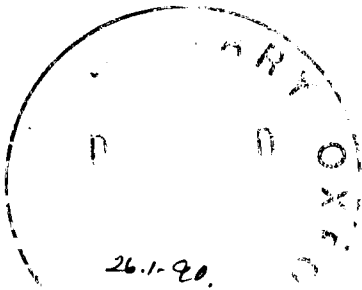


UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

SACRED POLYCHORAL MUSIC IN ROME 1575-1621

THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF D. PHIL.

HILARY TERM 1988



THOMAS NOEL O'REGAN

ST. CATHERINE'S COLLEGE

VOLUME ONE

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ABSTRACT

The object of this thesis is to lay open a repertory of music which has long been ignored, the music for two and more choirs composed by Roman composers of the generation of Palestrina and his immediate successors. Polychoral music is taken to mean music in which two or more independent and consistent groups of voices take part, singing separately and together; the parts should remain independent in *tutti* sections, with the possible exception of the bass parts. By this definition, the first real polychoral music to be published in Rome was that by Giovanni P. da Palestrina in his *Motetorum liber secundus* of 1575. This is taken as the starting point for this study. Music which might have influenced Roman composers is examined, as well as eight-voice music by Roman composers which is not polychoral according to the above criteria. The development of polychoral music in the city is then traced through the reigns of the various popes from Gregory XIII to Paul V, whose death in 1621 is taken as a convenient place to end the study. Particular emphasis is laid on structural and textural aspects and the way these were adapted by successive composers. The ground for the Roman *concertato* style was laid in the early experiments by composers such as Giovanni Animuccia,

Palestrina and Tomas Luis de Victoria; this is traced through what is termed the 'fragmented' style of the last two decades of the sixteenth century to the full flowering of the large-scale *concertato* motet after 1605.

The music is studied in the context of the institutions for which it was written. The archives of these institutions have been researched for information on performance practice, which is presented here. The broader cultural, social and religious background which spawned the idiom is also examined and polychoral music related both to the new propagandist attitude of church leaders from Gregory XIII onwards, and to a general expansion in musical activity in the city of Rome through the period under investigation.

The various printed and manuscript sources for this music have been researched and the resulting catalogue of pieces by fifty or so composers who worked in the city is presented. A more detailed examination is carried out of the primary manuscript sources, from which valuable information on various aspects of the music can be obtained.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The preparation of this thesis has relied heavily on the cooperation of librarians, keepers of manuscripts and custodians of archives in Rome and elsewhere. Too many to acknowledge individually, I am sincerely grateful to one and all. I owe a deep debt of gratitude to my first supervisor, the late Prof. Denis Arnold, for his patient guidance and inspiration. I can only regret that he did not live to see the work completed. No less a debt is owed to his successor as my supervisor, Dr. John Harper. His was indeed the more difficult task in seeing the work through its final stages, and coping with drafts in various stages of comprehensibility. Whatever lucidity the work possesses is in no small part due to his wise counsel. I would like to acknowledge the help afforded me by my family and friends throughout the course of this work. I am particularly grateful to Dr. Grant O'Brien for his invaluable assistance in the final stages of preparation of this thesis.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1. The following library sigla are used:

D Mbs	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
D Müs	Münster, Bischöfliche Priesterseminarsbibliothek, Santini Sammlung
D Rp	Regensburg, Proschesche Musikbibliothek
GB Lbl	London, British Library
I Bc	Bologna, Biblioteca del Conservatorio (Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale)
I Rf	Archivio dei Filippini (Roman Oratory)
I Rn (usually Rn)	Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale
I Rsc (usually Rsc)	Rome, Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia
I Rsg	Biblioteca di San Giovanni in Laterano
I Rsmt	Musical Archive of S. Maria in Trastevere, now housed in the Archivio del Vicariato in Rome.
I Rvat (usually simply Rvat)	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

2. The following abbreviations are used for archives

ACSP	Archivio Capitulare di S. Pietro
ASGF	Archivio di S. Giovanni di Fiorentini
ASR	Archivio di Stato, Roma
ASV	Archivio Segreto Vaticano
ASCR	Archive of the Spanish College in Rome
ASMM	Archive of S. Maria Maggiore (housed at the basilica)

3. The following abbreviations are used for periodicals

<i>AcM</i>	<i>Acta Musicologica</i>
<i>AfMw</i>	<i>Archiv für Musikwissenschaft</i>
<i>AMf</i>	<i>Archiv für Musikforschung</i>
<i>AnMc</i>	<i>Analecta Musicologica</i>
<i>EM</i>	<i>Early Music</i>
<i>EMH</i>	<i>Early Music History</i>
<i>JAMS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Musicological Society</i>
<i>ML</i>	<i>Music and Letters</i>
<i>MT</i>	<i>The Musical Times</i>
<i>NA</i>	<i>Note d'Archivio per la storia musicale</i>
<i>NRMI</i>	<i>Nuova Rivista Musicale Italiana</i>
<i>PRMA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Royal Music Association</i>
<i>RMI</i>	<i>Rivista Musicale Italiana</i>

4. Other Abbreviations

C. M. M.	Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae
Sma., Smo.	Santissima, Santissimo
C, A, T, B	Cantus, Altus, Tenor, Bassus
v (8v)	voice (eight-voice)
Ps.	Psalm (nos. are from the Vulgate)
G ₂	G clef on second line from the bottom of the stave (and similarly for other clefs)

PART ONE

INTRODUCTION

The impetus for this study came originally from an interest in the music of Tomás Luis de Victoria and an attempt to explain why, having proved in his first publication of 1572 his genius in writing most expressive music in four, five and six parts, he should subsequently have devoted so much of his energy to writing music for two and three choirs.' It quickly became clear that this question could only be answered in the context of Roman music generally and of Roman polychoral music in particular, and that this was a subject which had hitherto been largely neglected. Once the task of amassing a body of music with which to compare that of Victoria had been begun, it became obvious that a vast amount of polychoral music had been composed by Roman composers during the fifty or so years following 1575 and that there was an urgent need for a study of this music; the focus of the research then changed to the polychoral idiom itself rather than the music of a particular composer. It is confined to sacred polychoral music with a Latin text and excludes polychoral secular and spiritual madrigals, of which there are in any case very few surviving from Rome. The word 'sacred' is preferred to 'liturgical': while most of the music under consideration was used in the liturgy, either as an integral part (Mass ordinaries, Magnificats etc.) or as an accompaniment (motets), some was used in non-liturgical devotional services, and some again to accompany secular occasions such as a Papal meal or an academic dispute.

Venice has traditionally been associated in people's minds with polychoral music but on the basis of output Rome has the strongest claim of any city to be regarded as its true home. The catalogue in Appendix V has over four hundred items, which far surpasses the amount of music in the idiom written in Venice, Munich, Vienna or anywhere else. Roman composers were slow to start writing in this way but, once started, their production mushroomed: the reasons for this will be examined in Chapter One which seeks to put this growth in the

context of a general expansion in sacred music in the city during the period after the Council of Trent. For the purposes of the study 'Roman' includes music written in Rome, by composers who lived there most or all of their lives, or who spent at least some time there in an official position. Due to limitations on the size of the study, the works of composers such as Ippolito Chamaterò di Negri, who were from the city but spent most of their lives outside it, will not be considered. Composers such as Victoria, Bartolomeo Roy and Giovanni de Macque, who spent periods of time working in the city before moving elsewhere, will be considered but works written by them after leaving Rome will not be examined.

As a ground-breaking study this work has had three main objectives: to survey the sources for Roman polychoral music; to examine a representative body of that music so as to establish a chronology of its development; to place it in context, both cultural and liturgical, and to examine performance practice. Chapter Three deals with the major printed and manuscript sources while Appendix V lists all sacred polychoral pieces so far discovered by each of the composers examined as well as the sources for each piece. Collecting of data for this catalogue is ongoing, and what is presented here represents the data-base used for this survey, rather than an exhaustive study of the sources for each composer. Every effort has been made to track down works and the repertory so far established is certainly largely complete.

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The year 1575 saw the first publication - by Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina - of Roman polychoral music properly so-called (the use of the term is discussed in Chapter Four) and this is taken as the starting date for the study. The death of Pope Paul V in 1621 is taken as a convenient cut-off point; while the composition of polychoral music did not stop after this date, there was a decline in the number of publications containing such music and a reduction in the amount of composition for two choirs. Writing for more than

two choirs continued apace right through the seventeenth century in Rome, the so-called 'colossal baroque' which has already been dealt with by Graham Dixon, in his pioneering study of Roman sacred music in general during the period 1605-1645.² There is inevitably some overlap between his study and this one, but it has been kept to a minimum. It was necessary to take this examination beyond 1605 in order to complete the survey of its development and, in particular, its relationship with the *concertato* style. Plotting the development of the polychoral style from 1575 gives a historical perspective to the early seventeenth-century music inevitably lacking from Dixon's study. Dixon also relied almost completely on printed sources for this music; this study complements his in paying more attention to the large amount of music which survives in manuscript.

Another British thesis has done pioneering work on the development of the polychoral idiom in general - that of Anthony Carver.³ There is no overlap here since Carver's study did not look at all at Rome;⁴ it has, however, provided the background from which this examination begins and Carver's work, like that of Dixon, has been an important source of inspiration in undertaking the present study, which can be seen as bridging the gap between them. Two German theses have also been concerned with aspects of the music examined here: that by Joachim Roth on Roman litany settings,⁵ and Klaus Fischer's work on Roman psalms.⁶ Both of these looked at the whole range of settings from four voices upwards: their studies gain from the ability this has afforded them of focussing on one category in depth but, on the other hand, suffer somewhat from the lack of perspective resulting from lack of knowledge of other polychoral categories. The present study, of course, has similar strengths and weaknesses in concentrating on a particular idiom rather than a category or composer: it can only be hoped that shining the spotlight from the direction of idiom on a number of categories and composers will produce insights to complement those of other writers. Since Roth and Fischer have examined

litanies⁷ and psalms, these categories will be given less prominence in this study, and others such as Magnificats, Masses and Marian antiphons will be looked at instead.

This study will deal with the work of a large number of composers and, although many will be dealt with individually, the focus will be not so much on personal styles as on the ways in which they reacted to the demands of the polychoral idiom. The limitations of the study will be indicated in more detail in the introduction to Part Two, where the Roman polychoral repertory is examined; the work of other scholars who have worked on specific Roman composers will also be detailed in that introduction. In Part One, as well as a consideration of the sources for the music (Chapter Three) and the social and religious background against which it was composed (Chapter One), a detailed study of performance practice has been undertaken (Chapter Two), based on archival work in a large number of Roman institutions.

Archival research in Rome has recently undergone a resurgence of interest and activity after many years of neglect. This has been reflected in the revival of the journal *Note d'Archivio* in which the original founder-editor, Raffaele Casimiri, published his own extensive researches in Roman archives.⁸ His untimely death prevented publication of much of his work and was followed by a period of silence broken only by the researches of Hermann Frey⁹ and the somewhat idiosyncratic work of Remo Giazotto.¹⁰ More recently a surge of activity has taken place led by a new generation of Italian scholars such as Arnaldo Morelli and Giancarlo Rostirolla, foreigners established in Italy such as Jean Lionnet, and visiting researchers like John Burke, Thomas Culley, Graham Dixon and Richard Sherr.¹¹ Much remains to be done, particularly in the archives of confraternities and smaller churches, of which the city is very rich, even if they are not always catalogued or at present accessible.

The initial impetus for this study came from a question: why does a composer write polychoral music? There is no simple answer since the explanation is bound up with the broader religious context of the city, the attitudes of church authorities and patrons, and composers' responses to these attitudes. Also important are influences from other composers, other major centres of composition and from prevailing musical fashions. It is to be hoped that the present study, by shining the spotlight on these various areas in turn, will illuminate the forces and inspirations which led Victoria and his contemporaries to write in this idiom.

NOTES

1. In speaking of Victoria's polychoral Masses, published in 1600, Robert Stevenson (*Spanish Cathedral Music*, p. 413) described the composer as having been distracted by the 'bright bauble of antiphony'. This is perhaps representative of attitudes generally to the polychoral music of Victoria and his Roman contemporaries.
2. Dixon, *Liturgical Music*.
3. Carver, *The Development*; 'Polychoral Music'.
4. In his forthcoming book on the development of polychoral music Carver will be dealing with Roman composers, though not in a very detailed fashion.
5. Roth, *Die mehrstimmige*.
6. Fischer, *Psalmkompositionen*; 'Le composizioni polichorali'.
7. David Blazey, a Ph. D. student at Durham University is currently writing a dissertation on litany settings, a further reason for not considering them here except in passing.
8. The papers relevant to this study are listed under Casimiri in the bibliography.
9. See the entries under Frey in the bibliography.
10. Giazotto, *Quattro secoli*; 'Cinque documenti'.
11. For published researches by these authors relevant to the present study, see their entries in the bibliography.

CHAPTER ONE

POST-TRIDENTINE ROME AND HER INSTITUTIONS

A. THE SPIRIT OF THE AGE

It is the most blessed varietie in the world, where a man may goe to so many Churches in one day, chose where he wil, so heavenly served, with such musike, such voices, such instrumentes, al ful of gravitie and majestie, al moving to devotion and ravishing a mans hart to the meditation of melodie of Angels and Saintes in heaven. With the Organs a childes voice shriller and louder then the instrument, tuneable with every pipe: Among the quyre, Cornet or Sagbut, or such like above al other voices. Wherein this is singular and much to be noted, that they deliver every word and everie syllable so distinctly, so cleane, so commodiously, so fully, that the hearers may perceave al that is sung. And that verse which the Organs doth playe, one of the quyre in the meane time with a base voyce very leasurly, rather sayth then singeth which there is common, in other places I have not seene it.

This excerpt, taken from the manuscript entitled *Roma Sancta* written in 1581 by the English Jesuit, Gregory Martin, paints a vivid picture of flourishing musical activity in the city's institutions during his stay there (1576-8).¹ His testimony is all the more significant since he was not writing specifically about music: this is one of the few occasions in his book which mentions musical practice. Martin wrote his book, which was never published, partly as a guidebook for English pilgrims and partly for the edification of English Catholics with whom he wished to share his reaction to the intense and devoted worship which he observed in the Rome of Pope Gregory XIII. Martin's description encapsulates the spirit of the age and will serve as a useful introduction to this discussion. •

The most striking thing about his report is, perhaps, its early date. Such accounts became common in the seventeenth century² but Martin is describing Rome in the 1570s, not much more than a decade after the end of the Council of Trent. The two key points made by him reflect the discussion and decrees of the Council about music: that it should move to devotion and that the hearers should perceive all that was sung.³ And yet, Martin is not here

describing an *a cappella* performance of, for example, Palestrina's *Missa Papae Marcelli*: he is describing a performance with voices and instruments, perhaps even a polychoral performance with one choir accompanied by cornett and sackbutt and the other, which included a boy soprano soloist, accompanied by organ. He also describes an *alternatim* performance between organ and choir in which one of the basses declaimed the chant during the organ verses in a manner approaching speech⁴. Martin does not specify the church in which he heard this performance; indeed he writes as if it were common throughout the city. Whatever the exact details, it is clear that popularly-held notions of performance practice in Rome in the 1570s need to be revised.

The bare, almost totally homophonic style of the works written in the immediate aftermath of the Council of Trent did not long survive. Simplicity and austerity were all very well as a liturgical ideal but did not necessarily attract people, and attracting people was very much at the heart of the new, more aggressive spirit of the 1570s. Only when one had people's attention in the churches (or, in the case of Philip Neri, outside of the churches) could one begin to convert their hearts and minds to God; without their attention in the first place nothing could be done and it was recognised that music had a crucial role to play in attracting people and making them susceptible to the message. This was very much the philosophy of Charles Borromeo, one of the most influential figures in the post-Tridentine period: in the design and fitting out of churches all was to be directed towards impressing, overwhelming and uplifting the faithful and providing an environment as different as possible from their everyday one.⁵ Borromeo had not extended this philosophy to the writing of sacred music in his earlier instructions to Vincenzo Ruffo, but he did include the words 'that the powerful and sweet sound of the voices should soothe and caress the ears of the listeners in a pious, religious and holy way', showing his awareness of the power of music which could be harnessed to his ends.⁶ It was a logical step to apply Borromeo's principles of church

architecture to church music and we can see the newer, more pragmatic approach in a decision of the Jesuit, Michael Lauretano, rector of the German College in Rome in 1575:

But [Gregorian chant] is not tempered with such sweetness that it could be hoped that worldly men, or not too devout ecclesiastics, might, after some time, be kept [coming to the church] with that frequency with which they had begun. Lauretano, therefore, decided that instrumental music, and measured [music], the use of which had been accepted by the church, were to be employed.⁷

Having taken this decision, Lauretano set out to make the German College second to none in the standard of its music. He succeeded to the extent that its reputation both for the excellence of its music, and for its ability to attract huge crowds, was attested to by all who described their visit to the city from Martin onwards.

No one was more aware of the power of music to move men's hearts than Philip Neri, probably the most influential figure in post-Tridentine Rome. From the 1550s he had gathered groups of people around him for spiritual exercises, firstly in his room and later in oratories or, during the summer, out of doors. These included a sermon and the singing of simple *laude spirituali*. Neri himself, in a report to the pope in about 1575 said: 'practice has shown that by inserting the pleasure of spiritual music and the simplicity and purity of boys into the serious exercises ...one draws many more people of every sort'.⁸ The papal singer and composer, Oratio Griffi, summed up Neri's approach in his foreword to Giovanni Francesco Anerio's *Teatro Armonico* of 1619:

And to attain the desired aim so much more easily, and to draw with a *sweet deception* the sinners to the holy exercises of the oratory, you (Philip Neri) introduced music there, seeing to it that vernacular and devotional things were sung, so that the people, being allured by song and tender words, would be all the more disposed to spiritual profit...[my italics]⁹

By 1570 the simple homophonic, three-voiced *laude* were proving inadequate, since by then the attendance had begun to include more educated and noble

people. Giovanni Animuccia made this clear in the dedication to his *Il secondo libro delle laudi* of 1570, written for use in Neri's oratory:

Ma essendosi poi tuttavia l'Oratorio suddetto per gratia di Dio venuto accrescendo co'l concorso di Prelati et Gentil'huomini principalissimi, è parso anco à me conveniente di accrescere in questo Secondo Libro, l'harmonia, et i concetti, variando la musica in diversi modi, facendola hora sopra parole latine, hora sopra vulgari, et hora con piu numero di voci, et hora con meno, et quando con rime d'una maniera, et quando d'un'altra, intrigandomi il manco ch'io ho potuto con le fughe, et con li inventioni, per non oscurare l'intendimento de le parole, accioche con la lor efficacia, aiutate dall'harmonia, potessero penetrare piu dolcemente il cuore di chi ascolta.

However the said oratory having been expanded by the grace of God with the concourse of prelates and of the most important gentlemen, it seemed to me appropriate in this second book to increase the harmony and the number of voices in concert, varying the music in diverse ways, now with Latin words and now with vulgar; now with more voices, now with fewer; sometimes with one type of verse, other times with another; interfering as little as possible by means of imitation or inventions, so as not to obscure the meaning of the words in order that their effectiveness, with the aid of the harmony, might penetrate more sweetly the hearts of those who listened.

Here we see already the introduction of variety in voice groupings, the beginnings of the *concertato* principle, reflected also in Gregory Martin's account. It is interesting to compare this with Animuccia's dedication to his first book of masses of 1567, just three years earlier:

I have sought to adorn these divine prayers and praises of God in such a way that the music may disturb the hearing of the text as little as possible, but nevertheless in such a way that it may not be entirely devoid of artifice and may contribute in some degree to the listener's pleasure¹⁰

Given that the masses were written for liturgical use whereas the *laude* were for extra-liturgical gatherings, there is still a new confidence expressed in the 1570 dedication which reflects the change in attitude towards music, a recognition of its usefulness in the fight for men's souls and an acknowledgment that, in order to attract the more educated and noble members of society, more elaborate music was necessary. Animuccia's *Il secondo libro* of 1570 contains nineteen pieces for eight voices, in both Latin and Italian and, as will be discussed in Chapter Four, these are embryonic polychoral pieces, the

first to be published by a Roman composer. The implications are clear: simple homophonic settings were not interesting enough; there was, however, no going back to the elaborate polyphony of the period before Trent, discredited because of the lack of intelligibility of the text. The way forward must keep this intelligibility secure while providing more variety. Increasing the number of voices proved to be the answer; this no longer meant thickening the texture with increased imitation, but grouping the voices in a flexible way and providing contrast between groups which themselves retained a largely declamatory and homophonic style, allowing the text to be comprehensible. Polychoral music and the *concertato* principle were the response of composers to the new conditions imposed for the writing of sacred music in post-Tridentine Rome.

Another aspect of polychoral music which may explain its adoption as readily in Rome as in Venice and Munich is its political dimension. In the Munich of Orlando di Lasso, polychoral music became closely identified with the state and was used to project its grandeur and authority; after studying with Lasso, Andrea Gabrieli returned to Venice and became a leading practitioner of the 'state-motet' there, followed later by his nephew Giovanni.¹¹ This use of music for political ends may at first sight seem far removed from the situation in Rome and yet the word 'political' is also appropriate there if it is remembered that in Rome spiritual and temporal power were one. The polychoral state-motet could be used to reflect the grandeur and authority of that power and increasingly this became an important function, particularly as the seventeenth century progressed. Jean Delumeau has described the gradual centralization in the Papal States during the sixteenth century and the building up of an administration which left it the equal, if not the superior, of any other in Europe.¹² He compares the role of the city in the Papal States to that later played by Versailles in France, while the increasing amount of money needed by the popes led to Rome becoming an important monetary capital.

Popes from Sixtus V onwards were very conscious of their position as head of state and this was strongly reflected in their improvements to the city of Rome (see below). Religious and secular authority were combined, and music and the arts which reinforced the one automatically reinforced the other. As with the other arts, the role of sacred music in the period following the Council of Trent was one of propaganda¹³, of persuading the individual of the omnipotence of the heavenly court, reflected in the trappings of the papal court on earth. Gregory Martin used the words 'gravity and majesty' to describe the music which he heard in Rome and which 'ravished his heart to the meditation of the melody of the angels and saints in heaven'.

Sacred music, then, was an important weapon in the armoury of the post-Tridentine church and one which was used unashamedly in Rome by Philip Neri and his Oratorians, by the Jesuits in their colleges and churches, and by the confraternities of lay people whose number increased dramatically during the second half of the sixteenth century. The use of music on a large scale for special feasts became, as we shall see, an important feature of the age; at a basic level this provided free entertainment for the crowds of people who flocked to the various churches and institutions in turn, just as the increasingly elaborate decorations associated in particular with the forty-hours devotion, delighted the eyes of the citizens and pilgrims as well as lifting their minds to the contemplation of higher things.¹⁴

The word 'post-Tridentine' has been used in this discussion to describe a period which has been more commonly labelled 'Counter-reformation' or 'Catholic Reformation'. The arguments against the use of the former have been well rehearsed,¹⁵ though it is the most established term; the latter is more descriptive of what actually took place and sees the process as a continuous one, with its roots in the revival of spirituality in the late Middle Ages. The term 'post-Tridentine' might be seen as giving too much weight to the decrees

of the Council of Trent, which were very unspecific in regard to music. There was, however, a fundamental change of outlook associated with the Council and its immediate aftermath, which brought a new expressiveness into sacred music in response to its new role as an active weapon in the conversion of men's hearts and minds. This is clear from the dedication of Palestrina's *Missarum liber secundus*....4-6v of 1567

I, who have been engaged in this art for many years, not wholly unsuccessfully (if I may rely on the judgment of others more than on my own) have considered it my task, in accordance with the views of most serious and most religious-minded men, to bend all my knowledge, effort and industry towards that which is the holiest and most divine of all things in the Christian religious - that is, to adorn the holy sacrifice of the Mass in a *new manner*. [my italics]¹⁶

The masses in this second book take only tentative steps in the new direction, and it was not until eight years later that Palestrina finally arrived at the logical end of his search when he published his first real polychoral pieces.

An important aspect of the new post-Tridentine outlook is the closer involvement of composers in choosing appropriate texts, rather than simply setting words from a particular liturgy. Text and music matched together provided an even more formidable weapon in the fight for souls and this could lead to dictation by ecclesiastical authorities of the texts which composers should set. This can be clearly seen in the relationship between the Jesuit rector of the German college, Michael Lauretano, and two of the College's *maestri* - Tomas Luis de Victoria and Annibale Stabile, as detailed by Lauretano's biographer, Matthias Schrick:

...Wherefore they (the *maestri* at the College) set to harmony the things which had been designated by him, according to his direction, whether verses from the psalms and hymns, or entire motets from sacred literature. Annibale Stabile, a man of no little repute among the masters of music, honestly confessed that, in this matter, he considered himself happier because he had come into contact with such a teacher from whom, he had, in a short time, acquired more taste and judgement in the art of using music for [arousing] pious affection, than during all that time before in which he had diligently worked for his teachers.¹⁷

The mention of psalm-verses is particularly significant, since much of the repertory of this period (polychoral and otherwise) comes into the category of psalm-motets. These will be associated particularly with confraternities and their oratories in the course of this study. Of course this new attitude on the part of composers to the text was not confined to Rome: a similar change on the part of English composers, and William Byrd in particular, has been comprehensively detailed by Joseph Kerman.¹⁸ Here too, the influence of the Jesuits can be clearly seen.

The year 1575, which marks the beginning of this study, was an important one for the city of Rome. It was a holy or jubilee year, one of the series initiated by Pope Boniface VIII in 1300 which marked out every twenty-fifth year as one of special grace, with particular indulgences to be gained by those who undertook the pilgrimage to Rome.¹⁹ The holy year of 1575, the first to be held since the Council of Trent had completed its work, has been given the sobriquet *l'anno santo piu santo*,²⁰ and it marked the end of the first period of the Catholic Reformation and the beginning of a new more confident phase. The victory over the Turks at Lepanto three years earlier had given a boost to this confidence, and now the influx of hundreds of thousands of pilgrims into the city gave a new spur to the movement of reform.

B. CHURCHES AND OTHER INSTITUTIONS

Gregory Martin marvelled at the number and variety of churches in Rome in which music could be heard; his experience was to be echoed by successive travellers to the city in following centuries. This flowering of musical activity in the city's institutions was one of the most apparent features of the post-Tridentine era. Prior to the Council there was undoubtedly sacred music in the city but it seems to have been confined to a few churches and hospital-type institutions: the Papal Chapel, the basilicas of S. Pietro, S. Giovanni in Laterano and S. Maria Maggiore, and the churches of San Lorenzo in Damaso and

San Luigi dei Francesi are the only places known to have had permanent choirs.²¹ Among the hospitals and confraternities, S. Spirito in Sassia, the Gonfalone and Smo. Crocefisso in S. Marcello had music on occasions, as did other churches on very special feasts. During the 1570s there was a dramatic rise both in the number of institutions which had music more regularly, and in the amount of money which was spent on music. Before examining this expansion, the various types of institutions to be found in the city at the beginning of the period will be described.

THE CAPPELLA PONTIFICIA

The premier musical institution in the city was the Cappella Pontificia, the pope's own choir, which performed whenever he officiated at religious ceremonies, whether in the Cappella Sistina, in S. Pietro or in other basilicas and churches in the city. For this reason the title 'Cappella Pontificia' is to be preferred to the more commonly used 'Cappella Sistina', since the choir's activities were not confined to the Sistine Chapel. By the 1570s the choir had about twenty-five singers, all adult males; a number of these were supernumerary singers, not obliged to sing after serving for twenty-five years. At this period the choir was ruled by a *maestro di cappella* who was a bishop and not necessarily a musician: in his bull *In suprema militantis* of 1586, Sixtus reorganised the constitutions of the papal choir. For the first time the *maestro di cappella* was to be, not a cardinal or other high-ranking ecclesiastic, but one of the singers, elected by themselves on a yearly basis. They were also to elect one of their number as *puntatore*, or disciplinary officer. The diaries kept by these *puntatori* give some information on performance practice and will be considered in the following chapter.²² A cardinal continued to act as protector of the choir and its interests, but the purely musical decisions were now taken by one of the singers. This autonomy was to have far-reaching consequences for the choir as it greatly increased its

independence, both musically and organisationally. The singers gradually became more elitist, demanding special concessions for performances outside of the chapel, while their repertoire within the chapel became more and more fossilised. The choir sang daily in the Cappella Sistina when the pope was in residence in the Vatican, in S. Pietro when the pope officiated there (the Cappella Giulia on these occasions providing only the motet sung as the pope entered the basilica)²³ and in other basilicas and churches visited by the pope on certain special feastdays during the year. As well as these public occasions they also sang the *vespro segreto* privately celebrated for the pope on four occasions during the year,²⁴ and sang during the pope's dinner on a small number of other occasions.²⁵

CAPPELLA GIULIA

At the next level down from the Cappella Pontificia was the Cappella Giulia, the choir of the basilica of S. Pietro in Vaticano.²⁶ Founded by Pope Julius II in 1513 both as a training ground for singers who might later transfer to the papal choir and to provide music for the basilica, under the leadership of Giovanni Animuccia (1555-70) and Palestrina (1551-4 and 1571-94) the choir reached a high standard. In the Bull *De Communi omnium ecclesiarum* of 1 August 1578, Pope Gregory XIII reorganized the Cappella Giulia, setting it on a firm financial footing and fixing the number of singers at twelve adults (four each on ATB) and six boys. There were also six chaplains whose task it was to sing the plainsong sections of the office, previously also the responsibility of the singers. This reorganization more or less reflected the *status quo* as far as the number of singers was concerned, though the choir was not always at full strength. The singers performed daily at the offices in S. Pietro and in the main body of the basilica on major feasts when the pope was not present as well as in a number of churches in the city which were dependent on the basilica.²⁷

OTHER BASILICAS AND CHURCHES

The next most important institutions were the three other major basilicas: S. Giovanni in Laterano (the cathedral church of the pope as bishop of Rome), S. Maria Maggiore and S. Paolo fuori le Mura.²⁸ This last was a monastic church, in the care of the Benedictine order; because of the unhealthiness of its site due to malaria, it was abandoned for much of the year and there is no evidence of a permanent musical establishment there.²⁹ The other two basilicas had important musical foundations, although the number of singers was not large: six adults (two to a part) and three to four boys in each case. Two other Roman churches had choirs of the same size: the basilica of S. Lorenzo in Damaso, which enjoyed a special position because of its attachment to the palace of the *Cancellaria* - the residence of the Cardinal Vice-Chancellor of the Roman church - and the French national church of S. Luigi dei Francesi.³⁰ These six choirs were the most important in the city and, with the exception of S. Lorenzo, the only institutions so far researched. However polyphonic music was undoubtedly being performed in a large number of other churches throughout the city with varying frequency in the 1570s, and as the century drew to a close, musical activity expanded hugely. These churches can be divided into five categories: parish churches, those belonging to religious orders, those controlled by confraternities and hospitals, those attached to colleges and seminaries, and the churches of foreign nationalities.

PARISH CHURCHES

Many of the churches already mentioned were also parish churches, S. Pietro, S. Lorenzo in Damaso, S. Luigi dei Francesi etc., and so were some of the churches belonging to religious orders such as S. Agostino.³¹ Those which were not basilicas, confraternity churches or churches belonging to foreign

nationalities seem to have had very little music on a regular basis, relying on the hire of outside singers for special occasions such as the patronal feast. Typical of such churches was S. Maria ad Martyres (the Pantheon), researched by Dixon³² and found to have no polyphonic music apart from the patronal feast of All Saints, when it was provided by outside singers. The offices were sung in plainsong by two or three chaplains on Sundays, major feasts and during the octaves of Corpus Christi and All Saints. This church does not even appear to have had an organ, since one was brought to the church for the feast of All Saints in 1614. Other parish churches did at least have an organ: S. Maria in Trastevere made monthly payments to an organist (and none to any singers) up to 1607 when, under the patronage of Cardinal Perbenedictus whose titular church it was, a choir of eight singers was set up to provide music for feastdays (including Sundays); this totally transformed the musical life of the church.³³

CHURCHES OF RELIGIOUS ORDERS

Researching musical activity in the churches belonging to religious orders is made rather problematic by the fact that these orders often contained singers among their members; they were not paid and so no record of their participation survives. This seems to have been the case at S. Agostino, where the only regular payments were to the organist, even though he too was often a cleric and called 'fra', and for the tuning and maintenance of the organ. Singers were hired from outside for the feast of St. Augustine. There is no mention of a *maestro di cappella* before 1608 when Girolamo Bartei, himself a member of the order was paid 6 *scudi* for books of music for the choir.³⁴ Occasional extra singers were hired for Christmas or Lent from 1606 onwards, while an outside *maestro* and musicians were brought in for the feast of St. Augustine throughout the period.³⁵ A similar situation is found in the Carmelite church of S. Maria in Traspontina where a *maestro* was paid half a

scudo a month in 1577-8 for teaching the organ to *Fra Antonio Fiorentino che suona il nostro organo*.³⁶ In 1599 an *organista secolare* was being paid and in that year seven musicians who sang at the organ, as well as an organist, were hired for the feast of St. Albert.³⁷ At the Servite church of S. Maria in Via a secular organist was paid regularly and extra singers (normally just two sopranos) were brought to augment the choir for big feasts.³⁸

Convents of nuns were wholly reliant on outside singers for special feastdays since, even if they did sing polyphony, the nuns could not join with male singers. At S. Caterina dei Funari 5 *scudi* were paid to Alessandro Pettorini in 1583 for music for the feast of St. Catherine of Alexandria; an organ and organist were also hired.³⁹ In 1587 8 *scudi* were paid to musicians and 2 for the hire of an organ for the same feast, and a carpenter was paid for the erection of a platform for the singers.⁴⁰ In S. Cecilia in Trastevere much larger sums were spent on festal music, especially after the discovery of the body of St. Cecilia in 1598. By 1603 almost 50 *scudi* were being spent on music for her feast.⁴¹ This music was largely paid for by the cardinal protector, Cardinal Sfondrati, nephew of Gregory XIV. On the day of the station in 1604 Mass, Vespers and Compline were sung by three choirs together with three organs before a great crowd of people, paid for by the cardinal.⁴²

CHURCHES OF OTHER NATIONALITIES

The population of Rome was constantly swelled by large numbers of pilgrims and in order to care for their needs a number of churches and societies were established over the centuries by members of foreign nationalities. The most important of these from the musical point of view was the French church, S. Luigi dei Francesi, which had a permanent choir throughout this period. Other churches of some importance were those of the Spaniards, the Castilian S. Giacomo dei Spagnoli and the Aragonese S. Maria di Monserrato, and the German S. Maria dell'Anima. Italian states also had their national

churches: S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini was an important centre for music, particularly from the mid-1580s onwards when it had its own choir;⁴³ Gregory Martin singled out it and the Neapolitan Spirito Santo for the beauty of their solemn feastday celebrations.⁴⁴

CONFRATERNITIES

The most significant institutions for the furtherance of post-Tridentine spirituality in Rome were the confraternities.⁴⁵ The idea of a confraternity was not new in the 1560s - the earliest were in existence in the 13th century⁴⁶ - but the late 16th century saw a large growth in the number of these bodies and in their influence: twenty-seven were founded before 1500, thirty-five more between then and 1550, fifty in the second half of the sixteenth century and a further thirty-four in the seventeenth century.⁴⁷ These confraternities were of different types: some looked after hospitals, such as S. Rocco or Sma. Trinità, which also took care of pilgrims. The care of pilgrims and emigrants was also the concern of the many confraternities formed by members of foreign nationalities in Rome, such as that of the Resurrection attached to the Spanish church of S. Giacomo. A large number of confraternities brought together members of the same profession or trade e.g. St. Joseph of the carpenters, St. Luke of the painters and sculptors or, indeed, St. Cecilia of the musicians.⁴⁸ The post-Tridentine devotion to the Eucharist saw Blessed Sacrament confraternities being set up in many churches. Some confraternities had public churches assigned to them which they controlled; others had the use of side chapels in churches or had their own oratories. The most important confraternities had both churches and oratories, using the latter for meetings and for more private liturgical and non-liturgical devotions and the former for more public liturgical celebrations. Corporate identity was reinforced by the wearing of habits. Processions were a vital element in the devotional practice of these bodies, whose various statutes from the 1570s

onwards speak at length of the numerous processions in which the members were bound to take part, dressed in their habits. The most important of these were the processions of Holy Thursday and Corpus Christi in which all confraternities participated. On Holy Thursday the various confraternities came in procession from their own headquarters to the basilica of S. Pietro where they were shown the relics of the passion preserved there, and then progressed to the Vatican where they obtained the blessing of the pope. Similarly on the feast of Corpus Christi or during its octave each confraternity had its procession while many also took part in the papal procession. Further processions took place on the rogation days and on the feast of St. Mark as well on the many special jubilees called for by the Pope to pray for a special need in the church. On these occasions each confraternity supplied its own music with one or more groups of singers. There was usually at least one group of singers of polyphony as well as a group singing in *falsobordone*. The different choirs were spread among the participants in the procession, separated by other groups so that they would not interfere with each other. Hence up to three choirs might be hired for a procession but there is no evidence that they sang together or that the music performed was anything but the simplest.⁴⁹ Instrumentalists also took part, usually provided by the group of outdoor instrumentalists employed by the pope (based in Castel S. Angelo) or by the civic government of the city on the *Campidoglio*.⁵⁰

For each confraternity the most important occasions in the year were the celebration of one or two major feasts of particular significance. Thus Smo. Crocefisso celebrated both the Discovery of the Cross (May 3rd) and its Exaltation (September 14th); the Gonfalone celebrated the feast of St. Lucy (to whom their church was dedicated); Sma. Trinità celebrated the feast of the Trinity and also, with special solemnity, that of Corpus Christi which fell within its octave. The most important confraternities, including the three just mentioned, had obtained the privilege of having a condemned prisoner

released on their major feastday. This prisoner became the focus of two processions, one on the vigil after first Vespers in which he was brought from the prison to the oratory or church, and the other on the feastday itself. The liturgical celebrations associated with these feastdays consisted of the solemn celebration of both first and second Vespers and Mass. All three occasions were accompanied by music; from at least the 1580s onwards this was invariably polychoral music. For the most part these confraternities did not have their own choirs (some, such as S. Rocco and Sma. Trinità, did have a few singers) and relied on bringing in a *maestro di cappella*, singers and instrumentalists for these special feasts.

A number of the most important confraternities are known to have given special prominence to the season of Lent, having weekly meetings (on Fridays) in their oratories during which a sermon was preached, psalms and litanies were sung and the discipline taken. Compline may also have been sung. Music played an important role on these occasions and increasingly large sums of money were spent by confraternities on their Lenten music. Such activity at Smo. Crocefisso has long been known, but recent research has shown that Lenten music was important in a number of other confraternities.⁵¹ As well as the Fridays of Lent, confraternities also sponsored the singing of the office of Tenebrae in their oratories during Holy Week and again large sums of money were spent. As will be seen later, polychoral music played a part in these Lenten devotions and in the office of Tenebrae.

A devotion which was increasingly espoused by Roman confraternities from the early 1580s onwards was that of the forty hours, when the Blessed Sacrament was exposed continuously for forty hours. Representing the forty hours spent by Christ in the tomb, the devotion developed in Milan in the 1520s during the wars of the Emperor Charles V.⁵² It seems to have been introduced to Rome by Philip Neri in 1550 and was taken up first by Sma.

Trinità and later by other confraternities. Gregory Martin related that it was held once a month by certain confraternities.⁵³ In 1592 Pope Clement VIII instituted a perpetual forty hours devotion in the city, moving from church to church throughout the year; he himself initiated the cycle in the Cappella Paolina of the Vatican. The devotion is rarely described in detail but that which took place in the Gesù during the carnival season of 1594 included processions with the Sacrament at the beginning and end, the singing of hymns and litanies, the delivery of sermons and the saying of prayers.⁵⁴ Outside musicians were frequently called upon, particularly for the processions; there are frequent payments to singers of *falsobordone* for these.

SEMINARIES

Other important institutions in post-Tridentine Rome were the seminaries, in particular those set up to train priests for countries and states no longer Catholic. In the city the Roman Seminary (founded 1565) trained priests for the Roman diocese, the Roman college (founded 1551) provided the teaching for the students from the other colleges such as the German college (founded 1552 and re-founded by Gregory XIII in 1573) and the English College (founded in 1579). All four were placed under the care of the Jesuits. From the musical point of view the most important was the German college with its associated church of S. Apollinare, researched by Culley.⁵⁵

C. EXPANSION OF MUSICAL ACTIVITY IN SACRED INSTITUTIONS

Various types of evidence for the increasing importance of music in the last decades of sixteenth-century Rome can be found in the archives of churches and confraternities. There was an increase in the number of musicians being hired for special feasts, reflected in the increased amount of money being spent, an increase which outstrips the general inflation of the time. There were attempts by a number of institutions to set up choirs, many of which were

unsuccessful due to the financial difficulties which beset the city towards the end of the century. There was an increase in the number of institutions which appointed *maestri di cappella*, if only to organise music for special occasions: greater demand made some sort of permanent arrangement with one musician advisable. There was also a growth in the number of free-lance musicians active in the city and in the number of musicians coming in from the surrounding area and from further afield.

Among the institutions which set up permanent musical establishments after 1570, Sma. Trinità started to employ boy sopranos from 1580 onwards and there is evidence that from this time onwards the chaplains, employed by the confraternity to sing the offices in the church which was in its care, were also singing polyphony.⁵⁶ Between 1591 and 1594 the confraternity built up a regular choir consisting of six adult singers and two boys under the leadership of Asprilio Pacelli but found that they could not support it; it was first reduced to three adults and two boys, and eventually disbanded in 1594.⁵⁷ Pacelli was also involved in a similar attempt at the Gonfalone sometime between December 1586 and April 1588.⁵⁸ Again this choir fell victim to financial stringency: the minutes record debates over whether or not to continue it, and it seems to have been disbanded in 1589. At S. Maria di Monserrato a choir of four singers was established in 1583 with Felice Anerio as *maestro*;⁵⁹ he left after six weeks to join a similar newly-established choir at the English college,⁶⁰ but returned to S. Maria di Monserrato in 1586 and continued there until that choir, too, was disbanded in 1588.⁶¹ The failure of these choirs gives sad testimony of the financial difficulties facing Roman institutions towards the end of the 16th century;⁶² the fact that, despite this oncoming stringency, these institutions did try to set up permanent musical establishments is however a witness to the importance which they attached to music. It would appear that these institutions very often did not appreciate the financial commitment required in supporting even four singers on

a regular basis. Conditions seem to have become more favourable in the seventeenth century for the setting up and supporting of choirs. We have seen that S. Maria in Trastevere, for example, set up a permanent choir in 1607 under the patronage of the titular cardinal and this continued well into the seventeenth century. Sma. Trinità again appointed a *maestro di cappella* (Quintio Solino) in 1596 and continued to appoint one and to keep a small number of singers, which was augmented for special feastdays, well into the seventeenth century.⁶³ S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli which, unlike its fellow Spanish church, did not attempt to set up a choir in the sixteenth century, did so in 1612 and this choir lasted for a number of years.⁶⁴

Evidence of a greater appreciation of the importance of music is clearly shown by the increased amount of money spent on it by all Roman institutions over the period under discussion. Of particular importance for this study is the amount of money spent on the celebration of major feasts. Fig. 1. 1 shows the amounts spent by three confraternities, S. Rocco, Sma. Trinità and S. Giacomo degli Incurabili on their patronal feasts from 1565 to 1615 (apart from years where there are lacunae in the documents). It can be seen that, despite fluctuations, there is an dramatic overall rise in all three cases, up to the mid-1590s, with a levelling off or a fall-back thereafter. The same pattern is found in other confraternities and in the major churches. For example, S. Maria di Monserrato spent only 6.40 *scudi* on outside music for the Nativity of the Virgin in September 1585 (four additional singers and a violinist; there were already five singers being paid by the church at this time).⁶⁵ By 1587, with Felice Anerio as *maestro*, 17 *scudi* were being spent and we are told that the music was for three choirs.⁶⁶ The permanent choir was disbanded due to a shortage of money in 1588 and in that year only 9 *scudi* were spent on the feastday music but this grew again to reach 18 *scudi* in 1596, then fell back a little before expanding again to reach 20 in 1602 and succeeding years.⁶⁷ The mention of three choirs in this church in 1587 is

significant and gives a clear indication of the amount of money needed to provide this number of choirs. We are told that S. Rocco had three choirs in 1582 when 15 *scudi* were spent:⁶⁸ this coincided with a large increase in the amount of money being spent on the feast of S. Rocco (see Fig. 1. 1). The archives do not specify the number of choirs in other years but it is tempting to see the other quantum leap from the 2-3 *scudi* of the 1560s and early 1570s to the 7 *scudi* of 1579-81 as reflecting a move from one to two choirs.

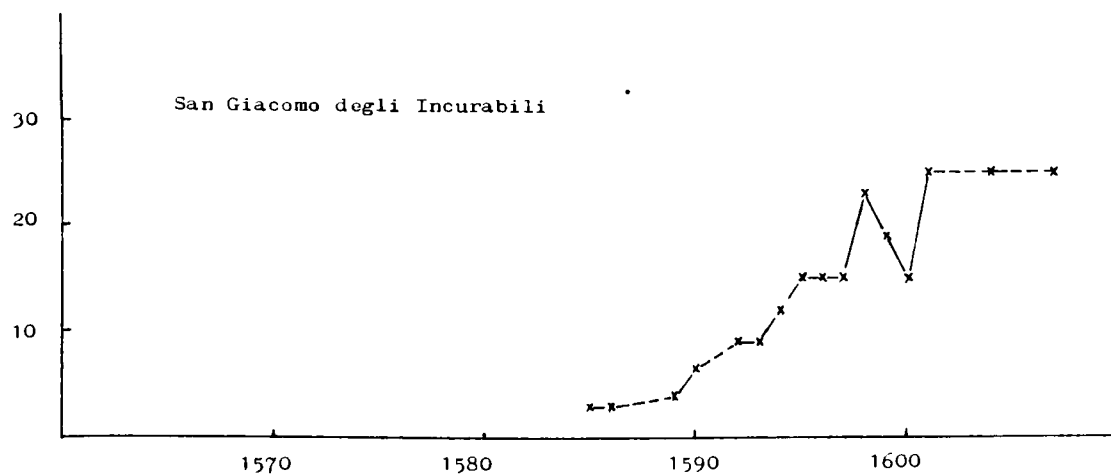
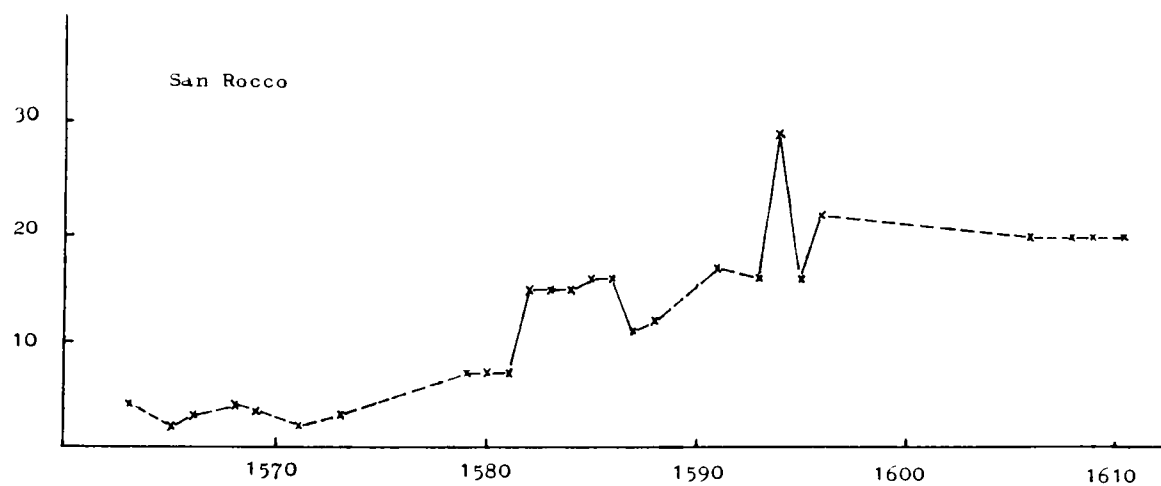
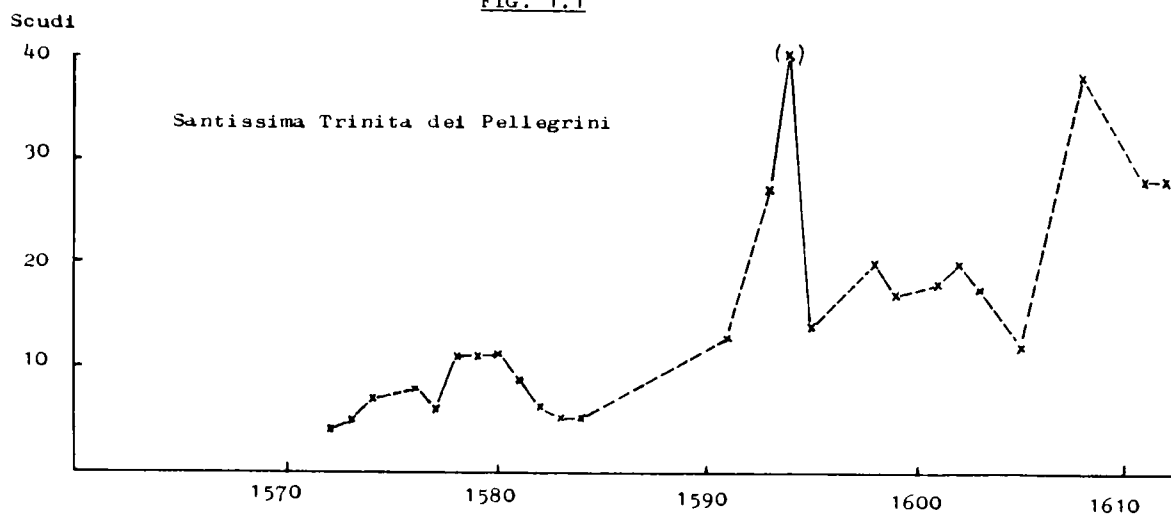
How much of this increase in the amount of money being spent on music was due to the inflation which occurred in Rome in the last decades of the sixteenth century?⁶⁹ The salaries of singers can, perhaps, provide the best marker for this inflation. At S. Maria Maggiore, for instance, monthly salaries doubled between 1562 and 1602 as can be seen from Table 1. 1:⁷⁰

TABLE 1. 1

	1562	1572	1582	1592	1602
<i>scudi</i>	4	4.50	6	6.50	8

The table gives the salary of an average member of the choir, not the highest or lowest - salaries varied considerably, being negotiated on appointment. The same order of increase is found in other churches: at S. Luigi dei Francesi, the singers received 4 *scudi* per month in 1577; by 1600 this had risen to between 6 and 7, and it remained at this level before rising slightly again around 1615.⁷¹ The amounts paid to singers for special feasts varied considerably. At S. Maria Maggiore singers were paid 0.50-0.60 *scudi* on average for the feast of Our Lady of the Snow (one of the basilica's major feasts) up to 1591 when this increased to c. 0.90 *scudi*; this coincides with the earliest mention of first Vespers for this feast. In 1597 when nine papal singers and a boy soprano came to sing for the feasts of Our Lady of the Snow and for the other

FIG. 1.1



major feast celebrated at the basilica, that of the Assumption (the two feasts were only ten days apart, August 5th and 15th), a detailed breakdown of rates of pay can be made: the papal singers received 0.60 *scudi* for each Vespers and 0.80 for the mass. These were papal singers and by this time they were demanding, and getting, higher money than other singers for guest appearances: they were being paid 2 *scudi* for the two Vespers and Mass, whereas a singer from one of the other churches would only have received 1-1½ *scudi*. By 1610 papal singers were receiving 3 *scudi* for Our Lady of the Snow and 2 for the Assumption while the other singers were given 1½ and 1 *scudo* respectively.⁷² Thus rates of pay for extra singers did rise somewhat over the period (and particularly for Papal singers who increasingly formed an elite) but this rise is not of the order of that seen above in Fig. 1. 1 where the increased amount of money spent by institutions on feastday celebrations therefore represents a real increase in the number of musicians hired.

The rising number of musicians in the city over the period is difficult to monitor since much archival work remains to be done before a full picture can be built up of the activities of the city's singers, instrumentalists and composers. There is no doubt that a large increase took place in the pool of singers whose names appear in church and confraternity archives in the late 1580s and 1590s. The increase in opportunities can also be judged by the short length of time which singers spent at an institution when employed on a regular basis - there was a constant mobility of singers (and *maestri*) from the 1580s onwards, with musicians often spending only a few months at any one place. There is also a significant increase in the number of institutions named in the archives as the places of origin of singers hired for special feastdays. In the 1560s and 1570s these invariably came from the small number of places mentioned earlier; by the end of the century singers are accredited to a much larger number of institutions, including the German

College, the Roman Seminary, the Chiesa Nuova, Sma. Trinità dei Pellegrini, S. Spirito in Sassia, Spirito Santo dei Napolitani etc.⁷³

COMPAGNIA DEI MUSICI DI ROMA

In 1585, just seven days after his election, Pope Sixtus V gave official recognition to the *Compagnia dei Musicisti di Roma* in the bull *Rationi congruit*. The early history of the *Compagnia* has been examined by Summers who has placed its foundation at sometime before July 1584.⁷⁴ From the beginning there was strong opposition to the new body from the papal singers; this seems to have centred around the person of Giovanbattista Jacomelli, a papal singer who was also an officer in the new society.⁷⁵ Jacomelli's career epitomises the new confidence among Roman musicians, reflected in the setting up of the *Compagnia* both as a confraternity in keeping with the spirit of the times, but also as a musicians' union to look after their common interests. He was eventually expelled from the papal chapel for dereliction of his duties there.⁷⁶ Musicians such as Jacomelli, who was a violinist, singer and impresario, were in demand and no longer needed to rely on the secure employment of the papal chapel. He was responsible for the music in S. Rocco on a number of occasions, including the earliest recorded occasion with music for three choirs and instruments in 1582.⁷⁷ He also provided music for the Florentine wedding of 1589.⁷⁸ Only one polychoral piece by him survives, unfortunately: a double-choir setting of the psalm text *Benedicam Dominum in omni tempore*.⁷⁹

Jacomelli was Italian, and musicians and composers from Italy came increasingly to the forefront of Roman music in the late sixteenth century. Bartolomeo Roy and Jean de Macque were the last of the line of Netherlands composers active in the city; both moved on to Naples, leaving the way clear for a new generation of native-born musicians to reap the harvest sown by Palestrina, Giovanni Animuccia and Annibale Zoilo. Some of these new composers, such as the Anerio brothers, came from Rome itself; others came from elsewhere in the peninsula,

such as Luca Marenzio from Brescia, Archangelo Crivelli from Bergamo, Paolo Quagliati from Chioggia etc. A large number of composers came from the area near Viterbo, including the Nanino brothers, Francesco Soriano and Paolo Agostino. These brought outside influences to bear on Roman music while composers such as Marenzio and Soriano who worked for a time in the North of Italy absorbed other influences there. A composer whose career was typical of the time was Paolo Quagliati who came to Rome as a young man in 1574. After supporting himself as a freelance singer ⁹⁰ he obtained a post as organist at S. Giovanni in Laterano sometime before 1586 and moved as organist to S. Maria Maggiore in 1591, a post he retained until his death in 1628.⁹¹ He was in constant demand as an organiser of music for special feasts in institutions such as Smo. Crocefisso but never took a post as *maestro*. He published frequently and as an organist-composer his position was analogous to that of the Gabrielis in Venice.

D. CHURCH ARCHITECTURE

The increase in musical forces went hand in hand with an increase in church building during the period. Every age has added its churches to those already in existence in Rome, or has remodelled existing churches according to the taste and liturgical principles of the time. This was particularly true of the decades following the Council of Trent and it is perhaps this period more than any other which has left its mark on the city's churches. The three great churches from this period, the Gesù, the Chiesa Nuova and, most significantly, the new St. Peter's provided models for the other new churches of the baroque era.⁹² The Gesù (begun 1568 and completed 1584) and the Chiesa Nuova (built 1575-77) as the mother churches of the two new orders, the Jesuits and the Oratorians, were particularly influential. They were churches built for the new age, with wide naves, short transepts, an uninterrupted view of the main altar and numerous side-chapels for the devotional celebration of private

Masses by the many priests in the community. The theatrical elements came later, in the seventeenth century - the *trompe l'oeil* ceiling paintings leading the eye up to the vault of heaven, and the great florid altarpieces of the baroque. Philip Neri, in particular, wanted his Chiesa Nuova to be plain white on the inside, but it was not long before decoration was applied. The spirit of Borromeo in his treatise on church architecture, with its emphasis on impressing and overwhelming and uplifting the faithful, became dominant in the seventeenth century.

The first Roman churches to show the new design features were not the Gesu and the Chiesa Nuova however: they were anticipated much earlier in the century by a number of churches, particularly those of S. Spirito in Sassia and S. Maria di Monserrato. Although the latter church was not completed until 1598 it was commenced in 1518 and plans conserved in the Uffizi in Florence show that it was designed from the beginning by its architect, Antonio di Sangallo the younger, as a single nave with side-chapels.⁸³ The same architect's S. Spirito in Sassia (1537-45) has been described by Heydenreich and Lotz ⁸⁴ as the first Roman example of the flat-roofed single-aisled church with side-chapels which had been developed in Florence in the late fifteenth century; they further point out that it was from this broadening of the nave as far as possible that the new spatial forms of the late sixteenth century derived. S. Maria di Monserrato was not unusual in remaining unfinished for a very long time while funds for its completion were lacking. During the period under review a large proportion of Roman churches were either being built or being renovated so that conditions for singing were often far from ideal. The most striking example of this was S. Pietro, not completed until 1615. The various stages of its building and their implications for liturgical celebration will be examined in the next chapter.

E. POPES

As both temporal and spiritual rulers the power of the popes in the city was supreme and their influence, together with that of the members of their families raised to the cardinalate, dominant.⁸⁵ The division of the repertory in Part Two of this study according to papal reigns does not mean to convey that papal influence was crucial in determining the development of the music itself, but the attitudes and decrees of successive popes provided the background against which this development took place. Only Pope Clement VIII is known to have made a specific comment about music and this was to express his disapproval of the motet *In diademate capitis* by Giovanni M. Nanino sung on the anniversary of his coronation in 1594.⁸⁶ Of much greater significance for musical patronage was the activity of cardinal nephews such as Cardinal Montalto (great-nephew of Sixtus V) and Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini (nephew of Clement VIII).⁸⁷

Eight popes reigned during the period covered by this study; their dates were as follows:

Gregory XIII Buoncompagni:	1572-85
Sixtus V Peretti:	1585-90
Urban VII Castagna:	15-27 September 1590
Gregory XIV Sfondrati:	December 1590-October 1591
Innocent IX Facchinetti:	October-December 1591
Clement VIII Aldobrandini:	1592-1605
Leo XI Medici:	1-27 April 1605
Paul V Borghese:	1605-1621

Of these eight only four lived long enough to have a significant effect on the city and the church. The first of these, Gregory XIII, continued the new devotional approach to the papacy of his predecessor, Pius V, and presided over the Holy Year of 1575.⁸⁸ That same year saw a number of significant decisions which marked a new evangelising spirit in the Roman church: as well as the foundation of the English College, Gregory granted the old church of S. Maria in Vallicella to Philip Neri as a home for his new congregation and gave the church

of S. Apollinare to the care of the recently reformed German college. Within two years Philip Neri and his colleagues had replaced the old church of S. Maria in Vallicella with the Chiesa Nuova while the priests at the German College, under the guidance of the rector Michael Lauretano, were to make S. Apollinare one of the main liturgical centres in the city.

The election of Felice Peretti to the papacy as Sixtus V in 1585 had far-reaching consequences for the subsequent appearance of the city. Even today the street-plan of Rome reflects the work carried out by Sixtus, who is often regarded as the first great modern town-planner. In a reign of only five years his tremendous energy achieved a re-vitalisation of the city which took it out of the Middle Ages and Renaissance and prepared the way for the Baroque. Old buildings were pulled down with scant regard for their antiquity and new ones erected throughout the city; the old *Acqua Alessandrina* aqueduct was rebuilt to provide water for the higher regions of the city and renamed the *Acqua Felice*; new roads were built to link the major basilicas, and obelisks re-erected to provide focal points in the squares where these new roads met. The great obelisk from Caligula's circus which had remained in its original position at the side of St. Peter's basilica was moved to the centre of the square in front of the basilica by Sixtus' favourite architect, Domenico Fontana, in one of the great engineering feats of the age. Work on St. Peter's itself was quickened and Sixtus lived just long enough to see the dome completed and to say the first pontifical high mass underneath it on Palm Sunday, 1590. He was equally active as an art patron, especially in the *Capella Sistina* in S. Maria Maggiore and in the *Salone Sistina* in the new wing which he had built across the great courtyard of the Vatican palace to house the library.

There is no evidence that Sixtus took much interest in music though he did accept the dedication of one of the publications of Costanzo Porta, a fellow Conventual Franciscan, in 1585.⁸⁹ Three of his actions as Pope did however

have important consequences for sacred music in the city: the recognition of the *Compagnia dei Musici* in 1585, the re-organisation of the papal choir in 1586 and the setting up of the Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies in 1588. The first two have already been discussed. The process of reform and centralisation of the liturgy had been going on since the end of the Council of Trent, with the issue of the new *Breviarium Romanum* in 1568 and the *Missale Romanum* in 1570. Gregory XIII had set up a commission to examine ritual in 1584 and this was given more force by Sixtus in 1588 when he included a Congregation for Rites and Ceremonies among the fifteen Congregations which he set up to oversee the governing of the church and to spread the administrative burden more evenly between the cardinals. This was largely a reform in the bureaucracy and its results for the liturgy were not felt until the beginning of the next century, but it marked another important step in the centralisation and the imposition of uniformity on the liturgy of the Roman church. More significant for Rome itself was the general visitation of churches and religious houses ordered for the city in 1586. The visitors inquired minutely into all aspects of religious and liturgical life and their reports give some valuable insights into liturgical practice. Sixtus also re-vitalized the early Christian tradition of the Station churches:⁹⁰ during Lent the station mass, with its associated indulgences, would be celebrated in a different church each day. This meant an increased need for musicians to help with the special celebration.

After the three short reigns of 1591-2,⁹¹ stability returned to the Holy See with the election of Clement VIII in 1592. A Florentine and close friend of Philip Neri, Clement was a deeply religious man, somewhat in the mould of Gregory XIII. His reign was to some extent one of stock-taking after the flurry of activity during Sixtus' five years and the instability of the three short pontificates. The process of reform continued, with Clement ordering another general visitation of Roman churches and religious institutions in 1592; he himself undertook the visitation in some cases and was a regular visitor to

the various establishments in the city. A new enlarged edition of the Breviary appeared in 1602, followed two years later by a revised edition of the Roman missal. Meanwhile the *Caeremoniale Episcoporum* had been issued in 1600. There were two major political successes during Clement's reign, the reconciliation of Henry IV of France with Rome in 1595 and the addition of Ferrara to the Papal States in 1598. Spiritually the climax to the reign was the Holy Year of 1600, one of the most successful of all Jubilee years, and the occasion of the first performance of Cavalieri's *Rappresentazione del'Anima e di Corpo* at the oratory of the Chiesa Nuova.

After the brief reign of Leo XI came the sixteen-year tenure of the papacy by Paul V. A sombre and rather humourless man, he embodied many of the virtues of both Gregory XIII and Sixtus V. His period of office is perhaps best seen as the end of an era begun by Pius V rather than as the beginning of a new one. As ruler of the city Paul took his cue from Sixtus: the *Acqua Trajana* was restored in order to bring water to the Vatican and Trastevere and a huge fountain built at its termination on the Janiculum, the *Acqua Paola*, as a counterpart to Sixtus' *Acqua Felice*. The huge marble column from the basilica of Maxentius was re-erected in front of S. Maria Maggiore as Paul's answer to the re-erection of the obelisk by Sixtus, while he built the Cappella Borghese as a funeral chapel for himself and Clement VIII at S. Maria Maggiore on the opposite side to the Cappella Sistina in which Sixtus and Pius V are buried. It is fitting that four of the five great reforming popes of the post-Tridentine era are thus buried in symmetrical proximity to each other. The work of reform of the liturgy was continued under Paul, the new *Rituale* being issued in 1614 and the ill-conceived revision of plainsong issued as the Medicean Gradual in 1614. The greatest achievement of the reign was the completion, after more than a hundred years, of the basilica of S. Pietro in 1615.

NOTES

1. Martin, *Roma sancta*, which has often been overlooked in discussions of the period, gives a very full account of religious life in the city, though written from an extremely devotional point of view.
2. For example Maugars, *Réponse*.
3. Decree of Council of Trent.....Given in Lockwood, *Marcellus*.
4. A similar manner of performance seems to be described by Matthias Schrick, a former student at the German College in Rome, in his manuscript biography of Michael Lauretano, rector of the College 1573-87 (*Archivum Societatis Jesu Ms. Vitae* 6). He distinguishes between *cantus firmus* and Gregorian chant, saying of the former that, by a harmonious, uniform and steady voice it produces something between singing and reading. See Culley, *Jesuits*, p. 78, who equates this with *recto tono* performance, using simpler recitation tones than the Gregorian ones.
5. Carlo Borromeo, *Instructiones*.
6. See Lockwood, *The Counter-Reformation*, p. 99.
7. Quoted in Culley, *Jesuits* p. 76.
8. Quotation taken from Smither, *Oratorio*, p. 52, who in turn took it from: Giovanni Marciano, *Memorie storiche della Congregazione dell'Oratorio*, 5 vols. (Naples, 1693-1702). Smither is still the best introduction to the role of music in the development of Neri's oratory and gives a comprehensive bibliography. A study of music at the Chiesa Nuova and its oratory has recently been completed as a *Tesi di laurea* at Bologna University by Arnaldo Morelli and he is currently transforming this into a book.
9. Translation taken from Smither, *Oratorio*, p. 122.
10. Translation taken from Lockwood, *Marcellus*, p. 23.
11. The only specific study of Lasso's polychoral music is Arnold, *Lassus*, which deals with the political aspect, building on the work of Dunning, *Die Staatsmotette*. The state context for Andrea Gabrieli's large-scale motets has been examined by Bryant, *Liturgy*, while that for Giovanni Gabrieli's music is dealt with in Arnold, *Giovanni Gabrieli*.
12. Delumeau, 'Political'.
13. The word 'propaganda' itself derives from the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*, set up by Pope Gregory XV in 1622.
14. For church decorations in this period, and in particular the sepulchres erected on Holy Thursday and for the forty-hours devotion, see Weil, 'Forty hours'.
15. The most recent examination of the scope of the Counter-Reformation is Mullett, *Counter-Reformation*. Among the classic studies are: Evenett, *Spirit*; Jedin, *Katholische Reformation*; Delumeau, *Catholicism*; Chadwick, *Reformation*.

16. Translation taken from Lockwood, *Marcellus*, pp. 22-23. Further evidence of the widely-apprehended need for the revision of sacred music in the wake of the Council is given by the letter of Paolo Animuccia, seeking to obtain for himself the position of reviser of the papal chapel's music, published in Sherr, 'A letter'.
17. Quoted in Culley, *Jesuits*, pp. 77-8.
18. Kerman, *Masses and Motets*.
19. See Thurston, *Holy Year*.
20. By Piero Bargellini in *L'Anno Santo* due to the presence in Rome in that year of four future saints: Charles Borromeo, Ignatius Loyola, Philip Neri and Gaetano Thiene.
21. These are the only institutions from which singers and *maestri* regularly appear in the archives as extra musicians on special feastdays.
22. These diaries are the main source of information about the Cappella Pontificia. Some have been published by Casimiri and Frey.
23. This is well-documented; for example, the *Ordini* of the Cappella Giulia (1600) state: *Quando Sua Santità viene in San Pietro, che si canta il Motetto, chi non si trova presente al cominciare del detto Motetto, sarà puntato in baiocchi venti..* (see Rostirolla, 'Ordini'). Giovanni Animuccia was paid in 1568 for having composed a motet *quando passa il papa* (Llorens, *Giulia*, xix).
24. Christmas, Easter, Pentecost and SS. Peter and Paul (June 29th).
25. For example on the anniversary of the pope's coronation.
26. The two major studies of the Cappella Giulia during the period are by Ducrot, 'Giulia' and Rostirolla, 'Giulia'. Rostirolla's 'Ordini' is the most recent publication relating to the Cappella, a comprehensive study of which is under way by the same author.
27. A complete list of the duties of the singers following the 1578 revision is given in Rostirolla, 'Ordini'.
28. There is no study of music in S. Giovanni in Laterano, though one for the seventeenth century is currently being undertaken by Wolfgang Witzmann at the German Institute in Rome. The archives of the basilica are not available for consultation (though some minimal consultation was allowed me in the course of this study by the kindness of the archivist, Mons. Sciubba). S. Maria Maggiore has been the subject of a recent comprehensive study by Burke, *Musicians*, dealing with the period from 1600 to 1700. For the earlier period there is Raeli's *Liberiana*, not always reliable.
29. This was the conclusion of Dixon, *Liturgical*, and nothing to contradict it has been found during the present study.
30. There is as yet no study of S. Lorenzo in Damaso, though its archives are now catalogued and available for consultation in AVR. S. Luigi has been studied by Frey, 'San Luigi' (up to 1608) and Lionnet *Saint-Louis* (1600-1700).

31. A full list of Roman parish churches can be found in Claudio Schiavoni, 'Elencazione cronologia e luoghi di conservazione della scritture parrocchiali romane (1531-1870)' in *Le fonti della demografia storica in Italia: Atti del seminario di demografia storica 1971-2*, vol. 1.
32. Dixon, 'The Pantheon'.
33. Dixon, 'S. Maria in Trastevere'.
34. ASR, S. Agostino, 86, f.26.
35. Ibid, *passim*. Music at S. Agostino has been discussed in Morelli, 'S. Agostino'.
36. ASR, S. Maria in Traspontina, 98, f. 14.
37. Ibid., f. 20.
38. ASR, S. Maria in Via, 145 *passim*.
39. ASR, S. Catherina della Rosa o dei Funari, 547, f. 32. On the seventh of November Pettorini was paid two *scudi* for teaching singing to the nuns.
40. Ibid., f. 45v.
41. ASR, S. Cecilia, 4092/3, f. 23.
42. In a manuscript in the convent of S. Cecilia in Rome, dated 1610 and entitled: *Cronica del venerabile monasterio di S. Cecilia di Roma*. I am grateful to Maryvelma O'Neill for this information. Sixtus V had revitalized the ancient custom of the Station churches during Lent - a different church was designated for the liturgy on each day, which was preceded by a procession of the participants reciting litanies.
43. Apart from S. Luigi, no study has yet been published of music at any of these churches. Their respective archives contain much information in this regard and they have been consulted in the course of this present work.
44. Martin, *Roma*, p. 97.
45. The recent surge of interest by Italian historians in Roman confraternities is reflected in the two most recent issues of the periodical, *Ricerche per la storia religiosa di Roma*. Vol. 5 (1984) is entitled 'Le confraternite romane: esperienza religiosa, società, committenza artistica' and reports the proceedings of a Colloquium held in 1982; Vol. 6 (1985) is entitled 'Storiografia e archivi delle confraternite romane' and gives details of the surviving archival material related to these confraternities. Both volumes are edited by Luigi Fiorani.
46. These were the various confraternities whose amalgamation led to that of the Gonfalone, the oldest in Rome. See Anna Esposito, 'Le "confraternite" del Gonfalone' in *Ricerche per la storia religiosa di Roma*, 5 (1984), 91.
47. These figures are taken from Lumbroso and Martini, *Le confraternite*.
48. See Giazotto, *Quattro secoli* and Summers, 'Compagnia'.

49. Various manuscripts contain music for processions of a simple nature, e.g. I Rvat Cap. Giul. XIII 26, which contains pieces for three and four voices by Palestrina and others, much of it *alternatim*.
50. For the musicians employed by the Senate and People of Rome at the *Campidoglio* See Cametti, *I musicisti*.
51. Noel O'Regan, 'Roman Confraternities and their Oratories 1550-1600', *Report of the Fourteenth Congress of the International Musicological Society*, forthcoming.
52. For the history of the forty-hours devotion see Santi, *Quarant'Ore* and Weil 'Forty hours'.
53. Martin, *Roma sancta*, p. 64.
54. Santi, *Quarant' Ore*, pp. 284-70.
55. Culley, *Jesuits*. Culley, 'English', is a study of music at the Venerable English College from 1579 to 1589.
56. In the payment records for this year the chaplains are listed according to voice-type along the visiting singers, ASR, Ospedale della Sma. Trinità, 703, n.f.
57. Ibid., 11, f. 114 speaks of the music as having been removed; the actual decision is not recorded.
58. ASV, Gonfalone. The archive is not yet catalogued and seems to have many gaps, so that it is not possible to be more precise. I am grateful to Mons. Hoberg of the ASV for permission to spend a short time consulting this archive.
59. ASCR, S. Maria di Monserrato, F-IV-376, n.f.
60. Culley, 'English', p. 18.
61. ASCR, S. Maria di Monserrato N-V-1207, f. 31v.
62. The classic treatment of economic life in sixteenth-century Rome is Delumeau, *Vie économique*.
63. ASR, Ospedale della Sma. Trinità, 706, 707 record monthly payments to Solino as organist and *maestro di cappella* from 10th January.
64. ASCR, S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli, A-V-140. Singers were paid regularly from 1613, but the choir did not take full shape until the appointment of Paolo Tarditi as organist and *maestro* in 1616.
65. ASCR, S. Maria di Monserrato F-IV-376, n.f.
66. Ibid.
67. Ibid., B-III-196, f. 304v.
68. ASR, Ospedale di S. Rocco, 149, n.f.
69. see Delameau, *Vie économique*.

70. Figures taken from ASMM, *Giustificazioni di pagamento*.
71. Figures taken from Frey, 'San Luigi' and Lionnet, *San Louis des Français*.
72. Figures from ASMM, *Giustificazioni* 1597-8.
73. Singers from all of these institutions were employed at S. Pietro for special feasts between 1600 and 1606.
74. Summers, *Compagnia*, which also provides a comprehensive bibliography; I Rf C-I-3 *Libro primo de decreti della congregazione dell'oratorio de Roma* records the following for the 9th November 1584 (f. 40): 'Che M. Aless[andro] (Marino?) et il Soto tratti il negozio della Compagnia de Musici con M. Gio[vanni] Palestrina e con che bisogna' which shows that negotiations were in progress at that date (not mentioned in Summers).
75. *Diarii Sistini* 13 (1584), 7 September, given in translation in Summers, *Compagnia*.
76. *Diarii Sistini* 14 (1585), 31 October; quoted in Fabbri, *Jacomelli*, which gives the most comprehensive account of Jacomelli's career.
77. see note 68.
78. Fabbri, *Jacomelli*, describes his involvement.
79. This motet was included in Carlo Berti, *Motecta octonis vocibus concinenda* (Venezia, Vincenti, 1596). A transcription is given in Fabbri, *Jacomelli*.
80. He was paid one *scudo* by the confraternity of S. Rocco for singing during Holy Week and Easter, 1576. ASR, Ospedale di S. Rocco, 149 n.f.
81. See Burke, *Musicians*.
82. See Heydenreich and Lotz, *Architecture*.
83. See J. Fernández Alonso, *S. Maria di Monserrato*, in the series *Le Chiese di Roma Illustrate* (Rome, 1968).
84. *Architecture*, p. 273.
85. The classic study is Pastor, *Popes*. Vols. XIX to XXVI deal with the period under review.
86. *Diarii Sistini* 19 (1594), 9 February, quoted in Schuler, *Nanino* and in Lionnet, 'Performance'. A comment in the *Avvisi di Roma* of 1592 ('Nostro Signore da pochi giorni in qua piglia recreatione di musica particolarmente al Vespro') led Pastor (*Popes*, XXIII, p. 34) to conclude that Clement loved music, but only sacred. This is discussed in Annibaldi, 'Aldobrandini', where he concludes that systematic research is needed to establish Clement's real attitude to music.
87. Research into the patronage of Cardinal Montalto is currently being carried out by John W. Hill and James Chater. For Cardinal Aldobrandini see Annibaldi, 'Aldobrandini' and Hammond, 'Aldobrandini'.
88. The Papacy of Gregory XIII is well covered in Karin Wolfe, *The Holy Year of 1575: A Theological Scale of Values in the Rome of Pope Gregory XIII*, M.A. Thesis, Courtauld Institute of Art, 1984.

89. C. Porta, *Musica canenda....liber tertius* 6v (Venice, 1585)
90. See note 42.
91. Palestrina dedicated his *Magnificat octo tonorum liber primus* to Gregory XIV in 1591. Baini, *Memorie* II, pp. 226-31, spoke of the Palestrina pieces (including the polychoral works) in Rvat Sist. 29 having been dedicated to Gregory XIV in gratitude for his great interest in music, but this is based solely on the inclusion of that pope's name on one of the pieces by the copyist for dating purposes (see the discussion of the manuscript in Chapter Three).

CHAPTER TWO

ARCHIVAL EVIDENCE FOR THE PERFORMANCE OF POLYCHORAL MUSIC

1. SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Evidence for polychoral music and its performance practice can be found in a variety of sources. The most important are liturgical diaries: these survive from only three Roman institutions - the Cappella Pontificia, S. Pietro and the German College - and, while not describing performance practice in detail, they do provide valuable information on liturgical practice at these institutions. Their main drawback is that they do not, on the whole, describe normal everyday practice: only when something out of the ordinary happened was it worthy of mention, so that the very things which would be of most interest to us are usually those which were taken for granted by the diarists and not recorded. Other diaries, guide-books and reports from Ambassadors (the *Avvisi di Roma*¹) can also provide evidence, as can archival documents recording payments to musicians, minutes of meetings of bodies which oversee churches etc. Particularly informative are the *giustificazioni di pagamenti*, where they survive: these often record how many extra singers were employed for a particular feast, how much money was spent, what instruments were used and who directed the music. On the other hand, we are rarely told how the extra singers were divided into choirs, where they were positioned and what they sang. Records of payments to carpenters can provide information on the fabrication of platforms on which choirs stood; there are also records of payments to builders for galleries from which choirs could have sung. Care is needed in interpreting this information since two choirs often shared the same platform and the word *coro* could be used in three senses: (a) a platform or gallery (temporary or permanent) built to take musicians, (b) the group of musicians themselves and (c) the area of the church in which the daily offices were sung by the clergy. Knowledge of the music published by those who were *maestri* at

specific institutions can help: if polychoral music was published by a composer while active at a particular church it can reasonably be inferred that his music was performed at that church. Information can be derived from the format of these publications (whether choirbook or partbooks) and from the presence or absence of an organ part, or parts for obbligato instruments; dedications and prefaces can also provide evidence. For institutions such as the Cappella Pontificia or Cappella Giulia the extensive surviving manuscript collections give valuable information. All of these types of evidence will be taken into account in the following discussion which draws on the archives of all major and many minor institutions in the city; it is necessarily selective, given the very large number of institutions and the richness of the surviving archival material.

There is a basic distinction to be made between institutions with the resources to perform polychoral music on a regular basis and those for which it was very much the exception, used to add solemnity and colour to the celebration of special feastdays. The three institutions whose permanent singers allowed them to have polychoral music regularly are also those for which diaries survive. These will first be considered in some detail before broadening the discussion to take in other institutions and the celebration of major feasts. Finally, the use of polychoral music on other occasions, such as during Lent, will be discussed.

2. INSTITUTIONS WITH REGULAR POLYCHORAL MUSIC

THE CAPPELLA PONTIFICIA

The *Diario Sistina* for the year 1616, kept by Carlo Vanni, *puntatore* for that year, is the only one to list the actual music sung on major occasions;² this includes a high proportion of polychoral pieces, listed in

Appendix II. On some occasions the diarist gave the title of the piece without specifying the number of voices: where polychoral settings of these texts survive in Rvat Sist. manuscripts they are included in the Appendix, since these may have been the settings used. This was most likely the case with the Palestrina *Stabat Mater*, sung as a motet on Palm Sunday 1616, since Adami³ assigned the composer's 8v setting to this feast in 1711.

From the 1616 diary it is clear that polychoral music in the papal chapel was confined to three types of occasion: (a) major feasts (some psalms and the Magnificat at Vespers, motets during Mass); (b) Holy Week (the *Miserere* and *Improperia*); (c) non-liturgical occasions such as consistories for the creation of cardinals,⁴ or during lunch for the pope on the anniversary of his coronation (motets). Mass ordinary settings, where these are specified, were always for 4-6v and never polychoral. There were two categories of Vespers: on most major feasts this office was celebrated in public in the Sistine chapel or wherever the pope held his Cappella. There were, however, four feasts on which second Vespers was sung privately for the pope, not in the Sistine chapel but in the papal apartments: Easter, Pentecost, St. Peter (June 29th) and Christmas Day. This is referred to as the *Vespro segreto*. On the public occasions the diary tells us that only two (or sometimes three) of the psalms, the hymn and the Magnificat were sung in polyphony, with the psalms and Magnificat often for two choirs. The other items of the office would have been in plainsong, falsobordone or *contrapunto*.⁵ All would have been unaccompanied. At the secret Vespers, on the other hand the organ was used: on Christmas day Morales' Magnificat for four voices was sung 'alternato con l'organo'. A small portable organ must have been brought to the papal apartments. The secret Vespers provided the occasion for more modern music - the word 'concertato' appears in the diary to describe psalms and antiphons. Frey thought that the word 'concertato' here implied the use of instruments but, as we shall see later, the term was simply used to describe a piece with sections for reduced numbers

of voices; organ accompaniment was however essential. The secret Vespers had more polyphonic items, including the antiphons and the concluding Marian antiphon, and settings for three and four choirs were used. At Pentecost, for example, three psalms were sung in polyphony, one for four choirs by Ottavio Catalani and another in a *concertato* setting by Ruggiero Giovanelli. The Magnificat was for twelve voices by Felice Anerio, the Marian antiphon, *Regina Coeli*, was sung in polyphony and the other antiphons were also in *concertato* settings by various (unnamed) composers. The music on the other two occasions was similar. It is interesting that none of this music survives in Rvat Sist. manuscripts: performed on one occasion only, it did not become part of the permanent repertoire of the choir.

In the Cappella Sistina the choir sang from their recessed gallery built into the wall about one third of the way down, on the right-hand side as one faces the altar. Here there was no room for physical separation of choirs and this is borne out by the fact that the polychoral music from this period in the Rvat Sist. collection is in large choirbooks with the two choirs on opposite pages of each opening.⁶ Jean Lionnet has recently presented evidence that the Papal singers always sang with a single voice on each part, taking turns in order of seniority.⁷ While this may not always have been the case for smaller-scale music,⁸ the evidence for polychoral music would seem to support one-to-a-part performance: the diary for 1621 tells us that on March 24th two motets were sung, one for five voices by the whole chapel and the other at the elevation by eight solo voices.⁹ The only other reference to the number of singers is for the double-choir *Miserere* and *Impropria* during Holy Week when single voices were certainly used, the normal order of seniority being ignored in order to achieve a good blend of voices.¹⁰ The Holy-Week music in Rvat Sist. is found in two smaller choir-books, which may imply some physical separation of the two choirs.¹¹ On three of the occasions during 1616 on which polychoral music was sung, Mass was celebrated by the pope in S. Pietro

(Epiphany, Pentecost and St. Peter). A platform was constructed in S. Pietro for the papal singers, who provided the music on such occasions¹² and they presumably sang from choirbooks as in the Sistine Chapel.

Occasional references in other *Diarii Sistini* confirm the 1616 pattern: that for 1609 bears out the up-to-date nature of the *Vespro segreto*, recording that *concerti galanti* were performed at the secret vespers on Easter Sunday.¹³

The repertory of polychoral pieces which survives in Rvat Sist. manuscripts reflects the practices described above. There are no pieces for more than two choirs, while the majority of double-choir pieces are settings of Vesper psalms, Magnificats and Marian antiphons or Holy-Week music. There are also motets covering the major feasts of the church year. The diary of 1616 and other diaries give evidence that motets were sung at four places in the Mass: at the Offertory, the Elevation, the Communion and, occasionally, at the end.¹⁴ A small number of manuscripts contain polychoral mass-settings: of these, only Rvat Sist. 149 was definitely copied for performance by the chapel during the period under discussion.

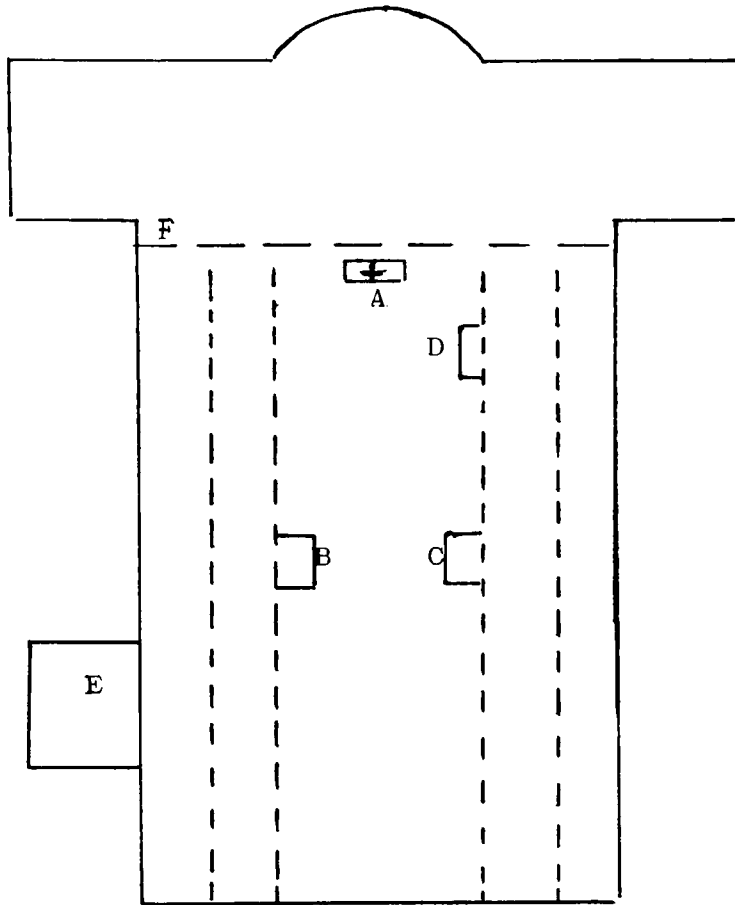
Papal singers were also involved in polychoral music in churches outside the papal chapel, either as a body or as individuals. As a body the choir could be invited by a titular cardinal to perform at the patronal feast of his titular church: for example in 1619 Cardinal Borghese, nephew of Pope Paul V, had the papal choir sing a mass for three choirs and two organs by Ruggiero Giovanelli on the feast of San Chrisogono at the eponymous church of which he was titular cardinal.¹⁵ In 1620 a three-choir mass and three-choir motets by Giovanelli and Teofilo Gargari were sung on the same feast. The choir also sang as a body in the Spanish S. Giacomo at Mass on the feast of St. James, singing a motet for three choirs in 1594.¹⁶ Payments to porters who carried

the choirbooks from the Vatican show that the papal singers sang some of their own music when they performed as a body in this way.

THE CAPPELLA GIULIA IN ST. PETER'S BASILICA

The study of liturgical celebration and performance practice at St. Peter's is complicated by the fact that for almost all of the period under review the new basilica was being built.¹⁷ Julius II had initiated the process by having the choir and transepts of the old Constantinian basilica pulled down in 1506; the old nave remained intact while work commenced on the new building. Paul III had a wall built in 1538 to separate the construction area from the remainder of the original nave, where services continued to be held. By the Holy Year of 1575 the four central pillars and the barrel of the dome had been completed and Gregory XIII completed the building of the Cappella Gregoriana in the north-east corner of the dome - the first of the four huge chapels which were to surround it (see Fig. 2.2). The chapel was consecrated in 1578 - though not yet finished - and acquired a new organ in 1580 (the earlier organ of Alexander VI remained in the old nave at this stage);¹⁸ thereafter this chapel was increasingly used for services. Sixtus V completed the dome and shortly before his death was able to celebrate mass on the new high altar over the tomb of St. Peter on Palm Sunday 1590. Under Clement VIII the Cappella Clementina in the south-east corner of the dome was completed and work progressed on the other two corner chapels. . Soon after the accession of Paul V in 1605 a fall of masonry in the old nave hastened the decision to demolish it and complete the new basilica. After much discussion the Pope decided to abandon the symmetrical Greek cross design, favoured by all of the Renaissance architects who worked on the basilica, in favour of a Latin cross with an extended nave which would provide more room for great liturgical occasions such as canonizations. The views of the papal master of ceremonies, Paolo Mucanzio, were significant here: at the consecration of the high altar in 1595 he

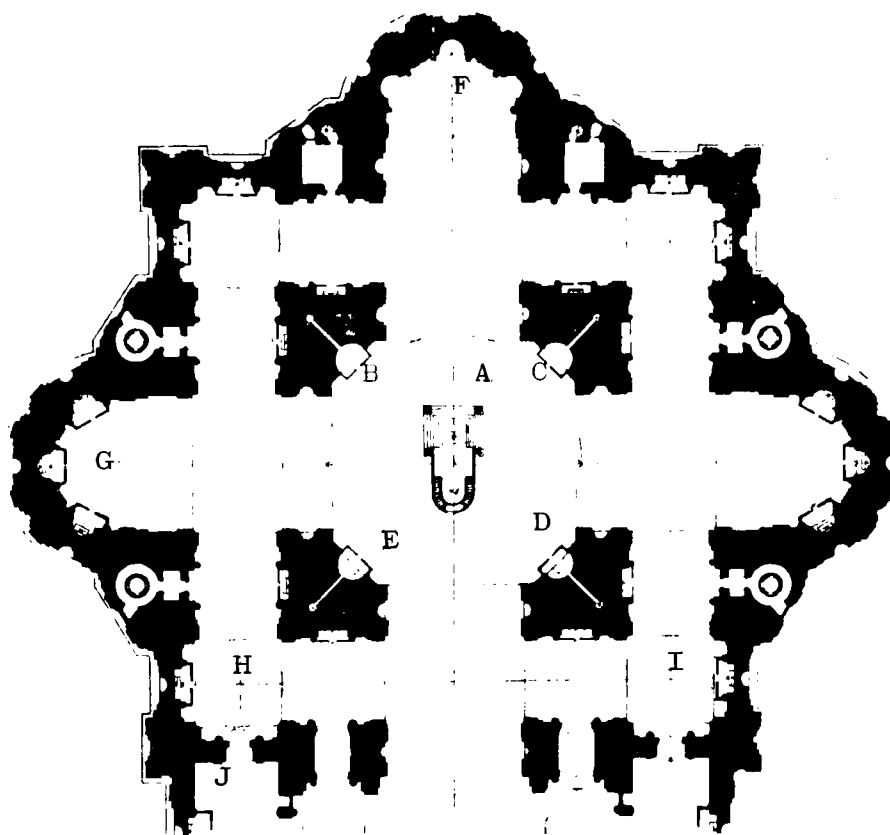
FIG. 2.1



- A. Main Altar
- B. Altar of SS. Simon and Jude
(Blessed Sacrament)
- C. Pulpitus Cantorum .
- D. Organ of Alexander VI
- E. Chapel of Sixtus IV for the Choir
- F. Dividing Wall

OLD BASILICA OF SAN PIETRO

FIG. 2.2



1. Plan of crossing, Saint Peter's. (Fontana, *Templum*, 1694, pl. following p. 380, detail)

- A. Main (papal) altar
- B. Volto Santo (Veronica's Veil)
- C. Head of St. Andrew
- D. Colonna Santa
- E. Tomb of Paul III Farnese
- F. Tribune
- G. Altar of SS. Simon and Jude
(Blessed Sacrament)
- H. Cappella Clementina
- I. Cappella Gregoriana
- J. Cappella del Coro (after 1626)

NEW BASILICA OF SAN PIETRO (disposition of
four central columns before 1629)

complained that the new basilica as planned was ill-adapted to ecclesiastical functions and departed from the traditional image of a church as representing the body of Christ on the cross - a revival of scholastic symbolism, as Pastor pointed out.¹⁹ By 1607 the old nave with all its monuments and side-chapels had been pulled down and work began on the new one, the dividing wall now functioning in reverse. In February 1615 this wall was knocked down and by Palm Sunday 1615 the basilica was finally structurally complete.

Where did the Cappella Giulia sing during this century-long construction period? Sixtus IV had built a *Cappella del Coro* opening off the old nave (see plan given in Fig. 2. 1) and daily services were sung there by the canons of the basilica and the members of the Cappella Giulia up to 1605, when it was pulled down. By 1626 a new chapel had been built for the choir on roughly the same site. In the intervening period the choir seems to have used the left transept of the new basilica, at the altar of SS. Simon and Jude (see Fig. 2. 2).²⁰ Andrea Amici, one of the beneficed clergy of the basilica, kept a liturgical diary for the years 1602-20;²¹ it is clear from this, as well as from payments to porters, that the custom of celebrating the liturgy at various altars within the old basilica was continued in the new. The basilica was not used as a single church on any but the most important feastdays, but rather as a series of individual chapels. One or more platforms were erected for the singers and Document 15 in Appendix III gives the list of payments to porters for moving these platforms and organs for the various feasts celebrated in the basilica in 1620.

The documents which survive in the archives of the basilica tell us nothing about polychoral music prior to 1597.²² The only evidence for such performance during Palestrina's period as *maestro* (1571-1594) comes from the surviving music in the Cappella Giulia collection. A large number of pieces for two and three choirs survive from this time, settings of litanies, Marian

antiphons, psalm-motets and other motets, many of which have a Marian character. There are no Vesper psalms or Magnificat settings. These pieces are found in partbooks rather than choirbooks, suggesting spatially-separated performance.

Palestrina's successor, Ruggiero Giovanelli, had already gained much experience in providing large-scale music for Roman confraternities and his term of office (1594-1599) coincided with the completion of the four great chapels surrounding the dome of St. Peter's. Clement VIII dedicated the new High altar under the dome in 1598 and this enormous space now became the focus for liturgical celebrations on great occasions with a consequent need for music on a much grander scale than before. From 1597 onwards extra singers were hired each year for the two major feasts associated with the basilica: the anniversary of the Dedication (of the original basilica) on November 18th and the feast of SS. Peter and Paul on June 29th. These will be discussed later in conjunction with special feastday celebrations at other institutions.

From 1602 onwards more detailed information is available from the archives of the basilica and from Amici's diary. As well as the two major feasts mentioned above, polychoral music was sung on other feastdays and at Compline during Lent. The extent to which it was used is difficult to judge from the archival material since the Cappella Giulia at full strength had the resources to perform two- and three-choir music without outside help. Amici does not normally detail the number of choirs, but his occasional mention of polychoral music serves to underline its prevalence. He records, for instance, that on the feast of the Assumption in 1619, Mass was sung in the Cappella Gregoriana 'with incense from the beginning and music for two choirs with the organ'.²³ On the octave of Corpus Christi 1606 the *maestro*, Francesco Soriano, was paid 3 *scudi* for three papal singers (ATB) at Vespers 'for having made up a choir at the organ (*nell organo*)'.²⁴ These may have been joined by a soprano from the Cappella Giulia, but it is an example of solo singers in at least one choir.

The only reference to a specific polychoral piece in Amici's diary comes from his entry for September 30th 1618.²⁵ One of the canons, Ferdinando Millino, whose inexperience in singing had caused him to pass up his turn as celebrant on a number of occasions, finally sang the Mass on this day, the seventeenth Sunday after Pentecost. Because it was not a special feastday, Mass should have been celebrated in the choir (at this period in the left transept of the new basilica) but:

....la messa s'e cantata nella Gregoriano al Santissimo Sacramento, per non essere in choro l'organetto piccolo, che e' stato portato a S. Michele con l'occasione della festa. La messa che si e' cantata e intitolata Papae Marcelli del Pellestrino con la spartitura di tutta per l'organo del Soriano ridotta a due cori che e' una delle piu belle messe che si possa sentire....

...the Mass was sung in the [Cappella] Gregoriana at the [altar of the] Blessed Sacrament, because the small organ was not in the choir, it having been taken to the [church of] San Michele on the occasion of his feast. The mass sung was entitled *Papae Marcelli* by Palestrina scored for all with the organ and arranged for two choirs by Soriano, which is one of the most beautiful masses it is possible to hear....

After the Mass Millino invited Soriano, Amici and others to his rooms for lunch, 'a banquet made up of everything conceivable, eaten throughout from silver'. It is significant that the need for organ accompaniment forced the change to the Cappella Gregoriana where the large organ of 1580 could be used - the choir had sung in the dependent church of S. Michele on the previous day, the feast of St. Michael, and taken the small organ with them - and also that only one organ was used to accompany both choirs. The Cappella Gregoriana was also the site of a platform erected on August 30th 1620 when the new archpriest of the basilica, Cardinal Borghese, took possession. Amici tells us that the Mass was sung 'with the most excellent music for three choirs, a large number of the singers of the pope being present, and with the scoring (*spartitura*) of various instruments.²⁶ Unfortunately no list of musicians survives.

Dixon and Roche have dealt with the importance of the office of Compline in Roman churches during Lent,²⁷ and S. Pietro was no exception. That

polychoral music was being performed during Compline in Palestrina's time is attested to by the double-choir settings of the *Nunc dimittis* (with doxology) and the Marian antiphon for Lent, *Ave Regina*, by both Palestrina and Annibale Zoilo in Rvat Giul XIII 24. Amici does not mention Compline until 1614 when his entry for the Friday after Passion Sunday records:

...si e cantata la Compieta in musica et una parte a doi chori con la spartitura dell'organo, ancorche pare che in questo tempo di Passione non si debba sonare l'organo, nondimeno per il gran concorso di populo credo si possi comportare, et anco si e' cantata l'Antifona al Nunc Dimittis in contrapunto con l'organo a battuta, et il Versetto Dignare me etc. l'hanno cantato li cantori conforme al solito di questi giorni.

...Compline was sung in polyphony and in part by two choirs with the accompaniment of the organ. Although it is true that the organ should not be sounded in Passiontide, nevertheless because of the great crowd of people I believe that it can be used. The antiphon at the *Nunc dimittis* was also sung in *contrapunto* with the organ playing; the singers sang the versicle 'Dignare me' etc. according to the custom of these days.

This versicle is that which follows immediately after the *Ave Regina* at the end of Lenten Compline (see Appendix I); it began to be set polyphonically from about 1600 onwards (usually for two solo voices with an 8v respond). The crowds of people and the resulting noise may have made the use of the organ necessary to keep the singers together. In 1615 Amici records that Compline was sung in polyphony each Friday during Lent because of the great crowd of people who came; on the Friday after Ash Wednesday the *Ave Regina* was sung by two choirs with organ and the versicle at the end was sung by the sopranos.²⁸ On March 20th 1620 Amici complained that 'Compline was sung in polyphony but ordinarily and with little gratification because it was so ordinary'.²⁹ This ordinariness must surely mean that for once polychoral music was not sung.

Further evidence for polychoral performance at S. Pietro in the early seventeenth century comes from the large repertory of such music which survives in Cappella Giulia manuscripts, as well as the music published by Francesco Soriano (*maestro* 1603-21). In 1609 he published his 8v *Missa Papae Marcelli*

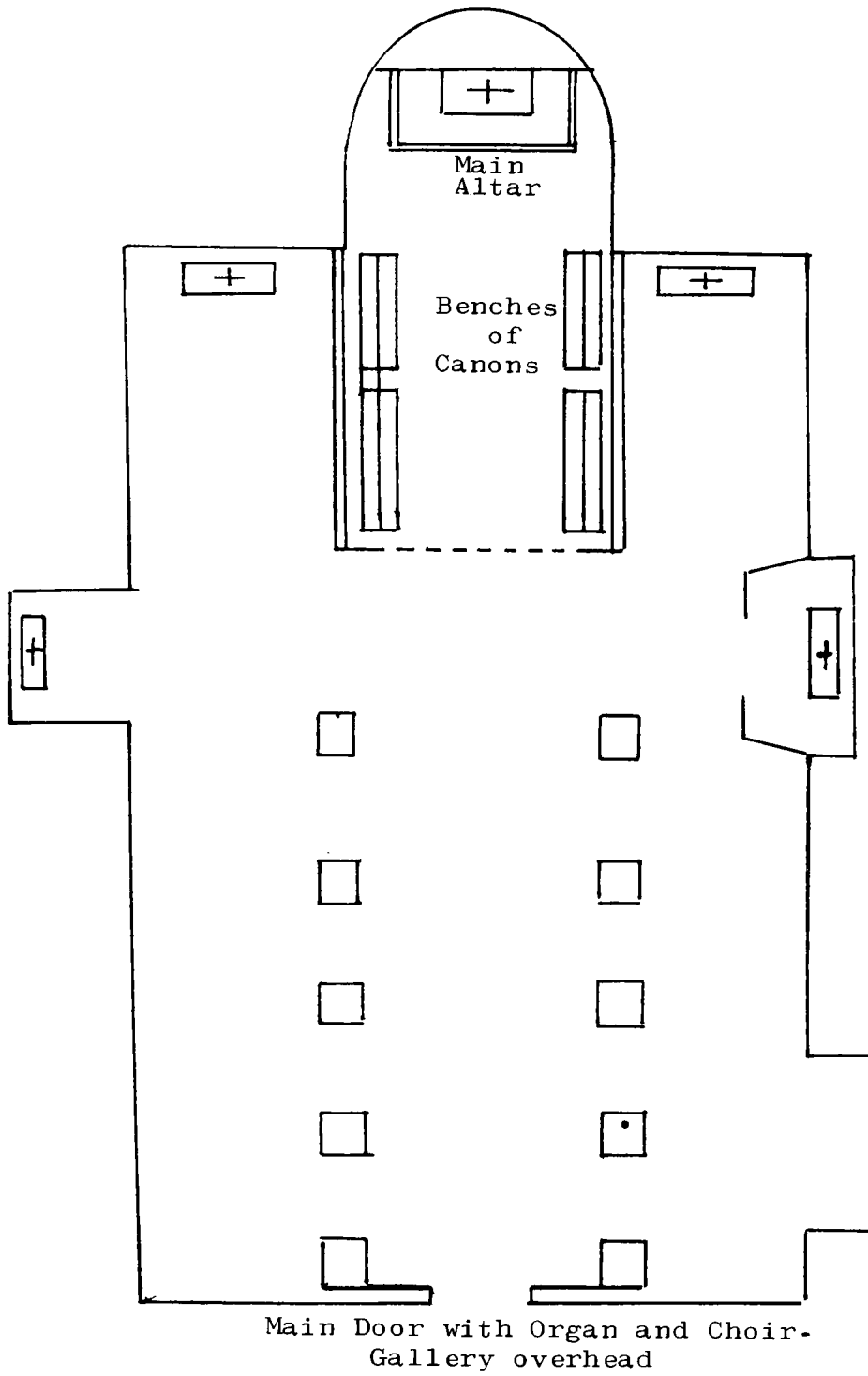
(mentioned above) and in 1616 a collection which included two settings of the Vespers psalm *Dixit Dominus* for four choirs, a Magnificat for three, the Hymn and a motet for the feast of the Dedication of a church, also for three choirs, and settings for double choir of a number of Vespers psalms, the *Magnificat*, *Benedictus* and *Nunc dimittis* and a variety of motets.

THE GERMAN COLLEGE AND S. APOLLINARE

The College and its associated church of San Apollinare, given into its care in 1575, are the Roman institutions for which performance practice is most comprehensively documented. The obsessive interest in music of Michael Lauretano, the first rector of the college after its refoundation in 1573, has already been mentioned. Knowing that the liturgical training of his students would be barren without a public church in which to practice it, he refused Gregory XIII's first offer of a permanent home in the Palazzo della Valle because it lacked one, and held out for S. Apollinare. Information on performance practice during these two periods comes mainly from a series of three diaries, one kept by Lauretano himself (1582-3), another by two priests of the college, Frederick Overbeck and Gabriel Tibaldi (1582-7), and a third by an anonymous writer (1591-3). These have been examined by Casimiri and Culley,³⁰ but neither considered the music written by composers who were *maestri* at the college and both omitted some items of relevance to polychoral practice.

What distinguished the College from other institutions was the fact that the singing was done almost completely by the students, supplemented by some external singers. (Three boy sopranos lived in the college from at least 1583, and after Lauretano's death in 1587 a small number of external singers sang at the college in return for board and lodging and study facilities). This was not the case at the English College or the Roman Seminary where, as far as can be judged from the records, polyphonic music was sung by professional singers, and not by the students.³¹ The students of the German College were divided

FIG. 2.3



OLD BASILICA OF SAN APOLLINARE
(before 1742)

into three choirs, of which two sang plainsong (the *coristi*) and the third, made up of the most talented singers, sang polyphony. This third choir had twenty members in 1576 and twenty-six in 1592, of which seventeen (4A,8T,5B) were students.³² This division into polyphonic singers and *coristi* and the desire to involve all of the students in liturgical music led to a much greater emphasis on *alternatim* performance at the College, both between polyphony (often eight-voice) and plainsong, and between polyphony and organ; as we shall see in Part Two, it also strongly influenced the music written by composers attached to the College.

The earliest evidence for polychoral music at the College comes from Victoria's publication of 1576, when he was *maestro*. This includes a setting for two choirs of part of Ps. 136, *Super flumina Babylonis*, which may be the setting sung in 1573 to mark the parting of the German students from others who had been lodging with them. In 1575, according to Casimiri, a setting of Ps. 104, *Confitemini Domino*, was sung 'per tribus choris':³³ no setting of this text by Victoria survives, nor did he publish any three-choir polyphonic music until 1583. It is likely that one of the three choirs sang plainsong. The earliest mention of *alternatim* performance in the archives is in 1582 when, at a special service of thanksgiving for the gift by the Pope of the abbey of San Pietro di Lodi, Ps. 134, *Laudate nomen Domini*, was sung 'with two choirs of polyphony which stood in the benches of the canons and a third singing Gregorian chant on the side of the Patriarchs'.³⁴ The benches of the canons faced each other in front of the high altar (see plan, Fig. 2. 3). Investigation of S. Apollinare is hampered by the fact that the original church was completely demolished and rebuilt in 1742 and very little descriptive information about the old church survives. The archives of the German College do, however, preserve a ground-plan of the original building, on which the plan in Fig. 2. 3 is based, and which shows the benches of the canons. The two choirs of polyphony faced each other here while the plainchant choir, made up of

the bulk of the students, sang on one side of the body of the church (probably decorated by mosaics of the Patriarchs).

This was not the only way in which double-choir music was performed in S. Apollinare: this is clear from a description of a special forty-hours devotion held in January 1583 to pray for the archbishop and people of Cologne who were thought to be in danger of falling into heresy. During the forty hours:

Finita l'esortatione si comincio subito Compieta, et si canto solennissimamente con organo, i salmi in musica et li salmi Ecce nunc benedicite Dominum et Nunc dimittis, si cantorno a doi chori, stando un choro nel organo et l'altro al loco solito. Fornito che fu di cantare l'Alma Redemptoris Mater descessero i musici in chiesa...et li cantori distribuiti in doi chori tra le sedie de canonici cantorno il motetto Deus misereatur nostri de Orlando et poi mentre che se incensava il Santissimo Sacramento, O Salutaris hostia...³⁵

After the sermon Compline was commenced immediately, and sung most solemnly with the organ, the psalms in polyphony and the psalm *Ecce nunc* and the *Nunc dimittis* were sung by two choirs, one choir standing at the organ and the other in the usual place. After the singing of the *Alma redemptoris* the singers descended to the church....and, after having distributed themselves into two choirs among the benches of the canons, the singers sang the motet *Deus misereatur nostri* of Orlando (di Lasso) and afterwards, while the Blessed Sacrament was being incensed, *O salutaris*...

This entry gives some very explicit information, including the names of the pieces of music sung. Lasso's psalm-motet *Deus misereatur nostri* is found in a number of Roman manuscripts in a revised version suitable for spatially-separated choirs (see Chapter Five). This motet and the *O salutaris* were sung by two choirs facing each other in the benches of the canons; for Compline, on the other hand, the singers were all in the upper gallery, placed over the main entrance of the church, where the organ was also housed.³⁶ The phrase 'al loco solito' (in the usual place) would seem to refer to the gallery above the entrance; since all the singers later descended into the church, both choirs must have been in the gallery above to begin with, one beside the organ (perhaps consisting of soloists) and the other in the position normally occupied there by the singers. That the upper gallery was large is clear from Lauretano's *Consuetudini* where the division into three choirs (mentioned above)

is said to apply only when the singing was in the body of the church, where the office was sung on solemn feasts and the students wore their surplices; on other occasions when they sang in the upper gallery they did not wear surplices and, as the place was larger, they all sang together.³⁷

The same pattern of polychoral singing was observed at Compline on Easter Tuesday 1583:

Li cantori stavano nel choro di sopra, li sacerdoti, et choristi in chiesa in piedi....Si cantò solennemente col il Nunc dimittis a doi chori, de quali uno stava nel organo, et l'altro nel choro. Doppo la compieta subito uscì di sacrestia il P. Rettore con doi ministri con li piviali bianchi. Interim li cantori erano discesi a basso et li choristi s'erano retirati dalle bande, et li sacerdoti descesero al loco de beneficiati, in loco poi de sacerdoti ascesero doi chori di cantori a 4 voci, gl'altri cantori stavano in ginocchiati in mezzo del choro, et si cantò il salmo 43, Deus a vocibus nostris audivimus, a tre chori, repetendo sempre a vicenda quelli soi versetti che dicono, Exsurge quare obdormis Domine, exsurge et ne repellas in fine, et, Quare faciem suam avertis, oblisceris inopiae nostrae, et tribulationis nostrae, et questi doi versetti s'interserivano sempre uno per volta in mezzo del canto Gregoriano....³⁸

The singers stood in the upper gallery, the priests and *coristi* in the church on foot....[the office] was sung solemnly with the *Nunc dimittis* for two choirs, of which one stood at the organ and the other in the gallery. After Compline the Father Rector immediately left the sacristy with two ministers dressed in white copes. In the meantime the singers had come down, the *coristi* had retired from the side-aisle and the priests had descended to the place of the beneficed (clergy); to the place of the priests two choirs of four voices ascended,, the other singers knelt in the middle of the choir and Ps. 43, *Deus a vocibus nostris audivimus*, was sung by three choirs, repeating always in turn those two verses which run: 'Exsurge quare obdormis Domine, exsurge et ne repellas in fine' and the verse 'Quare faciem suam avertis, oblisceris inopiae nostrae, et tribulationis nostrae', and these two verses were inserted one at a time in the middle of the Gregorian chant...

Again the performance is *alternatim*, though here of an antiphonal nature with the two double-choir verses acting alternately as antiphons. These two four-voiced choirs ascended to the place vacated by the priests, who went to the place of the beneficed clergy (i.e. the benches of the canons). This must mean that the two choirs sang in the space between these benches and the main

altar, while the plainchant choir knelt in the middle of the choir, i.e. between the benches of the canons.

Another feast for which we have specific information is that of the Epiphany, 1585. Mass was celebrated solemnly with 'beautiful music and cornetts'; likewise Vespers had organs and cornetts and an extra bass from outside the college. At Compline the *Nunc dimittis* was sung by eight voices in dialogue with the organ (here substituting for the plainchant choir). One of the choir sung the *Jube Domne* (the intonation at the beginning of Compline) because none of the students (or boy sopranos? - 'puerorum') could be absent from the choir due to the singing of a motet in place of the *Deo gratias* (at the end of the service). This was Palestrina's 8v *Surge illuminare* sung at the organ ('in organo').³⁹

As in other Roman establishments, there was much use of polychoral music during Lent, particularly on Fridays: in 1583 we are told that the Litany of the Name of Jesus was sung by two choirs at the altar of the cross in the evening after classes, while the Litany of the Madonna was sung on Saturdays by two choirs of polyphony and one of *falsobordone*.⁴⁰ On the Tuesday of Holy Week Compline was sung solemnly with the psalm *Ecce nunc*, the *Nunc dimittis* and the *Ave Regina* sung by two choirs.⁴¹ Lauretano's *Consuetudini* of 1587 confirm the practice of singing the Litany of the Name of Jesus by two choirs on the Fridays of Lent but prescribe two choirs in *falsobordone* and one of simple Gregorian chant for the Saturday Litany of the Madonna.⁴²

The diary for 1591-3 confirms the performance practices of the earlier years; at the forty-hours devotion held in March 1591 the Litanies and a psalm were sung by three choirs.⁴³ One of these could have been a plainchant choir, though by this time full-blown three-choir music was being regularly performed in the city. On the last day of that year, first Vespers of the Circumcision

was sung in the Roman seminary by two choirs, one from the seminary and the other from the German College.⁴⁴

After 1593 no diaries survive until 1639 but the practice of polychoral music continued unabated. No music survives in the College, in print or in manuscript, but publications of polychoral music by composers while *maestri* at the College include: Annibale Stabile (1578-90) in 1583 and 1589; Asprilio Pacelli (1595-1602) in 1597, Agostino Agazzari (1602-3) in 1602 and 1603, and Annibale Orgas (1613-1619) in 1619. Ottavio Catalani (maestro 1603-8 and 1611-3) published polychoral music in 1616 and Antonio Cifra (maestro 1608-9)⁴⁵ did likewise in 1610.

3. INSTITUTIONS WITH INFREQUENT POLYCHORAL MUSIC:

THE CELEBRATION OF IMPORTANT FEASTDAYS

For the bulk of Roman institutions, which did not have the resources to perform polychoral music regularly, it was reserved for special occasions, put on totally by, or with the participation of, extra singers and musicians. This applied to basilicas, confraternities and national churches as well as to more humble establishments, the only differences being those of scale and frequency. Those establishments with six adult singers and three to four boys could in theory perform double-choir music, and may well have done so on occasion - this would not be recorded in archival documents - but they were very often at reduced strength due to absences or the movement of singers, and they too relied on outside musicians for special feasts. Thus S. Maria Maggiore with 2A, 2T, 2B and four boys in its regular choir hired at least eight singers from 1592 onwards, together with instrumentalists, for its two major feasts, St. Mary of the Snow (August 5th) and the Assumption (August 15th). Extra singers had been hired sporadically before that date, but the arrival of both Annibale

Stabile as *maestro* and Paolo Quagliati as organist in 1591 gave a large boost to festal music at the basilica. From 1602 onwards the number of extra singers hired rose to at least twelve.⁴⁶ That the hiring of extra singers by Roman institutions was normally for the purpose of singing polychoral music is clear from the annals of the Roman Seminary which say: 'on principal feastdays some outside singers should be procured in order to sing in two choirs' (the regular strength of the choir was four singers). This is later reinforced: 'on the most solemn feasts the singing should be for six and eight voices, inviting for that purpose some external singers'.⁴⁷

Most institutions celebrated two major feasts (e.g. the patronal saint and the anniversary of the dedication of the church) though some institutions concentrated their resources on a single occasion. This may have been dictated not only by financial constraints but also by the availability of singers. Although the pool of musicians was growing, the same people were in demand by various institutions and these could make a living by moving continuously from one church to the next.

PAPAL SINGERS

At the head of the list of desirable singers were those in the papal chapel and the performance of polychoral music depended very much on their availability, either as a group or individually. This is clear from numerous archival references: for example at the Chiesa Nuova on the anniversary of the death of Philip Neri in 1599, the music for four choirs was 'even more beautiful than usual because it was [performed by] the chapel of his holiness'.⁴⁸ S. Maria Maggiore often had large numbers of papal singers for its major feasts but even in years like 1610 when, for whatever reason, it could only muster six, three were placed at the head of the A, T and B lists.⁴⁹ The influence of titular cardinals or of cardinal protectors was used to obtain the services of these papal singers. Not only were the best singers to be found in the papal

choir but their presence, in an age where musicians had an important role in enhancing the status of a ruler or patron, added prestige to an occasion. On the singers' part, the remuneration obtained more than covered the fine incurred if the absence was not sanctioned; it was partly for his constant absence while organising music outwith the papal chapel that Giovanni Battista Jacomelli was warned and finally dismissed from the chapel in 1585.⁵⁰ When hired for special feasts, papal singers received higher pay than others and a carriage was dispatched to fetch them.

MAESTRI DI CAPPELLA

As well as singers, the network of special feastdays around the city also worked to the benefit of *maestri* and composers. Energetic and ambitious *maestri* could build up their reputations and their incomes by working for a number of institutions simultaneously. A composer could make an arrangement with an establishment not having a permanent choir, under which he would provide music for the main feastdays; he was given the title *maestro di cappella* although he was not paid a regular salary, being paid for those feasts only. This seems to have been the position at Sma. Trinità, for example, between 1576 and 1591, when various composers are called *maestro* but paid only for major feasts. A composer could hold more than one such position if there was no clash in the feasts celebrated: Ruggiero Giovanelli was *maestro* at the English College between 1587 and 1589⁵¹ while also holding down the almost full-time position of *maestro* at S. Luigi dei Francesi.⁵² His duties at the College consisted only in supplying music for the feasts of the Trinity (to which the college chapel was dedicated) and St. Thomas of Canterbury, neither important enough at S. Luigi to require his presence. A good example of an ambitious *maestro* was Asprilio Pacelli. Born near Narni (1570?) he is first heard of at the Gonfalone where he was *maestro* in 1588;⁵³ while there he seems to have encouraged the setting up of a regular choir of four singers, but

this seems to have been disbanded in 1589.⁵⁴ Between this year and 1593 he provided music for some of the major feastdays at S. Maria di Monserrato.⁵⁵ Meanwhile he was appointed *maestro* at Sma. Trinita dei Pellegrini in 1591 and again his appointment coincides with the building up of a regular choir, up to ten singers by June of that year.⁵⁶ The burden of supporting these singers proved too great, they were cut to five in 1592 and disbanded in 1594;⁵⁷ Pacelli moved to the German College shortly afterwards. In 1602 he became *maestro* at the Cappella Giulia but had his eyes on the opportunities offered by the king of Poland's interest in Roman music. He had visited Warsaw in 1601 and took up the post of *maestro* there in 1603 where he remained until his death.

It is due to Pacelli and his ambition that we have specific testimony as to the level of music expected on major feastdays in the 1590s and the amount of money needed to provide it. It comes in a notarial document which originally formed part of the archives of Sma. Trinita dei Pellegrini and later became part of a collection of musicians' autographs in the Wilhelm Heyer museum in Cologne.⁵⁸ It has since disappeared, but was fortunately published in Italian with German translation by Georg Kinsky in 1926. It reads as follows (given here in English translation only):

We the undersigned *maestri di cappella* swear full and faithful witness that, from what we have observed and seen commonly to have been observed in the institutions (*corte*) of Rome, when a *maestro di cappella* sings and causes to be sung two Vespers and a Mass by three choirs of voices all together, including some⁵⁹ from the chapel of Our Lord [the Pope] and instruments, viz. cornetts, trombones, violins and lutes, the same *maestro* should be paid for his service and to pay the said voices and instruments [needs] thirty *scudi*. And for a procession using the same voices, though without those of the [papal] chapel, ten *scudi*. And for a *Corpus Domini* procession with three choirs of music he should be paid fifteen *scudi*, and this we have commonly observed and seen publicly observed in Rome and it can be seen that this is the ordinary and proper payment. Therefore we say that Asprilio Pacelli, *maestro di cappella* of the Apollinare, having sung and organised the singing of the above-mentioned Masses, Vespers and processions on the days of the Most Holy Trinity and of *Corpus Domini*, he should be paid for his service, and for those of

the aforesaid voices and instruments, fifty-five *scudi* in total, and of this in truth we bear witness this 13th of July 1595.

I Giovanni Andrea Dragoni *maestro di cappella* of S. Giovanni in Laterano and I Francesco Soriano *maestro di cappella* of S. Maria Maggiore affirm the above.

The document is at once a witness to the expansion of the musical forces expected to solemnise major feastdays in the 1590s and the difficulties faced by institutions in finding the money to pay for this expansion. The archives of Sma. Trinità record a payment of 30 *scudi* to Pacelli on August 2nd 1594 for two Vespers, Mass and a procession on the feast of the Holy Trinity, and also for an evening Mass sung in the church on the day of the Translation of the image of the Madonna.⁵⁰ There is no payment recorded for *Corpus Christi* and no further payment was made to Pacelli, who left Sma. Trinità sometime before December 1594.⁵¹ We do not know whether or not Pacelli left Sma. Trinità as a result of this disagreement, but the German College would certainly have given his talents much more scope. He does seem to have been attempting to overstretch the resources of the confraternity: 55 *scudi* would have been well above the level which it would have expected to pay for the two feasts, as can be seen from Figs. 1. 1; despite the testimony of Dragoni and Soriano 40 *scudi* for the feast of Sma. Trinità was an exceptional amount for any institution to pay for its main feastday music at this time. Unfortunately, no list of outside musicians survives from 1594, but lists do exist for 1593 (see Appendix III, Document 17) and these correspond with the above description, giving enough singers for three choirs with largely one singer per part and the instruments mentioned in the affidavit.⁵² Pacelli was paid 27 *scudi* for all of this.

NUMBER OF CHOIRS INVOLVED

Dragoni and Soriano's affidavit tells us that three choirs were common on special feastdays by 1594. When did the use of three choirs become established? The first three-choir piece by a composer working in Rome was

published in 1583 by Victoria. Archival references which specify the number of choirs are rare before the 1580s. The earliest reference to triple-choir music so far discovered is found in the archives of S. Rocco for the previous year, 1582:

[19 Agosto 1582]...pagare a M. Giobattista Jacomelli musico scudi quindici di moneta che se gli deveno per conto della musica tolta sopra di se a' tutte sue spese fatta nella festività di San Rocco a' tre cori con diversi stromenti nella messa et doi vespri....⁶³

Pay fifteen *scudi* to M. Giobattista Jacomelli musician, which are his due on account of the music organised by him wholly at his own expense for the feast of St. Roch, with three choirs and various instruments, at Mass and two Vespers...

Earlier references to three choirs probably do not refer to three polyphonic choirs singing together, e.g. Palestrina's meeting of the company from Palestrina in 1575 with three choirs⁶⁴, most likely refers to three processional choirs and, as pointed out in Chapter One, these did not necessarily sing together. The S. Rocco reference, on the other hand refers to Mass and Vespers. The graph of expenditure at S. Rocco (Fig. 1. 1) shows a large rise for 1582 from the level of the previous three years, which must coincide with the move from two choirs to three. This is confirmed by the archives which record a payment of 16 *scudi* to Paolo Quagliati in 1586 for 'two Vespers and the Mass for three choirs as is customary each year', i.e. from 1582.⁶⁵ Expenditure stayed fairly constant until 1587 when it dropped back for at least two years before returning to the three choir level by 1591. In 1588 the confraternity was concerned to cut its expenses and decreed that for the feast of S. Rocco 'eight voices and three instruments would be sought with as little expense as possible and with the help of our own singers'.⁶⁶ The implication is that the local singers did not take part in previous years.

The general move to three choirs in the 1580s is supported by the archives of other institutions: the Gonfalone had two choirs in 1586 for the feast of St. Lucy, their patroness, but this had increased to three by 1588 with

Pacelli as *maestro*.⁶⁷ S. Maria di Monserrato hired four extra singers (CATB) as well as a violinist (Jacomelli) for the Nativity of the Virgin in 1585; these could have formed two choirs with the four regular musicians at that time employed by the church (CAB, cornett).⁶⁸ By 1587, Felice Anerio as *maestro* was paid seventeen scudi for the same feast for singers and instrumentalists 'per tre chori continui'.⁶⁹ I take this to mean three choirs singing simultaneously, as opposed to their processional or *alternatim* use. Unfortunately, no list of musicians survives for this year. Since the extra adult singers in 1585 received 1 *scudo* each, the boy soprano 0.60 *scudi* and Jacomelli 1.80, Anerio's 17 *scudi* in 1587 would have allowed him to hire the necessary forces for three choirs without using his own singers.

References to four choirs are rare in the archives and their use seems to have remained relatively uncommon during the period. This is attested to by the earliest such mention, from the Chiesa Nuova in 1597. on the second anniversary of the death of Philip Neri.

*Adi 26 di Maggio, che fu la seconda festa dello Spirito Santo, et la festa del Santo Padre in chiesa si cantó la messa et il vespero tanto solennemente, con musica a quattro chori, quanto sia mai stato cantato non solo in chiesa ma forse in Roma, con motetti, e musiche nove composte dal Signor Felice Anerio, quale hebbe cura della musica.*⁷⁰

On the 26th of May, which was the Tuesday after Pentecost and the feast of the Holy Founder, Mass and Vespers were sung most solemnly in the church, with polyphony for four choirs, something never before sung, not only in this church, but perhaps in Rome; with motets and music newly composed by Signor Felice Anerio, who was in charge of the music.

That the writer is here using the word 'chori' to mean choirs, rather than platforms is clear from his description of the same occasion in 1599, when he uses the word 'palco' for the latter:

*....la musica fu a quattro chori assai piu bella, che mai, per essere la Cappella de Sua Santita in Roma, e per essere giorno feriale che li musici non erano impediti...Nella croce della chiesa fu fatto un palco grande, tutto parato, dove era un choro di musica, con un organo, cembalo, liuti, tiorba, et altri istrumenti...*⁷¹

...the music was for four choirs and more beautiful than ever since it was [sung by] the chapel of His Holiness in Rome - since it was a ferial day the singers were not prevented [from taking part]....At the crossing of the church a large platform was erected, completely decorated, where there was situated one choir of music, with an organ, harpsichord, lutes, theorbo and other instruments...

By 1603 there was growing concern that such exceptional honour was being done to Neri, who had not yet been beatified, and it was decreed that 'there be no other choirs of music apart from the ordinary and with the organ [only]'.⁷² In 1607, however, there was a return to two choirs (see below). It is clear that the use of four choirs was an attempt to outdo other Roman institutions in heaping honour on the founder, a clear example of the use of polychoral music for aggrandisement and propaganda.

The diary of Andrea Amici tells us that there was music for three and four choirs at S. Pietro on the feast of the Dedication in 1614 (at Mass) and 1620 (Mass and second Vespers);⁷³ the forces used in these two years were no different from those used since c. 1600 (see Table II. 6 below), so that it was probably customary since about that time to sing at least one piece for four choirs on this feast, and perhaps also on the feast of St. Peter, when similar forces were used. Francesco Soriano, *maestro* at S. Pietro (1603-20), published two four-choir settings of *Dixit Dominus*, the first psalm at Vespers on Sundays and feastdays in 1616.⁷⁴ That music for four, and even five choirs, was already in use in oratories in the early 1580s is attested to by the presence of pieces for these forces in I Rn Mss. Mus. 77-88 which, it will be argued in the next chapter, dates from this time.

References to more than four choirs during this period are even rarer in the archives. The most famous is the first Mass celebrated by the composer Giovanni Francesco Anerio in the Gesù in 1616 when eight choirs occupied eight of the galleries over the arches in the aisle.⁷⁵

It would appear, then, that three choirs became common during the 1580s and remained the basic medium for the remainder of the period under discussion, with the inclusion of a piece or pieces for four choirs becoming more common from the late 1590s onwards.

DETAILS OF FORCES USED FOR MAJOR FEASTDAY CELEBRATIONS

The archives of a number of Roman institutions preserve *giustificazioni di pagamento* from this period which include detailed lists of singers and instrumentalists paid for their participation in special feastday liturgies. They are given in the following tables, according to institution. The information is taken directly from the archives of the various establishments with the exception of S. Luigi dei Francesi, where the details are taken from Lionnet, J., *Saint-Louis des Français*. For each institution, the feast(s) celebrated with special solemnity are listed. The following abbreviations are used for instruments: V=Violin, C=Corbett, Tr=Trombone, L= Lute, T=Theorbo, Bsn=Bassoon, Spin=Spinet, Trav=Traverse Flute. Feasts marked with asterisks are those for which full details are given in the documents in Appendix III.

TABLE 2. 1

ENGLISH COLLEGE: Trinity Sunday (T) and St. Thomas of Canterbury, December 29th (Th).

YEAR	FEAST	EXTRA SINGERS		INSTRUMENTS	EXTRA ORGANS	EXTRA ORGANISTS
		TOTAL	PAPAL			
1607	Th	11	1	C, Tr, L, T		
1613	T	8 (2C, 3A, 1T, 2B)	3	-		
1615	T*	9 (2C, 3A, 2T, 2B)	-	V, Spin, T	1	1
1619	Th	13 (5C, 3A, 3T, 2B)	2	V, C, Spin, T	1	1
1620	T	13 (3C, 3A + 7)	1	V, C, L, T	1	1
	Th*	16 (5C, 4A, 3T, 4B)	3	V, C, L	1	1
1621	T	14 (3C, 4A, 3T, 4B)	1	V, L		
	Th	13 (3C, 4A, 3T, 3B)	3	V, C, L		1

TABLE 2. 2

S. LUIGI DEI FRANCESI: St. Louis, August 25th.

YEAR	EXTRA SINGERS TOTAL	PAPAL	INSTRUMENTS	EXTRA ORGANS	EXTRA ORGANISTS	EXTRA CONDUCTORS
1599	11 (CATB/CATB/ATB)	8	2V,C,3Tr,L,T	1	1	
1600	12 (CATB/CATB/AATT)	9	V,C,2Tr, T	1	1	
1601	12 (CATB/CAB/CATTB)	8	C, Tr,L,T	2	2	
1602	12 (CATB/CATB/AATB)	7	C, Tr,L,T	2	2	
1603	11 (CATB/CAAB/ATT)	8	V, Tr,L,T	2	2	
1604	12 (CATB/CATT/AATB)	9	V, Tr,L	2	2	
1605*	13 (CATB/CATT/CAATB)	8	V,C, Tr,L,T	1	1	
1606	12 (CATB/CATB/CATB)	10	V,C, L,T	1	1	
1608	12 (CATB/CATB/CATB)	7	V,C, L,T	1	1	
1609	13 (CATB/CATB/CATTB)	10	V,C, L,T	1	1	
1612	12 (CATB/CATB/CATB)	9	V,C,3Tr, T	1	1	1
1613	12 (CATB/CATB/CATB)	7	V,C,Trav, T	2	1	
1614	14 (3C,3A,3T,3B +2)	7	V,C,4Tr, T, Viola Grossa	2	2	

(1629 CATB,V,C,L,T,Cetera, Organo / CCAATTBB,V,L,Cimbalo, Organo / CATB,V,L,Organo /
6 singers,V,L,Organo / V,C,2Tr)

TABLE 2. 3

S. GIACOMO DEGLI SPAGNOLI: St. James, July 25th; the details given for 1601 are for a special celebration to mark the birth of a child to the queen of Spain.

YEAR	EXTRA SINGERS TOTAL	PAPAL	INSTRUMENTS	EXTRA ORGANS	EXTRA ORGANISTS	TOTAL ORGANS	PLATFORMS
1590*	18	6	2Tr,L,		1	2	
1597	17 (1C, rest ATB)	17	2	1	2	2	
1598							1
1601	12 (1C,4A,2T,2B + 3)	10	V,Spin, L,T	2	3 + 1(organ/spinet)	3	
1604	17 (2C,5A,5T,5B)	7	Spin,Tr,L,T	2	2	3	1
1614	23 (7C,5A,6T,5B)	11	C, L,T, Violone	2?	2	3?	1
1615*	23 (CATB/CATB/ CCCATB/2A,4T,4B)	9	V,C, L,T, Viola,Chitar- rino	3	2	3	2
1616*	15 (3C,3A,4T,5B)		2V,C, L,T, Violone, Tior- betta	1	2	3	1+
Distribution into choirs:			ATB,L,C / CCATBB,V,T,Violone,Organ / CATTBB,V,Tiorbetta,Organ				
1619	4C,5A,5T,5B	?	2V,2C,2Tr, Violone	2	2	3	2

TABLE 2. 4

S. MARIA MAGGIORE: St. Mary of the Snow, August 5th (S) and the Assumption, August 15th (A); also Easter Sunday (E) and the Nativity of the Virgin (N). A list survives for the official taking up of possession by Cardinal Nazaret as archpriest in 1611 (P), when the archives tell us that there were three choirs.

YEAR	FEAST	EXTRA SINGERS TOTAL	PAPAL	INSTRUMENTS	PLATFORMS	EXTRA CONDUCTORS
1588	N	7 (2C, 2A, 2T, 1B)		C, Tr		
1592	N	4 (2C, 2B)		V, C, Tr		
1595	N	7 (2C, 2A, 1T, 2B)		C, 2Tr	1	
1597	S	9 (3C, 2A, 2T, 2B)	8			
	A	5 (2C, A T B)	4			
1601	S	8 (2C, 2A, 2T, 2B)	8	C, Tr		
	A	6 (2C 2T, 2B)	6	C, Tr		
1602	S	11 (3C, 1A, 3T, 3B + 1)	9	C, Tr		
	A	8 (3C, 1A, 2T, 2B)	9	C, Tr		
1603	S	12 (3C, 3A, 3T, 4B)	10			
	A	11 (1C, 3A, 3T, 4B)	8			
1604	E	6 (2C, 2A, 1T, 1B)	2	C, Tr		
	S	15 (5C, 3A, 3T, 4B)	13			1?
	A	11 (3C, 3A, 3T, 2B)	11			
1607	E	7 (1C, 3A, 1T, 2B)	6	V, C		
	S, A, N*	14 (4C, 3A, 4T, 3B)	12	V, C		
1610	S	17 (5C, 4A, 4T, 4B)	4	V, C		
	A	16 (4C, 4A, 4T, 4B)	4	V		
	N*	13 (3C, 3A, 3T, 4B)	6	V, C, Tr, L, Viola		
1611	S, A, P*	14 (4C, 3A, 4T, 3B)	4	V, C		
1612	S, A	16 (3C, 4A, 5T, 4B)	9	V, C		
1614, 5, 7		no lists survive			1	

TABLE 2. 5

S. PIETRO IN VATICANO: St. Peter, June 29th: second Vespers only.

YEAR	EXTRA SINGERS		INSTRUMENTS	EXTRA ORGANS	EXTRA ORGAN- ISTS	TOTAL ORGANS	EXTRA CONDS	PLAT- FORMS
	PAPAL	OTHER						
1598		2C, 2A, 2B	C, 4C/Tr, L	2	1	2		
1599	1C, 2A, 2T, 2B		V, 2C, 3Tr, 2Bsn	2	1	2	2	
1600*	2C, 3A, 3T, 6B	4A, 5T, 3B	C, 3Tr, Bsn 6C/Tr	2	1	2	2	2
1601	3C, 5A, 3T, 4B	1C		2	1	2	1	2
1602	6S, 5A, 3T, 4B (mixed)			2	1	2	2	1
1605	4C, 4A, 4T, 4B	2C, A, T, B	2Tr	2	2	3		2
1606	2C, 6A, 6T, 6B	3C, B	3Tr	3	2			2
1607	1C, 4A, 5T, 3B	3C, A + 2	3Tr, Gran Serpente	2	2	3		1+
1608	2C, 3A, 5T, 3B	2C, B + 1	3Tr	2	2			1+
1609	3C, 6A, 6T, 4B	1C, 2B + 2	V, 2C, 11 C/Tr	1 + ?	3	3		
1610	5C, 5A, 5T, 4B	B		3	2	3		
1614	none	8C, 4A, 5T, 4B	Bassone (=Violone)	2	2 (+ one crossed out)	3	2	
1616	4C, 3A, 3T, 6B	2C, 2A	Violone	2	2	3	2	2
1617	3C, 5A, 4T, 5B	1C	Violone	1	1		2	2
1618	4C, 4A, 4T, 4B	3C + 1	Violone	2	2	3	2	2
1619	4C, 5A, 5T, 4B	1C	Violone	2	2	3	2	2
1620	5C, 5A, 6T, 4B		Violone	2	2	3		3
1621	4C, 6A, 6T, 5B	2C	2 Viole (=Violone)	2	2	3		3

TABLE II. 6

S. PIETRO IN VATICANO: The Dedication of the Basilica, November 18th: Mass and two Vespers. We know from Amici's diary that in 1614 and 1620 music was for three and four choirs.

YEAR	EXTRA SINGERS		INSTRUMENTS	EXTRA ORGANS	EXTRA ORGANISTS	TOTAL ORGANS	EXTRA CONDUCTORS	PLATFORMS
	PAPAL	OTHER						
1597	2C, 2A, 2T, 2B							
1600*	5 (CATTB)	6 (ATB/ATB)	2C, 2Tr					
1601	4C, 4A, T, 2B	1C		1				
1602	3C, 3A, 4T, 3B	1C, 1A, 1B			1			
1605	1C, 5A, 5T, 4B	3C, 2A, 2T, 2B	2C, 3Tr	3	3			3
1606	1S, 5A, 5T, 5B	8C, 2A, 2T, 2B	C, 3Tr		3			2
1607	2C, 4A, 6T, 3B	5C, 1A, 2B	V, C	2	3			
1608	4C, 5A, 4T, 3B	2C 1T, 1B	V, 8C/Tr	2	3	3		2
1609	3C, 6A, 3T, 3B	2C, 1T, 1B	3Tr	2	2	3		2
1610	2C, 5A, 5T, 4B	2C, 1A, 1B		2	2	3		1+
1612	3C, 2A, 5T, 4B	2C, 2A, 3B	Violone	2	2			
1614*	4C, 3A, 3T, 5B	2C, 1A, 1B	Violone	2	2		2	2
1615	2C, 4A, 3T, 6B	7C, 2A, 2T, 2B	Violone	2	2	3		2
1616	3C, 4A, 4T, 6B	1C, 1A	Violone	2		3		1+
1617	3C, 5A, 6T, 4B	3C, 1A	Violone	1	2	3		3
1618	4C, 4A, 6T, 4B	1C + 2	Violone	1	2	3		3
1619	4C, 5A, 5T, 4B	1C, 1A, 1T	Violone	2	2	3		3
1620*	7S, 5A, 4T, 5B			2	2	3	1	3

TABLE 2. 7

SMA. TRINITÀ DEI PELLEGRINI: Trinity Sunday (T) and Corpus Christi (C).

YEAR	FEAST	EXTRA SINGERS	INSTRUMENTS	EXTRA ORGANISTS	PLATFORMS
1580*	T	4C + 9 adults	C, Tr		
1591	T			1	1
1593*	T	6C, 5A, 4T, 5B	V, C, Tr, L	1	
1593	C	4C, 3A, 3T, 4B			

This information will now be analysed under a number of headings.

NUMBERS OF SINGERS ON EACH PART

Apart from S. Luigi, the surviving lists rarely give the breakdown of singers into choirs. At that church there were consistently three choirs of visiting singers with one singer per part and occasionally an extra alto or tenor in Choir III. At S. Giacomo the singers are grouped into choirs in 1615 and 1619, although not labelled as such; there are one or two singers per part. At S. Maria Maggiore, if we assume two choirs up to 1602 and three thereafter, there was also largely one singer per part, with some parts having two; the same is true of the English College.

These are lists of extra singers. What of the regular singers employed at all of these institutions, apart from the English College? What evidence there is points towards their non-participation in polychoral music. We have already seen this to have been the case at S. Rocco. At S. Giacomo, where a regular choir was built up between 1612 and 1616 (ATB + 2 boys by 1614; 2A, 2T, 2B + 4 boys by 1616),⁷⁶ some of these singers are included among the lists for the feast of St. James in 1614 and 1615, but not in 1616 or subsequent years. In fact two of the four listed in 1615 did not actually sing and their names are crossed out with 'no canta' written across them. Their specific listing here is a strong indication that they did not take part in the polychoral music in other years. A payment at S. Giacomo in July 1594 speaks of 'fourteen selected singers who sang the first and second Vespers' together

with four instrumentalists.⁷⁷ The mass on that occasion had been sung by three choirs and it is most likely that the same number of choirs sang Vespers, therefore with mainly one singer per part. The use of the word 'selected' (*escogidos*) reinforces the soloistic nature of the polychoral music. One point worth making about S. Giacomo is that the *castrati* in the papal chapel were mainly Spanish and it seems that they gave their services free. This was the case in 1590 when they were given pairs of gloves in lieu of payment. This may explain the low number of sopranos in the lists from S. Giacomo in 1601 and 1604.

The regular singers at S. Luigi were certainly capable of taking part in polychoral music but on only one occasion does one of them appear in the lists, Pirro (Bernabei) in 1602. It seems that he was intended to serve in the third choir with the non-papal singers (who only received 1.20 *scudi* compared with the papal singers 2), but was promoted to the second choir and another, presumably inferior, contralto took his place in the third choir. Bernabei was not paid. The fact that he is included in this list implies that in other years he and the other regular singers did not take part, at least in the three choirs whose members are listed. One cannot rule out the possibility of the local singers providing another choir (or even two) for some pieces. The regular forces at S. Luigi also included a cornett and trombone and, in 1600, a violin.⁷⁸ That these took part in the polychoral music, in that year at least, is indicated by the phrases 'un altro violino' and 'doi altri tromboni' in the list for that year when these are in fact the only ones listed. This is however the only year in which the word 'altro' is used. Also, perhaps, of significance is the fact that from 1625 onwards a small payment is made on this feast to the 'musicisti della chiesa' or the 'cantori ordinarii', indicating that they took some part in the service, though not necessarily in the polychoral music. After 1614 lists of singers for the feast of St. Louis are sporadic and do not give the breakdown into choirs until 1629. The list for this, the first year

of Pietro Paolo Sabbatini's tenure as *maestro*, is given in Table 2. 2 for comparison purposes: two solo choirs are pitted against one of six singers and one of eight, each accompanied by instruments and organ, while a fifth choir is made up of instruments only. Similiar 'colossal baroque' forces continue for the rest of the century but they do not apply to the period under discussion here.

At S. Luigi the numbers of visiting musicians were very constant. The same is not true of S. Maria Maggiore, which may mean that the regular singers were involved in the polychoral music there, particularly in the earlier years and at Easter and the Nativity of the Madonna, the two less important feasts. This must certainly have been true on the feast of St. Mary of the Snow in 1592 when only sopranos and basses were hired. Of the other institutions, Sma. Trinità did have some regular singers in 1593 (3C, 1A, 1T, 1B), but there is no evidence of their having taken part in the polychoral music.

At the Cappella Giulia the number of visiting singers varied considerably but was still usually more than the number required for three and four choirs of solo singers. On the other hand, the evidence from both Amici's diary and Soriano's 1616 publication suggests that three and four choirs were the norm at the basilica over the period. The lists of singers are not divided into choirs, with the exception of the feast of the Dedication in 1600 when they are listed in the following order: CATBB/ATB/ATB, the first group consisting of papal singers. The third group, from S. Luigi dei Francesi, attended for Mass and second Vespers only, further evidence that these groupings correspond to choirs. There were also two cornetts and two sackbuts: the cornetts could have taken the top parts of Choirs II and III. Here we seem to be dealing with one singer on almost all parts. On the other hand, for the feast of St. Peter in that same year, a very large group of visiting musicians was hired: fourteen papal singers, twelve others and eleven instrumentalists. There were two organs and

two extra conductors, one for the second choir and one for the third, with no evidence of more than three choirs involved; here there seems to have been multiple singers on virtually every part. The archives make reference in some years to the 'platform of the papal singers', implying that they occupied it as a group (as they did when the pope was present in S. Pietro). They were not hired as a body for these feasts however, and the fact that they are always listed together may simply be because they were paid as a group. It is possible that they took turns in singing as soloists, as seems to have been the case in the papal chapel; on the other hand, it is difficult to see why so many should have been hired at great expense if full use was not to be made of them. Again, the question of the participation or non-participation of the regular Cappella Giulia singers must be left open; there is no doubt of their ability to hold their own in this music, since many of them appear in lists of extra singers at other institutions, but there is no evidence for or against their participation in their own basilica. It may well be that the sheer size of the space to be filled in the new S. Pietro called for the use of two and more singers on each part. There is also the possibility of extra choirs doubling the same music, as recommended by Viadana⁷⁹. There is no strong evidence for or against this practice in Rome and it is not taken into account in this discussion, but it may well have applied when large numbers of choirs were involved.

The evidence is inconclusive but, the Cappella Giulia aside, points to one or two singers on each part. Further evidence that there were at least two singers on some parts comes from *concertato* polychoral pieces with reduced-voice sections with two voices of the same type, labelled as coming from the same choir - e.g. 'primo coro'. An example is found in G. M. Nanino's *concertato* Magnificat (Volume Two, p. 165) which has verses for CCATB and CCAT marked 'secondo coro', although this choir has the normal CATB disposition in eight-voice sections. Some publications, such as Francesco Martini's *Sacrae Laudes*

de Beatae Mariae Virginis, 4v-8v, of 1617, use the rubric 'canto solo si placet' on reduced-voice sections, again indicating that there was more than one singer on the part. There is no evidence from Roman music for a contrast between a large choir or 'cappella' and a 'coro (or cori) favoriti', made up of soloists, as is found in Venetian music. The Roman preference was for equal choirs, including Soriano's music for three and four choirs written for S. Pietro, where all parts are equal and indeed of a virtuosity which would suggest solo voices on all parts.

Unlike their Venetian counterparts, Roman composers with few exceptions remained within the ranges provided by the standard clef combination ($C_1C_3C_4F_4$) or the *chiavette* ($G_2C_2C_3C_4/F_3$) (these will be discussed in more detail in Part Two). Even in the relatively few pieces with obbligato instrumental parts, there is not the expansion of range at both ends found in Giovanni Gabrieli's polychoral music. Three different types of voice were found on the *cantus* part: *castrati*, falsettists and boys. Boys were not used in the larger establishments such as S. Pietro or S. Luigi, but they were used, and often mixed with adult sopranos, in S. Maria Maggiore, S. Giacomo and the English College, as can be seen from the documents in Appendix III. Altos and tenors were sometimes interchanged, implying that they used the same voice and that the altos were not falsettists. For example, Luca Orfei and Ippolito Gambocci were moved permanently from alto to tenor in the Cappella Pontificia in 1594.⁸⁰

NUMBER OF ORGANS

An entry in the 'total organs' column is given only when there is an unambiguous reference to the total number of organs in the list of musicians hired or in the list of payments for the moving of platforms and organs. The number of organs varied, and was often one less than the number of choirs, implying that two choirs shared one organ and platform (see below for a discussion of platforms). It was already common for double-choir music to be

accompanied by only one organ (e.g. Soriano's *Missa Papae Marcelli* at S. Pietro, discussed above) and such music was published with a single *Bassus ad organum* part, up to Quagliati's *Motetti e Dialoghi a Otto Voci* of 1627. The table lists only extra organs and it is not always clear whether or not the church's regular organ was also used; nor is it clear whether or not the church's regular organist always took part. This is illustrated by S. Giacomo, where only in 1615 is the situation unambiguous: three organs were hired and three organists paid, one of whom was the regular organist. In 1597 two organists were hired, one to play the great organ of the church and the other a hired *organetto*. In 1604 two small organs were hired, but only two organists, one of whom played the great organ, so that the regular organist must have been involved. In 1616 the church purchased its own *organetto* and added a festival organist to its payroll⁸¹ (Paolo Tarditi was both organist and *maestro* at this point but he was presumably required to direct the music on great feasts). In that year only one other organ was hired, but two extra organists to accompany Choirs II and III, so that the great organ must have been used. In 1619, on the other hand two organs and two organists were hired, so that the festival organist must have played on the church's own *organetto*.

S. Pietro acquired its own *organetto* in 1605, which was normally used after that date. There, the great organs were not used on the two major festivals because of their positions (see below, p. 78). The lists of payments to porters for the transport of organs make it clear that, at least from 1608 onwards, three small organs were used. The payment-lists also describe the bringing together of these portable organs for tuning before each feastday.⁸² There is no evidence for more than three organs, although we know that music for four choirs was sung. At Sma. Trinita, the small organ from the oratory was moved to the church for the two major feasts from 1587 onwards. At S. Maria Maggiore, there was also a portable organ but no payments survive for its transportation on any of the feasts in the table; it was used on other

occasions, e.g. at Christmas in the basilica's Cappella Sistina which held the relics of the crib. On major feasts both choirs were quite close to the basilica's main organ (see below, p. 81) and it alone seems to have been used.

Other evidence for the use of organs, not included in the above tables, comes from the Chiesa Nuova where there were three choirs and two organs on the anniversary of Philip Neri's death in 1610,⁹⁹ and S. Cecilia where there were three choirs and three organs on her feast in 1604. Overall, the evidence would suggest that, outside of the Sistine Chapel, organs were used to accompany polychoral music as a matter of course but that two of the choirs very often shared a single organ.

OTHER INSTRUMENTS

The most common instrumental grouping was that of violin, cornett, lute and theorbo, which is also that found in Tarditi's *Psalmi, Magnificat...8vv* of 1620, the only publication with obbligato instrumental parts, and in the small number of such pieces found in manuscript. Cornett and trombone was also a popular combination, particularly at S. Maria Maggiore, where plucked string instruments do not normally seem to have been used. The Sma. Trinità document of 1594 spoke of violins, cornetts, trombones and lutes in the plural but probably meant one of each. At other institutions a harpsichord was occasionally used, as well as other continuo instruments such as the *chittarino* or *cetera*. During the 1610s the *violone* or *viola grossa* became common as a foundation instrument, particularly at S. Pietro; the abandonment of other instruments there after 1609 is untypical and does not seem to have any obvious explanation.

EXTRA CONDUCTORS

Payments to people who relayed the beat to other choirs appear rather sporadically in the lists of payments. Only in S. Pietro do they appear regularly, reflecting a greater separation of the choirs there. Their more frequent use for the feast of St. Peter is explained by the position of the choirs near the main altar for that feast (see below, p. 83). Only once is an extra conductor mentioned at S. Luigi: Ruggiero Giovanelli 'per battere' in 1612.

NUMBERS OF PLATFORMS

No *caeremoniale* has so far been discovered for any Roman institution which details the place and manner of performance of polychoral music, such as that for St. Mark's Venice, discussed by Bryant and Moore.⁸⁴ Apart from S. Apollinare, already examined, we have to rely largely on lists of payments to carpenters and other workers for the construction and movement of platforms, and these do not normally give details of placing. It is clear from the tables above that (a) most institutions constructed one or more platforms for singers on major feasts and (b) the number of platforms often did not coincide with the number of choirs, so that two or more choirs shared the same platform (where the word 'palchi' is used without specifying how many, it is indicated by a 1+ in the tables above). There are a number of other institutions whose archives record payments for the construction of platforms but do not give full information about the numbers of choirs, singers etc. involved. Some of this information is summarised in Table 2.⁸⁵ in order to show the widespread use of platforms: the number of choirs involved is included for the two occasions when it is definitely known. The most common situation was one single platform, holding at least one choir; we are not normally told where this platform was situated, or where the other choir(s) were positioned. At the Chiesa Nuova in 1599, where there were four choirs, one was placed on a

platform at the crossing. We do not know where the other choirs were placed, but in 1607 one choir was placed in the gallery above Philip Neri's chapel which opened off the left transept; this gallery opened both into the transept and the chancel.⁹⁶ There is a similiar gallery on the other side. By 1614 both galleries had organs and a corridor was built around the outside of the apse in order to connect them.⁹⁷ This is the only positive evidence of the use of such galleries in Rome, apart from the special occasion in the Gesù, mentioned earlier.

TABLE 2. 8

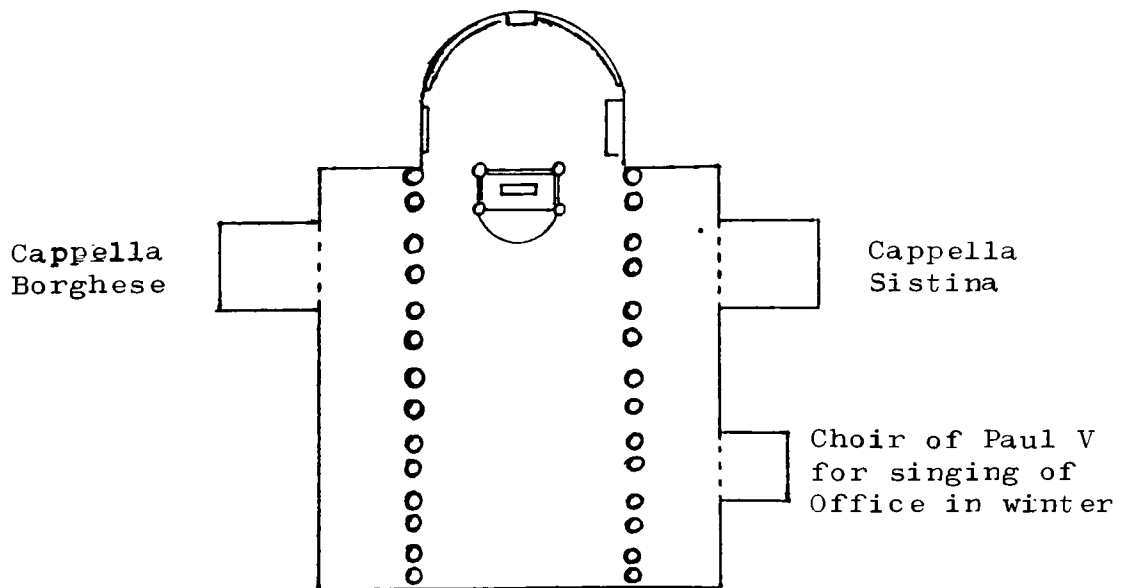
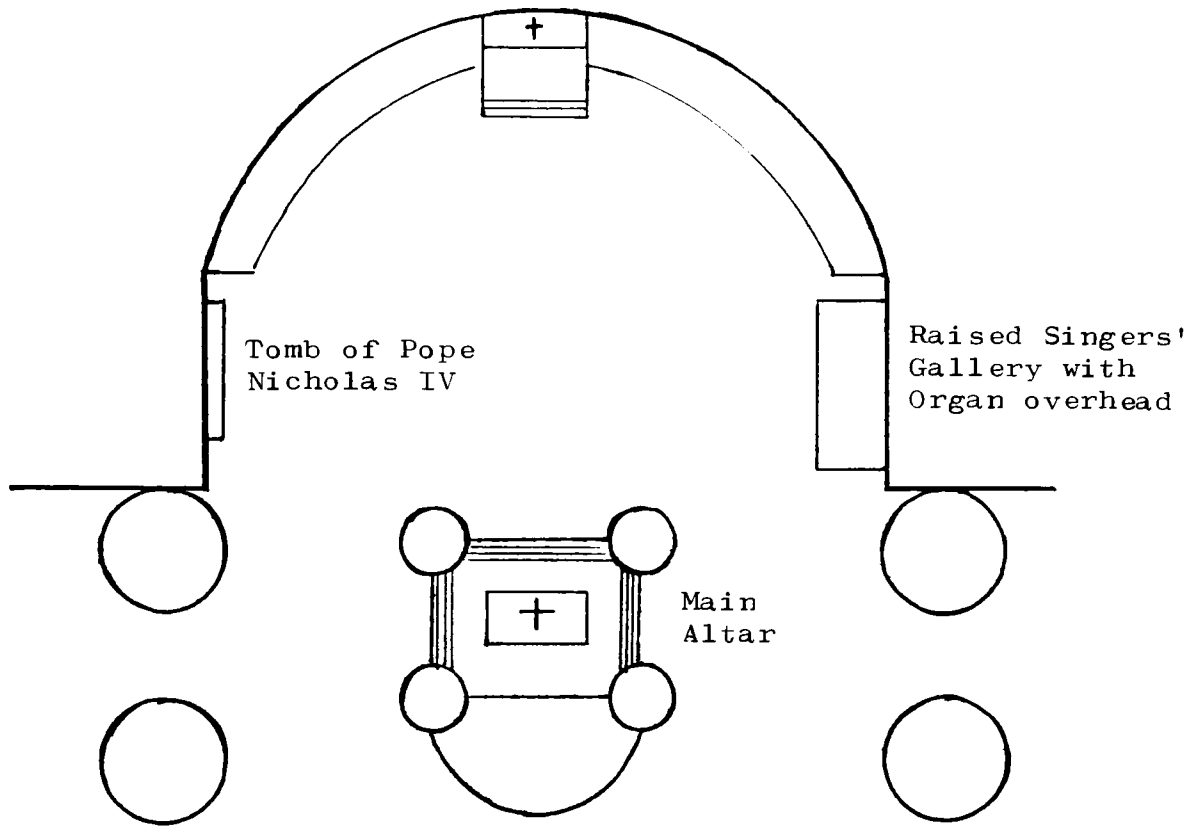
YEAR	INSTITUTION	FEAST	NO. OF PLATFORMS	CHOIRS
1582	S. Rocco	St. Roch	1 ('un palchetto incontro al organo)	3
1584,5	S. Caterina dei Funari	St. Catherine	1 ('palco de'cantori')	
1588	S. Rocco	St. Roch	1 ('per la musica...palco')	4
1589	S. Giovanni in Laterano	Easter, St. John	1 ('palco de'cantori')	
1591	S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini	St. John	1 ('il palco della musica')	
1594	S. Marcello	Exaltation of the Cross	2 ('due palchi grandi per la musica del Papa e San Pietro)	
1595	S. Agostino	St. Augustine	2 ('due palchi della musica')	
1596	S. Agostino	St. Augustine	1 ('il palco della musica')	4
1597	S. Agostino	St. Augustine	3 ('tre palchi per la musica')	
1599	Chiesa Nuova	Anniv. of death of Philip Neri	1	
1605	S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini	St. John	1 ('palco della musica')	
1615,6	S. Marcello	Exaltation of the Cross	1 ('il palco per li musici')	

How big were the platforms? The only payment which mentions specific measurements comes from the archives of S. Maria Maggiore in 1614:⁹⁸

Per...cori fatti per la musica in tre volte di palmi 12 una volta e l'altra di palmi 15 di quadro l'uno con 4 cavalletti stabili di robba detta chiesa.

For...platforms manufactured for the music on three occasions, one of 12 palms and the other of 15 palms square, one made with 4 fixed trestles belonging to the said church.

FIG. 2.4



S. Maria Maggiore

Taking the palm as equal to 223mm, the platforms would have been 2.7 and 3.4 metres square, respectively; they would, therefore, have been quite sizeable and able to take at least eight singers and up to twice that number. This is confirmed by a payment for the manufacture of a platform for singers at S. Pietro which included four benches for sitting on. It contradicts Sherr's inference that the platforms were quite small, drawn from the small number of singers which are depicted on them in engravings of canonisation ceremonies in S. Pietro (c. five), and the number of planks used to construct such a platform in Florence at the beginning of the sixteenth century.⁸⁹

THE POSITIONING OF CHOIRS

The positioning of choirs depended on the institution but information is often patchy. At S. Maria Maggiore a carpenter was paid 1 *scudo* in 1595 'for having made a platform for the singers beneath the tomb of Pope Nicholas'.⁹⁰ The payment was made on the 14th of August and probably referred to the two major feasts of the Assumption and St. Mary of the Snow (August 5th and 15th). The tomb of Pope Nicholas IV was on the left of the main altar, opposite the organ which had a gallery for the singers underneath it (see Fig. 2. 4). Two choirs could have been placed opposite each other, one in the gallery and the other on the platform; both would not have been too widely separated so that the main organ would have been sufficient and no extra conductors would have been needed - all this ties in well with the archival information recorded in Table 2. 4. A description of the basilica written in 1621 describes the gallery of the singers, *musicae chorus*, under the organ and speaks of an *alter chorus* over the tomb of Pope Nicholas;⁹¹ we have no information on the positioning of the third choir, common after 1602. There is no information at present available for S. Luigi and that so far found for S. Giacomo is inconclusive.

A drawing of the old nave of S. Pietro made before its destruction in 1605⁹² shows a platform for singers roughly half-way down on the right-hand side, opposite the altar of SS. Simon and Jude, on which the Blessed Sacrament was reserved (see Fig. 2. 1). A payment was made in 1588 for 'four iron supports to sustain the lecterns on the platform of the singers in the middle of the churchopposite the Blessed Sacrament'.⁹³ This was used by the papal singers when papal ceremonies were held there, as can be seen in a Vatican library fresco depicting Sixtus V officiating at the canonization of Diego d'Alcala in the old nave, which was set out in the manner of the Sistine Chapel on that, and presumably other papal, occasions.⁹⁴ It may well have been used by the Cappella Giulia on non-papal occasions. Another of the 1605 drawings shows a second platform, more or less identical with the first, on the other side of the nave. The first platform, which has a lectern on top, is labelled *pulpitus cantorum*; the other has no lectern and is not labelled. It might have been used for a second choir but could also have perhaps been used for cardinals or other dignitaries.

From at least the early seventeenth century the platforms of the singers at the feast of the Dedication were placed in the tribune or apse and this section of the basilica used: only the pope could say Mass at the main altar under the dome and he was not present at this feast. For second Vespers on the feast of St. Peter, on the other hand, the main altar was used and the platforms placed in the area under the dome (the pope officiated at first Vespers and at Mass on this feast but second Vespers was left to the basilica's own clergy and singers to celebrate). The positions of the platforms are referred to in the archives as 'at the main altar', 'at the Holy Face', 'at the niche (*nicchia*)' or 'at the Apostles'. There were four niches in the four great pillars supporting the dome (later to be filled with statues by Bernini and others).⁹⁵ The veil of Veronica with the imprint of the Holy Face, the basilica's most precious relic, was moved to the south-west pillar in 1605 and

the foot of this pillar is the most commonly cited location for a singers' platform (see Fig. 2. 2). The payments usually speak of platforms (in the plural) being constructed at the 'Holy Face', but in some years it is specified that the second platform was placed at the corresponding north-west pillar, where the head of St. Andrew was kept, and at other times at the south-east pillar, which at that stage held the tomb of Pope Paul III Farnese. In 1609, for example, two platforms were built at the 'Holy Face' and at the tomb of Paul III, while a third was built for the papal singers at the north-east pillar;⁹⁶ this would have been used by them at first Vespers and Mass, but may also have been occupied by those papal singers who were hired for second Vespers. An engraving of the canonisation of St. Charles Borromeo in 1610 shows the papal singers on a platform at this north-east pillar;⁹⁷ in 1622 when four saints were canonized (including Philip Neri and Ignatius Loyola), the engraving shows two platforms with singers, one at the north-east pillar and the other at the south-west.⁹⁸ The latter may well have been occupied by the Cappella Giulia who sang as the pope entered the basilica and need not necessarily indicate wide separation of choirs at papal ceremonies. That the choirs were widely spaced on the feast of St. Peter is attested to by the frequent use of extra conductors to relay the beat on this feast.

The most spectacular example of multiple choirs on this feast occurred in 1629 when Paolo Agostini directed twelve choirs (representing the twelve Apostles).⁹⁹

We are not told the exact location of the platforms in the tribune for the feast of the Dedication but the very infrequent use of extra conductors indicates that they were not widely separated. It may be significant that the two years in which Amici tells us the number of choirs, 1614 and 1620, are those in which an extra conductor is included in the lists. In 1614 Amici recorded that 'Mass commenced, at which there was nothing extraordinary except

the most beautiful music with three and four choirs'.¹⁰⁰ The number of extra singers in this year is actually fewer than in previous years so it seems unlikely that the use of three and four choirs would have been extraordinary; it may be, however, that the choirs were more widely spaced in this year than usual. Two, and often three, platforms were used from 1605 onwards.

The closest we can come to matching music and archival information for any Roman feast is for the Dedication at S. Pietro in the years 1614 and 20, if we assume that Amici's description of three and four choirs at Mass in 1614 applied also to second Vespers (as it did in 1620). Soriano's 1616 publication contains two settings of *Dixit Dominus* for four choirs, a Magnificat and the motet *In dedicatione templi* for three, all of which could have been used on the feast. If we assume that the Cappella Giulia singers did not take part in these pieces, the fifteen papal singers in 1614 (4C, 3A, 3T, 5B) could have provided two choirs with one to two singers on each part, while the singers from other institutions (CCAB) - with perhaps the addition of a tenor - could have made up the third choir for triple-choir pieces. For four-choir music, a rearrangement of the visiting singers - with perhaps one extra tenor from the Cappella Giulia - would have provided four choirs with one singer on each part. The three-choir music could also have been sung with one singer per part if some of the papal singers did not take part, but were reserved for the four-choir pieces. The same would apply to the years 1616-20 when 19-21 singers were hired. The year 1615 was exceptional, with 28 extra singers: the archives offer no help in explaining how these were used.

POLYCHORAL REPERTORY ON SPECIAL FEASTDAYS

It is clear from various archives that music was provided for Mass and first and second Vespers on major feastdays, as well as during the procession which invariably formed part of the celebrations. There is one isolated mention of Compline being sung as well as Vespers, at S. Maria Maggiore in

1588,¹⁰¹ but apart from this it seems not to have been commonly included in special feastday celebrations. At the Gesu, Compline was only sung on the feast of St. Matthew (February 24th) when it fell during Lent and on that of the Annunciation (also usually in Lent); on these occasions two choirs could be used 'both because of the solemnity of the feast and because it is so seldom sung'.¹⁰² What parts of the liturgy were sung polychorally? Here the archives are rarely specific and we are hampered by the fact that much of this music was specially written for the occasion and not preserved, either in print where there would have been a limited demand, or in manuscript. The surviving repertory will be dealt with in Part Two but some general points can be made here. Firstly very few polychoral settings of the ordinary of the Mass survive and only a couple for more than two choirs. It would seem that polychoral music at Mass was confined to motets, as was certainly the practice in the papal chapel. Institutions such as S. Rocco continued to purchase five-voice masses (for example, those of Palestrina in 1585)¹⁰³ while having polychoral music on their major feasts. The choir there had five members in 1585 and they may well have performed the ordinary on major feasts, leaving the visiting singers to perform polychoral motets. We know from Cummings' work that motets could be sung in four places during Mass: at the Offertory, Elevation, Communion and at the end. At the Gesu motets were sung after the Credo (i.e. at the Offertory), at the Elevation ('a voci semplici' - unlikely to have been polychoral) and at the end of Mass.¹⁰⁴

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The diary of the papal choir for 1616 makes it clear that not all psalms etc. at Vespers were sung in polyphony: usually two or three psalms, the hymn and the Magnificat were sung on public occasions and some extra items at the *Vespro segreto*. That the number of polyphonic items depended on the importance of the feast is clear from the minutes of the congregation of the Oratory in 1583, when the priests of Neri's congregation were still establishing themselves in the Chiesa Nuova:

che le feste doppie minori al vespro si canti in falsobordone il 3. salmo e Magnificat, le Domeniche il 2 e 4 e Magnificat, gli apostoli, la Madonna e le feste del Signore il primo, 3 e 5 e Magnificat. Le Pasque, la Natività della Madonna, S. Gregorio si facci quanto si puo piu solenne ad arbitrio de cantori.

that on minor double feasts at Vespers the third psalm and Magnificat would be sung in *falsobordone*, on Sundays the second and fourth [psalms] and the Magnificat, on feasts of the Apostles, the Madonna and feasts of Our Lord the first, third and fifth [psalms] and the Magnificat. [On the feasts of] Easter, the Nativity of the Madonna and St. Gregory [vespers] should be sung as solemnly as possible at the discretion of the singers.

Here polyphonic music was confined to three feasts, the last two being particularly associated with the church, which was jointly dedicated to the Virgin and St. Gregory the Great; presumably the first, third and fifth psalms and the Magnificat were sung in polyphony on these occasions. Taking the combined surviving repertories of printed and manuscript Roman settings, the order of frequency of vesper-psalms is as follows:

TABLE 2. 9

Ps. 109:	Dixit Dominus (33, including three 12v and two 16v settings)
Ps. 111:	Beatus vir (18)
Ps. 112:	Laudate pueri (18, including one 12v setting)
Ps. 110:	Confitebor tibi Domine (14)
Ps. 121:	Laetatus sum (8, including one 12v setting)
Ps. 115:	Credidi (7)
Ps. 116:	Laudate Dominum omnes gentes (7)
Ps. 147:	Lauda Jerusalem (6)
Ps. 126:	Nisi Dominus (4)
Ps. 129:	De profundis (3)
Ps. 125:	In convertendo (3, including one 12v setting)

This order follows closely the order of frequency of occurrence of these vesper-psalms in the post-Tridentine breviary shown in Table 2. 10 (I = first Vespers; II = second Vespers):¹⁰⁵

TABLE 2. 10

Psalm	109	110	111	112	113	115	116	121	125	126	129	131	138	147
Sundays II, Epiphany II, Easter II, Pentecost II, Trinity II	*	*	*	*	*									
Christmas I, Epiphany I, Ascension I, Pentecost I, Trinity I & II, SS, Peter and Paul I, John the Baptist I & II, All Saints I, Apostles I, Martyr(s) I, Confessor- Bishops I, Confessor-non-Bishops I & II, Doctors I	*	*	*	*			*							
Feasts of Blessed Virgin I & II, Little Office of B. Virgin	*			*				*		*				*
Christmas II	*	*	*									*	*	
Apostles II, SS, Peter and Paul II	*			*		*			*					*
All Saints II, Martyr(s) II	*	*	*	*		*								
Confessor-Bishops II	*	*	*	*									*	
Virgins I & II	*			*				*		*				*
Dedication of a Church I & II	*	*	*	*										*

There are roughly the same number of settings of the Magnificat as of Dixit Dominus; these far outnumber settings of other psalms. There are no polychoral settings of Pss. 113, 131, or 138. There is no evidence of antiphons being sung by multiple choirs and although there are some settings of Vesper antiphon texts from both the old and revised Breviary, these were more likely to have been sung as motets. Although Cummings argues that there is no archival evidence to support the singing of motets during the Offices, Nappi's *Annali* describes the singing of 'un motetto doppo la Magnificat et un altro al fine del Vespro' on major feasts; on less solemn feastdays, a motet could be substituted for the Salve Regina at the end of Vespers.¹⁰⁶ Motets were also sung instead of the *Deo gratias* at the end of Vespers or Compline at the German College.¹⁰⁷ One of the four Marian antiphons, according to the season, was normally sung at the end of Vespers; settings of these were published with collections of Vesper psalms and a large number of settings survive,

particularly of the *Salve Regina*, which was also sung as a votive antiphon, and the *Ave Regina* which was sung during Lent.

As a rule fewer singers were hired for first Vespers than for Mass and second Vespers, often one less singer on each part, implying that the music was arranged for one less choir.

The increasing demand for music on major feastday celebrations is reflected in the appearance of a category of pieces with texts taken from psalms of praise or from the Old Testament canticles. These have no doxology and do not have a specific liturgical role, but the festal nature of their texts would have made them very suitable for celebrations of patronal feasts or the anniversaries of church dedications. This category, which I will refer to as 'festal psalm-motets', includes Psalm 99, *Jubilate Deo*, used during holy years.¹⁰⁸ Some of the psalms from which texts were taken are listed in Table 2. 11, together with the names of the composers who set them:

TABLE 2. 11

Ps. 46, <i>Omnes gentes plaudite manibus</i>	F. Anerio, R. Giovanelli, A. Orgas, G.P. da Palestrina, V. Ugolini
Ps. 80, <i>Exsultate Deo</i>	A. Crivelli, R. Giovanelli, J. de Macque, G.M. Nanino, G.P. da Palestrina, P. Quagliati
Ps. 99, <i>Jubilate Deo</i>	F. Anerio, R. Giovanelli, C. Mancini, L. Marenzio, A. Orgas, A. Pacelli, G.P. da Palestrina (8v, 12v), P. Quagliati (2x8v), F. Soriano
Ps. 148, <i>Laudate Dominum de coelis</i>	R. Giovanelli (16v), G.P. da Palestrina
Ps. 149, <i>Cantate Dominum canticum novum</i>	F./G.F. Anerio, R. Giovanelli, L. Marenzio, G.B. Nanino, G.M. Nanino, A. Pacelli
Ps. 150, <i>Laudate Dominum in sanctis</i>	R. Giovanelli, L. Marenzio, P. Quagliati, A. Zollo

Into this category also comes *Gaudeamus omnes in Domino* which uses part of an Introit text used for the feast of All Saints, some feasts of the Virgin and some saints' days (R. Giovanelli and F. Anerio) and the *Benedicite*, the Cantic of the three children from the book of Daniel (R. Giovanelli). Three of the

testal psalms - 80, 149 and 150 - speak of instruments, making them particularly appropriate texts for celebrations when instruments were used, and the frequency of their appearance parallels the increase in vocal and instrumental forces over this period.

4. OTHER OCCASIONS FOR POLYCHORAL MUSIC

MUSIC IN ORATORIES DURING LENT AND THE OFFICE OF *TENEBRAE*

The rise of the polychoral idiom in Rome seems to have been closely connected with oratories, and particularly with their Lenten devotions. We saw in Chapter One (p. 9) that the impetus for Animuccia's *Il Secondo Libro delle Laudi* of 1570, the most important antecedent for polychoral music in Rome, came from the oratory of Philip Neri. Neri's rather informal oratory was the counterpart of the more formal oratory devotions associated with confraternities. That the antiphonal principle was well-established in these oratories is attested to by Gregory Martin in speaking about the members of the Gonfalone:¹⁰⁹

Them selves say our Ladies Mattins and other houres with the Seven psalmes every Sunday and holy day in their Oratorie, with a lowd and distinct voice, answering one side to the other, (a common thing to other Societies)....

This prepared the ground for antiphonal polyphony and ultimately for polychoral performance of psalms and extracts from psalms. Maugars in 1639 still spoke of the singing of psalms in oratories during Lent.¹¹⁰ It will be argued in the next chapter that one of the earliest surviving manuscript sources for polychoral music was compiled in connection with the oratory of Sma Trinita in the early 1580s. This manuscript, I Rn Mss. Mus. 77-88, contains settings of psalm-motets, Litanies and Marian antiphons for from four to twenty voices in one to five choirs, as well as a complete set of Lamentations and Responsories

for Holy Week. During *Tenebrae* only the *Miserere* and the *Benedictus* were sung polychorally and these in a simple *falsobordone* style.

Lenten music at the oratory of Smo. Crocefisso has already been partly documented.¹¹¹ From 1570 onwards the archives mention two platforms for music during Lent and Holy Week; that these platforms were for musicians is confirmed in a payment to a carpenter in 1582 'per li dui balchi (sic.) che lui fece allo nostro oratorio p[er] l'anno 1581 & 1582 per le musiche della quadragesima...'¹¹² For the year 1583 the archives give detailed information about the construction of platforms, moving of organs and payment of singers for Lent (Appendix III, Document 18). There is a payment for a 'new third platform to be placed above the organ' as well as for 'the platform of the musicians'. A pulpit was moved for the preacher. Three organs were tuned, two hired from outside and that of the oratory itself. There was also a harpsichord, called a 'manicordo' here, but in succeeding years referred to as a 'cimbalo'. There are payments to eleven singers and two extra organists. As always there are some gaps here and the mention of the third platform above the organ is somewhat puzzling: it must have been a small platform built alongside the oratory's organ, probably to accomodate a small group of singers. There is no mention of a second platform, which may have been for singers, or was perhaps the preacher's pulpit. In succeeding years payments to the carpenters always say simply 'platforms' without specifying the number. In 1584 there were thirteen singers (3C, 4A, 3T, 3B) as well as two extra organists, one of whom was also paid 15 *scudi* for 'musica delle notte'.¹¹³ The number of singers remained more or less constant in successive years, with the addition of cornett, lute and harpsichord in 1595.¹¹⁴ The occasions on which music was heard were the Fridays of Lent (when a sermon was included) and the office of *Tenebrae* on the three final days of Holy Week. The use of organs and instruments during Lent and Holy Week was common in oratories: these occupied a sort of middle ground between churches, where the Blessed

Sacrament was reserved, and meeting halls - fulfilling some of the functions of both, but not subject to liturgical restrictions such as the banning of the organ during Passiontide (though we have seen that at S. Pietro this restriction could be waived).¹¹⁵

Lenten music was not confined to Smo. Crocefisso: S. Rocco and the Gonfalone had some music during Lent and Holy Week, but their archives do not yield much information about performance practice. More fruitful are those of Sma. Trinità, another confraternity which spent huge sums of money on Lenten and Holy-Week music. As at Smo. Crocefisso, there was music in the oratory on the Fridays of Lent, at the office of *Tenebrae* and the procession to St. Peter's on Holy Thursday. From the statutes of the confraternity and its archives we know that the devotions on the Fridays of Lent included a sermon, the taking of the discipline, the reciting of the Penitential Psalms and Litanies as well as the music. They may well have finished with Compline. We also know that the devotions, in some years at least, continued into Easter week.¹¹⁶ As at Smo. Crocefisso, platforms were constructed for the musicians, for example two 'chori' were made in the oratory in 1590 and again in 1600. The oratory had an organ from 1572; between 1579 and 1580 another organ was constructed but it appears that the earlier organ was also retained: there is a payment in April 1583 for tuning the two organs of the oratory and similar payments in later years. Harpsichords were also used during Holy Week: a carpenter was paid in March, 1600, for 'having fixed the harpsichord to the great organ in the oratory.'¹¹⁷

The number of singers involved is not normally specified, but in 1576 Palestrina brought eight singers and an organist from the Cappella Giulia to Sma. Trinità for Lent and Holy Week, at a cost of 88 *scudi*.¹¹⁸ By 1580 Annibale Zoilo was being paid 140 *scudi* by the same confraternity,¹¹⁹ which would have covered twelve singers and even the twenty necessary to sing his *Regina Coeli* for five choirs, found in I Rn Mss. Mus. 77-88, in Easter week.

Another confraternity which had music during Lent was the Arciconfraternità della Pietà della Nazione Fiorentina which for this purpose used the church of S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini rather than its oratory. Its archives record payments for platforms for the musicians in Lent as early as 1572 and regularly thereafter. There are also payments for the *musica straordinaria di quadragesima* in various years. Details of the music or the number of singers are not given, but the church had a sung mass each day and the *Salve Regina* was sung in the evenings. In January 1587 Alessandro Pettorino was paid for copying a set of partbooks which included motets and Litanies for eight and twelve voices as well as a set of Responsories;¹²⁰ this was presumably for use during Lent and Holy Week. It is interesting to note that Philip Neri was in charge of this church in 1564-77 and 1584-8.

FORTY HOURS DEVOTION AND CORPUS CHRISTI

There is much evidence for the use of polychoral music during the forty hours devotion. The earliest reference comes from the Gonfalone (whose church was dedicated to St. Lucy) in 1586:

...a Messer Alessandro Pettorino mastro di capella scudi vintisei de moneta sono per haver servito con doi chori di musicha a Santa Lucia doi giorni e mezo alle 40 hore alle orationi che si facero....¹²¹

...To M. Alessandro Pettorino, maestro di cappella, 26 *scudi* for having served with two choirs of music at Santa Lucia for two and a half days at the forty hours which were celebrated...

There was also a payment for moving a harpsichord on this occasion. In 1603 two platforms were constructed for musicians who sang during the forty hours at S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli and 4 *scudi* were paid for the singing of two masses.¹²²

We have seen that Asprilio Pacelli had three choirs at the Corpus Christi procession in 1594 and multiple choirs were commonly used at this procession; there is no direct evidence that they actually sang together, as opposed to

singing in different parts of the procession, but it is not unlikely that, having hired the extra singers, an institution would make use of them for polychoral music during the Mass which preceded the procession or the Benediction which followed it. The only institution where polychoral music was definitely used in this way was the German College. On the feast of Corpus Christi, 1583, the students who sang polyphony came into the church after recreation, split into two choirs on either side of the main altar and sang *Lauda Sion*. This was repeated each evening during the octave. The procession was held on the Sunday within the octave. Lauretano gave a detailed description:¹²³

...Doppo la croce seguirano 4 o 6 con li rosarii in mano et erano de piu novi del collegio. Poi un choro di Gregoriano che erano circa 25 et cantavano *Pange Lingua* et doppo questi un choro de rosarii, poi un choro di falsobordone a 3 voci che cantava *Sacris solemnis vincita sint gaudia* et havevano una carta grande per uno in mano dove era la musica, et le parole. Poi un altro choro de rosarii, che tacevano. Poi la musica tutti in un globo, poi li sacerdoti...Doppo li sacerdoti...veniva il SSo. Sacramento...Quando sono al altare di Torre Sanguigna,, mentre che si canta il motetto li tureferarii mutano il carbone...Quando il SSo. Sacramento fu al altare di M. Gaudentio, li cantori se soglione dividere in doi chori all lati del altare, et cantare qualche versetto di *Lauda Sion*, ma questo anno non si divisero, et cantorno solamente *O Salutaris hostia* mentre s'incenso il Smo. Sacramento....Subito che li cantori sono in chiesa si sonano li tromboni...

....after the cross followed four or six with rosaries in their hands; these were the newest members of the college. Then came a choir of Gregorian [chant] numbering about twenty-five, who sang *Pange lingua* and after them a group of [people saying] the rosary; then a *falsobordone* choir of three voices which sang *Sacris solemnis vincita sint gaudia*, having a large chart in one of their hands on which was the music and the words. Then [came] another group [saying] the rosary silently. Then came the [choir singing] polyphony, all in a group, followed by the priests....After the priests....came the Blessed Sacrament...When they reached the altar of Tor Sanguigna, while the motet was being sung, thethurifers changed the charcoal....The procession returned to the church....When the Blessed Sacrament was placed on the altar by M. Gaudentio the singers, who normally would have divided themselves into two choirs on either side of the altar and sang some verse of *Lauda Sion*, did not divide this year but sang only *O salutaris hostia* while the Blessed Sacrament was being incensed...As soon as the singers entered the church the trombones were sounded...

This use of plainsong and *falsobordone* as well as polyphony during processions is borne out in the archives of many institutions and means that, once again, we

must be wary of assuming that three choirs in processions meant three choirs singing polyphony. It is clear, however, that normal practice at the German College, at least, was to have polychoral music in the church after the procession had returned. This is made even clearer in Lauretano's instructions during rehearsals for the procession (not followed in the event). He instructed the singers of polyphony, on arriving back at the church, to pass up the centre aisle and to divide into two parts between the seats of the canons and the high altar.

5. OTHER OCCASIONS FOR POLYCHORAL MUSIC: UNUSUAL PERFORMANCE PRACTICES

There are many references to polychoral music in archives and documents which do not fit into any of the main categories discussed so far; some will be detailed briefly in order to show its widespread use, particularly by the 1590s. For instance, it was not confined to indoor performance: during the procession of the short-lived Gregory XIV to take possession of his cathedral church of S. Giovanni in Laterano in 1590 he alighted at the Campidoglio to receive the obeisance of the officials of the city which was done 'to the sound of artillery, of drums, of three choirs of music with infinite voices and the fulness of instruments'.¹²⁴ On Easter Sunday morning in 1592 three platforms were erected for three choirs in the Piazza Navona by the Archconfraternity of the Resurrection attached to S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli. No list of musicians survives for this year but in the previous year, when a similiar sum of money was spent, there were at least twenty-seven singers as well as a lute, trombones and an organ.¹²⁵

An important example of the patronage of polychoral music by a papal family is the institution of the *Salve* in the Borghese Chapel at S. Maria Maggiore. In 1615 Cardinal Borghese, Protector of the basilica, approved the statutes which set up a special Cappella of ten singers, a *maestro* and an organist who were charged with the singing of Compline with two choirs of

polyphony, as well as the Litany of the Blessed Virgin and the *Salve Regina* on all Saturdays, all feasts of the Virgin and their vigils, and on the last Sunday in January, the anniversary of the translation to the Cappella Borghese of the miraculous image of the Virgin, believed to have been painted by St. Luke. The *maestro*, singers and organist were in fact drawn from those in the regular employ of the basilica.¹²⁶

The circular nature of the ancient church of S. Stefano, administered by the German College, dictated a novel method of performance: the church had three concentric colonnades, with the main altar in the centre, and so the students sang in a circle. On the second Sunday of Lent in 1583 (the station-day of the nearby church of S. Maria in Navicella¹²⁷) the singers from the College sang the mass solemnly, preceded by a procession with litanies. An organ was brought to the church but 'cornetts were not invited in order to avoid the expense' (this implies that they had been used in previous years). After Vespers all went in procession to the altar of the Cross and, having formed a large circle, sang the *Litanie del Signore* for two choirs. Then an 8v motet in honour of St. Stephen was sung within the innermost colonnade 'as is done on the feast of St. Stephen'. On the church's own Station day the Litany of Our Lord was again sung in a circle at the altar of the Cross, followed by the motet *Stephanus autem* in a circle around the main altar; afterwards the singers returned to the choir and sang *Deus misereatur nostri*.¹²⁸ Vicentino mentioned circular performance of double-choir music as a means of performing music where one of the bass parts had the fifth of the chord: he suggests that both basses could stand together, but was probably describing a semi-circular performance rather than the circular one used here.¹²⁹

Nor was polychoral music confined to liturgical occasions: it was also used for important academic occasions such as the defence of theses. Felice Anerio directed the music at one such occasion in the *Collegio Romano* at which

the singers of the German College took part, together with other singers and instruments.¹³⁰ Firstly a motet was sung, then came the oration of the defendant, after which musicians sang in the gallery above the main door of the great hall. Then came the discussion, followed by a motet for eight voices; then another oration followed by a 'cantilena'; finally the choir above sang an echo piece accompanied by trombones and cornetts. In 1592 a similiar defence took place in one of the large rooms of the German College, in the presence of six cardinals, including Cardinal Pallavicino, to whom the thesis was dedicated.¹³¹

Si fecero due palchi per la musica e si possiero stare alle finestre per la reverberatione di S. Agostino. Si cantorno cose nuove in lode del Cardinal, quale restò contentissimo....Si cantò 4 volte, in principio, dopo la Prefatione, dopo le dispute e doppo l'attione di gratie...

...two platforms were made for the music and it was possible [for the singers] to stand at the windows because of the reverberation of San Agostino. A new piece was sung in praise of the Cardinal, who was most content.....there were four bouts of singing: at the beginning, after the preface, after the dispute and after the act of thanksgiving...

The church of San Agostino is directly behind the German College and its side wall across a narrow laneway seems to have provided a reverberant backdrop for the singers whose platforms must have been built in two of the windows. This is the only occasion on which platforms are mentioned in the archives of the college: they were needed for this performance which took place in one of the rooms, but not in the churches of San Apollinare or San Stefano.

This chapter has sought to place the performance of polychoral music in context and to present the information so far discovered about performance practices in the city. Much archival work remains to be done, and future research may well turn up the answers to some of the problems raised in this account.

NOTES

1. The *Avvisi di Roma*, one of the most important sources for details of everyday and political life in the city, survive in many locations. The most comprehensive for this period, and those consulted in the course of this study, are those written to the Duke of Urbino, now in the Rvat Urb. Lat. collection.
2. Rvat Sist. *Diario* 35. Extracts Published in Frey, 'Die Gesänge'.
3. Adami, *Osservazioni*, p. 33. The well-known 8v setting of this piece is found in Rvat Sist. 29, copied during Palestrina's lifetime (see Chapter Three). Another double-choir setting by the composer (largely 4v) is found in transcriptions from the Altemps collection (see Chapter Three), but not in Rvat Sist. No setting by the composer for less than 8v survives.
4. At the consistory on Jan. 9th, 1616, two 8v motets by Palestrina were sung (see Appendix II) as well a *Te Deum* by C. Festa, which must have been the 8v setting preserved in Rvat Sist. 20.
5. *Contrapunto alla mente*, the improvisation by (usually) two voices singing counterpoint over a *cantus firmus* was common practice at the time, particularly among the skilled singers of the papal chapel, and is frequently referred to in the diaries. New singers, unskilled in the art, were accepted only on condition that they take instruction from experienced members of the chapel; e.g. on the seventeenth of November 1616 Ferdinando Grapuccioli - admitted some days previously - was ordered to take lessons in *contrapunto* from one of: A. Crivelli, R. Giovanelli, T. Gargari or V. de Grandis, all composers discussed in Part Two.
6. The only exceptions among the pre-1700 manuscripts are Rvat Sist. 205 and 206, a pair of smaller choirbooks containing music for Holy Week. When the new Cappella Paolina was being constructed for Papal ceremonies in the Quirinale Palace in 1615, on the model of the Cappella Sistina, the singers were consulted about their gallery. They asked to have it nearer to the altar, somewhat larger and with the front balcony protruding out further into the chapel. I am grateful to J. Lionnet for this information.
7. Lionnet, 'Performance practice'.
8. All of Lionnet's evidence refers to reduced-voice sections of masses, hymns etc. and I am not convinced of its general application. Some conflicting evidence has been put forward more recently in Sherr, 'Performance practice'.
9. Rvat Sist. *Diario* 40, 24th March 1621.
10. Rvat Sist. *Diario* 35, 13th March (and following) and Lionnet, 'Performance practice'.
11. Rvat Sist. 205/6. No information has been found concerning the position of the singers during the Holy-Week liturgy.
12. Payments to carpenters recorded in ACSP frequently mention this platform.
13. Rvat Sist. *Diario* 29, 19th March 1609.

14. The *Diarii Sistini*, and the 1616 diary in particular, formed the basis of much of the discussion in Cummings 'Motet', in which he concluded that these were the positions in the Mass when motets were sung.
15. Rvat Sist. *Diario* 38, 24th November.
16. Rvat Sist. *Diario* 19, 31st July and following.
17. For a history of the building of the new St. Peter's see Francia, *San Pietro* and Lees-Milne, *St. Peter's*.
18. For a description of the organs in S. Pietro see Lunelli, *L'Arte Organaria*.
19. Pastor. *Popes*, xix, p. 386.
20. The portable organ and platform for the choir were normally returned there after major feasts celebrated in other parts of the basilica. By 1620 these were being returned to the adjacent Cappella Clementina, which may have been used at that date - see Appendix III, Document 15.
21. The diary, which has hitherto gone unnoticed, is preserved together with a later handwritten copy in ACSP. Folio numbers refer to the original. There is also a follow-up diary with a copy for the years 1620-43.
22. All documents relating to the Cappella Giulia during Palestrina's term of office as *maestro* (1551-54 and 1571-94) are given in Rostirolla 'Cappella Giulia'.
23. Amici, *Diario*, f. 386.
24. Rvat Giul. 161. f. 41.
25. Amici, *Diario*, ff. 350v-351v.
26. *ibid.*, f. 431.
27. Dixon, 'Lenten devotions'; Roche, 'Compieta'.
28. Amici, *Diario*, f. 222.
29. *ibid.*, f. 402.
30. The three diaries are kept in the archives of the present German-Hungarian college in Rome, where they were consulted for this study (see manuscript section of bibliography for details). Excerpts are given in Casimiri, 'Disciplina', XVI (1939), 1-9; XIX, 102-129, 159-168 and in Culley 'Jesuits'. Only selected references are given in the present study and the reader is referred to Casimiri and Culley for more comprehensive coverage of this, the Roman institution in which liturgical practice is most detailed.
31. References to music at the English College have been published in Casimiri 'Disciplina', XX (1943), 3-17 and in Culley, 'Musical activity' (1579-1589 only). The archives have also been consulted in the course of this study. Those from the Seminario Romano are from Casimiri, 'Disciplina', XII (1935), 1-26; 73-81.
32. Culley, 'Jesuits', pp. 53-4.

33. Casimiri, 'Disciplina', XVI, pp. 8-9; Casimiri also thought that the setting was not 12v, suggesting *alternatim* performance between polyphony and *falsobordone*.
34. Lauretano, *Diario*, p. 40; given in part as Culley's Doc. 60.
35. *ibid.*, p. 51; in part as Culley's Doc. 65, 66 and in Casimiri, 'Disciplina', XIX, pp. 159-160.
36. A report entitled 'Visitatio Ecclesiae Sancti Apollinaris Die 4 Februarii 1627' in *Acta Sacrae Visitationis Apostolicae*, a manuscript in ASV, Miscellanae VII iii includes the following: 'supra portam maiorem sunt chorus et meniana lignea ad habendos musicos conventus'. The plan of c 1654 on which Fig. II. 3 is based (taken from *Catasto universale con piante di tutti i beni del collegio Germanico e Ungarico di roma*) does not show the gallery, since it is merely a ground-plan.
37. Lauretano, *Consuetudini*, f. 25v.
38. *ibid.*, pp. 81-2. Not given in Casimiri or in Culley.
39. *Diarium Overbeck....et Tibaldi*, f. 47; Casimiri, 'Disciplina', pp. 162-3 and in part as Culley's Doc. 90.
40. Lauretano, *Diario*, p. 61. In part in Casimiri, 'Disciplina', XIX, p. 160 and Culley, Doc. 67. A setting of the Litany by Annibale Stabile for two choirs of polyphony and one of plainsong is discussed in Chapter 5, p.
41. *ibid.*, p. 68.
42. *Consuetudini*, f. 30.
43. *Diario 1591-3*, pp. 4-5.
44. *ibid.*, p. 52.
45. The dates of service are taken from Culley, *Jesuits*, with the exception of those for Cifra: Culley gives 1608-1611, whereas Casimiri, 'Mastri' XIX, 112, says 1608-9, which are more likely to be correct, since Cifra is known to have been in Loreto in 1609. The archives of the College do not allow the precise fixing of Cifra's dates as *maestro*.
46. ASMM *passim*.
47. G. Nappi, *Annali*, vol. I, f. 141v. Quoted in Casimiri 'Disciplina', XII (1935), p. 13. See also Dixon 'Gesù', p. 327.
48. Zazzara, *Diario*, 26th May 1599.
49. ASMM, *Giustificazioni 1607-1610*, n.t. See Appendix III, Document 8; 'di cappella' denotes members of the Cappella Pontificia.
50. For example Paolo de Magistris, *puntatore* for 1585, wrote sarcastically in Rvat Sist. *Diario* 14 (Jan. 6th, 1585): 'Jo[seph] Bap[tista] Jacomelli infirmitate allegans se excusavit...'
51. Culley, 'Musical activity', p. 19.
52. Frey, 'San Luigi', pp. 39ff.

53. ASV, Gontalone, *Giustificazioni* 1588.
54. *ibid.*, *Libro Decreti*, I, f. 44v.
55. ASCR, S. Maria di Monserrato, F-IV-377, *passim*.
56. ASR, Ospedale della Sma. Trinita, 705, n.f.
57. *ibid.*, 11, f. 114.
58. Attempts to trace the original document have been unsuccessful. The autograph collection was dispersed at auction in 1927. Some *giustificazioni di pagamenti* from the collection, originating in Sma Trinità and signed by Palestrina and Quinzio Solino, are in private Italian hands and were published again recently in R. Giazotto, 'Cinque documenti', but this document was not among them.
59. Kinsky, 'Schriftstücke', transcribed 'alunni di Capella di N. S.' and translated it 'Singknaben der päpstlichen Kapelle' but this makes no sense since there were no boys in the papal chapel. Jean Lionnet suggested 'alcuni' as the original reading, translated here in English as 'some'.
60. ASR, Sma. Trinità, 705, n.f.
61. The last recorded payment to Pacelli by Sma Trinità was on the 2nd of August 1594 (ASR, Sma. Trinità, 705). He was definitely at the German College by the 19th of May 1595 (Culley, 'Jesuits').
62. ASR, Sma. Trinità, 705.
63. ASR, S. Rocco, 149, n.f.
64. Baini, *Memorie* II, pp. 20-21.
65. ASR, S.Rocco, 327, f. 62.
66. *ibid.*, 65, f. 18v.
67. ASV, Gonfalone, *Giustificazioni* 1588 n.f.
68. ASCR, S. Maria di Monserrato, F-IV-376, n.f.
69. *ibid.*
70. Zazzara, *Diario*, 26th May 1597.
71. *ibid.*, 26th May 1599.
72. I Rf, C-I-V, 7th May 1603.
73. Amici, *Diario*, ff. 173-174; 431v.
74. Asprilio Pacelli, *maestro* at S. Pietro 1602-3, published his *Sacrae Cantiones...liber primus* for 5v-20v in 1608, five years after leaving for Warsaw. Some of these pieces might have been written for use in S. Pietro, particularly the 12v *Tu es pastor ovium* 'in festo S. Petri'. These are not being considered in this study.

75. Gigli, *Diario*, p. 37. For further examples, mainly after this period, see Dixon, 'Colossal'.
76. ASCR, S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli, A-IV-21, n.f.
77. *ibid.*, A-IV-117, n.f.
78. See Frey, 'San Luigi', p. 60.
79. In the preface to his *Salmi a quattro chori* of 1612. Quoted in Roche, *North Italian*, p. 119.
80. *Diario Sistina* 19, 9th October 1594.
81. ASCR, S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli, A-IV-143, n.f.
82. See Appendix III, Document 15.
83. For the Chiesa Nuova, see Zazzara, *Diario*, 26th May 1610. For S. Cecilia see Chapter One, footnote 44.
84. Bryant, *Liturgy*; Moore, *Vespers*
85. The information in this table is taken from the archives of the various institutions mentioned.
86. I Rf, C-I-V, 22nd May, 1607. I am grateful to Arnaldo Morelli for this information.
87. *ibid.*, May 1614. This information was also given to me by Arnaldo Morelli.
88. ASMM, *Giustificazioni 1614-15*, 7th October 1614 n.f.
89. ASCP, Cappella Giulia 162, p. 78. The figure of 223mm is given in a table of Roman measurements in Francia, *San Pietro*. See Sherr, 'Performance Practice'.
90. ASMM, *Giustificazioni 1595-96*, 14th August 1595.
91. De Angelis, *S. Mariae Maioris*, p. 72.
92. Given in Grimaldi *Descrizione*, pp. 138-9 (f. 104v of original ms.).
93. ACSP, ARM. XX-XXIII, FCG, F & M, 149, f (14); given in Rostirolla 'Cappella Giulia', p. 279.
94. Shown in Sherr, 'Performance practice', p. 459.
95. For a history of the various dispositions of relics and statues at the four great pillars see Lavin, *Bernini*.
96. Rvat Giul. 164, f. 28.
97. Engraving by G. Maggi. Given in Lavin, *Bernini*, fig. 2 and in Sherr, 'Performance practice', p. 452.
98. in Lavin, *Bernini*, fig. 5.

99. See Dixon 'Colossal', p. 121.
100. Amici, *Diario*, ff. 173-4.
101. On the feast of St. Mary of the Snow. ASMM, Giustificazioni 1587-9, n.f.
102. Nappi, *Annali*, quoted in Casimiri, 'Disciplina', xii, p. 13.
103. ASR, Ospedale di S. Rocco, 149, n.f.
104. Casimiri, 'Disciplina', xii, p. 13; also quoted in Dixon, 'Musical Activity', p. 327.
105. Taken from *Breviarium Romanum ex decreto Sacrosancti Concilii Tridentini restitutum Pii Quinti Pont. max. iussu editum...ac officiis sanctorum a Gregorio XIII, Sixto V, ac Clemente VIII in Calendario Romano descriptorum* (Venice, 1598).
106. Casimiri, 'Disciplina', xii, p. 13; Dixon, 'Musical Activity', p. 327.
107. These are mentioned frequently in the documents from the College archives given in Culley, *Jesuits* or Casimiri, 'Disciplina', xix, 159.
108. This psalm is used liturgically in Sunday Lauds, but there is no evidence of polyphonic music being sung at this office.
109. Martin, *Roma Sancta*, p. 204
110. Maugars, *Response*
111. In Alaleona, *Oratorio*.
112. ASV, Smo Crocefisso in S. Marcello, A-XII-1581-88, n.f.
113. *ibid.*
114. *ibid.*, A-XII-1595.
115. The distinction between devotional exercises in oratories and liturgical exercises in churches is made clear in Schrick's biography of Michael Lauretano where the latter is reported to have thought that 'nimble and effeminate voices of men and soft instruments of musicians' were not appropriate in the ecclesiastical offices 'which are to be solemnly performed by canons or...religious orders'. 'Those things should be better relegated to oratories and festive assemblies of sodalists'.
116. On Easter Tuesday 1600 'si é fatta per l'ultima volta doppo l'ultima predicha la musicha, quale é riuscita bellissima'. *Diario del Anno Santo 1600*, I Rn Mss. Vittorio Emanuele 589.
117. 'per haver accomodato il gravecimbalo al organo grande con travicelli miei e chiodi'. ASR, Ospedale della Sma. Trinità, 708, n.f.
118. *ibid.*, 1066, p. 141; 1067, p. 141.
119. *ibid.*, 703, n.f.
120. Archivio della Compagnia della Pietà dei Fiorentini, 197, n.f.

121. ASV, Gontalone, *giustificazioni* 1586, n.f.
122. ASCR, S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli, A-V-130, n.f.
123. Lauretano, *Diario*, p. 97-8. Given only in part as Culley's Document 77.
124. See Cancellieri, *Possessio*, p. 127.
125. ASCR, S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli, A-IV-119, A-IV-119, n.f.
126. Full details are given in Lionnet, 'Salve'.
127. See Note 42 to Chapter One.
128. Lauretano, *Diario*, p. 68. These details are not given in Casimiri or in Culley.
129. Vicentino, *L'Antica Musica*, Chapter xxviii, f. 85v
130. See Casimiri, 'Disciplina', XIX, 165.
131. *Diario 1591-93*, p. 43. Given only in part in Casimiri 'Disciplina', XIX (1942), p. 166.

CHAPTER THREE

SOURCES FOR ROMAN POLYCHORAL MUSIC

The sources can be divided into five groups: single prints, printed anthologies, primary manuscript sources, secondary manuscript sources and secondary printed sources. Appendix V is a catalogue of the polychoral works so far discovered by each of the composers included in this study, as well as details of single prints by these composers which contain polychoral music. Printed anthologies containing Roman polychoral music are listed in Appendix IV; these will be discussed briefly at the end of this chapter.

Manuscript sources consulted in the preparation of this thesis are listed in Appendix VI and secondary printed sources are included in the bibliography.

This chapter is chiefly concerned with the most important primary manuscript sources, dating from the sixteenth century or the first half of the seventeenth, which provide the earliest source(s) for many of these pieces as well as much other evidence about the music. Since they will be referred to frequently in Part Two, they are described in detail here - some for the first time. They will be considered under the heading of the library and collection in which they are currently found, and within that collection, listed in roughly chronological order. There are only five libraries involved, all in Rome.¹ The bulk of these sources are now in the Cappella Sistina, Cappella Giulia and Barberini collections in Rvat; the other Roman libraries with primary source material are Rn, Rsc and Rsmt. Such material can also be found in Rsg but is at present inaccessible. Of the institutions discussed in the previous chapter, only the repertories of the Cappella Pontificia and the Cappella Giulia survive. That of the German College was dispersed in the eighteenth century, there is no polychoral music in the extant collections of S. Maria Maggiore or S. Luigi, and none is known to survive from any of the oratories or other churches mentioned,

apart from S. Maria in Trastevere. The manuscripts to be described are listed in Table 3. I.

TABLE 3. I

Rvat Sistina 29, 31, 33, 59, 72, 91, 100, 102, 105, 109, 134, 149, 166,
171-172, 205-206
Rvat Giulia XIII 19, XIII 24, XIII 25, XV 62, XV 70
Rvat Barberini 4184
Rn Mss. Mus. 77-88, 33-34/40-46, 117-121, 127-128
Rsc G Ms 053, 092, 093, 0125, 0128, 0147, 0157, 0223, 0224, 792-795
Rsmt 604

The manuscripts in Rvat Sist. and Rvat Giul. have already been described in detail in catalogues by Llorens² and so only the polychoral contents are listed here and truncated descriptions given. Fuller information is given on manuscripts from other sources.

All pieces are for eight voices in two choirs unless otherwise stated. Vesper psalm settings with doxology are indicated by the number of the psalm (in the Vulgate numbering); psalm-motets are not.

ROME: BIBLIOTECA VATICANA: CAPPELLA SISTINA (hereafter Rvat Sist.):

The Rvat Sist. numbers refer to Llorens' catalogue. The Panuzzi numbers refer to the index compiled in 1687 by Raffaele Panuzzi, *maestro di cappella* of the Cappella Pontificia in that year; this, the earliest extant index of the papal chapel manuscripts, survives as Rvat Sist. 630 in the Vatican Library. All of the Rvat Sist. sources except one are very large choirbooks with Choirs I and II on facing pages of each opening (approx. 725x500mm - exact dimensions of each are given in Llorens); Rvat Sist. 205-206 consists of a pair of smaller choirbooks (420x280mm) containing the music for Choir I and II respectively. Many of these choirbooks contain not only polychoral music but pieces for fewer voices as well. This reinforces the impression from the *Diario* of 1616 that polychoral music was integrated with single-choir music during services.

1. Rvat Sist. 149

(Panuzzi 53)

G.P.da Palestrina *Missa Confitebor tibi*

The copying of this manuscript by Johannes Parvus has been dated to c. 1577-8 by Mitchell Brauner on the basis of the handwriting and the fact that it is copied onto *carta papale* which was not used before 1576.³ It is the oldest Rvat Sist. manuscript to contain polychoral music. In very poor condition, the book contains only this Mass in a version not significantly different from that printed in 1585.⁴

2. Rvat Sist. 29

(Panuzzi 109)

G.M. Nanino	<i>In diademate capitis in coronatione Summi Pontificis</i>	ff.1v-7
A. Crivelli	<i>Laetentur coeli in Dominica prima Adventus</i>	ff.8v-11
G.M. Nanino	<i>Sicut mater in Dominica secunda Adventus</i>	ff.12v-14v
G.P.da Palestrina	<i>Surge illuminare Jerusalem</i>	ff.43v-49
F. Anerio	<i>Derelinquat impius</i>	ff.65v-69
(T.L.de Victoria)	<i>Super flumina Babylonis</i>	ff.70v-75
G.P.da Palestrina	<i>Stabat mater dolorosa</i>	ff.76v-83
G.P.da Palestrina	<i>Surrexit pastor bonus</i>	ff.84v-88
G.P.da Palestrina	<i>Jesus junxit se</i>	ff.89v-93
G.P.da Palestrina	<i>Spiritus sanctus replevit</i>	ff.94v-97
G.P.da Palestrina	<i>Hodie gloriosa semper virgo</i>	ff.98v-102
?	<i>Christe Redemptor omnium (4,8v)</i>	ff.144v-151
?	<i>Magnificat (primi toni)</i>	ff.160v-164
G.P.da Palestrina	<i>Magnificat (primi toni)</i>	ff.165v-170
G.M. Nanino	<i>Magnificat (septimi toni)</i>	ff.181v-186
L. Marenzio	<i>Magnificat (octavi toni)</i>	ff.187v-191
?	<i>Laudate pueri</i>	ff.192v-197

This is the second oldest and largest collection of polychoral music in the surviving Rvat Sist. repertory. It also contains a variety of motets and hymns by various composers for 4-6v. The 8v pieces fall into three groups: all are in the hand of the copyist Luca Orphei, apart from Victoria's *Super flumina Babylonis* (unattributed in the manuscript and written in a quite different hand from that of Orphei⁵). Luca Orphei has signed his name on f.44 and again on f.187 where he mentions that Gregory XIV was Pope and Francesco Soto *maestro*; this means that this piece, Marenzio's *Magnificat*, was copied between January and October 1591. He also signed himself on f.192 with the date 1592.

Baini⁶ took the signature on f.187 to refer to the whole manuscript and deduced from this that Palestrina had dedicated his group of pieces here to Gregory XIV in return for special favour, but there is no evidence for this and the pieces coming before Marenzio's *Magnificat* could have been copied at any time between 1580, when Luca Orphei began to copy for the chapel,⁷ and 1591. The manuscript was assembled sometime after 1592. Panuzzi listed an 8v *Veni Sancte Spiritus* by Palestrina as also belonging to this manuscript but it no longer contains any version of this sequence. The pieces occurring before f.106 are arranged chronologically, with one piece for each major feast of the liturgical year (not all are 8v). The feast is indicated in the manuscript only for the first three pieces and the last of the series (Victoria's 6v *Vidi speciosam*: 'in Assumptionis Beatissimae Virginis Mariae', ff. 103v-106).

3. Rvat Sist. 31

(Panuzzi 99)

R. Giovanelli	Ps. 109, <i>Dixit Dominus</i> (primi toni)	ff.2v-12
G.M. Nanino	Ps. 109, <i>Dixit Dominus</i> (primi toni)	ff.13v-22
A. Crivelli	Ps. 109, <i>Dixit Dominus</i> (primi toni)	ff.23v-29
G.M. Nanino	Ps. 110, <i>Confitebor tibi</i> (terti toni)	ff.30v-38
G.M. Nanino	Ps. 121, <i>Laetatus sum</i> (sexti toni)	ff.39v-46
G.M. Nanino	Ps. 111, <i>Beatus vir</i> (sexti toni)	ff.47v-56
F. Anerio	Ps. 112, <i>Laudate pueri</i> (septimi toni)	ff.57v-63
A. Crivelli	Ps. 111, <i>Beatus vir</i> (sexti toni)	ff.64v-73
F. Anerio	Ps. 111, <i>Beatus vir</i> (sexti toni)	ff.74v-85
G.M. Nanino	Ps. 112, <i>Laudate pueri</i> (octavi toni)	ff.86v-94
R. Giovanelli	Ps. 112, <i>Laudate pueri</i> (terti toni)	ff.95v-102
T. Gargari	<i>Magnificat</i> (septimi toni)	ff.103v-113
F. Anerio	<i>Magnificat</i> (quinti toni)	ff.114v-124

Copied by Luca Orphei, there is no indication of date (he continued to copy up to 1608). It contains only 8v music and is the oldest repertory of polychoral vespers music for the papal chapel (apart from the pieces at the end of Rvat Sist. 29). Panuzzi listed the Nanino *Beatus Vir* as by Crivelli.

4. Rvat Sist. 33

(Panuzzi 96)

A. Crivelli	Ps. 110, <i>Confitebor tibi (octavi toni)</i>	ff. 72v-80
R. Naldi	<i>Magnificat (primi toni)</i>	ff. 102v-112

Copied by various scribes, the manuscript also contains motets and psalm-settings for 4-6vv by a variety of composers; f. 2 has the date 1610, while f. 62v was signed by Joannes Amigonius. He was not a papal chapel copyist and so must have done the work under contract. On f. 95 is written: 'Ruggiero Giovanelli, Psalm Credidi (Ps. 131) eight voices, copied by Dominicus Brancadorus'; the piece itself, however, does not survive in the manuscript. Brancadorus began to copy in 1615 and died in 1619^e and so the book must have been copied between 1610 and 1619.

5. Rvat Sist. 59

(Panuzzi 158)

R. Giovanelli	Ps. 111, <i>Beatus vir (sexti toni)</i>	ff. 23v-31
R. Giovanelli	Ps. 111, <i>Beatus vir (secundi toni)</i>	ff. 33v-42
A. Crivelli	Ps. 111, <i>Beatus vir (octavi toni)</i>	ff. 43v-50
O. Catalani	Ps. 111, <i>Beatus vir (septimi toni)</i>	ff. 51v-59

The manuscript also contains three 4v *alternatim* psalm settings by T. Gargari. The first section (up to f. 31) was copied in 1620 by Joseph Dosius and the rest by Dominicus Brancadorus in 1617. The manuscript was brought together in 1632.

6. Rvat Sist. 72

(Panuzzi 160)

(F. Anerio)	<i>Voce mea ad Dominum</i>	ff. 70v-75
G.M. Nanino	<i>Nos autem gloriari in exaltatione S. Crucis</i>	ff. 77v-84
?	<i>Sancta Francisca ora pro nobis</i>	ff. 94v-101

The manuscript also contains motets for 4-6v by various composers. Written by various hands, the Nanino piece and some of the non-polychoral pieces were copied by Luca Orphei.

7. Rvat Sist. 91 (not in Panuzzi)

T. Gargari	<i>Magnificat (primi toni)</i>	ff. 1v-14
T. Gargari	<i>Magnificat (sexti toni)</i>	ff. 16v-30

Both were copied by Joseph Dosius, the first setting in 1620 and the second in 1622; a third piece for 4v by Palestrina was added later. Both settings are *alternatim*: only verses 2,6,11 and 12 are 8v, the others being mainly 4v and some 3v.

8. Rvat Sist. 134 (Panuzzi 173)

R. Giovanelli	<i>Cantate Domino canticum novum</i>	ff. 2v-13
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Copied by Joseph Dosius in 1621, it also contains five motets for 5v by Palestrina.

9. Rvat Sist. 102 (Panuzzi 179)

T. Gargari	Ps. 109, <i>Dixit Dominus (secundi toni)</i>	ff. 3v-13
do	Ps. 110, <i>Confitebor tibi (primi toni)</i>	ff. 15v-27
do	Ps. 111, <i>Beatus vir (sexti toni)</i>	ff. 29v-39
do	Ps. 112, <i>Laudate pueri (quarti toni)</i>	ff. 41v-52
do	Ps. 116, <i>Laudate Dominum (octavi toni)</i>	ff. 53v-58

The manuscript, copied in 1628, is devoted entirely to these works by Gargari and one 4v hymn. Panuzzi described all of these works as being anonymous.

10. Rvat Sist. 105 (Panuzzi 174)

V. de Grandis	Ps. 109, <i>Dixit Dominus (sexti toni)</i>	ff. 3v-11
V. de Grandis	Ps. 111, <i>Beatus vir (octavi toni)</i>	ff. 13v-22
G. Allegri	<i>Te Deum laudamus</i>	ff. 44v-50

The two pieces by V. de Grandis were copied in 1624 or 1625 (he was *maestro* of the Papal chapel in both years and the copyist, Joseph Dosius, noted on f.3 that the composer, de Grandis, was *maestro*). The Allegri piece was added by Justus Romanus in the second half of the seventeenth century. There are also four pieces for 4-5v.

11. Rvat Sist. 166 (Panuzzi 129)

P. Bonomi	<i>In lectulo meo</i>	ff. 48v-55
P. Bonomi	<i>O lumen ecclesiae</i>	ff. 57v-65

Copied in 1647, this is the earliest surviving source for these pieces. There is also an 8v Mass by Gregorio Allegri, who is not included in this study.

12. Rvat Sist. 100 (Panuzzi 110)

T. Gargari	<i>O altitudo divitiarum</i>	ff. 18v-24
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This manuscript was compiled after 1659 from fascicles copied at various times. The Gargari piece was copied by Joseph Dosius who was active as a copyist between 1620 and 1624. The manuscript also has two motets and a sequence by Palestrina and two anonymous hymns, all 4v.

13. Rvat Sist. 109 (not in Panuzzi)

G.M. Nanino	Ps. 121, <i>Laetatus sum (sexti toni)</i>	ff. 2v-10
A. Crivelli	Ps. 147, <i>Lauda Jerusalem (septimi toni)</i>	ff. 11v-18

Copied in 1693 (after the compilation of Panuzzi's catalogue); the scribe speaks of restoring the Nanino piece which had corroded. It is now the earliest source for the Crivelli piece. The setting of Ps. 121 is also found in Rvat Sist. 31. It is attributed to G. B. Nanino in a nineteenth-century copy by Fortunato Santini (D MÜs Hs 3588), but the attribution here and in Rvat Sist. 31 to G. M. Nanino is more likely to be correct, given the latter's long and active membership of the Papal chapel.

14. Rvat Sist. 171/2 (not in Panuzzi)

Josquin de Sala	<i>Missa Ave Regina coelorum</i>	ff. 1v-17
G.P. da Palestrina	<i>Missa Laudate Dominum</i>	ff. 19v-32
A. Agazzari	<i>Missa</i>	ff. 32v-38

This is a pair of small choirbooks (495x379mm) copied during the seventeenth century, probably in the first half. Rvat Sist. 171 contains the music for Choir I, 172 that of Choir II. Not originally a Rvat Sist. manuscript, it

belonged to the German College. Later it came into the possession of Gerolamo Chiti, from whom it passed into the Rvat Sist. library. It is the only source for the de Sala Mass; the Palestrina Mass is the same as the published version of 1601. The Agazzari Mass is the same as that published in 1614.

15. Rvat Sist. 205/6

(Panuzzi 88)

G.P. da Palestrina	<i>Improperia: Popule meus</i>	ff. 2v-5
? C. Festa	Ps. 50, <i>Miserere</i>	ff. 5v-7
(F.) Dentice	Ps. 50, <i>Miserere</i> 9v	ff. 7v-10
F.G.	Ps. 50, <i>Miserere</i> 9v	ff. 10v-12
G.P. da Palestrina	Ps. 50, <i>Miserere</i> 9v	ff. 12v-14
T. (Gargari)	Ps. 50, <i>Miserere</i> 9v	ff. 14v-16
G.F. Anerio	Ps. 50, <i>Miserere</i> 9v	ff. 20v-28
F. Anerio	Ps. 50, <i>Miserere</i> 9v	ff. 19v-34
?	Ps. 50, <i>Miserere</i> 8v	f. 37
?	Ps. 50, <i>Miserere</i> 9v	ff. 37v-39
?	Ps. 50, <i>Miserere</i> 9v	ff. 39v-41
G.P. da Palestrina	<i>Improperia: Popule meus</i>	ff. 41v-42
F. Dentice	Ps. 50, <i>Miserere</i> 9v	ff. 42v-45
R. Giovanelli	Ps. 50, <i>Miserere</i> 8v	ff. 46v-49
(G. Allegri	Ps. 50, <i>Miserere</i> 9v	ff. 50v-56)

A pair of small choirbooks (420x280mm) copied at various times during the seventeenth century, this is the main source for Cappella Pontificia Holy week music. Rvat Sist. 205 contains the music for Choir I and 206 that of Choir II. All of the *Miserere* settings are *alternatim*, in the form: Choir I-plainsong-Choir II-plainsong etc. In every case the choirs combine only in the final verse.

MANUSCRIPTS KNOWN TO HAVE DISAPPEARED FROM THE CAPPELLA SISTINA

Two manuscripts catalogued by Panuzzi as containing 8v pieces are no longer found in the Rvat Sist. collection.

Panuzzi 169

F. Anerio	<i>Magnificat</i>
G. Matelart	<i>Magnificat</i>
G.P. da Palestrina	<i>Amavit eum Dominus</i>

?	Ps. 115, <i>Credidi</i>
?	Ps. 109, <i>Dixit Dominus</i>
?	Ps. 147, <i>Lauda Jerusalem</i>
A. Crivelli	Ps. 147, <i>Lauda Jerusalem</i>

No setting by Palestrina of *Amavit eum Dominus* survives; there is a Magnificat in Rvat Giul. XIII 28 attributed to Giovanni Mata, which might be Matelart since no composer named Mata is known. There is a Magnificat setting by F. Anerio in Rvat Sist. 31 and settings of *Lauda Jerusalem* by A. Crivelli in Rvat Sist. 109 and 221, both copied later than 1687.

A further missing manuscript, Panuzzi 171, contained eight-voice pieces by Jachet, Mouton and Verdelot as well as three anonymous eight-voice pieces; many of these are also found in a Verona manuscript, B 218, and are not polychoral.⁹

ROME: BIBLIOTECA VATICANA: CAPPELLA GIULIA (hereafter Rvat Giul.):

In contrast to the Cappella Pontificia, the polychoral music which survives in the Cappella Giulia collection is found in partbooks of various sizes.

16. Rvat Giul. XIII 24¹⁰

G.P. da Palestrina	<i>Regina coeli</i> (1)	f. 3
G.P. da Palestrina	<i>Regina coeli</i> (2)	f. 3v
G.P. da Palestrina	<i>Salve Regina</i>	f. 4
G.P. da Palestrina	<i>Ave Regina coelorum</i>	f. 4v
A. Zoilo	<i>Beata mater</i>	f. 5
G.P. da Palestrina	<i>Alma redemptoris mater</i>	f. 5v
A. Crivelli	<i>Alma redemptoris mater</i>	f. 6
A. Zoilo	<i>Ave Regina coelorum</i>	f. 6v
G.P. da Palestrina	<i>Ave mundi spes Maria</i>	ff. 7v-8
G.P. da Palestrina	<i>Beata es virgo Maria</i> (2a, pars Ave Maria)	ff. 8-8v
G.P. da Palestrina	<i>O quam suavis</i>	f. 9
G.P. da Palestrina	<i>Disciplinam et sapientiam</i>	ff. 9v-10
A. Crivelli	<i>Beata es virgo Maria</i>	f. 10
G.P. da Palestrina	<i>Domine quis habitabit</i> 12v.	f. 10v
O. Lassus	<i>Deus misereatur nostri</i>	ff. 11v-12
O. Lassus	<i>Levavi oculos meos</i>	ff. 12v-13
O. Lassus	<i>In convertendo Dominus</i> (2a, pars Convertere)	f. 13v
G.P. da Palestrina	<i>O bone Jesu</i>	f. 14v
G.P. da Palestrina	<i>O Domine Jesu</i>	f. 15
F. Anerio	<i>Ad te levavi</i>	f. 15v
G.P. da Palestrina	<i>Nunc dimittis</i>	f. 17

G.P. da Palestrina	<i>Omnes gentes plaudite manibus</i>	f. 17v-18v
G.P. da Palestrina	<i>Fratres ego enim accepi</i>	ff. 18v-19
G.P. da Palestrina	<i>Expurgate vetus fermentum</i>	ff. 19-19v
A. Zollo	<i>Litaniae Domini</i>	ff. 20-21
G.P. da Palestrina	<i>Litaniae Domini (1)</i>	ff. 21v-22
A. Crivelli	<i>Litaniae Domini</i>	ff. 22v-23
G.M. Nanino	<i>Sancta et immaculata virginitas</i>	f. 23v
G.P. da Palestrina	<i>Laudate Dominum de coelis</i>	f. 24
A. Zollo	<i>Nunc dimittis</i>	f. 24v
G.P. da Palestrina	<i>Sub tuum praesidium</i>	f. 25
R. Giovanelli	<i>Beata es virgo Maria</i>	f. 25v
G.P. da Palestrina	<i>Litaniae Domini (2)</i>	ff. 26-26v
G.P. da Palestrina	<i>Pater noster</i>	f. 26v
A. Crivelli	<i>Litaniae de beata virgine</i>	ff. 27-28v
A. Crivelli	<i>Sancte Maria succurre miseris</i>	f. 28v
T.L. da Victoria	<i>Litaniae de beata virgine</i>	ff. 29-29v
G.P. da Palestrina	<i>Litaniae de beata virgine (1)</i>	ff. 30-31
A. Zollo	<i>Litaniae de beata virgine</i>	ff. 31-32v
V. del Pozzo	<i>Ave Regina coelorum (not Marian antiphon)</i>	f. 33
G. de Macque	<i>Litaniae de beata virgine</i>	f. 33v-34v
G.P. da Palestrina	<i>Regina coeli (3)</i>	f. 34v
G.P. da Palestrina	<i>Salve Regina</i> 12v.	ff. 35-35v
G.P. da Palestrina	<i>Jubilate Deo</i> 12v.	ff. 36-36v
G.M. Nanino	<i>Litaniae de beata virgine</i> 12v.	f. 37
G.M. Nanino	<i>Litaniae Domini</i>	ff. 37-38
G.P. da Palestrina	<i>Litaniae de beata virgine (2)</i>	ff. 38v-39
G.P. da Palestrina	<i>Ave Maria benedicta</i>	f. 39
G.P. da Palestrina	<i>Litaniae Domini (3)</i>	ff. 39v-40
G.P. da Palestrina	<i>Litaniae sacrosanctae eucharistiae</i>	ff. 40-40v
V. del Pozzo	<i>Litaniae de beata virgine</i>	ff. 42-43
G.P. da Palestrina	<i>O gloriosa domina</i> 12v.	f. 43v
G.P. da Palestrina	<i>O quam bonus et suavis</i> 12v.	f. 44
A. Zollo	<i>Laudate Dominum in sanctis</i> 12v.	ff. 44v-45
G. de Macque	<i>Ecce nunc benedicite</i> 12v.	f. 45v
G.P. da Palestrina	<i>Ad te levavi oculos</i> 12v.	f. 45v
G.P. da Palestrina	<i>Beati omnes qui timent</i> 12v.	f. 46v

Eight partbooks (274×208mm) survive from the original twelve. Dated by Llorens as coming from the end of the sixteenth century, this is the earliest and largest collection of polychoral music made for the Cappella Giulia, and the only one from this period known to have contained twelve partbooks. Thus it is probably the set referred to in a payment of 31st January 1584:'''

Io Domenico [Garelli] libraro ho receputo da Messer Bertinoro Trafichetto per man di Messer Giovanni da Palestrina scuti due quali sono per due mute de libri de mottetti et per la ligatura de dodeci libri della cappella questo di 31 Genar 1584.

I Domenico [Garelli] bookseller have received from M. Bertinoro Trafichetto by the hand of M. Giovanni da Palestrina two *scudi*, which are for two sets of books of motets and for the binding of twelve books of the chapel, this day the 31st of January 1584.

The watermark is very similiar to marks found in Fabriano in 1570-4, Lucca in 1583 and Venice in 1580.¹² The large number of pieces by Palestrina (including five of the first six) also supports its close connection with that composer. The basic repertory was written by three scribes, with further pieces being added later. One of these, the *Regina coeli* (3) attributed to Palestrina, is not included in Llorens' catalogue.¹³ Quite a proportion of its repertory is also found in I Rn Mss. Mus. 77-88 (see below) and it would appear that the two manuscripts were compiled about the same time. The repertory is dominated by Marian antiphons, Litanies and psalm-motets and must reflect the type of pieces which were sung polychorally at the Cappella Giulia in the 1580s.

17. Rvat Giul. XIII 25

L. Marenzio	Ps. 150, <i>Laudate Dominum in sanctis</i>	ff. 1v-3v
G.B. Nanino	<i>Pulchra es amica mea</i>	ff. 3v-4
A. Zoilo	<i>Beata mater</i>	ff. 4v-5
B. Roy	<i>Gloria tibi Trinitas</i>	ff. 5v-6
G. Troiano	<i>Adiuro vos filiae</i>	ff. 6v-7
G. Troiano	<i>Iste sanctus ab adolescentia</i>	ff. 7v-8
T. Gargari	<i>Sancta Maria succurre miseris</i>	ff. 8v-9
P. Bonomio	<i>Quem vidistis pastores</i>	ff. 9v-10
T. Gargari	<i>O gloriosa domina</i>	ff. 10v-11
G.B. Nanino	<i>Ecce quam bonum</i>	ff. 11v-12
G. Troiano	<i>Ego sum panis vivus</i>	ff. 12v-13
G. Troiano	<i>Hic est vere martyr</i>	ff. 13v-14
V. Ugolino	<i>Favus distillans</i>	ff. 14v-15
(G.B. Nanino)	Ps. 111, <i>Beatus vir</i>	ff. 15v-17v
(G.M./G.B. Nanino)	Ps. 121, <i>Laetatus sum</i>	ff. 18v-20v
A.S. (Annibale Stabile)	<i>Nos autem gloriari</i>	ff. 20v-21
(G.B. Nanino)	<i>Beati omnes</i>	ff. 26v-27
F.A. or A.A.	<i>Regina coeli</i>	ff. 27v-28
G. Troiano	Ps. 4, <i>Cum invocarem</i>	ff. 28v-30v
P. Bonomio	<i>Magnificat primi toni</i>	ff. 30v-31
G.M. Nanino	<i>Magnificat tertii toni</i>	ff. 36v-38
(G.M./G.B. Nanino)	<i>Domine Dominus noster</i>	ff. 43v-45v
P. Bonomio	<i>In lectulo meo</i>	ff. 45v-46
(A. Cifra)	<i>Nativitas tua</i>	ff. 46v-47
G.P. da Palestrina	<i>Magnificat primi toni</i>	ff. 48v-50v
A. Cifra	Ps. 111, <i>Beatus vir</i>	ff. 53-53v

Five partbooks (215x157mm: C_IT_I, A_IB_I, C_{II}T_{II}, A_{II}B_{II}, Organ) copied in the early seventeenth century. The bracketed attributions are here identified from concordances for the first time; there are also a number of pieces for two choirs by as yet unidentified composers and some psalms and hymns for four

voices (including one by Antonio Cifra, misread by Llorens as Cesti). There are Vespers psalms and Magnificat settings, showing the change in polychoral repertory from the previous manuscript. G. M. Nanino's Magnificat has obbligato parts for violin and cornett, the only piece to have such parts. This is the earliest Rvat Giul. manuscript to have an organ part which, apart from the Nanino Magnificat, is simply a *basso seguente*. Three of the pieces appear in the anthology compiled by Salvatore Sacchi, RISM 1607⁴.

18. Rvat Giul. XV 62

T.L. de Victoria	<i>Litaniae lauretanae</i>	pp. 13-14
A. Crivelli	<i>Litaniae lauretanae</i>	pp. 15-17
G.P. da Palestrina	<i>Litaniae lauretanae</i>	pp. 18-19
A. Cifra	<i>Salve Regina</i>	pp. 36-37
G.F. Anerio	<i>Alma redemptoris mater</i>	pp. 37-38
G.F. Anerio	<i>Ave Regina coelorum</i>	pp. 41-42
G.F. Anerio	<i>Regina coeli</i>	p. 43
A. Crivelli	<i>Sancta Maria succurre miseris</i>	p. 61
G.P. da Palestrina	<i>Ave Maria</i>	p. 62
R. Giovanelli	<i>Beata es Virgo</i>	p. 63
G.M. Nanino	<i>Sancta et immaculata virginitas</i>	p. 64
G.P. da Palestrina	<i>Sub tuum praesidium</i>	p. 65
A. Zoilo	<i>Beata mater</i>	p. 66

Copied in the seventeenth century, there are nine partbooks (265×200mm) including one for organ. It also contains pieces for two choirs by Roberto Vaileri, Stefano Fabri, Virgilio Mazzochi, Giacomo Benincasa, Francesco Beretta and Vincenzo Giovannoni.

19. Rvat Giul. XV 70

V. Ugolini	<i>Illuminare his qui in tenebris</i>	ff. 2-2v
V. Ugolini	<i>Omnes gentes plaudite manibus</i>	ff. 3-3v
V. Ugolini	<i>Et tu puer propheta</i>	f. 4
V. Ugolini	<i>Litaniae Lauretanae</i>	ff. 5-6

Copied in the Holy Year of 1625 for use during the visit to the four major basilicas, it also contains three pieces for 5-6v (including a 5v *Jubilate Deo*) by Ugolini. There are eight partbooks (280×218mm).

20. Rvat Giul. XIII 19

G.P. da Palestrina *Missa Tu es Petrus* 18v.

Copied in the late seventeenth century/early eighteenth century, there are twenty-one partbooks (230x170), including one for organ and two which duplicate two of the others. The authenticity of this Mass is disputed in Chapter Eight.

ROME: BIBLIOTECA VATICANA: FONDO BARBERINI (hereafter Rvat Barb.)

21. Rvat Barb. 4184

G.P. da Palestrina	<i>Missa Laudate Dominum omnes gentes</i>	ff. 1-22v
G.P. da Palestrina	<i>Missa Hodie Christus natus est</i>	ff. 23-42
(Palestrina)	<i>Missa Fratres ego enim accepi</i>	ff. 42v-62
(Palestrina)	<i>Missa Confitebor tibi</i>	ff. 62v-86v
(Palestrina)	<i>Litaniae sanctissimi corporis Christi</i>	ff. 87-90v
(Palestrina)	<i>Litaniae del nome del Jesu</i>	ff. 90v-94
(Palestrina)	<i>Litaniae beatae virginis Mariae</i>	ff. 94-103
(Palestrina)	<i>Litaniae beatae virginis Mariae</i>	ff. 103-105v
(Palestrina)	<i>Pater noster</i>	ff. 106-107v
(Palestrina)	<i>Ave Maria</i>	ff. 108-109v
(Palestrina)	<i>Fratres ego enim accepi</i>	ff. 110-112v
(Palestrina)	<i>Expurgate vetus fermenta</i>	ff. 113-116
?	<i>Apparuit gratia Dei</i>	ff. 116v-119v
(Palestrina)	<i>Sub tuum praesidium</i>	ff. 119v-121v
(Palestrina)	<i>Caro mea vere est cibus (2a, Pars Hic est panis)</i>	ff. 121v-126v
(Palestrina)	<i>Ave mundi spes Maria</i>	ff. 126v-131
?	<i>Dies sanctificatus</i>	ff. 131v-134
?	<i>Hic est dies praeclarus</i>	ff. 134-136
(Palestrina)	<i>Disciplinam et sapientiam</i>	ff. 136v-139
?	<i>Congratulamini mihi</i>	ff. 139v-141
?	<i>Magnus Sanctus Paulus (2a, Pars Sanctus Paulus apostolus.)</i>	ff. 141v-145v
(Palestrina)	<i>O quam suavis est</i>	ff. 146-148v
(Palestrina)	<i>Nunc dimittis</i>	ff. 148v-151v
(Palestrina)	<i>Omnes gentes plaudite manibus</i>	ff. 151v-156
(Palestrina)	<i>Surge illuminare Jerusalem</i>	ff. 156-158
(Palestrina)	<i>Lauda Sion</i>	ff. 158v-160v
(Palestrina)	<i>Veni Sancte Spiritus</i>	ff. 161-164v
(Palestrina)	<i>Hodie Christus natus est</i>	ff. 164v-167
(Palestrina)	<i>Jubilare Deo</i>	ff. 167v-171
?	<i>Victimae paschali laudes</i>	ff. 171-173
(Palestrina)	<i>Alma redemptoris mater</i>	ff. 173v-176
(Palestrina)	<i>Ave Regina coelorum</i>	ff. 176-178v
(Palestrina)	<i>Regina coeli</i>	ff. 178v-181
(Palestrina)	<i>Salve Regina</i>	ff. 181v-184
(Palestrina)	<i>Confitebor tibi (2a, Pars, Notas facite)</i>	ff. 184v-191
(Palestrina)	<i>Laudate pueri Dominum (2a, pars Quis sicut Dominus.)</i>	ff. 191-197v
(Palestrina)	<i>Domine in virtute tua (2a, pars, Magna est gloria eius)</i>	ff. 197v-204

Probably copied before 1650, this is a single volume (222×164mm) written in full score. Only the first two Masses are attributed to Palestrina in the source. All but six of the other pieces have concordances elsewhere assigning them to that composer. These six have traditionally been accepted as also being by Palestrina and have been included in both old and new Palestrina editions and in the work list in *The New Grove*.¹⁴ They are discussed further in Chapter Six.

ROME: BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE (hereafter Rn)

22. Rn Mss. Mus. 77-88 (hereafter Rn 77-88)

COMPOSER	TITLE	TEXTUAL SOURCE	PARTBOOKS
4v			
Claudin (de Sermisy)	<i>Aspice Domine</i>	Bar 2,16; Dan 9,18; Ps.79,1	85-88, f.9
Adriano (Willaert)	<i>Pater noster</i>		77-80, f.6
5v			
(Giovanni Animuccia)	<i>Cantate Domino</i>	Ps.149,1-4	77-80, ff.14v-15
(Stefano Betti, il Fornarino)	<i>Sana me Domine</i>	Ps.40,4; Antiphon 5, Office for the Dead	77-80, f. 7v
(O. di Lasso)	<i>Benedicam Dominum</i>	Ps.33,1-2	85-88, f. 9v-10
(O. di Lasso)	<i>Confitemini Domino</i>	Ps.104,1-3	85-88, ff.5v-7
(Giovanni P. da Palestrina)	<i>Dominus Jesus in qua nocte</i>	1 Cor 2; Epistle, Holy Thursday	77-80, f. 6v
(G. P. da Palestrina)	<i>Exaudi Domine vocem meam</i>	Ps.26,7-9	85-88, ff.2v-3
(Giaches de Wert)	<i>Transeunte Domino</i>	Lk 18 (paraphrase); Gospel, Quinquagesima Sunday	81-84, ff.2v-3
?	<i>Hau mihi Domine</i>	Responsory 5, Office for the Dead	81-84, ff.1v-2
?	<i>Hierusalem luge</i>	Responsory 2, Holy Saturday	81-84, ff.5v-6
?	<i>Si bona suscipimus</i>	Job 2,10; 1,21	77-80, ff.1v-2
?	<i>Verba mea auribus percipe</i>	Ps.5,1-2	77-80, f. 13v
?	<i>Voce mea ad Dominum</i>	Ps 141, 1-2	77-80, ff.5v-6
6v			
(O. di Lasso)	<i>Locutus sum</i>	Ps.38,5-6; Ps.85,16	77-80, ff.30v-31
(O. di Lasso)	<i>Quare tristis es anima</i>	Ps.41,6-7,11	81-84, ff.9v-10
(G. P. da Palestrina)	<i>O Bone Jesu</i>		77-80, ff.10v-11
(G. P. da Palestrina)	<i>O Domine Jesu Christe</i>		77-80, ff.9v-10

(G. Animuccia: rev, 5vv)	<i>Cantate Domino</i>	Ps.149,1-4	81-85, ff.10v-11
(G. Animuccia)	<i>Pater noster</i> (1)		77-80, ff.17v-18
(G. Animuccia?)	<i>Pater noster</i> (2)	revision of (1)	81-85, f. 4v
Orlando (di Lasso)	<i>Deus misereatur nostri</i>	Ps.66	81-88, f. 12v(85)
Orlando (di Lasso)	<i>In convertendo</i>	Ps.125	77-80, f. 11v-12
(G. de Macque)	<i>Salve Regina</i>	Marian antiphon	81-88, f. 16v
(G. P. da Palestrina)	<i>Confitebor tibi</i>	Is 12,1-6	81-88, f. 29v
(G. P. da Palestrina)	<i>Domine in virtute tua</i>	Ps.20,1-7	81-88, f. 31v
(G. P. da Palestrina)	<i>Laudate Dominum</i> (1)	Ps.116	81-88, f. 32v
(G. P. da Palestrina)	<i>Laudate Dominum</i> (2)	revision of (1)	77-80, f. 3v
(G. P. da Palestrina)	<i>Laudate pueri Dominum</i>	Ps.112	81-88, f. 30v
(A. Zoilo)	<i>Ave Regina</i>	Marian antiphon	81-88, f. 17v
(A. Zoilo)	<i>Beata Mater Magnificat</i> ant., Holy Rosary		81-88, f. 13
(A. Zoilo)	<i>Litaniae BMV</i>		81-88, f. 11v
?	<i>Te Deum</i>		81-88, ff.15-16

?	(falsobordone)	<i>De Profundis</i>	Ps.129	81-88, f. 7v
?	(falsobordone)	<i>Deus in adiutorium meum</i>	Ps.69	81-88, f. 8v

(G. de) Macque	<i>Ave Regina</i> (1)	Marian antiphon	77-88, f. 23v
(G. de Macque)	<i>Ecce nunc</i>	Ps.133	77-88, f. 23
(G. de Macque)	<i>In convertendo</i>	Ps.125	77-88, ff.20v-21
(G. P. da Palestrina)	<i>Ad te levavi</i>	Ps.122,1-5	77-88, f. 17
(G. P. da Palestrina)	<i>Beati omnes</i>	Ps.127,1-7	77-88, f. 8
(G. P. da Palestrina)	<i>Salve Regina</i>	Marian antiphon	77-88, f. 22v
(A. Zoilo)	<i>Laudate Dominum in sanctis</i>	Ps.150	77-88, ff.19v-20
(A. Zoilo)	<i>Regina coeli</i> (1)	Marian antiphon	77-88, f. 29
?	<i>Ave Regina</i> (1)	Marian antiphon	77-88, f. 18v
?	<i>Ave Regina</i> (2)	Marian antiphon	77-88, f. 21v
?	<i>Ave Regina</i> (3)	Marian antiphon	77-88, f. 27v
?	<i>Laudate pueri Dominum</i>	Ps.112	77-88, f. 26v-27
?	<i>Regina coeli</i> (2)	Marian antiphon	77-88, f. 22

?	<i>Ave Regina</i>	Marian antiphon	77-88, ff.4v-5
?	<i>Super flumina Babylonis</i>	Ps.136,1-5	77-88, ff.24v-25

(A. Zoilo)	<i>Regina coeli</i>	related to 12vv	77-88, ff.25v-26
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HOLY WEEK MUSIC (4v unless otherwise stated)

?	<i>Feria V, Lectio I</i>	77-80, f. 32v
?	<i>Lectio II</i>	77-80, f. 33
?	<i>Lectio III</i>	77-80, ff.33v-35
?	<i>Responsorio I</i>	81-84, f. 33
?	<i>Responsorio II</i>	81-84, f. 33v
?	<i>Responsorio III</i>	81-84, f. 34
(A. Zoilo)	<i>Responsorio IV</i>	85-88, f. 33
(A. Zoilo)	<i>Responsorio V</i>	85-88, f. 33v
(A. Zoilo)	<i>Responsorio VI</i>	85-88, f. 34
(A. Zoilo)	<i>Responsorio VII</i>	81-84, f. 34v
(A. Zoilo)	<i>Responsorio VIII</i>	81-84, f. 35

(A, Zoilo)	<i>Responsorio IX</i>	81-84, f. 35v
(G.P. da Palestrina)	<i>Feria VI, Lectio I</i>	81-84, ff. 36-36v
?	<i>Lectio II</i>	81-84, ff. 37-37v
?	<i>Lectio III</i>	81-84, ff. 38-38v
?	<i>Responsorio I</i>	85-88, f. 36v
?	<i>Responsorio II</i>	85-88, f. 37
?	<i>Responsorio III</i>	85-88, f. 37v
(A, Zoilo)	<i>Responsorio IV</i>	77-80, f. 36v
(A, Zoilo)	<i>Responsorio V</i>	77-80, f. 37
(A, Zoilo)	<i>Responsorio VI</i>	77-80, f. 37v
(A, Zoilo)	<i>Responsorio VII</i>	85-88, f. 38
(A, Zoilo)	<i>Responsorio VIII</i>	85-88, f. 38v
(A, Zoilo)	<i>Responsorio IX</i>	85-88, f. 39
?	<i>Sabbato Lectio I</i>	85-88, f. 39v
?	<i>Lectio II</i>	85-88, f. 40
?	<i>Lectio III (5v)</i>	85-88, ff. 40v-41
?	<i>Responsorio I</i>	77-80, f. 38
?	<i>Responsorio II</i>	77-80, f. 38v
?	<i>Responsorio III</i>	77-80, f. 39
(A, Zoilo)	<i>Responsorio IV</i>	81-84, f. 39
(A, Zoilo)	<i>Responsorio V</i>	81-84, f. 39v
(A, Zoilo)	<i>Responsorio VI</i>	81-84, f. 40
(A, Zoilo)	<i>Responsorio VII</i>	77-80, f. 39v
(A, Zoilo)	<i>Responsorio VIII</i>	77-80, f. 40
(A, Zoilo)	<i>Responsorio IX</i>	77-80, f. 40v
?	<i>Benedictus (4v, even verses only)</i>	85-88, f. 40
(G.P. da Palestrina)	<i>Benedictus 8v</i>	77-80, ff. 34-35
?	<i>Benedictus 8v</i>	77-85, f. 1
?	<i>Benedictus 8v</i>	77-85, f. 25
?	<i>Miserere (4v, even verses only)</i>	77-80, f. 29
?	<i>Miserere (4v, even verses only)</i>	77-80, f. 42
?	<i>Miserere 8v</i>	81-88, f. 28
?	<i>Miserere 8v</i>	81-88, f. 41v(85)
?	<i>Miserere 9v</i>	81-84, ff. 41v-43
?	<i>Miserere 12v</i>	77-88, f. 22
?	<i>Miserere 12v</i>	77-88, f. 24
F. Dentice	<i>Miserere 12v</i>	77-88, f. 28

The complete set of twelve partbooks (228x170mm) survives. This manuscript is of crucial importance for the history of Roman*polychoral music and is referred to frequently in the course of this study. It has not previously been described and for this reason a full list of its contents is given. Since the pieces are not distributed among the partbooks in a consistent way they are grouped according to the number of voices; within each group the pieces are arranged alphabetically according to composer. The Holy Week music, which makes up a large part of the contents, is listed separately. The particular partbooks in which each piece is found are listed; the folio no(s). given are

those of the C, part in each case.¹⁵ Most of the pieces are not assigned to composers in the partbooks but can be attributed through concordances in other manuscripts. The watermarks cannot be precisely identified, but all are very similar to marks found in Fabriano paper from the last three decades of the sixteenth century. These partbooks are the earliest source for the versions of the two eight-voice pieces by Lasso found here. These are revised versions of those published by that composer in 1565 and 1566;¹⁶ it is clear from corrections in the partbooks that the published versions were first copied into them and later revised by altering certain notes (the original notes can still be seen underneath).¹⁷ The revised versions of these are also found in Rvat Giul. XIII 24, together with a number of pieces by other composers from Rn 77-88, linking this manuscript with the former, dated above to 1584. Of the composers represented in Rn 77-88, Zoilo had left Rome by 1584 and Macque by 1585. All of this evidence points to the early 1580s as the most likely period of compilation of this set of partbooks.

The textual sources for the texts are given in the table in order to show that the majority of pieces have texts which come directly from scripture, mainly from the Book of Psalms; complete psalms are rarely set, nor are there doxologies, so that the pieces come into the category of psalm-motets. Most of these texts are of a penitential nature, suitable for use during Lent. Of the Marian antiphons, the majority are settings of the *Ave Regina*, prescribed for use during Lent and Holy Week. All this, combined with the inclusion of a complete set of Holy Week music, suggests that the repertory here would have been very suitable for use in one of the oratories during Lent and Holy Week. We know from Maugars that psalms were sung in oratories during Lent and we have seen the evidence for polychoral performance in oratories during Lent and Holy Week in the previous chapter. The two Lasso 8v pieces and many of the other pieces in the partbooks are written in the hand of Annibale Zoilo;¹⁸ he has also written a guide to the *Miserere* and *Benedictus* settings, scattered

throughout the partbooks, which appears at the beginning of each of the three *Cantus* books. This suggests that Zoilo himself compiled the books, either for his own use or for the use of an institution for which he worked. Now Zoilo provided the Lenten and Holy Week music at the oratory of Sma Trinità in 1579-82, succeeding Palestrina who had provided this music in 1576 and 1578.¹⁹ The inclusion of so much music by these two composers as well as the close connection between this manuscript and Rvat Giul. XIII 24 which, as we have seen, was most likely compiled under Palestrina's supervision, supports the argument that I Rn 77-88 was compiled by Zoilo for use at Sma Trinità, using some music already written for that oratory by Palestrina. There is no evidence to connect the other composer who is strongly represented here, Giovanni de Macque, with Sma Trinità. Of the *Tenebrae* settings, nine of the twelve Responsories for each of the three days are attributed to Zoilo in Rvat Ottoboniani 3387 (which originated in the chapel of Duke Giovanni Altemps); since they form a stylistically unified set, it is likely that the complete set contained here is by Zoilo. One of the lamentations is attributed to Palestrina in I Rsg Codex 59;²⁰ again they form a stylistically unified set and it is tempting to ascribe the complete set to Palestrina. Further work on the Holy Week music and on this manuscript in general is in progress but is outwith the scope of this study.

A number of pieces here are also found in Rn Mss. Mus. 117-121/Rsc G 792-5 (see below, p. 124) and it would seem that Pompeo Pateri who compiled that set had access to these partbooks. Their subsequent history cannot so far be unravelled; the Biblioteca Nazionale has no information on provenance, nor can it provide information on how the partbooks came into its possession. It is possible that they entered the library from the Chiesa Nuova, as did a number of other music manuscripts (including Rn Mss. Mus. 117-121) after 1870, when the Biblioteca Nazionale was set up in the former *Collegio Romano* and given collections from various suppressed religious houses. The fact that they were

apparently not known to any of the nineteenth-century scholars who transcribed pieces from Roman manuscript collections in institutions such as the Chiesa Nuova and the Collegio Romano would, however, argue for their having been kept at some other (as yet unknown) institution.

23. I Rn Mss. Mus. 33-4/40-46 (hereafter Rn 40-46)

(B. Roy)	<i>Gloria tibi Trinitas</i>	f. 1
G.B. Locatello	<i>Laudate pueri</i>	ff. 1v-2
G.M. Nanino	<i>Domine quis habitabit</i>	f. 2v
F. Anerio	<i>Voce mea ad Dominum</i>	f. 3
G. Troiano	<i>Venite filii audite me</i>	f. 3v
A. Pacelli	<i>Genesi vir piissime</i>	f. 4
A. Pacelli	<i>Pean agelatoio</i>	f. 4v
Gio. ?	<i>Inter vestibula 12v</i>	f. 5
?	<i>Alma redemptoris mater 12v</i>	ff. 5v-6
?	<i>Laudate Dominum in sanctis 12v</i>	ff. 9v-10
(L. Marenzio)	<i>Jubilate Deo 12v</i>	ff. 10v-11
(C. Goudimel?)	<i>Salve Regina 12v</i>	ff. 11-11v
?	<i>Responde virgo 12v</i>	f. 12
R. Giovanelli	<i>Duo seraphim 12v</i>	f. 12v
?	<i>Confitemini Domino</i>	f. 13
?	<i>Salve Regina</i>	ff. 13v-14
?	<i>Cantate Domino</i>	ff. 14v-15
R. Tallon	<i>Qui vult venire post me</i>	ff. 15-15v
(A. Pacelli)	<i>Factum est silentium</i>	ff. 15v-16
?	<i>Laudate Dominum in sanctis</i>	ff. 16v-17
G.B. Nanino	<i>Cantate Domino</i>	ff. 17v-18
S. Nascimbene	<i>Tantum ergo sacramentum</i>	f. 18
L. Marenzio	<i>Egredimini et videte</i>	ff. 18v-19
Corrado Todesco (Conrad Stuber?)	<i>Puer natus est</i>	ff. 19-20
G.P. da Palestrina	<i>Haec dies</i>	ff. 20-20v
S. Nascimbene	<i>Benedicamus Domino</i>	f. 20v
G. Pieroni	<i>Hodie coelesti regna</i>	f. 21
G. Pieroni	<i>Magnificat</i>	ff. 21v-22v
G. Pieroni	<i>Cantate Domino</i>	ff. 22v-23
S. Nascimbene	<i>Ingeniosus amor</i>	f. 32v
G. Piccioni	<i>Vox de coelis</i>	f. 24
G. Pieroni	<i>O crux splendidior</i>	f. 24v
G. Troiano	<i>Nativitas tua</i>	ff. 25-25v
?	<i>Consolamini populi</i>	ff. 26-26v
(C. Stuber?)	<i>Puer natus est (= earlier version)</i>	ff. 27-28

These nine partbooks (230x170mm) survive from an original set of twelve. Rn 40-46 contain the Choir I (ATB) and Choir II (CATB) parts. It has not hitherto been recognised that Rn 33-34 contain two of the Choir III parts (CA) of the 12v pieces in Rn 40-6 and must originally have belonged with that set. Rn 33-34 are at present catalogued together with Rn 35-39, which is a totally

different set of partbooks containing a set of 5v antiphons for Christmas. Watermarks cannot be dated, but the handwriting etc. suggest that the partbooks were copied in the early seventeenth century. The repertory consists of pieces suitable for various feasts during the liturgical year and again suggests a connection with Sma. Trinità dei Pellegrini, though in this case with the church administered by the confraternity. The opening piece is a setting by Bartolomeo Roy of the text used as the Magnificat antiphon on the feast of the Trinity, while Giovanelli's *Duo seraphim* also sets a Trinity text. Roy provided the music for the feast of the Trinity at Sma. Trinità in 1574;²¹ Giovanelli is not known to have provided music for that feast, but he did so on other occasions; further it is recorded in the archives of the German College that the members of the confraternity of Sma. Trinità visited the College on September 27th 1592 and as a mark of honour to them the singers of the College sang the motet *Duo seraphici*.²² Giovanelli was *maestro* at the College in that year, so that it is not inconceivable that his 12v *Duo seraphim* in this manuscript was sung on that occasion and afterwards copied into the manuscript for the confraternity. Further evidence linking the partbooks with Sma Trinità is the fact that Nascimbeni and Stuber (the latter also referred to in the archives as 'il maestro di cappella tedesco') were both briefly *maestri* to the confraternity in the late 1590s and are not known to have been active at any other institution, indeed are not otherwise known to have been in Rome at all. Most of the composers represented in this manuscript were employed at one time or another by Sma Trinità. In another of the I Rn manuscripts - Mss. Mus. 161, containing a 5v Mass by one Hector Thesaurieri - is found a single *giustificazione di pagamento* which, from the names of its signatories, can be identified as coming from Sma Trinità (it in fact records a payment made by the confraternity to Giovanelli in 1586 for music at the general obsequies in November). This provides a link between the confraternity and that manuscript at least, and supports the proposed linking of this set (Rn 33-34/40-46) and Rn

77-88 with the confraternity.

Like Rn 77-88, these partbooks and the pieces they contain seem not to have been known to the nineteenth-century transcribers.

24. Rn Mss. Mus. 117-121/Rsc G Ms. 792-5

F. Anerio	<i>Ad te levavi</i>	f. 81	
P. Vinci	<i>Surge propere</i>	f. 81v	(Goudimel)
D. Phinot	<i>Tanto tempore</i>	f. 82	
B. Roy	<i>Beatissime N.</i>	f. 82v	
O. di Lasso	<i>Levavi oculos</i>	f. 83	
O. di Lasso	<i>In convertendo</i>	f. 83v	
A. Zoilo	<i>Beata mater</i>	f. 84v	
R. Giovanelli	<i>Omnes gentes</i>	ff. 85-85v	
G.P. da Palestrina	<i>O pretiosum</i>	f. 85v	
?	<i>Super flumina</i>	f. 86	(Goudimel)
G.F. Alcarí	<i>Salve Regina</i>	f. 87	(Goudimel)
G. de Macque	<i>De profundis</i>	f. 87v	
G.P. da Palestrina	<i>Magna est gloria (2a. pars of</i>	f. 88	
	<i>Confitebor tibi)</i>		
?	<i>Domine in virtute tua</i>	f. 88v	(Victoria)
G.P. da Palestrina	<i>Surge illuminare (2a. pars, Et</i>	ff. 89-89v	
	<i>ambulabant gentes)</i>		
G.P. da Palestrina	<i>Ave Regina</i>	f. 90	
I. Tartaglino	<i>Ecce quam bonum</i>	f. 90v	
G. de Macque	<i>Salve Regina</i>	f. 91	
G.P. da Palestrina	<i>Laudate Dominum omnes gentes</i>	f. 92	
O. di Lasso	<i>Deus misereatur nostri</i>	f. 92v	
T.L. de Victoria	<i>Super flumina Babylonis</i>	ff. 93-93v	
D. Phinot	<i>Incipit oratio Jeremiae (2a.</i>	f. 94	
	<i>pars, Pupilli facti sunt)</i>		
?	<i>Sancta Maria succurre</i>	f. 95v	
G. de Macque	<i>Regina coeli</i>	f. 97	
A. Stabile	<i>Veni sponsa Christi</i>	f. 97v	
G.P. da Palestrina	<i>O admirabile commercium</i>	f. 98	
G.P. da Palestrina	<i>Videntes stellam</i>	f. 98v	
P. Quagliati	<i>Laudate Dominum in sanctis</i>	f. 99	
A. Gabrieli	<i>Egredimini et videte</i>	f. 99v	
G.M. Nanino	<i>Nocte surgentes</i>	f. 100	
F. Guerrero	<i>Regina coeli</i>	f. 100v	
F. Guerrero	<i>Ego flos campi</i>	f. 101	
A. Zoilo	<i>In illo tempore</i>	f. 101v	
?	<i>Confitebor tibi</i>	f. 102	
G.P. da Palestrina	<i>O bone Jesu</i>	f. 102	
G.P. da Palestrina	<i>O Domine Jesu</i>	f. 103	
A. Zoilo	<i>Laetatus sum</i>	f. 103v	
(G.P. da Palestrina)	<i>Beata es virgo</i>	f. 104	(Palestrina)
L. Marenzio	<i>Jubilare Deo</i>	f. 104v	
(G.P. da Palestrina)	<i>Alma redemptoris mater</i>	f. 105	(Marenzio)
G.P. da Palestrina	<i>Laudate Dominum in tympanis</i> 12v	f. 122	
G.P. da Palestrina	<i>Ecce nunc benedicite</i> 12v	f. 122v	
G. de Macque	<i>In convertendo Dominus</i> 12v	f. 123	
G. de Macque	<i>Ecce nunc benedicite</i> 12v	f. 124	
G. de Macque	<i>Dominus regit me</i> 12v	f. 124v	
G. de Macque	<i>Exsultate Deo</i> 12v	f. 125	

A. Zoilo	<i>Laudate Dominum in sanctis</i> 12v	f. 125v
R. Giovanelli	<i>Omnes gentes plaudite</i> 12v	f. 126
?	<i>Ad te levavi</i> 12v	f. 128
?	<i>Surrexit pastor</i> 12v	f. 128v (Ruffo)
(A. Zoilo)	<i>Regina coeli</i> 12v	f. 129 (Guerrero)
?	<i>Salve Regina</i> 12v	f. 129v (Goudimel)
?	<i>Stabat mater</i> 12v	f. 130
?	<i>Nunc dimittis</i> 12v	f. 131 (Palestrina)

These nine partbooks (280x210mm), from an original set of twelve, are now split between the two libraries. The other three partbooks were in I Rf in 1958 but have since disappeared.²³ The partbooks were compiled in the early seventeenth century by Pompeo Pateri, one of the first members of the Congregation of the Oratory and closely involved with building the Chiesa Nuova. He was a member of Neri's community from 1574 until his death in 1624.²⁴ The partbooks may have been copied by 1608 since an inventory of music in the Chiesa Nuova from that date includes a set of twelve partbooks.²⁵ Boetticher dated their compilation between 1590 and 1610.²⁶ They contain a large number of works for 4- 6v, as well as those for two and three choirs, and can be seen as a compendium of liturgical music composed or known in Rome during the last two decades of the sixteenth century and the first years of the seventeenth. Almost all of the pieces were transcribed by Santini in 1821 (now D Mús Hs 3590); the attributions in brackets on the right-hand side are Santini's. In two cases these conflict with attributions in the surviving partbooks, giving reason to doubt Santini's attributions in the case of pieces without a composer's name in the surviving books (though some of these could have come from the three now missing). These attributions will be further discussed in Part Two.

25. Rn Mss. Mus. 127-8

Giovanni P. da Palestrina	<i>Improprie</i>
Giovanni P. da Palestrina	<i>Miserere</i> 9v
Felice Anerio	<i>Miserere</i>
(Luigi) Dentice	<i>Miserere</i> 9v

This consists of a pair of choirbooks copied in the late sixteenth-early

seventeenth century. The books bear the words 'Chiesa Nuova' and a crest on the flyleaf.

ROME: SANTA MARIA IN TRASTEVERE (hereafter Rsmt; now housed in the Archivio del Vicariato in Rome)

26. Rsmt 604

?	<i>Litaniae Beatae Mariae Virginis</i>
?	<i>Missa</i>
P. Agostini	<i>Missa Regina coeli (concertato)</i>

Copied in the early seventeenth century (the Agostini Mass was copied in 1635), there are nine partbooks (including one for organ). The two Masses are discussed in Chapter Eight.

ROME: ACCADEMIA DI SANTA CECILIA (hereafter Rsc)

Rsc preserves a number of unbound sets of parts for individual pieces dating from the seventeenth century, and coming mainly from S. Spirito in Sassia and the Chiesa Nuova. They are currently in the process of being catalogued.²⁷ Most of these pieces are copied onto separate sheets, one for each part, and are of particular interest as the only such collection of separate sheets, presumably prepared for performance, which survive. All are roughly the same size (240×170mm). Many of the pieces are anonymous, but those which fall within the scope of this study are as follows:

27. Rsc G Ms 053 (olim S. Cecilia 58; provenance: S. Spirito in Sassia)

G.P. da Palestrina *Improperia; Popule meus*

28. Rsc G Ms 093 (olim S. Cecilia 98; provenance unknown)

G.A. Dragoni Ps. 14: *Domine quis habitabit* 12v

29. Rsc G Ms 092 (provenance unknown)

(P. Bonomi) *In lectulo meo*

30. Rsc G Ms 0125 (olim S. Cecilia 130, 131; provenance unknown)

F. Martini *Magnificat (concertato) + basso continuo*

This consists of a set of parts for a *concertato* Magnificat with the even verses for 8v and the odd verses for various combinations of reduced voices. Included on a separate sheet are a set of alternative versions of the odd verses for 2v in different combinations. Much of the basso continuo part is lacking but the missing page can be found in I Rc 5380. For further discussion of this piece see Chapter Seven, p. 248.

31. Rsc G.Ms 0128 (provenance: Chiesa Nuova)

G.F. Anerio *Missa Surge illuminare + basso continuo*

A¹ and B¹ carry Anerio's name. This is probably the source from which Santini copied this Mass (based on Palestrina's eight-voice motet) into D Mūs Hs 1215 which is entitled 'ex ms. S. Mariae in Vallicella'

32. Rsc G Ms 0147 (olim S. Cecilia 153; provenance unknown)

V.G. (Vincenzo Grandis?) *Domine Dominus noster (concertato) + basso continuo*

33. Rsc G Ms 0157 (olim S. Cecilia 162; provenance unknown)

G.F. Anerio *Surrexit pastor* *

34. Rsc G Ms 0223 (provisional; provenance unknown)

(G.P. da Palestrina) *Beata es virgo*

Anonymous here, this piece is found in Rvat Giul. XIII 24 and Rn 117-121, attributed to Palestrina in both. It was identified as a Palestrina autograph by Maddelena Pacifico of the Accademia di S. Cecilia in the 1940s on the basis of a comparison with I Rsg Codex 59, earlier identified by Casimiri as a

Palestrina autograph.²⁸ There is a close similiarity between the hand which copied this set of unbound parts and one of the three hands in Codex 59 (all of which Casimiri associated with different periods in Palestrina's career) but both could well be the work of a copyist and Casimiri's identification of this hand with Palestrina is at least questionable and needs further work, if and when Codex 59 becomes available for study.

35. Rsc G Ms 0224 (provisional; provenance unknown)

Anon. (G.P. da Palestrina?) *Omnis pulchritudo Domini*

Maddelena Pacifico also described this anonymous piece as a Palestrina autograph, but the hand is not the same as that of the previous piece and comparison with the two hands from Rsg Codex 59 shown in facsimile by Casimiri, as well as other authenticated examples of Palestrina's handwriting, provides no convincing grounds for considering it an autograph.

ROME: ALTEMPS COLLECTION (formerly at the *Collegio Romano*)

As opposed to the other sources so far described, this is no longer extant and what is offered here is a reconstruction. Its inclusion is necessary because the collection provided the most extensive manuscript source of Roman polychoral music available to nineteenth-century transcribers, and their transcriptions still make up the single largest collection of such music. Two sets of partbooks were compiled for the chapel of Duke Giovanni Angelo Altemps in c. 1607 and housed until 1870 in the *Collegio Romano*. They subsequently disappeared but are thought to survive in unknown private hands.²⁹ The contents of the two sets can be reconstructed from Karl Proske's transcriptions now housed in (D Rp) which give the source from which they were taken - labelling the two sets *collectio major* and *collectio minor* respectively. These partbooks and the transcriptions made from them are particularly important as sources of music for three choirs. One partbook from the *collectio minor* was

already missing in the early nineteenth century; the missing part (normally C_{III}) was reconstructed by Santini or his colleagues but left unreconstructed by Proske. The pieces are listed by composer in alphabetical order.

36. Collectio Major

F. Anerio	<i>Archa Domini</i> <i>Aurora lucis rutilat</i> <i>Ave quam colunt</i> <i>Beata es virgo</i> <i>Benedicam Dominum</i> <i>Canite archangeli</i> <i>Ps. 115, Credidi propter quod</i> <i>Cum invocarem</i> <i>Dies irae 12v</i> <i>Ps. 109, Dixit Dominus</i> <i>Ps. 109, Dixit Dominus 12v</i> <i>Ego sum panis</i> <i>Ecce nunc benedicite</i> <i>Factum est silentium</i> <i>Filiae Hierusalem</i> <i>Haec dies 12v</i> <i>Hic est filius</i> <i>Inclina Domine</i> <i>In dedicatione templi</i> <i>Iste confessor</i> <i>Iste est qui ante Deum</i> <i>Isti sunt agni</i>	<i>Jubilare Deo</i> <i>Ps. 121, Laetatus sum (1)</i> <i>Ps. 121, Laetatus sum (2)</i> <i>Lauda Sion</i> <i>Ps. 112, Laudate pueri</i> <i>Laudemus Dominum</i> <i>Laudemus virum 12v</i> <i>Magnificat (1) 12v</i> <i>Magnificat (2) 12v</i> <i>Nato Domino</i> <i>Nunc dimittis</i> <i>O Beatum N. 12v</i> <i>Omnes gentes 12v</i> <i>O pretiosum (twice)</i> <i>Pastores loquebantur</i> <i>Priusquam te formarem</i> <i>Qui enim voluerit</i> <i>Responsum accepit Simeon</i> <i>Ridet coelum</i> <i>Te lucis ante terminum</i> <i>Tota pulchra es Maria</i> <i>Veni sponsa Christi</i> <i>Venite ad me omnes</i>
O. Catalani	<i>Dies irae</i>	
G. Dragoni	<i>Benedictus</i>	
R. Giovanelli	<i>Anicetus vir mirabilis</i> <i>Ave Regina (1)</i> <i>Ave Regina (2)</i>	<i>Cum descendisset</i> <i>Egredimini filiae Sion 12v</i> <i>Missa 12v</i>
G.M. Nanino	<i>Benedictus</i> <i>Domine Dominus noster</i> <i>Hodie nobis coelorum rex</i> <i>Litaniae Beatae Mariae Virginis (1)</i> <i>Litaniae Beatae Mariae Virginis (2)</i>	<i>Magnificat</i> <i>Sancta et immaculata</i> <i>Te Deum laudamus</i> <i>Verbum caro factum est</i>
G.B. Nanino	<i>Alma Redemptoris mater</i> <i>Beatus vir</i> <i>Benedictus</i> <i>Credidi propter quod locutus</i> <i>De profundis clamavi</i> <i>Dixit Dominus (1)</i>	<i>Dixit Dominus (2)</i> <i>Magnificat (1)</i> <i>Magnificat (2)</i> <i>Magnificat (3)</i> <i>O Beata N.</i>
F. Soriano	<i>Sancte Anicete</i>	

37. Collectio Minor

F. Anerio	<i>Congratulamini mihi 10v</i>
G.F. Anerio	<i>Alma redemptoris mater</i> <i>Ps. 110, Confitebor tibi</i> <i>Laetentur coeli</i> <i>Magnificat</i> <i>Rorate coeli</i>

	<i>Te matrem Dei laudamus</i>	
A, Crivelli	Ps. 109, <i>Dixit Dominus</i>	
	Ps. 115, <i>Credidi propter quod</i>	
O, Catalani	<i>Angelus ad pastores ait</i>	
	<i>Dicite coeli quidnam vidistis</i>	
R, Giovanelli	<i>Confitebor tibi</i>	<i>Magnus Dominus laudabilis</i>
	<i>Beatus vir</i>	<i>Missus est Gabriel</i>
	<i>Deus noster refugium</i>	
G.M, Nanino	Ps. 109, <i>Dixit Dominus</i>	
G.B, Nanino	Ps. 112, <i>Laudate pueri</i>	
	<i>Salve Regina</i> 12v	
G.P. da Palestrina	<i>Alma redemptoris mater</i>	<i>Miserere</i> 12v
	<i>Ave Regina</i>	<i>O gloriosa domina</i> 12v
	<i>Benedictus</i> 11v	<i>Tria sunt munera</i>
	<i>Fili non te frangant</i>	<i>Veni Sancte Spiritus</i>
	<i>Haec dies</i>	<i>Victimae paschali</i> (1)
	<i>Lauda Sion</i>	<i>Victimae paschali</i> (2)
A, Orgas	<i>Hodie Christus natus est</i>	<i>Angelus ad pastores</i>
A, Zoilo	<i>Regina coeli</i> 12v	

There are a further ten pieces copied from these partbooks which have conflicting attributions in different transcriptions:

F, Anerio/O, Catalani	<i>Angelus ad pastores ait</i>
F, Anerio/P, Quagliati	<i>Ave sanctissima virgo</i>
F, Anerio/G, F, Anerio	<i>Cantate Domino</i> 12v
F, Anerio/G, Allegri	<i>Domine Jesu Christe</i>
F, Anerio/G, Benincasa	<i>Gaudeamus omnes in Domino</i>
F, Anerio/A, Pacelli	<i>Factum est silentium</i>
F, Anerio/G, Allegri	<i>Libera me Domine</i>
F, Anerio/G, P, da Palestrina	<i>Stabat mater</i> 12v
F, Anerio/F, Soriano	<i>Tulit Elias</i> 12v
F, Anerio/F, Soriano	<i>Vidi turbam</i>

These may have arisen because the partbooks were compiled by F. Anerio. They are listed under the composer thought most likely in Appendix V.

SECONDARY MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

Of major importance here are the transcriptions made before the dispersal of many Roman religious libraries and archives after 1870. Among these the most significant are those by Giuseppe Baini (now in I Rc or in private hands), Karl Proske (now in D Rp) and Fortunato Santini (now in D Müs). Proske relied most heavily on the Altemps partbooks and Baini on the Vatican collections, while Santini was the most wide-ranging, copying from all manuscripts known at the time and also relying on transcriptions made by his teacher, Giuseppe

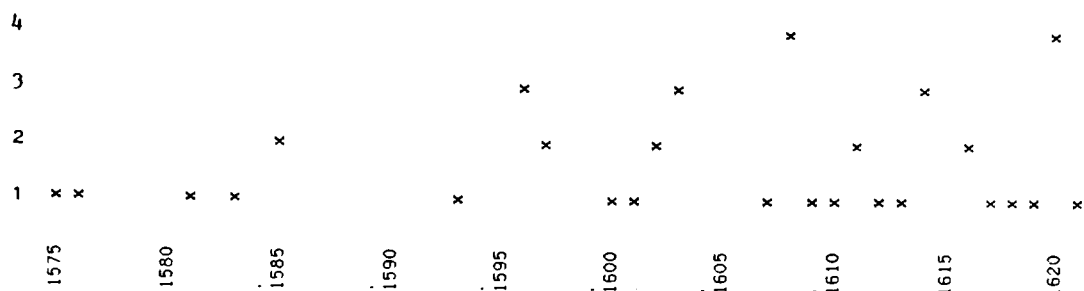
Jannaconi, and others. A very large number of transcriptions were made during the nineteenth century by other scholars and can be found in many European libraries: some of these have been consulted in the course of the present study including those in D Mbs, collected by Aiblinger in consultation with Santini for Maximilian II of Bavaria, and a number of manuscripts in GB Lbl, which preserve transcriptions made from the Altemps partbooks by Santini for the Rev. Edward Goddard. In the list of secondary manuscript sources used in this study in Appendix VI the contents of each manuscript are not given individually, but all pieces are included in the general catalogue by composer in Appendix V.

There are also many manuscript transcriptions made from printed sources. Where such a source is clearly indicated in the transcription it has not been included in the catalogue, except in the case of the Pelplin tablatures; thought to have been compiled between 1620 and 1640, they do not contain any polychoral works by known Roman composers not also found in printed sources.

SINGLE PRINTS

Details of single prints are given for each composer in Appendix V. Figure 3. 1 shows the number of single prints, containing polychoral music by Roman composers, published in each year during the period. It can be seen that these were sporadic up to 1600, with a large number of prints published in the years between 1600 and 1621; after that year the number of publications fell dramatically, with none until 1627 and only very sporadically thereafter. This same trend is found in Roman publications of sacred music in general, as discussed by Dixon.³⁰

FIGURE 3. 1

No. of single
author prints

PRINTED ANTHOLOGIES

These are listed in full in Appendix IV, with details of the polychoral pieces by Roman composers which they contain. The majority of these were published in Germany, relying on pieces taken from single prints by composers such as Palestrina, Marenzio, Stabile, Victoria and Giovanelli. Anthologies published between 1587 and 1607 in Nuremberg, Munich, Leipzig, etc. and as far afield as Krakow, contain the same limited repertory of pieces. By 1610 a greater number of pieces by Roman composers had appeared in print and the four great collections entitled *Promptuarii Musici* issued by Kieffer in Strasbourg contain music by a greater selection of Roman composers: Agazzari, Naldi, G.B. Nanino, Pacelli, Quagliati, Soriano and Steffanini being added to those listed above. These four collections (RISM 1611¹, 1612², 1613² and 1617¹) cover the four seasons of the church year, assigning pieces to appropriate feasts (these are given in the appendix and are useful as a guide to the feasts for which the pieces were thought appropriate by the Strasbourg publisher at least). The

Roman pieces make up only a small fraction of these four volumes, which contain pieces for 4-8v by a wide variety of composers working in Italy and the South of Germany, and are a testament to the wide spread of polychoral writing in the early seventeenth century.³¹

Of greater importance than these are the four anthologies published by Roman singers, one by Giovanni Luca Conforti in 1592 and three by Fabio Costantini in 1614, 1615 and 1620. Conforti was a virtuoso falsettist with the papal chapel and was very much in demand by other institutions for special feasts, as attested to by the frequency with which his name appears in lists of extra singers.³² In 1592 he published the first anthology devoted to polychoral music by Roman composers, dedicated to Pietro Aldobrandini, brother of Pope Clement VIII. He describes his reasons for publishing the anthology in a preface:

Essendo io per li tempi adietro concorso à molti bellissimi concerti di Musica, che si sono fatti in diverse occasioni, et tenendo appresso di me le copie delle compositioni, le quali per la bellezza loro, procurarsi sempre con ogni diligenza d'havere, et essendo di queste copie da molti, con molto mio scommodo, continuamente richiesto, me sono risoluto, et per alleviamento di fatica, et per sodisfatione d'ogniuno, mandarle in luce.....

Having over a long period of time taken part in many beautiful performances of music, which took place on diverse occasions, and keeping for myself copies of pieces which, because of their beauty, I always strove to procure, I found myself continually being requested for these copies to my great inconvenience; I therefore resolved to publish them, both to relieve myself of this burden and for the general satisfaction of all.....

Six composers are represented, presumably regarded by Conforti as the most important of those writing in the polychoral style at this time: Palestrina, F. Anerio, Giovanelli, Marenzio, G. M. Nanino and Quagliati. The pieces offer a selection suitable for major feasts: two Vesper psalms (*Dixit Dominus* and *Laudate pueri*) and a Magnificat, a Marian antiphon (*Salve Regina*), two festal psalm-motets (*Jubilate Deo* and *Decantabat populus Israel*), a sequence-motet (*Veni Sancte Spiritus*) and three other motets.

Fabio Costantini spent most of his life as a tenor in the Cappella Giulia before becoming *maestro* at Orvieto cathedral in 1610.³³ This was within the Roman ambit and it was perhaps a shortage of material there which prompted him to publish three collections of polychoral music (as well as a collection of small-scale *concertato* motets) by Roman composers. The first of these, 1614³⁴, is very much a retrospective collection by composers active in Rome during the previous forty years, many of whom were dead and/or long gone from the city by 1614: it contains a series of motets covering the liturgical year. As was normal by that time, Costantini issued a single *bassus ad organum* part which is simply a *basso seguente*; many of the earlier pieces were not conceived with organ accompaniment in mind, and appear in earlier manuscripts without it. Costantini followed up this anthology of motets with one of Vespers music in 1615: there are settings of the eight most commonly employed Vespers psalms, a Magnificat and three Marian antiphons by a selection of composers, each represented only once; most of these were still active in 1615. Costantini's third anthology was published in 1620 and is again a collection of music for Vespers - eight psalms (all but one the same as in 1615: *Nisi Dominus* is substituted by *Laudate Dominum omnes gentes*, prescribed for first Vespers on many feasts), a Magnificat, three Marian antiphons and two litanies. These last are by Palestrina and Zoilo, while two of the psalms are labelled 'concertato'; the collection thus spans the whole period covered by this study.

Another anthology of Roman provenance is RISM 1607³⁵, a collection of works by Salvatore Sacchi which also includes a piece by each of ten Roman composers. Nothing is known of Sacchi apart from his description of himself on the title-page of this publication as *maestro* at Tuscanello, north of Rome.

Only one Italian anthology published outside of Rome and its environs contains polychoral music by Roman composers. This is RISM 1599³⁶, published in Venice but relying heavily on Conforti's anthology of 1592, seven of the eight

pieces by Roman composers having already appeared there. The eighth piece, Giovanelli's *Crux fidelis*, is found in this source only. A *basso seguente* has been added to these pieces - the first publication containing Roman polychoral music to have an organ part.

CONCLUSION

The catalogue in Appendix V cannot be considered complete since the coverage of secondary sources is not exhaustive and some primary sources, such as those in Rsg and the former Altemps partbooks, remain inaccessible. However it can be stated with confidence that the bulk of the surviving repertory is listed there. The sets of loose parts preserved in I Rsc serve as a reminder, however, that most polychoral music would have been performed originally from such single sheets and not necessarily preserved or copied into partbooks. This is particularly true of music for three and more choirs of which comparatively little survives. The repertory which does remain is however a sizeable one and aspects of it will be examined in detail in Part Two of this study.

NOTES

1. There are also a small number of polychoral pieces by Roman composers in some early seventeenth-century manuscripts in I Bc - these are included in the general catalogue in Appendix V.
2. Llorens, *Sixtinae* and Llorens, *Giulia*.
3. Brauner, *Parvus*, Chapter eight, discusses this manuscript and the work of Orphei.
4. Due to its very poor condition, a detailed comparison of all movements with the 1601 printed version was not carried out. In those sections which were compared (Kyrie and Credo), variations were confined to word-underlay and occasional accidentals. I am grateful to Fr. L. Boyle, the Vatican librarian, for making special arrangements for me to consult this manuscript.
5. In a private communication Mitchell Brauner confirmed my own judgement that all of the pieces in this choirbook, with the exception of the Victoria *Super flumina*, are copied by a single hand and cannot be the work of both Francesco and Luca Orphei as claimed by Llorens (*Sixtinae*, p. 62). Francesco signed his name on one of the decorated capitals and Brauner has

suggested that his contribution was confined to these. The Victoria piece may well be the same setting which was sung in the German College in 1573 on an occasion which was attended by papal singers (see below, Chapter Five, p. 174), and subsequently copied for use in the papal chapel.

6. Baini, *Memorie*, II, p. 226.
7. I am grateful to Jean Lionnet for this information.
8. ditto.
9. See Böker-Heil, 'Frühvenezianischen' and Brauner, 'The Manuscript'.
10. The Rvat Giul. numbers are the Vatican Library call numbers and those in the (unpublished) catalogue by Boezi available for consultation in the library. Llorens, *Giulia*, has used a different numbering system, but also gives these numbers.
11. ACSP, ARM. XX-XXIII, FCG, F&M, 147, f. 174. Given in Rostirolla, 'Giulia', p. 273.
12. C. Briquet, *Les Filigranes* (Amsterdam, 1968); A.F. Gasparinetti (ed.), *Zonghi's Watermarks* (Hilversum, 1953).
13. The authenticity of this piece, copied into a half-page gap in each part-book, is discussed below in Chapter Five, p. 172
14. A Catalogue of the music manuscripts in the Barberini collection in Rvat is in progress by Lowell Lindgren and Margaret Murata. The latter has also searched for concordances for these six pieces, without success.
15. Occasionally the C₁ part is not found in the first part-book listed; in these cases the number of the partbook in which it is found is given in brackets.
16. O di Lasso, *Modulorum....Modulatorum Secundum Volumen 4-8*. 10v (Paris, 1565); *Sacrae Cantiones....Liber Quartus 6,8v* (Venice, 1566).
17. These alterations are discussed in O'Regan, *Lasso*, a copy of which is bound in at the back of this volume.
18. The handwriting has been convincingly characterised by Lucia Navarrini as part of her study of Zoilo for a *Tesi di Laurea* for the University of Florence (1985).
19. ASR, Ospedale della Sma. Trinità, 1214, 1215. Full details of payments are given in O'Regan, 'Trinità'.
20. See Casimiri, *Il Codice 59*.
21. ASR, Ospedale della Sma Trinità, 700 n.f.
22. *Diario 1591-93*, f. 45.
23. This manuscript is described in Kellman and Hamm 'Census Catalogue'. Attempts by various researchers to trace the missing partbooks during the compilation of that catalogue were unsuccessful.

24. Biographical information on Pateri can be found in *Il primo processo per San Filippo Neri*, II and III (= *Studi e Testi* 196, 205) (Vatican City, 1958 and 1960).
25. I Rf, B-VI-6, ff. 117-123, *Inventario dei libri che sono in coro e in sacrestia*, quoted in C. Gasparri, *L'Oratorio Romano dal '500 al '900* (Rome, 1963), pp. 66-7.
26. Boetticher, 'Frühfassung', p. 209.
27. The long-dispersed repertory of S. Spirito in Sassia has been the subject of a number of studies (Mattei-Gentili, *Membra disiecta*; Feininger, *Membra disiecta*) but needs further work. Many of the manuscripts are now in Rsc or in the Feininger collection in Trent. The current cataloguing of the Rsc manuscripts by *Ibimus*, the Roman branch of RISM, will make this study easier and it has therefore not been undertaken in the course of this work.
28. Casimiri, *Il Codice* 59.
29. Those of the Parisian booksellers, François and Rodolphe Chamonal or their clients. Jonathan Couchman has made various attempts to gain access to or obtain information about their present whereabouts, but without success. I am grateful to Mr. Couchman for this information.
30. Dixon, *Liturgical*, Chapter Four. A detailed survey of Italian prints of motets, Masses and Vespers music is being carried out by Jerome Roche and Graham Dixon, Anne Schnoebein and Jeffrey Kurtzmann respectively.
31. For a discussion of anthologies and their role in the dissemination of music at this period see Roche, 'Anthologies'.
32. See article 'Conforti' in the New Grove as well as the introduction to: Giovanni Luca Conforto, *Breve et facile maniera d'essercitarsi a far passaggi*, (Rome, 1593) in the edition by G. Rostirolla (Rome, 1986).
33. See the outline biography of Fabio Costantini in Appendix VII.

PART TWO

INTRODUCTION

Given the size of the repertory, a comprehensive examination is obviously not possible within the scope of this study. Attention is focussed only on aspects peculiar to the polychoral idiom and, in particular, on the developing relationship between musical structure and text. This is done for the repertory as a whole, rather than for a particular genre, institution or composer, since this is thought to be the most useful contribution to knowledge at the present time. The main body of the study is divided into three parts (Chapters Five to Seven) since three main stylistic periods can be distinguished in the surviving music. For convenience these are made to coincide with the reigns of popes Gregory XIII (1572-85), Sixtus V to Clement VIII (1585-1605) and Paul V (1605-21). As with all dates attached to stylistic periods in the arts they are rather arbitrary, but they do correspond to distinct divisions of attitude in Roman cultural and religious life, as outlined in Chapter One. Chapter Four examines the antecedents and early essays in the idiom by Roman composers, as well as possible influences from outside the city. Chapter Eight deals with polychoral Mass settings, considered separately because of the special nature of the genre. Focussing on one category and looking at its development over the whole period will also serve to summarize the evolution of the style.

Within each of the three main chapters, composers are grouped according to the institution in which they were mainly active. The different performance practices in these institutions are reflected in the styles of music produced by the composers employed by them, and thus it is sensible to deal with the music in the context of that institution. This provides a vital link between Part Two and Chapter Two of Part One. The size of the repertory precludes a detailed examination of the liturgical function of each piece within the

institution. Some consideration is given to this, but it must remain to be tackled as a separate study at a later date.

There are many aspects of this music which are not dealt with here. The whole area of emerging tonality, of the increasing consciousness of the vertical dimension in which polychoral music undoubtedly played a very important part, is only briefly touched on. A proper study of this subject would demand extensive discussion, beyond the limits of this work, and in any case the tools necessary for such an investigation are not yet readily to hand. Aspects of the music which are not peculiar to the polychoral idiom such as dissonance treatment or word-setting are discussed only to the extent that they shed light on individual composers' attitudes to the text or help solve a chronological or attributional problem.

The question needs to be addressed: did a 'Roman' school of composition exist? This has traditionally been assumed to be the case, with other composers following the lead given by Palestrina and sticking closely to the Palestrina style. Now the whole concept of a single 'Palestrina style' is a spurious one: he wrote in a number of styles, and the polychoral works which will be examined in Chapters Five and Six have little in common with, say, the early Masses. The picture is even more varied when his contemporaries, and particularly his successors, are considered. Each had his own style and, as Ruth de Ford has pointed out in her study of secular music in Rome at this time, composers there had no more in common with each other than composers in any other city, or indeed composers in different Italian cities.' Nevertheless, in the realm of sacred music and in the particular sub-realm of polychoral music, there are certainly common features which, while not perhaps defining a style, allow Roman composers to be considered as a group. The present study parallels that of de Ford for the madrigal, though without the specialised study of the music of one composer (Ruggiero Giovannelli) which she also carried out.

There are other individual studies of Roman composers in the literature: that of Winter on the sacred music of Giovanelli, Schuler on Giovanni Maria Nanino, Williams and Hobbs on Giovanni Francesco Anerio, Shindle on Giovanni de Macque, Chater and Ledbetter on Luca Marenzio, Kniseley on Francesco Soriano, Lincoln and Navarrini on Annibale Zoilo,² as well as the more considerable number of studies which have been carried out on the music of Palestrina and Victoria. Jonathan Couchman is currently examining the life and works of Felice Anerio and we have collaborated over a number of years. Colleen Reardon is doing the same for Agostino Agazzari. These single-composer studies have largely been done in isolation, lacking the comparative perspective of de Ford's work and (it is to be hoped) of this one.

Certain composers are treated in some detail in these chapters and some appear in more than one. Palestrina's pre-polychoral 8v works are discussed in Chapter Four, the bulk of his output in Chapter Five, with some discussion of more stylistically advanced pieces which may post-date 1585 in Chapter Six. The other composers considered in Chapter Five - Zoilo, Macque, Bartolomeo Roy and Victoria - had all left Rome by c. 1585 and are not discussed in succeeding chapters, apart from Victoria who published in that year and whose *Missa Salve Regina*, published in Rome in 1592, may well have been written in the city; he is therefore considered briefly in Chapters Six and Eight. Annibale Stabile was active in both periods and is discussed in Chapters Five and Six. Of the composers active during the period covered by Chapter Six, those given fuller treatment are: F. Anerio, Giovanelli, G. M. Nanino, Marenzio, Asprilio Pacelli, and Soriano. All of these, apart from Marenzio and Pacelli, are discussed too in Chapter Seven; others given more extended treatment in that chapter include G. F. Anerio, Ottavio Catalani, Giovanni Bernardino Nanino, Annibale Orgas, Paolo Quagliati and Paolo Tarditi. Other composers, whose contributions have been judged to be of lesser importance, are given a more cursory treatment. Important seventeenth-century Roman composers such as Vincenzo Ugolini, Paolo

Agostini, Gregorio Allegri and Orazio Benevoli have not been considered here since the bulk of their composition was carried out beyond the limits of this study and they have already been well examined by Dixon.³ Outline biographies of all composers included listed in the catalogue in Appendix V are included in Appendix VII. These are gathered from the literature - particularly the articles in *The New Grove* - unless otherwise indicated. Biographical details mentioned in the text will not be end-noted.

Apart from the musical examples in Volume Two, eighteen pieces are transcribed there in full (in one case, only the *prima pars*). These have been chosen to illustrate the discussion in Part Two but also to complement those examples of the repertory already available, either in modern editions or in the literature. For this reason no pieces by the major composers whose works are available in collected editions are included (though they are well represented among the musical examples). Details of these modern editions are given in the bibliography. Composers such as Tarditi and Quagliati, represented by transcriptions in Dixon³, are also excluded. While the transcriptions do seek to show the breadth of the repertory, the number it has been possible to include has been limited due to the large number of voices involved. This limitation also applies to the musical examples and in order to compensate for this a number of block diagrams are used in the text to illustrate structural points, where the actual notes are not of importance.

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NOTES

1. De Ford, *Ruggiero Giovanelli*.
2. Details of each of these studies are given in the bibliography.
3. Dixon, *Liturgical Music*.

CHAPTER FOUR

FORMATIVE INFLUENCES AND EARLY EXPERIMENTS

The long-standing misperception of polychoral music as a purely Venetian phenomenon has been effectively demolished in recent years and need not be refuted again here.¹ The most comprehensive study to date of the origins and early development of the genre is that of Anthony Carver.² He concluded that the style grew from a fusion of three main influences: (i) the pairing of voices with alternation between contrasting pairs, a feature of polyphonic writing from the time of Josquin; (ii) the antiphonal singing of psalms and litanies; (iii) the influence of canonic techniques, especially those pieces in which four voices generate four others canonically.³ Carver dealt only cursorily with Rome in his earlier studies (his forthcoming book will give it more attention) and this chapter will examine the steps which led to the development of polychoral writing in that city.

Following Zarlino, Carver defined a polychoral work as one in which:

...the ensemble is consistently split into two or more groups, each retaining its own identity, which sing separately and together within a through-composed framework in which antiphony is a fundamental compositional resource; in *tutti* passages all voice parts should normally remain independent, with the possible exception of the bass parts.⁴

The earliest works by a Roman composer which fulfil these criteria were those published by Palestrina in 1575. There are, however, a number of 8v pieces by Palestrina and others, written before 1575, which answer in part to the above definition and these will be considered in this chapter.

COSTANZO FESTA

The first Roman composer to write music showing some polychoral traits was Costanzo Festa (c. 1490-1545), a member of the Papal chapel from at least 1517 to his death. Two such pieces are ascribed to Festa in *Rvat Sist.*

manuscripts, *Te Deum* and *Inviolata et integra casta est*, both 8v. A third piece, a 9v setting of the *Miserere*, is found in an Rvat Sist. manuscript without attribution; Baini, who may have seen the manuscript before it was trimmed, ascribed the setting to Festa.⁵ A fourth piece, a setting of the Litany of Loreto, was published under Festa's name in Munich in 1583;⁶ however the same setting had been published in Venice in 1575 under the name of Costanzo Porta, at that time *maestro di cappella* at the basilica in Loreto.⁷ Given Porta's presence in Loreto and the lapse of nearly forty years since Festa's death, it is most likely that the work is by Porta and that the Munich publisher confused the two composers. The style is uncharacteristic of the rest of Festa's output: it is a fully-fledged polychoral piece, compared by Carver to Palestrina's *Stabat Mater* and, as such, very unlikely to have been written before 1575.⁸ Both the *Miserere* and the *Te Deum* are antiphonal settings with the choirs singing alternate verses and combining only for the final verse. In both cases the final verses are not polychoral: the choirs lose their separate identities and the eight voices form a variety of groupings without regard to their earlier division into choirs. The *Miserere* has one choir of five voices and one of four: if it is by Festa, it is the earliest in a series of settings in largely *falsobordone* style which includes the famous setting by Allegri. *Inviolata et integra* is the closest of the three to being a polychoral piece: it is a quadruple canon, the four given voices generating four more, while careful placing of rests ensures that both choirs retain their identities. Monotony is avoided by successive reduction of the time-interval between entries of *dux* and *comes*.

These pieces by Festa, written in the first half of the sixteenth century, show the possibilities inherent in antiphonal and canonic writing for the development of a polychoral style, such as was then emerging in Northern Italy. Roman composers, however, did not pursue this line until much later. Festa's contemporaries and immediate successors in the Papal Chapel wrote a number of

8v pieces but these show no consistent division into groups. Among these are Ghiselin Danckerts (*Laetamini in Domino* and *Magnificat*), Jacques Arcadelt (*Pater noster*), Christobal de Morales (*Andreas Christi famulus*) and two anonymous pieces in Rvat Sist. 57.⁹ These pieces do reduce the texture by temporarily forming subgroups of voices, often contrasting one with another [ex. 1], but these groupings are not consistent in their make-up at this period; not until after 1570 do they become more systematic, leading eventually to distinct choirs.

GIOVANNI ANIMUCCIA: *IL SECONDO LIBRO DELLE LAUDI*, 1570

The next significant step in developing the polychoral idiom in Rome was taken in 1570, the year of publication of Giovanni Animuccia's *Il secondo libro delle laudi*, discussed in Chapter One, p. 9. It contains nineteen 8v pieces, twelve with Latin texts and seven with Italian. None of these totally fulfil Carver's polychoral criteria, but many do approach it and might be called embryonic polychoral pieces. Of the Latin pieces, five are psalm-motets (settings of verses from the psalms without the doxology), four are Marian antiphons, two are settings of Gospel texts with a dialogue element¹⁰ and there is one setting of the *Pater noster*. The pieces in Italian do not use biblical texts but rather use simple affective language directed to the Saviour e.g. 'Dammi un bel cor, Signore'. The one dialogue text among these Italian pieces is set, not for eight voices, but for six. This is *Fu notte, O giorno*, subtitled *Dialogo del natività del nostro Signore*. It is not set consistently as a dialogue, but Animuccia occasionally creates two contrasting groups of four voices by overlapping two of the parts in order to obtain an antiphonal exchange [ex. 2].

In the 8v Latin setting of the Gospel text, *Venit Jesus in civitatem Samariae*, Animuccia does use the two choirs more consistently to bring out the dialogue between Jesus and the Samaritan woman at the well. The text is divided as follows:

- Ch. I Venit Jesus in civitatem Samariae quae dicitur Sichar: iuxta praedium
quod dedit Jacob Joseph filio suo, Erat autem ibi fons Jacob, Iesus
autem fatigatus ex itinere sedebat sic super fontem, Hora erat quasi
sexta
- Chs. I&II Venit mulier de Samaria haurire aquam
- Ch. I Dixit ei Jesus
- Ch. II 'Da mihi bibere'
- Ch. I Dixit ergo ei mulier illa Samaritana
- Ch. II 'Quomodo tu cum Iudaeus sis bibere a me poscis quae sum mulier
Samaritana? Non enim contuntur Iudaei Samaritanis?'
- Ch. I Respondit Jesus et dixit ei
- Ch. II 'Si scires
- Ch. I Si scires donum Dei et quis est qui dicit tibi, da mihi bibere, tu
forsitan petisses ab eo et dedisset tibi aquam vivam'. Dicit ei mulier
- Ch. II 'Domine neque in quo haurias habes et puteus altus est. Unde ergo habes
aquam vivam?'
- Ch. I Respondit Jesus et dixit ei
- Chs. I&II Omnis qui biberit ex aqua hac sitiet iterum, Qui autem biberit ex aquam
quam ego dabi ei non sitiet in aeternum.

In each case the change from indirect to direct speech is marked by a change of forces. The words of Jesus, 'si scires', are emphasised by antiphonal repetition in Choir I which then continues with the remainder of his direct speech and the following piece of narrative. The final words of Jesus are given further emphasis by being set for all eight voices. Here, as in the other 8v section near the beginning of the piece, the division between the choirs breaks down and various sub-groups are formed. At the beginning of the final section, however, there is antiphonal repetition between the two original choir groupings on the words 'omnis qui biberit'. Here, as at 'si scires' the choirs do not repeat the music exactly, but there is a close relationship between the two statements: tenor and bass remain almost the same while the the upper parts exchange music [ex. 3].

Animuccia's setting of the *Pater noster* is 8v throughout. It begins with exact antiphonal repetition between the two choirs but by the ninth bar this

division of voices has already broken down, with C₁₁ replacing B₁. Thereafter the voices form into various combinations, usually 4v; at other times the texture is simply imitative throughout all eight parts. The complete piece is transcribed in Volume Two, p. 73, together with a revised version which will be discussed in Chapter Five. Animuccia does use quite a lot of antiphonal exchange here between groups of four voices, but again his groupings are not consistent (they are in fact made so in the revision).

The Animuccia *Pater noster* is one of a number of 8v settings of that text from this period. Another, by the Spanish composer Francesco Guerrero, was first published in 1555 and re-published in Venice in 1570.¹¹ Like Festa's *Inviolata et integra casta*, one choir is derived canonically from the other. Unlike Festa, Guerrero does not separate consecutive sections in the leading choir with long rests, with the result that the two choirs quickly merge, and the piece is not properly polychoral. On the other hand, Guerrero's 8v *Ave Maria*, first published in Venice in 1570,¹² is a proper polychoral piece with both choirs having an independent existence and much antiphonal exchange between them.

Animuccia's psalm-motets and Marian antiphons emphasize the antiphonal nature of their texts by giving successive verses to alternate choirs. There is little or no antiphonal exchange in the middle of verses. Only the final verse or half-verse is set for all eight voices and then the texture is simply an 8v polyphonic one. In this they resemble Festa's *Te Deum*. Some verses are in a simple *falsobordone* style with decorated cadences as in *Deus misereatur nostri* [ex. 4]. Here the rhythm is carefully notated with changing time-signatures, the free first section being separated off by bar-lines in the partbooks.

The third of the three *Salve Regina* settings is the most interesting of these pieces because of the variety of vocal groupings used:¹³

Ch,II	(CATBar)	Salve Regina Mater misericordiae
Ch, I	(CAATBarB)	vita, dulcedo et spes nostra, salve
Ch,II	(CATBar)	ad te clamamus, exsules filii Evae
Ch, I	(AATBar)	ad te suspiramus, gementes et flentes in hac lacrimarum valle
Ch,II	(CCATTBar)	eia ergo, advocata nostra, illos tuos misericordes oculos ad nos converte
Ch, I	(CAATBarB)	et Jesum benedictum fructum ventris tui nobis post hoc exilium ostende
Ch,II	(CCATTBar)	O clemens
Ch, I	(CAATBarB)	O pia
Ch,II	(CATBar)	O dulcis Virgo Maria
Chs, I&II	(CABarB/CATBar)	O dulcis Virgo Maria

Although the piece has only eight different parts in the final verse, some verses for each individual choir require six voices and so the piece is really in twelve parts. The verses use various voice-combinations and are separated from each other by bar-lines, so there is no overlap between the choirs. The final verse is in 8v polyphony with the choirs fused together and not having separate identities. The other Marian antiphon settings, on the whole, use two CATB choirs alternately for all but the final verse which is set as an 8v *tutti*. All of these pieces use the two choirs antiphonally but do not exploit antiphonal exchange in the final *tutti* sections.

A similar variety of vocal groupings is shown in Animuccia's setting of Ps. 99, *Jubilate Deo* (again the verses are separated by bar-lines):

Chs, I&II	(CATB/CATB)	Jubilate deo omnis terra, servite domino in laetitia
Ch,II	(CCAB)	Introite in conspectu eius in exultatione
Ch, I	(CATB)	Scitote quoniam ipse est Deus: ipse fecit nos et non ipsi nos
Ch,II	(CATB)	Populus eius et oves pascuae eius: introite portas eius in confessione, atria eius in hymnis confitemini illi
Chs, I&II	(CATB/CAAT)	Laudate nomen eius quoniam suavis est Dominus: in aeternum misericordia eius et usque in generatione et generationem veritas eius

After commencing with two CATB groupings (these do not have separate identities in the first verse) Animuccia replaces T₁₁ with C₁ for verse two; for the final verse he takes the unusual step of leaving out B₁₁ (the partbook has the rubric

'bassus tacet') and replacing it with divided altos. The successive groupings of voices in this final verse is also unusual and foreshadows the *concertato* style to be discussed in Chapter Seven (though here there is of course no *basso continuo*):

CCT	Laudate nomen eius quoniam suavis est Dominus
CC	in aeternum misericordia eius
CCAT	et usque in generatione et generationem veritas eius
AATB	et usque in generatione
CCAT	et generationem
AATB	et generationem
CCAT	et generationem
8v	veritas eius

Different groups are contrasted very effectively here, and there is successful use of antiphonal techniques [ex. 5].

The 8v *laudi* with Italian texts show similar characteristics: successive sections are alternated between the choirs, with only the final section for both together, and then the choirs merge into an eight-part polyphonic texture.

VICTORIA AND PALESTRINA, 1572

Real polychoral music came a step closer with publications by these two composers in 1572.¹⁴ It was Victoria's first publication (he had arrived in Rome as a student in c. 1565) and contained just one 8v piece, a setting of the *Ave Maria*. Like Animuccia's *Pater noster*, the *Ave Maria* begins with the eight voices divided into two CATB groups, using antiphonal exchange - here almost exact in the early phrases. Later, with the words 'in mulieribus', the voices begin to form into other groups and thereafter continually re-group [ex. 6]. Antiphonal exchange remains a major compositional tool but, without consistent ordering of the voices into two choirs, the piece must be considered polychoral only in embryo.

The same applies to the four 8v pieces by Palestrina published in 1572 although in two of these Palestrina comes very close to writing full-fledged

double-choir music. All four are psalm-motets: they do not have doxologies and three of the four are divided into a *prima* and a *secunda pars* so that, although two of the settings are of psalms commonly used at Vespers (*Laudate pueri* and *Laudate Dominum*), they are not meant for liturgical use. They might well have been written for performance in one of the oratories during Lent - perhaps for that of Smo. Crocefisso, where Palestrina directed the music for the Holy Thursday procession in 1570; he might also have been in charge of the lenten music in that year - the archives do not specify who the *maestro* was.¹⁵

In contrast to Animuccia's psalm and Marian antiphon settings, Palestrina does not here set large sections of texts for single choirs: his texture is fuller than that of both Animuccia and Victoria, with a large amount of 8v writing. Antiphonal exchange is also used freely but without overall consistency in the voice grouping. As with the Animuccia *Pater noster*, one is tempted to rearrange the parts so as to achieve a more consistent division into choirs. In the *secunda pars* of *Domine in virtute*, for example, interchanging the two alto parts from bars 43 to 55 [ex. 7] would produce a passage of antiphonal exchange between two discrete groups such as is found in later polychoral music. Interchanging these parts would not have this effect elsewhere in the piece and much of the *prima pars* is not a polychoral piece at all. The *secunda pars* appears in a Roman manuscript¹⁶ as an independent piece, *Magna est gloria Eius*, with the two bass parts interchanged but this does not make the piece any more polychoral. Of these four pieces *Laudate Dominum* comes closest to being properly polychoral and it also appears in revised form, converted to a fully fledged polychoral piece, in Rn 77-88.

Each of these four pieces has a different opening and three of them set patterns which were later consistently followed by Palestrina and his successors. In *Laudate Dominum* the voices of Choir I enter imitatively in order, grouped in pairs [ex. 8]. Choir II enters after Choir I has cadenced:

the soprano is anticipated and the tenor retarded by a minim beat. This second phrase is then exchanged antiphonally between the choirs, preserving the anticipation and retardation, before the word-painting *tutti* at 'omnes populi'. *Confitebor tibi* reverses this opening procedure: the four voices of Choir I enter together, with some staggering, and then all eight voices enter in turn from B_{II} upwards (with the exception of A_{II}), imitating each other at the bar or half-bar [ex. 9]. The reverse of this procedure, i.e. all voices entering in turn from C_I downwards, was later sometimes used at the opening of a piece. Another procedure which later became common is that used at the opening of *Domine in virtute tua* [ex. 10]: the largely homophonic texture is enlivened through anticipation by a semibreve in the Soprano. This opening is also a good example of the new post-Tridentine pseudo-polyphonic style; the music is directed by the words, which are carefully set so that no more than two different syllables are heard at the same time and each of those syllables is sung by at least two voices, leading to a considerable amount of voice-pairing. One or more voices often remain on a single vowel while another voice introduces new syllables. There is some imitation but it is motivically based and never extended: these motives give the impression of polyphony in what is basically a homophonic texture - hence the description 'pseudo-polyphonic'. In each of these three pieces there is a quite clear division into two CATB choirs at the opening. In the fourth, *Laudate pueri*, this is not so: C_I, A_I and T_I are joined by C_{II} for the imitative opening, answered briefly by a staggered phrase in the remaining voices. The distribution of voices then breaks down, to be succeeded by others.

The tendency for voices to group together in various ways and to engage in antiphonal exchange is not, of course, confined to 8v music. Indeed, as already stated, its roots go back at least as far as Josquin. There is no doubt that the Council of Trent gave a large boost to this style of writing: it is widely found in the *Preces* of Jacobus de Kerle,¹⁷ written for performance

during the Council, and in the Gloria and Credo of the *Missa Papae Marcelli* [ex. 111].¹⁸ We have seen it in the 6v pieces in Animuccia's *Il Secondo Libro delle Laudi* [ex. 2] and it is widespread in the 6v pieces in the 1572 publications of both Palestrina and Victoria. Indeed two 6v pieces by Palestrina, *O Domine Jesu* and *O bone Jesu*, published in 1569 and 1576 respectively, were later converted into 8v double-choir motets, building on the exchange between sub-groups of voices and expanding it into two choirs.¹⁹

By 1572, then, the various building blocks necessary for fully-fledged polychoral music were in place in Rome. Antiphonal settings, dialogues and pieces derived from quadruple canon pointed the way from their different standpoints while the grouping of voices and the use of antiphonal exchange were playing an increasingly significant part in pieces for six voices and more. It took another three years, however, for this particular Rubicon to be crossed in publications. When it came, the change was total: the six 8v pieces in Palestrina's 1575 publication, as well as the four in Victoria's 1576 print, were completely polychoral. What stimulated this change? Was it inspired by contact with music from outside the city and, if so, what music might have been known there before 1575?

POLYCHORAL MUSIC BY NON-ROMAN COMPOSERS KNOWN IN ROME

Very little sacred polychoral music by non-Roman composers survives in Roman manuscripts. The main source for such music is I Rn 117-121, which contains the following pieces for two choirs by non-Roman composers:

Andrea Gabrieli	<i>Egredimini et videte</i>
Francesco Guerrero	<i>Ego flos campi</i>
Francesco Guerrero	<i>Regina Coeli</i>
Orlando di Lasso	<i>Deus misereatur nostri</i>
Orlando di Lasso	<i>In convertendo</i>
Orlando di Lasso	<i>Levavi oculos meos</i>
Domenico Phinot	<i>Incipit oratio</i>
Domenico Phinot	<i>Tanto tempore</i>
Pietro Vinci	<i>Surge propera</i>

Of these pieces, that by Vinci was published in his first book of motets of 1582. Mongitore said that Vinci worked in Rome but it now seems unlikely that this was so: Mongitore confused S. Maria Maggiore, Bergamo, where Vinci did work, with S. Maria Maggiore, Rome.²⁰ No evidence has been found in any Roman archive of his being active in the city. He did publish an 8v *Missa Domine in virtute*, based on Palestrina's 1572 motet, in 1575²¹ and might have influenced Palestrina after that date (see the discussion of this Mass in Chapter Eight). It seems unlikely, however, that his music would have been known in Rome before that time. The same is true of the Andrea Gabrieli piece *Egredimini et videte*, thought by Denis Arnold to be a late work.²² It is the only Gabrieli piece to be found in Roman sources, perhaps because it is the piece by him which comes closest to the Roman style of polychoral writing. If anything, the influence may have worked in the other direction in this case: according to David Bryant, very little of Andrea Gabrieli's music was composed before 1575 and only two pieces published before 1587, neither of which were properly polychoral.²³ Guerrero's *Regina Coeli*, published in 1570 is not a fully-fledged polychoral piece either, while his *Ego flos campi* was not published until 1597.²⁴ There is no evidence of his *Ave Maria*, mentioned earlier, being known in Rome. None of these composers, then, are likely to have provided a model for Roman composers before 1575.

On the other hand the remaining composers represented in these partbooks, Phinot and Lasso, might very well have provided such a model. Carver has dealt at length with the importance of Domenico Phinot for the development of polychoral music.²⁵ The five 8v pieces found in his *Liber Secundus Mutetarum* of 1548 (which include the two pieces in Rn 117-121) are among the first to use interaction between the choirs as a structural device rather than arising from canon or from imitation. *Incipit oratio* is a setting of part of the Holy Week Lamentations; it is a very homophonic piece with a strong harmonic feeling strengthened by the movement of the two bass parts in fourths and

fifths. There is a lot of antiphonal exchange, much of it literal repetition. The two choirs exist independently and for much of the piece there is very little *tutti* writing. The choirs are not always harmonically independent, i.e. one or other Bass part is sometimes a fifth higher than the other (see Chapter Five for further discussion on this point). There are two 4v sections but they are not for individual choirs: Phinot splits the voices into a group of higher voices (CCAT) and lower (TTBB). The groups rejoin for the final section which has a larger amount of 8v writing, but here too the choirs retain their individuality. In *Tanto tempore*, on the other hand, there is much more overlap between the choirs and longer *tutti* sections. Towards the end of the piece the two choirs do tend to lose their independence and merge into one, the lines are more flowing and the texture more polyphonic. Even here there is, for most of the piece, a clear and consistent distinction between the two CATB groups such as is not found, for instance, in the 1572 pieces by Palestrina. Carver compared Phinot's writing to that of Palestrina, in its avoidance of jagged lines and general sense of equilibrium. He also detailed aspects of Phinot's antiphonal repetition which could as easily be applied to Palestrina's 1575 pieces and to later Roman polychoral music: the repetition may be exact (rare in Palestrina, but common in some of his contemporaries) or varied. This variation can consist of (a) transposing to a different pitch, (b) changing melodic, harmonic or rhythmic details, (c) beginning the same but ending differently, or vice versa, and (d) extending the repeat by adding the next phrase of text, or continuing with a *tutti*. All of these methods of variation are found in Roman music, as is the fact that *tutti* sections are more polyphonic while antiphonal passages are more homophonic, another Phinot characteristic. Pietro Cerone said that Phinot had influenced Palestrina: this was dismissed as an extravagant claim by Roger Jacob²⁶ but, on the basis of the existence of these two pieces in a Roman manuscript, there may well be grounds for accepting

that Palestrina knew these pieces and learned from them. As well as the 1554 print, both pieces appeared in two anthologies, RISM 1564¹ and 1578.

Phinot worked in Urbino and possibly also in the North of Italy (he collaborated with Willaert and Jachet on the double-choir psalms of 1550²⁷). On the whole, there is no evidence of the polychoral music of the Northern Italians being known in Rome at this point; Klaus Fischer said that Palestrina was unlikely to have known Alberti or Ruffino, for instance, since their music was written only for their own churches and was not published.²⁸ One composer working in the North of Italy was actually a Roman, Ippolito Chamerero di Negri. He is now known to have worked in Rome in 1587²⁹ and might have visited the city earlier. In 1573, while working in Udine, he published a collection of Vesper psalms for two choirs 'according to the order of the Council of Trent, arranged for voices, accompanied also by every sort of instrument'.³⁰ Two years later, still working at Udine, he published a collection of Magnificats for two and three choirs;³¹ these settings are all for separate choirs.

The most important influence on Roman composers of polychoral music was probably that of Orlando di Lasso. Lasso worked in Rome in 1552-3, acting as *maestro di cappella* at the basilica of St. John Lateran and providing the music for the Good Friday procession for the confraternity of Smo. Crocefisso.³² He returned to Munich in 1553 and is known to have revisited Rome in 1574. Wolfgang Boetticher discovered the existence of the three 8v pieces listed above in Rsc G 792-5 (he did not at that stage know that four further partbooks of the set survive as Rn 117-121);³³ the three pieces had been copied from the then complete set by Fortunato Santini in the early nineteenth century and these copies had finished up with the rest of the Santini manuscripts in D Müs; because of their Roman origin Boetticher assumed that they were composed by Lasso while he was active in Rome. The same pieces were published in 1565 and 1566 but these published versions vary considerably from the manuscript

ones.³⁴ Boetticher argued that Lasso had changed his manner of composing in the interim and had revised the three pieces before publication. I have argued on the other hand that the published versions were Lasso's original work and that the versions found in Rn 117-121 were a later revision, carried out on these and on a further three pieces by other composers so that they could be sung by spatially separated choirs.³⁵ Since that article was written, the copyist of much of Rn 77-88, including the two Lasso pieces, has been identified as Annibale Zoilo³⁶ and I now believe that the manuscript was put together by him in connection with his employment at the oratory of Sma. Trinità dei Pellegrini (and was not, as I argued earlier, connected with the Chiesa Nuova). I will return to these pieces and their revision in Chapter Five; for the present it is enough to know that the pieces, *in their original form* as published by Lasso in 1565 and 1566, must have been known in Rome. Two further polychoral pieces by Lasso, *Confitebor tibi* and *Jam lucis orto*, appeared in the *Thesaurus Musicus* of 1564 which also contained the two pieces by Phinot. Music by Lasso was sent to Rome as part of the exchange of music between Rome and Munich organised by Cardinals Borromeo, Vitelli and Truchsess in 1561-2.³⁷ It might be that further exchanges also took place. Certainly Lasso's visit to Rome in 1574 must have included contact between him and leading Roman composers such as Palestrina, Victoria and Zoilo and may have provided the impetus for Palestrina's and Victoria's change of style. Palestrina may well have known Lasso's work before 1574, however: the opening of the latter's *In convertendo* [ex. 12] could have provided a model for Palestrina's *Domine in virtute* [ex. 10] while the threefold antiphonal repetition of 'et metuant eum' in Lasso's *Deus misereatur nostri* [ex. 13] points the way for Palestrina's repetitions of 'et super coelos' in *Laudate pueri* [ex. 14]. Further examples of the possible indebtedness of Roman composers (and particularly Zoilo) to Lasso will be given in the next chapter.

It would appear therefore that only Phinot and Lasso could have provided the models for the sudden blossoming of real polychoral music in Rome around 1575 and one can certainly pinpoint certain features which the Romans might have learned from them. On the other hand, as we shall see, Roman composers went further than either Phinot or Lasso in their manner of writing for more than one choir, and it may well be that the Romans found their way to polychoral writing independently of outside influence. In any case it is now time to examine the first fruits of this blossoming.

NOTES

1. 'Polychoral music: a Venetian phenomenon?' is the title of an article by Anthony Carver ('Polychoral') in which he showed that Venetian polychoral music was part of a much wider panorama covering other areas of Italy as well as Franco-Flemish and German lands. Giovanni d'Alessi ('Precursors') had already extended our knowledge of its prevalence to the Veneto. Arnold ('Grand motets') has followed Boetticher (Lasso) in dealing with the polychoral music of Lasso.
2. Carver, *Development* is the primary study, shortly to be published in a revised version by Cambridge University Press. Parts of this study have been published in Carver, 'The psalms' and Carver, 'Polychoral'.
3. In coming to this conclusion Carver acknowledges the pioneering work of Kroyer ('Dialog') Hertzmann ('Mehrchörigkeit').
4. This is a summary of what Zarlino has to say in *Le institutioni, Terza Pars*, Chapter 66. Carver, *Development*, deals with the alterations to the wording made by Zarlino in his various revisions of the book.
5. The *Miserere* is found in *Rvat Sist.* 205-6 ff. 5v-7. Festa's *Te Deum* is found in *Rvat Sist.* 20, ff. 112v-120; *Inviolata* is in the same manuscript, ff. 121v-123, where it is anonymous, but it is ascribed to Festa in *Rvat Sist.* 46, ff. 135v-138. Panuzzi's catalogue (*Rvat Sist.* 630) mentions a piece by Festa, *Angeli Archangeli*, for 22v in the then *Rvat Sist.* 171, which has since disappeared.
6. Costanzo Festa, *Litaniae Deiparae Virginis ex sacra scriptura collectae* (Munich 1583).
7. Costanzo Porta, *Litaniae Deiparae Virginis Mariae ex sancta scriptura depromptae, quae in almo domo Lauretanae omnibus diebus sabbati, vigiliarum, et festorum eiusdem Beatae Virginis decantari solent, cum musica octo vocum* (Venice, 1575). This was first pointed out in Roth, *Litaneikompositionen*, who nevertheless concluded that the work was by Festa. Fischer, 'Composizioni', p. 341, quotes Roth but leaves the question of Festa's authorship open. The text of the litany of Loreto was not

given papal approval until 1576 which also makes a much earlier date unlikely.

8. Carver, *Development*, p. 83.
9. Danckerts' *Laetamini* is in RISM 1545² and RISM 1564¹ while his *Magnificat* is found in Rsc G Ms. 968; Arcadelt's *Pater noster* is in RISM 1545² and Morales' *Anreas Christi famulus* is in RISM 1564¹. The anonymous pieces in Rvat Sist. 57 which dates from the mid-sixteenth century are *Sancta Trinitas*, *Assumpta est Maria* and *O magnum mysterium*.
10. The influence of dialogues on the development of polychoral music is dealt with in Carver, *Development*, in Nutter, *Dialogue* and in Whenham, *Duet and Dialogue*.
11. Francesco Guerrero, *Sacrae Cantiones vulgo Motecta nuncupata*, 4, 5v (Seville, 1555); *Motetta...quae partim quaternis, partim quinis, alia senis, alia octonis et duodenis concinuntur vocibus* (Venice, 1570).
12. In F. Guerrero, *ibid.* (1570). The layout of voices in the edition by J. Llorens (MME, xxxvi, 126 (Barcelona, 1978)) masks the true polychoral nature of the piece, which can be seen if it is rearranged.
13. This piece uses the *chiavette*: C=G₂, A=C₂, T=C₃, Bar=C₄, B=F₃ (the subscript numbers refer to the line on which the clef is found, counting from the bottom line of the stave upwards).
14. Tomas Luis de Victoria, *Motecta quae partim quaternis, partim quinis, alia senis, alia octonis vocibus concinuntur* (Venice, 1572); Giovanni P. da Palestrina, *Motetorum quae partim quinis, partim senis, partim octonis vocibus concinantur, liber secundus* (Venice, 1572).
15. A.S.V., Smo. Crocefisso A-X-100; also quoted in Alaleona, *Oratorio*. Another reason - as well as the fact that they are psalms - for associating these pieces with one of the oratories is their existence in Rn 77-88 which, it was argued in Chapter Three, pp. 120-121, was compiled for use in Sma. Trinità in the early 1580s from pieces already in use there.
16. Rn 117-121
17. Jacobus de Kerle, *Preces speciales pro salubri generalis Concilii successu*, 4vv (Venice, 1562). Modern edition in DTB xxxiv, Jg. xvi (1926/Rev 2 1974).
18. For a score of this mass and full documentation see Lockwood, *Marcellus*.
19. The 8v versions are found in Rvat Giul. XIII 24 which, as discussed on p. 113-4, was most probably compiled during Palestrina's lifetime.
20. A. Mongitore, *Bibliotheca Sicula*, ii (Palermo, 1714/R 1971), 162. See article 'Vinci' in the *New Grove*.
21. Pietro Vinci, *Missarum cum quinque, sex, et octo vocibus, liber primus* (Venice, 1575).
22. Arnold, 'Andrea Gabrieli'. *Egredimini* was first published in the posthumous *Concerti di Andrea, et di Gio. Gabrieli...per voci, et stromenti musicali à 6,7,8,10,12 e 16...libro primo et secondo* (Venice, 1587) = RISM 1587¹⁶. It was also published in RISM 1590⁵. There is a modern edition

in: A. Gabrieli, 'Drei Motetten', ed. D. Arnold, *Das Chorwerk* 96 (Wolfenbüttel, 1965).

23. *Lucido seu fulvo* and *Deus misereatur nostri* in RISM 1568^e. Bryant, *Liturgy* discusses probably occasions for the composition of Andrea Gabrieli's works. Recent research has brought Andrea Gabrieli's date of birth forward to 1533 (M. Morell, 'New evidence for the biographies of Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli', *EMH*, iii (1983), 101) which makes the later dates for his compositions more plausible.
24. F. Guerrero, *Motetta...quae partim quaternis, partim quinis, alia senis, alia octonis et duodenis vocibus concinuntur* (Venice, 1570). Modern edition of *Regina coeli* in MME, xxxvi, 134. F. Guerrero, *Motecta...quae partim quinis, alia senis, alia octonis et duodenis concinuntur vocibus* (Venice, 1597).
25. Carver, *Development* and Carver, 'Polychoral', p. 12.
26. P. Cerone, *El Melopeo y Maestro* (Naples, 1613); Roger Jacob, 'Phinot' in *New Grove* (London, 1981).
27. Di Adriano et di Jachet, i salmi appertinenti alli vesperi (Venice 1550 = RISM 1550)
28. K. Fischer, 'Composizioni', 350.
29. ASR, *Opedale della Sma. Trinità dei Pellegrini*, 704 records a payment of four *scudi* to 'Ipolito Camaturo' on 16th November 1587 for music provided at the procession of the Blessed Sacrament. In December 1586 75 *baiocchi* were paid to a 'Hippolito organista' for fifteen days' service: this might also have been de Negri.
30. Ippolito Chamaterò di Negri, *Salmi corista otto voci, per le feste di Natale, di Pasqua, et altre feste del anno, secondo l'ordine del Concilio di Trento comodi alle voci, accompagnate anco con ogni sorte di instrumenti...* (Venice, 1573).
31. Ippolito Chamatero di Negri, *Li Magnificat a otto, a nove, et a dodici voci* (Venice, 1575).
32. Boetticher, *Lasso*, 35. For Smo. Crocefisso see Alaleona, *Oratorio*, 397ff.
33. Boetticher, 'Frühfassung'
34. Orlando di Lasso, *Modulorum....quaternis, quinis, senis, septenis, octonis et denis vocibus modulatorum secundum volumen 4-8, 10vv* (Paris, 1565); *Sacrae Cantiones...sex et octo vocum, tum viva voce, tum omnis generis istrumentis cantatu commodissimae, liber quartus* (Venice, 1566).
35. O'Regan, 'Lasso'. A copy is bound in at the back of this volume.
36. Lucia Navarrini in the course of work for her *Tesi di Laurea* on Annibale Zoilo for the *Università di Studi, Firenze* identified the handwriting as that of Zoilo. See Chapter Three, pp. 117-122 for full details of this manuscript and its connection with Sma. Trinità.
37. This exchange is described, with sources, in Lockwood, *Marcellus*.

CHAPTER FIVE

ROMAN POLYCHORAL MUSIC FROM THE HOLY YEAR OF 1575 TO THE DEATH OF POPE GREGORY XIII IN 1585

It may not be just a coincidence that the first real polychoral music from Rome should have been published by Palestrina in the holy or jubilee year of 1575. The huge crowds of visiting pilgrims and the need both to have the music heard and to impress visitors with the grandeur of the liturgy in the most important church in Christendom, may well have provided the impulse towards writing for separate choirs. Palestrina's 1575 collection contains two settings of Ps. 99, *Jubilate Deo* (with doxology), one for five voices and the other for double choir. This text was particularly associated with jubilee years: it was sung during the ceremonial opening of the special doors of the four major basilicas (only opened during holy years), and also on visits to the four major basilicas, necessary to gain the holy year indulgence.¹ Another of the polychoral pieces is the Christmas motet, *Hodie Christus natus est*; now the holy door of the old St. Peter's basilica was opened on Christmas Eve 1574, and it is possible that both of these double-choir pieces were written for the beginning of the holy year, not necessarily for the opening ceremony sung by the papal singers (neither piece survives in *Rvat Sist.*), but as part of the Cappella Giulia's own celebrations.

What is most significant about the 8v pieces in Palestrina's 1575 collection is that the two choirs not only have a consistent and individual existence for the first time, but in five of the six pieces they are also harmonically independent. That is to say, neither bass part takes the fifth of the chord and neither choir has 6-4 harmonies which depend on the other choir to provide the real bass.² (The term is not used here to refer to the presence or absence of the third of the chord in one or other choir.³) In writing like this, Palestrina went further than Phinot, or the works written by

Lasso or Andrea Gabrieli up to this point; it implies that he was writing for spatially separated choirs, taking Zarlino's advice to avoid fifths between the bass parts, so that listeners closer to one choir than the other did not hear the dissonant fourth.

The move to this style of writing was a natural progression from the embryonic polychoral pieces examined in the previous chapter, and was achieved by consolidating the tendency to group the voices into two consistent choirs. That this was the case is shown by revisions of a number of these early pieces for just that purpose. Four of these revised works are to be found in Rn 77-88 and a further two in Rn 117-121. Of those in the former manuscript, two are by Lasso (*Deus misereatur nostri* and *In convertendo*) and have already been discussed in Chapter Four. The third is by Animuccia, his *Pater noster* (published in 1570) and the fourth by Palestrina, *Laudate Dominum* from his 1572 publication. In their original form these last two pieces, as opposed to those by Lasso, were not full polychoral pieces and so the revision involved considerable re-writing. They were, however, the pieces from their respective collections which came closest to being properly polychoral, which probably explains why they were chosen for revision (both the original and revised forms appear in the manuscript). In their revised form all of these pieces have harmonically independent choirs, and the amount of overlap between the choirs at changeover points has been drastically reduced. The two Lasso pieces, which were originally copied by Annibale Zoilo,⁴ were revised by correcting the parts in the manuscript; since they were already polychoral pieces the alterations were largely confined to the Bass parts and so were easy to effect *in situ*. It is not possible to say who the reviser was, but Zoilo seems the most likely candidate. The Palestrina piece might well have been revised by the composer, who preceded Zoilo at Sma. Trinita, for which the manuscript seems to have been compiled. The two Lasso works are also found in their revised form in Rn 117-121 as well as a third revised piece by Lasso, also originally published in

1566, *Levavi oculos meos*. These three pieces, as well as the revised version of Palestrina's *Laudate Dominum*, are also found in Rvat Giul. XIII 24, probably compiled under Palestrina's supervision. Rn 117-121 contains one further piece revised in the same way: Luca Marenzio's *Jubilare Deo*. The earlier version, without harmonically independent bass-lines, appeared posthumously in various printed anthologies from 1600 onwards; it must date from the beginning of the composer's career, and he may have carried out the revision himself.

Since I have discussed these revisions elsewhere⁶, I will confine myself here to Animuccia's *Pater noster*, both versions of which are given side by side in Volume Two, p. 73. The effect of the revision is immediately obvious to the eye since the revised version has a very clear division into two choirs not found in the original. In doing this the bass and soprano parts were retained as far as possible and the inner parts altered. B₁ is the least altered part and seems to have been used as a basis for the revised version (it is a feature of the Animuccia 1570 pieces that the first bass is usually the lower of the two, particularly in *tutti* passages). The original bass parts engaged more than the others in antiphonal dialogue, and so could be used as the basis for reconstruction. The reviser also simplified some of the ornamental figures, for example in suspension resolutions (T₁₁, bar 13; C₁₁, bar 19 etc.). This is a general feature of all of these revisions: in 'tidying up' the pieces much of the polyphonic detail was lost. The revised versions are much more homophonic in style and there is very little overlap at takeover points. This would also have facilitated the incoming choir in getting their notes - more difficult because of the increased spatial separation of the choirs. The revised version keeps the plainsong paraphrase for the most part, since this is largely confined to the soprano parts. Where it did appear in the tenor in the original (as at 'panem nostrum') it is lost from the revision. Nor can there be any doubt that much more was lost in the revising process: the re-writing is often clumsily done, with leaps (sometimes of an octave) introduced into the inner

parts. Animuccia's original setting was written to exploit the possibilities of continual re-grouping of voices, and in ironing this out the piece has lost much of its character, while the reviser did not feel free to make a more radical adaptation exploiting the possibilities of the newer medium. Boetticher has pointed out the same defects in the Lasso revisions and it was largely this which led him to view the revised versions as earlier ones, later 'improved' by Lasso.⁶ The most successful of these revisions is that of Marenzio's *Jubilate Deo*, precisely because the least amount of rewriting was necessary, since the original was already close to being a *cori spezzati* piece.

Nor was this rearrangement confined to 8v pieces: Rn 77-88 contains a double-choir version of Animuccia's 5v *Cantate Domino*⁷ and Rvat Giul. XIII 24 has versions of two Palestrina 6v pieces, *O Domine Jesu Christe* and *O bone Jesu* rearranged for two choirs of four voices. (Since the 6v versions were published in 1569 and 1575 respectively it would seem most likely that the double-choir settings are rearrangements of these rather than vice versa). The original pieces did lend themselves to such revision - though no more so than a number of other pieces from the same publications - in being largely homophonic in texture and relying on contrasting sub-groups, usually of four voices, taken variously from among the six. Again the revisions build on the lowest parts, the bass and the lowest tenor, and also retain much of the two soprano parts. The embryonic antiphonal exchange in the 6v versions is made explicit in the double-choir ones and extra antiphonal repetitions are added to extend both pieces. The *tutti* sections demanded the most extensive rewriting. Since both versions of these pieces are easily available⁸ examples will not be given here. A similar exercise was later carried out by Francesco Soriano in rearranging Palestrina's *Missa Papae Marcelli* for double-choir (to be discussed in Chapter Eight) and there are other examples.⁹

The most significant features of the polychoral music written during this first decade of its appearance in Rome are: the type of text set, and the way in which the text is divided between the choirs. Some general consideration of these two related points will precede a discussion of individual institutions and composers; this will in turn be followed by an examination of music for more than two choirs. The texts set were almost all of a sectionalised and antiphonal nature: Marian antiphons, Litanies, sequences and psalm-motets. This in turn influenced the apportioning of text between the choirs, since there was a tendency to give whole verses/sections of text, or half-sections, to individual choirs. The most frequently-set were Marian antiphons, normally sung at the end of Compline, but also after Vespers, or used in a votive or devotional context.¹⁰ This last use may well have been the most common during this period, since settings of the Compline psalms and canticle are rare, and Vesper psalms and the Magnificat were not set (apart from those of Victoria and, perhaps, Palestrina's Magnificat¹¹). The Marian antiphon prescribed for use during Lent, the *Ave Regina*, has the largest number of surviving settings and four of these will be considered in order to examine the attitudes of the most important composers of this period towards setting the text. There are two settings by Palestrina (1575 and that from the *Altemps* collection), one by Victoria (1581) and one by Zoilo (Rn 77-88). They are shown schematically below, in diagrams which indicate the division of the text between the choirs. The text of the *Ave Regina*, together with the plainsong, is given in Appendix I: it divides into four sections, the first of which is split into two very similar phrases (these have the same music in the plainsong). The beginning of each section is indicated by a capital letter in the diagrams below. The length of each phrase of text in these diagrams is not proportional to the length of its musical setting, but bar numbers are given as a guide to the length of the musical phrases. Changes to triple-time are also indicated. When a musical phrase is repeated exactly, this is shown by an unbroken line underneath the

text; a broken line indicates that the music is varied but related, i.e. the bass remains the same with one or more of the upper parts changed, or the whole is repeated at a different pitch.

PALESTRINA (1575)

(Bar, no.)	15	30	40
Ch. I	Ave Regina coelorum	Salve radix sancta ex qua mundo lux est orta	
Ch. II	ave Domina angelorum		Gaude gaude

	50		60
Ch. I	gau- de gaude glorio- sa	su- per omnes speciosa	va - le val- de decora
Ch. II	glorio - sa	su- per omnes specio- sa	Vale val- de deco - ra

	70
Ch. I	et pro nobis semper Christum exora Vale valde decora et pro nobis sem-
Ch. II	et pro no-bis semper Christum exora Vale valde decora et pro nobis

	83
Ch. I	per Chris - tum exo - ra
Ch. II	semper Christum exora

PALESTRINA (ALTEMPS)

(Bar, no.)	20	36	50
Ch. I	Ave Regina coelorum	Salve	ex qua mundo lux est orta
Ch. II	ave Domina angelorum	salve radix et porta	ex qua

	113/2	60		11C 70
Ch. I	Gaude gaude gloriosa	gaude gaude gloriosa	super omnes specio - sa	vale
Ch. II	mundo lux est orta	gaude gaude gloriosa	super o-mnes speci-osa	vale

	80
Ch. I	valde decora et pro nobis semper Christum exora sem-
Ch. II	valde deco - ra et pro nobis semper Christum exora semper Christum et pro nobis

	90
Ch. I	per Christum ex - - o-ra
Ch. II	semper Christum exora

VICTORIA

(Bar no.)	10	20	
Ch. I	Ave Regina Coelorum	Salve, salve radix sancta	lux est orta lux est orta
Ch. II	ave Domina angelorum	salve	ex qua mundo lux est orta lux

	30	113/2	40	11 C 50
Ch. I	lux est or- ta, Gaude gaude gloriosa		Gaude gaude gloriosa, super omnes	
Ch. II	est orta, lux est orta	Gaude, gaude gloriosa	gaude gloriosa	

	60	113/2	70	11 C
Ch. I	speciosa, Va-le vale valde decora Et pro nobis Et pro no-bis semper Christum ex-			
Ch. II	Va - le vale, vale valde deco-ra Et pro nobis			

		80	88
Ch, I	ora	semper Christum.....	exora.
Ch, II	semper Christum	exo-ra, semper Christum...	exora.

ZOILLO

(Bar, no.)	29	57	
Ch, I	<u>Ave Regina coelorum</u>	<u>Salve salve</u>	<u>radix et porta</u>
Ch, II	<u>ave Domina angelorum</u>	<u>salve</u>	<u>radix et porta</u> <u>radix et porta</u>

	70			80
Ch, I	<u>ex qua mundo</u>	<u>lux est orta</u>	<u>lux est orta</u>	<u>lux est or - ta</u> <u>Gaude</u> <u>gau-</u>
Ch, II	<u>ex qua mundo</u>	<u>lux est orta</u>	<u>lux est orta</u>	<u>lux est orta</u> <u>gaude gloriosa</u>

	90
Ch, I	<u>de gloriosa</u> <u>su- per om- nes</u> <u>spe- ciosa</u> <u>vale valde decora</u> <u>et pro no-</u>
Ch, II	<u>super om- nes</u> <u>su- per om- nes</u> <u>Vale valde</u> <u>vale valde decora</u> <u>et</u>

	100	:
Ch, I	<u>et pro no-bis</u> <u>semper Christum exora</u>	<u>et pro nobis</u> <u>semper</u>
Ch, II	<u>pro no-bis</u> <u>et pro nobis</u>	<u>semper Christum exora</u> <u>et pro nobis</u>

	:	115	123
Ch, I	<u>Christum exora</u>	<u>semper Christum exora, semper Christum ex - o - ra</u>	
Ch, II	<u>semper Christum exora</u>	<u>semper Christum exora, semper Christum exora</u>	

Three of the four give extended settings to the first section, with its two matching phrases sung by individual choirs in turn, without overlap. In his 1575 setting Palestrina also gives the second section totally to a single choir, the inter-choral exchange only beginning at section three. This tendency to open with extended sections for each choir in turn is a feature common to all Marian antiphon settings from this period and continues the approach of Animuccia in his 1570 *Salve Regina*. Victoria also gives the first two phrases to individual choirs, but they overlap and are much shorter than in the other settings. Palestrina and Zoilo both loosely paraphrase the plainsong in the first section but abandon it thereafter; Victoria does not make use of it at all. Victoria and Zoilo simply repeat the same music for the first two matching phrases; in each of his settings, Palestrina derives two different paraphrases from the plainsong for these two phrases. Victoria, and Zoilo in particular, use a lot of exact musical repetition whereas Palestrina almost always varies something in antiphonal exchange. The 1575 Palestrina setting

is the shortest and has the least amount of fragmentation of the text; that by Zoilo is considerably longer and has the greatest amount of such fragmentation, much of it exact antiphonal repetition. In Rn 77-88 Zoilo repeats six bars exactly (shown above by repeat signs); these bars are, in fact, omitted in Rn 117-121. Exact antiphonal repetition is, as we shall see, a feature of Zoilo's polychoral writing and one which makes his music rather less successful than that of Palestrina and Victoria. All four settings give an extended treatment to the final section of the text, with three of them repeating it in its entirety: this continues to be a feature of settings of this antiphon.

THE CAPPELLA GIULIA AND CAPPELLA PONTIFICIA: GIOVANNI PIERLUIGI DA PALESTRINA

The six pieces by Palestrina from 1575 are listed in Table I, together with the voice-types and clefs used.¹²

TABLE I

Surge illuminare	CATBar/CATB	G ₂ C ₂ C ₃ C ₄ /G ₂ C ₂ C ₃ F ₃
Lauda Sion	CCAT/ATTB	C ₁ C ₁ C ₃ F ₃ /C ₃ C ₄ C ₄ F ₃
Veni Sancte Spiritus	CMeABar/ATTB	G ₂ C ₁ C ₂ C ₄ /C ₂ C ₃ C ₃ F ₃
Ave Regina	CCAT/ATTB	C ₁ C ₁ C ₃ C ₄ /C ₃ C ₄ C ₄ F ₃
Hodie Christus	CCABar/ATTB	G ₂ G ₂ C ₂ C ₄ /C ₂ C ₃ C ₃ F ₃
Jubilate Deo	CATB/CATB	G ₂ C ₂ C ₃ F ₃ /G ₂ C ₂ C ₃ F ₃

Five set antiphonal or antiphonal-like texts. Two are taken from sequences, *Lauda Sion* for Corpus Christi and *Veni Sancte Spiritus* for Pentecost (the former uses verses 1-2 and 23-4 only and the latter omits the final 'amen, alleluia', so that neither were for liturgical use).^{*} *Jubilate Deo* sets the whole of Psalm 99 (with doxology). *Hodie Christus*, with its 'noe' refrains, is also quasi-antiphonal as is *Ave Regina*. In all of these pieces Palestrina respects the division into verses or sections, changing choir at the beginning of each new verse or section and, in the case of the psalm, usually doing so also at the caesura in the middle of the verse. The choice of clef-combinations is interesting: in only one case does Palestrina use the same clefs for both choirs and four of the pieces contrast a high choir, with two sopranos, against

a low one with two tenors. In this Palestrina follows Animuccia's lead, although his 1572 pieces had used the same clefs for corresponding voices; Victoria also used different clef-combinations in many of his early polychoral pieces. Both composers later wrote only for two equal choirs, as did Zoilo from the beginning, and after the early 1580s unequally-cleffed choirs became very much the exception in Rome. Cleffing has implications both for harmonic independence and for antiphonal repetition: with a tenor or baritone as the lowest voice in one choir it is more difficult to avoid giving this voice the fifth of the chord, while unequal clefs make exact musical repetition very unlikely. Despite this, all of Palestrina's 1575 pieces except *Hodie Christus* are written for two harmonically self-contained choirs.

The implications of having two independent bass-lines go far beyond the ability of the choirs to sing at a distance from each other. The bass parts now tend to move largely in contrary motion in *tutti* passages, both taking the root of the harmony. While the basses were still, on the whole, involved in the contrapuntal fabric of the 1572 8v pieces, by 1575 they had withdrawn to a great extent, providing a harmonic foundation with many long notes and movement largely in fourths and fifths. Triple-time plays a much larger part in the 1575 pieces and it is especially in these sections, with their fast antiphonal exchange, that the bass parts adopt a harmony-bearing role.

A good example of this new style of writing can be seen in example 15, taken from *Veni Sancte Spiritus*. Both choirs retain their individuality throughout, while the texture is largely homophonic, broken by some crotchet runs and suspensions. The choirs imitate each other but with a lot of variation in the top three parts. The bass parts follow each other more closely, though at different pitches: both bass parts almost always have the root of the harmony, moving in contrary motion in order to avoid consecutive octaves. The harmony changes only once per bar initially, then at the half-bar

as the section moves to a close. From the second bar the harmony moves through the cycle of fifths from D to B^b and then in the final bars moves backwards through the cycle twice as quickly.

Each of the six pieces opens with a long passage for the first choir and in five of them the beginning is homophonic, with all four voices entering together, or with one voice only slightly delayed. The exception is *Surge illuminare* which begins with the four voices of Choir I entering in imitation and continuing for eleven bars, before giving way to Choir II in which all voices enter simultaneously. Both of these types of opening are found in the later polychoral works of Palestrina and his successors. The remainder of *Surge illuminare* makes very little use of imitation and relies instead, as do all of these pieces, on a pseudo-polyphonic texture, using anticipated or delayed entries in one or more voices to create a temporary illusion of counterpoint. The extended opening phrase for one choir is a feature of works of this first period, but it largely disappeared after the mid-1580s.

Hodie Christus natus provides a good example of Palestrina's sensitivity and variety in handling a text. Each line is treated differently in its division between the choirs, as is each of the four settings of the 'noe' refrain. The piece is shown schematically below:

(Bar no.)	10	
Ch. I	Hodie Christus natus est, Noe, noe...noe	noe, noe noe, noe
Ch. II		Hodie Christus natus est noe, noe noe, noe
	20	30
Ch. I	noe, noe, noe Hodie Salvator apparuit noe, noe noe, noe	canunt Angeli
Ch. II	noe, noe	noe, noe noe, noe Hodie in terra canunt Ange
	40	50
Ch. I	laetantur Archangeli noe, noe, noe	Gloria in excel-
Ch. II	-li noe, noe, noe	Hodie exsultent justi dicentes
	60 3/2	
Ch. I	sis De - o, gloria in excelsis De - o, noe, noe	noe, noe, noe, noe...noe
Ch. II	Gloria, gloria in excelsis De - o, Noe, noe	noe, noe, noe, noe noe...noe

The piece opens with a homophonic statement in Choir I (reminiscent of the openings of Phinot's *Tanto tempore* and *Incipit oratio*). This is followed by the first statement of the 'noe' refrain, sung by the four voices of Choir I in pairs, with antiphonal dialogue. Choir II repeats the opening phrase with the same music, but transposed down a fifth and with the two top parts interchanged. For the repeat of the 'noe' refrain, Palestrina expands the antiphonal exchange to the two choirs in an interesting pattern: 'noe's in alternate choirs are interspersed with 'noe's in the combined choirs (see the schematic representation). Here the antiphonal exchange is at the distance of a single 'noe'; at the end of the second line this is extended to two 'noe's, after the third line to three, while the final extended 'noe' section moves into triple time. For most of the piece the two choirs have a separate existence; in *tutti* sections however, and particularly in the longer *tuttis* at 'Gloria in excelsis' and the final refrain, the choirs do lose their individuality and merge into one, as in the 1572 pieces. Here the harmony becomes static, with one chord per bar of the modern edition; the overall homophonic texture is broken up by running passages and the first bass is not independent [ex. 16]. This can be compared to a similar section from Phinot's *Tanto tempore* [ex. 17] where the same techniques are used. Note especially the use made by both composers of the dotted minim followed by a crotchet, particularly when this figure is overlapped between parts, starting on consecutive minim beats. Another big distinction between this Palestrina piece (and the others in this collection) and his earlier 8v settings is the clear division between the choirs at changeover points: all voices of the incoming choir enter together after the outgoing one has finished, and on the same chord; there is very little anticipation or retardation by single parts, nor is there any example in these pieces of a single voice from one choir joining with some or all voices of the other.

Surge illuminare is in ABB' form; Palestrina skillfully rearranges his material so as to provide variety in the repeat of the B section, whereas later

composers were all too willing to simply interchange the choirs in repeats of this kind. Palestrina uses as building blocks his homophonic setting of the two phrases, 'et gloria eius' and 'in te videbitur' [ex. 18]. The first of these appears at three different pitch levels, the bass starting on D, A or G. The second phrase retains its original pitch throughout, but is varied considerably in the antiphonal exchange leading to the *tutti* in each case. Palestrina uses these blocks in cumulative antiphonal exchange to build to a climax: both versions are shown schematically, with the bass starting-note for each of the 'et gloria eius' blocks given in brackets:

B SECTION:

Ch. I	(A)et gloria eius	(A)et gloria eius	(G)et gloria eius in te videbitur.
Ch. II	(D)et gloria eius in te videbitur	(D)et gloria eius	in te vi-de -
Ch. I	in te..videbitur		
Ch. II	bitur		

B' SECTION:

Ch. I	(A)et gloria eius	(G)et gloria eius in te videbitur	in te vi - de-bitur
Ch. II	(A)et gloria eius	(D)et gloria eius	in te videbitur, in te videbitur

Both sequence settings closely follow the plainsong, in the soprano and tenor in *Lauda Sion* and in all parts in *Veni Sancte Spiritus*. Both settings are very homophonic in texture, with little antiphonal exchange. The texts, like the well-known *Stabat mater*, are strongly metrical and their trochaic metre would fit naturally into triple time. Palestrina avoids the monotony of continual triple time (which does invade his other setting of *Lauda Sion*, set totally in triple meter) by setting large portions of the text in duple time and exploiting the conflict between this and the natural rhythm of the text. This can be seen in [ex. 19] where the natural rhythm comes through, despite the duple time-signature; at the takeover point the interlocking of the two choirs in duple time throws the rhythm out of gear before it is taken up again in Choir I. Similar rhythmic subtleties abound in these two settings, in the

Stabat mater and also in the 1575 *Ave Regina*. Triple-time writing plays an important part in these pieces, as opposed to those of 1572 in which it hardly appeared. Triple-time sections are invariably homophonic and played an important part in the shift of emphasis from counterpoint to harmony.

These six pieces occupy a crucial position in the development of the Roman polychoral style and, beyond this, in the changeover from Renaissance polyphony to the more vertical, sonority-conscious, idiom of the early Baroque. Having established his style in this publication, Palestrina continued to write largely in the same manner, apart from a small number of pieces which will be discussed in the following chapter.

The most important source for Palestrina's polychoral music is Rvat Giul. XIII 24, compiled in the early 1580s and containing roughly half of his total output. These pieces cover all genres (except the Mass ordinary). Apart from a few pieces written in by a later scribe, the style is consistent, and close to that of the 1575 publication. Six are Marian antiphon settings and are similar in style to the two *Ave Regina* settings discussed above, with long sections for individual choirs initially, paraphrasing the plainsong. The *Salve Regina* setting shows a more developed style: both choirs are used from the beginning, the text is divided into short sections, many of which are repeated antiphonally. There are three settings of the *Regina coeli* in this manuscript. Two are in the first layer and are clearly attributed to Palestrina; the third is copied, and attributed to Palestrina by a later hand. The C_r part is incomplete and the piece has not been accepted as genuine by the editors of either Palestrina edition. Although it is stylistically similar to the other Palestrina settings, its simplicity makes attribution difficult and it is listed as doubtful in the catalogue.

Apart from the Marian antiphons there are a further thirteen motets and eight Litany settings by Palestrina for two choirs in Rvat Giul. XIII 24. The

Litanies have been dealt with by Klaus Fischer¹³. The motets largely continue in the same vein as the 1575 pieces: most begin with a long section for Choir I, starting with staggered imitation, followed by a shorter section for Choir II with all voices entering together. While there is little explicit word-painting, Palestrina does take care to find an appropriate setting for each phrase. The prevailing texture is homophonic, broken by pseudo-polyphonic devices such as short crotchet runs, anticipation or retardation of some voices, limited use of imitation etc. What emerges from all of these pieces, as in those published in 1575, is Palestrina's gift for variety in his handling of the antiphonal medium. He is rarely content to repeat anything exactly. This can be seen, for example, in the doxology of his *Nunc dimittis* (which does have some exact repetition earlier in the piece) [ex. 20]. The four-fold 'et Spiritui sancto' uses the same bass pattern, but at different pitches with all parts subtly varied each time.

Rvat Sist. 29 is the main source for Palestrina's polychoral music written for the papal choir. There are seven pieces here, six motets which form part of a cycle by various composers covering the major feasts of the liturgical year, and a Magnificat. This last comes at the end of the manuscript and will be discussed together with other post-1585 Magnificat settings in the following chapter. The motets would appear to have been composed before or about 1585, showing the same features as those in Rvat Giul. XIII 24. The best known is the *Stabat mater*, but this is untypical of these pieces, and indeed of Palestrina's output in general, with its almost totally homophonic texture in white note-values, broken only by cadential decorations. Interest is maintained by rhythmic variation and use of hemiola, and also by taking groups of singers from across the two choirs. This is a return to the pre-1575 manner, but would have been successful in the Sistine Chapel because of the lack of spatial

separation. This is not found in the other Rvat Sist. 29 pieces, which include a *secunda pars* for the 1575 *Surge illuminare*.

The other major sources for Palestrina's output will be discussed in the next chapter.

THE GERMAN COLLEGE: TOMAS LUIS DE VICTORIA AND ANNIBALE STABILE

After Palestrina the most important composer of polychoral music in this first period was Victoria, *maestro di cappella* at the German College between 1573 and 1577. In fact his *Super Flumina Babylonis* may have preceded Palestrina's 1575 pieces since it is recorded that Victoria wrote a setting of this text in 1573 on the occasion of the parting of the German College students, who were moving into a new building, from their former colleagues.¹⁴ The piece was not however published until 1576, together with two Marian antiphon settings and the Vesper psalm, *Nisi Dominus*. Settings of the other two Marian antiphons followed in 1581 together with three further Vesper psalms, and two years later a three-choir setting of a fifth Vesper psalm, *Laetatus sum*, appeared along with a double-choir Litany. Victoria was not a prolific composer on the scale of Palestrina or Lasso; he was, however, a regular publisher and re-publisher of his works and very little unpublished material survives in manuscript. For this reason the publication dates listed above must follow fairly closely on the dates of composition and so Victoria can provide a useful yardstick for stylistic developments. A major difference between Victoria and Palestrina is that the former composed polychoral settings of six Vespers psalms with doxology whereas Palestrina did not compose any. This presumably reflects differences in liturgical practice between S. Pietro and the German College during this period.

Klaus Fischer has dealt with Victoria's psalm-settings in his thesis on Roman psalm composition.¹⁵ He has pointed out that the two 1576 settings are

largely homophonic, with very few anticipated or retarded entries at takeover points; there is little use of pseudo-polyphonic devices and no echo-like repetitions. When phrases of text are repeated, the music is varied with often only the bass, or soprano and bass, remaining the same, and then often at a different pitch. These are all features found in the Palestrina works just discussed and, as Carver has described, are also found in Phinot.¹⁶ One feature of Victoria's 1576 psalms not found in Palestrina is the use of reduced voices for verses in the middle of the psalm. Verses three and four of *Super flumina* are for four voices while *Nisi Dominus* has one verse for three voices and one for four. Like Palestrina's *Ave Regina*, Victoria's *Salve Regina* has the early sections set for individual choirs - the first four sections in fact and the sixth. These sections are kept quite distinct, reminiscent of Animuccia's 1570 settings. Fischer rightly regards this as Victoria's response to the antiphonal nature of the psalms. A most important feature of the 1576 pieces, not discussed by Fischer, is that the choirs are not harmonically independent of each other, one or other choir having occasional 6-4 chords in *tutti* passages. As we have seen, these are absent from all but one of Palestrina's 1575 pieces.

Since Fischer has looked in some detail at the 1576 psalm settings attention here will be focussed on the Marian antiphons. Both paraphrase the plainsong closely at the beginning and less so as they progress. Victoria's *Salve Regina* setting is one of his finest and most extended pieces. He accentuates the contrast between 4v and 8v sections by writing the former in an imitative, polyphonic style and the latter in a largely homophonic one, broken by some pseudo-polyphonic devices such as anticipation or retardation of single voices. Apart from this anticipation/retardation there is little overlap between the choirs at takeover points. The contrast in textures is most obvious in section six, 'et Jesum', which has some very imitative four-part writing, unusually old-fashioned for Victoria, sandwiched between two mainly homophonic polychoral verses. Here we are clearly at a crossroads between two

eras with Victoria increasingly going along the polychoral path from this onwards. An interesting feature of *Salve Regina* is the unusual combination of clefs used, $G_2 G_2 C_3 C_4 / C_1 C_2 C_3 F_4$. The combination of G_2 in the top part with F_4 in the lowest bass means that the piece is in neither the standard clef-combination or the *chiavette* and the overall range is wider than the normal. In fact it is only for the final three sections that Victoria uses the F_4 clef for B_{TT} , the earlier sections using the F_3 clef. This means that Victoria has conceived his piece in *chiavette* and then extended the range of B_{TT} downwards in the final sections by changing the clef. Although the two soprano parts use the G^4 clef, the ranges of the two parts differ, particularly in the polychoral sections. C_T consistently uses the upper fourth of its range, $d'' - g''$ and only rarely goes below this, whereas C_T (also part of Choir I) uses the fourth from a'' to d'' and rarely goes above this. It may well be that the C_T part was taken by a cornett and that the normal transposition downwards of the *chiavette* does not apply to this piece because of the F_4 clef in the bass.¹⁷ This combination of clefs is hardly ever found in Roman polychoral music, in contrast to Venice where Giovanni Gabrieli used it quite frequently in his larger scale pieces involving instrumental participation.¹⁸ We have seen that instruments were used in the German College on special occasions at this time, as opposed to the Cappella Giulia.¹⁹

The other Marian antiphon in the 1576 collection, *Regina Coeli*, is also set for two uneven choirs, though here the overall clef-combination is the standard $C_1 C_1 C_3 F_3 / C_1 C_4 C_4 F_4$. As in the *Salve Regina* setting, double sopranos in Choir I are contrasted with double tenors in Choir II. It is the only piece from 1576 which is for double choir throughout, with no verses for single choir. It is not written for spatially-separated choirs, however: as well as the occasional 6-4 in one of the choirs there are instances of a single voice from one choir joining with voices from the other to form a temporary group, in the manner of the 1572 pieces of Palestrina and Victoria. It may be that this piece was

written somewhat earlier than the others in this collection. It is in the form of a motet with *prima* and *seconda partes*, both ending with the same triple-time Alleluia refrain. On the second occasion this is extended by five bars of duple-time *tutti* and it is here in particular that B_r does not function as a harmonic bass but joins A_r in decorative running figures against long notes in the other parts [ex. 21]. In contrast to the other pieces in this publication there is quite a lot of overlap between the choirs at takeover points. For example, at the threefold repetition of *quia quem meruisti portare* [ex. 22], the entries are staggered on each occasion. Although the same musical material is used, it is varied so that the order of entry of the voices is different each time. For the first two statements the soprano part remains the same out, on the third, it imitates the bass and in doing so exchanges lines with the alto. Only the tenor part is constant throughout, and even it has slight variations. At this stage of his career Victoria, like Palestrina, was rarely content to repeat the music exactly in antiphonal exchange.

On the other hand, by the time he composed the other two Marian antiphon settings published in 1581, Victoria was making much more use of exact repetition, made possible by his use of two equal-voiced choirs, as in the psalm *Laudate Dominum*.²⁰ *Dixit Dominus* is unusual in paraphrasing the first psalm-tone in virtually every verse; the other psalm settings have a tenuous relationship with the psalmtone, quoting it perhaps at the beginning and only occasionally, if at all, thereafter. *Laudate pueri* is the only one of the 1581 pieces to have unequal choirs (CCAT/CATB): it also has verses for three and four voices in the middle of the piece and is not written for harmonically independent choirs, making it closer in style to the 1576 pieces than those of 1581.

A further advance in style can be seen in Victoria's 1585 publication, to be discussed in the following chapter.

Victoria was succeeded at the German College by one Francesco whose surname is unknown²¹, but by July 1578 the *maestro* was Annibale Stabile and he continued in the post until 1590, covering the college's most important formative years. He issued two publications containing polychoral music while at the college, in 1583 and 1585. Only two partbooks from his 1583 publication survive, but three Litanies from it were reprinted in RISM 1596²² and these survive complete. One is for a plainsong choir alternating with two choirs of polyphony, a good example of the *alternatim* style of singing documented at the college. The opening invocations are sung alternately by the polyphonic choirs only; the plainsong choir enters with the first Marian invocation, 'Sancta Maria', and then takes every third invocation until the 'Agnus Dei' when it drops out again (ex. 23). Only the 'Agnus Dei' is polychoral and only the final 'miserere nobis' is *tutti*; the other invocations are divided from each other by barlines. The same music is repeated for various invocations, but without any regular pattern. It is in a simple *falsobordone* style and does not paraphrase the plainsong. As well as the three Litanies the 1583 publication contained double-choir settings of the four Marian antiphons.

Stabile's next publication, in 1585, contained a number of motets for two choirs; two of them - *Apollinaris inclyti* and *Stephanus plenus gratia* - celebrate the patron saints of the two churches in the care of the college. Another, *Queramus cum pastoribus*, was reprinted in the anthology RISM 1588²³ and is transcribed in Volume Two, p. 86. Its imitative opening in long note-values is reminiscent of Palestrina, and indeed Stabile often shows his training as an old-fashioned contrapuntal composer - a 6v motet by him from the same anthology, *Iuste et pie vivamus*, is a triple canon with each of the three parts entering a tone higher at two-bar intervals. At the same time he is not unaffected by more modern madrigalian word-painting devices such as the melismatic voice-pairs on 'cantemus' in *Queramus cum pastoribus* (in invertible counterpoint: bars 26-32). The growth from pairs of voices, through the 4v

setting in Choir II (where the two outer voices are the same as those in the previous pairs), to an 8v *tutti* on the word 'cantemus' makes for a striking setting. The piece has 'noe' refrains after each section, just as Palestrina's *Hodie Christus natus est* did and, like Palestrina, Stabile treats each of these refrains differently, using techniques very similar to those of the older composer. For example, the first set of 'noe's uses the choirs in quick alternation, overlapping on every third 'noe', just as Palestrina had overlapped on every second one. For the third appearance of the refrain, Stabile pairs the voices of Choir I, just as Palestrina did for his first set of 'noe's, and the final set builds up to an 8v *tutti* in both settings, though Stabile does not, like Palestrina, use triple time. Although the texture is largely homophonic, Stabile varies it consistently with rests, anticipation/retardation of single voices or by a reduction in the number of voices. Apart from the 'noe' refrains there is little antiphonal repetition and when this does occur it is always varied, as in the works of Palestrina.

Queramus cum pastoribus does not have syllables on consecutive crotchets and in general is close to Palestrina's style. *Apollinaris inclyti* and *Stephanus plenus gratia* follow the example of Victoria and (as we shall see) of Zoilo in having passages in which syllables are placed on crotchets, dotted crotchets and quavers. There is a greater amount of antiphonal repetition, but here too Stabile varies each repetition. Further examples of his ability as a polychoral composer will be seen when his later works are examined in the following chapter.

ROMAN ORATORIES: ANNIBALE ZOILO AND JEAN DE MACQUE

The main sources for the polychoral music of these two composers are Rn 77-88 and Rvat Giul. XIII 24. Zoilo was a pupil and later a collaborator of Palestrina who thought sufficiently highly of him to recommend him as *maestro* to the Duke of Mantua. Both composers were charged by Pope Gregory XIII to

undertake the revision of plainsong in 1577. Zoilo succeeded Palestrina as *maestro* in charge of the Lenten music at Sma. Trinita in 1579 and continued there until 1582, broken by a spell as *maestro* at Todi in 1581. He did not publish any polychoral music, but works surviving in manuscript cover all of the main genres: two Litanies, a Marian antiphon, a psalm, a canticle (the *Nunc dimittis*) and two motets, one based on a dialogue from the Gospel.

Zoilo copied (and probably carried out the revisions in) the two pieces by Lasso in Rn 77-88 and in some respects Zoilo took more from Lasso than did Palestrina or Victoria; on the other hand, Zoilo, unlike Lasso, normally wrote for harmonically independent choirs. One technique which he may have learned from Lasso, and then expanded, is the use of triple antiphonal repetition, as seen in 'et metuant eum' from Lasso's *Deus misereatur nostri* [ex. 13]. Zoilo's adaptation of this can be seen in his *Nunc dimittis* [ex. 24]. The phrase 'quod parasti' is stated three times; the third statement adds on the next two words and these are repeated antiphonally, before both choirs join for a *tutti* on 'omnium populorum'. The new phrase of text is attached to the third statement of the previous phrase and not introduced by the other choir. Triple antiphonal repetition is found in the works of Palestrina and Victoria, but not as frequently as in Zoilo, and the technique of adding on phrases in this 'rolling snowball' fashion seems to have been peculiar to him. An even better example of this is the doxology from the same piece [ex. 25] where the cumulative address to the Trinity in the text is closely mirrored in the music. Zoilo's *Nunc dimittis* is one of the few polychoral settings of the Compline canticle and the presence of the doxology indicates that it was written for liturgical performance, presumably for St. Peter's basilica since it is found in Rvat Giul. XIII 24. It is an extended setting with the text broken into short phrases and a lot of antiphonal exchange. The divisions between the verses

are clearly marked by a change of choir or a change between single choir and *tutti*.

Another influence from Lasso may be the placing of syllables on consecutive crotchets, which is much more widespread in Zoilo than in the music of his contemporaries. Examples can be seen in *Beata mater*, given in full in Volume Two, p. 95. This was Zoilo's most popular piece, judging from the number of sources in which it is transmitted, and its popularity may well have been due to its simplicity, its almost totally homophonic character and its strong harmonic feel with frequent clear cadences. It is somewhat madrigal-like in its quickly changing textures: for example 'porta paradisi', with its pairs of voices rising through the choirs, is followed by the sprightly 'gaudium electorum' (with syllables on consecutive crotchets and quavers); this in turn is followed by a triple repetition of 'spes certa peccatorum', each varied slightly and each making good use of the  figure for purposes of rhythmic syncopation. This variation of antiphonal repetitions is not, on the whole, typical of Zoilo; in many of his works he simply repeats words and music exactly or almost exactly (as in examples 24 and 25); this is particularly true, as we shall see, in works for more than two choirs. *Beata mater* was probably written in the early 1580s, just before Zoilo left Rome: it has many of the characteristics of pieces written even later, to be discussed in Chapter Six. It does have one example of a 6-4 chord in Choir I (fourth last bar), something not found in the later period, which indicates that it was not written for spatially separated choirs. A somewhat earlier style is represented by the psalm *Laetatus sum* and the dialogue-motet *In illo tempore*. Neither have syllables on consecutive crotchets, syncopated rhythms or fast antiphonal exchanges. The lack of repetition is probably partly due to the length of the text in both cases. It is interesting to compare this setting of a Gospel dialogue with that by Animuccia discussed in Chapter Four, p. 146. Zoilo sets the dialogue between Jesus and Martha in which the latter complains that her

sister Mary is not doing her share of the housework.²⁹ The text is divided as follows:

(Bar no.)	10	
Ch.I In illo tempore	intravit Jesus in quidam casellam	
Ch.II in illo tempore		et mulier quaedam Marta
	20	
Ch.I Marta nomine		et huic erat soror nomine Maria
Ch.II nomine	Marta nomine excepit illum in domum suam	quae
	30	40
Ch.I quae etiam sedens secus pedes Domini audiebat verbum illius		
Ch.II etiam sedens secus pedes Domini audiebat verbum illi - - ius		Marta autem satagebat
	50	
Ch.I quae statit	'Domine non est tibi cura quod soror meus re-	
Ch.II circo frequens ministerium	et ait	
	60	
Ch.I liquit me solam ministrare, dic ergo illi ut me adjuvet'		et respondens dixit
Ch.II	et respondens	dixit illi
	70 13/2	80 10
Ch.I illi Dominus	Martha, Martha	
Ch.II Do - mi - nus	'Martha, Martha	Martha, Martha sollicita es et turbaris ergo pluri-ma
	90	
Ch.I Maria	Maria optimam partem elegit quae non auferetur ab ea'	
Ch.II porro unum est necessarium	Maria, Maria optimam partem elegit quae non auferetur ab ea'	

As in the Animuccia dialogue setting, the change to direct speech is marked by a change of choir, though the importance of this is lessened by the much more frequent changes of choir here in any case. There are good examples of Zoilo's rolling snowball technique at 'et mulier quaedam...excepit' and 'Marta, Marta sollicita es...' Where Animuccia only used antiphonal repetition once, Zoilo makes much more frequent use of it. He also uses much more *tutti* writing, for example to highlight the two phrases of text which refer to Mary, 'quae etiam sedens...' and 'Maria optimam partem...', and also for the build up to the words of Jesus, 'Martha, Martha...'; these are further highlighted by the change from duple to triple time.

Little is known of Giovanni de Macque's activities in Rome between his arrival there in 1574 and his departure for Naples in about 1584. He did

publish some 8v pieces in Rome in 1596 but the only surviving copy is at present inaccessible.²⁴ In a letter of 1586 he spoke of sending pieces for three choirs to Rome, but asks that they be performed under the name of Prospero Santini rather than his own, in case personal hatred impeded their acceptance.²⁵ It is not clear to what he is referring, but it is presumably to some disagreement dating from his time in Rome. Nine polychoral pieces survive in the related manuscripts, Rn 77-88, Rn 117-121 and Rvat Giul. XIII 24; four of these are for two choirs and five for three. The double-choir pieces include two Marian antiphons, a Litany and a setting, without doxology, of the *De profundis*. Of these the *Salve Regina* from Rn 77-88 is probably the earliest, since only the final section is 8v; the others alternate between the individual choirs, as in the early settings by Palestrina and Victoria. The final section is written for harmonically independent choirs. The other antiphon, *Regina coeli*, is a more fully polychoral piece and shares many features with the antiphons of Zoilo. The four lines of text are punctuated by short snappy Alleluia's with syllables assigned to consecutive crotchets; these alternate between the choirs in quick succession, building up to a *tutti*. There is a lot of antiphonal repetition but, in contrast to Zoilo, it is often subtly varied. For example, at 'resurrexit sicut dixit' Macque combines two choral blocks in invertible counterpoint; the three short Alleluias which follow sound very much the same at speed, but each of the three is varied in all four parts and they are constructed on a bass pattern which moves down in thirds [ex. 26]. Both of these Marian antiphon settings are short workaday ones. The same is true of his *De profundis* which, like them, is very homophonic in texture with very little *tutti*; there is also very little overlap between the choirs at takeover points, no retardation or anticipation in individual voices. Verses two, four and six are for single choirs, though none lasts more than seven bars; the odd verses are given more extended polychoral settings. There is some use of Zoilo's 'snowballing' technique and an interesting exploitation of the fact

that, in verses one and three, the word 'Domine' occurs both before and after the caesura. Both are set in the same way, using triple repetition:

	Vs.1	/		Vs.2
Ch. I	De profundis clamavi ad te Domine		Domine exaudi vocem meam	
Ch. II		Domine	exaudi vocem meam	Fiant aures tuae...
	Vs.3	/		Vs.4
Ch. I	Si iniquitates observaveris Domine		Domine quis sustinebit	
Ch. II		Domine	quis sustinebit	Quia apud...

Here an overlap between the choirs masks the beginning of verse two: this is rare in Macque, but it later became increasingly common to obscure the verse-divisions in this way. In these pieces, as in his triple-choir pieces to be discussed later, Macque shows himself to be a competent composer but not a brilliant one. His best work was achieved in other areas.²⁶

OTHER COMPOSERS: BARTOLOMEO ROY AND GIOVANNI ANDREA DRAGONI

Like Macque, Roy was a Flemish composer who spent some years in Rome (c. 1570 to c. 1581) before moving to Naples. Only two polychoral pieces by him survive: *Gloria tibi Trinitas*, found in various Roman manuscripts and published in Fabio Costantini's anthology RISM 1614³, and *Beatissime N.*, a setting of a text appropriate to Doctors of the Church and adaptable to the particular feast, found in manuscript only. *Gloria tibi Trinitas*, a setting of the Magnificat antiphon from first Vespers of the Trinity, is the opening piece in Rn 40-46, identified with Sma. Trinità in Chapter Three, pp. 122-3. Roy provided music at Vespers and Mass on that feast in 1574 and is not known to have done so later.²⁷ His payment of 7 *scudi* would have paid for eight singers but if *Gloria tibi Trinitas* were performed then, the piece would have been rather ahead of its time, since the 'alleluia' refrain has short antiphonal exchanges and syllables placed under consecutive crotchets in the manner of pieces from the mid-1580s [ex. 27] (the *basso seguente* from RISM 1614³ is included). This is not the case in *Beatissime N.* nor, apart from the 'alleluia' refrain, in *Gloria tibi Trinitas*: these are similar to Palestrina in style, moving mainly

in minims, with running figures and staggering of entries. Without any further surviving works it is difficult to say whether or not *Gloria tibi Trinitas* is an early piece. Roy could also have composed it after moving to Naples and sent it to the confraternity; his 4v *Missa Quam ego dabo* was published in Rome in 1585 together with Palestrina's 8v *Missa Confitebor tibi*.²⁸ Roy generally uses shorter phrases than Palestrina and the texture is more transparent. There is also a lot of repetition of the same material, though this is sometimes varied by altering the end of a phrase, or by introducing new accompanimental material in the other choir, as at 'et nunc et in perpetuum' [ex. 27].

Dragoni was *maestro* at St. John Lateran for almost all of the fourth quarter of the century (1576-99). Unfortunately only three pieces for double-choir survive, all in nineteenth century transcriptions (plus a single piece for three choirs).²⁹ Two are settings of the *Benedictus* and one is of the Vespers psalm *Dixit Dominus*. Polychoral *Benedictus* settings are rare in Rome, apart from the *falsobordone* settings used during the office of *Tenebrae*. One of the sources says that both were composed in 1575, one for St. Peter's basilica.³⁰ It is not known where Dragoni was working in 1575 but in the dedication to his book of madrigals published in that year he referred to himself as Palestrina's pupil and, as such, could have written music for the basilica. However the setting which Santini marked as that written for St. Peter's in 1575 is much the more advanced of the two and would seem to have been written later. It is attributed to G. M. Nanino in two sources,³¹ and is really in the style of those pieces to be considered in the next chapter. There is a variety of textures and some fast-moving passages with syllables on consecutive crotchets [ex. 28]. The other *Benedictus* setting is much more likely to have been composed in 1575 by an emerging composer. It is musically rather limited, largely homophonic with little overlap between the choirs and very little *tutti* writing. Verses 1-2, 6-8 and 10 are all for individual choirs in the manner of Animuccia, early Palestrina or early Victoria. All

parts except the bass have restricted ranges and this, together with the frequent repetitions of the same chord at the beginning of a verse, gives the piece a *falsobordone* flavour. The third piece, a setting of *Dixit Dominus* with the doxology, is also in *falsobordone* style. Almost completely in triple time, it is totally homophonic with restricted ranges in all parts. After a *tutti* opening, both soprano parts are based thereafter on a reciting tone which continually alternates B[♭] and B[♯] [ex. 29] (the excerpt is given as it appears in D Mūs 1875, a nineteenth-century transcription from a no longer extant source; it includes two organ parts, both identical and both *bassi sequenti*. The presence of A[♭]s would suggest that the transcription is a tone lower than the original). Despite the restricted ranges, Dragoni does often vary the music in antiphonal repetitions and makes good use of hemiola [ex. 29], but the continuous triple-time leaves a monotonous impression. As with Roy, there is not sufficient music to form a clear picture of Dragoni's merits as a polychoral composer, though the second *Benedictus* setting discussed above, if indeed it is by him, shows that he was on a par with composers like Zoilo and Stabile.

MUSIC FOR MULTIPLE CHOIRS

Both Vicentino and Zarlino mention music for three choirs. The former³² says that one can compose in three choirs to increase the sound, while the latter³³ speaks of it in the context of antiphony, saying that psalms can be composed 'a choro spezzato' in two choirs or in three. Both explanations are appropriate to Roman multiple-choir music. However, no music for three choirs survives from the 1550s; archival evidence puts the introduction of three choirs in Rome in the early 1580s and the earliest such pieces survive in Rn 77-88, also compiled at this time. What models might Roman composers have followed? The earliest triple-choir piece to be published was Andrea Gabrieli's *Deus misereatur nostri* in the *Novus Thesaurus Musicus* of 1568. This collection might have been known in Rome, but Gabrieli's piece is not

written for spatially separated choirs as are the surviving Roman works: both choirs have 6-4 chords in *tutti* sections and in the triple-time section the voices regroup into two choirs of six voices each.³⁴ Nor were Andrea Gabrieli's large-scale pieces, published posthumously in RISM 1587¹², for spatially separated choirs. Lasso's early 12v pieces, *Domine quid multiplicasti* (written c. 1565) and *Laudate Dominum* (published 1573) are not proper polychoral pieces either.³⁵ Rn 117-121 contains two 12v pieces which Santini, in his transcription (D MÜs 3590) attributed to Claude Goudimel and Vincenzo Ruffo. However these composers' names do not appear with these pieces in any of the surviving partbooks and Santini's attributions must be treated with caution³⁶. Stylistically, both pieces would seem to have been composed much closer to 1600. The *Salve Regina* attributed to Goudimel was printed by Maldeghem in his *Tresor Musical*;³⁷ he said that the piece was to be found 'dans les Archives du Vatican', which is certainly not now the case. The opening words are sung by the three sopranos, characteristic of polychoral writing after c. 1600 (see below, Chapter Seven). The piece is largely homophonic, with no anticipated or delayed entries by single voices, and is written for harmonically independent choirs; there are syllables on consecutive crotchets and syncopations, techniques found in the 1580s but unlikely in a composer who died in 1572. No other polychoral music is known by Goudimel, apart from the final section of his setting of Ps. 18 published in 1566.³⁸ this is for two 4v choirs, not harmonically independent, and anticipated/delayed entries of single voices are common at takeover points. It has nothing in common with the three-choir *Salve Regina*. *Surrexit pastor bonus*, attributed by Santini to Ruffo, is very similar stylistically to the *Salve Regina*. Again Ruffo is not known to have written any other three-choir music and the only double-choir pieces known to have been composed by him are some *Miserere* and *Benedictus* settings published in 1586 in Milan.³⁹ It seems more likely that these two pieces are the work of a late sixteenth-century Roman composer and did not provide a model for

three-choir composition at an earlier stage. In fact external models seem to have played even less a part in forming the Roman triple-choir style than they did in that for two choirs.

Stabile's 1583 Litany for two choirs of polyphony and one of plainsong - discussed above - shows one path by which triple-choir polyphony might have developed in Rome. Another is represented by an anonymous setting of Ps. 112 (without doxology) found in Rn 77-88. This is nominally for three choirs, but Choirs II and III have the same music throughout, written twice into the partbooks; the piece is also interesting because of its unusual responsorial structure:

Ch. I	Laudate pueri Dominum, laudate nomen Domini
Chs. II+III	Laudate pueri Dominum, laudate nomen Domini
Ch. I	Sit nomen Domini benedictum
Chs. II+III	Laudate pueri Dominum
Ch. I	Sit nomen Domini benedictum ex hoc nunc et usque in saeculum
Chs. II+III	Laudate pueri Dominum, laudate nomen Domini
	etc.

The opening verse is used as a refrain, the first half alternating with the complete verse, in a manner analogous to the invitatory psalm at Matins. The verses and refrain use basically the same music, a decorated *falsobordone*.

Three pieces by Palestrina provide early examples of the extension of antiphonal techniques to three choirs. The pieces, *Salve Regina*, *Miserere* and *O gloriosa Domina*, are mainly 4v, the verses moving around the three choirs in turn. The choirs join together only for the final sections⁴⁰, and even here there is little real *tutti* writing. In these final sections all three choirs are harmonically self-sufficient; this is always the case with Roman multiple-choir music as opposed to that of Venice and Northern Italy, where one or even two choirs usually have 6-4 chords.⁴¹

Rn 77-88 contains a number of full-blown triple-choir settings of the Lenten Marian antiphon, the *Ave Regina*. Three are anonymous, with one being

similar to the Palestrina pieces just discussed in giving the first three sections to individual choirs. When the choirs come together for the final two sections, there is much repetition of musical material, both in antiphonal exchanges and on a wider level: the same music is used for the words 'super omnes speciosa' and 'semper Christum exora' and both 'super omnes speciosa' and then the whole of the final section are repeated exactly. This repetition of musical material is a feature of these and later Roman works for multiple choirs, particularly those by Macque and Zoilo. They are almost all written for choirs of equal voices, so the interchange of blocks of musical material is easy. Repeating the final section, with the choirs interchanged, is particularly common in *Ave Regina* settings (as was pointed out earlier in the chapter): it also happens in the other two anonymous settings from Rn 77-88, which are triple-choir from the beginning. These too have very little real *tutti* and much re-use of the same material.

As an example of this kind of setting Macque's *Ave Regina* from Rn 77-88 is transcribed in Volume Two, p.99. The repetition of musical material can be clearly seen, perhaps most obviously at 'Salve, radix sancta' which uses the same music four times. At other times the music is repeated a tone higher ('Regina coelorum') or the bass line is repeated at a related pitch while the upper parts vary ('Domina angelorum' and 'gaude gloriosa'). Another feature, which is also common to multiple-choir music from this period, is the tendency to move through the choirs in the order I → II → III or vice versa. There are some exceptions, but in general this is the case, leaving a rather monotonous impression. The interchange of blocks of music can be clearly seen in the two sets of 'Ave's (bars 2-6 and 15-19) - a sort of polychoral equivalent to the voice-exchange in the thirteenth-century English *rondellus*. Ignoring the anticipated entry at the beginning by Choir I and labelling the music of the three choirs in bars 2-4 a, b and c respectively, the exchange is as follows:

Bars	2-4	4-6	15-17	18-20
	a	c	b	a
	b	a	c	b
	c	b	a	c

The blocks move down through the choirs in regular fashion, ending in the choirs in which they began. Macque does vary the endings of the two 'Ave's so that one cadences onto C and the other onto B^b, and also makes use of anticipation and delay to avoid the monotony inherent in this technique, despite its contrapuntal ingenuity. An interesting feature is that all three bass parts have a pedal F throughout these sections, with changing harmonies above. The melismatic lines in the soprano parts are derived loosely from the plainsong (see Appendix I). Macque uses the same technique of interchanging material between the choirs for the final *tutti* on 'semper Christum exora' and then repeats the final section exactly. The general pause in all parts before a *tutti* used for dramatic effect (bars 52 and 59), is a common trait of these works for multiple-choir. In *tutti* passages the three choirs are harmonically independent; Macque uses the third of the harmony in the bass where necessary or, as in bars 73 and 78, he takes the tenor part below the bass when the latter has the fifth of the chord, a technique particularly associated with him. The most successful section of this piece is perhaps the setting of 'vare, vare decora' with the interlocking of pairs of choirs in turn, simply alternating F and B^b chords. The piece has a strongly harmonic feel overall, rooted quite firmly in the tonality of F major.

There are two pieces for four choirs in Rn 77-88, both unattributed. One is a setting of the first five verses of Ps. 136, *Super flumina Babylonis*. Two of the choirs are simply echo-choirs, repeating the final word or part of a word sung by the other two. It is thus really a double-choir piece, with occasional echoes interjected by two further choirs, and illustrates another strand which led to the development of polychoral music - the strong interest in echo-music at this period, particularly in the secular field.⁴² There is very little

overlap between the two main choirs and no full *tutti*. A curious feature is the notation of the echo-choirs: the final notes are written as dotted minims, rather than the minims or semibreves in the choir being echoed; this is presumably to have the echo choir out of the way before the next entry of one of the main choirs [ex. 30].

The other four-choir piece is again a setting of the *Ave Regina*. As in the three-choir settings, the antiphonal nature of the piece is respected, with a change of choir, or of combinations of choirs, at the beginning of each section. The opening section is now divided into four and split between the choirs as follows (each sub-section is about 12 bars long and is divided from the others by bar-lines):

Ch. I	Ave, ave		
Ch. II		Regina coelorum	
Ch. III			Ave, ave
Ch. IV			Domina angelorum

Each sub-section has different music, all derived from the plainsong. Thereafter the choirs engage in dialogue, though they normally follow each other in the same order as at the opening. They do not all have the same clefs: two are standard, one is high and the fourth low (CCAT/CATB/ATTB/CATB)⁴³; as a result there is little exact musical repetition. There is quite a lot of overlap between the choirs and some examples of 'choir-pairing', the choral analogue of voice-pairing:

Ch. I	super omnes speciosa, omnes speciosa, speciosa	Vale, valde
Ch. II	super omnes speciosa, super omnes speciosa, I	va - le, valde
Ch. III	super omnes speciosa, speciosa	va - le, valde
Ch. IV	super omnes speciosa, speciosa	va - le,

What comes across from this setting, and from many of the other multiple-choir pieces, is the similarity between the method of composing for three or four choirs and that for three or four single voices in small-scale works, with the four voices in each choir treated as a homophonic unit.

The usefulness of this method of putting a polychoral piece together by combining choral blocks is seen most clearly in a pair of settings of the paschaltide Marian antiphon *Regina Coeli*, both from Rn 77-88. One is for three choirs and the other for five, the earliest Roman piece for this number of choirs to survive. Both use the same musical material and it is not possible to say which was written first: the five-choir version could have been condensed to three, or the three-choir one expanded to five. The five-choir version is attributed to Zoilo in Rn 77-88, while the three-choir version has no attribution. The three-choir version is also found in Rn 117-121 (unattributed) and in two nineteenth-century copies by Santini, D Mus 3590 (ascribed to Guerrero), and 873 (ascribed to Zoilo). Since both versions appear in Rn 77-88, compiled by Zoilo himself, it seems reasonable to attribute both to him and to look on them as alternatives, depending on the forces available. The first section of the five-choir version is shown schematically below; the phrases in capitals are exactly the same as in the three-choir version, and appear in the same choir - these are almost all in Choirs I to III. The music in Choirs IV and V is shown in small type if it is simply a repetition of music already found in one of the first three choirs; if it is new, it is shown in italics. It can be seen that only in the *tutti* section is there any new music and this is true of the five-choir version as a whole. The opening of both versions is given as example 31a and 31b.

Ch. I	REGINA COELI	REGINA, REGINA, REGINA COELI	LAETARE
Ch. II	REGINA COELI	REGINA COELI, REGINA COE - LI	
Ch. III	REGINA COELI	REGINA COELI, REGINA COE - LI	
Ch. IV	Regina coeli	<i>regina coeli, regina coe - li</i>	
Ch. V		<i>Regina coeli, regina coeli, regina coe-li</i>	

Ch. I		LAETARE ALLELUIA	LAETARE ALLELU- IA
Ch. II	LAETARE	LAETARE ALLELUIA	
Ch. III	LAETARE	LAETARE ALLELUIA	allelu-ia
Ch. IV	laetare	laetare alleluia	
Ch. V	laetare	laetare alleluia, allelu-ia	

The large amount of musical repetition, combined with the fact that the choirs almost invariably follow each other in order from I to V, makes the piece rather monotonous, regretfully so in view of its uniqueness. Although the choirs overlap to a considerable extent they do not combine, and the amount of *tutti* writing is small. All five are harmonically self-sufficient.

Zoilo's *Laudate Dominum in sanctis* is a more adventurous piece in its handling of the three choirs: here the order of entry is not so predictable. The piece is given in full in Volume Two, p. 110. since it is perhaps the earliest example of the festal psalm-motet genre, discussed above in Chapter Two, pp. 88-9. It is a setting of Ps. 150 (without doxology) which calls on the whole Jewish temple orchestra to praise the Lord. It consists of a series of invocations, each beginning with the words 'laudate eum': Zoilo treats these words as a refrain, always setting them to the same music. On their first appearance (bars 14-17) they are sung by each of the choirs in quick succession, thereafter by only one, until their final statement by all three together. Each of the instruments mentioned is characterised by appropriate music: fanfares for 'in sono tubae'; spiky dotted rhythms for the percussion and plucked instruments, 'cimbalo', 'tympanum', 'psalterio', 'cithara'; chords in long note-values for the strings ('chordis') and organ. The change to triple time for 'in cimbaliis jubilationis' gives a dancing spirit and there is a general pause while all voices take a deep breath before the sonorous *tutti* for 'omnis spiritus laudet Dominum', which is repeated after another general pause with Choirs I and III interchanged.

A similar joyful spirit is found in Victoria's *Laetatus sum*, the earliest triple-choir piece to be published by a composer active in Rome. Like his other psalm settings, it has four verses for reduced voices: verses one, two and three are sung by Choirs I, II and III in turn while verse six is for three voices only. These verses are separated by bar-lines while the other verses

too are clearly marked by a change in choral disposition. Compared with Victoria's double-choir settings, the writing here is much simpler and more homophonic, written for the choirs as blocks. The homophony is enlivened by dotted rhythms and the pairing of choirs, while Victoria is not so predictable as Zoilo in the order in which the choirs follow each other. There are only two *tutti* sections, both of which use virtually the same musical material (with Choirs I and III interchanged). Victoria here sandwiches a high choir (CCAT) between two standard ones (CATB); as a consequence, B^I and B^{III} have the roots of the harmonies, moving in contrary motion to avoid parallels, while T^{II} has a more flowing line which includes the third of the harmony in some cases (but never the fifth).

Mention has been made of two early works for triple-choir by Palestrina. A further eleven pieces survive in various manuscripts. Three (*Jubilate Deo*, *Domine quis habitabit*, *O quam bonus*) are unique to Rvat Giul XIII 24, from which the third choir part-books are missing. A further three pieces from this source (*Ad te levavi*, *Beati omnes*, *Salve Regina*) are also found in Rn 77-88 which preserves the parts for Choir III, not available to the editors of the old Palestrina edition and reconstructed there by the Rev. Michael Haller. All six pieces are settings of psalm texts, without doxology. All are quite similar stylistically with long sections for each choir in a homophonic or pseudo-polyphonic style contrasting with bursts of short antiphonal exchange. Haller's reconstructions can now be checked against the originals: they are on the whole quite accurate with regard to the points of entry of Choir III and its general structure; they are not always so correct as regards the notes, though here too Haller's feeling for the style is remarkably good. One significant difference is that Haller occasionally gave the fifth of the harmony to the bass of Choir III; in the triple-choir pieces which survive complete, Palestrina wrote for harmonically independent choirs, as did all of his contemporaries. For example, Haller gave B_{III} the fifth of the chord for the final three bars of

his reconstruction of the *Salve Regina*; the newly-discovered original part in Rn 77-88 has the root.

The contrast between Palestrina on the one hand, and Macque and Zoilo on the other, can be seen in the settings of Psalm 133, *Ecce nunc*, by Palestrina and Macque (both settings of the first verse are given in example 32). Neither setting has the doxology and so is unlikely to have been for liturgical use, nor is either based on a psalm-tone. In general, Palestrina uses much less musical repetition than Macque and breaks up the text to a much lesser extent. For example, he set the complete first verse for Choir I, whereas Macque divided it into two halves; the first of these is repeated by each of the choirs in turn, with Choirs I and III having the same music and Choir II varying the upper parts over a transposed bass line; the second half is *tutti*, in response to the words ('omnes servi Domini'). Macque's textures are much more homophonic than Palestrina's: the latter uses crotchet runs, rests and ties to achieve a pseudo-polyphonic effect; the former does this only in the final *tutti* bars of the piece. The same stylistic traits are found in Macque's other three triple-choir settings of psalm texts, *In convertendo*, *Exultate Deo* (a psalm of praise and exultation), and *Dominus regit me*.

There is no doubt that writing for three and more choirs posed new problems for composers already experienced in writing for two. These problems were similar to those involved in the manipulation of single voices in small-scale pieces and some composers, particularly Macque and Zoilo, approached multiple-choir writing in this way, treating each choir as a block of sound and moving these blocks around imitatively. In doing this they used a lot of exact antiphonal repetition and they tended to follow a predictable order of entry by the choirs. Palestrina and Victoria largely avoided exact repetition and over-fragmentation of the text, but they too went some way along this road in response to the new medium. This is reflected in the choice of clefs, since

exact repetition is normally only possible between choirs of equal voices. Macque and Zoilo always wrote for equal-voiced choirs; of the eight Palestrina pieces with surviving third choir parts, only five have equally-clefed choirs and we have seen that Victoria's only triple-choir piece from this period does not. Three of the anonymous pieces in Rn 77-8 have unequal choirs, the sixteen-voice *Ave Regina* discussed above, *Laudate pueri* (CCAT/ATTB/ATB) and one of the twelve-voice *Ave Regina* settings (CCAT/ATTB/ATB). This would argue against their being by Macque or Zoilo. The others have equal cleffing and could be by either of the two.

Dealing with three independent bass-lines was another new problem faced by composers in writing for three and more harmonically independent choirs. We have seen that during the 1570s Roman composers began writing independent bass lines in *tutti* passages. Preferring to avoid the third of the harmony, composers simply gave both bass parts the root, moving in contrary motion to avoid consecutive octaves. The introduction of a third bass part meant that composers, on the whole, avoided long *tutti* passages, reserving them for key moments and for the ends of pieces. A quasi-*tutti* effect could be built up by rapid antiphonal repetition with very short rests in between; these rests could be very useful in avoiding parallels. Palestrina and Victoria tended to have two of the bass parts moving in contrary motion while the third (often in Choir II) weaved about in more flowing style, touching the third of the harmony as well as the root. Syncopation preceded by a rest was also a useful device, used to good effect by Zoilo, for example in the final *tutti* of *Laudate Dominum in sanctis*. Macque had his own way of dealing with the problem, bringing the tenor line below the bass when necessary.⁴⁴ One result of this difficulty in writing *tutti* passages was that composers frequently repeated whole blocks of such writing, or adapted the same music for different phrases of the text. Another result of close antiphonal exchange, and the writing of *tutti* passages for harmonically-independent choirs was the increased tonal feel of these

pieces. Bass-parts moved in fourths and fifths and the texture became homophonic or pseudo-polyphonic instead of contrapuntal. This was particularly so in the increasingly common passages in triple-meter. The range of harmonies used was limited, and the majority of the pieces were either in one of the F modes, with a B[♭] in the signature, or in the Dorian mode-transposed up to G, also with a flat in the signature. This move towards the more functional harmony of the Baroque can be illustrated by the opening of Macque's *Ecce nunc* where the F major tonality is very firmly established (ex. 32b). The opening phrase, which moves from F to the dominant C, is answered by a similar phrase which moves back to F in preparation for a repeat of the first phrase; the following *tutti* passage also strongly asserts F. The remainder of the piece does not stray far from the home tonality: all cadences are on F, C or B[♭] (except for one on D).

CONCLUSION

During the ten years following the publication of Palestrina's *Motettorum... liber tertius* of 1575 the polychoral style became quickly established, with features which were thereafter associated with Roman composers. These included an increasing use of choirs of equal voices, all of which were harmonically self-sufficient, as well as care over the text: most of the texts set were antiphonal in structure and this is reflected in the division of text between the choirs. In this the Romans take a different standpoint from their Venetian contemporary, Andrea Gabrieli; his interests, according to Denis Arnold, were in the musical structure, with the words having secondary importance.⁴⁵ For the Romans in the post-Tridentine era the words remained of primary importance and this chapter has concentrated on the various ways in which these composers responded to them. There was not a total uniformity among them however. Palestrina and, to a lesser extent, Victoria and Stabile, continued to use a more polyphonic idiom; Macque, Roy and Zoilo wrote more

homophonically, with more fragmentation of the text, and made greater use of antiphonal exchanges between the choirs. Of these, Zoilo seems to have been the most important in introducing new techniques. In the 1580s composers began to write for three and more choirs and this brought about a pronounced change of approach to polychoral writing, one whose results will be seen in the music to be examined in the following chapter.

NOTES

1. For the ceremonies associated with the holy year see H. Thurston, *The Holy Year of Jubilee* (London, 1900).
2. This was already recommended by Zarlino in 1558 (*Istitutioni*): '...li bassi de i chori si pongono tra loro sempre unisoni, ovvero in ottave; ancora che alcune volte si ponghino in terza: ma non si pongono in quinta percioche torna molto incommodo...'
3. Fischer ('Composizioni') has used the term 'incomplete harmony' to describe the absence of the third of the chord from one of the choirs.
4. See Chapter Three, pp. 120-1.
5. O'Regan 'Lasso'; a copy of this is included at the end of this volume.
6. Boetticher, *Lasso*, pp. 178-187, and Boetticher, 'Eine Frühfassung'.
7. The 5v *Cantate Domino* is found in Rn 117-121. The double-choir version is anonymous in Rn 77-88. It is unlikely that the rearrangement was carried out by Animuccia; it might have been done by Zoilo.
8. The two 8v versions are in Palestrina, *Werken* vi, 135, 140. The 6v *O Domine Jesu* is in *Werken* i, 144 and *O bone Jesu* is in *Werken* iii, 127.
9. Two 8v pieces from Felice Anerio's *Sacri Hymni et Cantica 8vv liber primus* (Venice 1596) also exist in reduced voice form: *Dixit Dominus* as a six-voice piece in D MÜs 875 and the Magnificat as a four-voice piece in GB Lbl Add. 34607. I am grateful to Jonathan Couchman for this information.
10. As discussed in Chapter Two, p. 87. Paolo Tarditi entitled his 1620 publication: 'Psalmi, Magnificat cum Quatuor Antiphonis ad Vesperas, Octo Vocibus...' and Stabile's 1583 publication says that the Marian antiphons 'post officium dicuntur'. Many other publications of the period use similar terms. See Roche, 'Compieta', p. 63.
11. The Magnificat comes at the end of Rvat Sist. 29, and so was probably copied close to 1591. See Chapter Three, p. 106, and the discussion of Magnificats in Chapter Six.
12. As before, Me=Mezzosoprano and Bar=Baritone are used to describe the extra clefs which do not change the overall ranges of the pieces, but simply give somewhat higher alto and bass parts.

13. Fischer, 'Composizioni', pp. 324-332.
14. This is described in Casimiri, *Il Vittoria*, p. 119.
15. Fischer, *Psalmkompositionen*, pp. 324-332
16. See Chapter Four, p. 154.
17. The most recent survey of the evidence for downward transposition of the *chiavette* is that by Parrott, 'Transposition'. An early and often overlooked study is Miller, *Chiavette*; the subject is also discussed in Mendel, 'Pitch' and in Wulstan, *Tudor Music*.
18. See Arnold, *Gabrieli*, particularly pp. 169-170 where Gabrieli's use of different clefs is related to Praetorius' instructions for the performance of polychoral music in his *Syntagma Musicum*.
19. See Culley, *Jesuits*, *passim* and the discussion of the German College in Chapter Two.
20. This was pointed out for *Laudate Dominum* in Fischer, *Psalmkompositionen*, p. 330.
21. Casimiri ('Disciplina' XIX (1942), p. 103) speculated that the 'D. Franciscus magister capellae' might have been Francesco Soriano or Francesco Soto - preferring the former. Culley (*Jesuits*) favoured Francesco Martini. The question must remain open.
22. Carver, *Development*, points out that Phinot always changed choir when introducing new words (except after a *tutti* section).
23. Text from the Gospel according to St. Luke, 10, 38-42.
24. *Motecta quinque sex et octo vocum, liber primus* (Rome, 1596). The only surviving copy (C, T, B, 5 only) is in I Nf which has been closed for many years.
25. The series of letters from Macque in Naples to Camillo Norimberghi in Rome, from 1586 to 1589, offer a valuable insight into the musical life of the latter city. Extracts have been published with commentary in Lippman, 'Giovanni de Macque'. Santini was *maestro di cappella* and a member of the community at S. Maria in Vallicella (the Chiesa Nuova). The oratory in Naples was founded from the Roman one and contacts between the two remained close. Pompeo Pateri, who assembled the manuscript Rn 117-21 was also, of course, a member of the community at S. Maria in Vallicella.
26. i.e. in his madrigals and keyboard music. Macque's madrigals have been studied in Shindle, *Macque* and some of his keyboard music is edited by J. Watelet in MMB iv (Antwerp, 1938).
27. A.S.R., Ospedale SS. Trinita, 700 n.f.
28. *Di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina una messa a otto voci sopra il suo Confitebor a due cori. Et di M. Bartholomeo Roi maestro di capella del Vicere di Napoli una messa a quattro sopra fanis quem ego dabo tibi, de Lupo* (Venice 1585) = RISM 1585⁶. Contacts between Naples and Rome were close (see note 25)

29. Rvat Giul. V, pp. 54-57 includes a 16v *Missa era calma la mare* attributed to Dragoni along with 16v masses by Carissimi, Legrenzi and Bona. The *Missa era calma* is similar to the other in style and is very much a mass of the seventeenth century with a lot of fast-moving parts. The attribution to Dragoni must remain very dubious and is not accepted here. This set of manuscripts does not appear in Llorens, *Giulia*, but is included in the more comprehensive unpublished catalogue of the Cappella Giulia manuscripts: E. Boezi, *Indice dei Mss. Mus. della Cappella Giulia*, riedito con addizioni (3 vols, 1977) filed in the *Sala Consultazione Mss.* of the Vatican library as 211¹⁻³. Dragoni also contributed two movements, *Kyrie II* and *Qui tollis* to the *Missa Cantantibus Organis Cecilia*, discussed in Chapter Eight.
30. D MÜS Hs. 3588.
31. D Rp and GB Lbl add. 34607
32. Nicolo Vicentino, *L'Antica Musica Ridotta alla Moderna Prattica* (Rome, 1555), p. 85.
33. Giuseppe Zarlino, *Le Istitutioni Harmoniche* (Venice, 1558), III, Ch. 6.
34. This piece was revised before re-publication in the posthumous edition of 1587, eliminating some of the overlap between the choirs, but the resulting work is still not written for harmonically independent choirs.
35. The choral groupings in these pieces are not consistent. The date of c. 1565 for *Domine quid multiplicasti* is taken from Carver, *Development*.
36. In the same transcription Santini attributes two pieces to 'Godmell' (Claude Goudimel?) which are clearly attributed in the surviving partbooks to G. F. Alcarì and P. Vinci respectively.
37. R. Maldeghem, *Tresor Musicale* (Brussels, 1865-93/R 1965).
38. Claude Goudimel, *Septieme libre de pseumes de David, mis en musique en forme de motetz*, 4vv (Paris, 1566). Modern edition in C. Goudimel, *Oeuvres Complètes*, vii, 139.
39. Vincenzo Ruffo, *Li soavissimi responsorii della Settimana Santa a 5 voci....con un Benedictus, et alcuni Miserere a 2 chori....* (Milan, 1586). Only one partbook survives.
40. The *Miserere* also sets the words 'tibi soli peccavi', for all three choirs. Fischer (*Psalmkompositionen*, p. 331) said that Palestrina's triple-choir pieces pointed to a later origin than Victoria's *Laetatus sum*, but this is not borne out in these pieces which must be, if anything, earlier.
41. Carver, *Development*, pointed out that very few of Giovanni Gabrieli's double-choir pieces were for harmonically independent choirs. Virtually none of the pieces for more than two choirs are. The same is true of Claudio Merulo.
42. For example Lasso's *O la, O che buon echo*. Carver, *Development*, said that echoes did not find their way into sacred music but there are a few other examples in the Roman repertory besides this one. Carver uses the term 'echo' to describe exact antiphonal repetition but I have avoided using it in that sense because of the existence of such sacred echo-pieces.

43. C_1 has a G_2 clef, but the range of the part does not go above e'' ; the piece has been conceived of as in the standard clef combination (C_1, C_3, C_4, F_4).
44. Zarlino describes just this technique in the 1589 revised edition of *Le Istitutioni Harmoniche*: '...che i bassi de i chori si pongono tra loro sempre *distanti per* unisoni, ovvero in ottava; ancora che alcuna volte si ponghino in terza: ma non si pongono *però* in quinta, *se non sopra la parte del Tenore*, percioche *altramente* torna molto incommodo...' The sections in italics were added in the revision of 1589. The various additions to this chapter in successive revisions are given as an Appendix in Carver, *Development*.
45. Arnold, 'Entwicklung', discusses Andrea Gabrieli's attitude to text-setting.

CHAPTER SIX

CONSOLIDATION: THE REIGNS OF SIXTUS V AND CLEMENT VIII (1585-1605)

The dramatic effect which the election of Sixtus V had on the city of Rome has been outlined in Chapter One. The effect on music was not so immediately dramatic, but there was also a change of style in polychoral music about this time. Indeed, this change was not confined to polychoral music: in the forward to their edition of Marenzio's sacred music, Bernhard Meier and Robert Jackson make 1585 a dividing line between the two styles which they perceive in the composer's works.¹ In a letter of March 1586 Jean de Macque spoke of Prospero Santini's having found 'inventioni nove' in composing for three choirs.² Unfortunately no such pieces by Santini survive. As in the earlier period, the best indication of a change in attitude towards the writing of polychoral music is given by the revision of a number of pieces from 1585 onwards.

REVISIONS

Victoria's *Super flumina Babylonis* was first published in 1576 and re-issued in 1585 with some small revisions. In the original version the third and fourth verses of the psalm were for single choirs, separated by bar-lines: verse three for Choir I and verse four for Choir II (both choirs had been involved in verses one and two, engaging in antiphonal dialogue). In the revised version, Victoria redistributed the text of these two verses as follows:

Vs.3	Vs.4
Ch. I Quia illic interrogaverunt nos qui captivos duxerunt nos verba cantionum	
Ch.II	Et qui abduxerunt nos: hynnum
Ch. I	de canticis Sion
Ch.II	cantate nobis de canticis Si - on

Here the beginning of verse four is overlapped with the end of verse three and the final words of the verse are repeated (to different music) by Choir I.

The revision is not very substantial but it does indicate a move away from setting long sections of text, and particularly whole verses, for single choir.

The impact of the new style can be seen more clearly by comparing the two versions of Francesco Soriano's *In illo tempore assumpsit Jesus*, a setting of the Gospel text describing the Transfiguration. By coincidence this piece was first published in Victoria's 1585 collection, with Soriano himself publishing a revised version in 1597.³ The revisions apply mainly to the first twenty-one bars of the piece: in the original version the opening twenty bars were sung by Choir I only, whereas in the revised version this text has been broken up between the choirs and imitative exchanges introduced. The textual distribution in both versions is as follows:

1585

Ch. I Assumpsit Jesus Petrum et Jacobum et Joannem fratrem eius et duxit illos in montem excelsum seorsum
Ch.II

Ch. I et transfiguratus est ante eos vestimenta autem eius facta sunt
Ch.II et resplenduit facies eius sicut sol

Ch. I alba sicut nix
Ch.II

1597

Ch. I In illo tempore assumpsit Jesus Petrum et Jacobum et duxit il- los
Ch.II In illo tempore assumpsit Jesus Petrum et Jacobum et Joannem fratrem eius et duxit il-

Ch. I in montem excelsum seorsum et transfiguratus est ante eos et resplen - duit facies e - ius
Ch.II . ante eos et resplenduit facies e-

Ch. I vestimenta autem eius facta sunt alba sicut nix
Ch.II ius sicut sol

The opening words, 'In illo tempore', were set in plainsong in the 1585 version but in 1597 Soriano wrote a *tutti* opening, following a trend in the 1590s of setting the complete text polyphonically. From the words 'Petrum et Jacobum' onwards Soriano used the original musical material: in 1585 he set these words for two pairs of voices; in the 1597 revision these voice-pairs are retained

but given to separate choirs (voice-pairing continued to be a compositional resource for many composers after 1585). Thereafter, the original musical material in Choir I is punctuated by quasi-imitative interjections from Choir II. These retain the bass of Choir I - often transposed by a fifth - but vary the upper parts. After these opening twenty-one bars, the 1597 version is largely the same as that of 1585, apart from a number of changes reflecting developments in Soriano's personal style which will be discussed later in the chapter.

Another piece which exists in two different versions is Luca Marenzio's 8v Magnificat. One, the shorter of the two, was published in 1592 and is also found in Rvat Sist. 29. The second version, found only in manuscript,⁴ is longer and seems to be a revision of the first; it reflects the same trend towards fragmentation of the text seen in the examples discussed above. In the first version complete verses were set for individual choirs; the revised one uses the same musical material as the original but divides the text between the choirs, using short antiphonal interjections. For example, verse two in the original version was sung by Choir II only, without any repetition of text; the revised version is as follows, with each section of repeated text also repeating the same music:

Ch. I	et exultavit	in Deo	in Deo	in Deo salutari meo
Ch. II	et exultavit spiritus me - us	in Deo salutari meo	in Deo	

These three pieces illustrate one of the main trends in polychoral writing during the period roughly between 1585 and 1600: an increasing tendency to fragment the text, using much more antiphonal exchange. Parallel with this went the elimination of verses or long sections set for single choirs and a decrease in *tutti* writing where choirs merged their individuality in an 8v texture. Instead, *tuttis* were built up by an accumulation of antiphonal repetitions at very short time-intervals. The amount of overlap and of staggering of individual voices at points of takeover between the choirs was

also reduced, resulting in an increased definition of the individual choirs. Polychoral music had in fact been tending in this direction from the early 1580s, especially in the works of Zoilo and Macque, and particularly in music for three and more choirs. The trend towards a more rapid declamation of certain sections of the text also became more prominent, with an increasing number of syllables assigned to consecutive crotchets.

CHOICE OF TEXT

Another feature which distinguishes the polychoral music composed after about 1585 from that written before is the type of text set. In the first period - associated largely with oratories - Litanies, Marian antiphons and non-liturgical psalm-texts predominated. During the early 1580s polychoral writing began to be applied to the psalms at Vespers and later in the decade to the Magnificat as well. The printed anthology edited by the papal singer Giovanni Luca Conforti (RISM 1592²) contained settings of the Vesper psalms *Dixit Dominus* and *Laudate pueri* by Ruggiero Giovanelli and Felice Anerio respectively, as well as Marenzio's Magnificat. The introduction of the polychoral idiom for Vespers in the Papal chapel can be dated around the same time, since Rvat Sist. 29, the earliest source for polychoral music in the chapel, concluded with four double-choir Magnificats and a setting of *Laudate pueri* copied in 1592. The next choirbook with polychoral music compiled for the papal chapel, Rvat Sist. 31 which was probably copied in the early 1590s, is wholly devoted to Vesper music for two choirs. It contains three settings each of *Dixit Dominus*, *Beatus vir* and *Laudate pueri*, together with one setting each of *Confitebor Tibi* and *Laetatus sum*, and two settings of the Magnificat. The composers represented are some of the most important of those who were active in the late 1580s and 1590s: Giovanelli, F. Anerio, Giovanni Maria Nanino, Teofilo Gargari, and Arcangelo Crivelli. Psalm and Magnificat settings also appear increasingly in publications by individual composers in the 1590s. This

late adoption of the idiom for Vesper music distinguishes Rome from the north of Italy, where Vesper psalms were sung by two choirs from the time of Willaert onwards; if they were being sung in this manner in Rome before the 1580s, no record of it survives. The increasing demand for music for major feastday celebrations is reflected in a large increase in the number of festal psalm-motets composed during this period, while Marian antiphons also continued to be composed in large numbers.

MAGNIFICATS

Those features common to settings of specifically liturgical texts can best be seen by studying Magnificat settings: there are examples by virtually all of the composers to be considered in this chapter (and the next) and, unlike litanies and psalms, they have not been examined in detail as a genre. Like psalms and Marian antiphons its division into verses makes the Magnificat ideally suited to polychoral performance. The singing of *alternatim* Magnificats was well established in Rome, at least since the famous collection published by Cristobal de Morales in 1545⁶. This contained two settings in each tone, one of the even verses and one of the odd; they were basically 4v but the final *Sicut erat* in the even-verse settings was often extended to 5-6v. Victoria published a similar collection in 1581, followed by Palestrina in 1591; after this, *alternatim* settings largely disappeared, to be replaced by polychoral ones. It is interesting to note, in this context, that Victoria's double-choir Magnificat, published in Madrid in 1600, used as raw material his two *primi toni* settings from 1581, combining the odd and even verses and eliminating the plainsong. The transfer of the *alternatim* tradition into polyphony is also seen in two settings of the Magnificat by Gargari, copied into Rvat Sist. 91 in 1620, in which verses 2, 6, 11 and 12 are for double-choir and the remainder for 3-4v. And, of course, the same tradition affects the *concertato* settings to be discussed in Chapter Seven, particularly that by Francesco Martini which

provides two alternative reduced-voice settings of the odd verses to fit between the double-choir even ones.⁵

The earliest polychoral Magnificats are the four found at the end of Rvat Sist. 29, probably written between 1585 and 1591. Two of those, by Palestrina and Marenzio, show features of the first period (1575-85) and might well have been written somewhat earlier than the others. Both have a number of verses for reduced voices: Marenzio gives the second half of verse 1 as well as verses 2, 4, 6 and 7 to single choirs, while Palestrina takes groups of voices from across the choirs for two of his verses, C_1A_1/C_2T_2 for verse 3 and $A_1T_1B_1/A_2T_2B_2$ for verse 4. The other two settings in Cap. Sist. 29 are by G. M. Nanino and Gargari. Together with these can be grouped six other settings which certainly come from the second period: two by Felice Anerio (one found in Cap. Sist. 31⁷) and the other published by him in 1596); one by Romulo Naldi (in Cap. Sist. 33), which also has two verses (7 and 8) set for single choirs; a setting by Asprilio Pacelli published in 1597 and a second setting by G. M. Nanino which, though not published until 1620, belongs stylistically to the period under consideration. Two further settings will also be included although they may well date from the period 1605-1615: they are fundamentally in this same style, with some progressive tendencies. One is by Giovanelli (from I Bc Q 36 and Q 38) and the other by Giovanni Francesco Anerio (published in RISM 1615¹). This gives twelve settings by a cross-section of composers which have a large number of features in common. These are as follows:

(1) **Clefs.** Both choirs use the same clef combination and consequently the same voice types.

(2) **Plainsong.** All settings have the opening word, 'Magnificat' intoned in plainsong and begin the polyphony with 'anima mea'. All settings continue to paraphrase the plainsong to the end of the opening verse, and four of the settings also make some reference to it in verse two. Thereafter

none of the settings directly paraphrases the psalm-tone. All tones except the third and fourth are represented (Palestrina: tone 1 transposed; Marenzio: tone 8; G. M. Nanino: tones 7 (Rvat Sist. 29) and 1 transposed (1620); F. Anerio: tones 5 (Rvat Sist. 31) and 2 transposed (1596); Naldi: tone 1; Gargari: tone 7; G. F. Anerio: tone 1; Giovanelli: tone 6).

(3) **Length.** All of the settings are of roughly the same length (seven are between 130 and 150 breves;⁹ the setting by G. F. Anerio is, however, only 125 breves long while those by F. Anerio (Cap. Sist. 31) and Giovanelli are 157 and 160 breves respectively. There is also a surprising consistency in the number of cadences: since these normally coincide with a change of choir, this means that the amount of fragmentation of the text is also fairly consistent.

(4) **Triple time.** All of the settings except those by Pacelli and G. M. Nanino (1620) have triple time for the first half of the doxology; apart from this there is no consistency in the use of triple time.

(5) **Tutti.** None of these settings have extended *tutti* sections, preferring to build up quasi-*tutti* effects by rapidly repeated exchanges between the choirs, referred to henceforth as a 'cumulative' *tutti*. The end of F. Anerio's 1596 setting is a classic example [ex. 33]. Full *tutti*, with the bass parts moving in contrary motion and the upper parts filling out the sonority with imitative running figures over slow-moving harmonies, is usually reserved for the end of the doxology, or for special effects within each setting. All of the settings except Pacelli predictably use *tutti* for the words 'omnes generationes' while all except Palestrina, Gargari, Giovanelli and G. F. Anerio use *tutti* for the name 'Abraham' which is also usually repeated for emphasis.⁹

(6) **Verse Structure.** Each of the settings observes the verse structure of the text by changing choir, or by changing from a single choir to *tutti* or vice versa, at the beginning of each verse. Furthermore the caesura in the middle of the verse is also almost invariably marked by a similar change, though this is sometimes obscured if the text is broken up into very short fragments at that point.

(7) **Texture.** In all settings, with the exception of those by F. Anerio, the texture is largely homophonic with a certain amount of loosening by means of pseudo-polyphony, mainly using crotchet runs. The settings making most use of homophony are those by Marenzio, G. M. Nanino, Pacelli and Gargari. There is normally no overlap when one choir takes over from the other, the incoming choir commencing after the outgoing one has come to rest on its final chord. This allows clear cadences at the end of each section. There is occasionally some staggering of the entries by individual voices within a choir. The two settings by F. Anerio are somewhat exceptional in having a lot of overlap between the choirs at takeover points and most of the entries are staggered. This is particularly so in the Rvat Sist. 31 setting which is much more polyphonic than any of the other settings, even that by Palestrina. The setting by G. F. Anerio also contains a considerable amount of overlap. In these settings the overlap tends to obscure the divisions between verses.

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(8) **Independence of Choirs.** All of the settings have fully independent choirs. This means that in *tutti* sections Bass parts have either the root or third of the prevailing harmony and it is rare for either choir not to have the third of the harmony in one of the parts. As a result thirds are doubled, even chromatically altered ones. The exception here again is F. Anerio who has an occasional 6-4 chord in one of the choirs and a tendency not to double the third so much in *tuttis*. Palestrina's setting,

on the other hand, does have doubled thirds, something not found in his earlier polychoral pieces. Apart from that by F. Anerio, there is of course very little *tutti* in these Magnificat settings in any case.

(9) **Voice Pairing.** Pairing of voices within choirs is found in many of these settings. This can produce the same contrasting effect as two choirs: e.g. Gargari's setting of 'Fecit potentiam' [ex. 34].

(10) **Note Nere.** *Note Nere* writing, or the assigning of syllables to consecutive crotchets in groups, is not widespread in these settings apart from those by Giovanelli and Pacelli, which are probably later than the others. It is however found to some extent in all except the settings by Palestrina and Marenzio - this also marks these out as earlier than the others. It is used mainly as a word-painting device for 'dispersit superbos', together with quick antiphonal exchange between the two choirs.

These features taken together can be said to define a common style of double-choir Magnificat writing which was adhered to by Roman composers writing between roughly 1585 and 1605, with many of these features also being found in settings of other liturgical texts. The setting by G. M. Nanino from Rvat Sist. 29 is given in full in Volume Two, p. 125, as being most typical of this style. There are, of course, differences between the various settings, reflecting the stylistic differences between the various composers to be examined later in the chapter, but these are in fact less obvious in Magnificats and other liturgical settings such as psalms and Masses, than in motets, where composers vary considerably in their attitudes to the text.

THE CAPPELLA PONTIFICIA AND CAPPELLA GIULIA

PALESTRINA, FELICE ANERIO, GIOVANNI MARIA NANINO, TEOFILO GARGARI, ARCANGELO CRIVELLI

Palestrina and Anerio successively held the position of composer to the papal chapel. The others were members of that chapel during this period and, although they were also active in other institutions, the main sources for their polychoral music are Rvat Sist. and Giul. Each will be examined in turn, before looking at some group characteristics.

PALESTRINA

Palestrina established his polychoral style in the 1570s, as exemplified by the 1575 pieces and many of those in Rvat Giul. XIII 24 discussed in the previous chapter. Fundamentally he continued to compose in this style, but was not wholly unaffected by the new developments of his younger contemporaries. Some of the pieces added later to Rvat Giul. XIII 24 show more 'modern' features, for example *Expurgate vetus fermentum*, where the influence of madrigal writing can be seen in the way that the texture responds quickly to the words. This close relationship can be seen in the three phrases of example 35, particularly in the slow repeated chords on 'mortuus est' and lively placing of syllables on consecutive crotchets for 'et resurrexit'. An early feature which recurs in these pieces is a large amount of staggering of entries at takeover points between the choirs; this is not used consistently, but is often sharply contrasted with entries which are simultaneous in all voices, as in example 35. Another piece from this manuscript which has later features is *Sub tuum praesidium* which, as well as having syllables on consecutive crotchets, has a syllable on a quaver after a dotted crotchet at 'sed a periculis' [ex. 36]. This piece was chosen by Fabio Costantini for his anthology of 1614 together with *Fratres ego* from the same manuscript and a

third piece from an unknown source, *Caro mea*. These latter two pieces are in Palestrina's more traditional style - *Caro mea* is unusual in being written for two unequal choirs (CCAB/ATTB); this has not been recognised in either the old or new Palestrina editions where the misplacing of the second soprano part obscures the division between the choirs.

There are two pieces in Rvat Giul. XIII 24 which fall clearly into the category of festal psalm-motets, *Omnes gentes plaudite manibus* and *Laudate Dominum de coelis*. Both are classics of their type, particularly *Omnes gentes* which commences with a sonorous *tutti*, has short sharp exchanges with syllables on crotchets for 'jubilate Deo' and 'exultationis', and has the customary fanfares bounced back and forward between the choirs at 'in voce tubae'. *Omnes gentes* is the only polychoral piece by Palestrina to have all eight voices entering together, doubtless in response to the opening words. The technique used here is that developed for triple-choir music during the previous period - blocks of music are exchanged between the choirs, with only slight variation. The text is highly fragmented and is often mirrored in the music, e.g. octave leaps for 'excelsus'; syllables are also placed on crotchets and quavers, e.g. 'terribilis'.

Vos amici mei estis was thought by Fellerer¹⁰ to have been written specially for Conforti's anthology, RISM 1592², which would place it among the last pieces written by Palestrina. On the other hand, the predominantly contrapuntal texture would argue against its being a particularly late work, and Conforti's own preface (quoted in Chapter Three, p. 131) implies that the works printed in 1592 had been written some time earlier. The text is, however, considerably fragmented and the opening is unusual in involving the choirs in antiphonal exchange from the beginning [ex. 37]. The first word 'Vos', set as a long chord in Choir I, is immediately echoed on a different chord by Choir II. The following words, 'amici mei estis' are also repeated antiphonally. Then - unusually for Palestrina - the opening phrase is repeated in Choir I only,

retaining the antiphonal dialogue on the word 'vos', but now between the three lower voices and the soprano. The phrase is repeated yet again in Choir II, whose entry is interlocked with Choir I in a way reminiscent of Macque's three-choir *Ave Regina* discussed in the last chapter. After this very homophonic opening the rest of the piece uses a lot of staggered entries, one or more parts anticipating or following the rest. There is even a bar (at 'quem Pater mittet vobis') when the soprano of Choir I is singing with soprano, alto and tenor from Choir II, something not generally found in Palestrina's polychoral pieces from 1575 onwards. The closing Alleluia section also has considerable overlap and when it builds to a *tutti* the eight parts are treated equally, e.g. the two bass parts do not just mirror each other in contrary motion but take a full part in the counterpoint. The piece is certainly a compendium of the various techniques of polychoral writing used by Palestrina and, as such, a fitting piece to have represented him in the anthology.

This piece highlights the problems in assigning a chronology to Palestrina's polychoral works. Stylistic differences may result as much from differences in the type of text set as from developments in the idiom over time: Marian antiphons, with their greater dependence on plainsong, are contrapuntal whereas festal psalm-motets, with their more vivid imagery, are treated in a more madrigalian manner. There is not a clear division of techniques which would allow a chronology to be easily established after 1575.

Pompeo Pateri's manuscript anthology, Rn 117-121, contains twelve pieces by Palestrina, five of which are found in other early sources. Of those unique to the source, three 8v pieces (*Ave Regina*, *O admirabile commercium* and *Videntes stellam*) and two 12v ones (*Ecce nunc* and *Laudate Dominum*) attributed to Palestrina by the original scribes. A further 8v piece, *O pretiosum* is attributed to Palestrina in one of the part-books by a later hand, while Santini in his transcription of this source (D MÜs 3590) ascribed a 12v *Nunc dimittis*

(not attributed in the surviving partbooks) to Palestrina. There are no strong stylistic reasons for not accepting the attribution of these last two pieces to Palestrina - both are close to his earlier style - but they must remain doubtful works. Of the pieces attributed by the original scribes, only *Videntes stellam* shows features of the later Palestrina style: quick antiphonal exchanges and syllables on crotchets as at 'gavisi sunt gaudio magno' and some word-painting, for example the use of staggered entries in all eight parts for 'et procidentes' [ex. 38]. The two three-choir pieces are typical of those by Palestrina discussed in the previous chapter.

Also problematic are the six anonymous works, unique to Rvat Barb. 4184, which have been traditionally attributed to Palestrina. These show the traits of the 'late' style, but there are no strong reasons for excluding them from the Palestrina canon. They are, however, included among the doubtful works in Appendix V.

Somewhat uncertain also are the transcriptions from the Altemps manuscripts attributed to Palestrina - ten from the *collectio minor* and one from the *collectio major*. The latter is a 12v *Stabat mater*, attributed to both Palestrina and Felice Anerio in the transcriptions. The styles of both composers could be very similar, making distinction difficult; the similarity of this setting to the well-known 8v one in Rvat Sist. 29 would lead one, like the editors of the old Palestrina edition, to accept the attribution to him, but its authenticity must remain in doubt. The authenticity of the other ten pieces is strengthened by the agreement of all nineteenth-century transcribers (including the editors of the old Palestrina edition). One, the 12v *O gloriosa domina*, is also found under his name in Rvat Giul. XIII 24 and another, *Haec dies*, is attributed to him in the early seventeenth-century partbooks Rn 40-46. The remaining eight are unique to the Barberini source. Three are easily accepted into the canon, again with madrigalian traits: Ave

Regina, Fili non te frangant and *Tria sunt munera*.'' The remaining five are marginal works: two - *Lauda Sion* and *Veni Sancte Spiritus* - are sequences which set the complete text in triple time with little other than breves and semibreves; two others are settings of the Easter sequence, *Victimae paschali*, in which only the final verse is polychoral; the fifth is ostensibly written for two choirs, but both sing together only in the final section, and here both choirs have the same music. These works have been included with the authentic works in Appendix II, but they are examples of *Gebrauchsmusik* which might indeed be by any composer of the period.

Polychoral music formed a very significant part of Palestrina's output, one which has been unjustly neglected. Having established his own style in the 1575 pieces, he largely continued to use it, with some modification in line with newer trends: a tendency towards greater fragmentation of the text and a more homophonic texture, with shorter and more frequent antiphonal exchanges and the assignation of syllables to crotchets. He did not travel far down this road, however, and during his lifetime was already outstripped by his younger contemporaries, whose music will be examined later in this chapter. The following pieces show these newer features and they may date from the period 1585-94 (with the caveats entered above):

Expurgate vetus fermentum, Fili non te frangant, Haec dies, Hodie gloriosa, Laudate Dominum de coelis (12v), *Omnes gentes, Pater noster, Spiritus Sanctus replevit, Sub tuum praesidium, Victimae paschali* (1), *Videntes stellam*.

Of the rest of the output, the works published in 1575 (*Ave Regina, Hodie Christus natus est, Jubilate Deo, Lauda Sion, Surge illuminare, Veni Sancte Spiritus*) must have been written before that date. The bulk of Palestrina's

polychoral work dates from the period 1575-85 stylistically; many may, however, have been written later, but in the earlier style.

FELICE ANERIO

The surviving polychoral output of Felice Anerio, Palestrina's successor as composer to the papal chapel, is the largest of any Roman composer; however a surprisingly small number of his works survive in Rvat Sist. manuscripts. This may reflect the fact that he was foisted onto a reluctant papal chapel by his patron, the papal nephew Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini.¹² Anerio was active in providing music for special feasts at a number of Roman institutions and seems to have been at the forefront in promoting polychoral performance. He is recorded as having had music for 'tre chori continui' in S. Maria di Monserrato in 1586¹³ and it was he who acted as *maestro* in the Chiesa Nuova in 1595 when the first anniversary of Philip Neri's death was celebrated with music for four choirs, the earliest record of this number.¹⁴ Unfortunately none of his music for more than three choirs survives. The main sources for his polychoral music are his publications, and the transcriptions made from the partbooks probably compiled by him while *maestro* to Duke Altemps from 1604 to c. 1607.

During the period covered by this chapter, Anerio published two collections containing polychoral music, in 1596 and 1602.¹⁵ There are a few pieces in manuscript which, on stylistic grounds, can be placed in the 1580s. One of these is *Derelinquat impius*, found towards the beginning of Rvat Sist. 29. It is basically in the style of the earlier period described in the previous chapter, with a contrapuntal texture, an imitative opening in Choir I and quite extended sections for individual choirs. Choir II enters after fourteen bars with the same material as the Choir I opening, but telescoped into seven bars; the entry of Choir II is usually simultaneous and chordal at this period but Anerio keeps the staggered imitation, shortening the time-intervals between the entries [ex. 39]. Many of the succeeding entries are also staggered, indeed

this is something of a hallmark of Anerio's style: he prefers a larger degree of overlap between the choirs at takeover points than his contemporaries. Other features of this piece which are prominent in Anerio's later works are a fondness for pairs of voices, particularly with running crotchets in thirds or sixths, and his use of accidentals which juxtapose altered and unaltered versions of the same note, giving major and minor versions of the same harmony in close proximity.¹⁶

After Palestrina, F. Anerio is the most contrapuntal of Roman polychoral composers, preferring to keep the texture as imitative as possible, both by using the two or three choirs as individual blocks which imitate each other and by staggering the voices within each choir. Characteristic of this style are his two settings of the Magnificat. The similarities between them are evident and it is precisely the polyphonic nature of the Rvat Sist. 31 setting which clearly marks it as by Felice Anerio (as attributed in this manuscript) and not by G. M. Nanino (as attributed in transcriptions made from the Altemps collection). There is some attention to the words here, though Anerio does not approach Giovanelli or Marenzio in the use of rhetorical word-painting devices. But Anerio does set the words 'et exaltavit humiles' with care in both versions. In the 1596 setting [ex. 40], 'et exaltavit' is in a bouncing triple-time and repeated by both choirs; Choir I then drops out, leaving Choir II with a melismatic figure in common time which sinks to the lower parts of all voices on 'humiles'; the whole phrase is then repeated with Choir II dropping out for 'humiles'. Characteristic of Anerio are the paired tenths between S_{II} and B_{II}. In the Rvat Sist. 31 setting [ex. 41] the voices of Choir II lower their ranges for 'humiles', while Choir I breaks in with 'et exaltavit', nicely pointing the contrast between the two halves of the phrase. Another feature which the two settings have in common and which sets them apart from those of other composers is the treatment of 'Abraham et semini eius in saecula'. The

majority of Magnificat settings have a *tutti* on the word 'Abraham' which is repeated, but Anerio expands this in both settings as follows:

1596

Ch. I	ad patres nostros Abraham et semini eius in saecula, Abraham	
Ch. II	Abraham	Abraham et semini eius

Rvat Sist. 31

Ch. I	Abraham et semini eius in saecula, Abraham	et semini
Ch. II	ad patres nostros Abraham	Abraham et semini eius in

Similar to these Magnificats are the other specifically liturgical pieces in the 1596 publication, the Marian antiphons and Ps. 109, *Dixit Dominus*. Typical is the *Ave Regina* setting which is given in Volume Two, p. 133. The distribution of the text between the choirs is not greatly different from that of Victoria fifteen years earlier (see Chapter Five, pp. 165-6), though there is some more fragmentation of the text, particularly at 'Gaude gloriosa'. The opening sections are loosely derived from the plainsong and are quite contrapuntal, particularly at 'radix sancta'. Thereafter the piece is largely homophonic, mainly minim-based but with fast crotchet-exchange at 'valde decora' contrasting nicely with the long notes on 'vale'. There is an extended *tutti* at the end and a nice example of a cumulative *tutti* at 'gaude gloriosa' which is repeated a semitone higher two bars later (bars 30-4 and 36-9). The final section is also repeated, with the choirs interchanged, and a coda added.

The 1596 *Salve Regina* stands out for the large number of accidentals specified by Anerio. The piece, like all settings of this text, is in the first mode of the plainsong antiphon, transposed up a fourth to G with a flat in the key-signature. In seventy-eight bars this piece has twenty-two F's, twenty-one B's, twelve C's and eight E's. Cadences are mainly on G and D with some also on C, F and B^b. The large number of accidentals reflects both Anerio's care in notating his *musica ficta* and his preference for major harmonies and

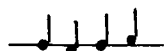
perfect cadences, and is typical of his music. A few representative bars from *Salve Regina* show this [ex. 42] as well as an elaboration of the consonant fourth idiom using auxiliary notes on accented quavers, something not found in Palestrina's style. Also outside that style are the upward minor sixth leaps found in this piece. Octave leaps to and from crotchets are also a feature of Anerio's writing at this period. A similiar piece from the same publication is *Benedictus es*, a setting of the prologue to the 'Canticle of the three young men' (Daniel 3: 52-?), with its recurring refrain, 'et laudabilis et gloriosus in saecula'. Anerio follows the structure of the text carefully, giving each invocation to Choir I alone and adding Choir II only for the refrain. The invocations are mostly in slow-moving polyphony, while the refrain bounces back and forth between the choirs in crotchets, dotted crotchets and quavers, in typical festal psalm-motet manner. The polychoral pieces in Anerios's 1602 publication are broadly similiar, but show more of the traits associated with this middle period.

GIOVANNI MARIA NANINO

Giovanni Maria Nanino was one of the most important and influential composers in late sixteenth-century Rome. For many years a member of the Papal choir, he had earlier been *maestro* at S. Maria Maggiore and S. Luigi dei Francesi, two of the most significant churches for music in the city. Strangely enough Nanino did not publish any collections of sacred music as he did of secular, but some pieces appeared in anthologies and many survive in manuscript. His polychoral output was not large when compared to that of Palestrina or Felice Anerio but it covers a wider range of styles; his pieces can be divided into four groups, three of which will be examined in this chapter. The first is a group of pieces from the earliest Rvat Sist. manuscripts, 29, 31 and 72, and most likely composed before 1585. These pieces were all written for the Papal chapel, where the choirs were not separated, and

many do not have harmonically independent choirs: *In omnem terram, Nocte surgentes, Nos autem gloriari, O altitudo divitiarum, Sancta et immaculata virginitas* and *Hodie nobis*. These are all motets; his Magnificat and psalm settings found in the same choirbooks do have harmonically independent choirs as do all other Nanino pieces with one exception, the psalm-motet *Exsultate Deo*.

The earliest of these settings seems to be *Nos autem gloriari* from Cap. Sist. 72, a good example of the early Palestrina style at its best.¹⁷ The opening is terraced, the voices entering in succession at one bar's interval from C_I to B_{II} with the same opening point. There is a considerable amount of *tutti* writing in which the two choirs merge - not always remaining harmonically independent [ex. 43]. Nanino makes generous use of groups of four crotchets



On two occasions these patterns in one voice overlap with a simultaneous chordal entry in the opposite choir [ex. 43]. The final 'alleluia' is particularly fine: initial imitation between the two choirs merges into a flowing *tutti*, which makes much use of the  figure; this often appears in two parts in thirds or sixths [ex. 44]. There is no exact repetition in this piece; in the rare cases of antiphonal repetition the bass is transposed to another pitch and the upper parts are varied. Very similar in style and therefore probably also of early date are *In omnem terram* (from Rvat. Sist. 125, copied in 1760 from a now no longer extant source) and *O altitudo divitiarum* (from a Bologna manuscript, I Bc R 281. Both have the same terraced opening from top to bottom with *O altitudo* having it twice.

O altitudo di-vi-ti-a -- rum,	O altitudo divitia - rum, o alti-
O altitudo di-vi-ti-a-rum	O altitudo divitia - rum, o alti-
O altitudo divi-ti-arum	O altitudo divitiarum, o altitudo
O altitudo divitiarum	O altitudo divitiarum, o alti-
O altitudo divitia - rum,	O altitudo divitiarum
O altitudo di-vi-ti-a - rum,	O altitudo divitia-
O altitudo di-vi-tia - rum,	O altitudo divi-
O altitudo divitia - rum,	O altitudo di

The second group, probably composed soon after 1585, is made up of liturgical settings. Some are found in Rvat Sist. manuscripts and some in other sources; they include settings of psalms (*Beatus vir* and *Dixit Dominus*), Magnificats, Litanies and a *Te Deum*. In all of these settings the text is heavily fragmented in the manner of the post-1585 period. Typical of these pieces is the Magnificat from Rvat Sist. 29 given in full in Volume Two, p. 125. There is only very occasional antiphonal repetition, probably as a result of the length of the text being set. The prevailing texture is homophonic, but this allows Nanino to use a more polyphonic texture occasionally as a contrast to highlight certain words, for example 'et sanctum nomen eius' (bars 33-36). The most homophonic of these settings is the *Beatus vir* from Rvat Sist. 31. Here the emphasis is on a clear declamation of the text so that there is very little overlap between the choirs, no anticipated or delayed entries by individual voices and very little *tutti*; within each choir all parts have the same rhythm, relieved only by cadential ornamentation. A feature of this, as of all Nanino's works is the preference for strong perfect cadences at the end of individual choir-sections, with decorated suspensions. The incoming choir almost invariably enters after the outgoing one has resolved its suspension and has come to rest on the resolution chord. However, all is not unrelieved homophony: final *tutti*s are usually sonorous and merge the two choirs, with the bass parts also taking part in the contrapuntal exchange. *Tutti* can also be used within the piece to relieve monotony or to highlight certain words, such as 'omnes generationes' and 'Abraham' in the Magnificat from Rvat Sist. 29 (Volume Two, pp. 127 and 130). Nanino also uses more varied rhythmic patterns and syncopation in this second group, illustrated by example 45 taken from *Beatus vir*. This piece is very much a continuation of the style of Victoria's 1585 *Lauda Sion*. All of the pieces in this group give syllables to successive crotchets, though much more so in *Beatus vir* than in, for example the two

Magnificat settings where the minim is very much the standard syllable-carrying beat.

A transitional work which also has some features of those pieces in the next group is *Dixit Dominus*. Here we find passages of declamation with syllables on repeated crotchets, dotted crotchets and quavers [ex. 46] as well as a rare use of this same device combined with imitative entries [ex. 47]. Nanino becomes increasingly fond of this type of declamation on repeated crotchets; there is even more in his *Te Deum* where such passages predominate over chordal passages with minims or polyphonic textures. A non-liturgical setting from this period is the *In diademate capitis*, disapproved of by Clement VIII.¹² It is unusual in Nanino's output in having a very large amount of exact or almost exact antiphonal repetition - virtually every phrase is repeated and some more than once. The piece is largely chordal, with some effective use of pseudo-polyphony, particularly in the final Alleluia.

The direction towards which this was leading can be seen in the third group which consists largely of psalms. Two of these were published in Costantini's RISM 1614³ anthology, *Domine quis habitabit* and *Cantate Domino*. The texture is now virtually totally chordal without any overlap between the choirs and *tutti* sections are almost all of the cumulative variety. In this context there has to be greater emphasis on rhythmic contrast, and Nanino uses devices such as quaver-runs, dotted crotchets-quaver pairs and syncopation. All of these can be seen in *Domine quis habitabit* [ex. 48].¹³ These devices are not used for word-painting in the madrigalian sense, as we shall find them used in Marenzio and Giovanelli, but rather as a decoration of the basically *falsobordone*-like texture. This is preparing the ground for the virtuoso solo sections found in the later *concertato* style. Only one *concertato* work by Nanino survives - the Magnificat in Rvat Giul. XIII 25, to be discussed in the following chapter. It is the only example of his fourth period but, as we

shall see, it draws together the various strands seen in the works of the second and third periods. Nanino was the only one of the composers associated closely with the papal chapel to embrace the new style. Other works which fall into the third period are *Laetatus sum* and *Exsultate Deo*. In these pieces, the abundance of crotchets and quavers bearing separate syllables seems to shift the basic pulse from the minim to the crotchet, but there are still passages of longer note-values which suggest that the tempo has not slowed down considerably.

Another composer who was for many years a papal singer was Teofilo Gargari, a number of whose works survive in Rvat Sist. and Giul. manuscripts. His *alternatim* Magnificats have already been commented on. Typical of his output is *O altitudo* from Rvat Sist. 100, a competent piece in the fragmented style, but tending towards the more contrapuntal manner of Palestrina and Felice Anerio. The opening [ex. 49] has the same terraced entries as the G. M. Nanino setting, but in Choir I only. There are few syllables on crotchets and a good match of text and music, without explicit word-painting.

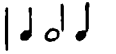
Born in Bergamo, Archangelo Crivelli came to Rome from Parma where he had been *maestro di cappella* at the Madonna della Steccata in succession to Pietro Ponzio. He left his position at Parma in 1575 but is not heard of in Rome until 1578 when he joined the Papal Chapel as a tenor. He remained there until his death in 1617 and was one of its most important members throughout the period, acting as *maestro* of the chapel in 1601 and very often called on to relay the beat to one of the choirs in polychoral performances in the city. He did not publish any polychoral pieces, apart from two which appeared in RISM 1614³. Other pieces survive in manuscript, mainly in the Rvat Sist. and Giul. collections. The major source is the early Rvat Giul. XIII 24 and most of the pieces seem to be early works. They all have one thing in common: there is very little care over the words. It is as if the music was composed first and

the words fitted later. This is a characteristic of Crivelli's work in general: De Ford made the same observation about his secular music and the article on him in *The New Grove* speaks of his style as being instrumental. This can be seen in his setting of the popular text *Beata es Virgo* [ex. 50], where the underlay of 'qui te fecit' is reminiscent of the arbitrary pre-Tridentine manner. Crivelli is also fond of octave leaps in the manner of Lassus. There is only one piece where Crivelli finds a musical setting suitable to the words: the opening section of his *Crucifixus, surrexit a mortuis* from 1614³ [ex. 51]. This is really a four-voice motet for CCAA (the organ bass simply doubles the lowest part and is irrelevant here). The opening subject is in two parts, one slow and solemn, the other melismatic and joyful; the contrast between the two ideas is very effective in depicting the contrast between crucifixion and resurrection, but the conception is still instrumental and the felicitous setting probably a happy chance. Definitely conceived instrumentally is the opening of *Laetentur coeli*, the other 1614³ piece [ex. 52]. It has the rhythm of a *canzona francese* with the crotchet as the basic pulse. Crivelli's lack of attention to the words is difficult to explain in a composer who spent most of his life singing in the Papal Chapel.

With the exception of G. M. Nanino, composers associated with the Papal chapel began in this period to show the conservatism which later became a hallmark of the chapel - at least this is true of the music surviving in its choirbooks, which tends to be more contrapuntal and minim-based when compared with much of the music being written outside. More modern music may well have been sung on occasions such as the *Vespro segreto*, but it has not survived within the chapel's repertory.

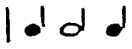
THE GERMAN COLLEGE

TOMAS LUIS DE VICTORIA, ANNIBALE STABILE, RUGGIERO GIOVANELLI, ASPRILIO PACELLI

Although Victoria had left the German College long before 1585, he will be considered here briefly since he may well have continued to influence the composers who worked there. The only new polychoral piece in his 1585 publication was *Lauda Sion*, a setting of verses 1, 2, 5, 12 and 23 of the *Corpus Christi* sequence. This piece shows a considerable development in Victoria's style since 1581, with features already seen in his 12v *Laetatus sum* of 1583, the only new polychoral piece in that publication. *Lauda Sion* is through-composed and the verses are not divided off from one another - indeed overlap between the choirs obscures the beginning of verse five.²⁰ The opening is a standard one with long note-values and staggered entries, but by the third line of the first verse ('in hymnis et canticis') there is a rhythmic bounce new to Victoria. Verses five and twelve show more clearly the new approach which Victoria may have learned from festal psalm-motets such as Zollo's *Laudate Dominum in sanctis*. The text is broken up into short fragments which are bounced back and forth between the choirs, the  pattern throwing the rhythm around and hinting at a triple time within the duple beat. The crotchet becomes the basic unit here with effective use of the syncopated  figure and pairs of crotchets, all having separate syllables (ex. 53). Victoria continued this new style in his Easter sequence setting, *Victimae paschali*, published in Madrid in 1600 (though not in the Pentecost sequence, *Veni Sancte Spiritus* published with it). These later works, written after the composer's return to Spain, are outside the scope of this study,

Stabile followed his publications of 1583 and 1585 - discussed in the previous chapter - with a further one in 1589 which contained four pieces for double-choir. There are two quite different styles here, placing the publication at a crossroads in Stabile's development. The Easter sequence, *Victimae paschali*, is given a traditional setting in which verses one-five and seven are given to single choirs without any overlap or antiphonal exchange. In verses six and eight the text is split between the choirs and there is

repetition of text, though not of music. The eighth and final verse is a sonorous *tutti* with both bass parts moving in fourths and fifths in contrary motion, while the other parts have a pseudo-polyphonic texture using runs and rests. The plainsong melody is paraphrased in each of the first five verses, being heard in a different voice in each verse, but not thereafter. There are no syllables assigned to consecutive crotchets.

In sharp contrast to this is the setting of a non-specific text 'for apostles and saints in general', *Hi sunt qui venerunt*. This is an extended piece in two parts: the *prima pars* is given in Volume Two, p. 140. It is very much a piece in the new post-1585 style. After a slow homophonic opening, rapid homophonic *parlando* begins with syllables on crotchets and quavers at 'de tribulatione magna'. The  figure in the alto on 'laverunt' adds to the rhythmic interest. Antiphonal repetition starts at 'et serviunt ei': typically, the bass repeats the same intervals a fifth higher; the soprano and the alto interchange and the other parts are varied accordingly. Later in the piece, at the antiphonal repetition of 'ab oculis eorum', C₁ has a downward run of four quavers; this is a device commonly used by some of Stabile's younger contemporaries. At 'in saecula saeculorum' very rapid exchanges begin, the pulse having doubled in speed as in Victoria's *Lauda Sion*. The *prima pars* comes to an end in a full *tutti* with the harmony complete in both choirs. With this piece Stabile takes his place among the moderns, continuing the line of development shown by Victoria. He did not himself publish any further sacred music, but another piece, *Deus misereatur nostri*, appeared in an anthology of 1604. This too is in the modern style, even more so than *Hi sunt*, as can be seen from the extract given in ex. 54. Quick repeated crotchets and quavers, each with a syllable of text, resemble the style of G. M. Nanino's third period.

Like other Marian antiphon settings, it is rather conservative in many ways: the text is not too fragmented and there is only one example of a pair of crotchets with syllables assigned to them. What is unusual for a Marian antiphon is the degree of word-painting used: this is very much a hallmark of Giovanelli's writing; he was a prominent madrigalist and seems (like Marenzio as we shall see later) to have approached his sacred composition in the same way. *Alma redemptoris* is written for two choirs with different voice-combinations (CCAT/ATTB). It begins in the conventional manner with seven bars for Choir I, the plainsong in the bottom part as a cantus firmus in long notes while the three upper parts have a point of imitation which is loosely based on the same plainsong in short note values. Choir II enters with similar, though not identical, material and then there are four bars of *tutti*. The piece continues with extended sections for single choirs and then the music begins to illustrate the text: long notes for 'porta manens' and scale-like runs on 'maris'. Antiphonal exchange on 'sucurre' is followed by falling figures in all parts for 'cadenti', ending with a downward run of a tenth in the bass. The next word, 'surgere', brings another change: seven of the eight parts enter, one after the other, with a rising scale-like phrase. And so it goes on, the music always closely matched to and, where possible, illustrating the text. The key phrase, 'tu quae genuisti natura mirante' is given a slow, meditative, homophonic setting, broken only by a decorated cadential suspension. The means used by Giovanelli in this piece are, for the period, traditional (there are no strings of syllables on crotchets for example) and might have been used by Palestrina. The extent of the word-painting however is new and shows Giovanelli's mastery of his medium. Other pieces using the more traditional style in this publication are *Stephanus plenus gratia*, written for the church of San Stefano Rotondo which was administered by the German College, and *Gaudeamus omnes in Domino*.²² This is one of a surprisingly large group of festal psalm-motets

(five out of eight) in this publication, all of which display the typical characteristics of the genre.

Of these, the setting of the Old Testament canticle, *Benedicite* is perhaps the most interesting and is given in full in Volume Two, p. 154. It opens homophonically with long note-values in Choir I; in bar eight Choir II joins in with long notes, before exploding into crotchets and quavers in the next bar on 'et superexaltate'. The recurring word, 'benedicite', is almost always given a similiar *tutti* setting (though never exactly the same) except for a few appearances in the middle of the piece when crotchets, dotted crotchets and quavers are used. This continual variation of texture is typical of Giovanelli. He also uses every opportunity for word-painting: wave-like melismas for 'aquae', a slow *tutti* for 'omnes quae super coelos sunt', four quick antiphonal repetitions with short note-values for 'fulgura et nubes'. The ending is another classic example of a *tutti* built up by an accumulation of fast antiphonal repetitions. Another feature of these pieces and, indeed, of the music of this period in general is that the individual parts become more restricted as to range and melodic interest. There are a lot of repeated notes on the same pitch and the focus shifts from the individual lines onto the choir as a block. Giovanelli published no new collection of polychoral pieces after 1593 but some pieces appeared in anthologies and others survive in various manuscript sources. Many of these pieces show Giovanelli's more routine side, particularly the Marian antiphon settings where, in contrast to his 1593 *Alma redemptoris mater*, there is not a lot of care taken over the words. Later pieces by Giovanelli will be considered in the following chapter.

Giovanelli was succeeded after a brief interval by Asprilio Pacelli.²³ He first published polychoral music in 1597; this was republished in 1607 and he published a second collection from Warsaw in 1608, including pieces for three, four and five choirs. He also published a collection of polychoral masses in

1629; these last two publications are outside the scope of this thesis and will not be considered.

Pacelli's 1597 collection, all 8v, includes a set of five Vesper psalms and a Magnificat, four Marian antiphons, two festal psalm-motets and eight other motets appropriate for various feastdays. None can be particularly associated with the German College and none are in the *alternatim* idiom which was popular there. Typical of the works in the collection is *Tres sunt qui testimonium dant*, a Trinity text which might well have been written for Sma. Trinita; it is given in full in Volume Two., p. 159. The overall style is close to that of Giovanelli, with good use of contrasting textures, a close fitting of words and music, and word-painting when the text allows (here only at 'tres sunt'). Pseudo-contrapuntal sections, such as 'Pater, Verbum et Spiritus Sanctus' alternate with quick crotchet-based homophonic declamation, e.g. 'qui testimonium dant de coelo', which also makes good use of syncopation and dotted crotchets. The higher voices from both choirs are used for 'qui es benedictus in saecula' (bars 47-51), the slow note-values on the first part of the phrase contrasting well with the faster ones on the second part. At the repeat of these words (bars 59-64) Pacelli uses the same music for 'qui es benedictus' but now involves both choirs in quick antiphonal exchange at 'in saecula' and also provides new music for the repeat of the *tutti* 'saeculorum Amen'. The same lively contrasts are found in the more specifically liturgical pieces in this collection; indeed, as opposed to the collection published in the same year by Soriano, it is very homogeneous in style and all its pieces would seem to have been written in the 1590s. The Magnificat was described earlier in this chapter, along with that by Giovanelli, as being the most advanced in style of those considered there. There is the same contrast in textures and also wide contrasts within individual lines between flowing melismatic writing, octave leaps and repeated notes. As an example, part of the first tenor line is given [ex. 56], beginning with repeated notes on 'omnes generationes' (Pacelli is the

only composer who eschews a *tutti* on these words, using a series of fast homophonic antiphonal exchanges instead) and ending with a doubly ornamented cadence, typical of Pacelli.

These last three composers, united in their care for the text, can be seen as representing a German College 'school' of composition, following the example of Victoria and undoubtedly also influenced by Michael Lauretano whose close involvement in the College's music at every level has been discussed in Chapter One, p. 12.

CONFRATERNITIES AND THEIR ORATORIES: LUCA MARENZIO

Among those composers who provided music for oratories and who have not already been discussed, the most important was Marenzio. Despite his preeminence in the field of madrigal composition, Marenzio did not achieve the same greatness in sacred music; perhaps due to the fact that, unlike most of the composers in this study, he seems not to have held a position as *maestro* at any of the Roman churches. He did serve a succession of cardinals in this role, but this probably required more secular than sacred music and certainly did not regularly demand the large-scale music required by churches and confraternities for major feasts. However, Marenzio was active during Lent at Smo. Crocefisso (1595) and at Sma. Trinità dei Pellegrini (1583, 1584 and 1592). Quite a number of polychoral pieces are attributed to him in anthologies and manuscripts, and he may perhaps have been more active on special feasts than the archives would suggest. Most have been published in Volumes 1 and 3 of the C. M. M. collected edition of his sacred music, though this edition leaves many problems of sources and attributions unsolved. Various interesting features of these pieces justify closer study.

Marenzio's early style is represented by the first version of the Magnificat (see above, pp. 204 and 207) and *Jubilare Deo*, printed in various

anthologies from 1600 onwards (also found in a revised version as discussed in the previous chapter, p. 162). Both are typical of the period before 1585, with a substantial amount of *tutti* writing, in which all of the parts have melismatic lines with running crotchet figures. The choirs overlap considerably but there are also some fast antiphonal exchanges, with exact or almost exact repetition of the musical phrase. Marenzio takes great care in setting the words, giving them a melodic shape which respects their natural rhythm, but there is no real word-painting. There are a few instances of syllables on individual crotchets but the style is very much minim-based.

Very different from these are three pieces for double choir attributed to Marenzio in the anthology RISM 1611'; these display a certain consistency of stylistic features and show a very personal manner of composition. All three are psalm-motets: *Deus venerunt gentes* (Ps. 78 vv. 1-4), *Exsurgat Deus* (Ps. 67 vv. 1-4) and *Iniquos odio habui* (Ps. 118 vv. 113-116 + first half of v. 117). As such they might well have been composed for one of the oratories, like the psalm-motets in Rn 77-88. In these pieces Marenzio the madrigalist is in full flight and they are certainly the most successful of the polychoral pieces attributed to him, with many characteristics in common with Giovanelli. There are close similarities with Marenzio's 4v motets published in 1585 which are also very madrigal-like: each phrase is treated individually and highlighted with some distinct melodic or rhythmic device, using word-painting where appropriate. Thus the running quavers used for 'fuderunt sanguinem suam' in his 1585 four-voice *Gaudet in coelis* [ex. 57] become veritable cascades for 'effuderunt aquam' in the 8v *Deus venerunt gentes* [ex. 58]. Although antiphonal exchange is a resource in these three 8v pieces, the choirs often do not have a separate existence but fuse into an 8v unit, when this helps to illustrate a particular word or phrase. This can even lead to an occasional 6-4 in one of the choirs ([ex. 58] - 'bestiis terrae'; these pieces do not appear to have been written for widely separated choirs since there is considerable

overlap, with a single part from one choir often joining with the the voices of the other choir. This might argue for an earlier date for these pieces; on the other hand the profusion of ornamental figures including many quaver runs, the virtuosity required in all of the parts and the abundance of syllables on crotchets indicate a later date, at least post-1585. These characteristics can be seen in example 58 and include the highly virtuosic quaver scales on 'aquam' which quickly give way to a staggered twisting figure for 'in circuitu Jerusalem'. Prior to that the beasts of the field are represented by dotted crotchet and quavers in all eight parts, while 'Effuderunt sanguinem' has sharply contrasting homophony and a triple-time effect caused by syncopation.

From these three pieces we can form a picture of Marenzio's later style. Significant features are: the continually changing textures, matching closely the rhythm and, where feasible, the sense of individual words or phrases; a fondness for voice-pairing; frequent use of the figure , and of quavers in groups of four (often ascending or descending scales); a fondness for ornamenting cadences; a liking for filling up intervals of a third with pairs of quavers, and also for using this figure in sequence (ex. 68). Some of these Marenzio "fingerprints" are also found in the two earlier pieces.

These features are found too in *Laudate Dominum in sanctis*, attributed to Marenzio in Rvat Giul. XIII 25. Meier and Jackson give a second setting of the same text, found in tablature in Basel and Wolfenbüttel and attributed to Marenzio; the editors have added the Latin text of Ps. 150, though this does not fit very comfortably with the music as it stands. The music is in fact a corrupt version of the *Laudate Dominum in sanctis* published by Giovanelli in 1593 (also attributed to Palestrina in RISM 1604⁷ and included as an *opus dubium* in the old Palestrina edition).

Rn 40-46 contains an incomplete 8v setting of *Egredimini filiae Sion* attributed to Marenzio (not known to the editors of the C. M. M. edition). The

piece has the responsiveness to the text characteristic of the composer. It has a terraced opening with the parts entering in order from C_I to B_{II}, a technique associated with the early period and not otherwise found in pieces attributed to Marenzio. The choirs coalesce in *tutti* sections, as in *Jubilate Deo* and the *Magnificat*. The piece is probably an early one and, given the source, may have been composed for Sma. Trinità in 1582-3.

Two other 8v pieces attributed to Marenzio are *Cantate Deo* in a Kassel manuscript and *Si filius honorabilis* from a Lüneburg tablature. Both are very unusual among Roman polychoral pieces in having two soprano and two alto parts in Choir I and two tenor and bass parts in Choir II. There are some Marenzio fingerprints, more so in *Si filius* where the fit of 'idcirco conturbata est' to a very appropriate *stile concitato* passage is certainly an argument in favour of using this text [ex. 59].²⁴

There are a number of double-choir pieces for more than eight voices attributed to Marenzio in manuscripts. The most successful of these is a 9v *Te Deum* with a 4v (CATB) choir pitted against a 5v (CATTB) one, the extra tenor increasing the sonority in *tuttis* as well as providing contrast between the two choirs. The style is early, close to that of *Jubilate Deo*, with a number of verses set for individual choirs. Another 9v piece is *Sacrum coelesti nos lumen*: here there are two CATB choirs with an extra soprano part which repeats one phrase of the motet-text, 'memorate per orbem', throughout. It is a late piece in style with a largely homophonic texture, syllables mainly on crotchets with many on quavers and some word-painting (notably on 'flamma' which has dancing runs of eight quavers in soprano and tenor [ex. 60]). *Nunc facta est salus*, from an anthology of 1602, is for two 5v choirs (both CATTB). Although somewhat unusual in scoring and with some uncharacteristic features, there are no strong grounds for not accepting these pieces as being by Marenzio. Scoring of this kind is, however, extremely rare among Roman composers.

The five 12v pieces attributed to Marenzio in various sources do present serious problems of attribution. One, *Lamentabatur Jacob*, is to be excluded from the Marenzio canon according to the persuasive arguments of Oscar Mischiati and assigned to the Treviso composer, Teodoro Clinio.²⁵ Another piece, *Ave maris stella*, was copied from the Altemps collection in the Collegio Romano. Only the doxology is for triple-choir, the other verses being assigned to one choir after the other in rotation and separated by bar-lines. Even the doxology has very little real *tutti* writing. It is typical of the earliest Roman triple-choir works, but does not have any features which could confirm Marenzio's authorship. The third 12v piece, *Super flumina Babylonis*, is also confused in attribution: it is a rearrangement of an 8v setting of the same text attributed to G. B. Locatelli in the anthology RISM 1614³. As in other such cases it is difficult to say which version came first. The situation is not helped by the fact that the 8v setting is the only completely surviving polychoral piece attributed to Locatelli (Rn 40-6 contains an incomplete *Laudate pueri*). Both versions do have some of the characteristics of Marenzio's writing but the attribution must remain open. There is also another setting of *Jubilate Deo* - different from that discussed above - in both 8v and 12v versions. The 12v version, together with the 12v *A solis ortus cardine*, are attributed to Marenzio in RISM 1604², of which only three partbooks survive.

In the C. M. M. edition Roland Jackson divided Marenzio's sacred works into three categories:

- (1) The *Cantiones Sacrae* (c. 1574-1580): emphasis on linear polyphony, an expansive treatment of individual text lines, numerous lengthy melismas, somewhat naive pictorialism.

(2) The *Motecta Festorum Totius Anni* (c. 1580-85): frequent voice pairings and textural contrasts, a more concise treatment of text lines, more marked rhythmic contrasts between sections.

(3) The polychoral motets (c. 1589-1599): emphasis upon chordal texture, lively declamatory rhythms, choirs sometimes in rapid alternation or in combination.

Jackson's suggestion that all of the polychoral music was composed in the last decade of Marenzio's life is untenable in the light of the previous discussion, and it is more appropriate to divide it also into two periods, coinciding roughly with his categories (1) and (2). The following chronology for these works is therefore offered (doubtful works not included):

c. 1575-85: *Jubilate Deo* (1600), *Magnificat*, *Te Deum*, *Cantate Dominum*,
Egredimini filiae Sion,

After c. 1585: Revised versions of *Jubilate Deo*, *Magnificat*;
Deus venerunt gentes, *Exsurgat Deus*, *Iniquos odio habui* (all
1611')
Jubilate Deo (1614³), *Si filius honorabilis*, *Laudate*
Dominum in sanctis, *Sacrum coelesti*, *Nunc facta est salus*,

S. MARIA MAGGIORE: FRANCESCO SORIANO

Francesco Soriano's revisions to his *In illo tempore: assumpsit Jesus* have already been discussed in the context of the change in style between 1585 and 1597 and the consequent re-division of the text between the choirs. Soriano introduced other modifications in 1597 which show changes in his personal style over those years and relate to similar features in the styles of his contemporaries. These changes relate mainly to ornamental figuration in *tutti* passages. Both versions of one such passage are shown in example 61. The crotchets in the ascending four-crochet figure have consistently been replaced by dotted crotchets and quavers; these do not carry individual syllables of text, their function being rather a sonorous, pseudo-polyphonic one. This dotted-crochet-quaver figure was already used in some sections of the 1585

version [ex. 62] and not all groups of crotchets were so altered in the 1597 revision. The cumulative effect of these rising figures has also been increased in the 1597 revision by the addition of an extra set in the C_{11} part and by shortening the interval between entries. The other significant change to this passage is the insertion of rapid antiphonal exchange at 'et ecce vox', typical of the fragmentation favoured in the post-1585 period. Ornamental figuration was also added at various parts of the piece and a new low D added for the first bass ('eos' in example 61); these changes may reflect the participation of instruments, doubling or replacing the voices. In both forms, the piece shows a sensitivity to the words not always found in Soriano. This can be seen in example 62 where three antiphonal statements of 'neminem viderunt' are followed by a sustained 3v setting of the words 'nisi solum Jesum'; this is later followed by imitative entries on a descending phrase for 'descendentibus illis'.

There are a number of pieces in the 1597 publication which show many signs of having being written earlier, some even before 1585.²⁶ One such piece is *Deus qui beatum Ludovicum*, probably written before 1581 while Soriano was still *maestro* at the church of San Luigi dei Francesi. Here there are no syllables assigned to successive crotchets and each choir has quite long sections of text. There is also quite a lot of *tutti* writing with harmonically independent choirs which keep their individuality. There are settings of two Marian antiphons, *Ave Regina* and *Salve Regina* which also show signs of being early works or else, perhaps, use a retrospective style appropriate to this genre. Both have a plainsong intonation and both respect the sectionalised structure of their respective texts. *Ave Regina*, like the early settings by Palestrina et al., sets the first two sections for individual choirs with no overlap between them. The third section starts with long phrases for each choir; these then become shorter until, at 'gaude, gaude gloriosa', there is quick antiphonal exchange and syllables on successive crotchets. *Salve Regina*

has a lot of overlap between the choirs with occasional 6-4 chords in one choir; entries are very often staggered . All this points to non-spatially separated performance. Another piece which shares this very contrapuntal texture is *Adorna thalamum*.

The more fragmented, post-1585 style is represented in the 1597 collection by the sequence *Veni Sancte Spiritus* and, particularly, by the psalm *Dixit Dominus*. This is a classic example of the later style in which the text is broken up into short phrases of a few words (sometimes only one), virtually all of which are repeated antiphonally at least once; in this the verse structure of the psalm is lost sight of and loses all importance. These phrases are for the most part simple homophonic chord-sequences with no melodic interest. Soriano was not a great melodist or inventor of flowing melodic lines. Some of the antiphonal exchanges repeat the music exactly but Soriano does often vary the repetition by changing the pitch, altering one or more of the upper parts or adding ornamentation. There is much use of dotted crotchets/quavers, quaver-pairs and one group of four quavers [ex. 63]. Syllables are assigned to crotchets for much of the piece, both repeated at the same pitch and in scale-like runs. *Tutti*s arise from the cumulative build up of imitative exchanges with the choirs keeping their individuality; only the final bars can be called a full 8v *tutti*. Soriano's later works will be considered in the next chapter.

OTHER COMPOSERS

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There were a number of other composers active during this period, some of whom have left only one or a handful of pieces behind. A unique publication by a Roman composer was Alessandro Marino's 12v *Completorium ad usum Romanum*, published in Venice in 1596 while Marino was a canon at S. Giovanni in Laterano. Although polychoral music was used for Compline during Lent, and a number of settings of the psalm *Ecce nunc* and the canticle *Nunc dimittis* survive, Marino was the only composer to devote a complete publication (his only polychoral one)

to the office, and to set items such as the opening invocations polyphonically. Only two of the Marian antiphons are included, *Salve Regina* and *Ave Regina*. Marino shows good control of his three choirs, which are not all made up of equal voices (CAAT/CATB/ATTB). His bass parts are unusually low, going down to E and D quite regularly. In the canticle *Nunc dimittis*, both *tutti* sections are introduced by a *falsobordone* declamation of the beginning of the phrase, written as a series of semibreves in all parts and running naturally into a sonorous polyphonic *tutti*; this anticipates the inclusion of *falsobordone* verses in *concertato* settings, to be discussed in the next chapter.

Romulo Naldi was a prolific composer who spent some time in Rome. As well as a number of works which are preserved in Vatican manuscripts, he published a collection of double-choir motets in 1600 in Venice, one for each Sunday between Advent and Pentecost, as well as two Marian antiphons.²⁷ There are also Marian antiphon settings for three choirs and one for four. They are all competent pieces, very much in the classic fragmented style. Naldi seems to have lacked imagination, particularly in melodic construction, and relied too much on exact repetition or repetition with minimal variation. For example, in *Transeunte Domino* from the 1600 collection (also found in RISM 1615²), the phrase in example 64 is heard four times in succession. The phrase itself contains an exact repetition of the sub-phrase 'miserere mei'; this is transposed a fifth higher in some of the repetitions, but nevertheless becomes distinctly monotonous after eight hearings.^{*} This tendency is taken even further in the *Ave Regina* for four choirs, which is similar to the multiple-choir settings of Macque and Zoilo. The opening phrase, based on the plainsong, is repeated note-for-note in each of the four choirs in turn and the same music is again used for the second phrase, 'Ave Domina'. Later phrases such as 'Salve radix sancta' make use of the same ascending and descending

scale-figure as formed the basis of the first two phrases. While his music makes a good sonorous effect, the continual repetition militates against it.

Curtio Mancini was a minor figure involved with various confraternities. His collection of motets, published in 1608, includes nine pieces for double-choir. All are very much in the fragmented style of this period; most, like *Jubilate Deo* - a typical festal psalm setting - contrasting contrapuntal sections with faster-moving homophonic ones. *Vidi turbam* represents the later end of the period, with virtuosic quaver runs and syllables mainly on crotchets in a style analogous to the third period of G.M. Nanino. The same characteristics are found in the music of another minor figure of whom little is known - Giovanni Troiano. His *Adjuro vos* from Rvat Giul. XIII 25 is a very short piece where almost all syllables fall on crotchets and quaver ornamental figures abound. There is, notwithstanding, some effective word-setting of the text from the Song of Songs.

There are four composers who have left only one 8v piece each. Two were organists: Ippolito Tartaglino, who was organist at St. Peter's in 1581 before moving to Naples and whose *Ecce quam bonum* appears in Rn 117-121, and Giovanni Battista Locatelli (or Lucatello) who succeeded Tartaglino at St. Peter's and remained there until at least 1589. A setting of Ps. 136, *Super flumina Babylonis* was assigned to Locatelli by Fabio Costantini in RISM 1614³. A triple-choir version of the same piece is attributed to Marenzio in manuscript, as discussed above (p. 235), but the St. Peter's connection should mean that the double-choir version, at least, is Locatelli's. The style is close to that of Marenzio's later works but with more exact antiphonal repetition; it is a strongly homophonic piece with a lot of repeated crotchets at the same pitch. The Tartaglino piece is obviously written much earlier and is the style of the early Palestrina pieces. Prospero Santini was *maestro* at the Chiesa Nuova and a single piece, *Angelus Domini*, appeared in Costantini's 1614 anthology. Again

it is a competent setting in the fragmented style with a very lively and extended Alleluia section at the end. The fourth composer is Giovanni Battista Jacomelli, singer and violinist (see Chapter One, p. 28) His only surviving piece, the eight-voice *Benedicam Dominum in omni tempore*, was published in a collection of motets by Carlo Berti in 1596. Its style would suggest that it had been written earlier and it shows no great distinction.

CONCLUSION

The twenty or so years following 1585 saw a consolidation of the polychoral principle among a large number of Roman composers and its adoption as the major medium for both festive occasions and for the office of Vespers. Having settled on a style of writing for two independent choirs, composers proceeded to exploit this in ever-increasing fragmentation of the text and antiphonal repetition between the choirs. Composers outside of the papal chapel (as well as G. M. Nanino within it) moved away from the contrapuntal and pseudo-polyphonic style of Palestrina to a more homophonic, declamatory one with emphasis on crotchets and quavers and an increasing exploitation of virtuoso techniques used in the secular repertory. These were placed at the service of the text, with textures changing quickly in response to the words, in the fashion of the contemporary Roman madrigal. Even Palestrina was not unaffected by the newer trends which, in the hands of composers like Giovanelli, Marenzio and G. M. Nanino prepared the way for the even newer style of the following period.

NOTES

1. Meier and Jackson ed., Marenzio, *Opera Omnia*, I, ix-xii. See also below, pp 235-6.
2. See Lipmann, 'Giovanni de Macque'.
3. Both versions are given in Kniseley ed., Soriano, *Motets for Eight voices*.
4. Berlin ms. Z 111 (Peltsch). See Marenzio, *Opera Omnia*, III, ix.

5. C. de Morales, *Magnificat....liber primus* (Venice, 1545). Some of these settings had already been published in RISM 1542².
6. See below, p. 250
7. The setting is attributed to G.M. Nanino in transcriptions made from the Altemps partbooks (D Rp, MUs 1198; GB Lbl 34607) but the attribution to Anerio in Rvat Sist. 31 and in RISM 1620¹ is accepted here on stylistic grounds. See the discussion of Anerio's works later in this chapter, pp. 217-8.
8. Breves in triple-time sections are counted as they stand, without taking account of any proportional relationship.
9. Giovanni Gabrieli also repeats the word 'Abraham' in his double-choir setting of the Magnificat published in 1597 (*Opera Omnia*, ii, 44) but not in his two 12v settings.
10. Fellerer, *Palestrina*.
11. *Fili non te frangant* has, for some unexplained reason, not been included in the recently issued vol. xxxiv of the *Opere Complete*.
12. This may reflect the fact that Anerio's appointment was presented to the papal singers as a *fait d'accompli*, without consultation, due to the influence of Anerio's patron, the papal nephew Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini. See *Diario Sistina* 19, 3rd April.
13. ASCR, F-IV-376 n.f.
14. Zazzara, *Diario*, 26th May 1597.
15. Anerio had already published two secular polychoral pieces, the echo spiritual madrigal, *Jam de somno*, in 1585 and the madrigal, *E l'anima piu bella*, in 1587.
16. The same fondness for accidentals was found in Anerio's secular music by De Ford (*Giovanelli*, Chapter Seven).
17. This piece is not transcribed here since it is available in Schuler ed., *Fourteen Liturgical Works*, p. 44.
18. See Chapter One, p. 31. The piece can be found in Schuler, p. 40
19. The piece is given in Schuler, p. 80.
20. Pedrell ed., Victoria, *Opera Omnia*, vii, 135.
21. Haberl etc. ed., Palestrina, *Werke*, vi, 118.
22. A variant version of this piece was published in RISM 1614².
23. Pacelli's career has already been discussed in Chapter One, p. 23 and Chapter Two, pp. 61-2.

24. This piece survives in tablature only, with the title, 'Ist nicht Ephraim mein teurer Sohn'. Jackson reconstructed the piece by applying the vulgate version of this text (Jeremiah 31, 20) to the music. According to him this text fits admirably - something of an exaggeration since many of the accents fall on weak beats.
25. See the foreword to: L. Marenzio, *Messa e Motetto 'Jubilate Deo'*, ed. O. Mischiati, p. xvi.
26. All of the 1597 pieces are given in Kniseley's edition.
27. Naldi is not known to have completed the series.

CHAPTER SEVEN

EXPANSION AND DIVERSIFICATION: THE REIGN OF PAUL V (1605-1621)

The reign of Pope Paul V (1605-21) was one of consolidation and continuity with the immediate past of the post-Tridentine period, while furthering the liturgical reforms and architectural projects begun under his predecessors. The same can be said of the Roman music composed during this period: there was no sudden change in style in 1600 or in 1605, nor are there any reworkings to point to a new way of writing at the start of this period. But new elements did appear, as more modern trends became established in church music. The most significant of these was the introduction of the *concertato* style into polychoral music. This did not supplant previous styles, however: some composers continued to compose in the fragmented style of the 1590s while others exploited the sonorities of four and more choirs, the so-called 'colossal baroque'. Composers wrote in more than one of these styles, the occasion or the building dictating the choice. This is reflected in publications which included groups of *concertato* and non-*concertato* settings, particularly of Vesper psalms. The reason for this is made clear by Paolo Tarditi in the introduction to his *Psalmi, Magnificat cum Quattuor Antiphonis ad Vesperas, Octo Vocibus* of 1620:

Ho giudicato necessario, per ovviare il concetto, che potrebbe farsi di queste mie compositioni, scoprire il fine, al quale hò hauto riguardo nel comporre. 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 maraviglino dunque se nella medesima muta hò raddoppiato li salmi, perche havendo fatto questa poco 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 conformarmi al gusto di chi li richiedeva e' dispositione di chi gli haveva à cantare. Et essendo i gusti diversi è straordinarii tal volta è stato bisogno con qualche Ecco e somigliati scherzi scostarsi dall'ordinario. L'istesso anco me hà indotto à porvi l'istrumenti, quali alle volte sonano la lor' parte, et altre volte servono per ripieno...

I have judged it necessary, in order to avoid the [wrong] impression which might be formed of these my compositions, to disclose the purpose for which they were composed. And since this is not always the same, but varies according to the occasion, so also are my works diverse, varying with the occasion. It should not therefore be a cause for surprise that I have set the psalms twice in the same collection since, having written this small work for common use, I wished that they could serve all, both those who have the use of an organ and those who do not. Thus the first six psalms can equally well be sung without the organ; the others which follow, however, are arranged to be sung with the organ. As to the manner of performing them together and of singing, it should be known that for the most part it was necessary to comply with the taste of those who requested them and the disposition of those who have to sing them. And since tastes are different and unusual, it is sometimes necessary to add some echoes and similiar tricks out of the ordinary. For the same reason I have been induced to add instruments which at times play their own parts and at other times serve as a *ripieno*....

The first six pieces (five psalms and a Magnificat) are labelled *Salmi à 8 voci da cantar con organo & senza organo* while the others are headed *Salmi à 8 concertati con istrumenti*. This same division into *concertato* pieces, with *basso continuo* and obligatory organ, and non-*concertato* pieces with non-obligatory *basso seguente*, is found in other publications of the period, e.g. G. F. Anerio (1611), G. B. Stefanini (1614), O. Cañalani (1616) etc.'

As Dixon has pointed out,² the first use of the word 'concertato' in a Roman print is in G. F. Anerio's *Litaniae*... of 1611: the 8v motet *Jubilemus in arca* in that publication is designated 'motetto concertato'. It contains sections for various vocal groupings, mainly duets, before using all eight voices for the final section. The organ part, which is figured, alternates between being a *basso continuo* in the reduced-voice sections and a *basso seguente* in the rest. The different sections run into each other and are not separated by bar-lines. This style has been called 'textural concertato' by Dixon, following Roche's earlier use;³ in his recent book⁴ Roche prefers the term 'mixed concertato' which will be adopted here. The analogous style, but with the different groupings in discrete sections, separated from each other by bar-lines, was labelled 'concertato alla Romana' by composers at the time.⁵ This style appears in prints from about 1620 - the earliest manuscript example is

probably G. M. Nanino's Magnificat in Rvat Giul. XIII 25 - and is sometimes associated with obbligato instrumental parts. The first Roman polychoral pieces to appear in print with an organ part were in an anthology published in Venice in 1599. This was a *basso seguente*, simply conflating the bass parts of the two choirs and taking the lowest sounding part whenever the basses were not singing. A. Agazzari's two publications of 1603 were the first single-composer prints to have a *basso seguente* and from then onwards most publications included a *basso ad organum* part. This first became a figured *basso continuo* with G. F. Anerio's *Jubilemus in arca* of 1611.

MAGNIFICAT SETTINGS

As in previous chapters, settings of the Magnificat will be used to characterise the main features of this period. Six *concertato* settings survive, all for two choirs: two by G. B. Nanino and one each by G. F. Anerio, G. M. Nanino, P. Tarditi and F. Martini.⁶ Five of the settings (those by the two Naninos, Martini and Tarditi) are *concertato alla Romana* - with those by G. M. Nanino and Tarditi having obbligato instrumental parts. The setting by G. F. Anerio is an interesting mixture of the two types of *concertato* writing: verses one to five are separated by bar-lines, but from verse six onwards the piece is through-composed, the reduced-voice sections flowing into the 8v ones without a break (there is a rest in all parts before the beginning of verse 9 which enters in triple time). Table 7. 1 gives a schematic representation of the seven settings, showing the number of voices used for each verse (the vertical arrows between verses indicate that these run straight into each other without a break). No overall pattern emerges in the choice of verses for reduced-voice or *tutti* setting: only verse five, 'et misericordia eius' receives a reduced-voice setting in all cases. Verses two and six, 'et exultavit' and 'fecit potentiam' are set for eight voices by almost all of the composers, while all finish with an 8v setting of the second part of the doxology.

TABLE 7.1

VERSE	G.F. ANERIO	F. MARTINI	P. TARDITI	G.M. NANINO	G.B. NANINO (I)	G.B. NANINO (II)
1. Anima mea	8v	2v; CT	4v; Choir I	4v; Choir I ↓	4v; Choir I	1v; T
2. Et exultavit	3v; CCB	8v	8v	8v	8v	8v
3. Quia respexit	8v-B-CA-T-8v	3v; ATB	2v; CT	3v; CCA	1v; B	1v; B
4. Quia fecit	2v; AA	8v	2v; AA-8v	4v; Choir II falsobordone	3v; AAB	4v; AATB
5. Et misericordia	3v; CCC	2v; CT	2v; BB; violin, cornetto	1v; B; violin	1v; C	2v; CC
6. Fecit potentiam	8v ↓	8v	8v	8v ↓	4v; Choir II falsobordone	8v
7. Deposuit	8v-AA-TT	2v; TB	4v; CCAT; violin, cornetto, lute, theorbo	8v	1v; A	2v; TT
8. Esurientes	2v; CA ↓	8v	1v; T	2v; BB; violin, cornetto	8v	4v; Choir II falsobordone
9. Suscepit	8v-BB ↓	2v; CT	5v; CCAAB; lute, theorbo	4v; CCAT; no organ	4v; Choir I ↓	2v; AA
10. Sicut locutus	8v ↓	8v	8v	2v; AA	4v; Choir I	8v
11. Gloria Patri	1,2v; B-CA-T ↓	3v; CCB	2v; CT	5v; CCATB, no organ	4v; Choir II falsobordone	4v; Choir I
12. Sicut erat	8v-T-8v	8v	8v	8v	8v	8v

The three settings by the Nanino brothers make use of *falsobordone*, a technique widely practised in Rome. Only the G. M. Nanino setting actually gives music for this, with the words written under a single note in each part and the cadences decorated (verses four and eleven - see the transcription of this piece in Volume Two, p. 165); the two settings by his younger brother simply give the rubric 'in falsobordone ordinario'. G. M. Nanino continues the technique in verse five for solo bass, where the first three words are given a similar treatment.⁷ This setting is the most adventurous in terms of contrasting textures and use of instruments. The instruments are specified for two verses only, where they have an obbligato role: verse five for solo bass and violin, and verse eight for bass duet, violin and cornett. The obbligato parts are very simple and might well have been ornamented in performance, as indeed the solo vocal lines might also have been. Nanino gives no instructions as to whether or not the instruments are to play in other verses but they probably doubled the two soprano parts in the *tutti* verses (their obbligato parts are found in the soprano partbooks and one is actually texted - see Volume Two, p. 165). For two of the verses (nine and eleven) Nanino specifies that the organ should remain silent, something unique to this setting.

Paulo Tarditi likewise provided obbligato parts for violin and cornett in his 1620 *concertato* Magnificat. These are confined to three verses (five, seven and nine), the other verses having the instruction 'tacet' on the instrumental parts; however Tarditi stated in his introduction that the instruments could also serve as a *ripieno*. Tarditi labelled his instrumental parts: 'violino primo coro', 'cornetto secondo coro', which indicates that he intended them to be placed with the respective choirs, or on two separate platforms. Tarditi's obbligato parts are equally simple - much more basic than

the vocal parts, some of which are quite elaborate. Again one suspects that the instrumental parts are simply the outline, on which the players improvised. Like Nanino, Tarditi sets one verse as a bass duet accompanied by violin and cornett [ex. 65]; this contrast of high instruments against low voices is particularly effective and must have been a popular one at the time. However, whereas Nanino used the instruments to accompany bass voices only, Tarditi also used them with CCAT and CCAAB groupings. Tarditi too provided parts for lute (first choir) and theorbo (second choir). These again have music for three verses only (four, seven and nine - two of these accompanied by violin and cornett) and the other verses have the rubric 'tacet'. Both instruments are simply given a bass part (unfigured): the two parts are virtually identical and are almost the same as the *basso ad organum* part.

Apart from this Magnificat by Nanino and the publication by Tarditi there are only two other Roman polychoral pieces with surviving obbligato instrumental parts from this period, both found in Proske's nineteenth-century transcriptions from the Altemps manuscripts. These are a setting of Ps. 110, *Confitebor tibi*, by G. F. Anerio and Ottavio Catalani's dialogue text *Dicite coeli quidnam vidistis*. Both use the same instruments as the Magnificats: cornett, violin, lute and theorbo, and both have short instrumental *sinfonie*. They will be considered briefly below and *Dicite coeli* is transcribed in Volume Two, p. 218.

G. F. Anerio's Magnificat setting is given in full in Volume Two, p. 179. It has some virtuoso vocal writing, for example the tenor duet at 'et exaltavit'. As in the small-scale motets of Anerio and his contemporaries, the vocal lines are still based on the prevailing polyphonic style, but heavily ornamented by figuration, such as that given in books of examples of ornamentation published in the period^a. Anerio's setting is very concise, a constantly changing patchwork of textures and tempi, with frequent brief excursions into triple time. The opening five verses are separated from each other in the

concertato alla Romana manner, while the remaining verses run together in the mixed *concertato* style. Verse three is itself an example of this mixed *concertato* style with five different textures in quick succession. This breaking up of the text into short fragments is a continuation of the style of the previous period, of which G. F. Anerio was an able practitioner; now the means are there to provide much greater variety. A notable feature of these pieces is the large number of quavers; semiquavers also begin to appear, as in the 'omnes generationes' section from Tarditi's Magnificat [ex. 66]. Just as there was a shift from minims to crotchets as the smallest syllable-carrying unit in the previous period, so now there is a further shift to the quaver, while the placing of syllables on crotchets becomes commonplace. This must reflect the new virtuosity of singers and the influence of instrumental styles with the ornamental divisions associated with them. It must also reflect some slowing down in tempo, but some sections, such as the opening words 'anima mea Dominum', continue to use the older *prima prattica* note-values in all settings. This is related to the fact that all composers paraphrase the plainsong reciting tone for these words, in response to the plainsong intonation of the word 'Magnificat'. This is the only use made of the plainsong, apart from the *falsobordone* verses.⁹

The setting by Francesco Martini is interesting because of (a) its regular alternation of 8v with reduced-voice textures, mainly duets, and (b) its provision of alternative settings for the reduced-voice verses. At the end of the original setting Martini gives an alternative version of the 'Gloria Patri' for three sopranos. A separate bifolio gives other settings of the six odd-numbered verses, all for two voices in various combinations. This is entitled *Magnificat à 2, Toni Secondi*, the same tone as the complete setting. The verses would seem to be alternatives for use with that complete setting, though they could also be used independently as an *alternatim* setting with plainsong or organ. The scribe has written at the end of these verses: 'questi versetti

ponno anche servire ancora per due chori per aviso, con partire il basso per li doi organi', suggesting that the singers could be placed on two platforms with the organ part divided between two organs.¹⁰ A similar rubric is written on the alternative version of the 'Gloria Patri' for three sopranos, suggesting their placing on three platforms. The style of these Martini reduced-voice sections is quite virtuoso, as can be seen from ex. 67.

It is useful to have two *concertato* settings by a single composer - G. B. Nanino - for comparison. Both are *concertato alla romana* settings, with the verses completely separated from each other by bar-lines. Only verses two and eleven make use of the same voices in both settings, emphasising the freedom which composers exercised in their choice of textures for different verses. Setting (I) is quite a bit shorter, using brief solo verses, whereas setting (II) uses more extended duets. However setting (I) contains the most virtuoso writing found in any of these settings at the words 'omnes generationes' [ex. 68] (compare Tarditi's setting of the same words [ex. 66]). The bass singer's scales run through two octaves and a tone, filling out the spaces between the notes of the *basso continuo* which, as is usual in bass solos, follows the vocal line closely.

Turning to non-*concertato* settings of the Magnificat from this period, there are settings by G. F. Anerio, G. B. Nanino and P. Tarditi. The Tarditi setting appeared together with the *concertato* one in the 1620 print, pointing up the contrast between the two styles. These non-*concertato* settings continue to use the fragmented style of the previous period - that by G. F. Anerio was included in the discussion in the last chapter - though with some elements of the new virtuosity [ex. 69]. After 1620 this style went into decline, with composers concentrating on either *concertato* or large-scale settings.

Agazzari's Magnificat setting published in 1611 is illustrative of another trend in polychoral writing after about 1605: an extreme conciseness - lasting for only 103 breves - with very little repetition of any words. There is virtually no *tutti* and the setting seems intent on getting through the text in the most economical manner possible; it is an example of liturgical *Gebrauchsmusik*, typical of many liturgical settings (such as Marian antiphons) from this period. For most of the piece the declamation is on crotchets with occasional quaver melismas; contrapuntal writing only occurs at 'anima mea Dominum' and 'Gloria Patri...Sancto'.

The large-scale style is represented by three surviving settings of the Magnificat for triple-choir: F. Soriano's, published in 1616, and two settings by Felice Anerio found in the transcriptions from the Altemps partbooks. All are for three equal choirs. The Soriano setting uses a very full texture with a number of triple-choir *tutti* sections, or quasi-*tuttis* built up by closely-spaced imitation between the choirs. There is no element whatever of *concertato* writing. Both Anerio settings do have such elements: one sets the entire opening verse (including the opening word, 'Magnificat') for three CA pairs, taken from the three choirs; the other reduces to three sopranos (with the rubric 'terzetto' on the organ part) for five bars, after a general pause, at the words 'deposuit potentes de sede' and again at 'humiles'. The Anerio settings are much sparser in texture than that by Soriano; they are generally more homophonic and modern in style than his own double-choir settings discussed earlier. Triple-choir *tuttis* are rare and not very extended. One setting is unusual in giving a proportionally greater amount of the text to Choir I, using the other two choirs largely as echoes. However, all three settings do use imagination in varying the texture and exploiting the resources provided by the three choirs.

Neither the large-scale or the *concertato* styles were applied with any frequency to the Marian antiphon, which continued to be written for two choirs in the fragmented style. An exception is the triple-choir *Salve Regina* of G. B. Nanino which also contains reduced-voice sections; this will be discussed below. After 1605 or thereabouts it became customary to set the verse and respond which follow the Marian antiphon polyphonically (previously these had presumably been sung in plainsong). The verse was usually set as a duet for high voices and the respond as an eight-voice *tutti*.

As in previous chapters, the major composers active during this period will be examined in groups, according to the institution with which they were mainly identified, with works for multiple choirs being considered separately at the end.

CAPPELLA PONTIFICIA AND CAPPELLA GIULIA

FELICE ANERIO, RUGGIERO GIOVANELLI, FRANCESCO SORIANO, VINCENZO UGOLINI,
VINCENZO DE GRANDIS

Felice Anerio will be considered here although the major source for his polychoral music written during this period are the transcriptions made from the Altemps partbooks. He seems not to have written any *concertato* polychoral motets, though he did write a large number of small-scale ones.' Some *concertato* elements did find their way into his polychoral works, as we have already seen in the triple-choir Magnificats. Three examples will be given to show the influx of such elements into his works for double-choir. One is from the festal psalm-motet *Jubilate Deo* [ex. 70], a very concise setting making much use of crotchets and quavers including the occasional quaver melisma ('dicite Deo'). The open imitative texture here contrasts well with the thick cumulative *tutti* at 'date gloriam', built up by rapid repetition of small musical cells. Contrast is also provided by the two settings of the words 'laudis

eius': Anerio uses the new technique of reducing to three voices (soprano duet over a continuo-like A,) at the beginning of the example, but on the repeat all eight voices join in pseudo-polyphony. The use here of four quite different textures in quick succession is very typical of the period.

Another piece which shows some aspects of the new style is Anerio's second setting of the *Ave Regina* which was published in an anthology in 1615 and already mentioned in Chapter Four. The setting is rather traditional for the most part but the opening 'Ave' is sung by the two sopranos alone and the organ part is a real *basso continuo* for these three and a half bars only (ex. 71). In the final verse Anerio reduces the texture to four voices for 'valde decora et pro nobis semper Christum exora', using the two sopranos and the two altos, but here the organ bass is a *basso seguente*, playing the lowest alto part at the same pitch. A further example of Anerio's modern face is shown by the battle-music in *Factum est silentium*¹² (ex. 72) where short note-values are used to good effect in a manner analogous to Monteverdi's *stile concitato*. This, together with similar writing in Catalani's 6v *Percussit Saul*, prefigures the 'battle'-music in Carissimi's *Jephthe*.¹³

Ruth de Ford¹⁴ has pointed out that Ruggiero Giovanelli composed little during the last twenty years of his life (after 1605); he became a singer in the Papal Chapel in 1599 and thereafter seems not to have been much involved, other than as a singer, in activities outside of the chapel. De Ford has described his final secular publication of 1605 as essentially reactionary and speculated that he may have felt unable to keep pace with new stylistic developments after c. 1600. Winter¹⁵ wrote in the same vein of his sacred music, saying that he artificially forced his more old-fashioned ideas into the new moulds. This is an overly harsh judgement: while Giovanelli, like Felice Anerio, did not widely embrace the new *concertato* style in his polychoral music, he did adopt some of its elements, adding further to his ability to match words

and music. In the majority of his late pieces it is simply a question of setting short sections for duet over a bass which, at those points only, becomes a *basso continuo*. This is the case in *Angelus ad pastores* and *Puer qui natus* from the anthology, RISM 1614³, as well as *Cum descendisset*, surviving only in manuscript, and the three-choir *Egredimini*, also preserved in manuscript, which has more substantial sections for three sopranos (see example 81). However, two more fully *concertato* pieces are attributed to Giovanelli in Proske's transcriptions from the Altemps partbooks, *Magnus Dominus laudabilis* and *Deus noster refugium*. Both pieces alternate florid sections for two like voices - one from each choir - with eight-voice sections which make good use of antiphonal exchange. One of these, *Deus noster refugium* is transcribed in Volume Two, p. 190; the virtuoso and contrapuntal duets contrast effectively with the simple, largely homophonic, style of the full sections. Giovanelli's liking for word-painting is continually evident in his setting of words like 'fluminis', 'arcum' and 'turbatae sunt aquae', as well as the fast-moving battle-music for phrases such as: 'conturbati sunt montes' and 'confringet arma'. As with F. Anerio, the wider choice of textures now available are put to good use in the service of the text.

Francesco Soriano was appointed *maestro* at St. Peter's in 1603 and served until his retirement in 1621. His term of office there saw the completion of the new basilica and a great expansion in the musical celebrations of special feastsdays, as discussed in Chapter Three. The fruit of his labours was the publication in 1616 of a collection of psalms, motets and a Magnificat for two, three and four choirs. The most successful of these are the works for three and four choirs, to be discussed below. The double-choir pieces continue in the fragmented style of the works by Soriano examined in the previous chapter. If anything, the amount of fragmentation is greater, with shorter periods of rest between successive entries, increasing the overall sonority. Soriano was succeeded in 1621 by Vincenzo Ugolini who had already been active at S. Maria

Maggiore and S. Luigi dei Francesi. His setting of the Song of Songs text *Favus distillans*, found in Rvat Giul. XIII 25, is a finely crafted example of the pre-1605 style with long note-values, extended melismas and widespread use of staggered entries. The opening entries are terraced from C_I to B_{II}, as are the entries on the words 'hortus conclusus' in the middle of the piece. The bulk of Ugolini's output - which includes *concertato* psalms and a Magnificat - dates from after 1621, and so he is not given any detailed study here.

Vincenzo de Grandis joined the papal choir as a singer in 1605 and remained there until his death in 1646. He published collections of polychoral music in 1604 and again in 1624. The latter gave rise to controversy when it was attacked by one Filippo Kesperle (probably a pseudonym adopted by Romano Micheli) in 1625; this has been dealt with by Fischer.¹⁶ His *Salve Regina*, published in Costantini's 1615 anthology, is a typical fragmented piece of the early seventeenth century - a very brief setting with very little *tutti* writing.

COMPOSERS AT THE GERMAN COLLEGE

As in the previous period, some of the most interesting composers working in Rome during the early seventeenth century were at the German College: Agostino Agazzari (1602-3), Antonio Cifra (1608-11), Ottavio Catalani (1603-8, 1611-13) and Annibale Orgas (1613-19).¹⁷

AGOSTINO AGAZZARI

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Agazzari was a Siennese composer who spent only a short time in Rome (1602-7) but during that time served as *maestro* at two of the city's most important institutions, the German College and the Roman Seminary. His influence was great, as a result of his publications and of his treatises, *Del sonare sopra'l basso con tutti li stromenti e dell' uso loro nel conserto* and *La musica ecclesiastica*.¹⁸ His first three collections containing polychoral music were published in Rome, one in 1602 and two in 1603 - the latter were

the first by a single composer containing polychoral music to be issued with *basso ad organum* parts. These are *basso seguente* parts rather than *basso continuo* and when a selection of these pieces was published in Frankfurt in 1607 no organ part was issued. The 1602 publication contained three pieces for eight voices: one is a setting of a hymn to the Virgin, *Ave stella matutina*, which is fairly typical of the pre-1605 style. The piece opens with a seven-bar setting of the word 'Ave' based on simultaneous ascending and descending lines [ex. 73], which seem to be derived from the opening 'Ave' of the plainsong *Ave Regina* (see Appendix I). After this extended opening Agazzari respects the divisions of his rhyming text, changing choirs at the beginning of each line and highlighting certain lines with quick antiphonal exchange. There is good contrast in textures, particularly between the contrapuntal opening and the homophonic *tutti* on the important phrase, 'O sponsa Dei electa', which is followed by a 3v section for 'esto nobis via recta' and quick homophonic antiphonal exchange on 'ad aeterna gaudia' [ex. 74].

Agazzari's polychoral output is notable among that of Roman composers for the number of hymns set. His *Sacrae Laudes* of 1603 contained nine 8v hymns and his *Dialogici Concentus* of 1613 added a further four. All are from the office of Vespers. They are not *alternatim* settings, but different voice-groupings are used for successive verses - this is equally true of his hymn-settings for fewer than eight voices. They are not *concertato* pieces either: the reduced-voice sections stand on their own and the works can easily be performed without organ (as in the Frankfurt reprint of 1607). There is some virtuoso writing though, as at 'terrore victo' in *Aeterna Christi munera* transcribed in Volume Two, p. 211. This setting starts with a verse for each of the choirs in turn, followed by a verse for both choirs; then a verse for three voices, followed by the final verse for eight. Another hymn-setting, *A solis ortu*, alternates verses for three voices from Choir I (CCA) with verses for the four-voice Choir II (marked 'risposta'), bringing the two choirs together

only for the final verse. The variety of textures used in the different verses displays Agazzari's confident handling of the medium. The few verses that are set for the two combined choirs are generally in the highly fragmented style with lots of antiphonal exchange.

That Agazzari shared the pre-occupation with appropriate text-setting found in other German College composers is clear in his 'advice from the author' found in the *Bassus ad organum* book of the 1603 *Sacrae Laudes*:¹⁹

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 by me 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. First, 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 [which are] full of sentiment; on occasion one can tighten the beat, as in some metres or a *fuga* with a change of time, returning then to the initial beat. Thus one gives more sentiment to the singing and force to the words without losing the seriousness necessary in church.

His directions as 'to tempo and the need for flexibility between sections is significant as the only such instruction applied specifically to polychoral music. They parallel the advice given by Girolamo Frescobaldi in his *Toccate e partite d'intavolatura di cimbalo....libro primo* of 1615 not to play with a strict beat but rather, as in modern madrigals, to suit the tempo to the *affetti* or the sense of the words. These directions are appropriate to Agazzari's setting of *Aeterna Christi munera* with its frequent alterations of texture and of tempo between duple and triple. They should, presumably, also apply to the works of composers such as Giovanelli and Marenzio whose music, as seen in the previous chapter, goes even further than Agazzari in matching music and text.

ANTONIO CIFRA

One of Agazzari's successors as *maestro* at the German College was Antonio Cifra, a prolific composer who published frequently between 1610 and 1638. A

number of pieces also survive in manuscript in I Rvat. Dixon²⁰ has examined his work and pointed out that in the publications of 1610 and 1620 he avoided *concertato* writing, preferring to keep to the standard polychoral idiom; not until that of 1629 did he begin to experiment with the *concertato* style. Dixon found no significant changes between the 1610 pieces and those of 1620. In neither does he show much inspiration, particularly in the *Gebrauchsmusik*-like settings of the Magnificat and the four Marian antiphons. They are well crafted but have no variety and show little melodic invention in matching the text. Both are highly fragmented in the pre-1605 style. Some of his other pieces show more feeling for the text, for example the 1610 hymn *Amor Jesu dulcissime*, not in the sense of word-painting, but in giving each phrase an appropriate and varied rhythmic setting. There is more contrast in texture and some interesting rhythmic cross-play, as can be seen at the opening of the piece [ex. 75]. This opening has the intimacy of a solo motet, preserved in the homophonic declamation of all four parts.

OTTAVIO CATALANI

Catalani's 1616 publication of *Sacrae Cantiones* contains only two 8v pieces, *Angelus ad pastores* and *Viderunt te aquae*; two further such pieces appeared in an anthology in 1612 and a further three pieces survive in manuscript. This is a small legacy from an undoubtedly gifted composer. He did have a workaday side, as in his *Beatus Vir* from Rvat Sist. 59, a typical example of liturgical *Gebrauchsmusik*, marching through the text with a token antiphonal exchange every third phrase or so. A much more effective piece is *Viderunt te aquae* from the 1616 publication. This motet text is much shorter than the psalm and allows Catalani, rather unusually, to repeat the whole of the opening seven bars with the choirs reversed. The first phrase, 'Viderunt te aquae et timuerunt multitudo sonitus aquarum', illustrates Catalani's use of word-painting [ex. 76]: 'aquae' has quaver melismas in thirds, 'et timuerunt' is

set to long-drawn-out slow note-values with ornamental suspensions, while T₁ has a minim rest between 'et' and 'timuerunt' to highlight the sense of fear. This sense is further heightened by a bar-line in all parts in the printed partbooks after the semibreve at the end of 'et timuerunt', marking this off from the following phrase, 'multitudo sonitus aquarum' which comes bursting in in crotchets and quavers on repeated notes, in *stile concitato*.

Catalani's setting of the *Dies irae* may be an early one: its style would suggest that it was written before 1605. It is an *alternatim* setting for two choirs of polyphony and one of plainsong, belonging to the German College tradition of such *alternatim* settings discussed in Chapter Two. Every alternate verse is sung in plainsong by different voices, while the polyphonic verses alternate between single choirs and *tutti* according to the following plan:

1.	<i>Dies irae</i>	Plainsong;	Sopranos	2.	<i>Quantus tremor</i>	8v
3.	<i>Tuba mirum</i>	"	Tenors	4.	<i>Mors stupebit</i>	4v; Choir I
5.	<i>Liber scriptus</i>	"	Sopranos	6.	<i>Judex ergo</i>	4v; Choir II
7.	<i>Quid sum miser</i>	"	Basses	8.	<i>Rex tremendae</i>	8v
9.	<i>Recordare</i>	"	Tenors	10.	<i>Quarens me</i>	4v; Choir I
11.	<i>Iuste judex</i>	"	Altos	12.	<i>Ingemisco</i>	4v; Choir II
13.	<i>Qui Mariam</i>	"	Basses	14.	<i>Preces meae</i>	8v
15.	<i>Inter oves</i>	"	Sopranos	16.	<i>Confutatis</i>	4v; Choir I
17.	<i>Oro supplex</i>	"	Altos	18.	<i>Lacrimosa, Amen</i>	8v

Catalani's most interesting pieces are the two Christmas dialogues in the *concertato alla romana* style, the 1616 *Angelus ad pastores*, discussed below and by Dixon, and *Dicite coeli quidnam vidistis*. The latter survives in manuscript in D-Rp with parts for violin, lute and theorbo; the rubric 'sinfonia a 4' in the organ part tells us that a fourth instrumental part is now missing and the copyist speculates that this was a cornett part. Given the standard combination of four accompanying instruments found both in archival documents and in Tarditi's 1620 publication, as well as the presence of violin and cornett in Nanino's Magnificat, it would seem very likely that the fourth instrument was indeed a cornett: this is confirmed by a *sinfonia* for violin, cornett, lute and theorbo which is found on a separate sheet among the Proske transcriptions but

is identical to the *sinfonia* found in the middle of the dialogue. Since the instruments double the voices in *tutti* sections reconstruction is not difficult and the piece is given in Volume Two, p. 218. It is a rare example of a Roman piece from this period with an instrumental *sinfonia*, even though this is rather simple and rudimentary. It can be seen that the dialogue nature of the text is fully respected in the setting with T, taking the role of questioner, asking in turn for the witness of heaven, earth, shepherds and lastly of the Virgin Mary. Each of these is represented by a different grouping of voices from the two choirs: high (CCAT) for the heavens, standard (CATB) for the earth, low (AATB) for the shepherds and solo soprano for Mary. The instrumental forces also vary: the heavens are accompanied only by organ, the earth by violin, cornett and theorbo, the shepherds by lute and Mary also by organ alone. There is a short instrumental *sinfonia* at the beginning and again after the shepherds have spoken of the angels praising God. The piece ends with a verse in praise of the Virgin sung by the two choirs and accompanied by all of the instruments. This verse is itself in mixed *concertato* style with short sections for tenor solo with theorbo and for tenor-bass duet accompanied by lute. The second *sinfonia* is also unusual in having 'piano' and 'forte' marks on all parts, these mainly applying to echoes. The solo parts are simple, without much ornamentation; the choral sections and the *sinfonie* are also very simple, almost totally homophonic and make much use of quick repeated notes on the same pitch, similar to Monteverdi's *stile concitato*.

ANNIBALE ORGAS

Orgas succeeded Catalani as maestro at the German College in 1613. In 1619, the year he left the College, he published his only book of sacred music, the *Sacrae Cantiones a 4,5,6,8 cum Basso ad organum et musica instrumenta*. This might seem to suggest that parts for instruments were included, like those in Tarditi's 1620 publication, but no such parts survive in any of the existing

copies of the print, nor do the pieces have any need of instrumental parts to complete them. It is likely that Orgas simply intended the instruments to double the voices: only four of the nine 8v pieces have the rubric 'cum instrumentis' in the vocal parts. Dixon² has examined the pieces in this publication and concluded that they are very much standard polychoral pieces with only traces of *concertato* writing. Two further pieces survive in manuscript. One of these, *Hodie Christus natus est*, did have obligato instrumental parts which do not survive - the organ part includes the bass for a seven-bar *sinfonia* at the beginning of the piece. The piece is otherwise complete without instruments and is not a *concertato* work, having in fact many old-fashioned features such as a terraced imitative opening in all parts in turn from S_I to B_{II}. Both bass parts here and later take a full part in the polyphonic exchange. The setting is really not far removed in style from Palestrina's 1575 setting of the same text and the same joyous mood is evident, with melismas on the phrases: 'Salvator apparuit', 'in terra canunt angeli' and 'laetentur archangeli'. The only difference is that Orgas uses quavers for these melismas whereas Palestrina used crotchets. The other manuscript piece, the Christmas dialogue *Angelus ad pastores* has been discussed by Dixon, but is given in Volume Two, p. 227, because of its importance. A very concise piece, it is an interesting combination of the mixed-*concertato* and *concertato alla romana* styles, analogous to G. F. Anerio's Magnificat. The earlier sections are separated from each other by barlines but the final section constantly varies the texture in a skilful manner so that each word or phrase is characterised: high voices for 'in altissimis Deo', low for 'et in terra pax' and four brief duets on 'te laudamus Deus noster' before the final *tutti*. In this last section Orgas cleverly mirrors and recapitulates the piece as a whole, the high and low voices recalling the angel and the shepherds, and the paired voices reflecting the earlier duets. The piece is in a very simple style with only the swaddling clothes ('pannis involutum') being highlighted by virtuoso writing.

Settings of the *Angelus ad pastores* dialogue were written by three of the German College *maestri*, Giovanelli, Catalani and Orgas²² and illustrate the important development of the *concertato* dialogue from the polychoral motet, a development with far-reaching consequences for the oratorio, and one which can be associated particularly with the College.²³ The texts used by the three composers differ, the Catalani setting being the most extended and exploiting the dialogue possibilities to the greatest degree.²⁴ The three settings are set out schematically on the next page for comparison purposes.

Giovanelli set the basic skeletal text, taken from Luke's Gospel, without interpolations (apart from the final Alleluias). His setting is really an embryonic mixed-*concertato* piece with two short sections for soprano duet which run straight on into the succeeding sections. He does show an awareness of the inherent dialogue character of the bare Gospel text, changing from eight voices to four for the move from direct speech to narrative at 'facta est cum angelo'. In other respects the setting is in the mainstream of Giovanelli's polychoral writing as discussed in the previous chapter, with his characteristic careful attention to the words. Orgas' text adds some more detail from the Gospel as well as some extra words glossing the Gospel description: these are in the form of three duets placed in the mouths of pairs of shepherds in turn, each ending with the refrain 'te laudamus Deus noster'. The angel is represented by a soprano and the opening narrative is given to both choirs, as is the final hymn of the angels, to which is added the earlier refrain. Catalani uses a much more complete version of the Gospel text and interpolates four short triple-time 'Noe' refrains, as well as two short motets, *O magnum mysterium* and *Beata mater*. Here the dialogue is fully realised with the narrative significantly being taken by the tenor throughout, the angel again represented by a soprano, the shepherds by AATT and the motets sung respectively by Choir I and by both choirs together. In these three settings the development from Gospel motet to dramatic dialogue can be clearly followed

within the polychoral tradition as practised in the German College. The care over the words shown by composers associated with the College during this period shows the continuing post-Tridentine influence of its first rector, Michael Lauretano, as discussed in Chapter One, p. 12.

GIOVANELLI

CC Angelus ad pastores ait

8v Annuntio vobis gaudium magnum quia natus est hodie Salvator mundi,
Facta est cum angelo multitudo coelestis exercitus laudantium benedicunt
Dominum et dicentium;

CC Gloria in excelsis Deo

8v Et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis Alleluia, alleluia

ORGAS

8v Angelus ad pastores ait

C Annuntio vobis gaudium magnum quia natus est vobis hodie Salvator mundi, invenietis
infantem pannis involutum et positum in praesepio

TT Transeamus usque Bethlehem et videamus hoc verbum quod fecit Dominus et ostendit nobis.
Surgite transeamus et laudamus Deus noster

BB Egrediamur et videamus Salvatorem tamquam sponsum procedentem de thalamo suo, te
laudamus Deus noster

AA Occurrite illi dicentes: venisti desideratus cunctis gentibus, te laudamus Deus noster

8v Gloria in altissimis Deo et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis, te
laudamus Deus noster

CATALANI

T Angelus ad pastores ait

C Annuntio vobis gaudium magnum quia natus est vobis hodie Salvator mundi

CCAA Noe, noe

T Pastores autem loquebantur ad invicem

AATT Transeamus usque Bethlehem et videamus hoc verbum quod factum est, quod fecit Dominus
et ostendit nobis
O Noe, noe

C Invenietis infantem pannis involutum et positum in praesepio

AATT Transeamus et videamus
O Noe, noe

T Et venerunt festinantes et invenerunt Mariam, Joseph et infantem positum in praesepio

CATB O magnum mysterium et admirabile sacramentum ut animalia viderunt Dominum iacentem in
praesepio

8v Noe, noe

T Et subito facta est cum angelo multitudo militiae coelestis laudantium Deum et dicentium

8v Gloria in excelsis Deo et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis
Beata mater cuius viscera meruerunt portare Dominum Jesum Christum. Noe, noe

MAJOR FEASTDAY CELEBRATIONS IN CONFRATERNITIES AND OTHER CHURCHES:

PAOLO QUAGLIATI and PAOLO TARDITI

Both Quagliati and Tarditi were primarily organists and were widely active in organising music at various institutions for special feastdays. They worked side by side at Smo. Crocefisso for many years and after Tarditi became *maestro* at S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli in 1616, Quagliati came regularly to that church as an extra organist on feastdays.²⁵ Quagliati's career has already been discussed in Chapter One, p. 29. The fact that he was an organist rather than having a fixed position as *maestro* may explain the paucity of his representation in Roman manuscripts, where only one polychoral piece survives. He did however publish a considerable amount of such music. Dixon²⁶ described Quagliati's style as having a northern flavour, particularly obvious in his affective chromatic writing. He certainly developed a very individual style which revelled in adding accidentals and enjoying the clash between major and minor versions of the same chord or the juxtaposition of sharp major and flat minor harmonies. In this he was taking up the lead offered by Victoria and Felice Anerio. To what extent his style was fixed before he reached Rome in c. 1574 is difficult to say, but he would appear to have come there at an early age (he is thought to have been born around 1555). His first publication did not appear until 1612 and, while it does contain pieces which were undoubtedly written well before that date, stylistically none would appear to date from before c. 1585; it would appear that he developed as a composer after his arrival in Rome. A single piece *Decantabat populus Israel* was published in Conforti's 1592 anthology. This is a typical festal praise-motet in the style of the post-1585 period, with effective use of triple time and fast-moving passages of crotchets, dotted crotchets and quavers; there is a good matching of words and music. The lack of pieces in the pre-1585 polychoral style would seem to contradict Piero della Valle's assertion that he introduced multiple-

choir singing of Mass and Vespers to Rome.²⁷ Della Valle had been his pupil, and may have been inclined to give him more credit for the development of the style than was his due. It is certainly true that he was very actively involved in the organisation of music in the city, and his publications, mentioned by Della Valle, may well have been very influential after 1612.

Quagliati's involvement in special feastday music is reflected in his 1612 publication which includes six festal psalm-motets. There are also eleven further motets, two Marian antiphons and a triple-choir setting of *Dixit Dominus*. The psalm-motets are typical of the genre, the text heavily fragmented with lots of antiphonal exchange but also a good mixture of textures and care in word-setting. Despite some virtuoso writing these pieces are not in the *concertato* idiom. The organ part is simply a *basso seguente* which doubles the lowest sounding part, even in reduced-voice sections. Dixon has examined the motet *Exaudi Domine* from this publication and commented on the close matching of music and text which is a feature of all Quagliati's work.²⁸ Like Soriano, Quagliati wrote sonorous *tutti* sections with heavy use of figuration. The more advanced pieces such as *Jubilate Deo* make effective use of quaver roulades and the ending of this piece [ex. 77] is more exciting than anything written by Soriano. Chromatic alteration is used to good effect in *Vulnerasti cor meum*, a setting of a text from the Song of Songs [ex. 78] as are the quaver melismas which illustrate the wafting of the perfumes at 'odor unguentorum tuorum'.

In his next publication of 1620 Quagliati did adopt the *concertato* style; there were three 8v pieces which have sections for solo and duet. Unfortunately only the organ part-book survives. It is therefore necessary to briefly consider his next publication of 1627, entitled *Motetti e Dialoghi a otto voci concertati con voci sole, con doi Bassi seguiti per il primo, e secondo choro*. Dixon has dealt with this publication and with Quagliati's use of the

words 'dialogo' and 'concertato'. The former is not only applied to settings of dialogue texts: it is also used for pieces which contrast a small group of voices with the *tutti* in an antiphonal, purely musical, dialogue. The word 'concertato' is not applied to all pieces which have sections for reduced voices and an independent *basso continuo*: these sections must be of some length and significance in the context of the piece as a whole. Thus *Ego sum panis* which contrasts *stile antico* polyphony with brief *stile moderno* sections in short note-values, does not receive the 'concertato' label despite the fact that the organ has at times an independent part, if only for a few bars. It is interesting to compare Quagliati's setting of *Ecce sacerdos magnus* from this publication with that by Soriano, published in 1616. This is one of the pieces Quagliati has marked 'dialogo' and he glosses the antiphon text, as used by Soriano, with two verses from Ps. 130 and another text taken from the liturgy of a Confessor-bishop. These are arranged as follows:

CCA:	Ecce sacerdos magnus qui in diebus suis placuit Deo et inventus est justus
B	Domine non est exaltatum cor meum neque elati sunt oculi mei neque ambulavi in magnis, neque in mirabilibus super me
CCA	non est inventus similis illi
8v	non est inventus similis illi qui conservat legem excelsi
T	Euge serve bone et fidelis quia in paucis fuisti fidelis supra multa te constituam
8v	intra in gaudium Domini tui, alleluia

The two verses from Ps. 130, 'Domine non est exaltatum....super me', provide a suitably humble personal response to the triumphal 'Ecce sacerdos magnus' while the role of bishop as servant is further expanded in the second trope: 'Euge serve bone....Domini tui'. There is an interesting rubric at the beginning of the C₁ part, 'a tre con la battuta', which presumably means that the director gave the three soloists a beat, necessary if they were separated from each other on different platforms. This publication has partbooks for two organs - unusual for this period - which simply double each other, both having the complete organ-bass part. As usual, this indicates which choir or soloist(s)

are singing at each point, so that it would at least have been feasible for the two organists to alternate, accompanying only their own choirs. The Soriano setting, on the other hand, does not have reduced-voice sections and is in the earlier fragmented style, with a single *basso seguente*.

Paolo Tarditi worked for various Roman institutions before becoming first organist and then *maestro* at San Giacomo in 1616. He built up a permanent choir here but this was disbanded due to lack of funds in 1623.²⁹ Tarditi remained at S. Giacomo as organist for a few years before going on to S. Maria Maggiore as *maestro* in 1629. He published his only book of polychoral music in 1620, a collection of Vesper psalms and Magnificats, discussed at the beginning of this chapter. There are also four Marian antiphons in this publication which, although they appear from their position in the table of contents to be included with the *concertato* pieces, are not in that style. One other non-*concertato* psalm setting was published in an anthology of 1615 and two pieces survive in manuscript. These latter are very short and almost totally homophonic non-*concertato* pieces for Christmas and Easter respectively. *Natalem Christi* is set for two unequal choirs (CCABar/CATB), still unusual at this period, and has a recurring refrain, 'laeta dies' instead of the more usual 'Noe'. The other piece, *Crucem sanctam subiit* has a lot in common with the festal psalm-motet genre, making effective use of melismatic quaver runs at 'in chordis et organo'. Like Quagliati, Tarditi has a fondness for adding accidentals and shows a preference for major harmonies.

The *concertato* pieces in the 1620 publication are similar to the Magnificat discussed earlier in the chapter. In his introduction Tarditi mentioned the inclusion of echo-passages to cater for the multiplicity of tastes. Such a passage is the 'Gloria Patri' section from *Beatus vir* [ex. 79].³⁰ Tarditi also uses the marking 'piano' for certain sections (though not, as Fischer maintains,³¹ to indicate an echo). For example in *Salve Regina* he

marks 'piano' in all parts for each of the final invocations 'O clemens, o pia, o dulcis Virgo Maria' where no echo is involved. At the end of this antiphon, and of *Ave Regina*, Tarditi sets the verse for two sopranos (with a real *basso continuo*) and the respond as an 8v homophonic *tutti*, a practice already mentioned as becoming increasingly common in this period. Fischer has dealt with the 1620 *concertato* psalms³² and referred to the continually changing textures which provide effective contrasts, to which the obbligato instrumental parts also contribute. He has pointed out too that Tarditi, in common with his Roman contemporaries, shows conservatism in his preference for imitation, even in his monodic writing; the obbligato instrumental parts also take part in imitative writing. Despite their involvement in major festal music, there are no surviving works for more than two choirs by Tarditi and only one by Quagliati, a triple-choir setting of *Dixit Dominus*. This is very much in the style of the previous period, with no reduced-voice sections.

GIOVANNI FRANCESCO ANERIO and GIOVANNI BERNARDINO NANINO

Both younger brothers of established composers, they retained a basically conservative style while embracing features of the newer idioms. G. F. Anerio held various posts in Rome and briefly in Verona before becoming *maestro* at the Collegio Romano in 1611 and at S. Maria ai Monti (1613-20). In 1611 he published a collection of Litanies, Marian antiphons and two motets, mostly for double-choir; one of the motets is *Jubilemus, in arca*, the first piece to use the word 'concertato'. Here Anerio shows a preference for duets with similar voices; the solo and duet lines are restrained and unornamented, not very different in character from his four-part writing, which is quite close to Palestrina in style. The triple-time sections for double-choir are simple and homophonic: only at the end of the piece is there a sonorous filled-out *tutti*. The Marian antiphon settings in this publication are typical pieces of the 1585-

1605 period: they are very extended works with a high level of fragmentation of the text and much antiphonal exchange.

Another piece in the earlier style is *Lumen ad revelationem* copied by Santini in the nineteenth century from a manuscript in S. Maria in Vallicella (which has since disappeared). It is marked by Santini 'for the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary at the distribution of candles' (rather than for use in Compline) and has the antiphonal structure typical of pieces sung during such liturgical activities. The first half of each verse is sung in plainsong and the second half in eight-voice polyphony. Verse four, 'Lumen ad revelationem gentium....', is used as an antiphon and set for different voices each time:

CCAT	Lumen ad revelationem gentium et gloriam plebis tuae Israel
PLAINSONG	Vs. 1. Nunc dimittis servum tuum, Domine
8v	secundum verbum tuum in pace
AATB	Lumen.....
PLAINSONG	Vs. 2. Quia viderunt oculi mei
8v	salutare tuum
CATB	Lumen.....
	etc.

Although the setting is not a *concertato* one, the sectionalisation is analogous to the *concertato alla romana* style and forms a link between that style and the *alternatim* tradition of the German College, as seen in Catalani's *Dies irae* above.

There are a number of *concertato* pieces by Anerio in the Altemps transcriptions, including the Magnificat discussed earlier in this chapter (and given in full in Volume Two, p. 179). These show his preference for duets, though there are also sections for one and three voices. One of the most interesting is a setting of the Vesper Ps. 110, *Confitebor tibi Domine*, with

obligato parts for violin, lute and theorbo: a fourth part is missing but was presumably for cornett, as in the Catalani piece from the same collection mentioned above. There are short (eight to twelve breves) instrumental *sinfonie* at the beginning of the piece and between many of the verses. The structure is as follows:

	Instrumental sinfonia
Vss. 1-3	8v + instruments
	Instrumental sinfonia
Vs. 4	CT
Vs. 5	B
Vs. 6	8v + instruments
	Instrumental sinfonia
Vs. 7	BB
Vs. 8	TT
Vss. 9-10	8v + instruments
	Instrumental sinfonia
Gloria Patri	CCB
Sicut erat	8v + instruments

The surviving instrumental parts double the voices in the 8v sections (with some minor variations) and take no part in those for two/three voices.

G. B. Nanino's first major appointment was at S. Luigi (1591-1608) but he did not appear in print with polychoral music until the RISM 1614³ anthology; in fact only four polychoral pieces by him were ever printed, three in 1614³ and another in 1617. The bulk of his polychoral output is found in manuscript, almost all in the Altemps transcriptions or in Rvat Giul. manuscripts which, like the Altemps collection, date from the early 17th century. Of the 1614 pieces, *Domine Dominus noster*³³ shows many similarities with the works of F. Anerio and Giovanelli. There is the same care over word-setting we find in Giovanelli, with a constantly varying texture, though no explicit word-painting. There is an extended passage for reduced voices taken from across the choirs (CCAA), but the organ bass doubles the lowest alto part an octave lower and the piece could not be described as *concertato*. There is good contrast between sections where the *minim* bears the pulse and others with fast declamation on

crotchets, but very little use of quavers (except in conjunction with dotted crotchets).

MULTIPLE-CHOIR WORKS

One of G. B. Nanino's most interesting pieces is his triple-choir setting of the *Salve Regina* which is in the *concertato alla Romana* style, the only surviving *concertato* setting of a Marian antiphon text from this period. The layout of the text is as follows:

Section 1a.	Salve Regina	CCC	
1b-2.	Mater misericordiae, Vita...salve	CCCCAA	
3.	Ad te clamamus...Evae	12v	↓
4.	Ad te suspiramus...valle	12v	↓
5.	Eia ergo...nos converte	12v	
6a	Et Jesum...ventris tui	TTBB	↓
6b	nobis post hoc exilium ostende	CATB	↓
7-9	O clemens...Virgo Maria	12v	

The piece begins, as do many triple-choir works at his period, with three solo sopranos, one from each choir. Three altos are next added, with all voices joining in at *ad te clamamus*. Section 6 is set for two contrasting 4v groups. Each of these sections is quite long and some run into each other in the manner of the mixed-*concertato* style, as shown by the arrows, so that there are only four separate divisions of the text.

Apart from G. B. Nanino's *Salve Regina*, the *concertato* idiom is not exploited in the surviving triple-choir pieces from this period. However, 'surviving' is the important word here: those pieces that do remain come mainly from a single source, the Altemps partbooks. These were probably collected by F. Anerio and may reflect his own rather conservative tastes: the composers represented are on the whole the more conservative ones: F. and G. F. Anerio, Giovanelli and G. B. Nanino. In general these pieces do not differ greatly from those discussed in Chapter Five, treating the choirs as separate blocks in the

same way; what is new in some pieces, however, is the setting of short sections for small groups of solo voices, particularly for three sopranos or two sopranos and an alto. For example in *Laudemus virum* Felice Anerio breaks off from the overall through-composed texture with a semibreve rest in all parts, before three sopranos sing the central phrase 'coronam auream posuit Deus super caput eius....' over a *basso continuo*. The soloists pause on their final chord before all three choirs enter simultaneously for a resounding *tutti* on the final phrase 'gloria honoris...' [ex. 80].³⁴ Apart from this reduced-voice section, the organ part is simply a *basso seguente*. An even more florid example is found in Giovanelli's *Egredimini filiae Sion*, a festive text for feasts of the Virgin [ex. 81]. This use of groups of solo voices from within the separate choirs is a major characteristic of double- and multiple-choir music in the post-1605 period, and is found in much of the surviving music.

Such use of small groups of voices is not found in the major publication of large-scale works by a Roman composer of the period - that by Soriano in 1616. The works themselves are in a rather individual style with a very thick texture, particularly in *tutti* sections, probably as a result of the enormous space to be filled in the newly-completed S. Pietro, of which Soriano was *maestro*. The texture is filled out, not with long notes, but with a multiplicity of figurations in crotchets, quavers and dotted crotchets, these last being by now a favourite device of Soriano. Each choir has full harmony in *tutti* sections with even chromatically altered thirds being doubled and trebled. This can be seen in the final bars of *In dedicatione templi*, which is transcribed in full in Volume Two, p. 200, where F#s abound in the figuration creating a very rich sound appropriate to the words ('dulcis resonabat sonus'). This is the most successful of the 1616 pieces for three choirs; it was written for the feast of the dedication of the basilica on Nov. 18th, celebrated with at least three choirs from 1597 onwards. The opening is effective, with C_I and A_I announcing the festal occasion in long note-values, interrupted by

crotchets and quavers in Choir II which represent the people singing their praises, 'decantabat populus laudem'. Both ideas are then re-presented in telescoped fashion in Choir III. The phrase 'et in ore eorum dulce resonabat sonus' acts as a refrain: it is treated differently on each of the three occasions on which it appears and shows a responsiveness to the words rare in Soriano. On the first occasion (bars 11-16) it is set as a sonorous *tutti* followed by an effective shift from C major to E major on the word 'dulcis' while the words 'resonabat sonus' are appropriately bounced between the choirs in quick antiphonal exchange. On the second appearance (bars 42-52) Soriano uses the punning echo, popular at the period: 'resonabat sonus' in Choir I is echoed by 'sonabat sonus' in Choir II; two bars later the same technique is used on a longer time-scale when Choir II again echoes Choir I, leaving out the word 'dulcis' but picking up exactly the same imitative music on 'resonabat sonus'. This same imitative material is used for the third statement of the phrase at the end of the piece where a cumulative *tutti* is built up by narrowly spaced antiphonal repetitions. There is another fine example of word-painting on the words 'bene fundata est' where the soprano parts of Choirs II and III hold a *cantus firmus* in semibreves while the other parts have ornamental figures beneath (not above!) them. It is certainly a piece which reflects the grandeur and scale of the basilica, completed just a year before its publication and, while not an achievement to be compared with Dufay's *Nuper rosarum flores*, is one of Soriano's most successful creations. It shows skill in handling the three choirs and in contrasting different textures. This is not so obvious in his other three-choir pieces, such as the Magnificat where, as we have seen, the choirs tend to follow each other in predictable order; there is also not much sensitivity to the text and no word-painting.

There are two pieces for four choirs in the 1616 publication, both settings of the most commonly prescribed Vesper psalm, *Dixit Dominus*. They are basically similar to the three-choir *In dedicatione* with the extra four

voices adding sonority to *tutti* passages which remain thick with figuration. As in the three-choir Magnificat, the pattern is rather too predictable: a *tutti* section is followed by the four choirs in turn in the order I → II → III → IV, usually after the same time-interval. Soriano does sometimes use more than three antiphonal repetitions, or he pairs the exchange so that Choir II answers Choir I with one idea while Choir IV responds to a different one in Choir III, but there is not sufficient exploitation of the medium's possibilities, for example in pairing the choirs or pitting one against the other three. As in all of these large-scale Roman settings, all four choirs are for equal voices and lack the contrast between vocal groupings found in large-scale Venetian works.³⁵

Concluding remarks will be held over until after the discussion of Mass-ordinary settings in the next chapter.

NOTES

1. Details of these prints are given in Appendix V.
2. Dixon, *Liturgical Music*, p. 258.
3. Roche, *North Italian* (1968).
4. Roche, *North Italian*, (1984), p. 129.
5. The term was used in this sense by Agostino Diruta in his *Compieta concertata* (Venice, 1623). See Dixon, 'The Pantheon', p. 273.
6. Only the Tarditi was printed (*Psalmi, Magnificat*, 1620). The two settings by G. B. Nanino are in D Rp only, that by G. F. Anerio is in both D Rp and GB Lbl Add. 34607, the G. M. Nanino version is in Rvat Giul. XIII 25 and that by Martini is found in I Rsc G Ms 0125.
7. The common use of *falsobordone* in these three settings raises the possibility that the *concertato* setting attributed to G. M. Nanino in Rvat Giul. XIII 25 might actually be by his younger brother. The date of copying of this manuscript is not known, but it might well have been after Giovanni Maria's death in 1607. The two composers were often confused: the same manuscript contains pieces attributed to both, as well as four unattributed works which have been identified as being by one or other in the course of this work. Two of these are attributed to both brothers in different sources (see Appendix V). G. M. Nanino's style did adapt itself to change and there is no reason why he could not have written the *concertato* Magnificat, but it is the only such work attributed to him. His authorship has been accepted here, but some doubt must remain.

8. For example Giovan Luca Conforti, *Passaggi*.
9. Fischer (*Psalmkompositionen*, pp. 424-30) found more extensive use of psalm-tones in double-choir concertato psalm-settings, particularly those by Tarditi.
10. The word 'coro' is here taken to include the sense of 'platform' as well as 'choir', which it often does in this context.
11. Found mainly in Proske's transcriptions in D Rp. Jonathan Couchman is currently engaged in a study of the complete works of F. Anerio.
12. There are two versions of this text attributed to F. Anerio in D Rp - see Appendix V where the competing attribution of the other setting to Asprilio Pacelli is accepted.
13. This same use of fast repeated notes was seen in some Marenzio pieces discussed in Chapter Six. It is also found in e.g. Ottavio Catalani's 6v *Percussit Saul* (discussed in Dixon, *Liturgical Music*, p. 258), and later in Carissimi's *Jephthe*.
14. De Ford, *Giovanelli*, p. 140.
15. Winter, *Giovanelli*, pp. 129-155.
16. Fischer, 'Einige Satztechnische'.
17. Dates taken from Culley, *Jesuits*; see Chapter Two, note 45 for Cifra.
18. Dixon, 'Agazzari' gives a very useful compilation of all of Agazzari's prefaces to publications as well as complete text of *La musica ecclestica*.
19. Translation taken from Dixon, 'Agazzari', p. 41.
20. Dixon, *Liturgical Music*, Chapter Six.
21. *ibid*.
22. There are also non-concertato 8v settings of *Angelus ad pastores* by Annibale Stabile and Felice Anerio. The latter's setting, together with one of a related text, *Pastores loquebantur*, is found in transcriptions taken from the Altemps partbooks. The Palazzo of Duke Altemps was in the same piazza as the German College; relations between the two have not yet been examined.
23. See Smither, 'The Latin' and Smither, *Oratorio*.
24. Dixon, *Liturgical Music*, Chapter Six quotes a short section of this setting as a musical example.
25. ASV, Smo. Crocefisso in S. Marcello, *passim*; ASCR, S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli, *passim*.
26. Dixon, *Liturgical Music*, Chapter Six.
27. Della Valle, *Della musica*.
28. The complete piece is transcribed in Dixon, *Liturgical Music*.

29. ASCR, S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli, N-V-1191, f. 99v
30. The complete piece is given in Dixon, *Liturgical Music*.
31. Fischer, *Psalmkompositionen*, p. 420.
32. *ibid.*, pp. 420-429. See also the article on Tarditi by Fischer in *The New Grove*.
33. This piece is attributed to G. M. Nanino in D M $\ddot{u}$ s Hs 3588, but the RISM 1614^a to G. B. is accepted here (See Appendix V).
34. The C trr part in this and the next example was reconstructed by F. Santini (following the organ part in reduced-voice sections) and has been taken from his transcription, D M $\ddot{u}$ s 873.
35. This has already been pointed out by Dixon, 'Colossal'.

CHAPTER EIGHT

POLYCHORAL MASS SETTINGS

Mass settings have been left out of the discussion so far and will now be considered together because of the special nature of the genre. The only polychoral Mass definitely composed before 1585 was Palestrina's 8v *Missa Confitebor Tibi* published in that year, but also found with only minor differences in Rvat Sist. 149, dated c. 1577 by Brauner.¹ The Mass thus followed closely on Palestrina's 1575 motets, and is indeed very similar to them in style.

A possible prototype for this Mass, based on Palestrina's own motet of 1572, is Pietro Vinci's *Missa Domine in virtute tua* for two choirs, published in Venice in 1575. This is a parody Mass based on another of Palestrina's 1572 motets (something not hitherto pointed out). There is no hard evidence that Palestrina knew this work or Vinci himself, but one 8v motet by Vinci, *Surge propera*, does appear in a Roman source, Rn 117-121. The Mass was certainly an act of homage on Vinci's part and it is interesting that Palestrina himself went to the same 1572 publication as Vinci for a model, not only for his *Missa Confitebor tibi*, but also for another of his 8v Masses, the *Missa Laudate Dominum*. They were strange choices as models since they are not proper polychoral pieces, unlike the Masses based on them which are.

Table 8. 1 gives details of fourteen 8v Masses written by Roman composers between 1575 and 1620, together with that by Vinci for comparison purposes. Although individual styles vary, they probably do so less in Mass settings than in other works, and common features make comparison useful. Victoria's *Missa Salve Regina* is included although the composer had returned to Spain by its publication date of 1592; it was, however, published in Rome and might well have been composed there before his departure. The other polychoral Masses by

TABLE 8.1

COMPOSER	MASS	MAJOR SOURCE	REDUCED-VOICE SECTIONS		CREDO	SANCTUS	NO. OF AGNUS DEI's
			KYRIE	GLORIA			
AGAZZARI	Duobus Choris	1614	Christe 3v		Crucifixus...finis 4v		1
ANÓN.	a Due Chori	Rsm't Ms., 604	Christe 4v		Crucifixus...finis 4v		1
G.F. ANERIO	Surge Illuminare	O Mús Hs 1215	Christe 4v		Crucifixus...finis 4v		1
GIOVANELLI	Vestiva i Colli	Rvat Sist., 122	Christe 4v				
MARENZIO	Jubilate Deo	Feininger Ms., 176			Crucifixus...finis 4v	Pleni sunt 4v Benedictus 4v	2
G.M. NANINO	Laterana	Rsg Ms., 67	Christe 4v		Crucifixus...prophetas 4v		1
PALESTRINA	Confitebor Tibi	1585			Crucifixus...finis 4v	Pleni sunt 4v	2
	Fratres Ego	1601			Crucifixus...prophetas 4v	Benedictus 4v	1
	Hodie Christus	1601	Christe 4v		Crucifixus...prophetas 4v	Pleni sunt 4v	1
	Laudate Dominum	1601	Christe 4v		Crucifixus...prophetas 4v	Pleni sunt 4v	2
SORIANO	Papae Marcelli	1609			Crucifixus...finis 4v	Benedictus 4v	2
STEFFANINI	Laetare Jerusalem	1614			Crucifixus...finis 4v	Benedictus 4v	1
VICTORIA	Salve Regina	1592	Christe 4v	One Deus Agnus...Patris 4v	Crucifixus...finis 4v		1
VINCI	Domine in Virtute	1575		Domine fili...Patris 4v	Crucifixus...scripturas 4v	Benedictus 3v	1

Victoria, published in Madrid in 1600, have not been included. Also excluded from the table are the four 8v Masses by Girolamo Bartei, published in Rome in 1608 and certainly composed in the city. These are stylistically quite different from those in the table, being very much of the *Missa brevis* type - one is entitled 'Missa Brevis' - and not having any reduced-voice sections, with the exception of the 'Crucifixus' of the *Missa Laetentur coeli*. These Masses have been dealt with by Dixon,² who has also examined the Masses published by Vincenzo Ugolino in 1622, beyond the limit of this study. Also not included in the table is Paolo Agostini's *concertato* Mass (to be discussed below), the anonymous Requiem Mass found in I Rn 149-50 - since the movements differ from those of the normal Mass, a number of anonymous Masses found in manuscript in I Rsg which cannot be consulted at present³ and a number of Masses whose authorship is in doubt.⁴ From the table it can be seen that, while all Masses make use of reduced-voice sections, there is very little uniformity in choosing the sections in which to reduce. The same lack of uniformity is found in the use of triple-time, though this is not widely found in these settings in any case.

The Masses in the table can be roughly divided into three groups for convenience of discussion. The first of these consists of the four Palestrina settings and that by Marenzio. Palestrina's *Missa Confitebor tibi* has a very contrapuntal texture, even in the longer movements. There is a lot of *tutti* writing with melismatic figuration in all parts, considerable overlap at takeover points between the choirs and much use of anticipated/delayed entries by individual voices. It is a very extended Mass and does not follow the style of the composer's *Missa Brevis* or the *Missa Papae Marcelli* in clearly declaiming the words. The Mass makes much wider use of its model and follows it more closely than does the Vinci Mass, which argues against a strong influence by Vinci on Palestrina. The opening of the motet is used for the beginning of all of the major sections of the Mass and of most of the sub-sections as well.

Palestrina does rearrange this in some cases, as did Vinci, and at the start of the Benedictus derives a point of imitation from the bass alone. The end of the motet is used for the end of the Gloria, Credo and Agnus Dei - in fact only the basic harmonic progression is used, as the pseudo-polyphonic figuration varies considerably between Mass and motet, and Palestrina has also had to alter the bass parts in order to make both choirs harmonically independent.

This Mass was re-published posthumously in 1601 together with three other Masses for double-choir: *Fratres ego enim accepi*, *Hodie Christus natus* and *Laudate Dominum*. All four are stylistically comparable though *Hodie Christus* has some exceptional traits. The *Missa Laudate Dominum*, again based on a Palestrina 1572 motet, also appears in various transcriptions made from the Altemps partbooks, called *Missa Vestiva i colli* and attributed to Felice Anerio.⁵ The Mass is certainly not based on Palestrina's *Vestiva i colli* which must also cast doubts on the attribution to Anerio, though stylistically the two composers were often quite similar. The four Masses also appear in Rvat Barb. 4184 in the same order in which they appear in the 1601 print from which they may have been copied; here *Laudate Dominum* and *Hodie Christus* are attributed to Palestrina - these are the first two in the manuscript - and the other two are anonymous. There must always be some doubt in the attributions of parody Masses, since the composer named in the manuscript could be that of the model rather than the Mass;⁶ the style of the model will also inevitably influence that of the Mass. However, on the evidence of the 1601 print, published just seven years after the death of the composer, it does seem reasonable to accept the four Masses as being by Palestrina, since the *Missa Confitebor tibi* is attributed to him in a contemporary Rvat Sist. manuscript. Stylistically they have much in common and indeed all could have been composed before 1585.

The parody technique used in the other three Masses closely parallels that of *Confitebor tibi*. *Laudate Dominum* has a particularly interesting adaptation

of the opening of the motet, which begins with ten bars for Choir I (see example 8). Exactly the same material is used by Choir I to open the Mass. A telescoped version of this is then used by Choir II, with the voices interchanged, while Choir I continues with new material; only after this does Choir II continue with the next six bars of the motet [ex. 82]. The *Missa Laudate Dominum* is closest to the *Missa Confitebor tibi* in texture, except in the Credo which is somewhat more declamatory and homophonic. The other two Masses are based on models which are themselves properly polychoral. The motet *Hodie Christus natus est* is one of the most forward-looking of the 1575 publication and the Mass based on it is also more advanced than the other three in being less contrapuntal, more declamatory and using more antiphonal exchange (though without repeating the same music). It also makes considerable use of triple time, as did its model. The Credo, in particular, is very much in *Missa brevis* style and is much shorter than the other three settings. *Hodie Christus* is also the only one of the four Masses to have unequal choirs (CCAB/ATTB), taking this disposition from its model.

Even longer than any of the Palestrina settings is Marenzio's *Missa Jubilate Deo*, recently published with a commentary by Oscar Mischiati.⁷ The Mass follows its model - Marenzio's own motet - very closely, with little new writing. The model is the earlier of the two versions of the motet, where the choirs are not harmonically independent; this is also true of the Mass which was not written for *cori spezzati* (making Mischiati's decision to include two *bassus ad organum* parts inappropriate - there is only one in the source). Further evidence for this is the choice of voices for the 4v Benedictus: not a single choir, as in the Palestrina Masses, but CCAA taken from both choirs. The mass is very thick in texture, making much use of the melismatic passages from the motet, such as the opening, where all parts have scale-like runs in crotchets. The style of the Mass is dictated by that of the model but the fact that Marenzio chose the earlier version of the motet, and used such long

melismatic sections from it, would indicate that the Mass too dates from the early part of Marenzio's career.

The next group of Masses dates from the 1590s and early 1600s. They still show their composers writing on the whole in a conservative vein, though they are less contrapuntal than those by Palestrina and Marenzio, particularly in the Gloria and Credo. These are the Masses by Giovanelli, Victoria, G. F. Anerio, Soriano, Steffanini and the anonymous Mass in I Rsmt 604. This conservatism may have been thought appropriate for Mass-writing in Rome at this time, or it may have to do with the number of Masses using works by Palestrina as their model: Giovanelli's *Missa Vestiva i colli* is based on Palestrina's madrigal which is itself in a very restrained style, Anerio's *Missa Surge illuminare* is based on Palestrina's 8v motet of 1575 while Soriano's *Missa Papae Marcelli* expands Palestrina's 6v Mass to eight voices. Victoria's *Missa Salve Regina* is based on his own 8v motet of 1576, one of his earliest pieces.

Giovanelli's *Missa Vestiva i colli* has very little of the sensitive response to words found in his motets. Taking his cue from the model, he begins each of the movements with a long imitative passage in Choir I. There is considerable overlap between the choirs, with anticipated and delayed entries, in the non-wordy movements. The reduced-voice sections take voices from both choirs, C_I, A_I, C_{II}, A_{II} for the *Christe* and C_I, C_{II}, A, T for the *Benedictus*. This may imply performance by non-separated choirs. The same is true of G. F. Anerio's *Missa Surge illuminare* where the 'Crucifixus' is sung by C_I, C_{II}, A, B and the 'et iterum' by A_I, A_{II}, T, B. This Mass is very similar to Giovanelli's, using as head motive the imitative opening of Palestrina's motet, which unfolds in a typically Palestrinian manner. Anerio here achieves a very successful adaptation of model to Mass-setting. W. N. Zeno, in his dissertation on G. F. Anerio's Masses, dealt with his parody technique in general and this Mass in particular.² He pointed out that the original motet had ten

bars of imitative polyphony in Choir I followed by sixty bars of antiphonal homophony. The only material from the motet used by Anerio in his Mass are those opening imitative bars, the homophonic entrance of Choir II in bar 12 and the final five bars. Each of the contrapuntal movements of the Mass, the Kyrie, Sanctus and Agnus Dei, makes a point of also quoting the short homophonic fragment taken from the entrance of Choir II in the motet and using it for a short chordal antiphonal exchange, but the preference for the contrapuntal material is significant.

More up-to-date in style for its time, and much more concise, is Victoria's *Missa Salve Regina* written, like its model, for two choirs with different voice-combinations: CCAB/CATB. The outer movements are still quite contrapuntal, but both Gloria and Credo are short and very much in the post-1585 style of the composer's *Lauda Sion*. The texture is largely homophonic, with the text highly fragmented in short antiphonal exchange. Variety is achieved by overlap between the choirs, anticipated/delayed entries by individual voices, ornamental figuration, or the use of short triple-time sections in which the antiphonal exchange is very rapid. Syllables appear regularly on successive crotchets. Apart from the 'Crucifixus' for CCAA, the reduced-voice sections are for individual choirs. These more modern elements were not part of the model (Victoria's 1576 *Salve Regina*) and so the parody is a good deal looser than in the other Masses discussed so far - more like Vinci in this regard, as it is too in including a reduced-voice section in the Gloria. Victoria parodies different parts of the motet at the start of each main section and large parts of the Gloria and Credo are freely composed. The same is true of the rather pedestrian *Missa Laetare Jerusalem* by Steffanini (model not identified).

Somewhat similar too is the anonymous Mass for two choirs found in Ms. 604 from S. Maria in Trastevere, now housed in the archive of the Vicariato in Rome. This manuscript also has a Mass for two choirs by Paolo Agostini and

the anonymous Mass could be by him as well, although it is in a more conservative style than the attributed one, which has an organ part and is described as 'concertato'. The anonymous Mass would seem to be a parody, since all of the movements commence with the same material; the model has not been identified. The wordy movements are short and mainly declamatory, though without syllables on crotchets.

In 1609 Soriano published his rearrangement of Palestrina's *Missa Papae Marcelli* for eight voices, written to take advantage of the sonorous possibilities of the new St. Peter's.⁹ The Palestrina Mass had many incipient polychoral traits and, in particular, already had two bass parts which acted very much in antiphony with each other, providing Soriano with a relatively easy task in adapting it for two choirs. His main contributions were: an increase in emphasis on the upper register, making frequent use of the note g'', which Palestrina had reserved for climactic moments; the addition of extra cadences with altered leading notes, and other chromatic alterations which give more direction to the harmony; the addition of ornamental figuration and of extra contrapuntal entries. This last is very extensive, amounting to an almost complete rewrite of the CAT parts on occasion. A good example is the opening of the Sanctus [ex. 83] where the C_I figure in bar 4 of the original is pre-imitated in A_{II} and C_{II} of the arrangement. This example is a good illustration of the adaptation as a whole, with only the two bass parts remaining the same; it makes an interesting comparison with the earlier rearrangement of Animuccia's *Pater noster* (Volume Two, p. 7). Soriano added to all of the movements of the Mass, particularly to the Gloria and Credo, which had been very straightforwardly declamatory in the original. He also added heavily to the four-voice 'Crucifixus' and Benedictus. In adding ornamentation, Soriano drew largely on figures found in the original, especially those involving pairs of quavers. Thus Palestrina, at the phrase 'secundum scripturas' in the Credo ornamented the line as in example 84. Soriano took up this figure and,

some bars later, made use of it at 'dexteram patris' [ex. 85]. It appears frequently throughout the rest of Soriano's Mass, together with other ornamental figures involving quaver pairs and dotted crotchets with quavers, as seen in the Soriano works discussed in Chapters Six and Seven. A nineteenth-century manuscript, Rvat Sist. 469, contains a further-expanded version of this Mass for three choirs; it is most likely a much later adaptation, but is yet another example of the expansion/contraction of multiple-choir music to suit available forces or location.

The final group contains the Masses by Agostini, Agazzari and G. M. Nanino. Agazzari's *Missa Duobus Choris*, opus 17, was published with a *bassus ad organum* part in 1617. It comes close to being a *concertato* Mass since the *Christe* is for three voices and the organ part, which for the bulk of the Mass is simply a *basso seguente*, here occasionally fulfils the role of *basso continuo*. The Mass may well be a parody since all of the movements except the *Credo* open with basically similar material. The style is quite contrapuntal, more so than Victoria's *Missa Salve Regina* which it resembles in other respects, such as the declamatory style of the *Gloria* and *Credo* with syllables on repeated crotchets. The outer movements and the *Sanctus* are extremely polyphonic with lots of overlap and long *tutti* sections. Both *Gloria* and *Credo* have extended final *tuttis*. An unusual feature of this Mass is the complete absence of triple-time, though occasionally the effect is produced through syncopation and hemiola in homophonic passages.

There is only one *concertato* Mass-setting from this period, Paolo Agostini's *Missa Regina Coeli*, found in I Rsmt 604 and described as 'concertato á 8' in its title. Although Agostini is not otherwise being considered in this study, the Mass will be examined briefly since it probably dates from his tenure as *maestro* at S. Maria in Trastevere (1618) and has not been discussed elsewhere. It is a *concertato alla Romana* work: in the *Gloria*, 'laudamus te'

is set for CC, 'benedicimus te' is *tutti*, 'adoramus te' for CCB, 'glorificamusgloriam tuam' is *tutti* and 'Domine Deus rex coelestis' is for CCAA (ex. 86). There is a single organ part, marked 'primo organo' but providing a *basso seguente* for the whole Mass and, occasionally, a *basso continuo* where needed. The movements of the Mass are quite short and many of the individual small-group sections are only a few bars in length. Triple-time is effectively used and there is a wide variety of rhythmic contrast in the work. Thus the opening Kyrie is largely in white notes and imitative; the short 4v *Christe* uses a melismatic crotchet figure in imitation. The third Kyrie uses crotchets and quavers extensively with the three syllables of the word 'Kyrie' given to repeated crotchets on the same pitch. The Mass seems to be a parody rather than a paraphrase, since the same material is used at the opening of the main movements.

An 8v Mass in I Rsg is attributed to G. M. Nanino and has been called the *Missa Laterana* by Richard Schuler, who has transcribed and dealt with the Mass in his dissertation on Nanino's life and works.¹⁰ It has an organ part but is not a *concertato* work. It is probably a parody but the model has not been identified. It can be grouped with the works in Nanino's third period discussed in the previous chapter: the basically contrapuntal texture is heavily overlain with ornamental figuration, unusually so for Roman composers and even for Nanino himself. This can be seen in ex. 87 which shows the opening of the Sanctus.

MASSES FOR THREE CHOIRS

Only two of these survive and both may have been collaborative efforts. One is the *Missa Cantantibus organis Caecilia*, found in three sources: (i) a manuscript in I Rsg where individual movements are attributed to different composers (ii) various copies made from the Altemps partbooks, where the Mass was attributed to Felice Anerio and (iii) Rvat Giul. V 65 where it is attributed

to Scarlatti and called *Messa a 12 voci detta l'Albana*. Raffaele Casimiri knew only of the I Rsg source when he published a paper on the Mass in 1930;¹¹ it was subsequently edited for Volume XXXII of the new Palestrina edition by L. Bianchi (since the opening section of the Gloria is attributed to Palestrina in I Rsg). Bianchi mentions the Rvat Giul. source but did not know of the Altemps transcriptions in D Rp and D Müs. The Mass is a parody of Palestrina's 5v motet and so the style is restrained and, for the most part, that of the pre-1585 period; there are some noticeable differences between the different sections, particularly in the Sanctus and Agnus Dei, attributed to Curtio Mancini in I Rsg, and in the final section of the Credo attributed there to Ruggiero Giovanelli. Felice Anerio was *maestro di capella* to the *Vertuosa Compagnia dei Musici di Roma* in 1589 when the anthology *Le gioie* was compiled by him from among the members, and published in Venice.¹² He may well have organised the division of labour for the 12v Mass (though strangely not composing any of the music himself). This might explain the existence of the Mass in the Altemps manuscripts (since Anerio was later *maestro di capella* to Duke Altemps) and the attribution to Anerio there. The Altemps version is substantially the same as that in I Rsg, with some differences in ornamental figures. The Mass is divided among the composers in Rsg as follows:

Annibale Stabile;	Kyrie I (4v), Patrem omnipotentem (12v), Crucifixus (4v)
Francesco Soriano;	Christe (8v), Et ascendit (4v)
Gio. Andrea Dragoni;	Kyrie II (12v), Qui tollis (12v)
G.P. da Palestrina;	Et in terra (12v), ? Domine Deus (4v) (anon. in Rsg)
Ruggiero Giovanelli;	Et in Spiritum Sanctum (12v)
Prospero Santini;	Sanctus (12v)
Curtio Mancini;	Alius Sanctus (12v), Agnus Dei (12v)

The 12v movements by Dragoni and Palestrina are very similar stylistically: all are largely homophonic or pseudo-polyphonic, though with a number of anticipated or delayed entries by one or more voices. There is much less of this in the 12v movements by Stabile and Giovanelli; the latter in particular uses a much simpler texture, with all parts moving together in a declamatory manner. The two movements attributed to Mancini, on the other hand, show a

more flowing contrapuntal texture with quite long sections for individual choirs and ornamental figures such as dotted crotchets and quavers and a run of four quavers not found in the other movements. The alternative setting of the Sanctus attributed to Prospero Santini is even more contrapuntal with long melismatic lines and a terraced opening. Soriano's two contributions are distinguishable by very full, flowing counterpoint, with lots of ornamental quavers and some voice-pairing.

The second 12v Mass was also copied from the Altemps collection and is dated 1607 and 1608 in the two surviving sources (D Rp and D MÜs Hs 1703). One of these (D MÜs) attributes the complete Mass to Ruggiero Giovanelli, the other attributes all movements to Giovanelli except the Gloria, which is entitled: 'Octaviani Chatalani Magistri Cappellae excellentissimi Ducis ab Altemps' 1607. The disposition of voices is as follows:

Kyrie:	Kyrie I - 12v; Christe - 4v (Choir I); Kyrie II - 12v
Gloria:	Et in terra - 12v; Qui sedes - 4v (Choir I); Quoniam - 12v
Credo:	all 12v
Sanctus:	12v; no Benedictus
Agnus Dei (single):	12v

All movements are quite contrapuntal, with plenty of overlap between the choirs. There are no strong stylistic differences between the Gloria and the other movements which might support the attribution to Catalani. Kyrie I and Sanctus make use of the same opening material; this is not shared by the other movements. Ex. 88 shows the beginning of Kyrie I which effectively sets Choir I against the combined Choirs II and III and makes good use of voice-pairing.

A curious *Missa Tu es Petrus* is attributed to Palestrina in Rvat Giul. XIII 19 and has been included in Volume XXVI of the new Palestrina edition. The Mass is nominally for eighteen voices, split into three choirs of six voices each, but it is never in more than six real parts, with the other voices doubling. In the *tuttis* at the end of each section all three choirs have the same music. The Mass is an arrangement of Palestrina's original 6v motet, not

of his 6v parody Mass based on it; it simply uses the musical material of the *prima pars* of the motet as it stands, adapts it to fit the words of the Mass and doubles up the voices as necessary. The occasional newly-composed phrase in the Gloria and Credo simply consists of homophonic declamation on a succession of chords. It is therefore not a parody Mass, but an arrangement, with the same material used over again for each section. It is difficult to imagine Palestrina himself doing this and not writing a proper parody; it has the marks of a pastiche carried out by a later hand and the attribution to Palestrina, which appears only in the third soprano partbook, must surely refer to him as the composer of the original motet rather than the Mass. The dating of the manuscript is problematic: Llorens,¹³ hedging his bets, says 'seventeenth/eighteenth century' whereas Bianchi¹⁴ says late sixteenth/early seventeenth. The watermark cannot be identified, but the style of the scribal hand would indicate the first half of the seventeenth century. There seem no grounds for accepting the Mass as a genuine work by Palestrina.

CONCLUSION

Roman composers did write polychoral Mass-ordinary settings, but in nothing like the same quantity as other genres. As a group the Masses tended to remain conservative in style, with only one *concertato* setting. All seem to be parody Masses with a preference for contrapuntal models, many by Palestrina. This is reflected in the style of writing in most of the Masses, which also tends to be more contrapuntal. The Romans in any case preferred to have the movements of the ordinary set for 4-6v in *stile antico*, and what polychoral settings were written remained largely within that same style. They must have been written for use on special occasions (the performance of Soriano's *Missa Papae Marcelli* described in Chapter Two, p. 51, is an example of this - although the Mass was not written for this occasion) and were sometimes collaborative ventures. These polychoral Masses do, however, show considerable variety of approach, particularly in the use of texture.

NOTES

1. See Chapter Three, p. 106.
2. Dixon, *Liturgical Music*, pp. 146-7
3. As well as the two 8v masses attributed to Frescobaldi (modern edition by L. Tagliavini and O. Mischiati), I Rsg contains a further four 8v masses. One is not a proper polychoral work; the other three are in the style of the second group discussed above. One is labelled *Missa P.a P.e* (*Pietro Pace?*), another *Missa P.T.* and the third has no title. This information comes from Christopher Stenbridge who did some (unpublished) work on Roman polychoral mass settings in the late 1970s.
4. These include the incomplete *Missa Ego sum panis* and *Missa Iniquos odio habui* attributed to Marenzio and given in Meier and Jackson ed., *Opera Omnia*, i (see foreword to that volume for a discussion of the sources). There are two 8v Masses attributed to Palestrina in D Mbs 64, the *Missa Octo vocum* and the *Missa Escoutez*. Neither is polychoral.
5. D Rp, M $\ddot{u}$ s Hs 82; GB Lbl Add. 34607. A note on D M $\ddot{u}$ s Hs 82 says that the mass is by Palestrina, and Killing (*Kirchenmusikalische*) was the first to point out that the mass was the same as that composer's *Missa Laudate Dominum*. This was unknown to Moser in 1909 ('*Vestiva*') who analysed it along with other parodies etc. of the madrigal. When he realised that both were identical he said so in print ('*Noch einmal*'). See Zeno, *Masses*, p. 42.
6. This is a point made by R. Jackson in the foreword to Marenzio, *Opera Omnia*, i, xvii.
7. Mischiati ed., Marenzio, *Missa Jubilate Deo*.
8. Zeno, *Masses*, pp. 42 ff.
9. Published in a modern edition by Busch, *Two Masses*.
10. Schuler, *Nanino*, Chapter Three. Schuler described the mass as in I Rsg Ms. 67, but this call number may no longer apply.
11. Casimiri, '*Cantantibus*'.
12. See Summers, '*Compagnia*'.
13. Llorens, *Giulia*, p. 116.
14. L. Bianchi, foreword to Palestrina, *Opere Complete*, xxvi.

EPILOGUE

The discussion in Part Two of this study has confined itself largely to structural and textural aspects, and the ways in which composers at different institutions adapted various polychoral techniques to their purposes. One of the most interesting aspects of structural development in large-scale works over the fifty or so years between 1570 and 1620 is that, in many ways, it came full circle. This can be seen by comparing G. B. Nanino's triple-choir *concertato* setting of the *Salve Regina*, whose structure was outlined on p. 272 with the Marian antiphon settings by Animuccia, Palestrina and Victoria discussed in Chapters Four and Five. Both those early composers and the *concertato* ones set quite long sections of text for separate voice-groupings. Both use sections for reduced voices, particularly at the beginnings of pieces, and both use groups taken from across the choirs. Even the use of *falsobordone* for whole verses or shorter sections by composers after 1600 is anticipated by Animuccia (see example 4, Volume Two, p. 8).

The big difference by 1620 is that the use of *basso continuo* has changed the character of the reduced-voice sections: they are now free to be melismatic and virtuosic, as opposed to the strict and self-contained counterpoint of the earlier composers. But in principle the *concertato* style was not new: it had its roots in the beginnings of the polychoral style and in the post-Tridentine search for new methods of contrast. It was nurtured in the *alternatim* tradition, particularly in the German College, during the period when polychoral settings became fragmented, and re-emerged under the liberating influence of the *basso continuo*. The style which became particularly associated with the city - the *concertato alla romana*, with its sectionalised contrasts between groups of voices - can especially be seen to have had its roots in the early experiments of Animuccia (see the structure of the final verse of his *Jubilate Deo*, p. 149).

In this context, the fragmented style of the last two decades of the sixteenth century can be seen as something of a side-track, and not an essential stage along the path which led to the large-scale *concertato* motet. And yet, this period of fragmentation was also important, since it was during this time that tonality in its modern, directed, sense began to assert itself. Increased segmentation of the text and more antiphonal exchange led to an ever greater number of cadences. Composers wrote more and more in the Lydian modes on F (with B^b) or the transposed Dorian on G (also with b^b) and made greater use of cycle-of-fifth progressions. The role of polychoral music in the emergence of a more directed tonality around 1600 needs further exploration.

The use of organ *continuo* allowed for greater spatial separation of the voices in reduced-voice sections. These solo singers seem to have stayed with their choirs on separate platforms and were often supported by individual *organetti*. The increased virtuosity of the parts, particularly soprano and bass, reflects the development of vocal technique at this time and also the predominance of papal singers as soloists on important occasions. As opposed to Venice, obligatory instrumental writing was slow to develop in Rome - at least only a handful of examples survive, despite the plentiful documentary evidence for the use of instruments throughout the city. The conclusion must be that they generally doubled the vocal lines or substituted for them. Roman polychoral music is very largely written for two (or more) equally-clefed choirs, using either the standard clef-combination or the *chiavette* and not going outside their ranges - everything is potentially singable.

Having been fostered in the two decades following the Council of Trent, the production of polychoral music in Rome mushroomed during the last two decades of the century. This has been related both to the church's more outgoing and deliberately propagandist approach, and to the large expansion in

the city's musical forces which accompanied it. As in all such rapid explosions to meet popular taste, quality was mixed and many workaday settings were turned out, particularly of Vesper psalms, as composers competed with each other for a slice of the lucrative festival market. And yet, at its best, Roman polychoral music can be as fine as any produced elsewhere; by the 1590s, when textures had been refined and honed, it could be a very flexible medium with an immediate response to the text. In the hands of composers associated with the German College in particular, it proved a formidable means of expression, while always remaining close to its liturgical roots.

Much remains to be done, not least in placing this Roman repertory in the wider Italian context, as well as exploring in greater detail the relationship between the music and the liturgical and extra-liturgical actions which it accompanied. It is to be hoped that this opening-up of the repertory will lead to a re-examination of Rome's role as a cradle for polychoral experimentation and development. Venice has held the stage alone for too long!

APPENDIX I

MARIAN ANTIPHON, AVE REGINA IN PLAINSONG

** Post Purificationem, id est, a fine Completorii illius diei
2 Februarii inclusive, etiam quando transferatur festum Purifica-
tionis B. M. V., usque ad Feriam V in Cæna Domini exclusive.*

Ant.
VI
A - ve * Re-gi-na cæ-ló- rum, A- ve Dómi-
na Ange-ló- rum: Sal-ve ra-dix, salve porta, Ex qua
mun-do lux est or- ta: Gaude Vir-go glo-ri- ó- sa, Super
o-mnes spe-ci- ó- sa: Va- le o valde de-có-ra, Et
pro no- bis Chri- stum * exó- ra.

ſ. Dignáre me laudáre te, Virgo sacráta.
R. Da mihi virtútem contra hostes tuos.

APPENDIX II

CAPPELLA SISTINA DIARIO 35 (1616 - Carlo Vanni *puntatore* - published in Frey, 'Die Gesänge')

Details are given only of feasts on which 8v settings were or could have been sung, i.e. settings for 8v or more are specifically mentioned or are known to exist for those texts. In the latter case the designation (8v?) is used. In the case of the Mass-ordinary settings by Palestrina, hymns by G. M. Nanino and Magnificats by Morales the number of voices - where known - is given in brackets.

January 5th (1st Vespers of Epiphany)	Ps. 109, <i>Dixit Dominus</i> (8v?), G. M. Nanino Ps. 111, <i>Beatus vir</i> (8v?), F. Anerio Hymn, (<i>Hostis Herodes impie</i>) (4v), (G. M.) Nanino Magnificat 8v, L. Marenzio
January 6th (Epiphany):	<i>Missa Viri Galilei</i> 6v, Palestrina Motet (Offertory), <i>Surge illuminare</i> (8v?), Palestrina
January 9th (Consistory)	Motets, <i>Surge illuminare</i> 8v and <i>Jubilate Deo</i> 8v, Palestrina
March 27th (Palm Sunday)	Credo, ? , T. L. de Victoria <i>Missa Sicut lilium</i> (5v), Palestrina (Sanctus, Agnus) Motet (Offertory), <i>Stabat mater</i> (8v?), Palestrina
March 30th (Tenebrae)	First Lamentation 5v, Palestrina Miserere 8v, R. Giovanelli
March 31st (Holy Thursday)	<i>Missa O sacrum convivium</i> (4-6v), Palestrina Credo from <i>Missa O quam gloriosum</i> (4v) Victoria Motet (Offertory), <i>O sacrum convivium</i> , C de Morales First Lamentation 5v, Palestrina Miserere 9v, R. Giovanelli
April 1st (Good Friday)	Improperia 8v, ditto First Lamentation 4-6v, Victoria Miserere 9v, Palestrina
April 2nd (Holy Saturday)	Gloria, Sanctus from <i>Missa Vestiva i colli</i> (5v), Palestrina Magnificat 8v, Marenzio
April 3rd (Easter Sunday)	<i>Missa Sacerdos et pontifex</i> (5v), Palestrina Sequence, <i>Victimae Paschali</i> (8v?), ditto Motet (Offertory), <i>Surrexit Pastor</i> (8v?), ditto

April 4th (Easter Monday)	<i>Missa Virgo simul et mater</i> (5v), ditto Motet (Offertory). <i>Jesus junxit se</i> (8v?), ditto
April 5th (Easter Tuesday)	<i>Missa Papae Marcelli</i> (6v), ditto Credo from <i>Missa Brevis</i> (6v), ditto Sequence, <i>Victimae Paschali</i> (8v?), Palestrina Motet (Offertory), <i>Vocem meam</i> (8v?), F. Anerio
May 11th (1st vespers of Ascension)	Ps. 109, <i>Dixit Dominus</i> (8v?), T. Gargari Ps. 111, <i>Beatus vir</i> (8v?), O. Catalani Hymn, <i>Jesu nostra redemptio</i> , 'diversi' Magnificat (4v), Morales
May 21st (1st vespers of Pentecost)	Ps. 109, <i>Dixit Dominus</i> 4v, F. Anerio Ps. 111, <i>Beatus vir</i> 8v, Giovanelli Hymn, <i>Veni creator</i> 4v, V. de Grandis Magnificat 8v, G. M. Nanino
May 22nd (Pentecost): Vespro segreto	<i>Missa Nasce la gioia mia</i> (6v), Palestrina Sequence, <i>Veni Sancte Spiritus</i> (8v?), ditto Motet (Offertory), <i>Cum complerentur</i> (6v), ditto Ps. 109, <i>Dixit Dominus</i> 16v, Catalani Ps. 111, <i>Beatus vir</i> 8v, Grandis Ps. 112, <i>Laudate Pueri</i> , 'a concerto' (8v?), Giovanelli Hymn, (<i>Veni creator</i>) (4v) Grandis Magnificat 12v, G. F. Anerio <i>Regina Coeli</i> , T. Gargari Antiphons 'di diversi benissimo consertate'
May 28th (1st Vespers of Trinity)	Ps. 109, <i>Dixit Dominus</i> 8v, F. Anerio Ps. 111, <i>Beatus vir</i> 8v, A. Crivelli Hymn, (<i>O lux beata Trinitas</i>) (4v), G. M. Nanino Magnificat 4v, Morales
May 29th (Trinity + Coronation of pope)	<i>Missa Memor esto</i> 5v, Palestrina Motet (Offertory), <i>O altitudo divitiarum</i> 6v, ditto Motets (for pope), unnamed 6v and 12v Crivelli and P. Santini
June 1st (1st Vespers of Corpus Christi)	Ps. 109, <i>Dixit Dominus</i> 8v, Giovanelli Ps. 115, <i>Credidi</i> 8v, ditto Ps. 147, <i>Lauda Jerusalem</i> 8v, Crivelli Hymn, (<i>Pange lingua</i>) 'di diversi' Magnificat 4v, Morales
June 28th (1st Vespers of SS. Peter and Paul)	Ps. 109, <i>Dixit Dominus</i> 8v, Crivelli Ps. 111, <i>Beatus vir</i> 8v, G. M. Nanino Hymn, (<i>Decora lux</i>) 4v, G. M. Nanino Magnificat (4v), Morales

June 29th (SS. Peter and Paul)	<i>Missa Secundi toni</i> 6v, F. Soriano Motet (Offertory), <i>Tu es Petrus</i> (6v), Palestrina
Vespro segreto	Ps. 109, <i>Dixit Dominus</i> 12v, Grandis Ps. 110, <i>Confitebor</i> 4v, ditto Ps. 111, <i>Beatus vir</i> 8v, Giovanelli Ps. 112, <i>Laudate pueri</i> 4v, Gargari Hymn, (<i>Decora lux</i>) (4v), G. M. Nanino Magnificat, Giovanelli <i>Salve Regina</i> , Gargari Antiphons 'di diversi'
October 31st (1st Vespers of All Saints)	Ps. 109, <i>dixit Dominus</i> (8v?), Crivelli Ps. 111, <i>Beatus vir</i> (8v?), Giovanelli Hymn, (<i>Christe Redemptor omnium</i>) (4v), G. M. Nanino Magnificat 4v, Morales
December 24th (1st Vespers of Christmas)	Ps. 109, <i>Dixit Dominus</i> (8v?), Giovanelli Ps. 111, <i>Beatus vir</i> (8v?), Crivelli Hymn, (<i>Christe Redemptor omnium</i>) (4v), G. M. Nanino Magnificat (4v), Morales
December 25th (Christmas)	Mass 5v, Palestrina Motet (Offertory), <i>Hodie sciētis</i> , ditto
Vespro segreto	Ps. 109, <i>Dixit Dominus</i> (8v?), Gargari Ps. 110, <i>Confitebor</i> (8v?), Giovanelli Ps. 147, <i>Lauda Jerusalem</i> (8v?), Crivelli Ps. 129, <i>De profundis</i> , Grandis Ps. 131, <i>Memento 'a versi spezzati'</i> , Gargari Hymn, (<i>Christe Redemptor omnium</i>) (4v), G. M. Nanino Magnificat <i>alternatim</i> with organ (4v), Morales <i>Alma Redemptoris</i> , Gargari
December 31st (1st Vespers of Circumcision)	Ps. 109, <i>Dixit Dominus</i> 4v, F. Anerio Ps. 121, <i>Laetatus sum</i> 8v, G. M. Nanino Ps. 147, <i>Lauda Jerusalem</i> 8v, Crivelli Hymn, (<i>Christe Redemptor omnium</i>) (4v), G. M. Nanino Magnificat (4v), Morales

APPENDIX III

ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS

The documents are presented in a manner as closely as possible to the original with only minimal interventions to aid understanding. Spelling and capitalization have not been altered. Only abbreviated proper names and commonly abbreviated words such as *per*, *nostro*, *maestro di cappella*, *San*, *Santo* have been completed without square brackets. Singers are not identified except where this is necessary to establish voice-type. All come from collections of *Giustificazioni di pagamenti* which are not foliated. The order of presentation by institution follows that of Tables 2.1 to 2.7.

DOCUMENT 1 Archive of the Venerable English College, vol. 995

Lista delli Cantori per la festa della Sma. Trinità (1615; maestro in charge not known)

Sigr. fabio tenore	[scudi] 2
Sigr. Giulio basso	1.50
Sigr. Cesare tenore	1.50
basso di San Pietro	1
anibale	1.50
putto di oratietto	1.50
cesare alto	1.50
pompeo alto	1.50
contralto francese	1.50
violino	1.50
Tiorba	1.50
Spinetta	1

DOCUMENT 2 Archive of the Venerable English College, vol. 996

(Singers paid for the feast of St. Thomas of Canterbury 1620; Quintio Solino in charge)

Il Castrato di Borghese	scudi 1.50
Il Putto di San Luigi	1.20
Il Putto di San Pietro per un servitio solo	0.30
Il Castrato del Duca Savelli	0.90
Il Putto delli Spangioli per un servitio	0.40
Il sigr. Bartolomeo per doi servitii	1
l'altro Contralto di Cappella di Montalto	1.50
Piperno di San Pietro	1.20
Il Contralto di San Lorenzo per doi servitii	0.70

Il sigr. Biagio di Cappella	1
Il tenore delli Spangioli	1
per Il Giovane di Don Pietro	1
Il sigr. Pietro Giorgio	1.50
Il sigr. Giulio Basso	1.20
Doi Bassi di San Spirito	2
Il Basso di San Giovanni	1
Leuto	1.50
violino	1.50
organista di San Luigi	1.20
per cornetto	1
per portature d'organo	0.60

DOCUMENT 3 S. Luigi dei Francesi, carton 43, n. 82 (taken from Lionnet, *Saint-Louis des Français*, part 2, 33).

Lista de Cantori che hanno servito nella festa di S. Luigi (1605)

Primo Choro	Gio Luca falsetto	[scudi] 2
	Leonardo di Cappella	2
	Un tenor di Cappella	2
	Paolo basso	2
Secondo Choro	Gio francese di Cappella	2
	un contr'alto di S. Pietro	1.20
	un tenor	2
	Giuseppe di Cappella	2
Terzo Choro	Un soprano	1.20
	un contralto	1.20
	un altro contralto in loco del fiamengo	1.20
	un tenor	1.20
	Ercole basso	2
Leuto		1.50
Violino Cornetto trombone		3.60
Tiorba		1.20
Organo con l'organista		3
Accordatura del organetto		1

DOCUMENT 4 ASCR, A-IV-118

Cuento de lo que se de dar a la musica que vino el dia de Santiago a cantar
(25th July 1590; Francesco Soto in charge)

Primeramente a la capilla del Papa (who sang the Mass)	scudi 10
a los cantores que vinieron a las primas y segundas visperas	
A seis cantores del papa	4.40
A dos cantores de S. Pedro	1.40
Al maestro de santa maria la mayor con dos muchachos	0.60
A un contralto de S. maria la mayor	0.40
A m. Horatio griffi Tenore	0.60

Ministrilles y tañadores

A m. Romulo horganista	1.20
A bernardino favio y Angelo ministriles	1.80
A m. Prospero	0.60
A m. Ju. francesco de liuto	1
Al Sr. Ju. luca	1.50
Al que traxo el libro dela capilla	0.20
A un bajo de san gio[vanni]	0.50

A los dos sopranos españoles un par de guantos por uno si placet y al maestro del seminario algun regalo

DOCUMENT 5

ASCR, A-IV-142

Musicians paid for the feast of St. James (July 25th) 1615. Annibale Orgas
(*Maestro di cappella* at the German College) in charge

Francesco sop[ra]lno del Papa	scudi 2
Marobino del Papa (Lorenzo Marubino, contralto)	1.50
Verovio Tenore	1.50
Gesmino Basso Messa e Vespero	1.20
felice sop[ra]nlo	1.20
Bartolomeo del Papa (Bartolomeo della Corte, contralto)	2
Francesco Tenore	1.50
Hercole de Papa (Ercole Feruzzi, bass)	2
Garzia (Don Juan Garcia 'tiple' - soprano)	1.50
Giovan Fernandez (crossed out and 'no canto' written in)	1
Gioseppe ('canto pero es beneficiato' written in)	0.70
Alessandro soprano	1.20
Anibale sop[ra]nlo di San Pietro	1.20
Ferdinando Alto	1.50
Martino del Papa (Martino Lamotta, tenor)	2
Giovani del Papa (?Giovanni Falbo, bass)	2
Cesare Alto	1.50
Nicolo Alto	1.50
Vela ('no canto pero por gracia' written in; Felipe Vela, contralto)	1
Domenico mastro del Sem[ina]rilo (Domenico Massenzio)	2
francesco Tenore	1.50
Gioseppe del Papa (?Giuseppe Bianchi, tenor)	2
Sochantre (Diego Sanchez, tenor)	1
Giulio Basso	1.50
Marcello del Papa (Marcello Maresca, bass)	2
Antonio Basso	1.50
Cosimo del Papa (Cosimo Corselli, bass)	2

Instrumenti

Leuto	1.50
Cornetto	1.50
Tiorba	1.50
Violino	1.50
Chitarrino	1.50
Viola	1.50
organi tre	6
organista del Giesu	2
Stefano Landi	1.50

Domenico (Geanelli) maestro di Capella di Santa Maria in Trastevere	1.50
Viglianua organista di San Giacomo	1

DOCUMENT 6

ASCR, G-IV-143

Memoria de los musicos forasteros que assistieron en este año de 1616 en la musica que se hizo el dia de Slenlor Santiago nuestro Patron... (Paolo Tarditi in charge)

1º Coro

Senores

Nicolo montagniano contralto de capilla	scudi 2
Martin tenor de capilla	2
Hercole bajo de capilla	2
Joan francisco Laut	2
Giorgio Corneto	1.50

2º Coro

organo	2
Paolo Quagliati organista	2
dos muchachos de Santa Maria la maior	3
Bartholome Contralto de Capilla	2
Marco Paulo tenor	1.50
Julio Basso de Santa Maria	1.50
Joan Basso de San Pedro	1.50
nicolo tiorba	1.50
violino	1.50
Jo. Bap[tis]ta Riva (violone)	1.50

3º Coro

don Annibal organista	2
marobino de Capilla	2
ludovico Contralto de Capilla	2
Juseppe tenor de Capilla	2
Septimio tenor	2
Cosmo bajo de Capilla	2
Camillo bajo	1.50
Celio de la tiorbeta	1.50
violino	1.50

DOCUMENT 7

ASMM, Giustificazioni 1607-10

Cantori che hanno servito a la festa de la Neve (1607)

Paolo Basso	scudi 3
Ercole Basso	3
ludovico Basso	3
Giuseppe Tenore	3
Carlo Tenore	3
Ottavio Tenore	3
Gio:Domenico Tenore	3

leonardo Contralto	3
Niccholo Contralto	3
Bartolomeo Contralto	3
Giovanne Eunucho	3
Mattias Eunucho	3
Pre. Terentio Eunucho	3
Oratio falsetto	3
ludovico del Cornetto	3
lorenzo del Violino	3
e piu per le Carrozze	3.80

DOCUMENT 8 ASMM, Giustificazioni 1607-10

Cantori che hanno servito per la festa della Neve, (1610)

Bassi	Hercole di Capella	scudi 3
	Melchiore	3
	Marcello di San Pietro	1.50
	Bistercio di San Gio[vanni] (in Laterano)	1.50
Tenori	Carlo di Capella	3
	Oratietto	3
	Domenico del Semin[arilo] (Romano)	1.50
	Giulio di San Luigi	1.50
Contralti	Spagnolo di Capella	3
	Lodovico di San Pietro	1.50
	Piperno di San Gio[vanni]	1.50
	Antonio di San Gio[vanni]	1.50
Soprani	Matias	2
	Marubino	3
	il putto di Oratietto	2
	Tomasino di San Pietro	1.50
	Andrea di San Gio[vanni]	1.50
Violino		3
Cornetto		2
per la carozza per detti cantori		1.50

DOCUMENT 9 ASMM, Giustificazioni 1611-13

Messa nel Possfessilo dell Ill.mo Arciprete (14th August 1611)

Bassi	Paulo Basso	scudi 1
	ercole	1
	ludovico di S. Gio[vanni]	1
Tenori	Gio: Domenico	1
	Giuseppe	1
	Carlo	1
	D. Giulio S. luigi	0.50

Alti	Spagnoletto	1
	Montagnana	1
	Iudovico S. P[ietr]lo	0.50
Soprani	oraticetto	1
	Marrobino	1
	tomasso	0.50
	figlio di oraticetto	0.50
cornetto		1
violino		1

DOCUMENT 10 ACSP, Cappella Giulia 153

Lista dei Cantori che sonno intervenuti al Secondo Vespero in San Pietro alla sua festa (30th June 1599; Stefano Fabbri in charge; no money filled in - apart from the hire of the organs - but twenty *scudi* paid in total)

In primis il Sigr. Ruggiero Giovanelli per maestro del secondo choro
il Sigr. Arcangelo Crivelli per maestro del terzo choro

il Sigr. Paolo basso
il Sigr. Stefano basso
il Sigr. Leonardo contralto
il Sigr. Antonio contralto
il Sigr. Montoia (Juan Montoya, falsetto)
il Sigr. Oratio Griffi tenore
il Sigr. Juseppe tenore
il Sigr. Melchior (Melchior Palentrotti, bass)
il Sigr. Gio: luca falsetto

il Sigr. Teofilo organista del secondo choro
il Sigr. Fabio Amatis cornetta di castello (San Angelo)
il Sigr. Raffaella cornetta di Monsigr. Pig.llo
il Sigr. Vincenzo trombone di castello
il Sigr. Oratio trombone di castello
il Sigr. Alisandro trombone del Monsigr. Pig.llo
il Polacco fagotto del Monsigr. Pig.llo
un'altro fagotto forastiero
per i dui organi
Il violino del Sigr. Mas.ato

DOCUMENT 11 ACSP, Cappella Giulia 154

Numero delli Cantori et Sonatori che hanno cantato et sonato nel 2^o Vespero alla festa di San Pietro (1600; Stefano Fabbri in charge. Payments in brackets were those applied for; those outside brackets were actually paid after reduction by the Prefect of the Cappella. 34 *scudi* paid in total)

In primis il Sigr. Ruggiero Giovanelli per maestro del 2^o choro *scudi* 1.50
il Sigr. Arcangelo Crivello per maestro del 3^o choro 1.50

Bassi	Paolo Fumone	Tenori	Oratio Griffi
	Paolo Faccone		Juseppe
	Stefano Ugerio		D. Pietro
	Fra Oratio		
	Melchior		

DOCUMENT 13

ACSP, Cappella Giulia 167

Io Francesco Soriano confesso haver riceuti....scudi 50 et baiocchi 70 quali sono per pagare l'infrascritti musici per la festa della Dedicatione del presente anno 1614

Al Sr. Ruggiero per tre Servitii et per l'orglano	scudi	4.50
Al Sr. Arcangelo per due Servitii		2
Al Sr. Antonio per tre Servitii		2.50
Al Sr. Marrubino per tre Servitii		2.50
Al Sr. Domenico per 2 Servitii		2
Al Sr. Franceschino per due Servitii		2
Al Sr. Leonardo per due Servitii		2
Al Sr. Montagnano per tre Servitii		2.50
Al Sr. Don Ludovico per tre Servitii		2.50
Al Sr. Giosepe per tre Servitii		2.50
Al Sr. Don Martini per tre Servitii		2.50
Al Sr. Carlo per due Servitii		2
Al Sr. Gio: Domenico per tre Servitii		2.50
Al Sr. Paolo per due Servitii		2
Al Sr. Barsotto per due Servitii		2
Al Sr. Marcello per tre Servitii		2.50
Al Sr. Rienza per due Servitii		2
Al Sr. Cosmo per due		2
Al Sr. Gio: Francesco Anerio per tre Servitii		2.50
Al Sr. Gio: Battista Ricchi per 2 Servitii		1.50
Al Sr. Giulio Basso per 3 Servitii		2
Antoniuccio putto di S. M. M ^a giorel per tre Servitii		1.50
A Piperno per 2 Servitii		1.20
Al Sr. Gio: Battista Riva col violone per 3 Servitii		1.50
A Roscino per 2 Servitii		1
Per portatura dell'orglano di Santa francesca		1

DOCUMENT 14,

ACSP Cappella Giulia 167

SSri. musici che hanno serviti nella festa della Dedicatione quest'anno (18th November 1620; Vincenzo Ugolino in charge)

Bassi	Sr. Ercole	3 servitii	scudi	2.50
	Cosimo	2		2
	Gio: falbo	2		
	Pietrogiorgio	3		
	Antonio della Apolinara	2		1.50
Tenori	Giosepe	2		
	Martino	3		
	Biagio	2		
	Conticelli	3		
Contralti	Montagnano	3		
	Bartolomeo	2		
	Ludovico	2		
	Santi	3		
	Pietroantonio	2		

Sopralni	Malrubino	3	
	Antonio	2	
	Domenico	2	
	Sr. Gregorio	3	2.50
	Francesco	2	1.20
	Oratio	2	1.20
	Gio: Battista	2	1.20
Per la battuta	Sr. Lorenzo	3	2.50
Org[anisl]ti	Sr. Pietro eredia	3	2.50
	Sr. Gio: Battista	2	1.50
1º org[alno] del	Sr. Ruggiero	3	2
2º org[alno] del	Sr. ludovico	3	2
3º org[alno] solo	la portatura	3	0.60

per scritture di Canto fermo e figurato

Io Vincenzo Ugolini ho ricevuto li sop[rald]et[ti] scudi 55...

DOCUMENT 15 ACSP Cappella Giulia 167

A, Portatura de legnami e fatiche de palchi e portature di organi fati per la Capella Giulia nel ano 1620 dal primo di Genaro per tuto Giugno presente 1620

3 Gen,...un omo doi giornate a [il]intonare lorgano di la [Cappella] gregoriano datoli [scudi] 0.40

(Ascension)

Per la [A]s[c]entione fu levato li legnami di la [Cappella] clementina et portati soto al volto santo per fare un palco grande	0.40
Per aver preso lorganetto ala tribuna dove lavevano meso li fachini e portato soto al volto santo	0.30
E piu per aver fato un palco grande soto al volto santo per quando si mese le colve	1
Piu per aver mese lorganeto sopra il deto palco	0.30
Piu per aver guasto deto palco grande	0.40
Piu per aver portato li legnami ala Clementina et reposti dove andavano	0.40

(Corpus Christi)

Per il Corpus Domini fu levato li legnami ala Clementina portati ala Gregoriana	0.50
Piu per aver portato dal fagliame di Papa ala botega tre Cavaleti grandi del palco vec[chi]lio per fare li altri con omni sei	0.50
E piu per aver preso tre cavaleti novi dal borgo dal fagliame del papa portati a San Pietro	0.50
E piu per aver fato un palco grande ala gregoriana	1
E piu per aver guasto deto Palco grande	0.40
E piu per aver portato li legnami ala Clementina et riposti al suo loco	0.50
E piu per aver tenuto un omo doi giornate antonare lorganeti	0.40

(St. Peter, 29th June)

E piu per aver levato tre organeti di C[h]lesia dala tribuna et portati al coro dove si canta	0.90
E piu per aver levato tuti li legnami di la clementina portati soto al volto santo per fare doi palchi grandi	1
E piu per fatura di palchi grandi due et aver aconcio il terzo palco	2
E piu per aver meso tre organi sopra li Palchi e averli levati dal coro di cantori	1.80
E piu per aver guasto deti palchi grandi	0.80
E piu per aver riportato li legnami ala Clementina di doi palchi	1
E piu per aver tenuot doi omni a tirare li man[if]lici datogli	0.20
E piu per aver levato li legnami ala clementina portati ala gregoriana	0.50
E piu per aver fato un palco grande per la musica per sta state	1

B. Fature di Palchi e portature di legnami e Portare di organo fati da lulio a decembre 1620

(St. Peter's Chains, 1st August)

Primo per aver guasto un Palco grande ala gregoriana per fare li palchi per il primo di Agosto per quando si leva la coltre	0,40
Piu per aver portato li legnami da la clementina al volto santo per fare doi Palchi grandi	0,80
Per aver fato doi Palchi grandi uno soto a le reliquie e uno soto al volto santo	2
Adi 6 deto (agosto) fare guasto deti doi palchi grandi	0,80
Per aver fato portare li legnami al suo loco ala clementina	0,80
Adi 8 (agosto) fu levato li legnami da la Clementina e Portati a la gregoriana	0,40
Per fare un palco per eservitio di la musica per sta state	0,40

(Cardinal Borghese, new archpriest, takes possession, 29th October)

Per aver fato un Palco grande a la gregoriana per quando prese il poseso il cardinale borghese fu portato li legnami dala Clementina ala gregoriana per fare un Palco grande	1 0,40
Per aver calato a baso lorganeto dal coro nostro di ciesa	0,50
Per averlo Portato A la gregoriana	0,40
Per averlo meso sopra il coro dove andava	0,40
Per aver guasto uno Palco ala gregoriana	0,40
Per aver portato li legnami A la stanza per la clementina	0,40

(Nativity of the Virgin, 8th September)

Adi 8 setembre fu levato li legnami di la Clementina portati per la madona di la colona per fare un Palco	0,40
Per aver fato un Palco Grande A la madona di la colona	1
Per aver levato lorganeto dela gregoriana e portato al coro dove si ofitia	0,30
Per averlo tirato di sopra al coro di cantori dove sta	0,50
Per aver guasto dato Palco grande	0,40
Per aver portato li legnami ala gregoriana	0,50
Per aver fato un palco grande ala gregoriana per ofitiare	1
Adi 8 di ottobre fu guasto il palco di la gregoriana	0,40
E piu per aver fato portare ala clementina e rimeso li legnami ala stanza	0,40
Per aver tenuto uno homo doi giornate antonare lorgano di la gregoriana	0,30

(Dedication of the Basilica, 18th November)

Per la dedicatione di la ciesa fu portato li legnami di la clementina ala tribuna per fare doi palchi	0,80
per aver fato doi Palchi grandi per la tribuna	2
Per aver tirato uno organo sopra il coro di li cantori del papa	0,50
Per aver meso doi organeti sopra li doi cori da baso	0,60
Per aver tenuto uno homo giornate tre afclcordali organi datoli	0,50
Per doi vesperi e una mes[is]a tenuto doi omini a tira le corde	0,30
Per aver guasto deti palchi due	0,80
Per aver fato portare li legnami ala Clementina riposti ala stanza	0,80

DOCUMENT 16

ASR, Ospedale della Santissima Trinità dei
Pellegrini

Spese della musica in piu volte cioe per la vigilia della sma. ternita e la
fiesta che fu alla liberatione del prigione per dui vespri e la messa e la
procisione del Sagramento (1580) alle quali furno l'infrascritti cantori

A m. Felice Croce	[scudi] 0.80
A m. leuterio butio	0.80
A m. brandimane	0.80
A m. Jusepe	1
A m. oratio tenore	0.80
A m. Marcantonio pacifici	0.80

A m. Curtio compagnia di Marcantonio	0.80
A m. nicolo	0.80
A micelagnelo merchucci	0.70
A antonio	0.70
A mercurio	0.70
A pietro antonio	0.70
 A m. ugo cornente	 0.60
A m.(sic.) tronbone	0.60

DOCUMENT 17

ASR, Ospedale della Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini, 705.

...pagarete a M. Asprilio Pacelli nro. mro. di capella scudi vintisette di m.a sono p. la mercede delli introscritti musici, che hanno servito alla messa e 2 vesperi della festa della Sma. Trinità, et all processione delli pregioni fatta la vigilia di dette festa...(1593)

un putto di San Pietro per messa vespri et processione	scudi 1
un putto di San Luigi per messa vespri et processione	0.80
un putto di San Lorenzo per messa vespri et processione	0.80
un putto per la processione sola	0.50

(Contralti)

M. Leonardo per mess. vespri	1
M. Antonio per mes. vesp.	1
M. Francesco di Santa Maria [Magliore per mes. vesp. proces.	1.50
M. Theophilo per procession e mes.	1
M. Hyppolito di San Pietro per la procession	0.80

(Tenori)

M. Arcangelo per mess. vesp.	1
M. Carlo per mess. procession	1
M. Leuterio per mes. vespr. procession	1.50
M. Marcantonio per mes. vespr. procession	1.50

(Bassi)

M. Francesco per messa vespro proces	1.50
M. Hercole per proces	1
M. Agostino mes. vespr. proces	1.50
M. Domenico mes. proces	1
M. Annibale per procession	1
 Giovan Luca falsetto	 2
Ludovico falsetto	1
organista	1
cornetto	1
trombone	1
liuto	0.80
violino	0.80

Servitii fatti dali fachini (1583)

Et piu adi 12 [Febraio] per aver aiutato a meter in piedi li legnami per far il palco per la musica et aiutar a meter le tavole per comesione di M. Rotilio,	[scudi] 0,10
Et adi 14 per aver portato dui inagi di tavole per far dito palco	0,60
Et adi 16 per aver portato lorgano di S.or Tiberio Astali in tri compagni	0,20
Et piu [adi] 28 per aver portato il palco terzo novo per meter sopra lorgano in 4 compagni	0,30
Et piu adi P.o di Marzo per aver portato lorgano del S.r Giovanni Giorgio da San Pietro Vincola al oratorio in quatro compagni	0,30
E piu per aver portato una parte de lorgano da casa del S.or Joan Giorgio al oratorio in tri compagni	0,15
E piu per aver portato il pergolo al oratorio in 4 compagni	
E piu per aver portato uno manicordo da casa del S.or Joan Giorgio al oratorio	
E piu per aver portato una cassa et una bancha per seder li musici da casa del fator al oratorio	
E piu per aver portato li banchi dal cantina al oratorio	0,20

APPENDIX IV

PRINTED ANTHOLOGIES CONTAINING POLYCHORAL MUSIC BY ROMAN COMPOSERS

Collections which are primarily by one composer but contain a small number of pieces by another composer or composers are not included here but reference is made to the composer catalogue in Appendix V. Re-issues are included but not simple reprints. All pieces are for eight voices unless otherwise stated.

Dates with superscripts refer to RISM Series B: *Recueils imprimés, XVI-XVII siècles* (Munich, 1960), from which the details and layout of the titles are taken.

1585⁵ see PALESTRINA

1585⁶ see VICTORIA

1587¹⁴ Primus liber suavissimas praestantissimorum nostrae aetatis artificum italianorum cantilenas 4. 5. 6. & 8. vocum continens, quae partim latinis, partim germanicis, sacris ac pijs textibus ornatae, & nusquam hactenus in Germania excusae sunt..... - Erfurt, G. Baumann, 1587. 6 vol. in-8^c.

Luca Marenzio: In der höhe sei Gott ehr

1588² Continuatio cantionum sacrarum quatuor, quinque, sex, septem, octo et plurium vocum, de festis praecipuis anni, a praestantissimis Italiae musicis nuperrimè concinnatarum. Quarum quaedam in Italia separatim editae sunt, quaedam vero planè novae, nec usquam typis excusae. At nunc, in usum scholarum & ecclesiarum germanicarum, in unum corpus redactae, studio & opera Friderici Lindneri,... - Nürnberg, K. Gerlach, 1588. 6 vol. in-8^c obl.

Annibale Stabile: Queramus cum pastoribus
Felice Anerio: Iam de somno (echo madrigal)

1590⁵ Corollarium cantionum sacrarum quinque, sex, septem, octo, et plurium vocum, de festis praecipuis anni. Quarum quaedam antea, a praestantissimis nostrae aetatis musicis, in Italia separatim editae sunt, quaedam vero nuperrimè concinnatae, nec uspiam typis excusae, at nunc in unum quasi corpus redactae studio & opera Friderici Lindneri &c. - Nürnberg, C. Gerlach, 1590. 6 vol. in-8^c obl.

Giovanni P. da Palestrina: Surge Illuminare
Veni Sancte Spiritus
Annibale Stabile: Victimae Paschali
Hi sunt qui venerunt

1590⁶ Suavissimorum modulorum selectissimae cantiones sacrae, ex praestantissimis quibusdam musicis collectae, quatuor, quinque, sex et octo vocum, cum viva voce, tum omnis generis instrumentis cantatu commodissime. His adjuncta est missa eleganti artificio composita, sex vocum. Nunc demum summa diligentia in gratiam studiosorum Musices in lucem emissae. - München, A. Berg, mai 1590. 6 vol. in-4o^o obl.

(Ruggiero Giovanelli): Laudate Dominum in sanctis
(anon. in print)

1592² Psalmi, Motecta, Magnificat, et antiphona, Salve Regina diversorum auctorum: octo vocibus concinenda, selecta a Jo. Luca Conforti. - Roma, F. Coattino, 1592. 4 vol. in-8^o.

Felice Anerio:	Laudate pueri
	Veni Sancte Spiritus
Ruggiero Giovanelli:	Beata es Virgo
	Dixit Dominus
	Jubilare Deo
	Salve Regina
Luca Marenzio:	Magnificat (8 ^a toni)
Giovanni M. Nanino:	Nocte Surgentes
Giovanni P. da Palestrina:	Vos amici mei estis
Paolo Quagliati	Decantabat populus

1596² Thesaurus litaniarum. Quae a praecipuis hoc aevo musicis, tam in laudem sanctiss. nominis Iesu, quam in honorem deiparae coelitumque omnium, quatuor, quinque, sex, plurium vocum compositae: ad communem verò Ecclesiae usum collectae, opera & studio Georgii Victorini in aede D. Michaëlis... - München, A. Berg, 1596. 8 vol. in-8^o.

Annibale Stabile:	Litaniae BMV (1)
	Litaniae BMV (2)
	Litaniae Nomen Jesu
Tomas L. de Victoria:	Litaniae BMV

1599² Motetti et salmi a otto voci composti da otto eccellentiss. autori, con la parte de i bassi, per poter sonarli nell'organo... - Venezia, G. Vincenti, 1599. 9 vol. in-8^o.

Ruggiero Giovanelli:	Beata es Virgo
	Crux fidelis
	Dixit Dominus
	Salve Regina
Luca Marenzio:	Magnificat (8 ^a toni)
Giovanni M. Nanino:	Nocte surgentes
Giovanni P. da Palestrina:	Vos amici mei estis

1600¹ Magnificat octo tonorum, diversorum excellentissimorum authorum, quatuor, V. VI. VII. VIII & XII. vocum. - Nürnberg, P. Kauffmann, 1600. 8 vol. in-8^o.

Luca Marenzio:	Magnificat 8 ^a toni
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1600² Sacrarum symphoniarum continuatio. Diversorum excellentissimorum authorum. Quaternis, V. VI. VII. VIII. X. et XII. vocibus tam vivis, quam instrumentalibus accomodata. - Nürnberg, P. Kauffmann, 1600. 8 vol. in-8^o.

Felice Anerio:	Tibi laus, tibi gloria
Ruggiero Giovanelli:	Jubilate Deo
Luca Marenzio:	Jubilate Deo

1603¹ Florilegium selectissimarum cantionum, praestantissimorum aetatis nostrae autorum, 4. 5. 6. 7. & 8. vocom, in illustri Gymnasio Portensi, ante & post cibum sumtim, nunc temporis usitatarum, in gloriam Dei, scholae decus, studiosae juventutis utilitatem collectum & editum studio ac labore M. Erhardi Bodenschatz lichtenbergensis, eiusdem illustris Gumnasij cantoris. - Leipzig, A. Lamberg, 1603. 8 vol. in-8^o obl.

Ruggiero Giovanelli:	Jubilate Deo
Luca Marenzio:	Jubilate Deo

1604² Melodiae sacrae, quinque, sex, septem, octo, & duodecem vocom, quatuor celeberrimorum musices moderatorum sere.^m ac poten.^m Poloniae, Sueciaeque &c, regis, Sigismundi Tertii, nec non aliquot aliorum praesentis Capellae praestantium musicorum. opera ac studio, Vincentii lilii romani, capellae regiae musici hinc inde collectae. - Krakow, Lazari et B. Skalski, 1604. ? vol. in-8^o.

Luca Marenzio:	A solis ortus cardine Jubilate Deo (12v) Laudate Dominum (12v)
Annibale Stabile:	Lux perpetua

1604⁵ Motecta octonis vocibus Antonii Gualterii in terra D. Danielis musices magistri, liber primus. - Venezia, G. Vincenti, 1604. 8 vol. in-8^o.

Annibale Stabile:	Deus misereatur nostri
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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 vqcibus....- Roma, B Zannetti, 1607. 9 vol. in-4^o.

Giovanni F. Anerio:	Ego sum panis
Archangelo Crivelli:	Lux fulgebat hodie
Teofilo Gargari:	Sancta Maria succurre miseris
Ruggiero Giovanelli:	O gloriosa Domina
Giovanni B. Nanino:	Surrexit pastor
Giovanni M. Nanino:	O altitudo divitiarum
Salvatore Sacchi:	Gabriel angelus
	Gaudeamus omnes in Domino
	Gloria Patri Domino
	Hostem repellas
	Litaniae B.M.V.
	Magnificat
	Missa sine nomine
	O quanta digna hostia

(Salvatore Sacchi)

Tu septiformis munera

Veni sponsa Christi

Francesco Soriano:

Lauda Jerusalem

Annibale Stabile:

Nos autem gloriari

Giovanni Troiano:

Iste sanctus et adolescentulus

Cesare Zoilo:

Domine Rex omnipotens

1607^e

Musarum Sioniar: motectae et psalmi latini, Michaëlis Praetorij C. apud sereniss. principem Henricum Julium ducem Brunsv. & Lunaeb., chori musici magistri, IV. V. VI. VII. VIII. IX. X. XII. XVI. vocom, choro et organis accommodatae. I. pars - Nürnberg, A. Wagenmann, 1607. 8 vol. in-8^o.

Ruggiero Giovanelli:

Laudate Dominum in sanctis

(wrongly attributed to Palestrina here):

1609¹⁵

Hortus musicalis, variis antea diversorum authorum Italiae floribus consitus, jam verò latinos fructus, mira suavitate & artificio. V. VI. VII. VIII. & pluribus vocibus concinendos, piè & religiosè parturiens. Authore R. P. Michaelae Herrerio,....Liber tertius,....- München, A. Berg, 1609. 8 vol. in-8^o.

Ruggiero Giovanelli:

O lux de vera luce

Giovanni M. Nanino:

Dirige corda nostra

Luca Marenzio:

In sylvis latitans

Asprilio Pacelli:

Qui ratione mundum

1611¹

Promptuarii musici, sacras harmonias sive motetas V. VI. VII. & VIII. vocom, e diversis, iisque clarissimis hujus et superioris aetatis autoribus, antehac nunquam in Germania editis, collectas exhibentiss, pars prima: quae concentus selectissimos qui tempore hyemali S.S. Eccelsiae usui esses possunt, comprehendit. Collectaore Abrahamo Schadaeo senfftebergensi, scholae spirensium senatoriae recatore. Cui basin vulgo generalem dictam, & ad organa musicaque instrumenta accomodatam singulari industria addidit Caspar Vincentius ejusdem civitatis musicus organicus. - Strasbourg, K. Kieffer, 1611. 9 vol. in-4^o.

Agostino Agazzari:

Tristis est anima mea

(Passiontide)

Luca Marenzio:

Deus venerunt gentes

(not assigned)

Iniquos odio habui (Lent)

Romulo Naldi:

Dum turba plurima (Epiphany)

Francesco Soriano:

Adorna thalamum (Purification)

Annibale Stabile:

Nunc dimittis (Purification)

1611²

Psalmorum ac Magnificat, quorum usus in vesperis frequentior est, octo vocibus. Ab Augustino Agazario armonico intronato. Opus decimum quintum. - Venezia, R. Amadino, 1611. 9 vol. in-8^o.

see AGAZZARI

1612³ Promptuarii musici, sacras harmonias sive motetas V. VI. VII.L & VIII. vocom, e diversis, clarissimis huius & superioris aetatis authoribus, in Germania nusquam editis collectas exhibentis. Pars altera: quae aestivi temporis festivitatis dominicisque diebus selectiores concentus S.S. Ecclesiae usui inservientes continet. Collectore Abrahamo Schadaeo, senfftebergensi. Cui basin ad organa musicaque instrumenta accommodatum, vulgò generalem dictam adjecit. Caspar Vincentius, spirensium organicen. - Strasbourg, K. Kieffer, 1612. 9 vol. in-4^o.

Ottavio Catalani:	Hodie completi sunt (Pentecost)
	Si manseritis in me (Pentecost)
Luca Marenzio:	Exsurgat Deus (Ascension)
Asprilio Pacelli:	Cantate Domino (Eastertide)
	O vere digna hostia (Corpus Christi)
	Veni Sancte Spiritus (Pentecost)
Giovanni P. da Palestrina:	Lauda Sion (Corpus Christi)
Giovanni B. Steffanini:	Ardens est cor meum (Easter)

1613² Promptuarii musici, sacras harmonias sive motetas V. VI. VII. & VIII. vocom, e diversis, iisque clarissimis hujus et superioris aetatis authoribus collectas comprehendentis, pars tertia: quae exhibet Concentus varios selectioresque, qui solennioribus sc. SS. Trinitatis,...Collectore Abrahamo Schadaeo senfftebergensi...- Strasbourg, K. Kieffer, 1613. 9 vol. in-4^o.

Agostino Agazzari:	Hic est vere martyr (Martyrs)
Felice Anerio:	Tibi laus, tibi gloria (Trinity)
Pietro Bonomi:	Beatus Laurentius (St. Laurence)
	Hortus conclusus (not assigned)
Ruggiero Giovanelli:	Stephanus plenus gratia (St. Stephen)
Asprilio Pacelli:	Estote fortes (Apostles)
	Sancte Jacobus (St. James)
	Tres sunt qui venerunt (Trinity)
Annibale Stabile:	Hi sunt qui venerunt (Apostles)

1614³ Selectae cantiones excellentissimorum auctorum octonis vocibus concinendae. A Fabio Constantino romano urbeveteranae cathedralis musicae praefecto in lucem editae. Cum basso ad organum. - Roma, B. Zannetti, 1614. 9 vol. in-8^o.

Felice Anerio:	Pastores loquebantur ad invicem
	Venite ad me omnes
Giovanni F. Anerio:	Auroro lucis rutilat
Alessandro Costantini:	Dextera tua Domine
	Inclina Domine aurem tuam
Fabio Costantini:	O lumen ecclesiae
	Sancti Dei omnes intercedere
Arcangelo Crivelli:	Crucifixus surrexit a mortuis
	Laetentur coeli et exultet terra
Ruggiero Giovanelli:	Angelus ad pastores ait
	Gaudeamus omnes in Domino
	Puer natus est nobis
Bartolomeo Le Roy:	Gloria tibi Trinitas
Giovanni B. Locatello:	Super Flumina Babylonis
Luca Marenzio:	Jubilare Deo omnis terra

Giovanni B. Nanino:	Beati omnes qui timent Dominum Beatus Laurentius Domine Dominus noster
Giovanni M. Nanino:	Cantate Domino canticum novum Domine quis habitabit Sancta et immaculata virginitas
Asprilio Pacelli:	Factum est silentium
Giovanni P. da Palestrina:	Caro mea vere est cibus Fratres ego enim accepi Sub tuum praesidium
Prospero Santini:	Angelus Domini descendit
Francesco Soriano:	Ecce sacerdos magnus
Annibale Zoilo:	Beata mater et intacta

1615¹ Raccolta de'salmi a otto de diversi eccellentissimi autori, posta in luce da F. Costantini romano. Opera secunda. - Napoli, G.G. Carlino, 1615. 9 vol. in-4^o.

Felice Anerio:	Ave Regina
Giovanni F. Anerio:	Magnificat
Alessandro Costantini:	Laudate pueri
Fabio Costantini:	Dixit dominus
Arcangelo Crivelli:	Confitebor tibi
Ruggiero Giovanelli:	Regina Coeli
Vincenzo de Grandis:	Salve Regina
Giovanni B. Nanino:	Laetatus sum
Giovanni M. Nanino:	Beatus vir
Francesco Soriano:	Credidi propter quod locutus
Paolo Tarditi:	Nisi Dominus
Cesare Zoilo (Roilo):	Lauda Jerusalem

1615² Reliquiae sacrorum concentuum Giovan Gabrielis, Iohan-Leonis Hasleri, utriusque praestantissimi musici: et aliquot aliorum praecellentium aetatis nostrae artificum motectae, VI. VII. VIII. IX. X. XII. XIII. XIV. XVI. XVIII. XIX. vocum, noviter expromtae à Gergio Grubero norim. - Nürnberg, P Kauffmann, 1615. 12 vol. in-8^o.

Luca Marenzio:	Exsurgat Deus
Romulo Naldi:	Transeunte Domino

1615⁴ = 1611²

1617¹ Promptuarii musici, sacras harmonias V. VI. VII. et VIII. vocum, e diversis, clarissimis huius et superioris aetatis authoribus, in Germania nusquam editis, collectas exhibentis. Pars quarta: quae exhibet Concentus varios selectioresque, qui omnibus a SS. Trinitatis Dominicis inclusivè inserviunt: cum spiritualibus Canticis, & sylvae harmonica Deiparae Virgini sacra. Collegit vero et basi generali accommodavit Caspar Vincentius S. Andreae wormatiensis organoedus. - Strasbourg, A. Bertram, 1617. 9 vol. in-4^o.

Agostino Agazzari:	Ave stella matutina (not assigned)
Luca Marenzio:	Jubilate Deo (n. a.)
Giovanni B. Nanino:	Beati omnes qui timent Dominum (n. a.)

Giovanni P. da Palestrina:	Fratres ego enim accepi (Corpus Christi)
Asprilio Pacelli:	Te Deum laudamus (n. a.)
Paolo Quagliati:	Exaudi domine vocem meam (n. a.)
	Laudate Dominum Deum (n. a.)

1617²⁴ Nova Musices organicae tabulatura. Das ist: ein neue art deutscher Tabulatur, etlicher Gesängen, auch schönen lieblichen Fugen und Canzoni alla francese, von den berhumbtesten Musicis, und Organisten deutsch: und welsch Lanen, mit 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 10. 12. und mehr Stimmen componirt:...Also mit den obristen und undristen vollkommenen Stimmen zusammen gesetzt...Durch Johann Woltzen...Basel, J. J. Genath, 1617. 1 vol. in fol.

Luca Marenzio:	Exsurgat Deus
	Jubilate Deo
	Laudate Dominum
Annibale Stabile	Hi sunt qui venerunt

1618¹ Florilegium Portense, continens CXV. selectissimas cantiones 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. vocum praestantissimorum aetatis nostrae autorum... Collocatum et editum autore M. Erhardo Bodenschatz lichtenbergense Gymnasii portensis olim cantore. Editio altera ab ipso autore auctior & emendatior reddita. - Leipzig, A. Lamberg et C. Closemann, 1618. 9 vol. in-8°.

Ruggiero Giovanelli:	Jubilate Deo
Luca Marenzio:	Jubilate Deo
(Domenico Phinot:	Jam non dicam)

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, B. Zannetti. 1620. 9 vol. in-8°.

Felice Anerio:	Magnificat 5 ^a toni
Giovanni F. Anerio:	Confitebor tibi
Alessandro Costantini:	Lauda Ierusalem (concertato)
Fabio Costantini:	Lâetatus sum (concertato)
Arcangelo Crivelli:	Beatus vir 6 ^a toni
Ruggiero Giovanelli:	Credidi propter quod locutus
Francesco Martini:	Laudate Dominum omnes gentes
	(concertato)
Domenico Massentio:	Regina Caeli
Giovanni B. Nanino:	Ave Regina
Giovanni M. Nanino:	Laudate Pueri
Giovanni P. da Palestrina:	Litaniae BVM.
Annibale Zoilo:	Litaniae BVM

1620^s see CIFRA

1620⁷ Salmi Vespertini a 4 per le Domeniche, solennità della Madonna et Apostoli con 2 Magnificat, uno a 4 e l'altro a 8, con il basso per l'organo se piace, del sig. Gio. Bernardino Nanini. Racolti dal Rev. D. Giulio Subissati da Fossombrone. - Roma, G.B. Robletti, 1620. 5 vol. in-8°.

Giovanni M. Nanino:	Magnificat 1 ^a toni
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1621¹ = 1614³ (1621¹: numbers of pieces assigned to each composer given wrongly in RISM)

1621² Florilegii Musici Portensis, sacras harmonias sive motetas V. VI. VII. VIII. X. vocom. E diversis, iisque praestantissimis aetatis nostrae autoribus collectus comprehendentis. Pars altera. Quae exhibet concentus selectissimas.... Collectore et editore M. Erhardo Bodenschatzio,... Collectore et editore M. Erhardo Bodenschatzio,... - Leipzig, A. Lamberg, 1621. 9 vol. in-8°.

Agostino Agazzari:	Tristis est anima
Felice Anerio:	Tibi laus, tibi gloria
Luca Marenzio:	Iniquos odio habui
	Jubilare Deo
Asprilio Pacelli:	Cantate Domino
	Exsurgat Deus
	Tres sunt
Annibale Stabile:	Hi sunt qui venerunt
	Nunc Dimittis

1621⁵ see CIFRA

1622¹

Giovanni Troiano:	Litaniae BMV
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APPENDIX V

The following abbreviations are used:

Library *sigla* are those used in RISM, but are not given in full in the case of the most commonly cited libraries and manuscripts. For these the following abbreviations are used (see the full discussion of primary manuscript sources in Chapter Three):

Sist.	Cappella Sistina collection in Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana
Giul.	Cappella Giulia collection in Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana
Barb.	Barberini collection in Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana
Rn 40-46	Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale, Mss. Mus. 33-34/40-46
Rn 77-88	Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale, Mss. Mus. 77-88
Rn 117-121	Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale, Mss. Mus. 117-121/Rome Accademia di Santa Cecilia, G. Ms. 792-795
Rn 127-128	Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale, Mss. Mus. 127-128
Rc 2760 etc.	Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, Ms. 2760 etc. (Baini <i>nachlass</i>)
Bianchi 1	Lino Bianchi, Private collection, Ms. Mus. 1 (originally part of Baini <i>nachlass</i> in Rc)
Bc	Bologna, Biblioteca del Conservatorio
Rp	West Germany, Regensburg, Proskische Musikbibliothek. When used on its own it stands for the collection of transcriptions made by Proske himself and kept, largely unnumbered, in a series of <i>Mappen</i> . These are currently being catalogued for RISM and so no number within each <i>Mappe</i> is given here. The major composers have a <i>Mappe</i> to themselves (F. Anerio has two, the two Nanino brothers share a single one); others are sometimes included in one assigned to a composer alphabetically close, e.g. <i>Mappe</i> (Carissimi) contains works by Catalani. In these cases the composer whose name appears on the <i>Mappe</i> is given in brackets. The majority of the Proske transcriptions were made from the <i>Altemps</i> partbooks; the designation 'major' and 'minor' is not given here since lists of the works in these two sets of partbooks are given in Chapter three, pp. 129-130.
Rp Haberl	Haberl collection housed in that library.
Rp AR	<i>Antiquitates Musicae Ratisbonensis</i> series also housed there.
Müs 82 etc.	West Germany, Münster, Santini Sammlung, Hs. 82 etc.
Lbl 34607	London, British Library, Additional Ms. 34607
Pelplin	The Pelplin Tablature. Details are taken from 'The Pelplin Tablature: A Thematic Catalogue', <i>Antiquitates Musicae in Polonia</i> Vol. I (Graz-Warsaw, 1963).

Other abbreviations: Ptbs=Partbooks; Chb=Choirbook

All pieces are for eight voices unless otherwise indicated. *Secundae partes* are not listed separately unless found independently.

Works whose attribution is disputed in the sources are listed under the composer supported by the weight of evidence, where this composer is included in this list. Sections of works (e.g. in the *Missa Cantantibus Organis Cecilia*) are not included. Non-polychoral 8v pieces are also not included.

Prints, reprints and reissues are listed first under each composer. In the list of works only the date of the first publication is quoted. Titles of prints after 1621 are given but their contents are not included. Dates with superscripts refer to RISM Series B, *Recueils Imprimés*, XVI^a-XVII^a siècles.

1602. *Sacrarum cantionum quae quinis, senis, septenis, octonisque vocibus concinuntur, liber primus.* - Roma, Aloysio Zannetti, 1602

- ib., 1605.

- ...cum basso ad organum. - Venezia, Ricciardo Amadino, 1608.

- ib., 1616.

1603a. *Sacrae Laudes de Iesu, B. Virgine, angelis, apostolos, martyribus, confessoribus, virginibus, quaternis, quinis, senis, septenis, octonisque vocibus, cum basso ad organum, et musica instrumenta, liber secundus.* - Roma, Aloysio Zannetti, 1603.

- Venezia, Ricciardo Amadino, 1608.

- ib., 1615.

1603b. *Sacrarum cantionum quae quinis, senis, septenis, octonisque vocibus concinuntur, liber tertius.* - Roma, Aloysio Zannetti, 1603.

- ...cum basso ad organum. - Venezia, Ricciardo Amadino, 1608.

- ib., 1616.

1607. *Cantiones, motectae vulgo appellatae, quae IV, V, VI, VII, & VIII, vocibus concinuntur, & instrumentis apprime adplicantur; nunc primum in Germania excusae & publicatae.* - Frankfurt/Main, Nikolaus Stein (Wolfgang Richter), 1607.

1611. *Psalmodum ac Magnificat quorum usus in vesperis frequentior est octo vocibus...opus decimum quintum.* - Venezia, Ricciardo Amadino, 1611.

- ib., 1615.

1613. *Dialogici concentus, senis, octonisque vocibus...nunc primum in lucem editi, opus decimum sextum.* - Venezia, Ricciardo Amadino, 1613.

- ib., 1616.

- ib., 1617

- ib., Bartolomeo Magni, signum Gardani, 1618.

1614. *Missae quattuor tam organis, quam pleno choro accommodatae, quarum duae quattuor vocibus, altera quinque, postrema vero octo concinuntur. Cum basso ad organum, opus decimum septimum.* - Venezia, Ricciardo Amadino, 1614.

- ib., 1617.

- ib., Bartolomeo Magni, 1625.

(1639. *Litaniae Beatissimae Virginis quaternis, quinis, senis, octonisque vocibus in varium melos concinendae, opus vigesimum primum.* - Roma, Vincenzo Blanco, 1639.)

Aeterna Christi munera	1603a, 1607	
A solis ortu cardine	1603a, 1607	
Ave stella matutina	1602, 1607, 1617 ¹ ,	Pelplin
Avete coeli principes	1603a, 1607,	Pelplin
Avete sacrae virgines	1603a, 1607	
Avete sacri praesules	1603a, 1607	
Beatus vir (8 ^a toni)		1611
Confitebor tibi (2 ^a toni)		1611
Dixit Dominus (1 ^a toni)		1611
Exaltabo te, Deus	1603b, 1607	
Exultet coelum laudibus		1613
Exultent et laetentur	1603b,	Pelplin
Gaude virgo gloriosa	1603a, 1607,	Pelplin
Hic est vere martyr	1603b,	1613 ² , Pelplin
In die magne festivitatis		1613
Jesu corona virginum		1613
Jesu dulcis memoria	1603a, 1607,	Pelplin

Jesu redemptor omnium	1613	
Laetatus sum (2 ^a toni)	1611	
Lauda Jerusalem (6 ^a toni)	1611	
Laudate Dominum	1611	
Laudate pueri (8 ^a toni)	1611	
Magnificat (8 ^a toni)	1611	
Missa Duobus Choris	1614	
Nisi Dominus	1611	
Obsecro Te, Domine	1603b, 1607,	Pelplin
Paratum cor meum	1602, 1607	
Rex gloriose martyrum	1613	
Sacris solemnibus	1603b,	Pelplin
Salve, salus mea Deus	1613	
Stabat mater	1603a, 1607,	Rp (Mappe Allegri)
Super flumina Babylonis	1602, 1607	
Tristis est anima mea	1603b,	1611 ¹
Veni Sancte Spiritus	1603a	
Venite et videte	1603b	

GIOVANNI FRANCESCO ALCARI (ALCAROTTI)

DISPUTED ATTRIBUTION

Salve Regina Rn 117-121 (Alcari); M^{us} 3590
(attr. Godmell)

- The attribution to Alcari in Rn 117-121 is clear and it is difficult to understand Santini's attribution to 'Godmell' (Claude Goudimel?).

FELICE ANERIO

1596. *Sacri hymni, et cantica, sive motecta musicis notis expressa, & octonis vocibus canenda, liber primus.* - Venezia, Giacomo Vincenti, 1596. - Pths.

1602. *Sacri hymni et cantica, sive motecta musicis notis expressa, quinis, senis, octonis vocibus canenda, liber secundus.* - Roma, Aloysio Zannetti, 1602. - Pths.

Ad te levavi	1596	Giul. XIII 24; Rn 117-121
Afferte Domine	1602	
Angelus autem Domini	1596	
Archa Domini		Rp; Lbl 34607
Aurora lucis rutilat		Rp; Lbl 34607; M ^{us} 1224
Ave quam colunt		Rp; Lbl 34607; M ^{us} 4008
Ave Regina (1)	1596	
Ave Regina (2)	1615 ¹	Rp; M ^{us} 3588
Ave Rex noster		Rp (incomplete, copied from an Assissi ms.)
Beata Dei genetrix	1596	
Beata es Virgo		Rp; Lbl 34607; M ^{us} 1224
Beatus Vir (1)		Sist. 31
Beatus Vir (2)		Rp (inc., from Assissi ms.)
Benedicam Dominum		Rp; Lbl 34607
Benedictus es Dominus	1596	
Candidi facti sunt		Rp; Lbl 34607
Canite Archangeli		Rp; Lbl 34607
Christe Jesu mundi	1596	
Confirma hoc Deus		Rp; Lbl 34607

Congratulamini 10v			Rc 2852; Rp
Credidi			Rp; Lbl 34607
Cum invocarem			Rp; Lbl 34607
Derelinquat impius	1596		Sist. 29; Rc 2760; Bianchi 1; Müs 1193 (from Coll. Rom.) Rp
Dies irae 12v			
Dixit Dominus (1)	1596		Rn 132; Rp; Lbl 34607; Müs 1224, 3510
Dixit Dominus (2)			Rp
Dixit Dominus 12v			
Dulcis amor		1602; 1639 ²	
Ecce nunc benedicite			Rp; Lbl 34607
Ego sum panis			Rp
Factum est silentium (1)			Rp; Lbl 34607
Filiae Hierusalem			Rp; Lbl 34607
Haec dies 12v			Rp; Müs 873, 874
Hic est filius			Rp; Lbl 34607
Hodie coelesti			Müs 1209
Inclina Domine			Rp; Lbl 34607; Müs 1224
In dedicatione			Rp; Lbl 34607
Iste confessor			Rp; Lbl 34607
Iste est qui ante Deum			Rc 2852; Bianchi 1; Rp; Lbl 34607
Isti sunt agni			Rc 2852; Bianchi 1; Rp; Lbl 34607
Jesu salvator saeculi	1596		
Jubilare Deo			Rp; Lbl 34607
Laetatus sum (1)			Rp; Lbl 34607
Laetatus sum (2)			Rp
Lauda Sion			Rp; Lbl 34607
Laudate pueri (1)	1592 ²	1599 ²	
Laudate pueri (2)			Sist. 31; Rn 132; Rp; Müs 1224; Lbl 34607
Laudemus Dominum			Rp; Müs 1224; Lbl 34607
Laudemus virum 12v			Rp; Müs 873, 874
Litany BMV	1596		
Lux perfectae			Rp; Lbl 34607
Magnificat (1)	1596		
Magnificat (2) 12v (1 ^a toni)			Rp
Magnificat (3) 12v (6 ^a toni)			Rp
Miserere			Sist. 205; Rn 127-8; Rp (from Chiesa Nuova); Müs 83
Miserere 9v			Sist. 205; Rc 2567
Nato Domino			Rp; Lbl 34607
Nunc Dimittis			Rp; Müs 1224; Lbl 34607
O Beatum N 13v			Rp; Müs 873, 874
Omnes gentes 12v			Rp; Müs 873, 874
O pretiosum			Rp; Müs 1224; Lbl 34607
Pastores loquebantur		1614 ³	Rc 2852, 2295; Rp; Lbl 34607
Popule meus (Improperia)			Rn 127-8
Priusquam te formarem			Rp; Lbl 34607
Quae est ista		1602	
Qui enim voluerit			Rp; Lbl 34607
Regina coeli	1596		
Responsum accepit			Rc 2852, 2295; Rp; Lbl 34607
Ridet coelum			Rp; Müs 1224; Lbl 34607
Salve Regina	1596		
Te lucis ante terminum			Rp; Müs 1224; Lbl 34607

Tibi laus	1596	1600 ² ; 1613 ² ; 1621 ² ; Pelplin 696
Tota pulchra es		Rp; Lbl 34607
Veni Sancte Spiritus	1592 ² 1596	
Veni sponsa		Rc 2852, 2295; Bianchi 1; Rp; Lbl 34607
Venite ad me omnes	1614 ³	Rc 2852, 2295;
Vidi speciosam	1621 ¹	Rp; Lbl 34607
Voce mea ad Dominum	1602	
	1596	Sist. 72 (anon.), 117 (anon.); Rn 33 (anon., short vsn.); Rc 2760; Bianchi 1; Rp (from Assissi, short vsn.) Mūs 1193; P-La 47-VII-13

DOUBTFUL WORKS

Beatus vir	Rn 132
Confitebor tibi	Rn 132

- These are not attributed in the manuscript but the other two psalms there (*Dixit Dominus* and *Laudate pueri* are attributed to Anerio).

Missa 12v	Rp; Mūs 873, 874 (both Anerio)
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- This is the same as the *Missa Cantantibus Organis Cecilia* attributed to various composers in collaboration in I Rsg. See the discussion in Chapter Eight, pp.287-288.

DISPUTED ATTRIBUTIONS

Angelus ad pastores	Rp (twice: once Anerio, once O, Catalani); Lbl 34607 (Anerio)
Vidi Turbam	Rc 2295, 2852; Bianchi 1; Rp; Lbl 34607 (all Anerio) Mūs 1198; Lbl Egerton 2461 (both F. Soriano)

- In both cases, the bulk of the sources favour F. Anerio and this seems stylistically correct (this is also the opinion of J. Couchman).

Christus resurgens	Sist. 294; Bc R 7; Mūs 1187, 3593 (all Anerio)
	Sist. 101; Rc 2295 (G. Allegri)

- The attribution to Allegri seems to have arisen because of the *Missa Christus resurgens* by Allegri based on it. Couchman is of the opinion that it by Anerio.

Domine Jesu Christe/Libera me Domine	Rp; Mūs 1224 (both Anerio) Mūs 3510 (G. Allegri, but a note corrects this to F. Anerio)
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GIOVANNI FRANCESCO ANERIO

1611. *Litaniae deiparae virginis, septem, octonisque vocibus decantandae, una cum quatuor illis antiphonis, quae pro varietate temporum post completorium cani solent...* a Christophoro Margarina in unum collectae, & in lucem editae. - Roma, Bartolomeo Zannetti, 1611. - Pts.

- Roma, Paolo Masotti, 1619

- ib., Paolo Masotti, ad istanza d'Antonio Poggiolo, all'insegna del Martello, 1626.

1614, *Responsoria Nativitatis Domini, una cum invitatorio, et psalmo Venite exultemus, ac Te Deum laudamus, ternis, quaternis, octonis vocibus.* - Roma, Giovanni Battista Robletti, 1614. - Pths.

- ib. (...di novo corretti...), 1629

Alma Redemptoris (1)	1611	Müs 2379
Alma redemptoris (2)		Rp; Müs 1224; Lbl 34607
Aurora lucis rutilat	1614 ³	
Ave Regina	1611	Giul. XV 62; Müs 2379
Christus natus est	1614	
Confitebor tibi	1620 ¹	
Confitebor tibi		Rp; Lbl 34607
Ego quasi vitis	1611	
Ego sum panis	1607 ²	
Egredere	1611	
Hodie nobis coelorum rex	1614	
Jubilemus in arca	1611	
Laetentur coeli		Rp; Lbl 34607
Litaniae BMV (1)	1611	
Litaniae BMV (2)	1611	
Litaniae BMV (3)	1611	
Litaniae BMV (4)	1611	
Litaniae BMV (5) 7v (polychoral)	1611	
Magnificat (1 ^a toni)	1615 ¹	Müs 3588
Magnificat (2 ^a toni)		Rp; Lbl 34607
Miserere 9v		Sist. 205-206; Rc 2567
Missa Constantia 12v		Bc R 29
Missa Surge illuminare		Müs 1215 (ex S.M. in Vallicella)
Nunc dimittis		Müs 4222 (ex S.M. in Vallicella)
O gloriosa domina	1611	
O Maria gloriosa	1611	Müs 3593
Regina coeli	1611	Giul. XV 62; Müs 2379
Rorate coeli		Rp; Lbl 34607
Salve Regina	1611	Müs 2379
Sancta et immaculata	1614	
Sicut lilium		Müs 2379
Te matrem Dei laudamus		Rp; Lbl 34607
Verbum caro factum est	1614	

DISPUTED ATTRIBUTIONS

Alma Redemptoris (3)	see CRIVELLI
Cantate Domino 12v	Rp (F. Anerio); Müs 873, 874 (G.F. Anerio)

- It is difficult to distinguish between the two composers in 12v works. Since neither Proske or Santini can be wholly relied on in attributions, the question is left open.

GIOVANNI ANIMUCCIA

DOUBTFUL WORKS

Cantate Domino

Rn 77-88;

- This is a rearrangement for two choirs of Animuccia's five-voice Cantate Domino from the same manuscript. Stylistically the rearrangement is very unlikely to be by Animuccia.

Confitebor tibi

Rn 117 (anon.); Mūs 3590
(Animuccia)

- The attribution to Animuccia in Mūs 3590 is Santini's. A fully polychoral piece in the style of the mid-1580s, it is totally untypical of Animuccia's writing and is very unlikely to be by him.

GIROLAMO BARTEI

1608. *Missae octonis vocibus, liber primus*. - Roma, Bartolomeo Zannetti, 1608. - St.

Missa Brevis	1608
Missa Defunctorum	1608
Missa della Battaglia	1608
Missa Laetentur coeli	1608

GIACOMO BENINCASA

(1607. *Motecta 5-12v*) (Fétis - not in RISM - not found in the course of this study)

Ave Regina	Mūs 1198
Dixit Dominus	Mūs 1198
Dixit Dominus 12v	Mūs 873, 874
Lamentabatur Jacob	Mūs 1198; Rc 2852

DISPUTED ATTRIBUTIONS

Gaudeamus omnes in Domino

Mūs 873, 874 (Benincasa);
Rp (F. Anerio)

PIERRE BONHOMME (PIETRO BONOMIO) (Pieces in anthologies or Roman manuscripts only)

1603. *Melodiae sacrae, quas vulgo motectas appellant, iam noviter quinis, senis, octonis et novenis suavissimis voci bus concinnatae, et ad usum cum harmonicarum vocalium, tum omnium generum instrumentorum musicalium convenienter accommodatae*. - Frankfurt, Nikolaus Stein (Wolfgang Richter), 1603. - Pths.

1616. *Missae sex, octo, decem, et duodecim vocum, cum basso continuo ad organum*. - Antwerpen, Pierre Phalèse, 1616. - Pths.

1627. *Harmonia sacra quinis, senis, octonis, novenis, et denis vocibus, editio auctior et correctior, ac basso generali ad organum illustrata*. - Antwerpen, Pierre Phalèse, 1627. - Pths.

Beatus Laurentius	1613 ²	Giul. XIII 25
Hortus conclusus	1613 ²	

In diebus illis Nabuchodonosor		Müs 1239 (ex. Coll. Rom.)
In lectulo meo	1627	Giul. XIII 25; Sist. 166; Rc 2295, 2852; Müs 3510; Lbl Egerton 2461
O lumen ecclesiae		Sist. 166
Quem vidistis pastores		Giul. XIII 25

OTTAVIO CATALANI

1616. *Sacrarum cantionum quae binis, ternis, quaternis, quinis, senis, septenis, octonis vocibus concinuntur cum basso ad organum, . . . liber primus.* - Roma, Bartolomeo Zannetti, 1616 - Ptbs.

Angelus ad pastores (1)	1616	Rp
Beatus vir		Sist. 59; D Mbs 2941;
Dicite coeli		Rp
Dies irae		Rp; Müs 1224
Hodie completi sunt	1612 ³	
Si manseritis in me	1612 ³	
Videant te aquae Deus	1616	

DISPUTED ATTRIBUTIONS

Angelus ad pastores (2)	see F. ANERIO
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ANTONIO CIFRA

1610. *Vesperae, et motecta, octonis vocibus decantanda, . . . cum basso ad organum, opus nonum.* - Roma, Bartolomeo Zannetti, 1610. - Ptbs.

- ib., Luca Antonio Soldi, 1619

1613. *Litaniae Deiparae Virginis, octonis, et duodenis vocibus decantandae, una cum basso ad organum accomodata, . . . opus decimumquintum.* - Roma, Giovanni Battista Robletti, 1613. - Ptbs.

1620. *Psalmi sacrique concentus octo vocibus, et organo concinendi.* - Assisi, Giacomo Salvi, 1620. - Ptbs.

(1629a. *Motecta, et psalmi, duodenis vocibus, una cum basso ad organum.* - Venezia, Alessandro Vincenti, 1629. - Ptbs.)

(1629b. *Motecta, et psalmi, octonis vocibus.* - Venezia, sub signo Gardani, appresso Bartolomeo Magni, 1629. - Ptbs.)

(1629c. *Motecta, binis, ternis, quaternis, senis, et octonis vocibus, decantanda, cum basso ad organum.* - Venezia, sub signo Gardani, appresso Bartolomeo Magni, 1629. - Ptbs.)

(1638. *Sacrae cantiones, quae binis, ternis, quaternis, senis, octonisque vocibus concinuntur.* - Roma, Ludovico Grignani, appresso Vincenzo Blanco, 1638. - Ptbs.)

Alma Redemptoris	1610	Müs 1224
Amor Jesu dulcissime	1610	
Angelus Domini	1610	
Ave Regina	1620	

Beatus Laurentius		1620	
Beatus vir (1)	1610		
Beatus vir qui non abiit		1620	
Confirmatum est cor	1610		
Confitebor tibi (1)		1620	
Cum pervenisset		1620	
De profundis	1610		
Dixit Dominus (1)			Giul.XIII 28
Dixit Dominus (2)		1620	
Dixit Dominus (3)	1610		
Ego sum Panis	1610		
Factum est silentium		1620	
Hic est vere martyr	1610		
Hodie completi sunt		1620	
In convertendo	1610		
In dedicatione templi		1620	
In nomine Jesu		1620	
Laetatus sum (1)	1610		
Laudate pueri (1)	1610		
Litaniae BMV (1)		1613	
Litaniae BMV (2)		1613	
Litaniae BMV (3)		1613	
Litaniae BMV (5) 12v		1613	
Litaniae BMV (6) 12v		1613	
Magnificat (2 ^a toni)	1610		
Magnificat (8 ^a toni)		1620	
Nativitas tua		1620	Giul.XIII 25
Quem vidistis		1620	
Qui emittis fontes		1620	
Regina coeli	1610		Müs 1224
Salve Regina (1)	1610		Müs 1224
Salve Regina (2)		1620	Giul.XV 62
Stetit angelus		1620	
Tu es Petrus		1620	
Vidi speciosam		1620	

ALESSANDRO COSTANTINI

Laudate pueri	1615 ¹	Müs 3588
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FABIO COSTANTINI

Dixit Dominus	1615 ¹	Müs 3588
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ARCHANGELO CRIVELLI

Beata es Virgo		Giul.XIII 24
Beatus vir (1)		Sist.31
Beatus vir (2)		Sist.59
Confitebor tibi	1615 ¹	Müs 3588
Credidi		Sist.222; Rp (Mappe Croce); Müs 1239
Crucifixus	1614 ²	Pelplin; Bc V 126
Dixit Dominus (1)		Sist.31
Dixit Dominus (2)		Rp (Mappe Croce); Müs 3510
Exsultate Deo		Müs 1194

Laetentur coeli	1614 ³	Sist,29; Bc V 126
Lauda Jerusalem (1)		Sist,109
Lauda Jerusalem (2)		Sist,221
Litaniae BMV (1)		Giul,XIII 24
Litaniae BMV (2)		Giul,XV 62
Litaniae nomen Jesu		Giul,XIII 24; Bianchi 1
Lux fulgebit hodie	1607 ²	
Sancta Maria succurre		Giul,XIII 24, XV 62; Rc 2295; Bianchi 1

DISPUTED ATTRIBUTIONS

Alma Redemptoris	Giul,XIII 24 (Crivelli); Müs 4280 (Crivelli); Giul, XV 62 (G.F. Anerio)
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- Since Giul, XIII 24 is the oldest of these sources, was compiled while Crivelli was a papal singer, and contains other pieces attributed to him, its attribution is accepted.

FABRIZIO DENTICE

Miserere 12v	Rn 77-88
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LUIGI DENTICE

Miserere 9v	Sist, 205-206; Rn 127-128; Rc 2567; Rp; Müs 1366
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GIOVANNI ANDREA DRAGONI

Benedictus (1)	Rc 2852; Rp; Müs 1224, 3588;
Dixit Dominus	Müs 1375
Domine quis habitabit 12v	Rsc G Ms 093

DISPUTED WORK

Benedictus (2)	Müs 3588; Mbs Max,60 (Dragoni) Rp; Lbl 34607 (G. M. Nanino)
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- A decision here is made difficult by the scarcity of works by Dragoni and the even balance in attribution between the sources.

DOUBTFUL WORK

Missa Era calma nel mare 16v	Giul, V 56
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- This mass is found together with three other mid-to-late seventeenth-century masses which it resembles in style. It is not at all in the style of the late sixteenth-century, i.e. it makes frequent use of ornamental semiquaver figures. It is highly unlikely to be by Dragoni.

TEOFILO GARGARI

Beatus vir		Sist. 102
Confitebor tibi		Sist. 102
Laudate Dominum		Sist. 102
Laudate Pueri		Sist. 102
Magnificat (7 ^a toni)		Sist. 31
Magnificat (4 ^a toni)		Sist. 91 (f.1v)
Magnificat (6 ^a toni)		Sist. 91 (f.16v)
Miserere		Sist. 205-206; Rc 2567
O altitudo divitiarum		Sist. 100
O gloriosa Domina		Giul. XIII 25
Sancta Maria succurre	1607 ²	Giul. XIII 25

DISPUTED ATTRIBUTIONS

Dixit dominus	Sist. 102 (Gargari); Sist. 222 (anon.); Rp (G. M. Nanino); MÜs 3588 (G. M. Nanino); 3510 (G. Allegri).
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- Since Sist. 102 - compiled in 1628 - is devoted to the works of Gargari, who was a papal singer from 1601-1648, the attribution there is most likely to be correct.

RUGGIERO GIOVANELLI

1593, *Sacrarum modulationum, quae vulgo motecta appellant, quae quinis, et octonis vocibus concinuntur, liber primus*. - Roma, Francesco Coattino, 1593. - St.

- secunda editio. - Venezia, Giacomo Vincenti, 1598.

- Roma, Nicolo Mutii, 1598.

- *Motecta partim quinis, partim octonis vocibus concinenda...liber primus*. - Venezia, Angelo Gardano, 1598. (same contents as 1593).

- *Motecta...nunc primum in Germania impressa*. - Frankfurt, Nikolaus Stein (Wolfgang Richter), 1608. (same contents as 1593).

Alma Redemptoris	1593	
Angelus ad pastores		1614 ³
Anicetus vir mirabilis		Rp; Pelplin
Ave Regina		Rp; MÜs 1198
Ave Regina (2)		Rp; MÜs 1224
Beatus Laurentius		Rp; MÜs 1224
Beatus vir (1)		Mbs 2941
Beatus vir (2)		Sist. 59
		Sist. 222; Bc Q 36, Q 38; Rp;
		MÜs 3511
Benedicite	1593	Rp AR 1012
Cantate Domino		Sist. 134
Confitebor tibi		Rp
Credidi		1620 ¹
Crux fidelis	1599 ²	
Cum descendisset		Rp; MÜs 1198, 1224
Deus noster refugium		Rp
Dixit Dominus	1592 ²	Sist. 31, 222; Bc Q 36; MÜs 3511
Dixit Dominus 12v		Rp Haberl 6296

Duo seraphim 12v			Rn 40-46
Egredimini 12v			Rc 2852; Rp; MÜs 1703;
Ecce nunc			MS, (?) (Winter) unfinished
Exultate Deo	1593		Rp AR 1012
Gaudeamus (1)	1593		Rp AR 1012
Gaudeamus (2) (rev. of (1))		1614 ^a	Rp; Rc 2295, 2852
Hodie apparuerunt	1593		Rp AR 1012
Inter vestibula 12v			Rn 40-46 ('Gio.')
Jubilare Deo	1593; 1592 ² ; 1600 ² ; 1603 ² ; 1618 ¹		Bc Q 39; Rp AR 1012; MÜs 1196,
Laudate Dominum omnes gentes			Rp
Laudate Pueri (1)			Sist. 31
Laudate Pueri (2)			Bc Q 36, Q 38; MÜs 3511
Laudate Pueri (3) 12v (rearr. of previous)			Bc Q 37
Magnus Dominus			Rp
Magnificat (2 ^a toni)			Bc Q 36, Q 38; MÜs 3511
Magnificat 12v			Rp Haberl 6296
Miserere			Sist. 205-206; Rc 2567
Missa Vestiva i colli			Sist. 122; Giul. IV 78 (twice; second mass called Missa Sicut lilium, but identical with Missa Vestiva) MÜs 1194, 1197; B bcr Fétis 1811; I Bsf Ms. Pal. VI-I; D-brd B Landsberg 187, 188, Winterfeld 17 (these last two include a Benedictus not in the other sources).
Missus est Gabriel			Rp; MÜs 1224
Nisi Dominus			Rp Haberl 6263;
O gloriosa Domina		1607 ²	
O lux de vere luce		1609 ¹⁵	
Omnes gentes			Rn 117-121
Omnes gentes 12v (rearr. of previous)			Rn 117-121; MÜs 874, 3590
Puer qui natus		1614 ^a	Rc 2295, 2852
Regina coeli		1615 ¹	MÜs 3588, 1705 (variant)
Salve Regina	1592 ²		
Stephanus plenus gratia	1593	1613 ²	Pelplin

DOUBTFUL WORKS

Laudate Dominum de coelis 14(16)v + instrs.

- Winter saw this in the Breslauer Staatsbibliothek and suggested that it might be a German re-working of an 8v or 12v original. Present whereabouts unknown.

DISPUTED ATTRIBUTIONS

Beata es Virgo 1592² Giul. XIII 24, XV 62; Rc 2295; Bianchi 1; (all Giovanelli); Lbl 34000-2 (Palestrina)

- As discussed in Chapter Six this piece was included in the old Palestrina edition, but the evidence is overwhelmingly in favour of Giovanelli.

Laudate Dominum in sanctis 1590⁶; 1593; 1607⁶ (Palestrina); Rp AR 1012 (all Giovanelli); Tablatures in D-brd W (Woltz) and Basel (Rühling) (Marenzio)

- This piece was also included in the old Palestrina edition, though recognised as an *opus dubium*, on the basis of the 1607^e attribution. It also appears in Jackson ed., Marenzio, *Opera Omnia*, iii, in a corrupt version for 4v and instruments on the basis of tablatures in Wolfenbüttel and Basel (see foreword to this volume, notes to no. 8 which should in fact refer to no. 9; Jackson mistakenly included Rp AR 1012 among the list of sources for no. 9 - which should refer to no. 8; the piece in AR 1012 is this one and is clearly attributed there to Giovanelli). Its appearance in Giovanelli's own 1593 print without any other attribution is the most conclusive evidence for his authorship.

Missa 12v

Rp; Mūs 1703

- Copied by Proske from the Altemps partbooks: the Kyrie and Credo have Giovanelli's name, over the Gloria is written: 'Octaviani Chatalani Magistri Cappellae ex.mi Ducis ab Altemps 1607). The Sanctus and Agnus have no attribution. Mūs 1703 has the Kyrie only, attributed to Giovanelli and dated 1608. See discussion in Chapter Eight, p. 289.

VINCENZO DE GRANDIS

(1624, *Psalmi ad vespertas, et motecta octonis vocibus quorum aliqua concertata cum litanis B.M.V., liber primus*, - Roma, Luca Antonio Soldi, 1624, - St.)

The 1604 edition of this print mentioned in RISM seems never to have existed.

Beatus vir		Sist. 105, 222
Credidi	1604	
Dixit Dominus	1604	Sist. 105
Ego flos campi	1604	
Salve Regina	1615 ¹	Mūs 1224, 3588

DOUBTFUL WORK

O doctor optime	Sist. 221
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- Llorens ascribes this piece to Grandis but it is anonymous in the Ms.; the previous 4v piece is ascribed to Grandis in the Ms and this may have confused Llorens.

GIOVANNI BATTISTA JACOMELLI

Benedicam Dominum in omni tempore in C, Berti, *Motecta octonis vocibus concinenda*, - Venezia, Giacomo Vincenti, 1596.

ORLANDO DI LASSO (Pieces in Roman manuscripts only)

Deus misereatur nostri	Rn 77-88, 117-121; Giul, XIII 24; Mūs 3590.
In convertendo	Rn 77-88, 117-121; Giul, XIII 24; Mūs 3590
Levavi oculos	Rn 117-121; Giul, XIII 24; Mūs 3590

- All are in revised versions (see Chapter Five, pp. 155-156).

GIOVANNI BATTISTA LOCATELLI

Laudate pueri Dominum	Rn 40-46
Super flumina Babylonis	1614 ³ Bc Q 38; Pelplin

GIOVANNI DE MACQUE (pieces in Roman manuscripts only)

1596. Motectorum quinque sex et octo vocum, liber primus. - Roma, Nicolo Mutii, 1596, - St.

- only surviving copy (in I Nf) unavailable for consultation at present.

Ave Regina 12v	Rn 77-88
De profundis	Rn 117-121; Mūs 3590
Dominus regit me 12v	Rn 117-121; Mūs 3590
Ecce nunc 12v	Rn 77-88, 117-121; Giul. XIII 24; Mūs 3590,
Exultate Deo adiutori nostro 12v	Rn 117-121; Mūs 3590
In convertendo 12v	Rn 77-88, 117-121; Mūs 3590
Litaniae BMV	Giul. XIII 24; Mūs 1209
Regina coeli	Rn 117-121; Mūs 3590
Salve Regina	Rn 117-121; Mūs 3590

CURTIO MANCINI

1608. *Liber primus motectorum, quae partim quatuor vocibus, partim quinis, partim senis, et septenis, denique octonis concinantur, cum basso ad organum.* - Roma, Bartolomeo Zannetti, 1608, - St.

Ave sanctissima Maria	all 1608
Deus qui dedisti	
Infirmittatem nostram	
Jubilare Deo	
Laudate nomen eius	
Litaniae BMV	
Missus est Gabriel	
O magnum mysterium	
Vidi turbam	

LUCA MARENZIO

(1614. *Motetti...* 12v, - Venezia, 1614) (Mentioned in *The New Grove* but not in RISM and has not been found during the course of this work)

A solis ortu	1604 ²	
Cantate Domino		D-brd K 393
Deus venerunt gentes	1611 ¹	D-brd B 40039
Egredimini et videte	.	Rn 40-46
Exsurgat Deus	1612 ³ (not 1611 ¹ as in Meier and Jackson)	
	1615 ²	D-brd B 40039, Kl, W (Woltz, tablature)
In der Höhe sei Gott Ehr	1587 ¹⁴	
Iniquos odio habui	1611 ¹ 1618 ¹	D-brd B
Jubilare Deo (1)	1600 ² ; 1603 ¹ ; 1617 ²⁴ ; 1618 ¹ ; 1621 ² ;	
		D-ddr D1(b) Ms, Mus, Grimma 50; Pelplin; PL Wn Ms, 4579; CH Bu Ms, F, IX, 44 - variant; Rn 117; Mūs 3590
Jubilare Deo (2)	1614 ³ ; 1617 ¹ ;	
		D Mbs Coll, Mus, Max, 248; Pelplin
Jubilare Deo 12v (rearr. of (2))	1604 ²	Rn 40-46; Pelplin
Laudate Dominum in sanctis(1)	1604 ²	Giul. XIII 25; Rp AR 1012

Magnificat (8 ^a toni)	1592 ² ; 1599 ² ; 1600 ¹	Sist. 29; Rc 2564, 2760; D Mbs 264, 2941 (all short version) Giul. IV 92; D ddr B Ms Z 111 (Peltsch) (longer version)
Nunc facta est salus 10v	1602 ¹⁰	
Sacrum coelesti 9v		Rp AR 1012
Si filius honorabilis		D-brd Lr (tablature)
Te Deum 9v		A Wn 16-708, 44 (7)
Ave maris stella		Rc 2852; Rp; MÜs 4008

Extra references have been incorporated from Meier and Jackson, ed. Marenzio, *Opera Omnia*, i, iii.

DISPUTED ATTRIBUTIONS

Alma Redemptoris Mater	see Palestrina
Lamentabatur Jacob 12v	I Bc Q 37 (Marenzio); TVca(d) cod. XLII (Teodoro Clinio (Alessi)).

- Mischiati (Marenzio, *Messa e Mottetto*, p. xvi) argues in favour of Clinio as the composer of this piece.

Laudate Dominum in sanctis (2)	see Giovanelli
Laudate Dominum in sanctis 12v	1604 ² (expanded version of previous)
Super flumina Babylonis 12v	Rc 2852; Rp; MÜs 873, 874

- expanded version of 8v piece attributed to LOCATELLI in 1614³

ALESSANDRO MARINO

1596. *Completorium ad usum romanum duodenis vocibus concinendum*. - Venezia, Ricciardo Amadino, 1596. - St.

Ave Regina 10v	all 1596
Cum invocarem	
Ecce Nunc benedicite	
In te Domine speravi	
Jube Domne benedicere	
Nunc dimittis	
Qui habitabit	

FRANCESCO MARTINI

1617. *Sacrae laudes de B. Maria Virg. quaternis, quinis, senis, septenis, octonisque vocibus, et eiusdem litaniae octonis similiter vocibus concinendae...* una cum basso ad organum, liber secundus. - Roma, Bartolomeo Zannetti, 1617. - Ptbs.

Alma redemptoris Mater	1617	
Ave Regina	1617	
Litaniae BMV	1617	
Magnificat 2i Toni		Rsc G Ms 0125/Rc 2850
Regina coeli	1617	
Salve regina	1617	
Tota pulchra	1617	

GIOVANNI MATELART (?)

Magnificat

Giul. XIII 28 (J. Mata)

ROMANO MICHELI

1616. *Compieta a sei voci con tre tenori, concertato all'uso moderno, con il basso continuo per l'organo e un' altro basso particolare, ... opera quarta.* - Venezia, Giacomo Vincenti, 1616. - Pths.

Ave Regina

1616 (only 8v piece in this publication)

ROMULO NALDI

1600. *Motetectorum duobus choris dominicis diebus concinendorum partis hyemalis, liber primus.* - Venezia, Angelo Gardano, 1600.- Pths.

Alma redemptoris mater (temp. Adventus)	1600	
Amen dico vobis quia plorabitis (Dom. 2 post Pascha)	1600	
Angelus Domini descendit (Dom. Resurrectionis)	1600	
Ascendente Jesu in naviculum (Dom. 4 post Epiphaniam)	1600	
Assumpsit Jesus discipulof (Dom. 2 Quadragesimae)	1600	
Ave Regina 12v		Müs 2791
Ave Regina 16v (temp. Quadragesimae)	1600	Müs 2792
Canite tuba in Sion (Dom. 4 Adventus)	1600	
Cum audisset Joannes (Dom. 2 Adventus)	1600	
Cum descendisset Jesus (Dom. 3 post Epiphaniam)	1600	
Cum turba plurima (Dom. in Sexagesima)	1600	
Cum venerit paraclitus (Dom. infra octavam Ascensionis)	1600	
Dixit pater familias (Dom. in Septuagesima)	1600	
Domine nonne bonum semen (Dom. 5 post Epiphaniam)	1600	
Ductus est Jesus (Dom. 1 Quadragesimae)	1600	
Dum medium silentium (Dom. infra octavam Nativitatis)	1600	
Dum turba plurima	1611 ¹	
Ego sum pastor ovium (Dom. 2 post Pascha)	1600	
Erunt signa in sole (Dom. 1 Adventus)	1600	
Extollens vocem quaedam mulier (Dom. 3 Quadragesimae)	1600	
Fili quid fecisti (Dom. 1 post Epiphaniam)	1600	
Gaudete in Domino (Dom. 3 Adventus)	1600	
Hodie completi sunt (Dom. in Pentecostes)	1600	
Ingrediente Domino (Dom. 6 Quadragesimae)	1600	
Laetare Jerusalem (Dom. 4 Quadragesimae)	1600	
Magnificat (1, i toni)		Sist. 33
Nuptiae factae sunt (Dom. 2 post Epiphaniam)	1600	
Quis ex vobis arguet me (Dom. 5 Quadragesimae)	1600	
Regina coeli 12v		Müs 2791
Simile est regnum (Dom. 6 post Epiphaniam)	1600	
Transeunte Domino (Dom. in Quinquagesima)	1600	1615 ²
Usquemodo non petistis quidquam (Dom. 4 post Pascha)	1600	
Vado ad eum qui misit me (Dom. 4 post Pascha)	1600	
Venit Jesus januis clausis (Dom. in albis)	1600	

GIOVANNI BERNARDINO NANINO

1620. *Salmi vespertini a quattro per la domeniche, solennità della Madonna, & apostoli, con doi Magnificat, uno a quattro e l'altro a otto, con il basso per l'organo se piace.*
- Roma, Giovanni Battista Robletti, 1620, - Ptb.

(The 8v Magnificat is in fact by Giovanni Maria Nanino,)

Alma Redemptoris Mater		Rp
Beati omnes	1614 ³ ; 1617 ¹	Giul. XIII 25
Beatus Laurentius	1614 ³	Müs 1224
Beatus vir		Giul. XIII 25; Rp
Benedictus		Rp
Cantate Domino		Rn 40-46
Christus natus est (Invit. + Ps. 94)		Rp
Confitemini Domino		Rp
Credidi		Rp
De profundis		Rp
Dixit Dominus (1)		Rp; Müs 3510
Dixit Dominus (2)		Rp; Müs 3510
Ecce quam bonum		Giul. XIII 25
Laudate pueri		Rp
Laudate pueri (concertato)		Rp
Magnificat (concertato) (1)		Rp
Magnificat (concertato) (2)		Rp
O beata N.		Rp
O beatus N.		Giul. XIII 28
Pulchra es		Giul. XIII 25
Salve Regina 12v		Rc 2852; Rp; Müs 873, 874
Surrexit pastor	1607 ²	

DISPUTED ATTRIBUTIONS

Domine Dominus noster	1614 ³ (G. B. Nanino)	Rp; Müs 3588; Lbl 34607 (all G. M. Nanino); Giul. XIII 25 (anon.)
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- The composers were often confused and they are difficult to separate stylistically. The 1614³ attribution is accepted here.

Magnificat (6,i toni)	Rp (G.B. Nanino); Müs 3510 (G. Allegri)
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- Stylistically the piece would seem to be by G. B. Nanino

GIOVANNI MARIA NANINO

Beatus vir	1615 ¹	Sist. 31, 95; Rp; Müs 3588
Cantate Domino	1614 ³	
Confitebor tibi		Sist. 31
Dirige corda nostra	1609 ¹⁵	
Dixit Dominus (1)		Sist. 31, 222
Dixit Dominus (2)		D Mbs 2941
Dixit Dominus (3)		Giul. XIII 25
Domine quis habitabit	1614 ³	Rn 40-46
Exultate Deo		Rc 2760; Bianchi 1

Hodie nobis coelorum rex (Resp. I, Nativ. Dom.)		Rp; Mūs 1002, 1224; Lb1 34607 (Ch. I only) Sist. 29, 299; Rc 2760; Bianchi 1 Sist. 125 Sist. 31 Rp; Mūs 3588; O Mbs Coll. Mus. Max. 60; Lb1 34607 (Ch. I only) Giul. XIII 24; Bianchi 1 Rc 2564; Mūs 1702 Sist. 29; Rc 2760; Bianchi 1; Mūs 1193 Giul. XIII 25 I Rsg Ms. 67 (Schuler) Rn 117; Mūs 3590 Sist. 72; Rc 2760; Bianchi 1 I Bc R 281; Mūs 4008 Giul. XIII 24, XV 62; Rc 2295, 2852; Rp; Mūs 1002, 1224; Lb1 34607 (Ch. I only) Sist. 29 (fragment) Rp; Mūs 1198, 1224; Lb1 34607 (Ch. I only) Mūs 1002; Lb1 34607 (Ch. I) Giul. XIII 24
In diademate capitis (Coron. of Pope)		
In omnem terram		
Laudate pueri		
Litaniae BMV		
Litaniae nomen Jesu		
Magnificat (1 ^a toni)	1620	
Magnificat (7 ^a toni)		
Magnificat (3 ^a toni)		
Missa 'Laterana'		
Nocte surgentes	1592 ²	
Nos autem gloriari		
O altitudo	1607 ²	
Sancta et immaculata (Resp. 6, Nativity)	1614 ³	
Sicut mater consolatur		
Te Deum		
Verbum caro (Resp. 8, Nativity)		
Litaniae BMV 12v		

DISPUTED ATTRIBUTIONS

Benedictus		see DRAGONI
Dixit Dominus		see GARGARI
Laetatus sum	1615 ¹ (G. B. Nanino)	Sist. 31, 109 (G. M. Nanino) Mūs 3588 (G. B. Nanino)

- the attribution to G. M. Nanino in the Cappella Sistina books (where he was a member) is accepted here.

Magnificat (5 ^a toni)	see F. ANERIO
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STEFANO NASCIMBENI (pieces in Roman manuscripts only)

1610. *Concerti ecclesiastici a dodeci voci, divisi in tre chori, ... nelli quali si contengono due messe, & li salmi per i vesperi di S. Syro, primo vescovo di Pavia, con il cantico della Beata Vergine, & il partito per sonare.* - Venezia, Ricciardo Amadino, 1610. - Ptbs.

1612. *Messe a otto voci, con la partitura per l'organo, libro primo.* - Venezia, Ricciardo Amadino, 1612. - Ptbs.

1616. *Psalmi ad vespertas in totius anni solemnitatibus, octonis vocibus, cum cantico Beatae Mariae Virginis, et cantus secundi chori ad octavam inferius decantandus si placet, liber primus, cum basso ad organum.* - Venezia, stampa del Gardano, appresso Bartolomeo Magni, 1616. - Ptbs.

Benedicamus Domino	Rn 40-46
Ingeniosus amor	Rn 40-46
Tantum ergo	Rn 40-46

ANNIBALE ORGAS

1619. *Sacrarium cantionum, quaternis, quinis, senis, octonis vocibus cum basso ad organum, & musica instrumenta liber primus.* - Roma, Luca Antonio Soldi, 1619. - Ptbs.

Angelus ad pastores ait		Rp (Mappe Ortiz)
Benedicam Dominum	1619	
Bonitatem fecisti	1619	
Conserva me	1619	
Diligam te Domine	1619	
Domine in virtute tua	1619	
Hodie Christus natus est		Rp (Mappe Ortiz); Mûs 1239
Jubilare Deo	1619	
Laetetur cor	1619	
Omnes gentes	1619	
Tantum ergo	1619	

ASPRILIO PACELLI

1597. *Motectorum et psalmorum qui octonis vocibus concinuntur liber primus.* - Roma, Nicolo Mutii, 1597. - Ptbs.

- 1607. *Motectae et psalmi, qui octonis vocibus concinuntur.* - Frankfurt, Nicolaus Stein (Wolfgang Richter), 1607. - Ptbs.

1608. *Sacrae Cantiones quae quinque, sex, septem, octo, novem, decem, duodecim, sexdecim, & viginti vocibus concinuntur, liber primus.* - Venezia, Angelo Gardano & fratelli, 1608. - Ptbs.

(1629. *Missae, ..., concinendae tum octo, tum duodecim, tum sexdecim, tum denique decem, & octo vocibus.* - Venezia, Alessandro Vincenti, 1629. - Ptbs.)

Alma redemptoris mater	1597		Pelplin
Anima Christi	1597		
Ave Maria		1608	
Ave Regina	1597		
Beati estis 12v		1608	
Beatus vir	1597		
Cantate Domino (1)	1597		
Cantate Domino (2)		1608	1612 ³ 1621 ²
Christus resurgens 16v		1608	
Confitebor tibi	1597		
Dixit Dominus	1597		.
Dum esset rex 20v		1608	
Ecce sacerdos 9v		1608	
Estote fortes		1608	1613 ²
Exsurgat Deus	1597		
Gaudet in coelis 12v		1608	
Genesi vir piissime			Rn 40-46
In nomine Jesu	1597		
Jubilare Deo	1597		
Laudate Dominum in sanctis		1608	
Laudate Dominum omnes gentes	1597		
Laudate Pueri	1597		
Magnificat (6 ⁴ toni)	1597		
Media nocte 12v		1608	
Mulierem fortem 12v		1608	
O vere digna hostia		1608	1612 ³ D Mbs Mus, Mss, 3282

Pean, pean agelatoio			Rn 40-46
Quare fremuerunt gentes	1597		Pelplin
Qui ratione mundum		1609 ¹⁵	
Regna terrae	1597		Pelplin
Regina coeli	1597		
Salve Regina	1597		
Sancte Jacobus gloria		1613 ²	
Surge propra	1597		Pelplin
Te Deum		1608 1617 ¹	
Tres sunt qui testimonium	1597	1613 ²	
Tu es pastor ovium		1608	
Veni electa mea	1597		Pelplin
Veni Sancte Spiritus		1608 1612 ³	D Mbs Mus, Mss, 3282

DISPUTED ATTRIBUTION

Factum est Silentium	1614 ³ (Pacelli)	Rp; Lbl 34607 (both F. Anerio); Rn 40-46 (anon.)
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- The piece is stylistically closer to Pacelli than F. Anerio.

GIOVANNI PIERLUIGI DA PALESTRINA

1575. *Motetorum quae partim quinis, partim senis, partim octonis vocibus concinantur, Liber tertius.* - Venezia, erede di Girolamo Scotto, 1575, - Ptbis.

- ib., erede di Girolamo Scotto, 1581.

- *Liber tertius motetorum quinque vocum.* - Milano, Francisco et erede di Simon Tini, 1587.

- Venezia, erede di Girolamo Scotto, 1589.

- ib., Angelo Gardano, 1594.

1601. *Missae quatuor octonis vocibus concinendae.* - Venezia, Ricciardo Amadino, 1601, - Ptbis.

Ad te levavi 12v		Giul. XIII 24; Rn 77-88
Alma redemptoris mater (1)		Rc 2852; Rp; Mūs 1224, 2966, 2947
Ave Maria	1639 ²	Giul. XIII 24, XV 62; Barb. 4184; Rp; Mūs 1191, 1194, 2966 (variant)
Ave mundi spes Maria		Giul. XIII 24; Barb. 4184; Rp; Mūs 1525, 2966
Ave Regina (1)	1575	Giul. XIII 24; Barb. 4184; Rp; Mūs 2958, 2966
Ave Regina (2)		Rc 2852; Rp; Mūs 1224, 2947, 2966
Ave Regina (3)		Rn 117-121
Beata es virgo		Giul. XIII 24; Rsc G Ms 0224; Rn 117-121; Mūs 1209, 3590,
Beati omnes qui timent 12v		Giul. XIII 24; Rn 77-88
Benedictus 11v		Rp
Caro mea vere est cibus	1614 ³	Sist, 479; Barb. 4184; Rc 2852; Mūs 2966, 3694
Disciplinam et sapientiam		Giul. XIII 24; Barb. 4184; Rp
Domine quis habitabit 12v		Giul. XIII 24;

Ecce nunc 12v			Rn 117-121; Mūs 2952, 3590
Egressae sunt mulieres 7v (polychoral)			Bc Q 35; Mūs 2949
Expurgate vetus fermentum			Giul. XIII 24; Barb. 4184; Rp; Mūs 3694
Exultate Deo			Sist. 315, 354
Fili non te frangant			Sist. 117, 308, 479; Rc 2852; Rp; Mūs 1224, 2966, 3694
Fratres ego enim	1614 ³	1617 ¹	Sist. 479; Barb. 4184; Rc 2852; Rp; Mūs 2966, 3694; Bc X 46; Lbl Egerton 2461
Haec dies			Rn 40-46; Rc 2852; Rp; Mūs 2932, 2958, 2966
Hodie Christus natus est	1575		Barb. 4184; Rp; Rp AR 1012; Mūs 2952, 2958, 2966, 3694
Hodie gloriosa Virgo			Sist. 29; Rc 2852 (Hodie coelesti); Mūs 2966 (Haec die gloriosa), 3694
Jesus junxit se			Sist. 29, 97; Rc 2852; Mūs 2966, 3694; Lbl Egerton 2461
Jubilare Deo	1575		Sist. 215; Rp
Jubilare Deo 12v			Giul. XIII 24;
Lamentationes Jeremiae prophetae			Rp - ex ms, antiq. mo in archiv. mus. Min. Conventual. Bononiensis
(Incipit - Aleph: Quomodo -			Mūs 2958
Vau; et egressus - Jod: manum)			Rc 2852; Rp; Mūs 1224, 2947, 2966
Lauda Sion (1)	1575	1612 ³	Giul. XIII 24; Mūs 2966, 3694
Lauda Sion (2)			Rn 117-121; Mūs 2930, 3590
Laudate Dominum de coelis			Rn 77-88, 117-121;
Laudate Dominum in tympanis 12v			Giul. XIII 24
Laudate Dominum omnes gentes			Giul. XIII 24; Barb. 4184; Rp; Mūs 1525, 2966
- reworking of 1572 version			Giul. XIII 24, XV 62; Barb. 4184; Rp; Mūs 1525, 2966
Litaniae BMV (1)			Giul. XIII 24
Litaniae BMV (2)			Giul. XIII 24
Litaniae Domini (1)			Giul. XIII 24
Litaniae Domini (2)			Giul. XIII 24; Barb. 4184; Rp; Mūs 1525, 2966
Litaniae Domini (3)			Giul. XIII 24; Barb. 4184; Rp; Mūs 1525, 2966
Litaniae S. Eucharistiae (1)			Giul. XIII 24; Barb. 4184; Rp; Mūs 1525, 2966
Litaniae S. Eucharistiae (2)			Giul. XIII 24;
Magnificat (1 ^a toni)			Sist. 29; Giul. XIII 25; Rc 2760, 2852;
Miserere 9v (1)			Rn 127-8; Sist. 205-6; Rc 2567; Rp
Miserere (2)			Guidetti 1587; Rc 2567
Miserere 12v			Rc 2852; Rp; Mūs 4008
Missa Confitebor tibi	1585	1601	Barb. 4184; Rp - ex 1601; Mūs 1194 (ex 1601), 1197.
Missa Fratres ego enim accepi		1601	Barb. 4184; Rp; Mūs 1194 (ex 1601), 1197
Missa Hodie Christus natus est		1601	Barb. 4184; Rp; Mūs 1194 (ex 1601), 1197
Nunc dimittis			Giul. XIII 24; Barb. 4184; Rp;
Nunc dimittis 12v			Rn 117-121; Mūs 3590
O admirabile commercium			Rn 117-121; Mūs 3590

O bone Jesu (rearr. of 6v setting)		Giul. XIII 24; Rn 117-121; Müs 2966, 3590, 3694
O Domine Jesu Christe (rearr. of 6v setting)		Giul. XIII 24; Rn 117-121; Müs 3590
O gloriosa Domina 12v		Giul. XIII 24; Rc 2852; Rp; Müs 4008; Lbl 34607
Omnes gentes plaudite		Giul. XIII 24; Barb. 4184; Rp; Müs 2966, 3694
O quam bonus 12v		Giul. XIII 24
O quam suavis est		Giul. XIII 24
Pater noster		Giul. XIII 24; Barb. 4184; Rp; Müs 1197, 2966
Popule meus		Sist. 205-206; Rsc G Ms. 053 Rn 127-128; Müs 2332, 2966
Regina coeli (1)		Giul. XIII 24 (f. 1); Sist. 484; Müs 2966, 3694
Regina coeli (2)		Giul. XIII 24 (f. 2); Sist. 484; Barb. 4184; Rp; Müs 2966, 3694
Salve Regina		Giul. XIII 24; Sist. 484; Barb. 4184; Rp; Müs 2966, 3694
Salve Regina 12v		Giul. XIII 24
Spiritus sanctus replevit		Sist. 29; Müs 2966, 3694
Stabat mater		Bc Q 39 (p. 29), 35; Mod F. 188; Müs 2949
Sub tuum praesidium	1614 ³	Giul. XIII 24, XV 62; Sist. 479; Rc 2852; Barb. 4184; Rp; Müs 2966, 3694
Surge illuminare	1575 (prima pars only);	1590 ⁵ ; Sist. 29 (sec. pars only); Rn 117-121; Rc 2852 (sec. pars); Müs 3590; Lbl Add. 34051, Egerton 2460
(sec. pars Et ambulabant)		Sist. 29, 97; Rc 2852; Müs 1191
Surrexit pastor bonus		Sist. 479; Rc 2852; Rp; Müs 1224, 2966, 3694
Tria sunt munera		Barb. 4184; Rp; Müs 2958
Veni Sancte Spiritus (1)	1575; 1590 ⁵	Rc 2852; Rp; Müs 1224, 2966, 2952
Veni Sancte Spiritus (2)		Rc 2852; Rp; Müs 1224, 2947, 2966
Victimae Paschali (1)		Rc 2852; Rp; Müs 1224, 2947, 2966
Victimae Paschali (2)		Rc 2852; Rp; Müs 1224, 2947, 2966
- variant		Barb. 4184; Rp
Videntes stellam		Rn 117-121; Müs 3590
Vos amici mei estis	1592 ² ; 1599 ²	
DOUBTFUL WORKS		
Apparuit gratia		Barb. 4184; Rp; Müs 1525, 2966
Congratulamini mihi omnes		Barb. 4184; Rp (Palestrina - Barb.)
Dies sanctificatus		Barb. 4184; Rp (Palestrina - Barb.)
Haec est dies praeclara		Barb. 4184; Rp (Palestrina - Barb.);
Magnus Sanctus Paulus		Barb. 4184; Rp (Palestrina - Barb.);
Missa Escoutez (not polychoral)		D Mbs 64

Missa Octo vocum (not polychoral)
 Missa Papae Marcelli 12v
 Missa Tu es Petrus 18v
 Nunc dimittis 12v
 Omnis pulchritudo Domini
 O pretiosum

Regina coeli (3)

D Mbs 64
 Sist. 269
 Giul. XIII 19
 Rn 117-121; MÜs 3590
 Rsc 6 Ms 0224 (anon.)
 Rn 117-121 (anon in surviving
 ptbks.); MÜs 3590 (Palestrina)
 Giul. XIII 24 (f. 56v)
 (Palestrina)

DISPUTED ATTRIBUTIONS

Alma redemptoris mater (2)

Giul. XIII 24; Sist. 484;
 MÜs 2966, 2694 (all Palestrina)
 MÜs 3590 (Marenzio);
 Rn 117-121 (anon.)

- The attribution in Giul XII 24 must be accepted. There is no explanation for Santini's attribution to Marenzio in MÜs 3590, which has led to the piece being included in Jackson ed., Marenzio *Opera Omnia*, iii, 7.

Angelus Domini

Sist. 294 (Palestrina)
 Rc 2760 (C. Casciolini)

- Stylistically unlikely to be by Palestrina

Laudate Dominum in sanctis
 Missa Laudate Dominum omnes gentes 1601

see GIOVANELLI
 Sist. 171-2; Barb. 4184; I Bc Q
 39; Rp (Palestrina - Barb.);
 MÜs 1194, 1197 (all attr. to
 Palestrina); MÜs-82; Lbl 34607
 (called Missa Vestiva i Colli
 and attr. F. Anerio)

- The reasons for accepting the attribution to Palestrina are given in Chapter Eight.

Stabat Mater (2)

Sist. 29, 293, 479;
 Rc 2760, 2852; I Bc Q 39 (p.
 68), Q 40; MÜs 2966; Egerton
 2461; Rp (Palestrina) (all attr.
 Palestrina); Rp (F. Anerio II);
 Lbl 34607 (both attr. F. Anerio)

- This is the well-known setting and its appearance in Sist. 29, together with its long tradition of performance as Palestrina's in the Cappella Pontifica since at least 1616 must rule out Anerio.

Stabat Mater 12v

Rp (twice, attributed to both
 Palestrina and F. Anerio)
 MÜs 873, 874 (Palestrina)
 Rn 117-121 (anon.)

- Stylistic similarity to well-known 8v setting would point to Palestrina's authorship.

ERCOLE PASQUINI

Quem vidistis pastores 10v in R, Aleotti, *Sacrae cantiones quinque, septem, octo et decem vocibus...*, *liber primus*. - Venezia, ricciardo Amadino, 1593. - Ptbs.

DOMENICO PHINOT (pieces in Roman mss. only)

Incipit Oratio	Rn 117; MÜs 3590
Tanto tempore	Rn 117; MÜs 3590

GIOVANNI PICCIONI (pieces in Roman manuscripts only)

1610. *Concerti ecclesiastici...*, *a una, a due, a tre, a quattro, a cinque, a sei, a sette, et a otto voci, con il suo basso seguito per l'organo...*, *opera decima settima*. - Venezia, Giacomo Vincenti, 1610. - Ptbs.

Hodie coelestia regna	1610	Rn 40-46
Cantate Domino		Rn 40-46
O crux splendidior		Rn 40-46
Vox de coelis		Rn 40-46

VINCENZO PUTEO (DEL POZZO)

Ave Regina (not Marian antiphon)	Giul, XIII 24; Bc Q 39; Bianchi 1
Litaniae BMV	Giul, XIII 24;

PAOLO QUAGLIATI

1612. *Motecta octonis et psalmus Dixit dominus duodenis vocibus, una cum basso ad organum*. - Roma, Giovanni Battista Robletti, 1612. - Ptbs.

1620. *Bassus ad organum pro motectis et dialogis binis, ternis, quaternis, quinis, & octonis vocibus alternatim concinendis; quae omnia ita sunt in hoc eodem libro accomodata, ut singulis etiam vocibus cantu scilicet, vel tenore possint decantari*. - Roma, Giovanni Battista Robletti, 1620. - Ptbs.

(1627. *Motetti, e dialoghi a otto voci, concertati con voci sole, con doi bassi seguiti per il primo, & secondo organo...*, *libro secondo*. - Roma, Giovanni Battista Robletti, 1627. - Ptbs.)

Assumpta est Maria	1612		
Ave Maria	1612		
Ave mundi spes		1620	
Ave Regina	1612		
Caligaverunt oculi	1612		
Cantate Domino	1612		
Cantemus Domino	1612		
Decantabat populus Israel	1592 ²		
Dixit Dominus 12v	1612		
Ecce tu pulchra es		1620	
Exaudi Domine	1612	1617 ¹	MÜs 2379
Gaudeamus omnes in Domino	1612		
Jubilare Deo (1)	1612		MÜs 2379
Laudate Dominum Deum nostrum	1612	1617 ¹	MÜs 2379

Laudate Dominum in sanctis	1612	Rn 117; Mūs 3590
Nativitas sua Dei genetrix	1612	
Nigra sum	1612	
Paratum cor meum	1612	
Peccavi super numerum	1612	
Salve Regina	1612	
Surge, surge Sion	1612	
Venite exultemus Domino	1620	
Vulnerasti cor meum	1612	Mūs 2379

DISPUTED ATTRIBUTIONS

Ave sanctissima Maria	1612 (Quagliati)	Rp, Lbl 34607 (F, Anerio); Mūs 1224 ('Anerio' crossed out and 'Quagliati' written in)
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- The attribution in 1612 clearly points to Quagliati.

BARTOLOMEO ROY

Gloria tibi Trinitas	1614 ³	Rn 40-46; Giul. XIII 25
Beatissime N,		Rn 117; Mūs 3590

PROSPERO SANTINI

Angelus Domini	1614 ³	Pelplin
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FRANCESCO SORIANO

1597. *Motectorum quae octo vocibus concinuntur*, - Roma, Nicolo Mutii, 1597. - Ptbs.

1609. *Missarum liber primus*, - Roma, Giovanni Battista Robletti, 1609. - Chb.

1616. *Psalmi et mottecta quae octo, duodecim et sexdecim vocibus concinuntur... liber secundus*, - Venezia, Giacomo Vincenti, 1616. - Ptbs.

Adorna thalamum	1597	1611 ¹	
Audite insule		1616	
Ave Regina	1597		
Benedictus		1616	Rc 2564; Bianchi 1; O B Mus, Ms. 20910
Caeli deliciae puer		1616	
Credidi (1)		1615 ¹	Sist. 354; Mūs 3588
Credidi (2)		1616	
Custos sacrati germinis 12v		1616	
Deus qui beatum Ludovicum	1597		
Dixit Dominus	1597		
Dixit Dominus 16v (1)		1616	
Dixit Dominus (2)		1616	
Ecce sacerdos magnus		1616; 1614 ³	Rc 2295, 2852
Hodie per viam orientis		1616	
In dedicatione templi 12v		1616	O B Mus, Ms. 20911
In illo tempore assumpsit Jesus	1597; Victoria 1585 (early version)		
In illo tempore ductus est	1597		
Jubilare Deo		1616	
Laetare Hierusalem	1597		
Lauda Jerusalem		1616; 1607 ⁴	

Litaniae BMV	1597		
Magnificat (<i>alternatim</i>)		1616	
Magnificat 12v		1616	D B Mus, Ms. 20911
Missa Papae Marcelli	1609		
Nunc dimittis		1616	
Presul beati hominis 12v		1616	
Regina coeli		1616	
Salve Regina	1597		
Sancte N. (Aniceti)		1616	Müs 1198
Veni Sancte Spiritus	1597		
Victimae paschali		1616	

DISPUTED ATTRIBUTION

Tulit Elias 12v	Müs 873, 874 (Soriano) Rp (F. Anerio)
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- Distinction on stylistic grounds is not easy, but on balance favours Soriano.

ANNIBALE STABILE

1583, *Litaniae Beatae Mariae Virginis et nominis Jesu, una cum quatuor antiphonis, quae post officium dicuntur, octo vocum*, - Roma, Alessandro Gardano, 1583, - Ptbs.

1585, *Sacrarum modulationum quae quinis, senis, et octonis vocibus concinuntur, liber secundus*, - Venezia, Angelo Gardano, 1585, - Ptbs.

1589, *Sacrarum modulationum quae quinis, senis et octonis vocibus concinuntur, liber tertius*, - Venezia, Angelo Gardano, 1589, - Ptbs.

Alma redemptoris mater	1583		Pelplin
Appollinaris inclyti		1585	
Ave Regina	1583		
Cantantibus organis		1585	
Deus misereatur nostri		1604 ⁷	
Hi sunt qui venerunt		1589	1590 ⁸ ; 1613 ²
Litaniae BMV (1)		1596 ²	
Litaniae BMV (2)		1596 ²	
Litaniae Nomen Jesu		1596 ²	
Lux perpetua		1585	1604 ²
Nos autem gloriari			1607 ⁴
Nunc dimittis			1611 ¹
Pastores loquebantur		1589	
Queramus cum pastoribus		1585	1588 ²
Regina coeli	1583		
Salve Regina	1583		
Stephanus plenus gratia		1585	
Tu gloria Hierusalem		1585	
Veni Sancte Spiritus		1585	
Veni sponsa Christi		1589	Rn 117-121
Victimae paschali		1589	1590 ⁸

GIOVANNI BATTISTA STEFFANINI

1604. *Motecta, sex et octo vocibus, liber primus*. - Venezia, Angelo Gardano, 1604. - Ptbs.

1608. *Il secundo libro de motetti a cinque, sei, sette e otto voci, et le letanie della B.V. nell'ultimo, con il basso principale per l'organo*. - Venezia, Alessandro Raverii, 1608. Ptbs.

1614. *Concerti ecclesiastici a otto voci, cioè, motetti, messa, salmi, Magnificat, con le letanie della B. Vergine, libro terzo*. - [Roma], Giovanni Battista Robletti, 1614. - Ptbs.

1618. *Motetti concertati all'uso di Roma a otto e nove voci, con le letanie della B. Vergine nel fine, con il basso continuo per l'organo, libro quarto, opera sesta*. - Venezia, Giacomo Vincenti, 1618. - Ptbs.

Ardens est cor meum	1612 ^a	
Deus misereatur nostri		1614
Gaudent in coelis	1608	
In convertendo		1614
In tribulatione mea		1614
Laudate pueri		1614
Litaniae BMV (1)	1608	
Litaniae BMV (2)		1614
Magnificat (2 ^a toni)		1614
Missa Laetare Hierusalem		1614
O beata Caecilia		1614
Quem vidistis pastores	1608	
Regina coeli		1614
Salve Regina		1614
Sancte Paule Apostole	1608	
Surgite carissimi		1614

CONRAD STUBER (piece in Roman ms. only)

Puer natus est nobis Rn 40-46 (twice)

PAOLO TARDITI

1620. *Psalmi, Magnif, cum quatuor antiphonis ad vesperas octo vocib, una cum basso ad organum decantandi, liber secundus*. - Roma, Luca Antonio Soldi, 1620. - Ptbs.

Alma Redemptoris Mater	1620	
Ave Regina	1620	
Beatus vir	1620	
Beatus vir (concertato)	1620	
Confitebor tibi	1620	
Confitebor tibi (concertato)	1620	
Credidi (concertato)	1620	
Crucem sanctam tuam		Müs 2947
Dixit Dominus	1620	
Dixit Dominus (concertato)	1620	
In convertendo (concertato)	1620	
Laetatus sum (concertato)	1620	
Lauda Hierusalem	1620	
Laudate Dominum omnes	1620	

Laudate pueri	1620	
Laudate pueri (concertato)	1620	
Magnificat (8,i toni)	1620	
Magnificat (7,i toni, concertato)	1620	
Natalem Christi		Müs 2947
Nisi Dominus	1615'	Müs 3588
Nisi Dominus (concertato)	1620	
Regina coeli	1620	
Salve Regina	1620	

IPPOLITO TARTAGLINO

Ecce quam bonum	Rn 117; Müs 3590
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GIOVANNI TROIANO

Adjuro vos		Giul. XV 62
Cum invocarem		Giul. XV 62
Ego sum panis		Giul. XIII 25
Hic est vere martyr		Giul. XIII 25
Iste sanctus ab adolescentia	1607 ²	Giul. XIII 25
Litaniae BMV	1622'	
Nativitas tua		Rn 40-46
Venite filii audite me		Rn 40-46

VINCENZO UGOLINO

1614. *Sacrae cantiones, quae vulgo motecta appellantur, octonis vocibus concinendae in duplicibus primae classis, et in communi sanctorum, aliisq. festivitatis, cum basso ad organum, liber primus.* - Roma, Bartolomeo Zannetti, 1614, Ptbs.

(1622. *Motecta et missae octonis et duodenis vocibus cum basso ad organum, ..., liber primus.* - Roma, Luca Antonio Soldi, 1622, - Ptbs.)

- *liber secundus.* - Roma, Luca Antonio Soldi, 1622.

(1628. *Psalmi ad Vesperas octonis vocibus cum basso ad organum concinendi; iidemque cum aliis, ut vocant, concertati.* - Venezia, Alessandro Vincenti, 1628, - St.)

(1630. *Psalmi ad Vesperas et motecta duodenis vocibus, una cum basso ad organum, liber primus.* - Venezia, Alessandro Vincenti, 1630, - St.)

Ave verum (in elevatione)	1614	
Assumpta est Maria (in Assumptione BMV)	1614	
Audite insulae (in Nativitate S. Joannis Baptistae)	1614	
Beata Agatha (in festo Sanctae Agathae)	1614	
Beatus vir qui inventus (in communi Confess. non Pontif.)	1614	
Cum complerentur (in die Pentecostes)	1614	
Decantabat populus (in dedicatione Ecclesiae)	1614	
Descendit Spiritus (in Epiphania Domini)	1614	
Ecce sacerdos (in comm. Confess. pontif.)	1614	
Et tu puer		Giul. XV 70
Favus distillans		Giul. XIII 25

Filiae Jerusalem (in communi Apostolorum et Evang. tempore Pasch.)	1614	
Fratres ego enim (in festo Corporis Christi)	1614	
Fratres qui gloriatur (in communi Virginum)	1614	
Haec dies (in Pascha Resurrectionis)	1614	
Illuminare his		Giul. XV 70
Isti sunt triumphatores (in communi Apostolorum et Martyrum)	1614	
Jubilare omnes (in festo Omnium Sanctorum)	1614	
Laetentur coeli (in Nativitate Domini)	1614	
Litaniae BMV		Giul. XV 70
Lucia virgo 9v (in festo S. Luciae)	1614	
Omnes gentes		Giul. XV 70
Paradisi portas (in Dom. Quadrag.)	1614	
Regnum mundi (in communi Mulierum sanct,)	1614	
Viri Galilaei (in Ascensione Domini)	1614	

1576. *Liber primus qui missas, psalmos, Magnificat ad Virginem Dei Matrem salutationes, aliaque complectitur.* - Venezia, Angelo Gardano, 1576. - Chb.

1581a. *Hymni totius anni, secundum Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae consuetudinem, qui quattuor concinuntur vocibus, una cum quattuor psalmis, pro praecipuis festivitibus, qui octo vocibus modulantur.* - Roma, Francisco Zanetti (Dominico Basa), 1581.

1581b. *Cantica B. Virginis vulgo Magnificat quatuor vocibus. Una cum quatuor antiphonis Beatae Virginis per annum; quae quidem partim quinis, partim octonis vocibus concinuntur.* - Roma, Francisco Zanetti (Dominico Basa), 1581.

1583. *Motecta, quae partim quaternis, partim quinis, alia senis, alia octonis, alia duodenis vocibus concinuntur; quae quidem nunc vero melius excussa, et alia quam plurima adiuncta noviter sunt impressa,...* - Roma, Alessandro Gardano, 1583 - Ptbs.

- Milano, Francesco et eredi di Simon Tini, 1589.

- *Cantiones sacrae, ..., quatuor, quinque, sex, octo, et duodecim vocum, nunquam antehac in Germania excusae.* - Dillingen, Johann Mayer, 1589.

- *Motecta, ..., in omnibus solemnitatibus per totum annum, concinuntur, noviter recognita, et impressa.* - Venezia, Angelo Gardano, 1603.

1585. *Motecta festorum totius anni cum Communi sanctorum, quae partim senis, partim quinis, partim quaternis, alia octonis vocibus concinuntur.* - Roma, Alessandro Gardano (Dominico Basa), 1585.

1592. *Missae quattuor, quinque, sex et octo vocibus concinendae, una cum antiphonis Asperges et Vidi aquam totius anni, liber secundus.* - Roma, Francisco coattino (Ascanio Donangeli), 1592. - Chb.

1600. *Missae, Magnificat, motecta, psalmi, et alia quam plurima, quae partim octonis, alia nonis, alia duodenis vocibus concinuntur, haec omnia sunt in hoc libro ad pulsandum in organis.* - Madrid, "ex typographia regia" "apud Ioannem flandrum", 1600. - Ptbs.

Alma redemptoris mater	1581b, 1583, 1600	Müs 3694; Lb1 34000-2; Rp
Ave Regina	1581b, 1583, 1600	Müs 3694; Lb1 34000-2; Rp
Dixit Dominus	1581a, 1583, 1600	
Ecce nunc	1600	
Laetatus sum 12v	1583 1600	
Lauda Sion	1585 1600	
Laudate Dominum omnes	1581a, 1583, 1600	
Laudate pueri	1581a, 1583, 1600	
Litaniae BMV	1583, 1600, 1596 ²	Giul. XIII 24; XV 62
Magnificat primi toni	1600	
Magnificat sexti toni 12v	1600	
Missa Alma redemptoris	1600	
Missa Ave Regina	1600	
Missa Laetatus sum 12v	1600	
Missa pro Victoria 9v	1600	
Missa Regina coeli	1600	
Missa Salve Regina	1592	
Nisi Dominus	1576 1581a, 1583, 1600	
O Ildephonse	1600	
Regina coeli	1576 1581b, 1583, 1600	Müs 3694; Rp
Salve Regina	1576 1581b, 1583, 1600	Müs 3694; Lb1 34000-2; Rp
Super flumina	1576	Sist. 29; Rn 117; Müs 3590

Veni Sancte Spiritus	1600
Victimae paschali	1600

DISPUTED ATTRIBUTIONS

Vidi speciosam	see FELICE ANERIO
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PIETRO VINCI (piece in Roman ms. only)

Surge propera	Rn 117; Mūs 3590 (ascribed 'Godmell')
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ANNIBALE ZOILO

Ave Regina		Rn 77-88, 117; Giul. XIII 24; Mūs 3590
Beata Mater	1614 ³	Rn 77-88, 117-121; Giul. XIII 24, XIII 25, XV 62; Rc 2295, 2952; Mūs 3590
In illo tempore intravit Jesus		Rn 117-121; Mūs 3590
Laetatus sum		Rn 117-121; Mūs 3590
Litaniae BMV		Giul. XIII 24; Bianchi 1
Litaniae nomen Jesu		Giul. XIII 24; Bianchi 1
Laudate Dominum in sanctis 12v		Rn 77-88, 117-121; Giul. XIII 24; Mūs 3590
Nunc dimittis		Giul. XIII 24
Regina coeli 12v		Rn 77-88, 117-121; Rp; Mūs 873, 874
Regina coeli 20v (rearr. of 12v version)		Rn 77-88

DISPUTED ATTRIBUTION

Regina coeli 12v (in above list) is attributed to F. Guerrero by Santini in Mūs 3590 but without any justification.

CESARE ZOILLO

Domine Rex omnipotens	1607 ²	
Lauda Jerusalem	1615 ¹	Mūs 3588

APPENDIX VI

MANUSCRIPT SOURCES CONSULTED IN THE PREPARATION OF THIS THESIS

The following sources were consulted personally; citations from other sources quoted in Appendix V are taken from standard catalogues or from the catalogue of *Ibimus*, the Roman branch of the RISM manuscript cataloguing project, directed by Giancarlo Rostirolla.

I Rvat Cappella Sistina	29, 31, 33, 59, 72, 89, 91, 95, 97, 100, 102, 105, 109, 117, 122, 125, 134, 149, 166, 171-172, 205-206, 221, 222, 292, 293, 294, 299, 304, 308, 311, 315, 354, 484
I Rvat Cappella Giulia	XIII, 19, 24, 25, 28; XV 62, 70
I Rvat Barberini	4184
I Rn	Mss. Mus. 33-34/40-46, 77-88, 117-121, 127-128
I Rsc	G Ms 053, 092, 093, 0125, 0147, 0157, 0223, 0224, 792-795
I Rsmt	604
I Rc	2295, 2567, 2760, 2852
I Bc	Q 36, 35, 37, 38, 39; R 281; V 126
D Rp	Proskesche Sammlung: Un-numbered manuscripts in the following <i>Mappen</i> : Allegri, Felice Anerio (I and II), Giovanni Francesco Anerio, Carissimi, Croce, Crivelli, Giovanelli, Palestrina, Nanini, Ortiz, Stabile, Victoria, Suriano
D Müs	Santini Sammlung: Hs 82, 83, 371, 399, 873, 874, 1002, 1187, 1191, 1193, 1194, 1196, 1187, 1198, 1209, 1215, 1224, 1239, 1366, 1525, 1702, 1703, 1705, 2332, 2379, 2791, 2792, 2952, 2941, 2947, 2949, 2958, 2966, 3510, 3511, 3588, 3590, 3593, 3694, 4008, 4222, 4280.
D Mbs	Mus. Mss 2941; Coll. Mus. Max. 60, 64
GB Lbl	Add. Ms. 34000-34002, 34051, 34607, Egerton 2460, 2461

APPENDIX VII

OUTLINE BIOGRAPHIES OF ROMAN COMPOSERS OF POLYCHORAL MUSIC

Only composers known to have had a post in Rome are included. Institutions are in that city unless otherwise stated.

AGOSTINO AGAZZARI

b. Siena 1578, d. Siena ?1640

1602 (March) - 1603 (October):	<i>Maestro</i> at German College
1606	<i>Maestro</i> at Roman Seminary
1607-	<i>Maestro</i> at Siena Cathedral,

GIOVANNI FRANCESCO ANERIO

b. Rome c. 1567, d. Graz 1630

1595	Organist at Smo. Crocefisso (Lent)
?1600-1603	? <i>Maestro</i> at S. Giovanni in Laterano
1608 (perhaps earlier)	<i>Maestro</i> at S. Spirito in Sassia
1609 (July-September)	<i>Maestro</i> at Verona Cathedral
1611-1612	<i>Maestro</i> at Roman Seminary
1613-1620	<i>Maestro</i> at S. Maria dei Monti, Rome
?1624	<i>Maestro</i> to King of Poland

FELICE ANERIO

b. Rome c. 1560, d. Rome 1614

1568-1574	Choirboy at S. Maria Maggiore
1575-1577	Choirboy at Cappella Giulia, S. Pietro
1577-1579	Alto at Cappella Giulia
1579-1580	Alto at S. Luigi dei Francesi
1583 (May-June)	<i>Maestro</i> at S. Maria di Monserrato (ASCR, F-IV-376)
?1584-?1585	<i>Maestro</i> at English College
1586 (May)-1588 (April)	<i>Maestro</i> at S. Maria di Monserrato (ASCR, F-IV-376)
1588-1591, 1599-1600	<i>Maestro</i> at S. Giovanni di Fiorentini (ASGF, 197, 198)
1594-1614	Composer to Cappella Pontificia
1604-?1607	<i>Maestro</i> to Duke Giovanni Angelo Altemps

GIOVANNI ANIMUCCIA

b. Florence 1500, d. Rome 1571

1550	In the service of Cardinal Guido Ascanio Sforza in Rome
1555-1571	<i>Maestro</i> of Cappella Giulia

GIROLAMO BARTEI

b. Arezzo c. 1565, d in or after 1618

1592-98	<i>Maestro</i> at Arezzo Cathedral
1601	Florence
1604-1607	<i>Maestro</i> Volterra Cathedral
1608	<i>Maestro</i> at S. Agostino
1616	Orvieto, Augustinian monastery
1617-1618	Marino, Augustinian monastery

OTTAVIO CATALANI

b. Enna, Sicily ?, d. Messina after 1644

1603-1608, 1611-1613	<i>Maestro</i> at German College
1607	? <i>Maestro</i> to Duke Giovanni Angelo Altemps (according to note on Gloria of 12v Mass in Proske's transcription in D Rp)
early 1620s	Returned to Sicily

ANTONIO CIFRA

b. near Terracina 1585, d. Loreto 1629

1594-1596	Choirboy at S. Luigi dei Francesi
1605-1607	<i>Maestro</i> at Roman Seminary
1608-1609	<i>Maestro</i> at German College
1609-1622 and 1623-1626	<i>Maestro</i> at Santa Casa, Loreto
1623-1626	<i>Maestro</i> at S. Giovanni in Laterano?

ALESSANDRO COSTANTINI

b. near Ancona c. 1581, d. Rome 1657

1602	Organist at S. Maria in Trastevere
1604-1616	<i>Maestro</i> at S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini
1620-1621	<i>Maestro</i> at German College
1622-1627	<i>Maestro</i> at Roman Seminary
1629	Organist at Santa Casa, Loreto
1630-1632	<i>Maestro</i> at Santa Casa, Loreto
1634-1637	Assistant Organist at S. Pietro
1643-1657	Organist at S. Pietro

FABIO COSTANTINI

b. near Ancona c. 1570, d. ?Tivoli 1644

?-1610	Choirboy, then Tenor at S. Pietro
1610-1614	<i>Maestro</i> at Orvieto Cathedral
1615	In service of Cardinal Aldobrandini at Naples
1615-1618	<i>Maestro</i> at S. Maria in Trastevere
1618-1622	<i>Maestro</i> at Orvieto Cathedral
1625-1626	<i>Maestro</i> at Santa Casa, Loreto
1628	<i>Maestro</i> at Ferrara Cathedral
1630	Compagnia del Smo. Rosario, Ancona
1635	<i>Maestro</i> at Rieti Cathedral
1639	Orvieto
1642-1644	<i>Maestro</i> at Tivoli Cathedral

ARCHANGELO CRIVELLI

b. Bergamo 1546, d. Rome 1617

1568-1569

1569-1575

1578-1617

Singer, Madonna della Steccata, Parma

Maestro, Madonna della Steccata, Parma

Tenor in Cappella Pontificia

GIOVANNI ANDREA DRAGONI

b.c. 1540, d. Rome 1598

1576-1599

Maestro at S. Giovanni in Laterano

TEOFILO GARGARI (Lionnet, 'Un Musicista')

b. Gallese c. 1570, d. Rome 1648

1592-1597

1601

1601-1648

Alto at S. Luigi dei Francesi

Organist at S. Lorenzo in Damaso

Alto in Cappella Pontificia

GIOVANNI BATTISTA JACOMELLI (Fabbri, 'Jacomelli')

b. Brescia c. 1550, d. Florence 1608

1576-1577

1582-1585

1586

1588-1608

Tenor in Cappella Giulia

Tenor in Cappella Pontificia

Mantua

In service of Duke of Florence

RUGGIERO GIOVANELLI

b. Velletri c. 1560, d. Rome 1625

1583-1591

1591-1594

1594-1599

1599-1625

Maestro at S. Luigi dei Francesi

Maestro at German College

Maestro of Cappella Giulia

Tenor in Cappella Pontificia

VINCENZO (DE) GRANDIS

b. Montalboddo (Marches) 1577, d. Rome 1646

1605 (August-November)

1605-1646

Maestro at S. Spirito in Sassia

Alto in Cappella Pontificia

GIOVANNI BATTISTA LOCATELLI

'da Forlì' fl. 1582-1628

1579

1581-at least 1590, poss. 1593

Organist at S. Spirito in Sassia

Organist at S. Pietro

GIOVANNI DE MACQUE

b. Valenciennes c. 1548, d. Naples 1614

1563	Student in Vienna
1574	Rome
1580-1581	Organist at S. Luigi dei Francesi
c. 1585	Naples
1590	Second Organist, Santa Casa dell'Annunziata, Naples
1594-1599	Organist to Viceroy, Naples
1599-	<i>Maestro</i> to Viceroy, Naples

CURTIO MANCINI

b. ?Rome c. 1550, d. ?Rome after 1608

?-1567	Choirboy at S. Giovanni in Laterano
1589-1591	<i>Maestro</i> at S. Maria Maggiore
1592-1593 and 1603-1608	<i>Maestro</i> at Santa Casa, Loreto
1600	<i>Maestro</i> at S. Maria dei Monti
1608	<i>Maestro</i> at S. Giovanni in Laterano

LUCA MARENZIO

b. near Brescia 1553/4, d. Rome 1599

1574-1586	Rome, in service of Cardinals Madruzzo and Este
1583, 1593, 1594	In charge of Lenten music at Sma Trinità dei Pellegrini (ASR, Sma Trinità, 1071,705)
1588	Florence, in service of Duke Ferdinando I
1589	Rome, in service of Virginio Orsino, Duke of Bracciano
c.1595	In service of Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini
1595	In service of King of Poland
1598	Rome

ALESSANDRO MARINO

b. Venice ?, d. ? before 1605

1570-1596	Canon in S. Giovanni in Laterano
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FRANCESCO MARTINI

b. Flanders c. 1560, d. Rome c. 1626

1602	Congregazione dell'Oratorio, violinist
1604-at least 1623	<i>Maestro</i> at Congregazione dell'Oratorio

GIOVANNI MATELART

b. Flanders before 1538, d. Rome 1607

c. 1565-1607	<i>Maestro</i> at S. Lorenzo in Damaso
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ROMANO MICHELI

b. Rome c. 1575, d. Rome after 1659

1609-1610	<i>Maestro</i> at Tivoli Cathedral
1616	<i>Maestro</i> at Concordia
1618-1621	<i>Maestro</i> at Aquileia
1625-1627	<i>Maestro</i> at S. Luigi
1636	Naples
1644	Rome

ROMULO NALDI

b. Bologna c. 1550, d. Rome 1612

1585, 1587-1590	Assistant organist, S. Luigi dei Francesi
1591-1592	Organist, S. Luigi dei Francesi
1600	Rome

GIOVANNI BERNARDINO NANINO (brother of G. M.)

b. Vallerano c. 1560, d. Vallerano 1618

?-1591	<i>Maestro</i> at S. Maria dei Monti
1591-1608	<i>Maestro</i> at S. Luigi dei Francesi
1608-1618	<i>Maestro</i> at S. Lorenzo in Damaso

The date of death in *The New Grove* (1623) is incorrect; Nanino's death in Vallerano on May 21st, 1618 is recorded in the local parish records and was discovered there by the Parish Priest, Mons. Manfredi in response to queries by Jean Lionnet.

GIOVANNI MARIA NANINO (brother of G. B.)

b. Tivoli c. 1545, d. Rome 1607

?1567-?1575	<i>Maestro</i> at S. Maria Maggiore
1575-1577	<i>Maestro</i> at S. Luigi dei Francesi
1577-1607	Tenor in Cappella Pontificia

STEFANO NASCIMBENI

b. Mantua, fl. 1588-1519

1598 (Feb-March)	<i>Maestro</i> , Sma. Trinità dei Pellegrini (ASR, Sma Trinità, 707)
1600	<i>Maestro</i> at Mantua Cathedral
1609-1612	<i>Maestro</i> at S. Barbara, Mantua

ANNIBALE ORGAS

b. ?Rome c. 1585, d. Krakow 1629

1594	Choirboy at German College
1613	<i>Maestro</i> at Avellino
1613-1619	<i>Maestro</i> at German College

ASPRILIO PACELLI

b. Vasciano near Narni 1570, d. Warsaw 1623

1588	<i>Maestro</i> at Gonfalone
1589-1592	<i>Maestro</i> for special feasts at S. Maria di Monserrato
1591-1594	<i>Maestro</i> , Sma Trinità dei Pellegrini (ASR, Sma. Trinità dei Pellegrini, 705)
1594-1602	<i>Maestro</i> at German College
1602-1603	<i>Maestro</i> of Cappella Giulia
1603-1628	<i>Maestro</i> to King of Poland

GIOVANNI PIERLUIGI DA PALESTRINA

b. Palestrina 1525, d. Rome 1594

1537	Choirboy at S. Maria Maggiore
1544-1551	Organist at Palestrina Cathedral
1551-1555	<i>Maestro</i> of Cappella Giulia in S. Pietro
1555	Singer in Cappella Pontificia
1555-1560	<i>Maestro</i> at S. Giovanni in Laterano
1561-1571	<i>Maestro</i> at S. Maria Maggiore
1570-1594	<i>Maestro</i> of Cappella Giulia in S. Pietro

ERCOLE PASQUINI

b. Ferrara c. 1550, d. Rome after 1608

1597-1608	Organist at S. Pietro
1604-	Organist at S. Spirito in Sassia

PAOLO QUAGLIATI

b. Chioggia c. 1555, d. Rome 1628

1576	Singer at S. Rocco (ASR, S. Rocco, 149)
1586	Organist at S. Giovanni in Laterano
1591-1628	Organist at S. Maria Maggiore (ASMM)

BARTOLOMEO ROY

b. Flanders c. 1530, d. Naples 1599

1570-1572	<i>Maestro</i> at S. Giovanni in Laterano
1583-1599	<i>Maestro</i> to Viceroy, Naples

PROSPERO SANTINI

fl. 1591-1614

1594-1601	<i>Maestro</i> at Chiesa Nuova
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FRANCESCO SORIANO

b. Soriano near Viterbo c. 1548, d. Rome ?1621

1564	Choirboy at S. Giovanni in Laterano
1578-1581	<i>Maestro</i> at S. Luigi dei Francesi
1581-1586	<i>Maestro</i> to Duke of Mantua
1586-1589, 1595, 1601-1603	<i>Maestro</i> at S. Maria Maggiore (ASMM)
1603-1620	<i>Maestro</i> of Cappella Giulia

ANNIBALE STABILE

b. Naples c. 1545, d. Rome 1595

1575-1578	<i>Maestro</i> at S. Giovanni in Laterano
1578-1590	<i>Maestro</i> at German College
1591-1595	<i>Maestro</i> at S. Maria Maggiore (ASMM)

De Ford (*Giovanelli* questioned the accepted date of birth (c. 1535) based on Stabile's identification with the 'Annibale puer' at S. Giovanni in Laterano in 1544-45, pointing out that his use of the word 'primitie' to describe his first book of madrigals of 1572 would hardly have been appropriate for a man of c. 37.

GIOVANNI BATTISTA STEFFANINI

b. Modena 1574, d. Rome 1630

1602-1604	<i>Maestro</i> at Turin Cathedral
1606, 1608	<i>Maestro</i> at S. Maria della Scala, Milan
1612-1614	<i>Maestro</i> at S. Maria della Consolazione
1615	<i>Maestro</i> at Modena Cathedral
1625	Rome

CONRAD STUBER

b. Swabia c. 1550, d. c. 1605

1599 (Jan-Feb)	<i>Maestro</i> at Sma. Trinità dei Pellegrini (ASR, Sma Trinità, 707)
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PAOLO TARDITI

b. ?, d. after 1649

1602-1623	Provided music regularly at Smo Crocefisso
1616-1629	Organist and <i>Maestro</i> at S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli (ASCR, S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli)
1629-1640	<i>Maestro</i> at S. Maria Maggiore
1640-1649	<i>Maestro</i> at S. Maria dei Monti

HIPPOLITO TARTAGLINO

b. Modena c. 1539, d. Naples 1582

1577-1581	Organist at S. Pietro
1581-1582	Organist at Annunziata, Naples

GIOVANNI TROIANO

b. Todi, fl. 1597-1601

1596-1601

Maestro at S. Maria Maggiore (ASMM)

VINCENZO UGOLINI

b. Perugia c. 1580, d. Rome 1638

1592-1594

Choirboy at S. Luigi dei Francesi

1594-1600

Alto at S. Luigi

1603-1609

Maestro at S. Maria Maggiore

1610

Maestro at Benevento Cathedral

1614

Maestro to Cardinal Arrigoni, Rome

1616-1620

Maestro at S. Luigi

1620-1626

Maestro of Cappella Giulia

1631-1638

Maestro at S. Luigi

TOMAS LUIS DE VICTORIA

b. Avila c. 1548, d. Madrid 1611

1569-1575

Singer and Organist at S. Maria di
Monserrato (ASCR, B-III-196)

1573-1576

Maestro at German College

1583-1585

Chaplain at S. Gerolamo della Carità
(ASR, S. Gerolamo)

c. 1587-1611

Maestro to Dowager Empress Maria in
Madrid

ANNIBALE ZOILO

b. Rome 1537, d. Loreto 1592

1561-1566

Maestro at S. Luigi dei Francesi

1567-1570

Maestro at S. Giovanni in Laterano

1570-1577

Alto in Cappella Pontificia

1579-1580

Maestro at Sma. Trinità dei Pellegrini
(ASR, Sma. Trinità, 703, 1069, 1214)

1581

Maestro at Todi Cathedral

1584-1592

Maestro at Santa Casa, Loreto

CESARE ZOILO

b. Rome 1584, d. Rome after 1622 (son of Annibale)

1605-1606

Maestro at S. Maria della
Consolazione

1610-1621

Maestro at S. Spirito in Sassia

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The Early Polychoral Music of Orlando di Lasso

New Light from Roman Sources ¹

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The first polychoral pieces by Lasso to be published were *Confitebor Tibi* and *Jam Lucis Orto* in the *Thesaurus Musicus* of 1564.² These were followed in the next year by *In Convertendo*³ and in 1566 two further pieces were published in Venice, *Deus Misereatur* and *Levavi Oculos*.⁴ In the preface to volume XXI of the old Lasso edition Adolf Sandberger drew attention to the existence of significantly different versions of the last three of these pieces in the Santini collection in Münster.⁵ The versions in Münster, which varied considerably from the published ones, were copied in score before or during 1821 by the Italian priest, Fortunato Santini, from the musical manuscripts then in the possession of the church of Santa Maria in Vallicella, popularly known as the Chiesa Nuova, in Rome. Since these readings of the three pieces came from a Roman source, Sandberger concluded that the source must have been an early one, dating from Lasso's period as maestro di cappella at the basilica of San Giovanni in Laterano in Rome during 1552–3 and perhaps even in Lasso's own hand. He further concluded that Lasso had revised the three pieces before their publication in the 1560s. Sandberger himself attempted to find the original source for the pieces in Rome but failed and concluded that it had been lost; the musical

¹ This is a revised version of a paper read to the Conference of Music Research Students at the University of Surrey, Guildford, in December 1982.

² *Thesaurus Musicus* Vol. 1 (Nürnberg 1564). RISM 1564¹.

³ ORLANDO DI LASSO, *Modulorum . . . Modulatorum Secundum Volumen 4–8, 10vv* (Paris 1565).

⁴ ORLANDO DI LASSO, *Sacrae Cantiones . . . Liber Quartus 6,8vv*. (Venice 1566).

⁵ ORLANDO DI LASSO, *Sämtliche Werke* ed. F. X. Haberl and A. Sandberger, Vol. XXI (Leipzig 1926): observations on no. 734..

holdings of the Chiesa Nuova were already in a disorganised state in 1870⁶ and have since then been split between at least two libraries.⁷

Wolfgang Boetticher also visited Rome while preparing his monumental work on Lasso.⁸ He discovered an incomplete set of four partbooks in the library of the Accademia di Santa Cecilia which had belonged to the Chiesa Nuova; these contained the soprano, alto and tenor of Choir 1 and the bass of Choir 2 and now have the call-number G 792-5. The three pieces by Lasso were to be found in these partbooks in the same versions as those in Münster and Boetticher accepted the likelihood that it had been from the complete set which had included those partbooks that Santini had made his transcriptions.⁹ Boetticher accepted Sandberger's hypothesis concerning the existence of an early Lasso autograph and searched for this, but without success. In an article in 1955¹⁰ Boetticher spoke of the fortunate chance which had allowed an insight into the development of Lasso's style and treated at length of the differences between the two versions of the three pieces. Subsequent writers on Lasso's polychoral music have accepted his assessment.¹¹

The Biblioteca Nazionale in Rome contains much manuscript and printed music which originally belonged to the Chiesa Nuova; due to indifferent catalogueing this has not been given the attention it deserves. Recent work has sought to remedy this and it is now clear that five partbooks, catalogued separately as Ms. Mus. 117 and Mss. Mus. 118-121, originally belonged to the same set as the Accademia di Santa Cecilia partbooks, I-Rsc G 792-5.¹² These supply the alto 2 part as well as the complete choir 3; there is as yet no trace of the remaining three partbooks. The set bears the name of Pompeo Pateri, who came to Rome in 1574 and shortly afterwards joined the group of priests then forming around Philip Neri and based at the church of San Giovanni dei Fiorentini. In 1575 Pope Gregory XIII granted Philip Neri the church of Santa Maria in Vallicella for the use of the new community; Philip decided to demolish the old church and build a new one, henceforth known as the Chiesa Nuova. Pateri was closely involved with the building of this church and remained part of the community attached to it until his death in 1624.¹³ The set of partbooks must have been compiled for his use before that date; Boetticher thought them to have been compiled between 1590 and 1610.¹⁴ The precise watermarks

⁶ GIOVANNI PIERLUIGI DA PALESTRINA, *Werke* Vol. VI and VII ed. F. Espagne (Leipzig 1876): introduction.

⁷ I-Rn, Rsc.

⁸ WOLFGANG BOETTICHER, *Orlando di Lasso und seine Zeit* (Kassel-Basel 1958), p. 178-187.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 179, footnote 65.

¹⁰ WOLFGANG BOETTICHER, *Eine Frühfassung doppelchöriger Motetten Orlando di Lassos*, in: *AfMw* 12 (1955), p. 206-214.

¹¹ The main treatments are: DENIS ARNOLD, *The Grand Motets of Orlandus Lassus*, in: *Early Music* 6 (1978), p. 170 and ANTHONY CARVER, *The Development of Sacred Polychoral Music to 1580* (diss., University of Birmingham 1980).

¹² ELEONORA (BONINI) SIMI, *I Manoscritti Musicali della Biblioteca Nazionale di Roma* (Tesi di Laurea, Università degli Studi di Bologna 1981). Richard Shindle of Kent State University, Ohio, had earlier come to the same conclusion and has communicated his findings to me privately.

¹³ Biographical information on Pompeo Pateri as well as his testimony on the life of Philip Neri is to be found in *Il Primo Processo per San Filippo Neri* Vol. II = *Studi e Testi* Vol. 196 (Vatican City 1958), p. 117f. and 254f. and *Ibid.* Vol. III = *Studi e Testi* Vol. 205 (Vatican City 1960), p. 141f.

¹⁴ WOLFGANG BOETTICHER, *Eine Frühfassung*, p. 209.

found in the partbooks are not found in the standard works;¹⁵ however marks of the same designs but with different dimensions are found in Fabriano paper from 1573 to 1596.¹⁶

TABLE 1

<i>Motets à 8</i>	<i>I-Rn 117-121/I-Rsc 792-5</i>	<i>D-Müs 3590</i>
Ad te levavi	F. Anerio	F. Anerio
Surge propera	P. Vinci	Godmell
Tanto tempore	D. Finot	Finot
Beatissimae N.	B. Roy	B. Roy
Levavi oculos	O. di Lasso	Lasso
In convertendo	O. di Lasso	Lasso
Beata Mater	A. Zoilo	Zoilo
Omnes gentes	anon.	—
O pretiosum	anon.	Palestrina
Super flumina	anon.	Godmell
Salve Regina	G. F. Alcari	Godmell
De profundis	G. de Macque	Macque
Magna est gloria	G. P. da Palestrina	Palestrina
Domine in virtute	anon.	Vittoria
Surge Illuminare	G. P. da Palestrina	Palestrina
Ave Regina	G. P. da Palestrina	—
Ecce quam bonum	I. Tartaglino	I. Tartaglino
Salve Regina	G. de Macque	Macque
Ave Regina	A. Zoilo	Zoilo
Laudate Dominum	G. P. da Palestrina	Palestrina
Deus misereatur	Orlando di Lasso	Lasso
Super flumina	T. L. de Vittoria	Vittoria
Incipit oratio	D. Finot	Finot
Sancta Maria	anon.	—
Regina coeli	G. de Macque	Macque
Veni sponsa Christi	A. Stabile	—
O admirabile	G. P. da Palestrina	Palestrina
Videntes stellam	G. P. da Palestrina	Palestrina
Laudate Dominum	P. Quagliati	—
Egredimini et videte	A. Gabrieli	A. Gabrieli
Nocte surgentes	G. M. Nanino	G. M. Nanini
Regina coeli	F. Guerrero	Guerrero
Ego flos campi	F. Guerrero	Guerrero
In illo tempore	A. Zoilo	Zoilo
Confitebor tibi	anon.	Animuccia
O bone Jesu	G. P. da Palestrina	—
O Domine Jesu	G. P. da Palestrina	—
Laetatus sum	A. Zoilo	Zoilo
Beata es Virgo Maria	anon.	Palestrina
Jubilare Deo	L. Marenzio	Marenzio
Alma redemptoris	anon.	Marenzio

¹⁵ C. BRIQUET, *Les Filigranes* (Amsterdam 1968); Zonghi's *Watermarks* ed. A. F. Gasparinetti = *Monumentae Chartae Papyraeae* Vol. III (Hilversum 1953); N. P. LIKHACHEV, *The Palaeographical Significance of Watermarks* (in Russian) 3 Vols. (St. Petersburg 1899).

¹⁶ Zonghi's *Watermarks*.

Table 1 gives a list of the eight-part pieces found in these partbooks in the order in which they appear there, together with those pieces found in Ms. 3590 of the Santini collection.¹⁷ It can be seen that all of the pieces transcribed by Santini in the Chiesa Nuova are also to be found in this set of partbooks, making it indeed likely that it was from them that Santini made his transcriptions. Most of the pieces are ascribed to composers in one or other of the surviving partbooks and these are given in the appropriate column in table 1; the composers listed there under the heading Ms. 3590 are those given by Santini. His ascription of two pieces to Godmell (presumably Claude Goudimel) which are assigned in the partbooks to G. F. Alcari and P. Vinci is puzzling and must cast doubt on the reliability of his ascriptions in the case of those pieces where the composer is not named in one of the surviving partbooks. Among these are *Alma Redemptoris Mater*, where Santini's ascription to Marenzio was accepted by Meier and Jackson,¹⁸ and *Domine in Virtute*, assigned by Santini to Victoria, but not found in any of that composer's publications. Of course these ascriptions could have come from one of the three partbooks which are now missing.

A second set of partbooks in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Rome also preserves polychoral music by composers who worked in Rome in the 16th century. This set of twelve books is complete and is catalogued as Mss. Mus. 77–88; it contains pieces for from four to twenty voices. Those for eight voices are listed in Table 2.

TABLE 2

<i>Motets à 8</i>	<i>I-Rn 77–88</i>	<i>(I-Rn 117–121 (I-Rsc 792–5</i>	<i>I-Rvat C. Giul. 34</i>
Ave Regina	(Zoilo)	present	present
Beata Mater	(Zoilo)	present	present
Cantate Domino	(?)		
Confitebor tibi	(Palestrina 1572)		
Deus misereatur	Orlando (di Lasso)	present	present
Domine in virtute	(Palestrina 1572)		
In convertendo	Orlando (di Lasso)	present	present
Laudate Dominum (vs. 1)	(Palestrina 1572)		
Laudate Dominum (vs. 2)	Palestrina	present	present
Laudate pueri	(Palestrina 1572)		
Pater noster (vs. 1)	Animuccia		
Pater noster (vs. 2)	(Animuccia)		
Salve Regina	(Macque)	present	
Te Deum	(?)		
Litany BVM	(Zoilo)		present

¹⁷ There are three eight-voice pieces at the end of Ms. 3590 which are not found in I-Rn Mss. Mus. 117–121; on the first of these Santini has written that it was copied from an original in the Barberini collection and this presumably applies to the other two pieces as well.

¹⁸ LUCA MARENZIO, *Opera Omnia* Vol. III ed. Bernhard Meier and Roland Jackson = C. M. M. 72 (Stuttgart 1979), p. 55.

Very few of these pieces are ascribed to composers in the partbooks; many of the composers can be identified by comparison with other sources, notably the other Chiesa Nuova set, I-Rn Mss. Mus. 117–121 / I-Rsc G 792–5, and a further incomplete set of partbooks, I-Rvat Cappella Giulia 34.¹⁹ Concordances with these two sets of partbooks are indicated in table 2. It can be seen from the table that two of the Lasso pieces under discussion, *Deus Misereatur* and *In Convertendo*, are to be found in the complete set, Mss. Mus. 77–88. They exist there in the same versions as those found in the other Chiesa Nuova partbooks and in Münster. This set, Mss. Mus. 77–88, contains no music that can be identified as by the generation of Roman composers which followed Palestrina, i.e. Victoria, Felice Anerio, Giovanelli or Marenzio, all of whom are represented in the other set. This implies that Mss. Mus. 77–88 is the older of the two sets. Watermarks are again not very helpful: none can be precisely identified but all are very similar to marks found in Fabriano paper from the last three decades of the 16th century. There is an inventory of the music in the Chiesa Nuova in 1608 preserved in the Archivio dei Filippini in Rome.²⁰ This lists only one set of twelve partbooks in manuscript, most likely the set, Mss. Mus. 77–88. Incidentally, this inventory makes no mention of a manuscript containing works by Lasso or of anything which might be construed as a Lasso autograph.

There are two other Roman manuscripts which contain some or all of these three Lasso pieces, in the versions found in the Chiesa Nuova partbooks and in Münster. Ms. 2295 in the Biblioteca Casanatense is part of Giuseppe Baini's legacy to that library; it was seen and described by Boetticher.²¹ From the index it is clear that it originally contained all three Lasso pieces; unfortunately only part of *In Convertendo* remains: the centre section of the manuscript which contained the rest of this piece and the other two pieces has disappeared. The other source is of greater significance and was not mentioned by Boetticher: it is the already mentioned I-Rvat Cappella Giulia 34, which contains all three pieces by Lasso. This manuscript consists of eight partbooks from a set which originally contained twelve, dated by Llorens as coming from the end of the 16th century.²² The watermark is very similar to marks found in Fabriano in 1570–4, Lucca in 1583 and Venice in 1580.²³ There is also evidence about the dating of this manuscript in an entry in the archives of the Cappella Giulia for the 31st of January 1584:

„Io domenica (Garelli) libraro ho ricevuto da messer Bertinoro Traffichetto per man di Messer Giovanni da Palestrina scuti due quali sono per due mute de libri de mottetti et per la ligatura de dodici libri della cappella questo di 31 Genar 1584.“²⁴

¹⁹ In the numbering of JOSÉ M. LLORENS, *Le Opere Musicali della Cappella Giulia = Studi e Testi* Vol. 265 (Vatican City 1971), p. 89.

²⁰ I-Rf, B-VI-6 c c. 117–123, *Inventario dei Libri che sono in Coro e in Sacrestia*, quoted in CARLO GASPARRI, *L'Oratorio Romano dal '500 al '900* (Rome 1963), p. 66–67.

²¹ WOLFGANG BOETTICHER, *Orlando di Lasso*, p. 850.

²² JOSÉ M. LLORENS, op. cit., p. 89.

²³ Zonghi's *Watermarks*; N. P. LIKHACHEV, op. cit.

²⁴ Quoted in GIANCARLO ROSTIROLLA, *La Cappella Giulia in S. Pietro negli anni del magistero di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina*, in: *Atti del Convegno di Studi Palestriniani 1975* (Palestrina 1977), p. 273.

(I Domenico [Garelli] librarian have received from Messer Bertinoro Traffichetto by the hand of Messer Giovanni da Palestrina two *scuti* which are for two sets of books of motets and for the binding of twelve books of the cappella this 31st day of January 1584.)

There are no other references to twelve books in the Cappella Giulia archives as published by Rostirolla and this set, Cappella Giulia 34, though now without the third choir parts, is the only existing set of twelve partbooks from the sixteenth century. There is therefore a strong likelihood that Cappella Giulia 34 dates from 1584, while Palestrina was maestro; indeed over half of the pieces in these books are by him, including five of the seven copied by the first scribe. A number of pieces found in these partbooks are also to be found in I-Rn Mss. Mus. 117–121 and Mss. Mus. 77–88, as can be seen from table 2. I will return to this connection later.

In comparing the two versions of the three Lasso pieces, Boetticher summarized the main differences as follows:²⁵ (i) in the published versions verse-endings are enriched with changing-notes, as if improvised cadences were being written out; (ii) the Roman versions contain stereotyped octave leaps and melismas in the bass parts which are absent from the published versions; (iii) whereas in the Roman versions the voices in each choir enter together, in the published versions early or late entries by individual voices cause much greater overlap between the choirs at those places where one choir is taking over from the other. This last difference can be seen in example 1 from *Deus Misereatur*, part of which was also quoted by Boetticher (s. p. 246).

Boetticher, however, failed to notice another major difference between the two versions of these pieces: in the Roman versions each of the choirs is harmonically self-sufficient whereas in the published versions they are not. One of the requirements of *cori spezzati* writing as found in Willaert's and Jachet's *Salmi* of 1550 and enunciated by theorists such as Vicentino and Zarlino is that each choir should be harmonically complete in *tutti* sections i.e. should not contain 6/4 chords.²⁶ In modern terms this means that both bass parts should be confined to the root and third of the chord. Denis Arnold has observed that this very point was one of the main differences between Lasso's approach to polychoral writing and that of the Venetians.²⁷ Only one piece by Lasso, apart from the Roman versions of the three pieces under discussion, satisfies the requirements of *cori spezzati*: this is *Aurora Lucis Rutilat*, thought by Boetticher to be a late piece.²⁸ All other pieces by Lasso ignore these requirements and fifths are plentiful in one or other bass parts in *tutti* sections. These can be seen in the first and seventh bars of example 1, version A; they do not appear in version B of the same example.

It is interesting to look at polychoral music by Roman composers in the light of this criterion of harmonic self-sufficiency of the choirs. The earliest print containing polychoral music from Rome was Animuccia's *Il Secondo Libro delle Laudi* of 1570.

²⁵ WOLFGANG BOETTICHER, *Eine Frühfassung*.

²⁶ Di ADRIANO et di JACHET, *I Salmi Appertinenti alli Vesperì* . . . (Venice 1550). RISM 1550¹. N. VICENTINO, *L'Antica Musica Ridotta alla Moderna Prattica* (Rome 1555). G. ZARLINO, *Le Istituzioni Harmoniche* (Venice 1558).

²⁷ DENIS ARNOLD, *The Grand Motets of Orlandus Lassus*, in: *Early Music* 6 (1978), p. 170.

²⁸ WOLFGANG BOETTICHER, *Orlando di Lasso*, p. 476.

Written for Philip Neri's oratory, this collection contained a number of eight-part pieces. Two years later Palestrina published his *Liber Secundus Motetorum* in Venice with four eight-voice pieces, while in the same year Victoria included an eight-part *Ave Maria* in his first book of motets.²⁹ All of these might be described as embryonic polychoral pieces: the voices are for the most part split into two recognizable groups but other groupings of voices also occur. In none of these pieces are the choirs harmonically self-sufficient. In this they closely resemble the versions of the three Lasso pieces published in 1565 and 1566 and not at all the versions found in the Chiesa Nuova manuscripts. Klaus Fischer pointed this out in his paper on Palestrina's polychoral music given to the 450th anniversary conference held in Palestrina in 1975.³⁰ He said that the models for Palestrina's early polychoral music were to be found not in the Roman versions of the Lasso pieces but in Animuccia and Victoria. Because of the close proximity of the publication of Palestrina and Victoria it is difficult to argue about who influenced whom; it is highly probable that both were influenced by Animuccia. Looking further back for models for these three composers, the presence of two pieces by Domenico Phinot, *Incipit Oratio* and *Tanto Tempore*, in the Chiesa Nuova manuscripts is significant. Anthony Carver has dealt with the importance of Phinot for the development of polychoral music;³¹ he pointed out that Phinot did not write for *cori spezzati*, or spatially separated choirs, and that his avoidance of jagged lines pointed more towards Palestrina's style than to that of the Netherlands. Cerone³² claimed that Phinot had influenced Palestrina; this is dismissed as extravagant in the article on Phinot in the *New Grove*,³³ but there seems to be grounds in these Chiesa Nuova manuscripts for giving it more consideration.

In 1575 Palestrina published his *Liber Tertius Motetorum* which included six eight-part pieces. Here a change is evident: in four of these pieces³⁴ the choirs are harmonically self-sufficient and the other two pieces have just one or two 6/4 chords in one choir immediately preceding cadences. The grouping into two choirs in all of these 1575 pieces is much more strongly delineated, with much less overlap when one choir is taking over from the other. The same is true of Palestrina's other published polychoral works, the *Missa Confitebor Tibi* of 1585 and the posthumous masses of 1601.³⁵ The published works of Victoria show the same change, but coming somewhat later in his case. The four pieces for eight voices in his 1576 publication,³⁶ while showing much greater separation into choirs, do not have

²⁹ TOMAS LUIS DE VICTORIA, *Motecta 4–6*, 8vv (Venice 1572).

³⁰ KLAUS FISCHER, *Le Composizioni policorali di Palestrina*, in: *Atti del Convegno di Studi Palestriniani* (Palestrina 1977), p. 339.

³¹ ANTHONY CARVER, op. cit. and *Polychoral Music: a Venetian Phenomenon*, in: *PRMA* 108 (1981–2), p. 1.

³² PIETRO CERONE, *El Melopeo y Maestro* (Naples 1613).

³³ ROGER JACOB, *Phinot*, in: *Grove's Dictionary*, 6th edition (London 1981).

³⁴ *Ave Regina, Jubilate Deo, Lauda Sion, Veni Sancte Spiritus*.

³⁵ G. P. DA PALESTRINA, *Missae Quattuor 8vv* (Venice 1601).

³⁶ T. L. DE VICTORIA, *Liber Primus: qui Missas, Psalmos, Magnificat . . . aliaque complectitur 4–6*, 8vv. (Venice 1576).

harmonically independent choirs; this first appears in his 1581 publications³⁷ where three of the new pieces for eight voices have this completeness, as do all pieces subsequently published by Victoria. Apart from these composers the bulk of Roman polychoral music written during the 16th century is preserved in manuscript or was published retrospectively, often in anthologies such as that of Fabio Costantini in 1614.³⁸ One piece most likely to have been composed before 1581 is Francesco Soriano's *Deus qui Beatum Ludovicum*, since this was probably written while he was still maestro at the French church of San Luigi in Rome, a post he left in 1581. This piece and some others by Soriano from his 1597 publication³⁹ have 6/4 chords in one or other choir; the bulk of the pieces are written for harmonically self-sufficient choirs. It appears, then, from the limited number of published polychoral pieces that there was a changeover to writing for spatially separated choirs in Rome during the second half of the 1570s and the early 1580s.

In a recently published volume in the series *Monumenti Musicali Italiani* Oscar Mischiati has edited the *Missa Jubilate Deo* for eight voices by Marenzio, together with two versions of the eponymous motet by the same composer.⁴⁰ One of these versions, that on which Mischiati has concluded the mass to be based, is found in various printed anthologies from 1600 onwards;⁴¹ the other version is found in the Chiesa Nuova partbooks, I-Rn Mss. Mus. 117–121/I-Rsc G 792–5, and also in D-Müs 3590. The way in which the two versions of this motet differ is strikingly similar to the way in which the two versions of the Lasso pieces do: the manuscript version has fewer anticipated or retarded entries in individual voices at takeover points than the published one, and has harmonically self-sufficient choirs whereas the published version does not. This can be seen in example 2 which shows the same bars taken from both versions. The *Missa Jubilate Deo*, like the version of the motet on which it is based, does not have harmonically independent choirs.

Examination of those pieces found in the Chiesa Nuova manuscripts which were also published reveal a further two eight-voice pieces with large variations between published and manuscript versions.⁴² One of these is by Palestrina and the other by Animuccia. The Palestrina piece is *Laudate Dominum*, published in 1572; a variant version is to be found in I-Rn Mss. Mus. 117–121/I-Rsc G 792–5 and in D-Müs Ms. 3590 while both versions are found in I-Rn Mss. Mus. 77–88, only one attributed to Palestrina. The two versions differ in exactly the same ways as the Lasso and Marenzio pieces, as can be seen in example 3, which occurs near the end of the piece.

³⁷ T. L. DE VICTORIA, *Hymni Totius Anni* . . . 4vv . . . una cum Quatuor Psalmis . . . 8vv (Rome 1581); *Cantica Beatae Virginis* . . . 4, 5, 8vv (Rome 1581): *Alma Redemptoris, Ave Regina, Dixit Dominus*.

³⁸ RISM 1614³.

³⁹ FRANCESCO SORIANO, *Motectorum* . . . 8vv (Rome 1597).

⁴⁰ LUCA MARENZIO, *Messa e Mottetto 'Jubilate Deo'* ed. Oscar Mischiati = *Monumenti Musicali Italiani*, Vol. VII (Milan 1981).

⁴¹ RISM 1601¹, 1603¹, 1617²⁴.

⁴² A third piece, *Magna est Gloria*, appears in I-Rn Mss. mus. 77–88 with the inner parts of both choirs interchanged, but with the notes substantially the same.

summer it was held in a natural amphitheatre on the Janiculum hill while, during winter, the service took place in one of the oratories or, later, in the Chiesa Nuova itself.⁴⁶ Animuccia said in his dedication to the second book of *laudi* that he was including some more elaborate pieces because the oratory was then being frequented by prelates and the most important gentlemen.⁴⁷ Not much is known about the form of the *Oratorio Vespertino* other than that it consisted of a series of sermons, interspersed with music. It is possible that, as well as the Animuccia pieces, the four psalm-motets for eight voices published by Palestrina in 1572 were used. There is no documentary evidence to support Baini's claim that Palestrina replaced Animuccia as maestro to the oratory⁴⁸ but the presence of three of the 1572 eight-voice pieces in I-Rn Mss. Mus. 77–88 in their published form together with a revised version of one of them, *Laudate Dominum*, indicates that they were in the Chiesa Nuova and oratorian repertory.

The most likely explanation for the revision of these pieces by Palestrina, Lasso, Animuccia and Marenzio is that the practice of singing polychoral pieces with spatially separated choirs grew up in the early 1580s after the building of the Chiesa Nuova with its greater facility for such performance than the oratories previously in use. Research in the archives of the church has failed to produce any information about performance practice of polychoral music before 1599, when a large platform was erected at the crossing of the church for the anniversary of the death of Philip Neri, four choirs taking part.⁴⁹ There is no evidence for the manner of performance of double-choir music. The pieces which were revised must have been a treasured part of the oratory repertory; rather than abandon them because they proved difficult for the singers and unsatisfactory for the listeners when performed in *cori spezzati*, they were revised so that they could be performed satisfactorily in the new manner. At a time when there was a large growth in polychoral writing in Rome, the fact that these six pieces should have been rewritten can only indicate a high regard for them.

Important questions remain which are not easily answered: Were the revisions carried out by a single hand or by several? Did the various composers rewrite their own pieces? The style of reworking is fairly consistent throughout the six pieces: the outer parts were left intact where possible and changes made to the inner parts; however the need to avoid 6/4 chords did lead to some rewriting of the first bass part in particular. Given the present lack of knowledge about Roman polychoral music it is difficult to say whether the reworkings were all carried out by the same person or not. As to whether or not the composers themselves were involved, it seems unlikely

⁴⁶ HOWARD E. SMITHER, *A History of the Oratorio* Vol. I (Chapel Hill 1977). This volume also contains a comprehensive bibliography on the oratory.

⁴⁷ 'Ma essendosi poi tuttavia l'oratorio suddetto per gratia di Dio venuto accrescendo co'l concorso di Prelati e Gentil'huomini principalissimi, é parso anco à me conveniente di accrescere in questo Secondo Libro l'harmonia, i concerti, variando la musica in diversi modi . . . hora con piu numero di voce, e hora con meno . . .'

⁴⁸ H. E. SMITHER, *op. cit.*

⁴⁹ FRANCESCO ZAZZARA, *Diario delle Onoranze a S. Filippo dalla Morte alla Canonizzazione 1621*, Archivio Vallicelliana A IV 13.

that Animuccia or Lasso were. Animuccia died in 1571, the year after the publication of his *Pater Noster*. There is one other piece attributed to him by Santini in D-Müs Ms. 3590 which is written for spatially separated choirs, *Confitebor Tibi*; this piece is, however, not attributed to Animuccia in any of the surviving partbooks of I-Rn Mss. Mus. 117–121, from which Santini copied it, and in view of Santini's false attributions mentioned earlier his assignment of this piece to Animuccia must be suspect. There is a huge stylistic difference between both *Confitebor Tibi* and the reworked version of *Pater Noster* and the pieces published by Animuccia in 1570; such a change in the space of one year is improbable, particularly since Palestrina's pieces published in 1572 were not written for *cori spezzati*. Lasso is known to have visited Rome in 1574 and not subsequently.⁵⁰ It is not impossible that he revised the three pieces in that year, but this would have predated the stylistic change in Roman polychoral music and, more importantly, would have been in complete contrast with the polychoral music being written by Lasso at that time.⁵¹ Boetticher recognized the inferior nature of the Roman versions and indeed much was lost in the reworking process. The evidence suggests that whoever was responsible for the revisions, it was not Lasso.

On the other hand it is entirely possible that Marenzio and Palestrina were responsible for the reworkings of their pieces. The two versions of Marenzio's *Jubilate Deo* do not differ from each other to the same extent as do the variant readings of the other pieces. This reflects the later date of composition of the published version of this piece (the first known publication of it in 1600 was posthumous). The reworking is perhaps more carefully done than the others: for example one set of staggered entries in both choirs was left intact and this was probably in deference to the word-painting involved: the text being *introite portas ejus*. This care would point to Marenzio himself being the reviser. Palestrina's *Laudate Dominum* is found in the revised version in I-Rvat Cappella Giulia 34, a manuscript which, as we have seen, almost certainly dates from Palestrina's time as maestro at the Cappella Giulia. As can be seen from example 3, the reworking involved considerable changes which, if not actually carried out by Palestrina, must have been done with his approval. Both versions of the piece are found in I-Rn Mss. Mus. 77–88 but it is only the revised version which bears Palestrina's name. It seems likely that the revision was done by the composer himself. As for the pieces by Animuccia and Lasso, it is possible that either Marenzio or Palestrina were involved in the rewriting, or that one of the maestri at the Chiesa Nuova, for example Francesco Soto or Prospero Santini, revised them for use at that church. More information may come to light which would help to clarify these questions.

What emerges from the present study is a need to reappraise the accepted view that Lasso composed polychoral music as early as 1553 and that this music was written in a style radically different from that subsequently used by him, causing

⁵⁰ JAMES HAAR, *Lassus*, in: *Grove's Dictionary*, 6th edition (London 1981).

⁵¹ DENIS ARNOLD, op. cit.; ANTHONY CARVER, op. cit.

him to revise his early pieces before publication. The evidence does not support this view but rather the reverse: the published versions were Lasso's original compositions and the pieces were revised in Rome, probably in the 1580s, to enable them to be sung by spatially separated choirs. There is no evidence that this revision was carried out by Lasso.

EXAMPLE 1 A. Published Version, 1566

gen-ti-bus sa-lu-ta-re tu-um Con-fi-te-

- ti- bus sa-lu-ta-re tu-um Con- fi-te-

- ti- bus sa-lu-ta-re tu-um Con-fi-te-

- ti- bus sa-lu-ta-re tu-um Con- fi-te-

- ti- bus sa-lu-ta-re tu-um Con-fi-te-

- ti- bus sa-lu-ta-re tu-um Con- fi-te-

EXAMPLE 1 B. Manuscript Version, I-Rn, I-Rsc, D-Mus

gen-ti-bus sa-lu-ta-re tu-um Con-fi-te-

gen- ti- bus sa-lu-ta-re tu-um Con- fi-te-

(bus) sa-lu-ta-re tu-um Con-fi-te-

- ti- bus sa-lu-ta-re tu-um Con- fi-te-

gen-ti-bus sa-lu-ta-re tu-um Con-fi-te-

gen-ti-bus sa-lu-ta-re tu-um Con- fi-te-

- bus sa-lu-ta-re tu-um Con-fi-te-

- ti- bus sa-lu-ta-re tu-um Con- fi-te-

EXAMPLE 2 A. Published Version, 1600²

hym-nis lau-da-te no - men e - ius quo-ni-

hym-nis lau-da-te no - men e - ius quo-ni-

hym-nis lau-da-te no - men e - ius quo-ni-

hym-nis lau-da-te no - men e - ius quo-ni-

Con - fi-te-mini il-li lau-da-te no - men e - ius

Con - fi-te-mini il-li lau-da-te no - men e - ius

Con - fi-te-mini il-li lau-da-te no - men e - ius

Con - fi-te-mini il-li lau-da-te no - men e - ius

EXAMPLE 2 B. Manuscript Version, I-Rn, I-Rsc, D-Mus

hym-nis lau-da-te no - men e - ius quo-ni-

hym-nis lau-da-te no - men e - ius quo-ni-

hym-nis lau-da-te no - men e - ius quo-ni-

hym-nis lau-da-te no - men e - ius quo-ni-

Con - fi-te-mini il-li lau-da-te no - men e - ius

Con - fi-te-mini il-li lau-da-te no - men, lauda-te no - men e - ius

Con - fi-te-mini il-li lau-da-te no - men e - ius

Con - fi-te-mini il-li lau-da-te no - men, no - men e - ius

EXAMPLE 3 A. Published Version, 1572

et veritas Do - - mi-ni ma - net in ae-ter-
 ve-ritas Do-mi -ni ma - - net in ae-ter - - num,in
 et ve-ritas Do-mi-ni ma - net in ae-
 et veritas Do - mi -ni ma - net in ae-ter-
 -tas Do - - mi-ni Ma - net in ae-ter-num, in
 et veritas Do - - mi-ni ma - net in ae-ter-
 -tas Do - - mi-ni ma - net in ae-ternum,in ae - -
 -tas Do - - - mi- ni ma - net in ae-ter-num

EXAMPLE 3 B. Manuscript Version, I-Rn, I-Rsc, I-Rvat, D-Mus

et veritas Do - - mi-ni ma - net in ae-ter-
 et veritas Do - - mi-ni ma net in ae-ter-
 et veritas Do- mi-ni ma - net in ae-ter-
 et veritas Do - - mi-ni ma - net in ae-ter-
 -tas Do - - mi-ni ma - net in ae-ter-num
 -tas Do - mi-ni ma - net in ae-ter-num
 -tas Do - - mi-ni ma - net in ae-ter-num
 -tas Do - - mi-ni ma - net in ae-ter-num

EXAMPLE 4 A. Published Version, 1570

(et) in ter-ra. Pa - nem no - strum quo-ti-di-a - num

et in ter-ra. Pa - nem no - strum quo-ti-di-a - num

Pa - nem no - strum quo-ti-di-a - num

et in ter-ra. Pa - nem no - strum quotidi-a - num

Pa - nem no - strum quo-ti-di-a - num

Pa - nem no - strum quo-ti-di-a - num

in ter - ra. Pa - nem no - strum quo-ti-di-a - num

Pa - nem no - strum quo-ti-di-a - num

EXAMPLE 4 B. Manuscript Version, I-Rn

(et) in ter-ra. Pa - nem no - strum quotidi-a - num

et in ter-ra. Pa - nem no - strum quo-ti-di-a - num

in ter - ra. Pa - nem no - strum quoti - di-a - num

et in ter - ra. Pa - nem no - strum quotidia - num

Pa - nem, pa - nem no - strum quo-ti-di-a - num

Pa - nem no - strum quo-ti-di-a - num

(1) Pa - nem no - strum quo-ti-di-a - num

Pa - nem no - strum quo-ti-di-a - num

EXAMPLE 5 A. Published Version, 1566

ter - ram. Non det in com-mo-ti-o - nem pe - dem tu - um, pe-dem tu - -

ram. Non det in com-mo-ti-o - nem pe-dem tu = - um, pe-dem

-ram. Non det in com-mo-ti-o-nem, in commotio-nem pe - dem tu -

-ram. Non det in com-mo-ti - o - nem pe - - dem tu -

- ram. Non det in com - mo-ti-o - nem pe dem tu-um

-ram. Non det in com-mo - ti-o-nem pedem

ter - ram. Non det in commotio - nem, non det in commotionem pe-dem

-ram. Non det in com-mo - ti - o - nem pe - dem tu -

EXAMPLE 5 B. Manuscript Version, I-Rn, I-Rsc, D-Mus¹¹

-ram. Non det in com-mo-ti - o - nem pe - dem tu - um, pedem tu - -

-ram. Non det in com-mo-ti - o - nem pe-dem tu -

-ram. Non det in com-mo-ti-o - - nem pe - dem tu - um, pedem

-ram. Non det in commo - ti - o - - nem pe - dem tu -

-ram. Non det in commoti-o - nem pedem tu - um, pe - dem tu -

-ram. Non det in commo-ti-o-nem pe - dem tu - um

Non det in com-mo - ti-o - - nem pe - dem tu -

-ram. Non det in com - mo-ti - ti - o - nem pe - dem tu -

EXAMPLE 6

A. Published Version: 1566

- a - tur nos - tri ut cog - nos - ca - mus in
ter - ra vi - am tu - am in om - ni bus

B. Manuscript Version, I-Rn, D-Müs

- a - tur nos - tri ut cog - nos - ca - mus in
ter - ra vi - am tu - am in om - ni - bus