, Missae Hieronymi Columnae..... (Rome, 1630). No copy of this is found in I-Rsg.

RISM 1620¹: Scelta de Salmi à 8, Magnificat, Antifone, cioè, Regina caeli, Ave Regina caelorum, Alma Redemptoris. Et Litaniae della Madonna. De diversi eccellentissimi autori. Post' in luce da Fabio Constantini romano maestro di Cappella dell'illustrissima città d'Orvieto con il basso continuo per l'organo. Libro quinto. Opera seconda. (Orvieto, 1620)

The last folio of a copy of the tenor part-book survives in I-Oc.

Salmi, Magnificat, & Motetti à sei, con la Sequentia di Pasqua di Resurrectione à Otto Concertata di diversi eccellentissimi autori, posti in luce da Fabio Costantini Romano....con il basso continuo per sonare. Opera sesta. Libro primo. (Orvieto, Heredi del Zannetti, 1621). A copy of the first tenor part-book of this anthology, unknown to RISM, survives in I-Oc. Wessely-Kropik, 53-54 noted an example of the second tenor part-book in the archives of the Arciconfraternita di S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini.

Appendix IVBiographical Information on Composers not in New Grove

Arsilli, Sigismondo

From Senigallia. His publication of February 1621, Messa, e vespri della Madonna....., gives his post as 'Maestro di Cappella, & Organista, della Città di Frascati'. He was paid as organist of the Arciconfraternita dell'Orazione e Morte, a part-time position, in July 1620 (see Archives of the Arciconfraternita dell'Orazione e Morte, Libro 208, Libro del Camerieno. 1618. 1619. 16xx. 16xxi, f. 100). He had certainly left Frascati by December 22, 1623 since a letter written on that day to the chapter of the cathedral by Marcello Ginetti recommends Ottavio Manzoni as suitable for the position of maestro (see Archivio del duomo, Frascati, Busta I^a metà del 1600 (1620-49), a loose file of documents). He is reported as being organist of S.Spirito in Sassia from March 1621 (see Allegra, 31) and at the Santa Casa, Loreto from July 1622 to October 1624 (see Tebaldini, 80).

Bonetti, Angelo

No post is known for him; the spiritual dedications of his 1624 motet publications suggest that he was an amateur dilettante since he clearly had no need to flatter potential patrons.

Capocci, Alessandro

From Città di Castello. He was maestro at the Seminario Romano in 1623 and 1624, according to his publications of those years.

The archives of the Gesù indicate that he received his last payments as maestro in January 1624 (see ARSI, Chiesa del Gesù, libro 2006, Libro Dell'entrate et spese della Sacestia Dall'anno 1620, unfoliated). His 1632 publication gives his position as maestro of the cathedral in Ferrara.

Cavi, Pietro Paolo da

He was an Augustinian monk from Cavi, active between 1608 and 1620 (see title-pages of his instrumental publications).

Gibellini, Geronimo

According to the title-page of his Salmi vespertini....., he was maestro at Norcia in 1624.

Giovannoni, Vincenzo

He was probably appointed to S.Lorenzo in Damaso in June 1626 (see Archives of S.Lorenzo in Damaso, Acta et Decreta Capitularia ab Anno 1614 Usque ad Annum 1737, June 15, 1626) and was still there in 1650 (see RISM 1650¹).

Pace, Vincenzo

From Assisi. He was maestro at Rieti from July 1617 to January 1620 (see 1617 publication and Sacchetti-Sasseti, 144-45). From 1619 to April 1620 he held the part-time appointment of maestro at the English College (see Casimiri, 'Disciplina musicae' xx (1943), 17).

Paoletti, Angelo

From Montalcino, near Siena. His 1611 publication describes him as an Augustinian monk.

Riccio, Angelo Maria

From Montefiascone. This Franciscan monk was maestro at the basilica of the SS. Apostoli in 1644 (see his publication of that year).

Rivaldini, Francesco

From Viterbo, according to his 1648 Vespers publication.

Rossi, Cristoforo

From Rome. From April 1627 to January 1629 he was maestro at S. Luigi dei Francesi (see 1629 publication and J. Lionnet's forthcoming article on S. Luigi). In 1635 he was maestro at a religious college at Rocca Contrata (see his 1635 publication).

Serperio, Francesco

Roman. Nothing is known of this character; the dedication of his 1631 print suggests a connection with the Ludovisi family.

Talone, Gerolamo

Maestro at the cathedral at Albano in 1629, according to his publication of that year. He probably came from the area of the Po basin.

Appendix V

List of contemporary publications of works by Roman composers,
or active in Rome consulted in connection with this thesis.

The columns give the following information:

- i. Composer
- ii. Title
- iii. Place of publication
- iv. Publisher
- v. Date of publication
- vi. Post held by composer at time of publication; information derived from title-pages
- vii. For publications in Rome, the dedicatee of the volume is given. This information has not been provided in the thesis for publications outside Rome.

ABBATINI, Antonio Maria	Missa sexdecim vocibus concinenda	Rome	Masotti	1627	maestro, St. John Lateran	Chapter and canons of St. John Lateran
	Il terzo libro di sacre canzoni a due, tre, quattro, cinque e sei voci	Orvieto	Ruuli	1634	maestro, Orvieto	Cardinal P.P. Cres- enzi, Bishop of Orvieto
	Il quinto libro di sacre canzoni a due, tre, quattro, e cinque vociopera nona	Rome	Grignani/ Bianchi	1638	-	Cardinal Francesco Barberini
AGAZZARI, Agostino	Sacrarum cantionum quae quinis, senis, septenis octonisque vocibus concinuntur, liber primus	Rome	Zannetti	1602	maestro, German College	German Wolfgang Theodorico, Archbishop of Salz- burg
		Rome	Zannetti	1605	maestro, German College	
		Venice	Amadino	1608	maestro, German College	
		Venice	Amadino	1616	maestro, German College	
	Sacrae Laudes de Iesu, B. Virgine, angelis, apostolis, martyribus, confessoribus, virgin- ibus, quaternis, quinis, senis, septenis, octonis vocibus, cum basso ad organum, & musica instru- menta, liber secundus.	Rome	Zannetti	1603	maestro, German College	Claudio Acquaviva, General of the Society of Jesus
		Venice	Amadino	1608	maestro, German College	

Venice	Amadino	1615	maestro, German College
Rome	Zannetti	1603	maestro, German College
Sacrarum cantionum quae quinis, senis, septenis, octonisque vocibus concinuntur, liber tertius			
Venice	Amadino	1608	maestro, German College
Venice	Amadino	1616	maestro, German College
Rome	Zannetti	1606	maestro, Seminario Romano
Sacrae cantiones, binis, ternisque vocibus concinendae, liber quartus, cum basso ad organum			
Venice	Amadino	1606	Armonico Intronato
Milan	Tini/Lomazzo	1606	maestro, Seminario Romano
Venice	Amadino	1608	Armonico Intronato
Venice	Amadino	1609	Armonico Intronato
Venice	Amadino	1612	Armonico Intronato
Venice	Amadino	1614	Armonico Intronato

Rome	Robletti	1614	Armonico Intr- onato	Geronimo Conturlae de Spetia, by G.B. Robletti
Rome	Zarnetti	1618	Armonico Intr- onato	-
Rome	Soldi	1620	Armonico Intr- onato	Levino Hielo
Venice	Gardani/ Magni	1620	Armonico Intr- onato	
Rome	Masotti	1633	Armonico Intr- onato	-
Milan	Tini/ Lomazzo	1607	Armonico Intr- onato	
Venice	Amadino	1608	Armonico Intr- onato	
Venice	Amadino	1609	Armonico Intr- onato	
Venice	Amadino	1613	Armonico Intr- onato	
Frankfurt	Stein	1607	maestro, German College	

Sacrarum cantionum, quae binis, ternis, quaternisque vocibus concinuntur, liber II, opus V. motectorum cum basso ad organum.

Cantiones, motecta vulgo appellatae, quae IV. V. VI. VII. & VIII. vocibus concinuntur, & instrumentis apprimè adplicantur; nunc primum in Germania excusae & publicatae.

Psalmi sex, qui in vespere ad concentum varietatem interponuntur, ternis vocibus, eosdem sequitur completorium quaternis vocibus, cum basso ad organum.....opus duodecimum

Venice Amadino 1609 Armonico Intr-onato

Venice Amadino 1613 Armonico Intr-onato

Venice Magni 1618 Armonico Intr-onato

Venice Magni 1620 Armonico Intr-onato

Venice Amadino 1611 Armonico Intr-onato

Psalmi, ac Magnificat, qui in vespere solemnioribus decantantur, quinis simplicibus vocibus, cum organo.....opus decimum tertium.

Venice Amadino 1615 Armonico Intr-onato

Venice Amadino 1611 Armonico Intr-onato

Sertum roseum ex plantis Hierichosingulis, binis, ternis, & quaternis vocibus decantandum, cum basso ad organum, opus decimum quartum.

Venice Amadino 1612 Armonico Intr-onato

Venice Amadino 1614 Armonico Intr-onato

Dialogici concentus, senis, octo- nisque vocibus.....nunc primum in lucem editi, opus decimumsextum.	Venice	Amadino	1613	Armonico Intr- onato	
	Venice	Amadino	1616	Armonico Intr- onato	
	Venice	Amadino	1617	Armonico Intr- onato	
Missae quattuor tam organis, quam pleno choro accomodatae, quarum duae quattuor vocibus, altera quinque, postrema vero octo con- cinuntur. Cum basso ad organum, opus decimum septimum.	Venice	Amadino	1614	Armonico Intr- onato	
	Venice	Amadino	1617	Armonico Intr- onato	
Sacrae cantiones quae tum unica, tum duabus ac quattuor vocibus concinuntur.....opus decimum octavum.	Venice	Amadino	1615	Armonico Intr- onato	
Eucharisticum melos, tum singul- aribus, tum variis vocibus degu- standum.....opus vigesimum.	Rome	Soldi	1625	Armonico Intr- onato	Eternal and Immortal King, the Bread of Eternal Life
Litinae Beatissimae Virginis quaternis, quinis, senis, octonis vocibus in varium melos concinen- dae, opus vigesimum primum.	Rome	Bianchi	1639	Friar Minor	The Virgin Mother of God, Patron of the Carmelites

AGOSTINI, Paolo	Musicum encomium, divini nominis, simplicibus, binis, ternis, quinisque vocibus.	Rome	Bianchi	1640	-	Alessandro Bichi, titular cardinal of S. Sabina.
	Salmi della Madonna, Magnificat a 3. Rome voci, hinno Ave Maris Stella, antifone a una, 2. & 3. voci, et motetti tutti concertati.....con il basso continuo per sonare, divisa in due parti, libro primo.	Rome	Soldi	1619	maestro, S. Lor- enzo in Damaso, the Most Holy Mother pupil and son- in-law of G.B. Nanino	The Queen of Heaven, the Most Holy Mother of God of Vallerano
	Spartitura delle messe del primo libro.	Rome	Robletti	1627	maestro, St. Peter's	Venerable Brothers of the Arciconfraternita della Santissima Trinita dei Pellegrini
	Spartitura del secondo libro delle messe e motetti a quattro voci con alcuni oblighi de canoni.....	Rome	Robletti	1627	maestro, St. Peter's	Chapter and canons of S. Maria in Trastevere
	Partitura del terzo libro della messa sine nomine, a quattro. Con due Resurrexit, il secondo tutto in canone à 4. & il basso fa resolutione con l'alto di 8. 7.6.5.4.3.2. & I. li doi Soprani, sempre cantano ad unisono; & l' Agnus à 7. in canone, con obligo di trè parte, sopra la, sol, fa, mi, re, ut. di due battute; con un'ottava parte si placet.	Rome	Robletti	1627	maestro, St. Peter's	Chapter and canons of S. Lorenzo in Damaso
	Libro quattro delle messe in spartitura.	Rome	Robletti	1627	maestro, St. Peter's	The Priors and people of Vallerano

	Spartitura della messa et motetto Benedicam Dominum ad canones, a quattro voci. E la resolutione delle ligature à 4. di Gio. Maria Nanino; accomodata per un motetto; con una quinta parte aggonata.	Rome	Robletti	1627	maestro, St. Peter's	General and friars of the Dominican order
	Partitura delle messe et motetti, a quattro et cinque voci, con 40 esempi di contrapunti, all'ottava, decima et duodecima.	Rome	Robletti	1627	maestro, St. Peter's	Mons. Teodoro Trivulzio, Prelate of the Congregazione de' Musici di Roma
	Missarum liber posthumus	Rome	Robletti	1630	maestro, St. Peter's	Cardinal Francesco Barberini by Paolo, son of the composer
ALLEGRI, Gregorio	Concertini a due, a tre et a quattro voci....con il basso continuo, libro secondo.	Rome	Soldi	1619	-	Giovanni Angelo, Duke of Altemps by L.A. Soldi
	Motecta binis, ternis, quaternis, quinis, senisque vocibus.	Rome	Soldi	1621	maestro, Fermo cathedral	Pietro Dino Pitarca, Bishop of Fermo
ANERIO, Felice	Sacri hymni et cantica, sive motecta musicis notis expressa, quinis, senis, octonis vocibus canenda, liber secundus.	Rome	Zannetti	1602	composer to the apostolic cappella	Clement VIII
	Responsoria [a 4v] ad lectiones divini officii feriae quartae, quintae, et sextae sanctae hebdomadae.	Rome	Zannetti	1606	composer to the apostolic cappella	Cardinal Pompeo Arri-goni, Bishop of Benevento
ANERIO, Giovanni Francesco	Motecta singulis, binis, ternisque vocibus concinenda, una cum basso ad organum accomodata.	Rome	Robletti	1609	-	Ludovico Gallo, Regent of the apostolic chancery

Rome	Robletti	1620	maestro, S. Maria dei Monti	Celso Americo, General of the Celestine order and Abbot at S. Eusebio
Rome	Zannetti	1611	maestro, Seminarario Romano	Claudio Acquaviva, General of the Society of Jesus
Venice	Amadino	1612	maestro, Seminarario Romano	
Rome	Zannetti	1611	maestro, Seminarario Romano	Nicolao Bellolaeteo, Canon at S. Lorenzo in Damaso by C. Margarina
Rome	Masotti	1626	-	Francesco Bontempi, by A. Poggioli
Rome	Robletti	1613	maestro, S. Maria dei Monti	Cardinal Fabrizio Veralli, Bishop of S. Severo
Rome	Robletti	1620	maestro, S. Maria dei Monti	Archbishop Annibale Ginnasi

<p>Antiphonae, seu sacrae cantiones, quae in totius anni vesperarum ac completorii solemnitatibus decantari solent; in tres partes distributae.....binis, ternis, & quaternis vocibus concinendae, una cum basso ad organum.....prima pars.</p> <p>.....secunda pars.</p> <p>.....tertia pars.</p> <p>Sacri concentus quaternis, quinis, senisque vocibus, una cum basso ad organum.....liber primus.</p> <p>Responsoria Nativitatis Domini, una cum invitatorio et psalmo Venite exultemus, ac Te Deum Laudamus, ternis, quaternis, octonis vocibus.</p> <p>Responsorii della natività di nostro Signore Giesu Christo, con l'invitatorio; salmo Venite exultemus, & Te Deum Laudamus, a tre, a quattro, e otto voci ... di novo corretti, e dati in luce con una messa à 4. & Motetini a due, del Sig. Abundio Antonelli, et il basso continuo per l'organo.</p>	<p>Rome</p> <p>Rome</p> <p>Rome</p> <p>Rome</p> <p>Rome</p> <p>Rome</p>	<p>Robletti</p> <p>Robletti</p> <p>Robletti</p> <p>Robletti</p> <p>Robletti</p> <p>Robletti</p>	<p>1613</p> <p>1613</p> <p>1613</p> <p>1613</p> <p>1614</p> <p>1629</p>	<p>maestro, S.Maria Paolo Alaleoni, Canon at St.Peter's, private attendant to Paul V, by Roberto Bellando dei Monti</p> <p>maestro, S.Maria Giovanni Battista Alaleoni, Master of Ceremonies to Paul V, by Roberto Bellando dei Monti</p> <p>maestro, S.Maria Fabio Alaleoni, by Roberto Bellando dei Monti</p> <p>maestro, S.Maria Bruto Stefanello dei Monti</p> <p>maestro, S.Maria Ignigo de Guevara, SJ dei Monti</p> <p>-</p> <p>To the most devoted gentlemen of the Congregazione della Communionone Generale, under the title of the Madonna della Pietà in the Roman Jesuit College, by G.B. Robletti</p>
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Psalmi vesperarum, qui in totius anni solemnitatibus decantari solent, ternis quaternisq; vocibus, nec non duo cantica Beatae Virginis quatuor vocibus, cum basso ad organum.	Rome	Robletti	1614	maestro, S.Maria Giuliano de Ruvere, dei Monti by Nicolo Blasi
Missarum quator, quinque et sex vocibus, missa quoque pro defun- ctis una cum sequentia, et respo- nsorium Libera me domine, quatuor vocibus, liber primus.....cum basso ad organum.	Rome	Robletti	1620	maestro, S.Maria Giuliano de Ruvere, dei Monti by Nicolo Blasi
Missarum quator, quinque et sex vocibus, missa quoque pro defun- ctis una cum sequentia, et respo- nsorium Libera me domine, quatuor vocibus, liber primus.....cum basso ad organum.	Rome	Robletti	1614	maestro, S.Maria Signora Clementia dei Monti Muti de Nari, by Archangelo Tocchi
Missa pro defunctis, cum sequentia, & resp. Libera me domine, quatuor vocibus.	Rome	Masotti	1630	-
Sacri concentus, singulis, binis, ternis, quaternis, quinis, senisq; vocibus una cum basso ad organumliber quartus.	Rome	Grignani	1649	-
Sacrarum cantionum, quae singulis, binis, ternis, quaternis, quinisque vocibus concinuntur, liber quartus.	Rome	Robletti	1617	maestro, S.Maria Mutio Vitellesco, dei Monti General of the Society of Jesus
Sacrarum cantionum, quae singulis, binis, ternis, quaternis, quinisque vocibus concinuntur, liber quartus.	Rome	Robletti	1618	maestro, S.Maria Evangelista Carbon- dei Monti esio, Canon at St. Peter's

	Ghirlanda di sacre rose musical- mente contestata et concertata a cinque voci del R.D. Gio. Franc. Anerio romano mastro.	Rome	Soldi	1619	maestro, S.Maria Signora Isabella dei Monti Avila
	Missa Paulina Burghesia ad canones quinque vocibus.	-	-	-	Sacerdote Paul V romano
ANTONELLI, Abundio	Sacrarum cantionum quae & quater- nis, & quinis, ac senis vocibus concinuntur.....cum basso ad organum.	Rome	Zannetti	1614	maestro, Bene- Cardinal Pompeo vento cathedral Arrigoni, Bishop of Benevento
	Liber primus diversarum modulat- ionum binis, ternis, quaternis, quinis, senis, ac septenis vocibus.	Rome	Zannetti	1615	maestro, Bene- Abbot Deofebo vento cathedral Farnese
	Liber secundus diversarum modul- ationum binis, ternis, quaternis ac quinis vocibus.	Rome	Zannetti	1616	maestro, Bene- Cyriaco Rocci, vento cathedral Bishop of Patras
	Liber tertius diversarum modul- ationum binis, ternis, quaternis ac quinis vocibus.	Rome	Zannetti	1616	maestro, Bene- Diomado Varesio, vento cathedral Assistant to the Consistory
ARSILLI, Sigismondo	Messa, e vespri della Madonna, a quattro voci concertati co'l basso continuo.	Rome	Robletti	1621	maestro and Orazio and Maria organist, Fras- cati cathedral
ASOLA, Giovanni Matteo	Missae duae decemq. sacrae laudes tribus vocibus concinendae cum basso ad organum.	Rome	Masotti	1636	-
BARTEI, GIROLAMO	Responsoria omnia, quintae ac sextae feriae, sabbatique maiores hebdomadae, paribus vocibus.....	Venice	Amadino	1607	maestro, Volt- erra cathedral

iuxta brevialij romani formam, una cum Zachariae cantico, ac Davidis psalmo, ipsis ferijs accomodata.						
	Missae octonis vocibus, liber primus.	Rome	Zannetti	1608	maestro, August-Giovanni Angelo, inian General Duke of Altempo Chapter, Rome	
	Liber primus sacrarum modulationum quae vulgo, motecta appellantur, duabus vocibus, cum basso ad organum accomodato.	Rome	Robletti	1609	maestro, S. Agostino Borghese	Cardinal Scipione Borghese
BERNARDI, Steffano	Motecta binis, ternis, quaternis, et quinis vocibus concinenda.	Rome	Robletti	1610	maestro, S. Maria dei Monti	Most Holy Virgin, Queen of Heaven
BONETTI, Angelo	Motecta quae singulis, binis, ac ternis vocibus concinuntur, una cum basso ad organum accomodata, liber secundus.	Rome	Soldi	1624	-	Virgin Mother of God, Queen of All Saints
	Motecta quae singulis, binis ac ternis vocibus concinuntur una cum basso ad organum accomodata, liber tertius.	Rome	Soldi	1624	-	God, One and Three
BORGIANI, Domenico	Sacri concentus a bina ad quinam usque vocem decantandi.	Rome	Grignani	1646	maestro, Viterbo cathedral	Cardinal Francesco Maria Farnese
BOSCHETTI, Giovanni Boschetto	Sacrae cantiones binis, ternis et quaternis vocibus concinendae, liber primus, cum basso ad organum, opus secundum.	Venice	Vincenti	1616	-	

Sacrae cantiones, binis, ternis, quaternis, quinis, octonisque vocibus concinendae, liber tertius cum basso ad organum, opus quintum.	Rome	Soldi	1620	maestro, S. Spirito in Sassia	Evangelista Tornioi, Bishop of Città di Castello, praeceptor of S.Spirito in Sassia
CAMPISI, Domenico Floridus concentus.....binis, ternis & quaternis vocibus modulandus, liber tertius.	Rome	Robletti	1622	Dominican, Bachelor of Theology	Cardinal Scipione Borghese, Protector of the Dominican Order
Lilia campi.....binis, ternis, quaternis, quinis, & senis vocibus modulanda, liber quintus.	Rome	Masotti	1627	Dominican, Bachelor of Theology	Serafino Rinaldi O.P., Bishop of Motula
CAPECE, Alessandro Davidis Cithara Psalmorum quatuor vocum concentibus concors..... cum basso ad organum	Rome	Robletti	1615	maestro, Rieti cathedral	Archdeacon and chapter of Rieti cathedral
Octo magnificat, in singulis tonis, quaternis vocibus concinendis..... opus quartum.	Rome	Zannetti	1616	maestro, Rieti cathedral	Mansueto Capelletto, Apostolic Protonotario and Archdeacon of Rieti
Il quatro libro de motetti concertati, a due, tre, quattro, cinque, sei, sette, & otto voci, opera nona.	Rome	Robletti	1623	maestro, Church dell'Annunziata, Sulmona	Abbot Andrea Lutii
Il sexto libro de motetti concertati, a due, tre, quattro, & cinque voci.....opera duodecima.	Rome	Robletti	1624	maestro, Church dell'Annunziata, Sulmona	Giovanni Francesco Greco, Duke of Monte Nero
Responsoria di Natale e di Settimana santa concertati a quattro voci con il basso continuo..... opera 25.	Naples	Beltrano	1636	maestro, Gesu and Collegio de Nobili	

	Naples	Beltrano	1636		
	Rome	Robletti	1623	maestro, Seminario Romano	Giacomo Campiono, Rector of Seminario Romano
	Rome	Soldi	1624	maestro, Seminario Romano	Cardinal Pietro Paolo Crescenzi, Bishop of Orvieto
	Venice	Magni	1632	maestro, Ferrara cathedral	Cardinal Lorenzo Magnalotti, Bishop of Ferrara
	Rome	Mascardi	1650	-	-
	Rome	Zannetti	1616	from Enna	Paul V
	Rome	Bianchi	1641	maestro and organist, S. Agostino	Giovanni Agostino Gandolfo, Bishop of S. Agata de'Goti
CAPOCCI, Alessandro					
Motetti a due e tre voci.					
Responsoria una cum motecto ac reliquis, quae in sacris domini natalibus concinuntur, binis, ternis, quaternis, senis, atque octonis vocibus, cum basso ad organum, opus secundum.					
Fasciculus myrrhae in horto Gethsemani pulchre compositus binis, ternis, quaternis cum basso ad organum, liber secundus, opus tertium.					
Motecta binis, ternis, quaternis-que vocibus decantanda, liber tertius, opus quartum.					
Psalmodia vespertina una cum Miserere novem vocibus in duobus choris certatim concinentibus ad organi sonum accomodata liber primus.					
Sacrarum cantionum quae binis, ternis, quaternis, quinis, senis, septenis, octonis vocibus concinuntur cum basso ad organum liber primus.					
Vespertina psalmodia, quinque vocibus infractis in organo decantanda, una cum missa, & litanijs Beatae Mariae Virginis liber primus, opus secundum.					
CAVANI, Ottavio					
CAVI, Filippo da					

	Psalmi vespertini quatuor integris vocibus in organo concinendi, item missa, & litaniae B. Mariae Virginis.....liber II, opus tertium.	Rome	Grignani	1642	maestro and organist, S. Agostino	Cardinal Ottavio Raggio, titular of S. Agostino
CAVI, Pietro Paolo da	Sacrae cantiones binis, ternisque vocibus concinendae, cum basso ad organum accomodato, liber tertius.	Rome	Zannetti	1609	Augustinian	Gerolamo Sammaricano, Prior of S. Agostino and Assessor of the Augustinian Order.
CIFRA, Antonio	Motecta quae binis, ternis, quaternis vocibus concinuntur..... una cum basso ad organum, liber primus.	Venice	Vincenti	1609	maestro, German College	
		Rome	Robletti	1609	*	Giovanni Giorgio Ippolito and Aldobrandino Aldobrandini
		Venice	Vincenti	1610	maestro, German College	
		Venice	Vincenti	1611	maestro, German College	
		Venice	Vincenti	1614	maestro, German College	
		Rome	Robletti	1620	-	Giovanni Giorgio Ippolito and Aldobrandino Aldobrandini

Motecta quae binis, ternis, quaternis vocibus concinuntur....una cum basso ad organum, liber secundus.

Rome Robletti 1609 maestro, German College
Bernardino Castorio, Rector of the German College and the alumni of the College

Rome Robletti 1610 maestro, German College
maestro, German as above

Venice Vincenti 1610 maestro, German College
maestro, German College

Venice Vincenti 1611 maestro, German College
maestro, German College

Venice Vincenti 1614 maestro, German College
maestro, German College

Rome Robletti 1620 maestro, German College
maestro, German as above

Il secondo libro de motetti a due, tre, et quattro voci....con il basso continuo per l'organo.

Rome Robletti 1630 -
Innocentio Nanti, Canon 'del Salvatore', Prior of S.Lorenzo fuori le mura

Motecta quae binis, ternis, quaternis vocibus concinuntur, una cum basso ad organum.....liber tertius.

Rome Robletti 1609 -
Bernardino Castorio, Rector of the German College and the alumni of that College

Venice Vincenti 1610 maestro, German College
maestro, German College

Venice Vincenti 1611 maestro, German College
maestro, German College

Rome	Robletti	1612	-	Flammette Soderina by Soldi
Venice	Vincenti	1614	maestro, German College	
Rome	Robletti	1609	-	Cardinal Michelangelo Tonto by Filippo Camillo
Venice	Vincenti	1610	maestro, santa casa, Loreto	
Venice	Vincenti	1613	maestro, santa casa, Loreto	
Rome	Soldi	1619	-	Cardinal Michelangelo Tonto by Filippo Camillo
Rome	Robletti	1609	-	Cardinal Pompeo Arrigoni, Bishop of Benevento
Venice	Vincenti	1610	-	
Rome	Soldi	1619	-	Hiacinto Petronio, Master of the Apostolic Palace

Motecta quae binis, ternis, quaternis vocibus concinuntur,....liber quartus, opus octavum.

Psalmi septem, qui in vesperis ad concentus varietatem interponuntur, quaternis vocibus cum basso ad organum

Vesperae, et motecta, octonis vocibus decantandae.....cum basso ad organum, opus nonum.	Rome	Zannetti	1610	maestro, santa casa, Loreto	Rutilio Benzoni, Bishop of Loreto
Salmi septem, qui in vesperis ad concentus varietatem interponuntur, quaternis vocibus, cum basso..... opus decimum.	Rome	Robletti	1611	maestro, santa casa, Loreto	Abbot Claudio Mannello
Motecta quae binis, ternis, quat- ernis vocibus concinenda, una cum basso ad organum accomodata..... opus undecimum, liber quintus.	Rome	Robletti	1612	maestro, santa casa, Loreto	Martino Mastritio, Archpriest of Bracciano
	Venice	Vincenti	1616	maestro, santa casa, Loreto	
	Rome	Soldi	1620	maestro, santa casa, Loreto	Fabrizio Roscio Hortino by Soldi
	Rome	Robletti	1628	maestro, santa casa, Loreto	Didago Ererae
Motecta quae binis, ternis, quat- ernis vocibus concinuntur, una cum basso ad organum accomodata..... liber sextus, opus decimum tertium.	Rome	Robletti	1613	maestro, santa casa, Loreto	Cardinal Agostino Galamini, Bishop of Loreto
Litaniae Deiparae Virginis, octonis, et duodenis vocibus decantandae, una cum basso ad organum accomodataopus decimaquintum.	Litaniae Deiparae Virginis, octonis, Rome	Robletti	1613	maestro, santa casa, Loreto	Cristoforo Roncallio

Motecta quae binis, ternis, quaternisque vocibus concinuntur, una cum basso ad organum accomodata opus decimum sextum, liber septimus.	Rome	Robletti	1614	maestro, santa casa, Loreto	Cardinal Carolo de Conti, Bishop of Ancona
	Venice	Vincenti	1619	maestro, santa casa, Loreto	
Motecta quae binis, ternis, quaternisque vocibus concinuntur, una cum basso ad organum accomodata liber octavus, opus decimumseptimum.	Rome	Robletti	1615	maestro, santa casa, Loreto	Volumio Gentilutio, Treasurer of Loreto cathedral, and Cardinal Agostino Galamini, Bishop of Loreto
Missarum liber primus	Rome	Soldi	1619	maestro, santa casa, Loreto	Cardinal Carlo de' Medici
Motecta ex sacris cantionibus quae binis, ternis, quaternisque vocibus concinuntur, una cum basso ad organum accomodata.	Rome	Soldi	1619	maestro, santa casa, Loreto	Bernardino Spada by Soldi
Psalmi sacrique concentus octo vocibus, et organo concinendi.	Assisi	Salvi	1620	maestro, santa casa, Loreto	
Psalmorum, sacrorumque concentuum octo vocibus, & organo concinendorum, liber secundus, editio prima.	Assisi	Salvi	1621	maestro, santa casa	
Motecta quaternis vocibus concinenda, cum basso ad organum	Rome	Robletti	1620	maestro, santa casa	Marcello Pignatelli, Bishop of Iesi

Missarum liber secundus.	Rome	Soldi	1621	maestro, santa casa, Loreto	Ranuccio Farnese, Duke of Parma
Motecta, et psalmi, duodenis vocibus, una cum basso ad organum.	Venice	Vincenti	1629	maestro, santa casa, Loreto	
Motecta, et psalmi, octonis vocibus.	Venice	Vincenti	1629	maestro, santa casa	
Motecta, binis, ternis, quaternis, senis, & octonis vocibus decantanda, cum basso ad organum.	Venice	Vincenti	1629	maestro, santa casa	
Sacrae cantiones, quae binis, ternis, quaternis, senis, octonis-que vocibus concinuntur.	Rome	Grignani/ Bi anchi	1638	-	Carlo Maria Lanceo by Antonio Poggioli
Sacrae cantiones singulis, binis, ternis, quaternisque vocibus, una cum Magnificat & litanijs B.M. Virginis, cum basso ad organum decantandae.....liber primus.	Rome	Zannetti	1621	-	Abbot Deofebo Farnese
Motecta, binis, ternis, quaternis, quinisque vocibus decantanda, cum basso ad organum, liber secundus.	Rome	Soldi	1625	maestro, Seminario Romano and pupil of Abundio Antonelli	
Motecta binis, ternis, quaternis, quinisque vocibus decantanda, cum basso ad organum.....liber tertius, opus quartum.	Rome	Robletti	1629	-	Priors, counsellors and citizens of Ronciglione

	Salmi per il Vespero e dui Magnificat a quattro voci con il basso continuo.....opera quinta.	Rome	Masotti	1636	-	Mons. Girolamo Bonvisi, Chierico da camera
	Sacrarium modulationum a binis, ad quinas usque voces concinuntur, liber quartus.	Rome	Robletti	1648	-	Paolo Caccia Podio
CONFORTI, Giovanni Luca	Passagi sopra tutti li salmi che ordinariamente canta Santa Chiesa, ne i vesperi della dominica, e nei giorni festivi di tutto l'anno, con il basso sotto per sonare, e cantare con organo, o con altri stromentilibro primo.	Venice	Gardano	1607		Singer in the papal chapel
COSTANTINI, Alessandro	Motecta singulis, binis, ternisque vocibus, cum basso ad organum concinenda.....liber primus.	Rome	Zannetti	1616		Organist, S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini
CRIVELLI, Arcangelo	Missarum liber primus.....quatuor, quinque, ac sex vocibus concinendarum.	Rome	Laurentini	1615		Singer in the papal chapel
DIRUTA, Agostino	Sacrae cantiones, singulis binis ternis, quaternisque vocibus, concinendae, una cum suo basso continuo pro organo.	Venice	Vincenti	1617		Former pupil, and nephew of Girolamo Diruta, organist of S. Stefano, Venice
	Compieta concertata, con l'antifone della Beata Vergine, e con un Miserere a versetti concertato alla romana a cinque voci, con il basso continuo.....opera quinta.	Venice	Vincenti	1623		maestro and organist, Asolo
						The Confraternity of the Misericordia, Bergamo

Salmi intieri a quattro voci per il vespero, con il basso per l'organo, se piace.....opera duodecima.	Rome	Masotti	1630	maestro, S. Agostino	Ulderico Carpineo, Bishop of Gubbio
Sacrae modulationes eremitici ordinis divorum.....binis, ternis, quinis, senis, septenis, octonis vocibus decantantae, opus decimum.	Rome	Masotti	1630	maestro, S. Agostino	Alessandro Vicricio, Assessor of the Holy Inquisition
Messe concertate, a cinque voci, con il basso continuo per l'organolibro secondo, opera decima-terza.	Rome	Robletti	1631	maestro, S. Agostino	Cardinal Alessandro Cesarini [<u>Hierarchia states that he was not consecrated until 1636</u>]
Viridarium Marianum, in quo, Dei parae Virginis letaniae, et hymni, quaternis, quinis, senisque vocibus: una cum basso ad organum decantantur.....opus XV.	Rome	Robletti	1631	maestro, S. Agostino	Berlingerio Gessi, Prefect and Master of the Apostolic Palace
Psalmi vespertini ternis vocibusliber secundus, opus sextum decimum.	Rome	Masotti	1633	maestro, S. Agostino	Ulderico Carpineo, Bishop of Gubbio
Davidicae modulationes tribus vocibus concinendae, una cum basso ad organum.....opera decima octava.	Venice	Vincenti	1641	maestro, S. Agostino	
Davidicae modulationes, et litaniae B. Virginis.....Opus XVIII	Rome	Grignani	1646	maestro, S. Agostino	Fulgenzio Petrello a Sigillo, Prior of the Augustinian order

	Hymni pro vesperis, totius anni, quatuor, & quinque vocibus ad organum concinendi.....opus XIX.	Rome	Grignani	1646	maestro, S. Agostino	Cardinal Giovanni Battista Pallotto, Protector of the Augustinian order
	Il secondo libro de'salmi, che si cantano ne'vesperi di tutto l'anno, concertati a quattro voci.....opera vigesima prima.	Rome	Grignani	1647	maestro, S. Agostino	His Guardian Angel
DRAGONI, Andrea	Motectorum.....quae quinque vocibus concinuntur, super omnia fere festa sanctorum, tres in partes divisa, quarum quaelibet continet festa quatuor mensium, liber primus. Prima (secunda, tertia) pars.	Rome	Muti	1600	maestro, St. John Lateran	Cardinal Ascanio Colonna by the Chapter of St.John Lateran
DURANTE, Ottavio	Arie devote le quali contengono in se la maniera di cantar con gratia l'imitation delle parole, et il modo di scriver passaggi et altri affetti.	Rome	Verovio	1608	-	Cardinal Alessandro Peretto de Montalto
FERRARO, Antonio	Sacrae cantiones quae tum unica, tum duabus, tribus, ac quatuor vocibus concinuntur, liber primuscum basso pro organo.	Rome	Zannetti	1617	organist, the Carmelite monastery in Catania	Felice Leoni, Prior of the Carmelite order for the province of S.Alberto
FOGGIA, Francesco	Concentus ecclesiastici duarum, trium, quatuor et quinque vocum.	Rome	Grignani	1645	maestro, St. John Lateran	Ferdinand of Bavaria, Archbishop of Cologne
	Concentus ecclesiastici binis, ternis, quaternis, quinisque vocibus concinendi.	Rome	Franzini/ Grignani	1645	maestro, St. John Lateran	Cardinal Alessandro Bichi, Bishop of Carpentras

	Missa, et sacrae cantiones binis, ternis, quaternis, quinisque vocibus concinendae.....opus tertium.	Rome	Mascardi	1650	maestro, St. John Lateran	Abbot Domenico Salvetto, Canon at S.Maria in via lata
FRESCOBALDI, Girolamo	Liber secundus diversarum modulationum singulis, binis, ternis, quaternisque vocibus.	Rome	Fei	1627	organist, St.Peter's	Cardinal Scipione Borghese, Archpriest of St.Peter's
GALLO, Giovanni Pietro	Motectorum quinque & octo vocum, liber primus.	Rome	Muti	1600	From Bari	Pietro Sanseverino
GIAMBERTI, Giuseppe	Sacrae modulationes.....binis, ternis, quaternis, & quinis vocibus decantande, cum litanijs B.M.V. ad organi sonum accomodate, liber primus, opus secundum.	Orvieto	Ruuli	1627	maestro, Orvieto cathedral	
	Antiphonae et motecta festis omnibus propria, et communia, juxta formam Breviaij Romani; una cum plurimis, quae dominicis per annum aptari possunt, binis, ternis, quaternisque vocibus concinenda.	Rome	Robletti	1650	-	Virgin Mother of God
GIBELLINI, Geronimo	Salmi vespertini dominicali a due, e tre voci, per l'organo.	Rome	Robletti	1624	maestro, Norcia cathedral	Norcian Gentlemen Consuls of Norcia
GIOVANELLI, Ruggiero	Sacrarum modulationum, quas vulgo motecta appellant, quae quinis, & octonis vocibus concinuntur, liber primus.	Rome	Coattino	1593	maestro, German College	Philip and Ferdinand, Dukes of Bavaria
		Venice	Vincenti	1598	maestro, St. Peter's	

	Rome	Muti	1598	maestro, St. Peter's	Philip and Ferdinand, Dukes of Bavaria
	Venice	Gardano	1598	maestro, St. Peter's	
	Frankfurt	Stein	1608	maestro, St. Peter's	
	Venice	Gardano	1604	musician in the papal chapel	
GRANDIS, Vincenzo de	Rome	Soldi	1621	musician in the papal chapel	Giuliano de Ruvere
	Rome	Soldi	1624	acting maestro in the papal chapel	Cardinal Francesco Barberini, nephew of Urban VIII
	Venice	Vincenti	1625	-	members of the cappella sistina
GRAZIANI, Bonifazio	Rome	Mascardi	1650	maestro, Seminario Romano and Gesu	Cardinal Colonna, and probably Geronimo since he was resident in Rome at this time.
GREGORI, Annibale	Siena	-	1620	Academico Intronato	

KAPSBERGER, Johannes Hieronymus	Sacrarum cantionum, quae binis, ternis, quaternis vocibus concinuntur, liber secundus, opus septimum.	Rome	Robletti	1625	maestro, Siena cathedral	'Illustrissimi DD. Patronis Colendissimus DD. Nicolao, et Samueli Felici, Radzieiorosskii, Palatinidae Ravensis, Capitanaidae, Sochaionoiensis etc.'
	Sacrarum cantionum, quae binis, ternis, quaternis vocibus concinuntur, liber tertius, opus VIIIcum basso ad organum.	Venice	Magni	1635	maestro, Siena cathedral	Abbot Federico Borromeo
	Libro primo di mottetti passeggiati a una voce.....raccolto dal Sigr. Francesco de Nobili	Rome	-	1612	German noble	The composer by Francesco de Nobili
	Cantiones sacrae.....musicis modulis aptatae.....volumen primum.	Rome	Masotti	1628	German noble	Cardinal Francesco Barberini, nephew of Urban VIII
	Modulatus sacri diminutis voculis concinnati.....volumen secundum.	Rome	Masotti	1630	German noble	as above
	Missa Urbanae.....musicis modulis aptatae.....volumen primum.	Rome	Masotti	1631	German noble	Urban VIII
	Litaniae Deiparae Virginis cum suis antiphonis musicis modis aptatae.....volumen primum.	Rome	Masotti	1631	German noble	Cardinal Francesco Barberini, nephew of Urban VIII
	Psalmi integri quattuor vocibus.	Rome	Robletti	1624	Beneficed priest at St. Peter's and maestro at S. Maria dei Monti	Cardinal Maurizio di Savoia
	LANDI, Stefano					

	Missa in benedictione nuptiarum, sex vocum.	Rome	Robletti	1628	Beneficed priest at St. Peter's and maestro at S. Maria dei Monti	Urban VIII
MANCINI, Curzio	Liber primus motectorum, quae partim quatuor vocibus, partim quinis, partim senis, et septenis, denique octonis concinuntur, cum basso ad organum;	Rome	Zannetti	1608	maestro, santa casa, Loreto	Paul V
MARTINI, Francesco	Motecta festorum, totius anni, cum communi sanctorum, quaternis vocibus concinenda.....quibus addita sunt duo; alterum quinis; alterum septenis.....liber primus.	Rome	Zannetti	1607	Oratorian priest	Bl. Francesca Romana
	Sacrae laudes de B. Maria Virg. quaternis, quinis, senis, septenis, octonisque vocibus, et ejusdem litaniae octonis similiter vocibus concinendae.....una cum basso ad organum, liber secundus.	Rome	Zannetti	1617	Oratorian priest	Most Holy Virgin, Mother of God
MASSENZIO, Domenico	Sacrae cantiones singulis, binis, ternis, quaternis, quinisque vocibus cum basso ad organum decantandae.....liber primus.	Rome	Zannetti	1612	canon, collegiate church, Ronciglione and pupil of G.B. Nanino	Cardinal Odoardo Farnese
	Motecta binis, ternis, quaternis, quinisque vocibus, cum basso ad organum concinenda, una cum litanijs B.M.V.....liber secundus.	Rome	Zannetti	1614	canon, collegiate church, Ronciglione	Cardinal Benedetto Giustiniani

Sacrorum cantuum ternis, quaternis, quaternis, quaternis, quaternis quinis, senisque vocibus organice dicendorum, una cum litanis B.M. Virginis, liber tertius.	Ronciglione 'apud Dominicum de Domin- icis'	1616	maestro. company of the Assumption, Gesù	Citizens of Ronciglione
Sacrarum modulationum singulis, binis, ternis, quaternis, quinis- que vocibus in variis sanctorum solemnitatibus cum basso ad organum concinendarum.....liber quartus.	Rome Zannetti	1618	maestro, company of the Assumption, Gesù	Nicolao Dono, Roman noble
Psalmi qui in vespere, una cum duplici Magnificat, & hymno confessoris, concinuntur quaternis, quinisque vocibus, cum basso ad organum.....liber primus.	Rome Zannetti	1618	maestro, company of the Assumption, Gesù	Ottavio Dono, Roman noble
	Rome Masotti	1627	-	Marcello Mansio by Masotti
Completorium integrum cum Ave regina caelorum, Salve regina concinendum, & motecta duo, quae in Quadragesima decantari solent, octonis vocibus, cum basso ad organum.....opus octavum.	Rome	1630	-	Aurelio Poli- canti, General of the Camaldolese order

<p>Psalmodia vespertina, tam de domin- icis quam de apostolis, cum Regina coeli, Salve regina, et duplice Magnificat, octonis vocibus cum basso ad organum concinenda..... opus nonum.</p>	<p>Masotti</p>	<p>1631</p>	<p>Francesco Peretti, Abbot of Chiaravane</p>
<p>Sacri mottetti a due, et a più voci ... con la sequenza di Pentecoste, & letanie, & in fine O gloriosa domina, con il basso continuo per l'organo.....libro quinto, opera decima.</p>	<p>Masotti</p>	<p>1631</p>	<p>Flavio Cherubino, Canon S.Maria in via lata</p>
<p>Salmi vespertini a quattro voci intieri concertati, e seguiti, da cantarsi ne le domeniche, e feste della B.V. & apostoli, con l'hinno Ave Maris stella, & Magnificat, con il basso da sonare.....libro terzo, opera undecima.</p>	<p>Masotti</p>	<p>1632</p>	<p>Giovanni Pietro Casanova</p>
<p>Rome</p>	<p>Masotti</p>	<p>1632</p>	<p>Ferdinando Ximenez, Florentine noble</p>
<p>Libro quarto de'salmi per il vesp- ero seguiti, & concertati da cant- arsi nelli giorni festivi della Beata Vergine, con l'hinno Ave maris stella, Iesu corona virginum, con altri mottetti, & in fine un O gloriosa domina, a dui chori, con il basso da sonare.....opera duo- decima.</p>	<p>Masotti</p>	<p>1634</p>	<p>Felice Contiloro, Canon of St.Peter's and Commissario of the camera apostolica</p>
<p>Rome</p>	<p>Masotti</p>	<p>1632</p>	<p>Ferdinando Ximenez, Florentine noble</p>

<p>Quinto libro de salmi vespertini a cinque voci intieri da cantarsi nelle domeniche, e festività di tutto l'anno, con Magnificat, hinno Lucis creator, & Salve regina, con il basso da sonare.....opera quintadecima.</p>	Rome	Masotti	1635	<p>Francesco Rapacciolli, Crucifer to His Holiness</p>
<p>Libro sesto de salmi Davidici, vespertini intieri, a quattro voci da cantarsi nelle domeniche, e feste della B.V. apostoli, & in tutti li giorni dell'anno, con il basso continuo.....opera decimasesta.</p>	Rome	Masotti	1636	<p>Giovanni Angelo Bertazzoli, Mantuan noble and Abbot at S.Barbara</p>
<p>Psalmi Davidici integri vespertini, quinque [handschriftlich verbessert in: quatuor] vocibus, qui non tantum in diebus dominicis, B.M.V., apostolorum festivitibus, verum etiam in totius anni diebus omnibus decantari solent, nec non una cum gravi parte ad organum depulsari accomodati.....liber sextus, opus decimum sextum.</p>	Rome	Masotti	1636	<p>Nunio Mascarenio SJ, Assistant for the provinces of Lusitania and East India</p>
<p>Davidica psalmodia vespertina integra, et bipartita, in totius anni festivitibus, quaternis vocibus.....una cum litanijs..... liber septimus, opus XVII.</p>	Rome	Grignani	1643	<p>Mutio Vitellesco, General of the Society of Jesus</p>
				<p>Beneficed priest, S. Maria in via lata</p>

MAZZOCCHI, Virgilio	Sacrae flores, binis, ternis, quaternis, quaternisque vocibus concinendi, opus primum.	Rome	Grignani	1640	maestro, St. Peter's	Chapter and canons, St. Peter's
	Psalmi vespertini binis choris concinendi.	Rome	Grignani	1648	maestro, St. Peter's	Domenico Mazzocchi
	Piae meditationes de Passione D.N. Iesu Christi, quae in Vaticana sanctissimi crucifixi capella, sextis ferijs per annum concinuntur.	Rome	Grignani	1648	maestro, St. Peter's	-
MICHELI, Romano	Psalmi ad officium vespertinarum musicis notis expressi, et ternis vocibus decantandi, una cum parte organica.....liber primus.	Rome	Robletti	1610	Roman priest	Cardinal Federico Borromeo
	Compieta a sei voci con tre tenori, concertata all'uso moderno, con il basso continuo per l'organo e un'altro basso particolare.....opera quarta.	Venice	Vincenti	1616	maestro, Cathedral	
NANINO, Giovanni Bernardino	Motecta.....binis, ternis, et quaternis vocibus, iuxta novi brevarii formam concinnata, una cum gravi voce ad organum sonitum accommodata, a Iulio Subissato in unum collecta et in lucem edita.	Rome	Robletti	1610	-	Ottavio Accoramboni, Bishop of Frossombone
		Rome	Robletti	1618	-	-

Motecta.....singulis, binis, ternis, quaternis, & quinis vocibus, una cum gravi voce ad organum sonitum accomodata, liber secundus.	Rome	1611	-	Stella, Canon at S.Lorenzo in Damaso and Apostolic first-secretary
Motecta.....singulis, binis, ternis, quaternis, quinisq. vocibus, una cum gravi voce ad organum, a Christophoro Margarina in unum collecta et in lucem edita, liber tertius.	Rome	1612	-	Girolamo Vicecomiti, Apostolic first-secretary, and Overseer of the Milanese Church by Margarina.
Motecta.....singulis, binis, ternis, quaternis, et quinis vocibus, una cum gravi voce ad organum sonitum accomodata, liber quartus.	Rome	1618	-	Cristoforo Cincio
Venite exultemus. Psalmus Davidicus ad matutinum in celeberrimus solemniss, tribus vocibus, & organo decantandus.	Assisi	1620	-	
Salmi vespertini a quattro per le domeniche, solennità della Madonna, & apostoli, con doi Magnificat, uno a quattro, e l'altro a otto, con il basso per l'organo se piace.	Rome	1620	-	S.Cecilia
Responsorii di Natale, & di Settimana Santa, a quattro voci.	Naples	1607	Cavalier di Cesare	

NENNA, Pomponio

....novamente ristampi, & aggiuntori il partimento per l'organo.	Naples	Beltrano	1622	Cavaliere di Cesare
Sacrae hebdomadae responsoria, quae feria quinta in Coena Domini, feria sexta in Parasceve, & Sabbato sancto ad matutinas quinque vocibus concinuntur, cum basso ad organum.	Rome	Robletti	1622	Cavaliere di Cesare Alessandro Nerio, Lord of Castrì Portiani by Ferdinando Archileo
Sacrarum cantionum, quaternis, quinis, senis, octonis vocibus cum basso ad organum, & musica instrumenta liber primus.	Rome	Soldi	1619	maestro, German College and S. Apollinare
L'ottavo libro de motetti a una, due, tre e quattro voci, con il salmo Dixit e Magnificat a 6 voci, il tutto concertati con il basso continuo per sonare.....opera decimanona.	Rome	Soldi	1619	organist, santa casa, Loreto Altemps
L'undecima libro de motetti a due, tre, quattro, cinque, & sei voci, co'l basso continuo per sonareopera vigesima quinta, data in luce da Don Benedetto Pace suo figliuolo.	Rome	Robletti	1625	formerly organist, santa casa, first-secretary to Loreto. the Apostolic See by Benedetto Pace
Sacrorum concentuum, qui singulis binis, ternis, quaternisve vocibus concinuntur.....una cum basso ad organum, liber tertius, opus tertium.	Rome	Zannetti	1617	maestro, Rieti cathedral Giovanni Antonio Massimo, Governor of Piceno

PACIOTTO, Pietro Paolo	Motecta festorum totius anni cum Communi Sanctorum.....liber secundus.	Rome	Muti	1601	-	Cardinal Antonio Maria Gallo, Bishop of Orsino
PALESTRINA, Giovan- ni Pierluigi	Missarum cum quaternis, quinis ac senis vocibus.....liber secundus.	Rome	Muti	1600	maestro, St. Peter's	Philip, King of Austria
	Motecta festorum totius anni cum Communi Sanctorum..... quat- ernis vocibus.....liber primus.	Rome	Soldi	1622	-	Ortensio de Fabio by Soldi
	Hymni totius anni secundum Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae consuetudinem, cum basso ad organum, necnon hymni religionum quatuor vocibus concin- endi.	Rome	Soldi	1625	-	Giuseppe Anselmo, Praeceptor, S.Spirito in Sassia
PAOLETTI, Angelo	Sacrae cantiones, ad organum, binis, ternis, quaternis, senisque vocibus concinendae.	Rome	Robletti	1611	-	Antonio Manfroni
PICCIONI, Giovanni	Concerti ecclesiastici.....a una, a due, a tre, a quattro, a cinque, a sei, a sette, & a otto voci, con il suo basso seguito per l'organoopera decima settima.	Venice	Vincenti	1610	-	
	Psalmi sex ternis vocibus, et aliae cantiones, binis & ternis vocibus decantandae.....opus XVIII.	Rome	Zannetti	1612	organist, Orvi- eto cathedral	Pietro Aviamontio, Abbot S.Agnese fuori le Mura
	Salmi intieri a quattro voci con- certati, con l'organo.....opera decima nona.	Venice	Vincenti	1616	maestro and organist, Monte Fiascone	

	Concentus ecclesiastici.....quat- ernisq. vocibus; sex cum psalmis in fine, cum basso ad organumopera vigesima prima.	Rome	Robletti	1619	-	Innocentio de Nanti, Abbot S.Agnese fuori le Mura
PIOCHI, Cristoforo	Cantiones sacrae quae binis, ternis, quaternisque vocibus concinuntur, cum basso ad organumliber primus.	Orvieto	Fei/ Ruuli	1623	maestro, Amer- ina cathedral	
	Sacrae cantiones, quae binis, ternis, quaternisque vocibus con- cinuntur.....liber secundus.	Rome	Robletti	1637	maestro, Faven- tina cathedral Borghese	
QUAGLIATI, Paolo	Motecta octonis et psalmus Dixit dominus duodenis vocibus, una cum basso ad organum.	Rome	Robletti	1612	maestro, S. Maria Maggiore	Virgin Mother of God, Queen of Heaven, and canons of S. Maria Maggiore
	Bassus ad organum pro motectis et dialogis binis, ternis, quaternis, quinis, & octonis vocibus alter- natim concinendis; quae omnia ita sunt in hoc eodem libro accommodata, ut singulis etiam vocibus cantu scilicet, vel tenore possint decantari.	Rome	Robletti	1620	maestro, S. Maria Maggiore	Cardinal Alessandro Ludovisi, Archbishop of Bologna
	Motetti, e dialoghi a otto voci, concertati con voci sole, con doi bassi seguiti per il primo, & secondo organo.....libro secondo.	Rome	Robletti	1627	-	Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi, vice- <u>cancellario</u>
RATTI, Lorenzo	Motecta.....binis, ternis, quat- ernis, & quinis vocibus ad organum accommodata, liber primus.	Rome	Zannetti	1617	maestro, Semin- ario Romano	Evangelista Torn- ioli, Bishop of Città di Castello

Sacrae modulationes.....pars prima, Venice una cum basso ad organum.	Vincenti	1628	maestro, German College
Sacrae modulationes.....pars secun- da, una cum basso ad organum.	Vincenti	1628	maestro, German College
Sacrae modulationes.....pars tertia, una cum basso ad organum.	Vincenti	1628	maestro, German College
Litaniae Beatissimae Virginis Mariae quinis, senis, septenis, octonis, duodenis vocibus concin- endae, una cum basso ad organumquarum aliae sunt, ut vocant, concertate, aliae etiam sine organo.	Venice	1630	maestro, santa casa, Loreto
Cantica Salomnis; binis, ternis, quaternis, ac quinis vocibus con- cinenda, una cum basso ad organum, pars prima.	Venice	1632	maestro, santa casa, Loreto
Motecta quae binis, ternis, quat- ernis, quinsque vocibus concin- untur.	Rome	1644	maestro, SS. Apostoli
Vespro.....a quattro voci concertati, con il basso continuo, opera prima.	Rome	1648	-
RICCIO, Antonio Maria	Grignani		Giovanni Battista Bernardicello Larinati, General of the Franciscan Friars Minor
RIVALDINI, France- sco	Robletti		Signora Olimpia Pamphili, Pren- cipessa di S. Martino

ROSSI, Cristoforo	Sacrae modulationes, quae vulgo motecta dicuntur, binis, ternis, & quaternis vocibus concinendae, una cum basso ad organum.....liber primus.	Rome	Masotti	1629	maestro, S. Luigi	Aegidio Ursino de Vivario, Apostolic datary
	Completorium octo vocibus ad organum concertantibus concinatum.	Rome	Masotti	1635	'Insignis Collegiatae D. Medardi Rocchae contratae, Musices Praefecti'	Archpriest, canons and chapter, and the rest of the clergy of the college 'D. Medardi'.
SABBATINI, Pietro Paolo	Psalmi, Magnificat, cum quatuor antiphonis ad vespera, cum lettanijs B. Virginis, octonis vocibus, una cum basso ad organum decantandi.....liber primus, opus duodecimum.	Rome	Masotti	1630	maestro, S. Luigi	Cardinal Francesco Barberini
SANT'ACATA, Tommaso da	Motecta quae singulis, binis, ternisque vocibus concinuntur, quibus etiam accessit missa trium vocum.....liber primus.	Rome	Masotti	1636	Friar Minor and Administrator in the Roman Curia	Cardinal Francesco Barberini by Fra Antonio di Massa
SCACCHI, Marco	Missarum quatuor vocibus, liber primus.	Rome	Robletti	1633	maestro, Court	King Wladislaw IV of Poland
SERPERIO, Francesco	Missa et vespertinum officium dominicale quatuor vocibus concinendum. Cum basso ad organum.	Rome	Robletti	1631	-	Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi.

SEVERI, Francesco	Salmi passeggiati per tutte le voci nella maniera che si cantano in Roma sopra i falsi bordonni di tutti i toni ecclesiastici, da cantarsi nei vespri della domenica e delli giorni festivi di tutto l'anno, con alcuni versi di Miserere sopra il falso bordone del Dentice..... libro primo.	Rome	Borboni	1615	singer in the papal chapel	Cardinal Scipione Borghese
SORIANO, Francesco	Missarum liber primus.	Rome	Robletti	1609	maestro, St. Peter's	Paul V
	Psalmi et motecta quae otto, duodecim & sexdecim vocibus concinuntur.....Liber secundus.	Venice	Vincenti	1616	maestro, St. Peter's	
	Passio D.N. Jesu Christi secundum quatuor evangelistae, Magnificat sexdecim, Sequentia fidelium defunctorum, una cum responsoria, aliaque non nulla ecclesiastica quaternis vocibus in ecclesiis concinenda.	Rome	Soldi	1619	maestro, St. Peter's	Chapter and canons, St. Peter's
STAMEGNA, Nicolò di Spello	Sacrarum modulationum binis, ternis, quaternisque vocibus, liber primus.	Rome	Masotti	1637	maestro, Spoleto cathedral	Lorenzo Castrucci, noble from Lugo, Bishop of Spoleto
STEFANINI, Giovanni Battista	Concerti ecclesiastici a otto voci, cioè, motetti, messa, salmi, Magnificat, con le litanie della B. Vergine.....libro terzo.	Rome	Robletti	1614	maestro, S. Maria della Consolazione	Gioseffo Ceva, Bishop of Ivrea

	Motetti concertati a 2.3.4. & 5. voci, con il basso dell'organo, libro primo, opera settima.	Rome	Fei	1626	maestro, Modena cathedral	Cardinal Maurizio di Savoia
TALONE, Gerolamo	Motecta, psalmi Vespertini, Completorium, Salve regina, Regina coeli, Ave regina coelorum et Litaniae gloriosissimae Virginis, una cum basso ad organum, binis, ternis, et quaternis vocibus respective concinenda.....opus secundum.	Rome	Masotti	1630	maestro, Albano cathedral	Nicolao Missino, Apostolic first-secretary and Archpriest of Albano cathedral
TARDITI, Paolo	Motecta singulis, binis, ternis, quaternis, quinis, ac senis vocibus concinenda, una cum basso ad organum.....liber primus.	Rome	Robletti	1619	maestro, SS. Giacomo et Illefonso	Antonio Lauda
	Psalmi Magnif. cum quatuor antiphonis ad vesperas octo vocib. una cum basso ad organum decantandiliber secundus.	Rome	Soldi	1620	maestro, SS. Giacomo et Illefonso	Cardinal Michelangelo Tonti
TRICARICO, Giuseppe	Concentus ecclesiastici duarum, trium, et quatuor vocum.....liber quartus.	Rome	Grignani	1649	-	Carlo, Duke of Montisneri
UGOLINI, Vincenzo	Sacrae cantiones, quae vulgo motecta appellantur, octonis vocibus concinendae in duplicibus primae classis, & in communi sanctorum, alijsq. festivitibus, cum basso ad organum, liber primus.	Rome	Zannetti	1614	-	Cardinal Arrigoni

Motecta sive sacrae cantiones in festis mobilibus, & sanctorum totius anni.....in quatuor libros distributae, unica, duabus, tribus, et quatuor vocibus, ad musicos numeros modulatae, simul cum gravi voce ad organi sonum accomodatae, liber primus.	Venice	Vincenti	1616	-
Motecta sive sacrae cantiones..... in quatuor vocibus distributaeliber secundus.	Venice	Vincenti	1617	maestro, S. Luigi
Motecta sive sacrae cantiones..... liber tertius.	Venice	Vincenti	1618	maestro, S. Luigi
Motecta, sive sacrae cantiones..... liber quartus.	Rome	Fei	1619	maestro, S. Luigi
Motecta et missae octonis et duodenis vocibus cum basso ad organum.....liber secundus.	Rome	Soldi	1622	maestro, St. Peter's
Psalmi ad Vesperas octonis vocibus cum basso ad organum concinendi ijdemque cum alijs, ut vocant, concertati.	Venice	Vincenti	1628	-
Psalmi ad Vesperas et motecta duodenis vocibus, una cum basso ad organum, liber primus.	Venice	Vincenti	1630	-

Cardinal Alessandro Ursino

Cardinal Scipione Borghese, Archpriest of St. Peter's

VENERI, Gregorio	Sacrarum cantionum quae singulis, binis, ternis, quaternis, senis, septenis, octonis vocibus concinuntur, una cum basso ad organum libro primo.	Rome	Soldi	1621	-	Evangelista Carbonesi, Canon at Peter's
VIADANA, Ludovico Grossi da	Falsi bordonni a quattro voci, con i Sicuti erat a otto, et il Te Deum Laudamus e Salve Regina a otto con il basso continuo per l'organo. opera XXVIII.	con i Rome	Robletti	1612	maestro, Fano cathedral	Benedetto Cinquanta of the Milanese province
	Letanie che si cantano nella santa casa di Loreto, et nelle chiese di Roma ogni sabbato, & festa della Madonna a 3, a 4, a 5, a 6, a 7, a 8 & 12 voci. Con il basso per l'organo. nuovamente in questa terza impressione ristampate, & con diligenza corrette.	Venice	Vincenti	1613	-	
VITALI, Filippo	Sacrae cantiones sex vocibus cum basso ad organum decantande. liber primus.	Venice	Magni	1625	-	
	Hymni, Urbani VIII Pont. Max. iussu editu in musicos modos ad templorum usum digesti.	Rome	Camera Apostolica	1636	musician in the papal chapel	Urban VIII
	Psalmi ad vespervas quinis vocibus cum basso ad organum si placet.	Rome	Bi anchi	1641	musician in the papal chapel	Louis XIII, King of France

ANTHOLOGIES

- RISM 1607² Missa, Motecta, Magnificat, et Litaniae B.M.V. Salvatoris Sacchi cirinolani in Apulea Capellae magistri civitatis Tuscanellae, cum Basso continuato ad organum, nec non decem motecta diversorum excellentiss. auctorum octonis vocibus..... Rome Zannetti
- RISM 1614³ Selectae cantiones excellentissimorum auctorum octonis vocibus concinendae.. A Fabio Costantino romano urbeveteranae cathedralis musicae praeffecto in lucem editae. Cum basso ad organum. Rome Zannetti
- RISM 1615¹ Raccolta de 'salmi a otto de diversi eccellentissimi autori, posti in luce da F. Costantini romano. Opera seconda. Naples Carlino
- RISM 1616¹ Selectae cantiones excellentissimorum auctorum binis, ternis, quaternisque vocibus concinendae a Fabio Costantino romano insignis Basilicae S. Mariae Transtiberini musices moderatore simul collectae. Liber primus. Opus tertium. Rome Zannetti
- RISM 1618³ Scelta di motetti di diversi eccellentissimi autori à 2, à 3, à 4 et à 5, posti in luce da Fabio Costantini romano maestro di cappella dell'illustrissima città d'Orvieto. Libro secondo. Opera quarta. Rome Zannetti
- RISM 1619² Messe a quattro voci. Le tre prime del Palestrina, cioè Iste confessor, Sine nomine, & di Papa Marcello, ridotta à quattro da Gio. Francesco Anerio, et la quarta della bataglia dell'istesso Gio. Francesco Anerio con il basso continuo per sonare. Rome Soldi
- RISM 1620¹ Scelta de Salmi à 8, Magnificat, Antifone, cioè, Regina caeli, Ave Regina caelorum, Alma Redemptoris. Et Litaniae della Madonna. De diversi eccellentissimi autori. Post' in luce da Fabio Constantini romano maestro di cappella dell'illustrissima città d'Orvieto con il basso continuo per l'organo. Libro quinto. Opera seconda. Orvieto Zannetti

RISM 1621 ¹	Sacrae cantiones excellentissimorum auctorum octonis vocibus collectae a Fabio Costantino urbe vetanae cathedralis musicae prefecto. Cum basso continuo ad organum. [Reprint of RISM 16143]	Antwerp	Phalèse
1621 [not in RISM]	Salmi, Magnificat, & Motetti à sei, con la Sequentia di Pasqua di Resurrectione à Otto Concertata di diversi eccellentissimi autori, posti in luce da Fabio Costantini Romano.....con il basso continuo per sonare. Opera sesta. Libro primo.	Orvieto	Heredi del Zannetti
RISM 1621 ³	Lilia campi binis, ternis, quaternisque vocibus concinata. A Io. Baptista Robletto excerta atque luce donata. Cum basso ad organum.	Rome	Robletti
RISM 1625 ¹	Sacri affetti con testi da diversi eccellentissimi autori raccolti da Francesco Sammaruco romano a 2. a 3. a 4 e aggiuntui (sic) nel fine le letanie della B.V.	Rome	Soldi
RISM 1626 ¹	Reprint of RISM 1619 ²	Rome	Masotti
RISM 1629 ⁶	Missa, ac sacrarum cantionum binis, ternis, et quaternis vocibus. A trino fratrum germanorum Abundii, Francischi, et Angeli Antonelliorum ingenio compositarum. Liber quartus.	Rome	Robletti
RISM 1634 ¹	Motetti a 1. 2. 3. 4. è 5. voci di Fabio Costantini.....con alcuni de altri eccel. compositori. Libro quarto. Opera duodecima.	Venice	Magni
RISM 1635 ¹	Reprint of RISM 1619 ²	Rome	Masotti
RISM 1636 ³	Applausi ecclesiastici motetti a voce sola con il basso continuo per l'organo. Di F. Girolamo da Monte dell'Olmo minore osservante. Libro primo.....Et alcuni del P.F. Tomaso da S. Agata del medesimo ordine.	Venice	Magni
RISM 1637 ¹	Reprint of RISM 1636 ³	Venice	Magni

- RISM 1639¹ Reprint of RISM 1619² Rome Fei
- RISM 1639² Salmi, magnificat, e motetti a otto voci con basso continuo di Fabio Costantini romano, e cittadino orvietano uno de' Conservatori dell' illustrissima città d'Orvieto. Libro sesto de Salmi. Opera decima terza. Orvieto Ruuli
- RISM 1642¹ Sacrarum modulationum ex variis selectis auctoribus collectatum selectio prima studio et diligentia Dominici Bianci quae partim binis ac ternis partim vero quaternis vocibus concinuntur. Rome Grignani
- RISM 1643¹ Floridus Concentus sacras continens Laudes a celeberrimis musices erudites auctoribus, binis, ternis, quaternis, quinisque vocibus suavissimis modulis concinnatas, quas in unum collegit R. Floridus canonicus de Sylvestris a Barbarano. Rome Fei
- RISM 1643² Scelta di motetti di diversi eccellentissimi autori raccolti da Filippo Berretti a 2, 3, 4 e 5 voci, dedicati all'illmo et revmo signore monsignor Gio. Maria Roscoli coppiero di N.S. et canonico di S. Pietro in Vaticano. Rome Grignani
- RISM 1645² R. Floridus canonicus de Sylvestris a Barbarano has alteras sacras cantiones in unum ab ipso collectas suavissimis modulis ab excellentissimis auctoribus concinnatas binis, ternis, quaternis vocibus curavit in lucem edendas. Rome Grignani
- RISM 1646¹ Messe a 4 voci le tre prime del Palestrina, cioè di Papa Marcello ridotta à 4. da Gio. Francesco Anerio, Iste confessor, et Sine nomine; et la quarta della Battaglia, dell'istesso Gio. Francesco Anerio con il basso continuo per l'organo. Di nuovo corrette, con l'aggiunta di una messa di Pietro Heredia, & un'altra per i Defonti del medesimo. Rome Grignani/
Poggioli
- RISM 1647¹ Scelta di motetti de diversi eccellentissimi autori a 2, 3, 4 e 5 voci da potersi cantare in diverse feste dell'anno, si per monache, come ancho per voci ordinarie, raccolti da Giovanni Poggioli. [printed twice within the year with different dedications] Rome Grignani

- RISM 1647² Floridus modulorum hortus ab excellentissimis musices auctoribus, binis, ternis, Rome, Rome Fei
 quaternisque vocibus modulatus. Quorum tertiam selectionem R. Floridus
 canonicus de Sylvestris a Barbarano in unum ab ipso collectam in lucem
 curavit edendam.
- RISM 1648¹ R. Floridus canonicus de Sylvestris a Barbarano Florida verba a Robletti
 celeberrimis musices auctoribus binis, ternis, quaternisque vocibus
 curavit in lucem edenda. Rome
- RISM 1649² R. Floridus canonicus de Sylvestris a Barbarano cantiones alias sacras ab. Grignani
 excell. auctoribus concinnatas suavissimis modulis binis, ternis, quaternisque
 vocibus in lucem edendas curavit. Rome
- RISM 1650 R. Floridus canonicus de Sylvestris a Barbarano, has alias sacras cantiones, Grignani
 ab excellentissimis musices auctoribus suavissimis modulis binis, ternis,
 quaternisque vocibus concinnatas, in lucem edendas curavit. Rome

Appendix VI

Archival Documents

These are arranged according to the name of the archives where they are housed.

1. I-Frascati, Archivio del duomo
2. I-Rome, Archivium Historicum Societatis Iesu
3. I-Ras [Rome, Archivio di stato]
4. I-Rome, Archivio del vicariato
5. I-Rf [Rome, Biblioteca dei Filippini]
6. I-Rome, Secret Vatican Archives.
7. I-Rvat [Vatican Library]

1. I-Frascati, Archivio del duomo

Busta: I^a Metà del 1600 (1600-19)

Busta: I^a Metà del 1600 (1620-49)

Constitutiones Observandae a Capitulo et Canonicis Cathedralis
Ecclesiae Tuscularae

Liber Capitulorum ab anno 1608 usque 1652

2. I-Rome, Archivium Historicum Societatis Iesu

Fondo Gesuitico: Chiesa del Gesù

Busta I, II and III: various papers.

Libro 2005: Entrata e Uscita 1601 - 1609

Libro 2006: Libro Dell'entrate et spese della Sacestia Dall'anno
1620

Libro 2007: Ordine, et Ossèrvationi della nostra Chiesa per tutto
l'Anno

Libro 2009: Entrata e Uscita per la Sagrestia del Giesu di Roma
(1637-) [copied in Libro 2061]

Libro 2060: Entrata e Uscita della Sagres. (1630-37)

3. I-Ras

Š.Agostino

Libro 3 [14]: Decreti capitolari (1587-1609)

Libro 4 [15]: Decreti capitolari (1609-27)

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I, 2

G.O. Pitoni, Notitia de'contrapuntisti e compositori di musica ...

S.Maria in Cosmedin

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Cappella Giulia 167: Fogli di feste e di esequie s.c. (di formato grande), degli anni 1614-1620; e conti, note e ricevute varie appetanti alla Cappella Giulia, niti ai fogli di ciascun anno, della stesso periodo (a parte qualche conto di un anno precedente o seguente).

Appendix VII: Musical Exmaples

Refer to supplementary volume.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The bibliography is divided into four sections: musical manuscripts, contemporary publications of music not included in Appendix V, musical works in modern editions, and finally the bibliography proper which consists of printed books and articles of all periods.

MUSICAL MANUSCRIPTSD-Müs: Santini Hs. 16

The content of this manuscript is described on f. 1: Messa a quattro voci di Paolo Agostini Maestro in S. Pietro in Vaticano l'anno 1628. composta espressamente per S. Giovanni Laterano, ad istanza del Maestro di detta chiesa Virgilio Mazzocchi.

D-Müs: Santini Hs. 87

The content of this manuscript is a Messa la battaglia à 4 by G.F. Anerio.

D-Müs: Santini Hs. 873

This manuscript dates from 1814 to 1815 and contains twelve-part polychoral music by G.F. Anerio, Agostini, Quagliati, G.B. Nanino and Soriano copied by Fortunato Santini in the library of the Seminario Romano.

D-Müs: Santini Hs. 1213

Between f. 130 and f. 157 this manuscript contains seven motets for two voices and continuo by Domenico Massenzio. These were copied by Fortunato Santini from a lost collection of 1624, printed in Rome by Zannetti.

D-Müs: Santini Hs. 3588

This manuscript is entitled 'Ex Bibliotheca Collegii Romani. Ista Sacrae Cantiones ab excellentissimis Musices auctoribus Octonis vocibus suavissimis concinnatas modulis ex antiquis MS an. 1608 et 1609 sic in unum collegit Fortunatus Santini R.'. It contains music by G.M. Nanino and A. Dragoni.

I-Bc: Q. 34

The description on the title-page reads 'Spartitura Generale & particolare di diversi Motetti, et Madrigali, con altre opere belle, & di molto studio.....Joannes Amiyonus Mantuanus scribebat Roma. Anno Domini 1613'.

I-Bc: R.29

This manuscript contains thirteen parts for G.F. Anerio's Missa Constantia à 12 with basso continuo. The documents date from the 17th century.

I-Bc: R. 281

This manuscript, in Santini's hand, contains a setting of Contristatus et dolens à 4 by Pietro Eredia.

I-Bc: Z. 84

This manuscript contains a Magnificat by Stefano Fabri entitled 'Magnificat à 8 4^o Tono Del Sig^{re} Stefano Fabri (juniore)'.

I-Bc: Z. 143

This contains a Magnificat written in score headed 'Magnificat Con:to à 8 Del Sig^{re} Francesco Foggia 1642'.

I-Bsf: Ms PALESTRINA VI-I

The content is described in the manuscript containing the second bass part as 'Messa detta Vestiva i Colli composta a 5 voci da Gio. Pierluigi da Palestrina e ridotta a 8 da Rugiero Giovanelli da Velletri'. It is an 18th-century manuscript, probably a copy of I-Rvat, cappella sistina, codex 122.

I-Bsp: Ms. A.12.1

This contains a score of the Missa Gaudeamus omnes à 4/5 by Paolo Agostini, as well as of the five-part motet on which it is based. The printed source of the mass is Agostini's Partitura delle messe et motetti, a quattro et cinque voci, con 40 esempi di contrapunti, all'ottava, decima et duodecima (Rome, 1627).

I-Rc: Mus. 286

This is a manuscript in choir-book format containing G.F. Anerio's Missa Paulina Burghesia à 5. There is however a printed title-page, but because of the ambiguous nature of the publication it has been included here, as well as in the list of printed works consulted. Close examination of the source reveals that the supposedly printed title-page is composed of letters cut out and glued onto a blank sheet of paper; this would seem to indicate that the work was never printed - clearly this problem is not open to any solution.

I-Rsg: Mazzo XI, 8

This manuscript, containing masses for eight voices by Frescobaldi and Tarditi, is fully described in Frescobaldi, Opere complete, i.

I-Rvat, cappella giulia: Ms V. 71

This manuscript, which contains a six-choir Dixit Dominus and a five-choir Magnificat, dates from the end of the 17th century or the beginning of the 18th. The pieces are in score, and an inscription on the front cover reads: Pauli Augustini a Vallerano in Basilica Vaticana Musices Praefecti. Discipuli fratrum, Berardini, et J^o Mariae Nanini: morta aet. 36. an. 1629.

I-Rvat, cappella sistina: Codex 53

The title-page of this choir-book gives the following information: ALEXANDRO. VII./P. O. M./ MISSA/ Che fà hoggi il mio sole/ Gregorij Allegri/ Dominico Palumbo/ Magistro Capellae Pontificiae/ pro tempore existente/ Batholomaeus Belleschus Scribebat Anno M.DC.LXIV.

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