THE LITURGICAL MUSIC OF THE CHIESA NUOVA, ROME (1575-1644)

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The following library sigla are used:

I-Bc Museo internazionale e biblioteca della musica di Bologna

I-Ras Archivio di Stato, Rome I-Rf Archivio della Chiesa Nuova

I-Rn Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Rome

I-Rsc Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica S. Cecilia

I-Rv Biblioteca Vallicelliana

I-Rvat Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cappella Sistina

Other abbreviations:

Mss.Mus. Manoscritti Musicali

Orat. Oratory
Cong. Congregation
n.d. No date

ABSTRACT

The music of the Congregation of the Roman Oratory has been the subject of previous research relating to their spiritual exercises or oratories, which contributed to the development of the oratorio. This thesis, however, investigates the liturgical music from the Chiesa Nuova, the church of the Congregation of the Oratory in Rome. The period covered extends from 1575, when the Congregation was officially recognised, to 1644, when Girolamo Rosini, the final member of the Congregation to hold the post of *maestro di cappella*, died.

After referring to literature that has described the Chiesa Nuova as an important centre for church music in Rome, the sources of what once formed a vast library of liturgical music are discussed with reference to other important archival material, such as inventories of the music including one from as early as 1592, which had not previously been discovered. The necessary historic background on the music establishment at the Chiesa Nuova supplies new evidence on the musicians involved, as well as the impact made by the Oratorian emphasis on music as an inspirational tool for devotion. The largest part of the thesis is given to a discussion of a representative sample of the music. These sources provide one of the most complete pictures of the provision of liturgical music in a single institution in Rome during that period. It presents the great diversity of styles that existed side-by-side, ranging from the small-scale motet to large-scale polychoral works. As much of the music only exists in manuscript copies or in rare early prints, thirty-two complete transcriptions of these unique sources are included. This study provides a valuable contribution to research into sacred music in Rome during a period straddling the two traditionally defined epochs of the Renaissance and Baroque and an era of renewed energy in the Church, as well as providing evidence to substantiate the reputation of the Chiesa Nuova as one of the greatest centres for church music in Rome during that period.

DECLARATION

No portion of the work referred to in this thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or other institute of learning.

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I. INTRODUCTION

The object of this thesis is to show how the Church of Santa Maria in Vallicella, the motherhouse of Filippo Neri's Congregation of the Oratory (hereafter referred to by its popular name of the Chiesa Nuova) became one of the most famous churches for its liturgical music in the late Renaissance and early Baroque periods. Filippo Neri (1515-1595) was one of the most influential figures in post-Tridentine Rome and possibly the only religious founder who was known to hold strong views on the importance of music:

Our saint was profoundly convinced that there is in music and in song a mysterious and a mighty power to stir the heart with high and noble emotions, and an especial fitness to raise it above to the love of heavenly things.¹

He looked to music as a vital tool for instructing people in the Catholic faith as well as an inspiration for them in their religious devotions.²

It will be seen that the ambience created by Neri attracted musicians, many of whom would give their services freely, not only in their participation in the spiritual exercises of the Oratory, but also in the liturgical performances at the Chiesa Nuova. The indications are that some of the most celebrated musicians of that time were influenced by Neri, including those who, drawn to the priesthood, chose to join the Congregation of the Oratory because of the emphasis placed on music. Numbered among them were members of the Papal Choir who, in being allowed to retain their positions as Papal singers, were able to attract others to sing at the Chiesa Nuova. There were also composers, like Giovanni Animuccia (1550-1571), who wrote music specifically for Mass, Vespers and other liturgical services there.³ This generous contribution of their services is problematic

¹ Alfonso Capecelatro, The Life of St. Philip Neri, Apostle of Rome, trans. T.A. Pope, 2nd edition, vol. 2

⁽London: Burns & Oates, 1894), 78. ² From the beginning Neri would always include laude, songs in the vernacular, as part of the spiritual exercises of his Oratory gatherings. See Jonathan Robinson, In No Strange Land. The embodied Mysticism of Saint Philip Neri (Kettering, Ohio: Angelico Press, 2015), 264.

³ Animuccia had died before the Congregation was established at the Chiesa Nuova, but wrote for the nascent Congregation at S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini. His music remained popular with the Congregation at the Chiesa Nuova.

for the researcher, however, as any record of their participation at the Chiesa Nuova that may have been found, for example, in records of payment, is often lacking.

In particular, much speculation surrounds the possible involvement of Palestrina and his association with Neri.⁴ With regard to Victoria, his association with both Neri and the Oratorian priest, Soto de Langa, will be discussed, but there is no surviving evidence to suggest that he took on a more active role in the musical life at the Chiesa Nuova or that he ever joined the Congregation of the Oratory.

Research into the liturgical music of the Chiesa Nuova has been somewhat limited, considering how it appears to have had such an excellent reputation in its day. Early biographies about Neri tended to focus on information drawn from the process for his canonisation with the addition of anecdotes from those who had known him.⁵ One of the few ecclesiastical writers on Neri to emphasise the importance of music in his mission was Cardinal Alfonso Capecelatro (1824-1912), a member of the Oratorian Congregation at Naples, who, although having access to the archives there and presumably in Rome, provides no references to his sources. The first really scholarly work was begun by Louis Ponnelle and completed by his pupil Louis Bordet in the 1930s, and translated into English from the original French by Ralph Francis Kerr of the London Oratory in 1932.⁶ This remains the most reliable source for information on Neri and the Congregation of the Oratory at the Chiesa Nuova.

Although the music of the Oratory has been amply referred to in studies of oratorio (especially by Howard Smither in his *A History of the Oratorio*, vol.1, Chapel Hill,

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⁴ Argia Bertini presents a thorough investigation of the claims made by such as Capecelatro and Baini and the origins of those claims, which remain largely conjecture. See: Argia Bertini, 'Palestrina e l'ambiente filippino' in Francesco Luisi (ed.), *Atti del Convegno di Studi Palestriniani 28 settembre - 2 ottobre 1975* (Palestrina: Fondazione G. Pierluigi da Palestrina, 1977), 367-380.

The earliest biograpy was by one of the first priests of the Oratory, Antonio Gallonio, *Vita Beati Philippi Nerii florentini Congregationis Oratorii fundatoris in annos digesta*, Aloysium Zanettum anno Jubilei MDC. There is an English translation by Jerome Bertram, *The Life of Saint Philip* Neri (Oxford: Family Publications, 2005). The second was written in the year of his canonisation by Pietro Jacomo Bacci, *Vita del B. Filippo Neri fiorentino fondatore della Congregazione dell'Oratorio*, Andrea Brugiotti, MDCXXII.

⁶ Louis Ponnelle & Louis Bordet, *St. Philip Neri and the Roman Society of his times (1515-1595)*, trans. by Ralph Francis Kerr of the London Oratory (London: Sheed & Ward, 1932).

1977) and, more recently, in studies of religious devotional music pertaining to the laude and the spiritual madrigal (Daniele V. Filippi, "Selva Armonica". La Musica Spirituale a Roma tra Cinque e Seicento, Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), recent studies of church music in Rome in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries give scant reference to the liturgical music at the Chiesa Nuova, although the architecture of the church alone, with a gallery on either side of the sanctuary and an organ in each, suggests that the music there would have been, at the very least, interesting but possibly quite splendid.

Graham Dixon, in his thesis on 'Liturgical music in Rome (1605-45)', 7 focused on the archives of ten Roman Churches and, although he acknowledged the important part played by both the Jesuits and the Oratorians in the religious and artistic thought in the first part of the seventeenth century, his only reference to the Oratorians and music relates to their use of vernacular songs to promote the faith. 8 It appears that the archives he investigated were those that were at the time of his research most accessible but, in restricting himself to the material housed only in the archives of his chosen churches, the picture he builds is incomplete. In the 1870s the Italian State requisitioned some church institutions in Rome, as well as archival material relating in particular to hospitals, schools and other charitable institutions such as confraternities and oratories. In addition, items relating to cultural heritage were seized. As a result, much archival material, including both printed and manuscript music, was placed in various state libraries in Rome. In writing about the music at the Church of the Gesù, the mother church of the Jesuits, Dixon confined himself to Jesuit archives and, whilst finding much information on the hiring and payment of musicians, he commented generally on the impossibility of determining the musical repertory of Roman churches as only scant indications remain. He included a very

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⁷ Graham Peter Dixon, 'Liturgical Music in Rome (1605-45)' (PhD. diss., Durham University, 1981).

⁸ Ibid., 16.

⁹ Antonio Fiori, 'Confraternite romane tra Crispi e Giolitti', *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, vol. 113 (1990), 285-346.

pertinent statement that clearly reflects the condition of Italian archives in Rome at that time:

While I consider myself fortunate to have come across as much archival information as is presented here, I accept that later scholars will inevitably bring more material to light, especially if the documents are one day arranged systematically and procedures for consulting them improved. 10

The probable inaccessibility of the archives at the Chiesa Nuova at the time of his research is likely to have been the reason for Dixon's decision not to include a study of the music belonging to that church in his thesis. It was not until 1989 that the Biblioteca Nazionale in Rome printed a catalogue of its music holdings referencing music that had belonged to various churches in Rome, including the Chiesa Nuova. 11

Noel O'Regan's doctoral thesis, 'Sacred Polychoral Music in Rome 1575-1621'. 12 emphasised the importance of the Oratorians in the musical life of the Church in Rome with particular reference to Neri's use of music as a vital tool in 'the armoury of the post-Tridentine church'. 13 He also referred to the Chiesa Nuova as 'one of the three great churches from this period', 14 with the other two being the Gesù and the new St. Peter's, and provided some already well-documented evidence of the magnificence of the music that could be heard at the Chiesa Nuova on important occasions referring, in particular, to the anniversaries of the death of Filippo Neri. 15

Having thus stressed the importance of the music establishment at the Chiesa Nuova gained from contemporary accounts, O'Regan, writing in the 1980s, did not continue with a description of the music there. It appeared that sources of polychoral music

¹⁰ Dixon, ibid., 50.

¹¹ Catalogo del fondo musicale della Biblioteca Centrale Vittorio Emanuele di Roma (Rome: Consorzio Iris per la valorizzazione dei beni librari, 1989). ¹² O'Regan, Noel, 'Sacred Polychoral Music in Rome 1575-1621' (PhD diss., University of Oxford, 1988).

¹³ Ibid., 11

¹⁴ Ibid., 29

¹⁵ Ibid., 65-66 The information is taken from a diary written by Francesco Zazzara, *Diario delle onoranze a* S. Filippo dalla morte all canonizzazione, 1621: I Rf A-IV-13.

from the archives of the Chiesa Nuova were not available at that time. ¹⁶ Unlike Dixon, O'Regan did refer to the problem of the dispersal of music archives after 1870, and with particular reference to the Chiesa Nuova, when discussing an incomplete set of part books in the Biblioteca Nazionale. ¹⁷

In the following decade Antonio Addamiano and Arnaldo Morelli made an interesting study of the archives of the Chiesa Nuova, attempting to reconstruct the catalogue as it would have been in the first half of the seventeenth century. They made great progress in identifying music that was once housed at the Chiesa Nuova but is now found in the Biblioteca Nazionale and the Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica S. Cecilia. Writing in 1997, they pointed out that, although the work of reconstructing Italian musical collections of historic interest began over half a century ago, they are still few in number. Their idea to work on the reconstruction of the music archives of the Chiesa Nuova was prompted by the publication of the catalogue of the collection of music in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Rome in 1989 for which Morelli had written the introduction. To assist their reconstruction they referred to two inventories of both the manuscript and printed liturgical music compiled at the Chiesa Nuova in 1608 and 1794, but failed to discover another earlier inventory from 1592 which this study has brought to light. The work done by Addamiano and Morelli, however, provided a lot of useful data that has proved extremely fruitful in investigating the music that belonged to the Chiesa Nuova.

Prior to this work, Morelli produced, in 1991, *Il Tempo Armonico, Musica nell'Oratorio dei Filippini in Roma (1575-1705)*, in which he considered the music of the

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¹⁶ Ibid., 104.

¹⁷ Ibid., 121.

¹⁸ Antonio Addamiano and Arnaldo Morelli, 'L'archivio della cappella musicale di Santa Maria in Vallicella (Chiesa Nuova) a Roma nella prima metà del Seicento. Una ricostruzione', *Fonti Musicale Italiane* (Società Italiana di Musicologia, 1997), 37-67.

¹⁹ I-Rf B.VI.6 and I-Rf B.VI.18.

²⁰ This inventory can be found in the archive of the Chiesa Nuova but is not referenced in the present catalogue of that archive.

Oratory between 1575 and 1705. ²¹ The main focus of his study was the music for the Oratory rather than the liturgical music, although there is a short chapter on the church music, which was useful in providing background information rather than any analysis of the music itself. Smither, in a review of the book, pointed out that it contained no musical examples and no discussion of musical styles. ²² Morelli did, however, cite important archival material and his text of 105 pages is supported by an appendix of 422 transcribed documents (82 pages) and included several lists of *maestri di cappella*, *maestri coadiutori*, *organisti*, *cantati della cappella*, and *prefetti della musica* that had never been published before. Clearly all this provides useful points of reference and Smither viewed them as an invaluable source for anyone working on Roman music of this period, whether or not their interest is primarily in music for the Chiesa Nuova. ²³ It appears that, whilst the reputation of the Chiesa Nuova for its music has been recognised and Neri's emphasis on the role of music has been highlighted and even portrayed in early iconography (Fig.1.1), detailed analysis of the liturgical music there, as well as more thorough research into the involvement of some of the most acclaimed musicians, has so far been lacking.

This present study will initially describe the location and classification of surviving archival material, including both written documents and manuscript and printed music, that relates to the liturgy at the Chiesa Nuova during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. A description of the development of liturgical music in relation to the objectives of Filippo Neri and the subsequent development of his ideals by his Congregation of the Oratory will follow, with reference to the musicians involved in composing or performing for the liturgical services there. This will enable a contextual and, as far as possible, a chronological description of the music that survives, including a more in-depth analysis of

²¹ Arnaldo Morelli, *Il Tempo Armonico, Musica nell'Oratorio dei Filippini in Roma (1575-1705)*, Analecta Musicologica, 27 (Laaber-Verlag, 1991).

²² Howard E. Smither, review of Arnaldo Morelli, *Il Tempo Armonico. Musica nell'Oratorio dei Filippini in Roma (1575-1705), Music & Letters*, 74 (1993), 2: 276-278; here, 278.

that music that has remained relatively unknown until this study, but which appears to have been popular at the Chiesa Nuova in the post-Tridentine period. It is this consideration of the music, much of which has not been discussed in this context before, that will aim to substantiate the Chiesa Nuova's reputation as one of the greatest centres for church music in Rome at that time.



Fig. 1.1 An early engraving of S. Filippo Neri ²⁴

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²⁴ This engraving by Domenico Sonzonio dates from 1733 and is included in Antonio Gallonio, *La Vita di San Filippo Neri (1601)* reprinted with introduction and notes by Maria Teresa Bonadonna Russo (Rome, Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri, 1995), 283.

II. ARCHIVAL STUDIES AND SOURCES

Before describing the liturgical music that was amassed by the Congregation of the Oratory at the Chiesa Nuova during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, attempting to qualify the prominence of the Chiesa Nuova in relation to developments in sacred music in Rome at that time, it is important to consider the archival sources. These include the music for which the provenance of the Chiesa Nuova can be substantiated, as well as official documents that provide information on the music establishment. The aim in this chapter is to provide a precise account of the sources which are extant, indicating present location, format, dates, composers and content as well as to describe written reports, such as inventories and records of purchases, which document the music that was originally in the archive, including that which has now disappeared, thus enabling, as closely as possible, a reconstruction of the music library of the Chiesa Nuova when it was in its prime in the seventeenth century, as well as providing references to when and how much of the music was used in the liturgy.

1. The history of the music archive

The present-day locations of the music are the archives of the Chiesa Nuova, the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, the Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica S. Cecilia and the Biblioteca Vallicelliana. There are also informative written records relating to the music and the music establishment at the Chiesa Nuova, including some records of expenditure in the archives of the Chiesa Nuova and the Archivio di Stato.

The dispersal of the original archive resulted from the various laws that were imposed relating to the Church in Italy by the newly-formed Italian State in the latter part of the nineteenth century.²⁵ In June 1873 a government board was formed, the *Giuta*

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²⁵ Fiori, ibid.

liquidatrice dell'asse ecclesiastico di Roma, for the purpose of systematically seizing the assets of religious congregations in Rome. This board took possession of the goods of the Congregation of the Oratory in December 1873.²⁶ In the winter of 1873 to 1874 Franz Espagne was in Rome collecting material for the Breitkopf and Härtel edition of motets by Palestrina. He visited the archive of the Chiesa Nuova and in his preface to the sixth and seventh volumes states that the archive was then in great disarray and that the unpublished motets of Palestrina that were described by Baini were no longer there.²⁷ We can assume that this visit was made after the archive had been seized. Prior to this, Baini described works by Palestrina that were housed there *in una ricca collezione* ('in a rich collection') including double-choir and polychoral motets.²⁸

In 1876, upon delivery of the papers of the Congregation to the State Archives in Rome, the fathers of the Congregation of the Oratory were presented with a rough note prepared by the Executive, which shows that the delivery was not detailed but *en masse* and without any inventory.²⁹ There was no mention of the music archive and it appears that the music was at first housed in the new National Library, which was established in 1876 in the sixteenth-century Collegio Romano, in part of what had previously been the Biblioteca Secreta of the seminary run by the Jesuits. A handwritten catalogue existed that was barely legible, although each item was labelled with a shelfmark, which did not appear to relate to original provenance in any systematic ordering.³⁰ In 1975 the contents of this library were transferred to a newly-built Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele

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³⁰ Arnaldo Morelli kindly provided me with this information.

²⁶ Daniela Nori Monti, 'The Archive of the Roman Oratory', *Catholic Archives*, No. 33 (London: Catholic Archives Society, 2013), 14-22; here 18.

Archives Society, 2013), 14-22; here 18.

²⁷ Franz Espagne, (ed.), 'Vorwort zum sechsten und siebenten Bande', *Pierluigi da Palestrina, Werke*, vol. VI (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1876), iii.

²⁸ Giuseppe Baini, *Memorie storico-critiche della vita e delle opere di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina*, vol.2 (Rome: Societa Tipografica, 1828), 326-327.

²⁹ Anna Maria Corbo, *L'Archivio della Congregazione dell'Oratorio di Roma e l'Archivio dell'Abbazia di S.Giovanni in Venere. Inventario*, Quaderni della Rassegna degli Archivi di Stato 27 (Rome: 1964), 62.

di Roma and a catalogue of the music was made in 1989.³¹ Ninety-eight manuscripts of sacred music taken from religious institutions in Rome in the 1870s formed the nucleus of collection. Of these, thirty-eight were from the Chiesa Nuova. 32

It appears that at some point before this there was a deliberate move to separate manuscript and printed music that had been seized from the archive, with the printed music being placed in the Biblioteca Musicale Governativa del Conservatorio di Musica S. Cecilia. The indications are, however, that this division was not achieved with care as some manuscripts still ended up in the Conservatorio with one collection of manuscript partbooks split between the two institutions.³³

An attempt to reconstruct as closely as possible the music library in the Chiesa Nuova, as it was in the seventeenth century, is further complicated by the fact that the laws passed in the 1860s and 1870s by the Italian State in relation to religious institutions, created a climate of fear that led the Oratory fathers to hide the most precious parts of their historic archive, not only written accounts, letters and diaries that provided details of the earliest years of the Congregation, but also some of the music. Due to neglect, humidity and possibly even the sale of precious items during times of financial restraint, even more of the archive was dispersed or destroyed and it was not until 1924 that those items that still remained were moved to the ground floor and placed in closed cupboards.³⁴

³¹ Catalogo del fondo musicale della Biblioteca centrale Vittorio Emanuele di Roma, (Roma: Consorzio Iris

per la valorizzazione dei beni librari, 1989).

32 Antonio Addamiano and Arnaldo Morelli, 'L'archivio della cappella musicale di Santa Maria in Vallicella (Chiesa Nuova) a Roma nella prima metà del Seicento. Una ricostruzione', Fonti Musicale Italiane (1997),

³³ These are I-Rn Mss. 117-121 with I-Rsc G.Mss.792-795.

³⁴ Carlo Gasbarri, L'Oratorio Romano dal Cinquecento al Novecento (Rome: Tip. D'Urso, 1962), 7.

2. The present archive of the Chiesa Nuova

The music preserved today in the archives of the Chiesa Nuova is a small amount of a much larger collection, perhaps one of the most significant in seventeenth-century Rome, which was accumulated from 1575 onwards for the liturgical and spiritual needs of the Congregation of the Oratory. The music store is located in the same premises that house their historical archives and consists of manuscripts and printed editions dating from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century. Its formation dates back to 1582 when Father Niccolò Gigli, the secretary to the Congregation, gave an initial organizational structure to the archive.³⁵

Still preserved there among the historic documents, including some of the Books of the Decrees of the Congregation, ³⁶ are a number of inventories of items in the church, the sacristy and the choir. Among these are four inventories of liturgical music. The earliest is from 1592 (Fig.2.1) and, in not being specifically identified for what it is in any catalogue, has escaped the notice of any previous researchers. The beginning of this inventory purports to include lists of items relating to the house such as the content of the pantry, the cellar, the linen cupboard, then items in the sacristy, and finally lists of expenditure. At the end of this, however, on a single sheet, but bound in with the other entries, is a list of books: *Libri di choro et missale* ('Books of the choir and missals'). Eighteen items relating to the music for the choir are listed including books of chant and choirbooks of polyphony.³⁷ Although lacking in detail, it provides a valuable source of information on the music that was used in the liturgy at the Chiesa Nuova during the first fifteen years, starting from 3 February 1577 when, on Septuagesima Sunday, Mass was celebrated in the church for the first time.³⁸

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³⁵ Monti, 'The Archive of the Roman Oratory', 14.

³⁶ Some of the *Libri de' Decreti* (Books of Decrees) are also in the Archivio di Stato. See page 58.

³⁷ See Appendix 1, A list of the music included in the inventory of 1592.

³⁸ Ponnelle and Bordet, St. Philip Neri and the Roman Society of his Times, 343.

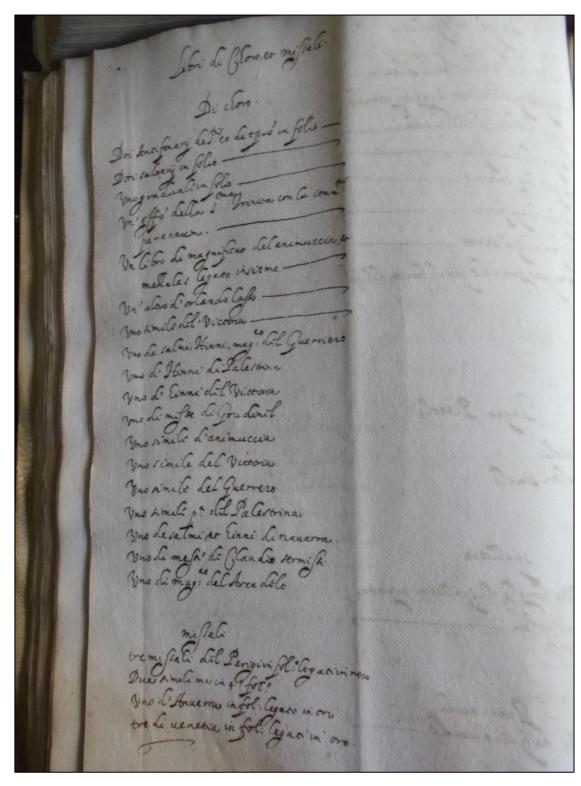


Fig 2.1 The inventory of the music from 1592.

A second inventory survives from 1608, just sixteen years later.³⁹ It is described as Inventario di tutte le robbe che si ritrovano per uso / della Chiesa, Sacrestia, et Coro di S^{ta} Maria e S. Gregorio / in Vallicella fatto per ordine / del Reverendo Padre Flaminio Ricci rettore l'anno / 1608. Del mese di Marzo (Figs. 2.2) ('An inventory of all things found for use in the Church, the Sacristy and the Choir. Ordered by the Reverend Father Flaminio Ricci, Rector, in March 1608'). Again it includes lists of books of polyphonic collections as well as the necessary books to perform liturgical music using Gregorian chant. 40 Compiled at the directive of the Rector of that time, Padre Flaminio Ricci. 41 it formed part of those surveys that were conducted regularly in the major institutions of the time for purposes of conservation and preservation of assets of furniture and furnishings to be passed down over time or eventually to be renewed if necessary. 42 There is no doubt that the survey work was done by a person who was very competent and who paid careful attention to detail. This music inventory, written on loose sheets in black ink and in one hand throughout, lists the full title of each volume including the name of the composer where appropriate, the type of covering and binding and, for published works, the place and date of publication (Fig. 2.3). It provides far more detail than that provided for the music listed in the inventory of 1592 and enables a more exact identification of the items in the earlier inventory, all of which are listed again. In addition, it indicates how much the music library had grown between the time of the first inventory and this second one of 1608, which includes sixty-one entries and among these single entries where two or more

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Palestrina, 2006), 1171-1198; here, 1173.

³⁹ I-Rf B.VI.6.

⁴⁰ Appendix 2, A list of the music included in the inventory of 1608.

⁴¹ Flaminio Ricci had been admitted to the Congregation in September 1578. He was a doctor in both canon and civil law, a man of serious character and Philip Neri had every confidence in him. He was elected Rector soon after Neri's death. See Ponnelle, & Bordet, *St. Philip Neri and the Roman Society of his times*, 356.

⁴² Giancarlo Rostirolla, 'Per la storia della Biblioteca musicale della Chiesa Nuova: Palestrina e altri maestri della polifonia tra i "Libri del Coro" e "di Sacrestia" nel 1608', *Palestrina e l'Europa: atti del III convegno internazionale di studi, Palestrina, 6-9 ottobre 1994* (Palestrina: Fondazione G. Pierluigi da

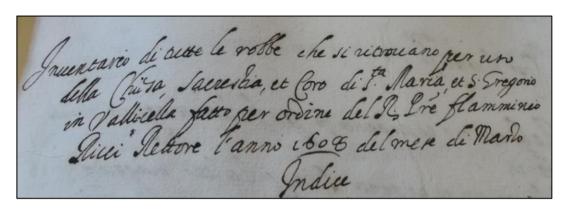


Fig. 2.2 Heading of the 1608 Inventory.

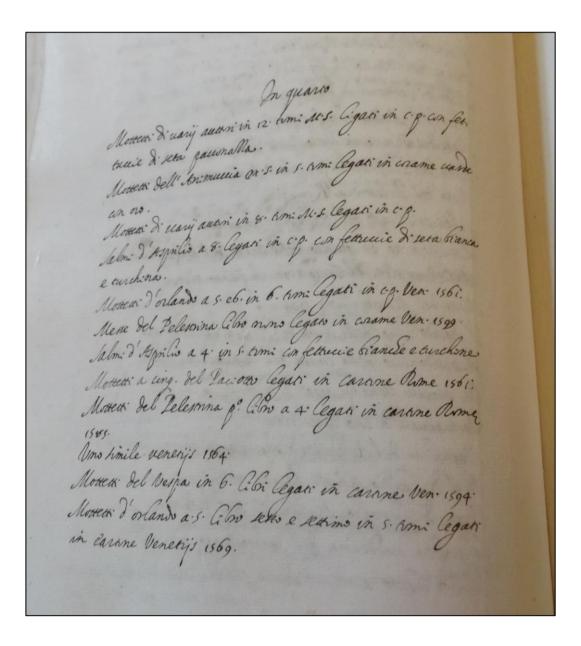


Fig. 2.3 A page from the 1608 Inventory

printed editions are bound together. 43 It also indicates that the music for the choir at that time was housed in the choir loft with a few items in the sacristy and, by then, included manuscript copies as well as printed music.

The present archive of the Chiesa Nuova does not include any of the works listed in the Inventory of 1608. Those copies, or at least those have survived, are now housed in either the Biblioteca Nazionale or the Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica S. Cecilia. We can be certain, however, that the liturgical music housed in the present archive of the church was not acquired after the dismantling of the library in 1873, as an inventory dating from 1794 lists much of this music.

It is unfortunate that no inventory survives after 1608 until the one taken in 1794.⁴⁴ An inventory of the music that was taken in December 1646 now appears to be lost. On 24 December 1646, Father Riccardo Aybar paid Jacomo Becilli [Bicilli] to make an inventory of the music of the church and of the oratory, as well as paying him for the cost of the book in which to write the inventory.⁴⁵ If Bicilli completed the task, this inventory cannot be found among any of the historic documents relating to the Roman Oratory housed in the archives of the Chiesa Nuova, the Biblioteca Vallicelliana or the State Archives. Clearly this would have been an invaluable source as it would indicate precisely the content of the music library by that date, including music that has since been lost.

The inventory of 1794, however, provides useful information relating to the music obtained during the earlier period. 46 A comparison with the earlier catalogue suggests that by 1794, or even much earlier, some of the more treasured volumes that by then were no longer in use, especially some of the large choirbooks, may have been housed in the library of the Congregation (now the Biblioteca Vallicelliana). This catalogue from 1794 clearly

⁴³ See Appendix 2, nos. 16, 47, 51 and 53.

⁴⁵ I-Ras, Orat., 200, Libro di registro di mandati dell'Oratorio, 1646, no. 369, 24 dicembre, 1646.

⁴⁶ See Appendix 3, Extracts from the inventory of 1794 that relate to the archival material.

indicates that the music library at that time was housed in different places. It appears that the majority of the music being used at that time was in the organ loft over the chapel of S. Carlo Borromeo and the remainder, including the more ancient part of the library, was in the organ loft over the chapel to S. Filippo Neri. Whilst the former includes details of composers and the number of voices required, the latter is sparse in detail, making indentification often difficult as well as suggesting that this music was no longer used. This division does not appear to correspond to the current distribution of the material.

The fourth extant inventory dates from 1828.⁴⁷ Although this inventory was taken almost two centuries after the period under consideration, it predates the dismantling of the archive later in that century and also provides greater detail, enabling the identification of some of the earliest music, which could not be identified in the 1794 inventory. It clearly distinguishes between the music that is still in use and that from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which by then was housed in the *Piccolo Archivio dell'Oratorio*. This might still be the organ loft *sopra S. Filippo* or some other place.⁴⁸

Following the dispersal of the library and then the removal of what remained to its present location in 1924, no catalogue was made until 1968 when an *Inventario del Fondo Musicale dell'Oratorio* was created by Argia Bertini at the request of the Congregation of the Oratory. ⁴⁹ This is useful in trying to determine what was left after the library was dismantled as well as what has gone missing since 1968. During the last hundred years at least, there have been long periods of deterioration. ⁵⁰

Since then all the material in the archive was generally inaccessible until a full restoration was undertaken between 2006 and 2009 at the request of then Procurator

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⁴⁷ I-Rf BV1 18.

⁴⁸ See Appendix 4, Extracts from the inventory of 1828 that relate to the archival material.

⁴⁹ Argia Bertini, *Inventario del Fondo Musicale dell'Oratorio*, I-IV (Rome: Congregazione dell'Oratorio di Roma, 1968).

⁵⁰ Monti, 'The Archive of the Roman Oratory', 17.

General of the Confederation of the Oratory, Father Aldo Edoardo Cerrato, who employed professional archivists and restorers to carry out the work.

Although extensive restoration and conservation work was carried out on all historic documents, including the music, it was believed that all the items listed in the 1968 catalogue still remained and they were all listed on the online music catalogue that was launched after the restoration.⁵¹ The catalogue included a large number of oratorio scores and twenty-one items of liturgical music, mainly collections of manuscript or printed partbooks, primarily for mass and vespers, dating from the seventeenth century. All these twenty-one items are listed in table form, ⁵² and will be discussed, starting with the manuscripts and then the printed volumes.

Three of the works are manuscript partbooks and are arrangements for triple choir of masses by Palestrina: a *Missa Papae Marcelli*, a *Missa Sine Nomine* and a *Missa Aspice Domine* (1-3),⁵³ dating from the early seventeenth century. My investigation has revealed that, although the *Missa Papae Marcelli* was included in the online catologue, it has gone missing during recent years, but was copied in score, possibly sometime during the nineteenth century, and can be found, along with copies of Anerio's four-part arrangement and Soriano's eight-part arrangement of the same mass by Palestrina, in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. ⁵⁴ All three copies in this Vatican manuscript are in the same unknown hand and the copyist clearly identifies the source of this triple choir Mass as the archive of the Chiesa Nuova. ⁵⁵ Provenance for the Chiesa Nuova manuscripts is also substantiated by the inventory of 1794 which refers to *Messa a dodici fascetto uno – Papae*

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⁵¹ http://www.aco-roma.org/IMO_ricerca.php (accessed June 2015).

⁵² Appendix 5 Catalogue of the surviving manuscript and printed music from the Chiesa Nuova, nos. 1-21.

⁵³ All numbers in brackets throughout this chapter relate to my numbering in Appendix 5.

⁵⁴ I-Rvat C.S. 469

⁵⁵ "La Messa di Gio. Pierluigi da Palestrina a 6 voci/Intitolata Papae Marcelli/Estra a 12 voci da Autore incerto/Ms nell Arch. Di S. Maria in Vallicella" (I-Rvat. C.S. 469).

Marcelli and we can assume that two other identical entries in this catalogue, Messa a dodici fascetto uno, refer to the other two masses.⁵⁶

The fact that a full catalogue description of the missing mass exists leads us to assume that it was identical in format to the other two. The *Missa Papae Marcelli*, like the *Missa Sine Nomine*, is described as being in 18 part books. These are made up of parts for three identical choirs of CATB with two copies for each voice in choir III plus a separate figured bass part for organ for choirs I and II. The nineteenth-century copy of the *Missa Papae Marcelli* omits the two organ basso continuo parts. This might simply have been due to space on the page where a fourteen-stave layout would be required, rather than any opinion regarding accompanied polyphony being indicated by the copyist as he does include a basso continuo part for Giovanni Francesco Anerio's four-part arrangement of the same Mass. The *Missa Aspice Domine* does not include duplicate parts for choir III and therefore consists of only fourteen partbooks. Like the others, there is an organ figured bass for choirs I and II.

The condition of the surviving two sets of partbooks is poor. They have clearly suffered from both damp and acid corrosion. The *Missa Sine Nomine* is the better preserved of the two and I have transcribed the *Agnus Dei*, the most legible movement, for future analysis and comment. The covers, made of a slightly thicker paper than the pages of manuscript, appear to be original as most copies have an ornate initial for the name of the vocal part that matches the use of other decorative initials in the music itself (Fig. 2.4). This expert use of decoration suggests that they are in the hand of a professional copyist and they appear to be in the same hand throughout. Whilst the covers of *Missa Sine Nomine* have decorative initials in ink, those of *Missa Aspice Domine* are more elaborately decorated, using colour and a varied artistic design for each choir and striking grotesques for the parts for choir III and both organ parts (Fig. 2.5).

⁵⁶ See Appendix 3.



Fig. 2.4 Missa Sine Nomine. Altus partbook, Choir III.



Fig. 2.5 Missa Aspice Domine. Organ partbook, Choir II.

The present archival reference suggests that they date from the sixteenth century, 57 but considering the use of the figured bass, they are more likely to be from the early seventeenth century and probably from after 1608, the date of the first inventory, as they are not mentioned in that document. There is no indication at all as to the composer.

As far as I am aware, these three-triple choir Masses do not exist in any other source other than the copy of the Missa Papae Marcelli in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. According to the 1794 inventory, they were housed in the organ loft over the Chapel of S. Filippo Neri with other music that, as mentioned, appears to have been no longer in use by that date.⁵⁸ They provide an interesting source for further scrutiny that has not previously been considered in relation to the liturgical music in the Chiesa Nuova until this investigation.

This research has also revealed that other manuscripts listed in the Inventory of 1968, Raccolta di 27 mottetti negli otto toni and Raccolta di 21 mottetti (4 & 5), are now missing although they were there until at least 1997.⁵⁹ These were single partbooks from incomplete sets in the Biblioteca Nazionale. The first, a partbook for cantus I, belonging with I-Rn: Mss. Mus. 91-92, and the second the bassus part belonging with I-Rn: Mss. Mus. 9-12.60 All are settings of vesper antiphons and other vesper music that will be discussed when considering the manuscripts that are housed in the Biblioteca Nazionale. The fact that these volumes were left behind when the other partbooks were taken provides further evidence of the rather haphazard way that the archives were appropriated in 1873.

The collection of printed music remaining in the archive of the Chiesa Nuova is all in partbook format and dates from the first half of the seventeenth century, with the exception of a 1677 edition of G.F. Anerio's Missa pro defunctis (20), and two settings of

⁵⁷ http://www.aco-roma.org/IMO_ricerca.php (accessed 12 May 2014).

⁵⁸ See page 26.

⁵⁹ Addaminao & Morelli, 'L'archivio della cappella musicale di Santa Maria in Vallicella (Chiesa Nuova) a Roma nella prima metà del Seicento', 49.

⁶⁰ See Appendix 5, nos. 27 and 32.

vespers psalms, one from 1660 by Stefano Fabbri: *Salmi concertati a cinque voci* (16) and another from 1670 by Bonifacio Graziani: *Psalmi, vespertini, binis choris* (17). As all these fall outside the period being considered I have not included them in my investigation of the music. With the exception of Giulio Cesare Bianchi, who was based for most of his life in Cremona, the composers: Giovanni Francesco Anerio, Angelo Paoletti, Stefano Bernardi, Lorenzo Ratti, Vincenzo Ugolini, Tullio Cima and Antonio Cifra, all belong to what might be described as the Roman school as they all held posts in major religious institutions in Rome that were important for their music. The partbooks contain settings of motets, vesper music and litanies, which are written in a range of styles, including pieces for double choir by Ugolini and Bernardi and motets in *stile concertato* by Anerio and Paoletti. The music is well-used, as evidenced by markings and worn pages, and remain in their original bindings of card. The set of partbooks for Bianchi's *Libro secondo de motetti* are more splendidly bound in parchment and each is embossed with the coat of arms of Cardinal Alessandro Peretti di Montalto (Fig. 2.6).

All this music postdates the 1608 inventory, but some can be identified in the 1794 inventory. As other similar collections of partbooks were removed from the library in 1873, it is possible that these were housed elsewhere or remained unnoticed in what was, as mentioned, a rather unsystematic requisition of the contents of the music library.

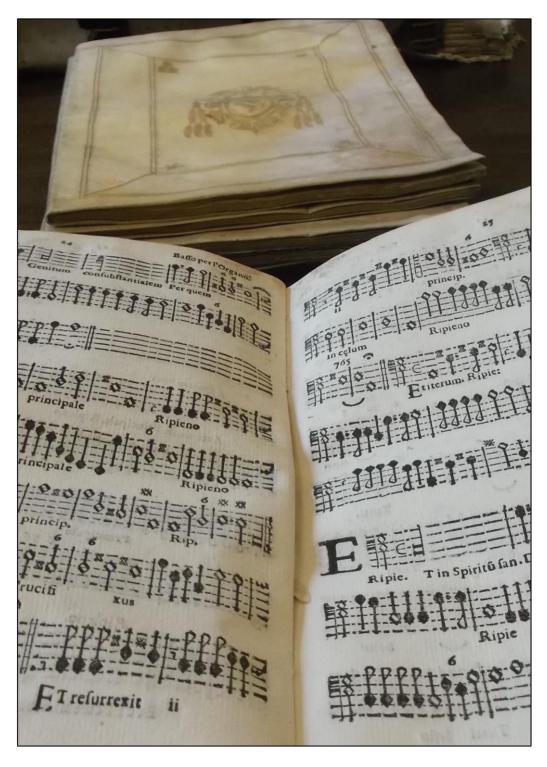


Fig. 2.6 Bianchi's *Libro secondo de motetti* showing a partbook embossed with the arms of Cardinal Montalto.

3. The Biblioteca Nazionale

When, in 1989, Morelli worked on the catalogue of manuscript music for the Biblioteca Nazionale, he identified thirty-eight items of manuscript music that had belonged to the Chiesa Nuova in the sixteenth century or the first half of the seventeenth century. He determined the provenance by a variety of markings. ⁶¹ These were found usually on the outside covers or inside first pages (Fig. 2.7):

1. Two nineteenth-century stamps in blue ink, one with the writing Chiesa Nuova, the other bearing a flaming heart between two crossed branches, usually on the first or occasionally on the last pages.

Fig. 2.7 Markings identifying manuscripts from the Chiesa Nuova.

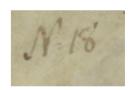




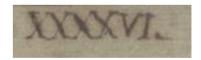
2. The writing Archivio Chiesa Nuova in a nineteenthcentury hand, usually placed on the front cover.



3. A shelf mark placed there by, what appears to be, the same hand, on the cover or the spine, consisting of an Arabic number preceded by – but not always – the abbreviation: "N" (=number).



4. A seventeenth century numbering in Roman numerals that appears in the upper left corner in many of the manuscripts and printed folios. Occasionally this is placed on the cover.



Some of the manuscripts have more than one of these identifying marks.

The question arises as to whether any of these markings were added after the music left the Chiesa Nuova. As they appear to have been added primarily to manuscript copies there are few sources left at the Chiesa Nuova for comparison. The first is clearly related to

⁶¹Addaminao & Morelli, 'L'archivio della cappella musicale di Santa Maria in Vallicella (Chiesa Nuova) a Roma nella prima metà del Seicento', 39.

the Congregation of the Oratory, which used the flaming heart as a symbol within their recognised iconography. The Arabic numbering in the third example can also be found on one of the manuscript partbooks of the triple-choir Missa Sine Nomine (1), and was also noted by Morelli on the now missing Missa Papae Marcelli (3) and is also present on some of the printed copies that remain at the Chiesa Nuova. 62 The numbering by Roman numeral appears to be contemporary with the manuscript copies. The only marking that may not predate 1873 is Archivio della Chiesa Nuova. This marking is also found on some of the printed music that is now in the Biblioteca Santa Cecilia and could date from when the music was first removed. The marking, however, is inconsistent and appears, in most cases, to have been added to those items that were also listed in the 1794 inventory. A comparison of handwriting style with that in the inventory shows some similarities, but I feel that this is inconclusive without further evidence.

There are no volumes of printed music from the Chiesa Nuova in the Biblioteca Nazionale other than some pages from books of plainchant (50), restored and bound together in twentieth century binding with fragments of hand-written chant. The first page of chant is clearly identified with the writing Ex S. Maria in Vallicella in what appears to be a sixteenth century hand.

By looking back to the inventory of 1608, it is possible to determine the earliest manuscripts from the Chiesa Nuova that have survived in this location. The inventory lists Mottetti dell'Animuccia in 5 tomi, five volumes bound in green leather and with gold. 63 By this description it appears that four of these volumes survive as Mss. Mus. 51-54 (29). This could be the same collection that is referred to in the 1794 inventory as Madrigali e Motteti

⁶² See Appendix 5 for references to the use of this numbering. ⁶³ See Appendix 2, no. 29.

Sacri dell'Animuccia fascetto uno.⁶⁴ From the earlier inventory at least, we can establish the provenance of these volumes.

The four extant partbooks are in identical oblong format (162 x 235 mm), bound in leather with gilded edges and the crest of the Sforza family. The first page has the coat of arms of Cardinal Guido Ascanio Sforza (1518-64) who employed Animuccia as his maestro di cappella from 1550 to 1555. Subsequent pages have floral decorations and highly decorative initial letters including many grotesques. All four volumes are in the same hand, no doubt that of a copyist, and there is a written dedication in each volume from Animuccia to the Cardinal. The suggestion is that the music had been written by Animuccia during the time of his employment as in the dedication he states that the music has been accomplished 'in Sforza's most honest and morally virtuous home and heart' and 'is sweeter by far than the music produced even by the nine daughters of Jupiter'. 65

The vocal parts are not identified. Whilst the clefs vary in each volume to facilitate a slightly higher or lower vocal part, three volumes have one clef that is predominant: Mss. Mus. 51=C4, 52=C3 and 53=F4, whilst Mss. Mus. 54 uses C1 and G2 clefs equally.

These partbooks present several problems. Firstly, there are only four and it is clear that one is missing. This can be determined in various ways: those items for four or six voices are clearly marked as such, suggesting that the remainder is for five voices; in the only piece where six voices are used (the final section of the antiphon *Salve Regina*) the sixth part is written on the facing page of Mss. Mus. 51 (f.27^r); a fifth part is not marked; also some of the pieces begin with rests in every vocal part, indicating that the missing vocal part would be the starting voice.

Secondly, each partbook is incomplete with the first two works missing. This can be determined by Roman numerals labelling each piece starting with III. Six blank pages

⁶⁴ 'Madrigals and sacred motes of Animuccia in one bundle'.

^{65 &#}x27;'.....in cuius honestissimo casti pectoris domicilio novem Iovis ille filie, gratulantes longe maviores officiunt concertum. '' [I-Rn Mss musicali 51-54].

follow the dedication page in each volume as if the intention was to copy the works later and after the binding. The way the pages are trimmed indicates that the music included was clearly bound after it was copied. We are left wondering why the partbooks were not completed and indeed, if they were intended as presentation copies, why they ended up at the Chiesa Nuova and not in possession of the dedicatee. Animuccia left the service of Cardinal Sforza in 1555 to take up his post as *maestro di cappella* of the Cappella Giulia. We can only surmise as to why they were possibly not presented to the Cardinal and bound in an incomplete state. All that is known for certain is that they were in the possession of the Congregation of the Oratory when the inventory was taken in 1608.

Thirdly, there is no index and the pagination is not uniform. Two volumes only, Mss. Mus. 52 and 54, number each of the eighteen pieces with a Roman numeral from III to XX. All four partbooks have additional folio numbers, probably added later, on each right hand page. Mss. Mus. 51 and 52 start with the first page of music as folio 1 whereas 53 and 54 take the first page as folio 1 so that the first music page becomes folio 6.

We can assume that they are among Animuccia's earliest compositions as well as possibly being the oldest collection of partbooks from the Chiesa Nuova. Although included in the 1608 inventory, they do not appear in the earlier inventory of 1592. As Animuccia had died in 1571, while the Oratory was still based at S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini, they did not come directly from Animuccia himself but may have been donated from his estate by his relatives who maintained contact with the Oratory after his death. ⁶⁶

The second of the pre-1600 manuscript volumes listed in the 1608 inventory and now housed in the Biblioteca Nazionale includes sixty-two compositions by the Spanish composer Cristoforo Montemayor. It is an impressive choirbook (428 x 287mm) of 179

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⁶⁶ Neri continued to support Animuccia's relatives after the composer's death. On 5 February 1591, for example, he gave 6 scudi to his nieces. I-Ras, Orat., 161, *Copie de' mandati* (1587-92), c.38^v.

folios in the original parchment binding (43). The splendidly inscribed title (Fig. 2.8) reads:

Liber Primus cum octo et sex et | Quinque et Quator Vo= | cibus composita per | Cristoforus Monte | Mayor Hispanus | año Dni | 1.5.9.3 | Laus, Deo, | Cristoforo Montemayor | Hispanus | Vesperi Cum Octo; Della Madona sant.: ma | Vergine, e Madre del'Alto Signor Iddio Il | qualle Lui cidia[!] La sua santa grã e pace in | questo Mondo, et poi a l'altro il suo regno | Amen | In Napoli, Ano D. 1.5.9.2 | Finis

[The first book of compositions for eight, six, five and four voices by the Spaniard, Cristoforo Montemayor in 1593. Praise God. Cristoforo Montemayor, Spaniard, Vespers for eight voices of the most holy Madonna: Virgin and Mother of the Most High God. Grant your grace and peace in this world and then in his kingdom. Amen. Naples, A.D. 1592]

A colophon on the final page of music (f.178^r) indicates that the collection was finished in 1593. Although no mention is given in the inventory regarding the origins of this choirbook, the inscription on the copy reveals that it was a gift from the composer, presented in October 1593 to the Oratorian, Father Giovanale Ancina, who was grateful to receive this *praeclarum Opus* ('wonderful work'):

Anno Dn.i 1593. Mense Octobri ab ipsomet authori D. Christoph.° Motemayori mera sponte bis/oblatum, gratisque donatum mihi praeclarum Opus istud accepi ego Juvenalis Ancina./Congreg.nis Oratoij Neap. minimo atque indigno sacerdos benefactoris perpetuo memor ut Oreti pro eo.

The library reference suggests that it is in the hand of the composer and there is no reason to suppose otherwise. Any decorative initials are quite unpretentious suggesting that it is not necessarily the hand of a professional copyist. That it was intended as a gift is further emphasised by the inclusion of two engravings: one at the start (Fig. 2.9) and the other at the end. The first, by an anonymous artist, includes the inscription: *Ordinis Beatae Mariae Virginis de Mercede Redemtionis Captivorum* and an image of the Madonna wearing a crest of a religious order, the Royal and Military Order of Our Lady of Mercy of the Redemption of the Captives, generally referred to as the Mercedarians, established by S.



Fig. 2.8 Title page of Montemayor's Vesperi della Madon[n]a (I-Rn Mss. Mus. 135)



Fig. 2.9 An engraving from Montemayor's $Vesperi\ della\ Madon[n]a$.

Pietro Nolasco in Barcelona in 1218 for the purpose of ransoming impoverished Christian slaves held by the Muslims.⁶⁷ Among those pictured under the mantle of the Madonna are the founding saint and King James I of Aragon, who gave his support to the Order, as well as Pope Gregory IX, who gave formal recognition in 1236. In 1548 the Order was established in Naples and, during the second half of the sixteenth century, a church was built, dedicated to Santa Maria della Mercede.⁶⁸ We do not know why Montemayor included this image. He might have been a member of the order or associated with it as a musician or with the confraternity that met in that church.⁶⁹ The engraving at the end of the volume is of the Madonna and Child with St. John the Baptist and St. Jerome and is a copy of a painting by Mazzola and the work of the sixteenth century engraver Giulio Bonasone, whose name is on the engraving.⁷⁰

A table of contents at the end (f.178v) lists the compositions in two columns, dividing the works into three main sections labelled: *Motetti*, *Salmi* and *himni* followed by other works that do not fit with any of those headings. The settings are for 4, 5 and 6 voices as well as double choir pieces for two choirs of CATB. Included in the latter is a complete set of vespers psalms and a magnificat.

This is a rare source as it appears to provide the only known examples of Montemayor's compositions other than a few laude that were printed in Oratorian books of laude in Rome.⁷¹ It is difficult to be exact as to when it was placed in the library at the

⁶⁷ James William Brodman, *Charity and Religion in Medieval Europe* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 2009), 163.

⁶⁸ The church remains today as the Chiesa di Santa Maria della Mercede e Sant'Alfonso Maria de' Liguori. ⁶⁹ Montemayor's origins have been investigated by Eleonora Simi Bonni, including his possible relationship to the Portuguese poet Jorge de Montemayor (c.1520 - c.1562) and the Spanish composer Melchor de Montemayor (1588-1678) but she concludes that there is no evidence that they were related. See: Eleonora Simi Bonni, 'Il compositore spagnolo Cristoforo Montemayor', *Il tempio armonico: Giovanni Giovenale Ancina e le musiche devozionali nel contesto internazionale del suo tempo : convegno internazionale di studi organizzato dall'Istituto per i beni musicali in Piemonte, 8-10 ottobre 2004 (Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2006)*

⁷⁰ The original painting by Girolamo Francesco Maria Mazzola, who was known as 'il Parmigiano', is in the National Gallery, London.

⁷¹ Two of his laude were included in the *Secondo Libro delle Laude* published in 1583 by the Congregation of the Oratory in Rome, which predates Ancina's time in Naples and the founding of the Oratory there.

Chiesa Nuova. The 1608 inventory appears to list items in the order in which they were obtained. This volume is number 24 in the inventory, after masses by Morales that were purchased on 5 September, 1602. Although Ancina returned from Naples in 1596 it thus appears that he did not place the book into the library until his departure from the Chiesa Nuova in September 1602, when he was appointed Bishop of Saluzzo, or it may not have been placed there until after his death which occured on 31 August 1604.

The majority of the manuscript music from the Chiesa Nuova, now in the Biblioteca Nazionale, dates from the time when Padre Francesco Martini was maestro di cappella (1604-1623). During those years regular payments were made for the purchase of printed music and for copying music and the necessary materials. 72 Belonging to these years is a group of manuscripts of polyphonic music in large choirbook format that share significant similarities in features such as size, binding and notation, as well as repertoire and the composers represented. These are Mss. Mus. 69, 125, 126, 127-128, 131, 132, 133, 143, 144, 148, 151, 152, and then Gesuiti Mss. Mus. 1657, 1658 and 1659, which are listed in Appendix 5 as 30, 35-37, 40-42, 44-48 and 22-24. The original parchment bindings have been restored and all have identifying marks as outlined above. Only three manuscripts are dated. Of these the oldest is I-Rn Mss. Mus. 152 (48), which contains settings of all the Tenebrae Responsories and choral settings of the turba parts for the St. John and St. Matthew Passions all by Giovanni Francesco Anerio and dated 1596. A second volume, I-Rn Mss. Mus. 151 (47), is dated 1606, and includes a Mass setting, Circuire possum Domine, also by Anerio. The third volume with a date is Gesuiti Mss. Mus. 1659 (24) and includes settings of six hymns in two different hands. Whilst the spine of the volume suggests that they are by Anerio, only the first is clearly attributed to him on the

Another lauda by Montemayor was included in Giovenale Ancina's Tempio armonico della Beatissima Vergine (Rome: Nicolò Muti, 1599).

⁷² See Appendix 6, References to expenditure on the purchase of music and copying music for use in the Chiesa Nuova.

manuscript and the final one is attributed to Cifra. The last three are in a far more decorative script and the fourth, a setting of *Domine probasti me* (Ps. 138),⁷³ one of the longest vesper psalms, incorporates the year 1607 into the initial letter.

The remainder of the manuscript volumes are not dated and the original library shelf marks are not chronological. The shelf mark 'Gesuiti' (22-24) appears to have no specific relevance and possibly related to their original location in the first national library at the Seminario Romano. Other markings, for example *Archivio della Chiesa Nuova* on the cover of each and the use of Roman numerals (22 and 24 only), clearly identify these three volumes with the Chiesa Nuova.

In total, eight of these choirbooks have Roman numerals in a seventeenth century hand at the start of each piece. These are not chronological within any volume, suggesting that works were bound together later having originally existed as separate copies. Mss. Gesuiti 1657 (22), for example, includes five hymn settings of which the first three have a Roman numeral on the title page: XXXX, XXXXVII and XXXXVIIII. In Mss. Mus. 131 (40), which includes three masses by Giovanni Francesco Anerio, there are non-sequential Roman numerals on the first folio of each mass. The three masses, *Missa in te Domine Speravi, Missa Quarti Toni* and *Missa Stella quam viderant Magi*, are labelled IIII, VIII and VI respectively, suggesting that they were not originally bound together, although the consistency of hand here suggests one copyist. The calligraphic initials and general layout show that all the copies had been made with care. The initials for the Kyrie of *Missa Circuire possum Domine* are particularly interesting in that some incorporate the composer's name (Fig. 2.10). All these choirbooks appear to be in the hands of professional copyists and vary in the amount of decoration used.

⁷³ This, and all other psalm numbers, are from the Latin Vulgate Bible.





Fig. 2.10 I-Rn Mss.Mus.151, Anerio, Missa possum Domine - calligraphic initials (f.1^v-2^r)

The types of works included are Mass settings (30, 47 and 40), music for vespers including psalm settings (23, 41), settings of the Magnificats (126) and hymns (22, 24, 35, 45 and 46), a setting of the Te Deum (44) and Holy Week music (37 and 48). The composer represented more than any other is Giovanni Francesco Anerio and other music is attributed to Gregorio Allegri, Antonio Cifra, Fabrizio Dentice, Vincenzo de Grandis and Pedro Heredia. The only polychoral music among this collection is found in double choir settings of the *Improperia* by Felice Anerio and three double-choir settings of the *Miserere* by Felice Anerio, Palestrina and Fabrizio Dentice (37). Other Passiontide music includes settings for four voices of all the Holy Week Responsories by Giovanni Francesco Anerio (48). These choirbooks as a whole provide a wide variety of liturgical music and are thus a valuable collection of sources from the Chiesa Nuova from the late sixteenth century and the early decades of the seventeenth century.

Another interesting and rare choirbook is Mss. Mus. 130 (39), a setting of ten vesper psalms by Tomás Luis de Victoria, whose authorship is confirmed by an introductory letter at the start of the manuscript in his handwriting and addressed to the Oratorian, Francisco Soto de Langa, who was possibly the copyist of these psalms (Fig. 2.11).

Aqui an deir las armas / y titulo lo que ira despues. / Los salmos an deir por esta orden en la plana del / dixit dominus, la epistola dedicatoria que esta / escrita en el libro de misas, sino es que vaya trasladada / aqui. Va a qui que se pondra como va, y non a / de quedar pliego

blanco./dixit dominus / confitebor / beatus vir / sit nomen domini de tiples / laudate dominum omnes gentes / lauda hyerusalem / confitebor de tiples / beatus vir de tiples / nisi dominus de tiples / credidi de tiples // Señor Fran[cis]co de Soto. Suplico a V[uestro] R[everen]d[o] se / tenga gran cuenta con la coreption deste / libro, y que la letra se ponga en su lugar.⁷⁴

[Here the arms must be placed, / and the title will come after. / The psalms should appear in this order on the page of the / Dixit Dominus; the letter of dedication which is / written in the book of masses should be simply copied / here. Here is the layout, as follows, and there must not / remain any blank sheets. / Dixit Dominus / Confitebor / Beatus vir / Sit nomen Domini, for trebles / Laudate Dominum omnes gentes / Lauda Jerusalem / Confitebor, for trebles / Beatus vir, for trebles / Nisi Dominus, for trebles / Credidi, for trebles. // Señor Francisco de Soto, I ask Your Reverence / to take care over the correction of this / book, and to ensure that the words are correctly placed.]

Victoria's concern here over the order in which the psalms should be presented, the careful correction and the placing of words suggest that the copy was being prepared for publication and at sometime after he had left Rome. The reference to the dedication 'which is written in the book of masses' could refer to the dedication of the book of masses of 1592, *Missæ quatuor, quinque, sex et octo vocibus,* which was printed in Rome and dedicated to Prince-Cardinal Alberto, Archduke of Austria, Archbishop of Toledo and Primate of Spain. When Victoria left Rome he served as personal chaplain to the Prince's mother, the Dowager Empress Maria of Austria, widow of Maximilian II, in her retirement at the Descalzas Reales convent in Madrid. It seems likely, therefore, that this work was also to be dedicated to the son of Empress Maria of Austria, thus giving also meaning to Victoria's reference to 'arms'. This source is important in confirming the close connection between Victoria and members of the Congregation of the Oratory and in

⁷⁴ I-Rn Mss. Mus. 130, f.1^r.

⁷⁵ Translation by Charles Johnston from Hernández Castelló, E., *La singular historia del'Manuscritto musical 130*, included in CD recording 'Ad Vesperas Tomas Luis de Victoria', K617209 HM 82 DDD, France, 2008, 16.

⁷⁶ Klaus Fischer K, 'Unbekannte Kompositionen Victorias in der Biblioteca Nazionale in Rom', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft XXXIII* (*Archiv des Musikwissenschaft XXXIII* (Weisbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GlsbH, 1975), 124-128; here, 127.

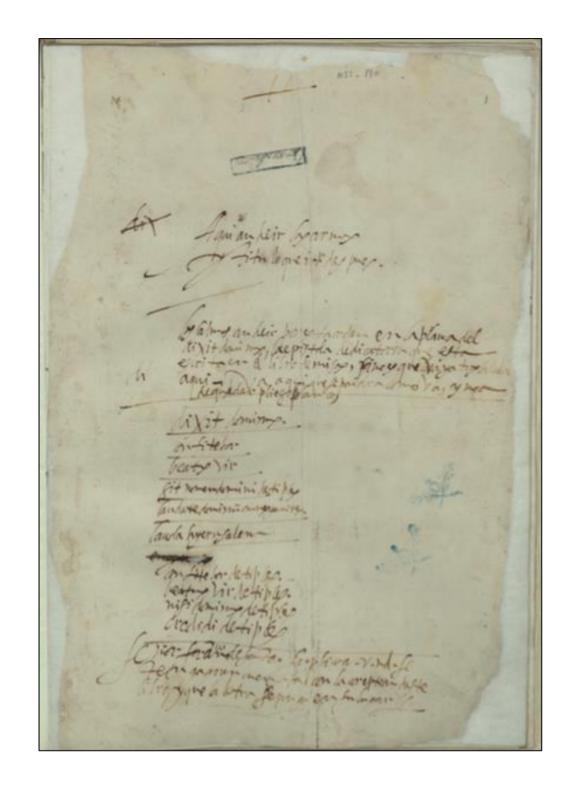


Fig. 2.11. Victoria's letter to Soto [I-Rn Mss. Mus. 130, f.1^r.]

particular Soto, who was a fellow Spaniard and clearly respected by Victoria. Although Victoria may have visited Rome after he had settled in Madrid, he appears to have relied on Soto for arranging the publication of this collection of ten vesper psalms.⁷⁷ For reasons unknown, Soto never completed the task and they were not published until 2003, when they were printed in facsimile and in a modern edited version.⁷⁸

Another volume which, going by its library shelfmark, was grouped with all the choirbooks from the Chiesa Nuova, and which is identical in size and binding, is Mss.Mus. 133 (42). Provenance is threefold with *Archivio della Chiesa Nuova* on the front cover, the nineteenth century stamp with the words *Chiesa Nuova* on the final folio (24^v) and its inclusion in the 1794 inventory. This manuscript has not been investigated before. It is an interesting and original find in that it is a setting of the Seven Penitential Psalms for solo voice with figured bass, notated in score and contained in a single volume. It will pose interesting questions in relation to its possible liturgical use at the Chiesa Nuova.

One final manuscript among this collection of choirbooks is a composition by Pietro della Valle (1586-1652), *Dialogo per la festa della Purificatione* from 1641 (34), an Italian oratorio for five voices and basso continuo. Although conceived for performance in Francesco Borromini's new Oratorio della Vallicella, which had been built by the Congregation adjacent to the Chiesa Nuova, it was never produced there. As it is not a liturgical work it appears misplaced but perhaps found a home among the choir music as it was dedicated by the composer to the then *maestro di cappella*, Girolamo Rosini.

The remaining manuscripts from the Chiesa Nuova that are now in the Biblioteca Nazionale are all partbooks. These are Mss. Mus. 1-3, 4-6, 9-12, 33-34, 40-46, 77-88, 91-92 and 117-121. A consistency in style and an obvious liturgical use for vespers link four

⁷⁷ Robert Stevenson states that Victoria was in Rome in 1592, 1593 and 1594. See: Robert Stevenson,

^{&#}x27;Victoria, Tomás Luis de', *Grove Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com, (accessed 19 April 2018). Daniele Filippi, however, casts real doubt on those visits purported to have occured in 1593 and 1594. See: Daniele V. Filippi, *Tomás Luis de Victoria*, (Palermo: L'Epos, 2008).

⁷⁸ Tomás Luis de Victoria, *Salmos de vísperas* [I-Rn, Ms. Mus. 130], facsimile and modern edition by E. Hernández Castelló (Avila: Obra social de Caja de Avila, 2003).

sets of partbooks in quarto, Mss. Mus. 1-3, 4-6, 9-12, 91-92 (25-27, 32) of which the last two would be completed with two part books that had remained in the archives of the Chiesa Nuova (4 and 5) but are now lost. At least one partbook from each collection bears the inscription *Archivio della Chiesa Nuova*. All contain an index with page numbers and the voices used, with the exception of Mss. Mus. 91-92 (32) where the voices are indicated in the basso continuo part. Mss. Mus. 1-3, 4-6 and 91-92 (25, 26 and 32) contain antiphons for vespers for the whole year and are mostly for two voices (CI and CII) and organ basso continuo. As mentioned, Mss. Mus. 91-92 (32) has the cantus primus part missing. Mss. Mus. 9-12 (27) contains psalm settings and two hymns for vespers, and the four Marian antiphons composed for five and six voices. The surviving partbooks (CATQ) would possibly be complete with the addition of the vocal bass, but I suspect that there might have also been a basso continuo part, consistent with the other sets in this group.

These sets bear no author ascriptions, but their editorial uniformity, as well as their uniformity of style, suggest that this material, carefully collected and divided for use at vespers throughout the whole liturgical year, could be the work of one composer. As a simple solution we can suggest that the author is Francesco Martini, a priest of the Roman Oratory and, for twenty years (1603-23), *maestro di cappella* of the Chiesa Nuova. We know in fact that a little after his death, in January 1627, the Oratorians decided to make copies of the works of Martini, perhaps so as not to disperse the compositions produced by him during the twenty years in which he was responsible for the music of the church and the oratory. The possibility that he was the composer of the vesper music described above will be explored further when the music is examined in greater detail.

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⁷⁹ Two collections of Martini's works survive in print: *Motecta festorum, totius anni, cum communi sanctorum, quaternis vocibus...quibus addita sunt...quinis...septenis...liber primus* (Rome: Bartolomeo Zannetti, 1607) and *Sacrae laudes de B. M. V. quaternis, quinis, senis, septenis, octonisque vocibus, et ejusdem litaniae ...liber secundus* (Rome: Bartolomeo Zannetti, 1617).

⁸⁰ I-Rf, C. I. 5 *Libro quarto de' decreti*, p. 144, 8th January, 1627. The entry referes to 12 scudi given to Rosini to buy some Masses by Palestrina and for the copying of music by Francesco Martini.

There is one final collection of partbooks where provenance is indisputable. These are Mss. Mus.117-121 (33), a set of five partbooks from a set of 12. A further four books from the set were discovered in the Biblioteca S. Cecilia (I-Rsc G.Mss.792-795). The remaining three partbooks appear to be lost, although in 1821 a transcription of the entire set was made by Abbate Fortunato Santini.⁸¹

The earliest layer of pieces from these partbooks appear to have been copied by a single scribe, most likely Pompeo Pateri, a priest of the Oratory, whose signature is on the first manuscript page of each partbook. Two later scribes added further pieces on blank folios at the end of each partbook, retaining voice groupings established by earlier copvist. It appears that this could be an early collection suggested by the absence of any music by the younger Anerio brother, Giovanni Francesco, who was closely involved with the Congregation of the Oratory, especially during the 1590s and the early 1600s. Pompeo Pateri had entered the Congregation as early as 1574 and remained there until his death in 1624. Neri recognized from the start his diligence and administrative abilities. It is possible that the manuscript referred to in the inventory of 1608: Mottetti di varii auttori in 8 volumes could be this prior to the addition of the motets for 12 voices. The complete collection includes forty motets for double choir and fifteen for triple choir. Of these triplechoir pieces two are by Palestrina, one is by Zoilo, eight are by Giovannelli and four are by Macque. With their certainty of provenance, the wide range of composers represented and the preponderance of double and triple choir pieces these partbooks are of great significance when considering the contribution of the Chiesa Nuova to liturgical music in the decades around 1600.

Two final sets of partbooks, attributed to the Chiesa Nuova in the catalogue of the Biblioteca Nazionale, remain. These are Mus. 33-34 with 40-46, a set of nine part books from an original twelve (28) and Mss. Mus. 77-88 (31). It has been suggested by Noel

⁸¹ This transcription is preserved in Münster (Westphalia), Bischöfliche Diözesanbibliothek, MS 3590.

O'Regan that these can be linked with the Roman archconfraternity of Sanctissima Trinità dei Pellegrini, but without excluding their subsequent passage to the Chiesa Nuova. ⁸² That they finally were housed at the Chiesa Nuova can be substantiated by the numbering in black ink, 'N: 18' and 'N:35', placed on the covers of Mss. Mus. 33 and 77 respectively: a system of numbering that appears to only be found on manuscripts originating from the Chiesa Nuova.

Mss. Mus. 33-34 with 40-46 (28), in quarto format, includes 35 motets for two or three choirs (8/12 voices) and are not all in the same hand. The missing part books are the cantus part in choir I and the tenor and bass parts for choir III. Among the composers identified at the start of the pieces are Bartolomeo Le Roy, Giovanni Battista Locatello, Giovanni Maria Nanino, Felice Anerio, Asprillo Pacelli, Ruggero Giovanelli, Stefano Nascimbeni, Bernadino Nanino, Luca Marenzio and Palestrina. Many of these either lent their music or, as in the case of Palestrina, gave their services to the confraternity of Ss. Trinità dei Pellegrini. The same hand.

The set of twelve partbooks, Mss. Mus. 77-88 (31), are in oblong format. Besides works for 4, 5 and 6 voices, the majority are polychoral works for two, three, four and five choirs. It is possible that this is the collection: *Mottetti di Varij auttori in 12 m.s. tomi legati in c. p. con fettucce di seta pavonazza*, listed in the inventory of 1608. Noel O'Regan has researched these partbooks extensively and has provided invaluable information in identifying the music as hardly any composers' names appear in the manuscripts. There are various facts that date this as an early collection, possibly from the early 1580s. Unlike most other collections from the Chiesa Nuova, it contains no works by

⁸² Noel O'Regan, *Institutional patronage in post-tridentine Rome at Sanctissima Trinità dei Pelligrini, 1550-1650* (London: Royal Musical Association, 1995), 65-67.

⁸³ I-Rn. Mass. Mus. 35-39 are not related to this set and are probably from another institution. There are no markings identifying them with the Chiesa Nuova.

⁸⁴ Addamiano and Morelli, 'L'archivio della cappella musicale di Santa Maria in Vallicella (Chiesa Nuova) a Roma nella prima metà del Seicento', 42.

⁸⁵ Appendix 2, item 28.

the elder Anerio brother, Felice, who was not closely involved with the liturgical music there until 1593. The inclusion of pieces by Giovanni Animuccia – two settings of *Cantate Domino*, one for 5 voices and the other for double choir (CATB+CATB), as well as two double-choir settings of the *Pater Noster*, the second a revision of the first – provides a further link with Neri's Congregation and particularly its earliest years when Animuccia was *maestro di cappella* at S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini and before the building of the Chiesa Nuova.

In addition to pieces by Lassus and Macque and one piece each by Dentice, Sermisy, Willert and Wert, the largest contribution by far is from Palestrina and Annibale Zoilo (1537-1592). It is this fact that has led Noel O'Regan to claim that the origin of these partbooks is Sanctissima Trinità dei Pellegrini. ⁸⁶ Both composers had been employed there: Zoilo provided the music for Lent and Holy Week in 1579-82, succeeding Palestrina who had provided the music in 1576 and 1578. The contents of these manuscripts consist largely of music used in Lent and Holy Week. It has been established that a number of the pieces are in the hand of Zoilo, who signs his name at the end of some pieces. ⁸⁷ A guide to the location of the various settings of the *Benedictus* and the *Miserere* at the beginning of each of the three cantus books is also in the same hand. ⁸⁸

O'Regan has developed his theories concerning the original and subsequent location of these partbooks over a number of years.⁸⁹ He comes to the conclusion that these are not included in the 1608 and 1794 inventories and that if they had been in the

⁸⁶ O'Regan, Institutional Patronage, 66.

⁸⁷ Lucia Navarrini, *Annibale Zoilo: la sua presenza nella produzione musicale sacra del Cinquecento* (Florence: tesi di laureo), quoted in O'Regan, *Institutional Patronage*, 68.

⁸⁸ Noel O'Regan, Institutional Patronage, 68.

⁸⁹ O'Regan, 'Sacred Polychoral Music in Rome 1575-1621', 121-122, also O'Regan, 'The Early Polychoral Music of Orlando di Lasso New Light from Roman Sources', *Acta Musicologica*, 56 (1984), 2: 234-251; here 238

archive when Fortunato Santini and Karl Proske were making their transcriptions in the early nineteenth century they would most certainly have made use of them.⁹⁰

Previous to this, Arnaldo Morelli, gave the provenance of this collection as the Chiesa Nuova, basing his proof on the Arabic number, 'N35', found on the front cover of the cantus part for choir I, and in the same hand as similar numberings on other manuscripts in the Biblioteca Nazionale identified as being from the Chiesa Nuova. 91 Following O'Regan's conclusions about Mss. Mus. 77-88, Morelli did not dispute his theory that the manuscripts can be linked to the Roman archconfraternity of Ss. Trinità dei Pellegrini e dei Convalescenti but remained convinced that they ended up at the Chiesa Nuova. 92 It may have been as a result of O'Regan's research into the contents of the partbooks that Morelli did not identify this collection as being listed in the 1608 inventory. 93 There is certainly no reference to the twelve partbooks in the inventory of 1794. A comparison of the two inventories, however, reveals that other music in the 1608 inventory is not listed in the later inventory, including some of the most ancient copies for which the provenance is indisputable. If we are to believe that the 1608 inventory listed the items according to the shelf order, then close to the twelve partbooks (28) were the five partbooks, Mottetti di Animuccia ... (29) and the large choirbook, Vesperi di Christoforo Montemaior ... (24). Neither of these is included in the 1794 inventory. It is possible that ancient copies, no longer in use, were placed in the library of the Vallicella Oratory after its opening in 1643, and might also indicate that their function was only ever as presentation copies and were never in fact used in performance.

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⁹⁰ Noel O'Regan, Institutional Patronage, 67-68.

⁹¹ Arnaldo Morelli, *Note storiche sui manoscritti musicali della Biblioteca Nazionale di Roma*, in *Catalogo del fondo musicale della Biblioteca nazionale centrale Vittorio Emanuele II di Roma* (Rome, 1989), 13-28.

⁹² Addamiano and Morelli, 'L'archivio della cappella musicale di Santa Maria in Vallicella (Chiesa Nuova) a Roma nella prima metà del Seicento', 42.

⁹³ Ibid., 49.

⁹⁴ The full inventory of 1794 can be found in Carlo Gasbarri, *L'Oratorio Romano dal Cinquecento al Novecento* (Rome: Tip. D'Urso, 1962), 314-323.

Further investigation of the 1608 inventory was carried out by Giancarlo Rostirolla. ⁹⁵ He identifies the reference to the twelve manuscript partbooks with Mss. Mus.77-88, suggesting a date of around 1584. ⁹⁶ He makes no reference, however, to the important findings of O'Regan in relation to these manuscripts and makes no connection between them and Sanctissima Trinità dei Pellegrini.

O'Regan's research, however, does provide convincing evidence connecting these manuscripts with Sanctissima Trinità dei Pellegrini. It is not unreasonable, however, to suggest that they found their way to the Chiesa Nuova at sometime. The building of a new church for the Confraternity of SS. Trinità in 1587 put additional financial constraints on a budget that relied on charitable donations and the support of Cardinal Protectors and members of noble families connected with the confraternity. There was a link between the Confraternity of Sanctissima Trinità dei Pellegrini and the Chiesa Nuova in that from 1587 Neri was asked to provide the spiritual direction for the chaplains of the Confraternity as well as supplying suitable priests for that role although, as O'Regan points out, there is no other evidence connecting the two institutions, ⁹⁸ although, as joint founder of the Confraternity, it is reasonable to assume that Neri maintained an interest in its development. Could the twelve partbooks have found their way to the Chiesa Nuova? The vast proportions of the church was certainly be well-suited to the singing of a polychoral repertoire. There is no reference to them in the inventory of 1592 but the inventory of 1608 does list a collection of motets by various composers in twelve volumes.

There is one final point worth considering. When we look at the layout of the partbooks it becomes apparent that, in their present format, they would be very difficult to

⁹⁵ Giancarlo Rostirolla, 'Per la storia della Biblioteca musicale della Chiesa Nuova: Palestrina e altri maestri della polifonia tra i "Libri del Coro" e "di Sacrestia" nel 1608', in Giancarlo Rostirolla, S. Soldati, and E. Zomparelli (eds.), *Atti del III Convegno internazionale di studi palestriniani, Palestrina 1994* (Palestrina: Fondazione G. Pierluigi da Palestrina, 2006), 1171-1198.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 1189.

⁹⁷ O'Regan, Institutional Patronage, 35.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 28.

⁹⁹ See Appendix 2, no. 28.

use in performance. The only index is found on the first page of each of the cantus parts (Mss. Mus 77, 81 and 85) but this refers only to the Benedictus and Miserere settings for two and three choirs. A further difficulty arises from the fact that althought the 12-voice works are found in all twelve partbooks, those for 8 voices are sometimes in only four books with cantus and alto and tenor and bass parts on facing pages. We would expect the 8-voice pieces to be contained in the first eight partbooks [Primus Chorus and Secundus Chorus, Mss. Mus 77-84] but instead we find them contained in Mss. Mus. 81-88, the volumes labelled as 'Secundus Chorus' and 'Tertius Chorus', or in Mss. Mus. 77-80 [Primus Chorus] with two vocal parts in each of the four volumes so that the labeling of the volumes as separate vocal parts do not relate to the contents. The Lamentations and Responsories for Holy Week, written mostly for four voices, are found in the four partbooks for a single choir but are equally distributed between the three choir sets, Mss. Mus 77-80, 81 - 84 and 85-88. The indications are that the music may have existed in separate folios and was bound together at a later date. This fact has not been considered in any previous research.

The fact that the collection of partbooks, Mss. Mus. 117-121 with I-Rsc G.Mss.792-795 (33), probably in the hand of Pompeo Pateri, includes pieces from Mss. Mus. 77-88, suggests that the copyist had access to these partbooks. Because of the information from the inventory there is no doubt that, in March 1608, the Congregation at the Chiesa Nuova was in possession of twelve partbooks. It seems difficult to believe that they should go missing when the other manuscript music housed with them was not lost. A further consideration is the usefulness of the content, which would supply necessary music for Holy Week, filling a gap in the music collection that was being carefully amassed to supply the liturgical needs of the newly-established Congregation.

4. The Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica S. Cecilia

The Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica S. Cecilia in Rome contains most of the printed music that had belonged to the Chiesa Nuova. As mentioned, it seems that at some point there was a decision to place all the printed music there and the manuscript copies in the State Library, based initially at the former Collegio Romano and then, from 1975, at the newly-built Biblioteca Nazionale.

Two collections of manuscript music did end up, however, at the Conservatorio. The first of these, G.Mss.792-795, which belongs with I-Rn. Mss.Mus. 117-121 (33), has already been described. The second is G. Mss. 968, which is identified as having belonged to the Chiesa Nuova by *Archivio Chiesa Nuova* written on the cover in black ink and in the same hand as on the covers of the other volumes of manuscripts in the Biblioteca Nazionale. It is a large folio choirbook containing a miscellany of anonymous polyphonic compositions for four and five voices including motets and a five-part Mass as well as the plainchant responses for the Preface of the Mass and the plainchant offertory from the Proper of the Mass for the Feast of St. Michael the archangel, which is transcribed without alteration. The composer of just one work is identified with a setting of the Magnificat attributed to Ghiselin Danckerts, who was a member of the Papal Choir from 1538 to 1565. Arnaldo Morelli has referred to this manuscript in his work on Danckerts and claims that it dates from the mid-sixteenth century. ¹⁰⁰ As the 1608 inventory of the music in the Chiesa Nuova does not include an entry that could correspond with this volume it is possible that it was acquired by the Congregation at a later date.

The printed music from the Chiesa Nuova now held in the Biblioteca S. Cecilia includes seven of the large choirbooks that were listed in the 1592 inventory including the mass settings by Goudimel (53) and Animuccia (54), hymns for the whole year by Victoria

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Arnaldo Morelli, 'Una nuova fonte per la musica di Ghiselino Danckerts 'musico e cantore della cappella del papa''', *Recercare*, 21 (2009), 1/2: 75-108; here, 79.

(9) and Palestrina (59), psalm settings by the Spanish composer, Navarro (60) and Magnificat settings by Animuccia (55) and Arcadelt (51).

The remainder of the liturgical music is made up almost entirely of Roman publications in partbook format from the first half of the seventeenth century: mass settings, motets and music for vespers by, in addition to those already mentioned, composers who spent their whole career, or part of it, in Roman churches or Papal basilicas known for their liturgical music: Felice Anerio (64), Giovanni Francesco Anerio (65-67, 70), Francesco Soriano (68), Gregorio Allegri (69), Antonio Cifra (65), Vincenzo de Grandis (73), Stefano Bernardi (74), Vincenzo Ugolini (72), Filippo Vitali (75), Cristoforo Piochi (76) and Alessandro Capece (77). Once again the emphasis is on music for mass and vespers with many works for double and occasionally triple choir as, for example, Ugolini's *Motecta et missa octonis et duodenis vocibus, liber secundus* (72), published in Rome in 1623.

This investigation has revealed that the large stock of music housed in the Biblioteca Santa Cecilia includes much more of the original holdings from the Chiesa Nuova than was previously thought. The *Sacrae cantiones* of Cristoforo Piochi (76) and the *Responsorii di Natale* of Alessandro Capece (77),¹⁰¹ for example, are catalogued and boxed with music by G.F. Anerio, but are not recorded by Addamiano and Morelli in their catalogue. That both these works were listed in the church's 1824 inventory of the music and are now housed with other music from the Chiesa Nuova presents a strong case for their provenance.

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¹⁰¹ Christoforo Piochi, *Sacrae Cantiones* ... *liber secundus* (Rome: Robletti, 1637); Alessandro Capece, *Responsorii di Natale e di Settimana santa concertati a quattro voci* (Naples: Beltrano, 1636).

¹⁰² Addaminao & Morelli, 'L'archivio della cappella musicale di Santa Maria in Vallicella (Chiesa Nuova) a Roma nella prima metà del Seicento', 49-54.

5. The Biblioteca Vallicelliana

The Biblioteca Vallicelliana is located in the building adjacent to the Chiesa Nuova and was formerly known as the Oratorio dei Filippini. The architect was Francesco Borromini who designed the colossal building to provide living quarters for the Congregation, which grew rapidly in the early part of the seventeenth century, as well as to provide more space for their constantly growing collection of books, many of which were bequeathed by members of the Congregation. The original library had been destroyed by a fire in 1620. 103

Whilst the seizure of the library by the Italian State in 1873 was a great loss for the Congregation, it appears that the collection of 25,000 printed volumes and 3000 manuscripts remained in place. Disappointingly, however, there appears to be little music that has any direct link with liturgical performances in the Chiesa Nuova.

One exception is a manuscript copy of Emilio de Cavalieri's *Lamentationes* and *Responsoriis* for Holy Week (I-Rv. MS O31). It is known that Cavalieri had close links with the Congregation of the Oratory. During the Holy Year of 1600 he presented his *Rappresentatione di Anima, et di Corpo*, with the text by the Oratorian, Agostino Manni, on at least two or possibly three occasions at the Chiesa Nuova. ¹⁰⁴ He is also believed to have collaborated during his Roman sojourn in the 1590s with Diorisio Isorelli, a brother of the Congregation, who was assistant *maestro di cappella* from 1599 to 1604. It has been suggested that the first two sections of his *Lamentationes* and *Responsoriis* were probably written to be performed at the Chiesa Nuova during Holy Week in 1600. ¹⁰⁵ On the title page the copyist is identified as Giovenale Ancina of the Congregation of the Oratory:

LAMENTATIONES / HIEREMIAE PROPHETAE / CVM RESPONSORIIS / OFFICII HEBDOMADAE MAIORIS / ET NOTIS MVSICIS / Scriptae /fortè/ A Venerabili Dei Servo /

¹⁰³ The fire was caused by a firework entering the window during the celebrations marking the fifteenth anniversary of the coronation of Pope Paul V. See Giacinto Gigli, *Diario Romano*, *1608-1670* (Rome: Tuminelli, 1958), 48.

Warren Kirkendale, *Emilio de' Cavalieri 'Gentiluomo Romano'* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 2001), 238.

¹⁰⁵ Murray C. Bradshaw, 'Cavalieri and Early Monody', *The Journal of Musicology*, 9, (1991), 2: 238-253; here, 243.

IVVENALE ANCINA FOSSANEN / Congr. Oratori Romani Presb^o. / deinde Salutiarum Episcopo.

The manuscript is written in score with soloists accompanied by a figured bass and a five-part choir (CCATB) and falls into four clear sections. The first consists of the Lamentationi del S. Emilio de Cavalieri, settings of nine lessons for the triduum of Holy Week. This is followed by nine responsories for the same days, also by Cavalieri. The third section is a second set of Lamentations for Thursday and Friday in Holy Week. The composer is again Cavalieri with one incomplete lesson by Duritio Isorelli. The last section consists of twelve substitute choral verses for the Lamentations. Cavalieri is possibly the composer, with one piece ascribed to Costanzo Festa (c. 1490-1545).

There is also the possibility that when these archives are fully scrutinized, it will be discovered that there is other music from the Chiesa Nuova amongst its holdings. Besides the music by Cavalieri there is also another link with the music of the Congregation of the Oratory by a set of nine manuscript partbooks from the early seventeenth century containing laude by composers associated with the Chiesa Nuova such as Animuccia, both Anerio brothers, Giovannelli and Martini. 106 In addition, I discovered that the incomplete set of partbooks of Lorenzo Ratti's Litaniae beatissimae virginis Mariae (CI & organ) that remain in the archive of the Chiesa Nuova made a complete set with seven partbooks in the Biblioteca Vallicelliana. 107 There was no indication that these had originally been together, but it seems very likely.

6. The Archivio di Stato

Finally, whilst there is no music from the Chiesa Nuova in the Archivio di Stato, it does house a large proportion of the Libri de' Decreti ('Books of Decrees') from the Congregation of the Oratory at the Chiesa Nuova. 108 Those in this archive relate to the

¹⁰⁶ I-Rv Mss Z122-130.

¹⁰⁸ As mentioned, some of the Books of Decrees remain in the Archive of the Chiesa Nuova.

minutes of short meetings held to settle current business, including expenditure. These are in the form of bundles of loose sheets of paper that have been carefully organised and catalogued in date order. 109 They are useful in providing some information relating to the purchasing and copying music, the maintenance and building of organs and payment to musicians who came to perform at the Oratory. It is unfortunate that the information varies in the detail provided. Some entries merely give the ammount of money spent for the music for a particular feast. This was probably due to the *Prefetto della Musica*, who was always a member of the Congregation and, during the period covered here also the Maestro di Cappella, having sole responsibility for the detailed organisation of the music and thus provided with a lump sum for expenses.

7. Chronology of sources from 1575 to 1644.

Having located the extant sources of the liturgical music amassed as well as the historic documents that provide some details about the organisation of the music for the liturgy during the formation and growth of the Congregation at the Chiesa Nuova, it becomes possible to explore the music and historic data to see what information it reveals about the growth of the music establishment and the developments in the styles of music used.

It is not possible to follow an exact chronological order, as manuscript copies are frequently not dated and printed music was not necessarily bought at the time of publication, although records do occasionally provide the date of purchase. This lack of systematic chronology makes the inventories of 1592 and 1608 extremely important. 110 By establishing what music had been acquired up to 1608, a period that covers the first thirtyone years from the first liturgical service in the Chiesa Nuova in 1577, it will be possible to make a comparison with a similar period of time after 1608 when the music provision was

¹⁰⁹ Anna Maria Corbo, L'Archivio della Congregazione dell'Oratorio di Roma e l'Archivio dell'Abbazia di S. Giovanni in Venere. Inventario, Quaderni della Rassegna degli Archivi di Stato, 27 (Rome: Archivio di Stato, 1964).

Appendices 1 and 2.

organised by two members of the Congregation who were both professional musicians: firstly Francesco Martini, who became *maestro di cappella* in 1603, and then his successor, Girolamo Rosini, who held the post from 1623 until his death in 1644.

When considering the different periods there are various factors that prevent a complete assessment based on all the music that remains or was known to have previously existed in the archive. Firstly, it was likely that visiting musicians brought music with them. This would be especially likely for those occasions, such as for mass and vespers on the anniversary of the death of Filippo Neri, when both conductor and choir came en masse from the Papal Chapel. Contemporary reports can nevertheless be a guide as to the style of the music that was performed on such occasions. 111 Secondly, although the inventories provide the contents of the music library up to 1608 with some certainty, the lack of any further inventory until 1794 leaves open the possibility that music, obtained by the end of the period under consideration, might not have survived. Thirdly, among the surviving music, there are collections that may have been acquired without the intention of using them in performance. Included among these are presentation copies, in particular that containing the music of Montemayor and possibly the partbooks containing what appear to be Animuccia's earliest liturgical music, which were possibly valued as gifts, but never used in performance. In addition, Soto's activity as an editor suggests that some of the manuscript copies, in particular the Vesper Psalms by Victoria (Mss. Mus. 130), were copies prepared for printing rather than performance. It is also possible that as the Chiesa Nuova became established and funds were available, those in charge of the music may have engaged in collecting printed liturgical music for their expanding library and, considering the size of the library, even by the time of the 1608 inventory, it is unlikely that all the music could have been performed.

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¹¹¹ Francesco Zazzara, a priest of the Oratory, kept a diary of those years, with descriptions of the music for Mass and Vespers on the anniversary of Neri's death in 1597, 1598, 1599. It survives in manuscript: I-Rf, A. IV. 13. *Diario A. A.* [di Francesco Zazzara].

In order to give a sense of chronology by date, the second part of my investigation of the surviving music deals with the large collection of manuscript copies, mostly undated, that appear to have been in use at the Chiesa Nuova after 1608. It is not only the fact that these are not referred to in the 1608 inventory that indicates that they belong to a later period. The records of expenditure from the Chiesa Nuova indicate that between 1608 and 1627 large amounts of money were spent in copying music for use in the church; a noticeable increase on what was spent before 1608. The occasional description of the music helps to identify and date some of the manuscripts, thus enabling some degree of chronology during the period after 1608. A similarity between some manuscript volumes also helps in grouping them and assists therefore with dating. In addition, several of the composers, such as Giovanni Francesco Anerio, Lorenzo Ratti, Antonio Cifra and Vincenzo Ugolini, are of a younger generation and do not therefore appear at all in the earlier collections detailed in the 1592 and 1608 inventories. With regard to the printed music, much of that which was purchased was published after 1608.

Before considering the music, however, it will be useful to look at the historic background to be able to provide some context and points of reference for, as near as possible, a chronological consideration of the music in relation to the changing needs of the Congregation. This will include information on the day-to-day running of the music establishment at the Chiesa Nuova as revealed through archival documents. It is impossible, however, to consider the liturgical music of the Chiesa Nuova without considering it within the wider context of the impact of Church reform in Rome, especially in relation to the arts, and how that reform was epitomised in the particular character of Oratorian spirituality and culture.

¹¹² Addamiano & Morelli, 'L'archivio della cappella musicale di Santa Maria in Vallicella (Chiesa Nuova) a Roma nella prima metà del Seicento', 41.

III. THE ROMAN ORATORY AND ITS MUSICIANS

Saint Philip's Oratory was one of the great centres of sacred music in Rome. His singers, as well as his composers, were always chosen from amongst the most celebrated men in the city; and the Oratory offered to composers a new and a wider field for this art than even the great basilicas and the Papal Chapel. 113

1. Origins and ethos

The Chiesa Nuova, the motherhouse of the Congregation of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri, situated on what was, and still is, one of Rome's busiest thoroughfares and one of the largest churches in Rome, is visually imposing both inside and out. Peter Paul Rubens, writing of his commission in 1606 to designed the high altar (1606-8) enclosing the fourteenth-century icon of the Madonna della Vallicella, described the Chiesa Nuova as 'without doubt the most celebrated and frequented church in Rome today, situated right in the centre of the city, and which was to be adorned by the combined efforts of all the most able painters in Italy'. 114

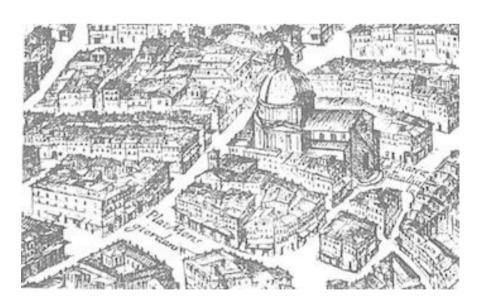


Fig.3.1 The Vallicella in 1593. 115

¹¹³ Alfonso Capecelatro, *The Life of Saint Philip Neri*, trans. Thomas Alder Pope, 2nd. edition (London: Burns & Oates, 1894), vol. II, 83. Cardinal Alfonso Capecelatro (1824-1912) was one of the few ecclesiastical writers on Neri to emphasise the importance of music in his mission.

¹¹⁴ Michael Jaffé, Rubens and Italy (Oxford: Phaidon Press Limited, 1977), 88.

¹¹⁵ Kerry Downes (ed.), Borromini's book: the "full relation of the building" of the Roman Oratory by Francesco Borromini and Virgilio Spada of the Oratory (Wetherby: Oblong Creative Ltd., 2009), 233.



Fig.3.2 The interior of the Chiesa Nuova (photograph 2 May 2016)

Indeed the art works, in particular the paintings adorning the chapels that followed the specific directions of Filippo Neri that they should represent mysteries of the Virgin and all be uniform in frames, altar rails and altar candlesticks, contribute to the order, homogeneity and affective beauty of the interior. This care and detailed attention to the decoration of the Chiesa Nuova testifies to the importance placed by Neri and his followers on the value of beauty in the visual arts and its power to influence spiritual thought. They provided artworks not to educate, but rather for contemplation and meditation. It set a precedent for the interior as a practical and functional instrument for the conversion and salvation of souls. Their attitude to the purpose of music in the liturgy will be seen to reflect the same motivation, as well as the recognition of its power to raise the emotions and to influence the religious imagination.

Neri's appreciation of the power of beautiful liturgy possibly dated from his early experiences in Florence. There, besides imbibing the value of lay spirituality practised in confraternities and the example of vernacular spiritual songs in the form of laude as promoted by Savonarola, he would also have witnessed the particular beauty of the Dominican liturgy at San Marco. Later, in Rome, he showed a fondness for the devotion of *Quarant'ore*, the practice of forty continuous hours of prayer before the Blessed Sacrament, which was impressively housed in a golden monstrance and decorated with vast arrays of flowers and candles. He introduced this devotion to the confraternity of *Sanctissima Trinità dei Pellegrini* during the Holy Year of 1550. Described by Gregory Martin, who witnessed the devotion in Rome in 1581, as *a* 'glimpse of paradise', 120 it was

¹¹⁶ Downes (ed.), *Borromini's book*, 249.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 251.

¹¹⁸ For a detailed study on musical mysticism and the power of music as an aid to devotion in post-Tridentine Italy see: Andrew Dell'Antonio, *Listening as Spiritual Practice in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2011).

¹¹⁹ Neri, while still a layman, was co-founder of this confraternity. See Ponnelle and Bordet, *St. Philip Neri and the Roman Society of his Times*, 108.

¹²⁰ Gregory Martin, *Roma Sacra* (1581), first edition by George Bruner Parks (Rome: Edizione di Storia e Letteratura, 1969), 64.

among the devotions that Neri continued at the Chiesa Nuova, giving an indication of his promotion of spectacular and mystical liturgy, and which, in early seventeenth-century Rome, developed into a major theatrical event. 121

It was after his ordination to the priesthood, on 23 May 1551, that Neri went to live at the Church of San Girolamo della Carità and commenced his Oratory gatherings in a room over the church. We know that music was included in the Oratory exercises from the beginning as one of Neri's earliest members, Cesare Baronio, who was among the first priests of the Congregation of the Oratory, gave a description of the Oratory meetings in the years 1557 to 1558. 122 He describes the format of the oratory gatherings. which included prayers, sermons and discourses. The meetings would always finish with the singing of a lauda, using music as an enjoyable means for the expression of emotional, often impassioned, religious texts. This appears, at that time, to have been the only music included, despite the fact that Neri's compatriot, the musician Giovanni Animuccia, had started to attend the Oratory and was possibly already composing the simple laude that he included in *Il primo libro delle laudi*, published in 1563. 123 The full title to this volume makes it clear that it was intended for the 'consolation and needs of many spiritual and devout people, both religious and secular.' Here we see the growing interest in lay spirituality and it is not unreasonable to assume that Animuccia's belief in the power of music in providing for the spiritual sustenance of others was a concept promoted by Neri, his confessor and spiritual guide.

It is interesting to consider briefly the development of the early Oratory as it shows how the role of music gradually grew from the inclusion of a simple lauda to conclude the meeting, to the use of more elaborate polyphonic pieces for professional

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¹²¹ Mark, S Weil, 'The Devotion of the Forty Hours and Roman Baroque Illusions', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 37 (1974), 218-248; here, 218.

¹²² Baronio, *Annales*, I: 473, referenced in Howard E. Smither., *A History of the Oratorio*, vol.1 (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1977), 49.

¹²³ Animuccia, *Il primo libro delle laudi* (Rome: Dorico, Valerio, 1563).

musicians. We are not considering at this stage any formal liturgy as the Oratory meetings did not take place in a church and members were not responsible for any church service, but the early Oratory, in several ways, laid the foundations that enabled the future liturgical splendour at the Chiesa Nuova. Firstly, we have Neri's own understanding of the value of music to attract, which he then passed on to his followers. Secondly, Neri befriended musicians, composers, singers and instrumentalists who in these early days would even give their services for free. Among them were those who would later join the Oratorian Congregation as priests, as well as those who were happy to continue to offer their services whilst holding a post elsewhere. It is likely that Animuccia had the necessary contacts to introduce other musicians to the Oratory, especially after he succeeded Palestrina as *maestro di cappella* of the Cappella Giulia in January 1555.

In 1565 Neri accepted the pastoral care of the church for the Florentine community in Rome, San Giovanni dei Fiorentini, which prompted him to bring together those members of his Oratory who were just about to be ordained, to live there as a community and carry out the necessary parochial duties. Possibly due to the greater prominence of the Oratory at San Giovanni dei Fiorentini the number of people attending increased to such an extent that Animuccia, in 1570, issued a second volume of laude, which included texts in both Italian and Latin. It was a pioneering volume in that it included Gospel dialogues and other pieces for up to eight voices in shifting choral groups (though not fully-fledged *cori spezzati*). In his dedication he wrote:

Ma essendosi poi tuttavia l'Oratorio suddetto per gratia di Dio venuto accrescendo, co'l concorso di prelati, & gentil'huomini principalissimi, è parso anco à me conveniente di accrescere in questo Secondo Libro, l'harmonia, & i concenti, variando la musica in diversi modi, facendola hora sopra parole latine, hora sopra vulgari, & hora con più numero di voci, & hora con meno, & quando con rime d'una maniera, & quando d'un'altra, intrigandomi il

¹²⁴ They were Cesare Baronio, Alessandro Fedeli and Giovanni Francesco Bordoni. These would be among his principal collaborators in the future foundation of the Congregation along with Francesco Maria Tarugi, and Antonio Gallonio who also became priests a little later. See: Ponnelle & Bordet, *St. Philip Neri and the Roman Society of his times*, 259.

manco ch'io ho potuto con le fughe, & con le inventioni, per non oscurare l'intendimento de le parole, accioché con la lor efficacia, aiutate dall'harmonia, potessero penetrare più dolcemente il cuore di chi ascolta. 125

The oratory having increased, by the grace of God, with the coming together of prelates and of most important gentlemen, it seemed to me fitting in this second book to increase the harmony and the combination of parts, varying the music in diverse ways, now setting it to Latin words and now to the vernacular, sometimes with a greater number of voices and sometimes with fewer, with verses now of one kind and now of another, concerning myself as little as possible with imitations and complexities, in order not to obscure the understanding of the words.]126

Beyond this book of laude we know very little regarding the music that was performed during the time that the Oratory was based at San Giovanni and it is unlikely that any records were kept relating to the organisation of the liturgical music and payments to musicians. 127 Animuccia remained as maestro di cappella until his death in 1571, and it is reasonable to assume that he would have engaged singers from the Papal Choir on some occasions, thus beginning the close rapport between the future Congregation and the Papal singers that was to continue well into the seventeenth century. It was during this period that the Spaniard, Francisco Soto de Langa (1540-1619), a soprano in the Sistine Chapel Choir, began to attend the Oratory gatherings. Later ordained as a priest of the new Congregation of the Oratory in 1575, he would play a central role in organising the music for the liturgy at the Chiesa Nuova during the early years.

The move to San Giovanni dei Fiorentini was significant in propelling forward the formation of the Congregation as it eventually became apparent that, with the growing number of priests and lay members, some kind of structured organisation was required if it was to be perpetuated. Another contributing factor towards the official recognition of the Congregation was the election in 1575 of a new pope, Ugo Buoncompagni, who took the

125 Giovanni Animuccia, Il secondo libro delle laudi, dove si contengono motteti, salmi et altre diverse cose spirituali... (Rome: Eredi di Antonio Blado (Camerali) 1570).

126 Translation from Ian Fenlon, *Music and Culture in Late Renaissance Italy* (Oxford University Press,

¹²⁷ The Congregation at the Chiesa Nuova only began to keep records from 1580. See: Ponnelle & Bordet, St. Philip Neri and the Roman Society of his times, 11.

name of Gregory XIII. He was an energetic pope who, while still maintaining the struggles for reform of his more severe Dominican predecessor, Pius V, exhibited a generosity of spirit that was more akin to that of Neri, whom the Pope admired and with whom he developed a relationship of mutual respect.¹²⁸

In consequence, on 15 July 1575, the Congregation of the Oratory was officially recognised with the papal bull *Copiosus in misericordia* and was assigned the small church of Santa Maria in Vallicella, which was demolished in order to build a new church. In the spirit of post-Tridentine optimism, it was planned on vast proportions that followed the Counter-Reformation design of a single main nave with transepts and side chapels. It was in use by 1577 when the nave was completed although building continued until 1590 and the facade was not added until 1606. 129

2. The music establishment during the formative years at the Chiesa Nuova

The surviving archival material, especially the decrees, the records of people entering and leaving the Congregation and lists of expenditure, provides information on how the liturgical music was organised and on the musicians, including members of the Oratorian Congregation, who were involved. This information is invaluable for providing a context for a subsequent consideration of the music itself, during a period covering approximately the first seventy years, the most important years for the establishment and growth of the provision of liturgical music at the Chiesa Nuova. A convenient division into three periods is possible: an initial period of twenty-six years, the formative years, from when the Chiesa Nuova was first used in 1577 up to Francesco Martini's appointment as *maestro di cappella* in 1603, a second period of twenty years covering Martini's tenure up

¹²⁸ Ponnelle & Bordet, St. Philip Neri and the Roman Society of his times, 287.

¹²⁹ Downes (ed.), Borromini's book, 225.

to 1623 and a final period of twenty-one years when Girolamo Rosini was *maestro di* cappella till his death in 1644.

Whilst Animuccia was maestro di cappella of the nascent oratory at San Giovanni dei Fiorentini until his death in 1571, there is no record as to any official appointment of a maestro di cappella at the Chiesa Nuova until 26 June 1593 when Prospero Santini was appointed. 130 The indications are that Francesco Soto de Langa took responsibility for both the music for the liturgy and the music for the spiritual exercises of the Oratory from at least 20 June 1587 when an entry in the decrees of the Congregation referred to him as the Prefetto della musica for both the choir and the oratory. 131 He may have carried out some of the duties of a maestro di cappella but with the title of Prefetto della musica, a post which he retained after Santini's appointment. ¹³² One further possibility is that the role of Prefetto was more of an advisory role, while the more active role of instructing and directing singers was entrusted to another member of the Congregation. Some ancient documents in the Naples Oratory reveal that at a meeting on 15 March 1577 the Congregation appointed officers to the various duties. The singing and the ceremonies in the church fell to Alessandro Fedeli. 133 This can be supported by the decrees of the Roman Congregation during the early 1580s that mention *Padre Alessandro* taking an active role in organising the choir, with the assistance of Pompeo Pateri, whose name has already been mentioned in relation to copies of manuscript music that bear his signature. ¹³⁴ On 12 November 1583, for example, they each rehearse a group of singers making sure that they

¹³⁰ Morelli, Il Tempo Armonico, Musica nell'Oratorio dei Filippini in Roma (1575-1705), 90.

¹³¹ P. Franciscus Sotus praefectus musices tum in choro tum in oratorio, I-Rf, C. I. 3, Libro secondo de' decreti, 9. Howard Smither states that Soto was maestro di cappella from 1571 until 1596 but this was clearly not the case. See: Howard E. Smither, A History of the Oratorio, vol.1, 56.

¹³² Antonio Cistellini, *San Filippo Neri: l'Oratorio e la Congregazione oratoriana: storia e spiritualità*, 3 vols. (Brescia: Morcelliana, 1989), vol. 1, 870.

¹³³ Ponnelle and Bordet, St. Philip Neri and the Roman Society of his Times, 347.

¹³⁴ I-Rn. Mss.Mus.117-121 with I-Rsc. G.Mss 792-795. See Appendix 5, no. 33.

sing well with one another and reprimand those who are not in agreement, ¹³⁵ and records of expenditure for 1584 refer to payments to Fedeli for the costs incurred for the feast of S. Gregorio and for the cost of the organ tuning. ¹³⁶ This arrangement of Soto and Fedeli in the respective roles of *Prefetto* and *Maestro* also makes sense of a reference to them jointly negotiating with Palestrina and the *Compagnia dei Musici* on 9 November 1584. ¹³⁷ Further references in the decrees and elsewhere, however, place Soto at the forefront in matters pertaining to music at the Chiesa Nuova and he provides a good example of the calibre of musician that was attracted to the Congregation.

Contemporary accounts indicate that he had an exceptional soprano voice and by 1562 he had been accepted into the Papal Chapel where he soon became one of the most important singers and was always 'loved and favoured' because of the delicacy of his voice and his good manners. The memory of his outstanding voice lasted well into the next century and he is mentioned by Pietro della Valle in *Della musica dell'età nostra* (1640): 'Di tali soprani in persone di guidizio, l'età passata non vide altri che un padre Soto'. ('Of this type of soprano, according to people of judgement, the past times did not see another like Padre Soto'). The started to participate in the exercises of the Oratory in 1566, 'cantando al fine de' sermoni alcuna lauda spirituale, come si costuma, con particolare contento di tutti' ('singing at the end of the sermon some spiritual lauda, as was the custom, to the great satisfaction of all'), The same and continued as a member of the Papal

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¹³⁵ Che ms. Alessandro Fidele da una banda e ms. Pompeo dall'altra habbi cura che il choro vadi bene circa il canto e che ammonischino quello che non s'accordano con li altri, I-Rf, C. I. 2, Libro primo de' decreti, 3. ¹³⁶ See Appendix 6, Records of expenditure, 28 Jan. and 11 Sept. 1584.

¹³⁷ I-Rf, C. I. 2, *Libro primo de' decreti*, 40. It is possible that this recently formed confraternity for professional musicians was seeking a church of residence as it put forward its petition for papal recognition, but this must have come to nothing as in the Bull that gave the confraternity canonical recognition, granted by Pope Sixtus V on 1 May 1585, explicitly names the Pantheon as the church of residence. See: William J. Summers, '*The Compagnia dei musici di Roma*, 1584-1604: A Preliminary Report', *Current Musicology*, 34 (1982), 7-25: here, 7.

^{(1982), 7-25;} here, 7.

138 Domenico Alaleona, *Studi Su La Storia Dell'oratorio Musicale in Italia* (Turin: Fratelli Bocca Editori, 1923), 59.

¹³⁹ Pietro Della Valle, 'Della musica dell'età ...' in Angelo Solerti, *Le Origini del Melodrama* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1969), 164.

¹⁴⁰ Paolo Aringhi, 'Vita inedita del Padre Soto', I-Rv, O.58.



Fig. 3.3 Francesco Soto de Langa¹⁴¹

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¹⁴¹ Andrea Adami, Osservazioni per ben regolare il coro de i cantori della Cappella Pontificia: tanto nelle funzioni ordinarie, che straordinarie (Rome: Antonio de' Rossi, 1761), 176.

Chapel even after his ordination as a priest of the Congregation. Although other members were skilled in music, as we see from entries in the decrees referring to the involvement of several priests in managing rehearsals, Soto was a professional and clearly had the appropriate experience to take charge of the music as well as being part of a useful network of professional singers whom he could call upon, when needed, to augment the choral forces for important feasts at the Chiesa Nuova. As a composer he wrote laude and was responsible for the publication, on behalf of the Congregation, of five books of that genre between 1583 and 1598.¹⁴²

Soto's standing in musical circles can also be illustrated by his close association with his compatriot, Tomás Luis de Victoria, especially in relation to their involvement in providing music for the Spanish Archconfraternity of the Resurrection, which was based at San Giacomo degli Spagnoli. There appears to be no evidence, however, that Victoria ever joined the Congregation of the Oratory, as stated by Robert Stevenson, although from 1578 until his departure for Spain in 1585 he resided at S. Girolamo della Carità, overlapping with Neri's residence there by five years until the latter was persuaded, in 1583, to move to the Chiesa Nuova. It appears that Victoria and Soto remained in contact after Victoria returned to Spain as evidenced by the rare manuscript of ten vesper psalms by Victoria from the music library of the Chiesa Nuova that has been referred to in the sources. The note written by Victoria to Soto on the first page, giving instructions for

¹⁴² Smither, A History of the Oratorio, vol.1, 57-60.

During the 1580s there are references to Victoria and then Soto organising the music for the Easter Sunday celebrations, which included Mass, Vespers and a magnificent procession outside the church that was situated in the Piazza Navona. It is possible that Soto remained involved with an increased workload after Victoria's return to Spain, although in 1591 it appears that Ruggiero Giovanelli (1560-1625) organised the music for Easter Sunday, followed by Asprilio Pacelli (1570-1623) in 1594. In 1601, on the occasion of the birth of a daughter to Philip II of Spain, Soto is recorded as being responsible for organising the music to commemorate the event, included the singing of the *Te Deum Laudamus*, a solemn mass of the Holy Spirit and three nights of musical celebrations. See: Noel O'Regan, 'Victoria, Soto and the Spanish Archconfraternity of the Resurrection in Rome', *Early Music*, 22 (1994), 2: 279-295.

¹⁴⁴ Robert Stevenson, 'Victoria, Tomás Luis de', *Grove Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com, (accessed 22 November 2017).

¹⁴⁵ Ponnelle and Bordet, St. Philip Neri and the Roman Society of his Times, 403.

preparing the work for publication, provides a direct link between the two musicians. ¹⁴⁶ This work will be discussed in greater detail later, but it is appropriate to mention it here as an indication that Soto's skill as an editor was not confined to producing publications of simple laude but also included liturgical music.

A further example of Soto's editorial skills is found among the music listed in the inventory of 1592. This is Juan Navarro's *Psalmi, hymni ac Magnificat totius anni* (1590),¹⁴⁷ a posthumous edition of that composer's works. That Soto was chosen for this editorial task by Canon Reinoso of Palencia Cathedral testifies to his reputation.¹⁴⁸ The preface to the work, written by Soto, also gives an important insight into his thoughts on the role of liturgical music as he praises Navarro who 'knows how to transport the hearer with the incredible sweetness of music', ¹⁴⁹ once again providing an allusion to the Oratorian emphasis on the emotive power of music as a vehicle for religious contemplation.

We might wonder why a musician of Soto's ability and experience did not remain in charge of the liturgical music at the Chiesa Nuova. We can assume that, as the building and decorating of the Chiesa Nuova neared its completion and the standing of the Congregation grew in Rome, the task of organising the music for both the liturgy and the Oratory gatherings would become more time-consuming. During this time Soto was involved in many other undertakings away from the Chiesa Nuova. Although 1587/8 was his final year as a papal singer before becoming a pensioner, he was elected as *maestro di cappella* of the Papal Choir for that year, as well as the year following and again in 1591, 1596 and 1603. This role gave him responsibility for choosing repertoire, allocating singers and having music copied. His repeated election by his fellow singers provides a clear indication of the regard in which they held him. He was also engaged in priestly

¹⁴⁶ I-Rn. Mss. Mus. 130. See Appendix 5, Catalogue of manuscript and printed music, no.39.

¹⁴⁷ See Appendix 1, no.16.

¹⁴⁸ Robert Stevenson, Spanish Cathedral Music in a Golden Age (University of California Press, 1961), 249.

¹⁴⁹ A complete translation of Soto's preface can be found in Stevenson, ibid., 254.

¹⁵⁰ O'Regan, 'Victoria, Soto and the Spanish Archconfraternity of the Resurrection in Rome', 280.

activities outside of music, including an interest in promoting the cause of the Spanish mystic, Teresa of Avila (1515-1582). 151 It is not surprising to learn that in March and August 1594 his fellow Oratorians felt the need to record the problems they had in making him confine his activities more to the work of the Congregation. 152

The books of decrees from those years indicate that there were several members of the Congregation, such as Niccolò Gigli, Giovenale Ancina and Pietro Perracchione and Flaminio Ricci who, although not professional musicians like Soto, were, like Pateri and Fedeli, skilled in music and were able to instruct others. There are references to them teaching the singing of chant and falsobordone to both novices and other members of the clergy. On 26 May 1583, for example, it is documented that Padre Pietro Perracchione teaches 'canto fermo' ('chant') to Padre Giovanni Matteo Ancina and to two novices, Giovanni Battista Aligero and Antonio Carli. 153

There is also evidence of some use of external singers during these early years and, in particular, for the feast of the Nativity of Our Lady as in 1581 when the Congregation invite the Papal choir. 154 A letter between two Oratorian fathers in 1588 refers to the excellent papal music for the feast in that year. 155 A handwritten note, preserved in the Biblioteca Vallicelliana, records the solemn translation of the bodies of S. Papia and S. Mauro from the church of Sant' Adriano to the Chiesa Nuova on 11 February 1590. 156 For the procession it is recorded that there were 'trombe et flauti' ('trumpets and recorders') and twenty singers vested in white cottas. A motet, *Ingredimini*, was sung and then a choir,

¹⁵¹ Besides translating her writings, which were subsequently published for the first time in Italian in 1603, he was the principal propagator in Rome of feminine monasticism following the spirituality of Teresa's Carmelite reform movement and established the Carmelite monastery of San Giuseppe a Capo le Case there in 1596. See: Alessandra Anselmi, I rapporti tra Roma e Madrid nei secoli XVI e XVII: arte diplomazia e politica (Rome: Gangemi Editore, 2014).

152 Ponnelle and Bordet, St. Philip Neri and the Roman Society of his Times, 297.

^{153 &#}x27;Che ms. Pietro seguiti ad insegnare il canto fermo particolarmente a ms. Giovan Matteo, ms. Giovan Battista e ms. Antonio Carli', I-Rf, C. I. 2, Libro primo de' decreti, 31. For biographical details see Ponnelle and Bordet, St. Philip Neri and the Roman Society of his Times, 359.

¹⁵⁴ I-Rf, C. I. 2, Libro primo de' decreti, 12

¹⁵⁵ Morelli, Il Tempo Armonico, Musica nell'Oratorio dei Filippini in Roma (1575-1705), 89.

¹⁵⁶ I-Rv, ms. O.57/II, cc. 383r-387r.

standing on a platform, sang the psalm *Laudate Dominum in sanctis ejus* for two choirs. On the following morning the singers from the Papal Chapel sang a solemn Mass celebrated by the Pope. ¹⁵⁷ The music described here is not among that listed in the inventory and it is likely that visiting singers brought their own music.

From surviving records of payments to musicians, ¹⁵⁸ those that were recorded between 1584 and 1593 all appear to have been one-off payments for a specific feast, with the exception of an organist, whose salary of 2.50 scudi each month was recorded from January to April, 1584. In 1587 there was a recorded expenditure for musicians and for 'portatura d'instrumenti' ('carrying the instruments') for the Feast of the Nativity of Our Lady. ¹⁵⁹ In March 1593, for the feast of St. Gregory and for *Quarant' ore*, Felice Anerio and Orazio Malvezzi, ¹⁶⁰ received payment as well as money to pay the other Papal singers who had taken part. ¹⁶¹ It is not until 1591, after the completion of work to enlarge and renovate the organ, that there are the first suggestions of regular payments to choir members when the Congregation began to spend 10 scudi a month to supplement the salaries of the musicians and the organist. ¹⁶²

The first information that we have as to the appointment of a *maestro di cappella* appears on 26 June 1593 when Prospero Santini (fl.1591-1614) was appointed to the post, having been accepted into the Congregation on 1 November 1592. He held the post until he was expelled on 2 July 1603 having been, 'corrected and admonished charitably by many of their house and outside'. Although responsible for the liturgical music, there is no information to suggest that he was ordained to the priesthood and he probably remained

¹⁵⁷ Morelli, Il Tempo Armonico, Musica nell'Oratorio dei Filippini in Roma (1575-1705), 89.

¹⁵⁸ See Appendix 6, Records of expenditure relating to music for the liturgy.

¹⁵⁹ I-Ras, Orat., b. 293, c. 128r, 23. XI. 1587.

 ¹⁶⁰ Orazio Malvezzi, a bass, joined the Papal Choir on 16 January, 1590. See: Adami, *Osservazioni per ben regolare il coro de i cantori della Cappella Pontificia: tanto nelle funzioni ordinarie, che straordinarie*, 182.
 ¹⁶¹ I-Ras, Orat., 162, *Memoria de' mandati* [1592-97), c. n. n. and I-Ras, Orat., 294, *Entrata e Uscita A* [1591-99), c. 131^L

¹⁶² Morelli, Il Tempo Armonico, Musica nell'Oratorio dei Filippini in Roma (1575-1705), 90.

¹⁶³ I-Rf, C. I. 3, Libro secondo de' decreti, 2 & 4.

^{164 &#}x27;....essendo stato ammonito e corretto charitativamente da molti di casa et fuori ...' I-Rf, C. I. 5, *Libro quarto de'decreti*, 45.

as a brother during his time at the Chiesa Nuova. This would explain the references to him being advised by priests of the Congregation, such as Pietro Perracchione and Francesco Soto. The suggestions are that he was also the organist as, during a period of illness in 1599, an organist had to be employed for two months. 166

Santini appears to have been a very skilled musician, although information about him is scant. He was among those composers, all members of the *Compagnia dei Musici*, who collaborated with Palestrina in the composition of the *Missa Cantantibus organis*, thought to have been composed towards the end of the 1580s. He composed the *Sanctus* for this triple choir Mass, based on Palestrina's five-voice motet, *Cantantibus organis*. He does not appear, however, to have been a prolific composer. He wrote some laude and *canzonette spirituali* that were published in Roman anthologies, including the collection of three-part laude, *Tempio Armonico* (1599), collected by Giovenale Ancina of the Congregation of the Oratory, and his only known work on a larger scale is a double-choir motet (CATB/CATB), *Angelus Domini descendit*. 168

He was, however, an accomplished organist, ¹⁶⁹ and it is thus not surprising to discover that, during his time as *maestro di cappella* at the Chiesa Nuova, a considerable amount of money was spent on the organ. The organ builder, Giovanni Guglielmi, received regular payments for the tuning and maintenance of both the large organ and the small organ and a payment to him of 25 scudi was recorded on 17 January, 1595 for having added a trombone register followed by, on 15 September in the same year, a further

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¹⁶⁵ I-Rf, C. I. 3, Libro secondo de' decreti, 4 & 50.

¹⁶⁶ I-Ras, Orat., 163, Copia de' mandati (1593-1602), c. 82^r.

¹⁶⁷ Le Opere Complete di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, vol. XXXII, ed. by Lino Bianchi, Rome, 1972. Santini's Sanctus is incomplete in that it lacks a Hosanna and a Benedictus.

¹⁶⁸ Printed in a collection collected by Fabio Costantino, *Selectae cantiones excellentissimorum auctorum octonis vocibus concinendae* (Rome: Zannetti, Bartolomeo Zannetti, 1614).
¹⁶⁹ He played at St. Peter's Basilica for the Feast of the Dedication of the Basilica and for 2nd Vespers on the

¹⁶⁹ He played at St. Peter's Basilica for the Feast of the Dedication of the Basilica and for 2nd Vespers on the Feast of Saints Peter and Paul each year from 1606 to 1609, when three organists were required, as well as extra singers and instrumentalists for works for three or four choirs. The other organists during these four years included celebrated musicians such as Frescobaldi, Pasquini, Giovanni Francesco Anerio and Antonio Cifra. See: Giancarlo Rostirolla, *Musica e Musicisti nella Basilica di San Pietro, Cinque secoli di Storia della Cappella Giulia*, 2 vols. (Rome: Edizione Capitolo Vaticano, 2014),vol. 1, 329, 330, 333, 344.

payment of 10 scudi for tin for the principal register of the organ. ¹⁷⁰ The greatest expenditure comes in 1598, when it was recorded on 8 June that Guglielmi had been paid 4 scudi for tuning and 294.41 scudi for repairing the organ and for the purchase of lead and tin for the pipes.¹⁷¹

Regarding singers for the church, the practice remained of hiring papal singers for important feasts. On 12 September 1595, for example, the payment was recorded of 5 scudi to papal singers and 60 baiocchi for children from Santa Maria Maggiore for the feast of the Nativity of Our Lady. 172 By that time, however, there were indications of a permanent choir, possibly made up of a small number of paid singers and those who gave their services freely as well as members of the Congregation. On 14 March 1596 they took on a soprano '... per dar sodisfatione a ms. Felice, et animo di fare buona musica' ('...for the satisfaction of Felice, and in the spirit of making good music), ¹⁷³ and on 1 August 1598 the payment of 4 scudi to a soprano, Oratio, for singing for a month and ten days in the church was recorded. ¹⁷⁴ On 31 December 1601, however, tips were given to the singers who 'serve continuously free in the church and the oratory'. There are also references to the use of boy sopranos, putti che cantano, as on 20 December 1602 it was recorded that Santini was given a tip of 20 baiocchi to pass on to them. ¹⁷⁶ These references suggest a choir made up of unsalaried men and boys with a couple of professional singers who receive payment. It is impossible, therefore, to determine choir membership through records of payment alone.

¹⁷⁰ I-Ras, Orat., 163, Copia de' mandati (1593-1602), c. 35^r and I-Ras, Orat., 294, Entrata e Uscita A (1591-99), c. 187^v. Referenced also in Appendix 6.

¹⁷¹ I-Ras, Orat., 294, Entrata e Uscita A (1591-99), details on a leaf of paper inserted in this volume. See Appendix 6.

I-Ras, Orat., 163, *Copia de' mandati* (1593-1602), c. 39^v. See Appendix 6.

¹⁷³ I-Rf, C. I. 4, *Libro terzo de' decreti*, 222. 'Felice' is presumably Felice Anerio.

¹⁷⁴ I-Ras, Orat., 163, *Copia de' mandati* (1593-1602), c. 71^r. See Appendix 6.

¹⁷⁵ I-Ras, Orat., 295, Entrata e Uscita A (1599-1605), c. no page number. See Appendix 6.

¹⁷⁶ I-Rf, C. IV, 38. See Appendix 6.

It was during Santini's time as *maestro di cappella* that, on 26 May 1595, the founder of the Congregation of the Oratory, Filippo Neri, died. His reputation for saintliness was so widely acknowledged by all that his cause for canonisation was introduced almost immediately and, as early as 1596, Pope Clement VIII allowed a lamp to burn day and night at his tomb before his portrait. From the first anniversary of his death, the date was marked with joyful celebrations that attracted great crowds to the Chiesa Nuova, including many Cardinals and prelates. ¹⁷⁷ One priest of the Congregation, Francesco Zazzara, kept a diary in which he gave an account of the liturgy for the second anniversary as well as for that for the two years following. The first refers to Mass and Solemn Vespers on the second anniversary in 1597:

A di 26 di Maggio, che fu la seconda festa dello Spirito Santo, et la festa del Santo Padre in Chiesa si cantola messa et il vespero tanto solennemente, con musica a quattro chori, quanto sia mai stato cantata non solo in Chiesa ma forse in Rome, con motetti, e musiche nove composte dal Signor Felice Anerio, quale hebbe cura della musica. La chiesa era piena di gente fino alla porta, che non ce ne poteva capere più. 178

[On 26th May, which was the second day of Pentecost and the feast of our Holy Father, Mass and Vespers were sung most solemnly in the church, with music 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. The church was full to the door so that we could not cope with any more.]

He followed this with a description of the same occasion in 1599:

... la musica fu a quattro chori assai piu bella, che mai, per essere la Cappella de Sua Sanita 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 ... ¹⁷⁹

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

¹⁷⁷ Ponnelle and Bordet, St. Philip Neri and the Roman Society of his Times, 343.

¹⁷⁸ Francesco Zazzara, *Diario delle onoranze a S. Filippo dalla morte all canonizzazione*, 1621, Archives of the Chiesa Nuova I Rf A-IV-13, 9^{r-v}.

¹⁷⁹ Zazzara, *Diario*, I Rf A-IV-13, 21^v.

It is reasonable to assume that on such occasions, when the music was directed by others, Santini played the organ. The references to Felice Anerio's involvement with the liturgical music at the Chiesa Nuova, however, predate both Neri's death as well as his appointment, in 1594, as the successor to Palestrina as composer to the Papal Choir, ¹⁸⁰ and it is likely that he was involved with the music in these formative years far more than records suggest.

The Anerio family lived in a house adjacent to the Chiesa Nuova and were devoted to Neri, ¹⁸¹ who was confessor to both parents. It is likely that the father, Maurizio, a trombonist and singer, was involved with the music in the church and the mother, Fulgenia, the aunt of the composer Asprilio Pacelli (1570-1623), ¹⁸² encouraged her sons to attend the Oratory gatherings. When the younger brother, Giovanni Francesco Anerio (1567-1630), suffered a serious illness in 1583 it was believed that his recovery was due to Neri's intercession. ¹⁸³ On 16 July 1598, Giovanni Francesco was 'admitted to the choir', and the implication is that he was on the sanctuary with the clergy as his presence 'si rimetta l'uso di far sonare le campane all'elevatione della messa cantata' ('restores the use of the bells at the elevation during a sung mass'). ¹⁸⁴ In October and November 1602 there appears to have been some disagreement as to whether he should be accepted into the Congregation, but the original recommendation that he should join another congregation was over-ruled on 13 November and, on 16 November, he was accepted as a deacon (See fig.3.4-6). ¹⁸⁵ Although he later gave up his vocation to join the Congregation of the Oratory, he was finally ordained as a diocesan priest, in the Gesù, in 1616. ¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁰ Klaus Fischer, 'Anerio, Felice', *Grove Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com, (accessed 21 November, 2016).

¹⁸¹ Ponnelle and Bordet, St. Philip Neri and the Roman Society of his Times, 188.

¹⁸² Music by Pacelli, published in Rome in 1597 and 1599 is included in the inventory of 1608. See Appendix 2, items 31 and 34.

¹⁸³ Smither, A History of the Oratorio, vol.1, 118.

¹⁸⁴ I-Rf, C. I. 3, Libro secondo de' decreti, 81.

¹⁸⁵ I-Rf, C. I. 4, *Libro quarto de' decreti*, 28 and 29.

¹⁸⁶ See Smither, A History of the Oratorio, vol.1, 118.

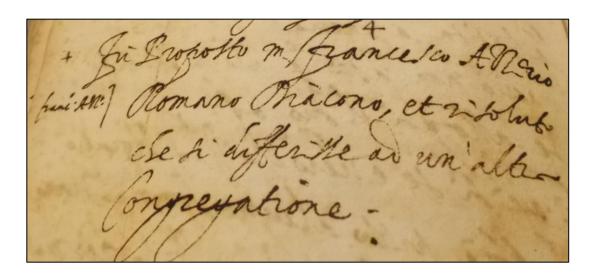


Fig.3.4 The recommendation on 30 October 1602 that Anerio should join another congregation.

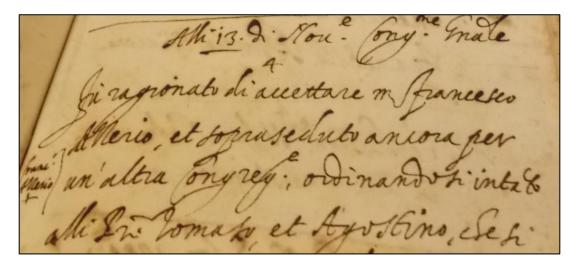


Fig.3.5 The decision on 13 November 1602 to accept Anerio, over-ruling the previous decision.

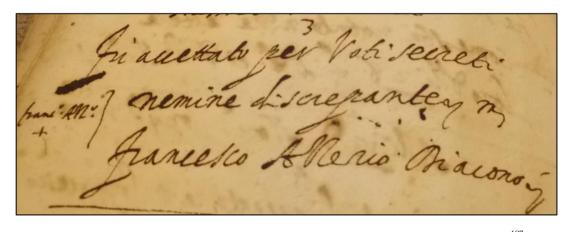


Fig.3.6 The formal agreement, by secret vote on 16 November 1602, to accept Anerio. 187

 $^{^{187}}$ I-Rf, C. I. 4, Libro quarto de' decreti, 28 and 29.

Although he later gave up his vocation to join the Congregation of the Oratory, he was ordained as a diocesan priest, in the Gesù, in 1616. 188

The liturgical compositions of both Anerio brothers, but more especially those of Giovanni Francesco, are well-represented among the surviving fund of music from the Chiesa Nuova and it will be seen that their experiences of Oratorian spirituality impacted on their musical styles. Giovanni Francesco's close ties with the Oratory can also be seen in his spiritual madrigals and dialogues, many using the spiritual texts of the Oratarian, Agostino Manni (1547-1618), with whom he was acquainted from 1602. Three important collections are *Selva armonica* (1617), *Teatro armonico* (1619) and *Rime sacre* (1620). ¹⁸⁹

There is evidence of other professional musicians who, during this early period, were associated with the Chiesa Nuova. In 1599 and 1600 the Congregation offered hospitality to a tenor, Alessandro Merli, who was given 'some basement rooms at a rent of 10 scudi'. This was probably Alessandro Merlo, a papal singer who, with Soto, was recorded as being absent from the solemn singing of the *Libera me* at St. Peter's, attended by all of Palestrina's friends on the day of the composer's death, 2 February 1594. It is not unreasonable to assume that, as it was the feast of Candlemas, they were both occupied with music at the Chiesa Nuova. Merlo died in 1601, presumably while still resident at the Chiesa Nuova as his funeral mass was held there on 30 April. 192

On 27 June 1599, during Santini's time as *maestro di cappella*, Dorisio Isorelli (1544-1632) was admitted to the Congregation. Originally from Parma, he was a singer, a viol player and a composer, and had distinguished himself whilst in the employment of

¹⁸⁸ See Smither, A History of the Oratorio, vol.1, 118.

¹⁸⁹ See Daniele V. Filippi, "Selva Armonica". La Musica Spirituale a Roma tra Cinque e Seicento Turnhout: Brepols, 2008). Filippi emphasises Anerio's absorption of the ethos of Oratorian spirituality and its impact on his composition of spiritual madrigals and dialogues.

¹⁹⁰ I-Rf, C. I. 5, Libro quarto de' decreti, 3 & 5.

¹⁹¹ Adami, Osservazioni per ben regolare il coro de i cantori della Cappella Pontificia: tanto nelle funzioni ordinarie, che straordinarie, 173.

¹⁹² RAS, Stato Civile, Libri Parrochiali, No 1: Libro dei Morti 1601, Santa Maria in Vallicella, 1601, fol. 59v-60r. *Diarii* 23, fols. 18v, 19v.

¹⁹³ I-Rf, C. I. 4, Libro terzo de' decreti, 98.

Ferdinando de' Medici in Florence. There he had worked under Emilio de' Cavalieri (c.1550-1602) and their association continued when Isorelli, abandoning the Court for the religious life, moved to Rome in 1599. Aged 55 at the time of joining the Congregation of the Oratory at the Chiesa Nuova, he remained a lay brother for the rest of his life, devoting himself to the music there. 194 As an exponent of the new Florentine monodic style, he must have been an influence on the music performed for both the liturgical services and the spiritual exercises of the Oratory. He was possibly the link between Cavalieri and Agostino Manni of the Oratory, who wrote the text of Cavalieri's Rappresentatione di Anima et di Corpo, performed in the Chiesa Nuova during the Holy Year of 1600, and may have influenced Manni in his writing of other religious dialogues that were set to music in recitative style, possibly even by Isorelli himself, for the young singers to perform at the Oratory. 195 Among Isorelli's the extant compositions are two laude included in Ancina's Tempio armonico (1599). An example of his monodic writing survives in one of the items in the manuscript of Cavalieri's Lamentations, used during Holy Week in the Chiesa Nuova. 196

While Morelli lists Prospero Santini as the maestro di cappella at the Chiesa Nuova until his dismissal in July 1603, Smither states that Isorelli was the oratory's maestro di cappella in the period from 1599 to 1604. 197 It does appear that, at the very least, Isorelli took charge while Santini is absent from June to October 1599 due to ill health. On 18 August a payment to him of 4 scudi was recorded as the fee for two months for the replacement organist, Andrea Vespeno. 198 Even after Santini's return some payments for singers were given to Isorelli rather than to Santini, ¹⁹⁹ although there is clear evidence of

¹⁹⁴ Aringhi, Vitae, sententiae, gesta et dicta patrum Congregationis Oratorii de Urbe, I-Rv, O 60: n. 47, c. 294^r. Alaleona, *Studi Su La Storia Dell' Oratorio Musicale in Italia*, 57.

¹⁹⁶ I-Rv. MS O31.

¹⁹⁷ Smither, A History of the Oratorio, vol.1, 89.

¹⁹⁸ I-Ras, Orat., 162, *Memoria de' mandati* (1592-97), c. 82^r.

¹⁹⁹ I-Ras, Orat., 295, *Entrata e Uscita A* (1599-1605), c. no page number.

Santini's continued involvement in the organisation of the liturgical music, including the purchasing of music. On 13 February 1601, it was recorded that he was given 3 scudi for motets and laude by Animuccia for use in the church and the oratory and, on 5 September 1602, 3 scudi for a book of masses by Morales and 1 scudi 20 biacciole for Viadana's Cento concerti ecclesiastici. 200

The increase in the purchase and the copying of music for the choir appears to escalate from about 1595 onwards and presumably, with the completion of the church and the many endowments received towards the decoration of the chapels, there was more money available. This is born out by the inventory of the music taken in 1608 which shows that the music library had increased considerably since the earlier inventory of 1592.

3. The liturgical music under Francesco Martini

It is not unreasonable to assume that the arrival of Francesco Martini (1568-1628) in October 1603, having relinquished his position as maestro di cappella at the Seminario Romano, a post he had held successfully for six years, was probably, as Morelli suggests, the cause of Santini's moodiness and unacceptable behaviour, which ultimately led to his dismissal from his role at the Chiesa Nuova. ²⁰¹ In less than two months following Santini's departure, Martini was recorded as buying books for the choir and is presumably carrying out the duties of maestro di cappella. 202 As a priest, unlike Santini, he did not need to be advised by a member of the clergy and, in 1605, he was appointed to the post of *Prefetto* della musica and, from 1611 onwards, he received the assistance of Isorelli, who was appointed as his assistant with the title of *Maestro coadiutoro*. ²⁰³

 $^{^{200}}$ I-Ras, Orat., 295, Entrata e Uscita A (1599-1605), 1601 - n° 36 and I-Ras, Orat., 163, Copia de' mandati (1593-1602), c. 111^r.

²⁰¹ Morelli, Il Tempo Armonico, Musica nell'Oratorio dei Filippini in Roma (1575-1705), 17.

Morelli, Il Tempo Armonico, Musica nell'Oratorio dei Filippini in Roma (1575-1705), 199-200.

Little is known of Martini's early life. Aringhi, who joined the Oratorian Congregation in 1622, and whose account of the lives of the early Oratorians survives in manuscript, states that he died in 1628 aged 60 and, as their time in the Congregation overlapped by six years, this is likely to be correct. 204 Elsewhere, the year of his birth is given as 1560.²⁰⁵ If he was born in 1568, it is impossible that he succeeded Victoria as maestro di cappella at the Collegio Germanico in 1577 as suggested by Culley. 206 There is clear evidence, however, that he was maestro di cappella at the Seminario Romano, ²⁰⁷ and this is supported by Aringhi who wrote that he held that post from 1594 until 1602.²⁰⁸

From the decrees we learn that he was Flemish and already ordained when he chose to join the Congregation, as he is referred to as a priest from the diocese of Cambrai. 209 Aringhi wrote that he liked playing the violin and was a skilled composer and that Giovanni Francesco Anerio described him as '... uno de' megliori compositori c'habbia l'età nostra;... sapendo egli con prudenza grande discerner il buono e bello della musica, e sevirsene ne' suoi componimenti molto a proposito' ('... one of the best composers of our age; ... knowing with great care how to discern the good and beautiful in music and to use it most aptly in his compositions'). ²¹⁰ He appears to have been untiring in his service to the Congregation and was continually occupied with the music for the liturgy as well as that for the spiritual exercises. It is recorded that he composed motets, antiphons and psalms to sing in the church on the principal feasts, such as the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin and other solemnities throughout the year, as well as composing other music for the spiritual oratories such as Litany settings, Marian antiphons and other devotional songs '... con le

²⁰⁴ Aringhi, Vitae, sententiae, gesta et dicta patrum Congregationis Oratorii de Urbe, I-Rv, O 58 - 60.

Noel O'Regan, 'Martini, Francesco', *Grove Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com, (accessed 21 November, 2016).

Thomas D. Culley, Jesuits and Music I: A study of the Musicians Connected with the German College in Rome during the Seventeenth Century and their Activities in Northern Europe (Rome: Jesuit Historical Institute, 1970), 47-48.

²⁰⁷ See *Annali del Seminario Romano*, codd. mss. 2800 quoted in: Antonella Nigro, *Domenico Massenzio da* Ronciglione. Il sublime discreto (Milan: Rugginenti Editore, 2012), 47. ²⁰⁸ Aringhi, Vitae, 58.

²⁰⁹ I-Rf. C. I. 5, Libro quarto de' decreti, 26.

²¹⁰ Aringhi, Vitae, 58.

quali s'accrebbe grandemente il concorso del populo nell'Oratorio... ' ('... which greatly increased the crowds of people at the Oratory'). 211

Only two volumes of his music survive in print: Motecta festorum (1607) and Sacrae laudes de B.M.V. (1617).²¹² There are also Magnificat settings for 8 and 16 voices, surviving in manuscript, that are likely to have originally been written for the Chiesa Nuova, although their provenance is the church of Santo Spirito in Sassia. 213 O'Regan also refers to four *non-concertato* pieces for four choirs that must have been written for Vespers of S. Filippo Neri; they include a setting of Serve bone et fidelis, for the liturgy of a Confessor, as well as a Magnificat and Dixit Dominus. 214 Two three-voice laude are included in Ancina's Tempio armonico of 1599, suggesting that Martini might have been in Rome by then, and that he may have already had some connection with the Chiesa Nuova. One of his laude for eight voices is found in manuscript partbooks in the Biblioteca Vallicelliana.²¹⁵

Martini's appointment as maestro di cappella was opportune as the years from 1603 to 1623 included significant occasions that would firmly establish the status of the Congregation and increase the Chiesa Nuova's standing as one of the principal churches in Rome, celebrated for the magnificence of the music that could be heard there as well as for the splendour of its decoration. ²¹⁶ At the same time, the first members of the Congregation were at the zenith of their ecclesiastical careers, among them Cesare Baronio who was

²¹¹ Aringhi, Vitae, 59, quoted in Alaleona, Studi Su La Storia Dell'Oratorio Musicale in Italia, 67.

²¹² Motecta festorum, totius anni, cum communi sanctorum, quaternis vocibus...quibus addita sunt...quinis...septenis...liber primus (Rome: Bartolomeo Zannetti, 1607) and Sacrae laudes de B. M. V. quaternis, quinis, senis, septenis, octonisque vocibus, et ejusdem litaniae...liber secundus, Rome: Bartolomeo Zannetti, 1617).

²¹³ I-Rsc G.MS 0125

Noel O'Regan, 'Martini, Francesco', Grove Music Online, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com, (accessed 21 November, 2016). ²¹⁵ I-Rv. Z122 – 130

²¹⁶ In the late 1500s and early 1600s the chapels were decorated under the patronage of private families By 1605 the facade had been added and, by 1608, Rubens had completed the painting for the high altar. See Marilyn Dunn, 'Father Sebastiano Resta and the Final Phase of the Decoration of S. Maria in Vallicella', The Art Bulletin, 64 (1982), 4: 601-622.

made a cardinal in 1596.²¹⁷ In 1612 the statutes of the Congregation, in which the Fathers strove to keep as close to the wishes of their founder, were approved by Pope Paul V.²¹⁸

Shortly after, in 1615, Filippo Neri was beatified, just twenty years after his death, and then, on 12 March 1622, in a magnificent ceremony in St. Peter's Basilica, he was canonised by Pope Gregory XV, along with four Spanish saints, Ignazio di Loiola, Francesco Saverio, Teresa d'Ávila and Isidoro l'Agricoltore (Fig. 3.7). A grand procession followed the canonisation with the banners for each newly canonised saint being taken to each appropriate church. We know nothing of the music on this occasion, but it was reported that the Chiesa Nuova was so richly adorned 'that none could surpass it'. 219

Although there are no surviving accounts identifying the music that was sung in the Chiesa Nuova during Martini's time, the decrees and records of expenditure provide information on the purchase of music, sometimes providing titles and composers, and on the singers, often with names and information on the fees they received. In addition, the 1608 inventory of the music library provides an indication of the music that was sung during the first few years of Martini's time as *maestro di cappella*. A later inventory of 1622 of the music from the church of Madonna di Galleria, the church for the Bologna Oratory, founded in 1615 by Cardinal Paleotto, a close friend of Neri, is also a useful guide. Music for vespers and litany settings dominate the repertoire and, although there are compositions by northern Italian composers, there is a surprisingly large amount of music by Roman composers including Felice and Giovanni Francesco Anerio. The Oratory in Bologna, although not dependant on that at Rome, made every effort to resemble it. 221

²¹⁷ Renzo Chiozzotto, *Cesare Baronio* (Padua: Edizioni Messaggero, 2006), 58.

²¹⁸ Ponnelle and Bordet, St. Philip Neri and the Roman Society of his Times, 566.

²¹⁹ P. Tacchi Venturi, 'Le feste della canonizzazione nell'inedita Memoria di Giacinto Gigli', *La Canonizzazione dei Santi Ignazio di Loiola e Francesco Saverio, Ricordo del terzo centario, 12 March 1922*, Rome, 1922, 76.

²²⁰ The complete inventory is printed in Oscar Mischiati, 'Per la storia dell'Oratorio a Bologna: Tre inventari del 1620, 1622 e 1682', *Collectanea historiae musicae 3*, (Florence: Casa Editrice Leo S. Olschki, 1963) 131-160; here, 139-142.

²²¹ Ponnelle and Bordet, St. Philip Neri and the Roman Society of his Times, 383.

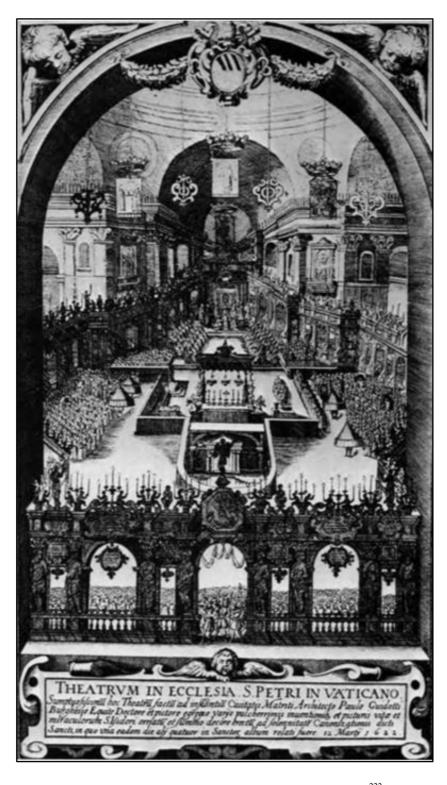


Fig. 3.7 The Canonisation Ceremony on 12 March 1622.²²²

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²²² Irving Lavin, *Visible Spirit - The Art of Gianlorenzo Bernini*, vol. I (London: The Pindar Press, 2007), 68.

Whilst the music itself will be discussed later, it is important to consider evidence that indicates how the emphasis on music for the liturgy at the Chiesa Nuova grew during the early seventeenth century. This is especially noticeable in the amount of money spent on buying music and paying singers. Within a few weeks of Santini's departure, Martini was given 1.95 scudi to purchase three collections of music, two by Felice Anerio and one Ruggiero Giovanelli, all for eight voices. ²²³ In the following May, for 1.75 scudi, he bought the *Responsories* of Matelate and the second and third books of motets by Agostino Agazzari 'per il coro' ('for the choir'). ²²⁴ From then on money was paid on a regular basis for the copying of music and the materials needed, reaching a peak in the years 1611 to 1613. ²²⁵

The suggestion is that there were still singers who voluntarily gave their time, as well as paid singers, and there is a clear distinction between the payments made to those who are employed with an agreed stipend, which appears to be paid at two-monthly intervals, and those who receive gratuities on a fairly ad hoc basis. On 1 February 1607, a singer named Alessandro is paid 3.75 scudi for a month and a half and Jacomo Verovio is paid 2.50 scudi for a month. In addition 2 scudi are set aside 'per mancia' ('for tips').²²⁶ The indication is that, during the first decade of Martini's tenure, the usual monthly fee for a singer was between 2 and 2.50 scudi. On 23 August 1607, it was proposed to raise the monthly fee given to 'Nicolò contralto' (possibly Nicolò Fanti a member of the Papal Choir) to 25 giulii (2.50 scudi) as he was not satisfied with 2 scudi.²²⁷ It appears that the singers were not expected to provide their own music: on 6 December 1607, Martini received 10 collections of motets that were to be given to 'diversi cantori amorevoli che

²²³ See Appendix 2, A list of the music included in the inventory of 1608, no. 51.

²²⁴ I-Ras, Orat., 164, *Registro de' mandati del P. Ministro (1603-16)*, c. 34^r and c. 52^v.

²²⁵ See Appendix 6 for references to all these payments.

²²⁶ I-Ras, Orat., 296, Giornale del'Entrata e dell'Uscita (1606-08), 1607 - nº 36.

²²⁷ I-Rf, C, 1. 5, Libro quarto de'decreti, 151.

favoriscono la nostra chiesa' ('various devoted singers who favour our church'). ²²⁸ Sometimes the singers, maybe those who were giving their services freely, received gifts. At the Christmas of 1612 it was recorded that the basses Melchiorre Palontrotti and Ruggiero Giovannelli each received a pair of capons and some mushrooms while another bass, Hercole Ferruzzi, received 2 pairs of capons in recognition for their services. ²²⁹ These were all professional musicians who held prestigious posts in Rome. Ferruzzi and Giovannelli were, at that time, both members of the Papal Choir. ²³⁰ Palontrotti, who was much acclaimed for his virtuoso technique, having previously also sung in the Papal Choir, was, in 1612, in the service of Cardinal Montalto. ²³¹ The suggestion that musicians of such calibre appear to have been giving their services freely says much about their relationship with the Congregation at the Chiesa Nuova and gives a further indication of the high standard of performance there.

This rapport may have been due to those professional singers who are described as 'already ordained as priests' who chose to join the Congregation. On 1 August 1606 Michele Bonezzi, a bass in the Papal Choir, was accepted 'despite his obligations to the Pope's chapel' and, on the 6 December of the same year, the soprano, Girolamo Rosini, also a papal singer, was accepted 'con tutti li voti affirmativi' ('with all the votes in favour'). Rosini was, like Soto, a renowned soprano and would have been a welcome addition to the choir especially, as by then, Soto was seventy-two and unlikely to be still singing. It appears that Rosini sang in the Chiesa Nuova on a regular basis as, in July 1612, it was recorded in the decrees that it would be necessary to find a soprano to sing during Advent as Rosini was required to sing in the Papal Chapel. The same decree also indicates

²²⁸ I-Rf, C, 1. 5, Libro quarto de' decreti, 160.

²²⁹ I-Ras, orat., 164, Registro de' mandati del P. Ministro (1603-16), on a loose page in the volume.

Adami, Osservazioni per ben regolare il coro de i cantori della Cappella Pontificia: tanto nelle funzioni ordinarie, che straordinarie, 185, 187.

²³¹ Tim Carter, 'Palentrotti [Palantrotti, Palontrotti], Melchior', *Grove Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com (accessed 25 November, 2017).

²³²I-Rf, C, 1. 5, Libro quarto de' decreti, 111 and I-Rf, C, 1. 5, Libro quarto de' decreti, 118.

that prelates who patronised the Oratory sometimes paid their own singers to sing in the Chiesa Nuova, as the departure of Cardinal Arrigone, who had paid two of his singers to sing in their choir, would make it necessary to find a tenor and a bass.²³³

From 1614 onwards, the decrees suggest that the choir had increased in size. Rather than referring to individual singers by name for payment, they recorded total payments to the singers of amounts often as large as 36 scudi for a two-month period. Taking into account a possible increase, this suggests five or six paid singers. Of a total of 75 scudi paid for November and December 1617, 36 scudi was paid to salaried singers, with the addition of 25 scudi as the usual tips for those singers who did not receive a stipend and 14 scudi for the tuning of the two organs in the church and the one in the oratory for the year.²³⁴

Whilst we already know that among the clergy there were professional singers, in August 1613 it was decided that the young priests should also sing in the choir. ²³⁵ We can estimate that the choir by that time might have had about 16 members or even more, including members of the Congregation, which would easily have facilitated the singing of polychoral pieces for two, three or even four choirs for the main feasts. This possibility is further substantiated by the indication that by at least December 1617 there were two fixed organs in the church and, as early as December 1613, it was proposed that a passageway should be built to enable the singers to pass from one balcony to another. ²³⁶ Following the canonisation of Neri, the money spent on the music for his feast day dramatically increased with 53.50 scudi recorded for 1622.

At the same time money was being spent on augmenting the choir library, with the purchase of new works printed in Rome. On 8 March 1620 it was recorded that 3.50 scudi

²³³ I-Rf, C, 1. 5, *Libro quarto de 'decreti*, 317.

²³⁴ I-Ras, Orat., 165, *Copia de 'mandati* (1616-20), 1617 - no. 206.

²³⁵ I-Rf, C, 1. 5, Libro quarto de'decreti, 322.

²³⁶ I-Rf, C, 1. 5, *Libro quarto de'decreti*, 334.

was spent on 'un libro grande di messe del Cifra' ('a large book of masses by Cifra') and in the same year, on 28 April, 2.50 scudi for 'un libro del Soriano per la Settimana Santa' ('a book of Soriano for Holy Week'). ²³⁷

In March 1623 Francesco Martini relinquished his post: '... volle essere liberato del carico di maestro di cappella e diretore della musica, per dedicarsi completamente alla meditazione a alla preghiera' 238 ('... he wanted to be freed from the burden of *maestro di cappella* and from directing the music to devote himself completely to meditation and prayer'). He died on 4 October 1628. The suggestions are that Martini raised the status of the music at the Chiesa Nuova to such an extent that it became one of the most famous churches in Rome, acclaimed, not only as the church that housed the relics of the recently canonised Filippo Neri, the 'Apostle of Rome' adored by the Roman people, or for the splendour of its decoration at the hands of some of the most renowned artists of that era, but for the magnificence of its music.

4. The liturgical music under Girolomo Rosini

It is likely that Martini, at the age of 55, might not have wished or even been allowed to relinquish his post if it had not been for the fact that Girolamo Rosini, who had the necessary skill and experience as well as his useful connections with singers all over Rome, was available to take his place as *maestro di cappella*. Martini retained the advisory role of *Prefetto della Musica* until his death when Rosini, like Martini before him, combined that role with his position as *maestro di cappella*.

Girolamo Rosini (1581-1644), who was from Perugia, became a member of the Papal Chapel in 1601. It is reported that he was the first Italian soprano to be accepted into

²³⁷ I-Ras, Orat., 165, *Copia de 'mandati* (1616-20), 1620 - nº 42 and nº 77. These are likely to be Antonio Cifra, *Missarum liber primus* a 4, 5, 6 v. (Rome: Luca Antonio Soldi, 1619) and Francesco Soriano, *Passio D. N. Jesu Christi secundum quatuor evangelistas, Magnificat sexdecim, sequentia fidelium defunctorum, una cum responsoria, aliaque non nulla ecclesiastica quaternis vocibus in ecclesiis concinenda, Rome: Luca Antonio Soldi, 1619).*

²³⁸ Alaleona, *Studi Su La Storia Dell'Oratorio Musicale in Italia*, 68.



Fig. 3.8 Girolamo Rosini²³⁹

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 $^{^{239}}$ www.haendel.it/interpreti/old/rosini.htm (accessed 25 November 2017).

the choir as, at that time, all the soprano parts were sung by Spaniards who, presumably jealous of Rosini's skill, attempted to exclude him from the choir. He was only accepted by *motu proprio*, that is, by the personal intervention of the pope. ²⁴⁰ After joining the Congregation of the Oratory five years later, while continuing with his duties in the Papal Choir, his fame as a singer spread so that not only the people of Rome but strangers and foreigners from far away came to Mass and Vespers at the Chiesa Nuova to listen to him '... con estrema attentione, e dopo tutti le faceano applauso, dicendo taluno: questi che canta è anzi angelo che huomo ...' ('... in rapt attention, and after all would applaud with some saying: he who sings is rather an angel than a man ...'). ²⁴¹ He was later given the nickname of *il Perugino della Chiesa Nuova di Roma*. ²⁴² Unlike Martini, he does not appear to have composed any music.

Not unexpectedly the great rapport between the Congregation of the Oratory and the singers from the Papal Choir continued during Rosini's time as *maestro di cappella*. A clear illustration of this was seen on 4 April 1639 when it was decided that a sepulchre in the church (Fig. 3.9) could be a place of burial for deceased singers of the Papal Chapel 'senza fagli pagare con nessuna' ('without making them pay anything').²⁴³ Recorded in a *Libro de' Morti del anno 1645* ('Book of the Dead from 1645'), housed in the archive of the Chiesa Nuova, are the death and burial of Gregorio Allegri (7 February 1652 (Fig. 3.10)) and a bass singer, Antonio Cipriani (16 July 1649 (Fig. 3.11)).²⁴⁴ Their wish to be buried in the Chiesa Nuova suggests their involvement with the music there. Both manuscript and printed sources of Allegri's music are among the liturgical music that

²⁴⁰ During the early seventeenth century the proportion of singers accepted into the choir by *motu proprio* was greater than the number accepted as a result of the traditional method of public audition administered by members of the choir. This may have been responsible in part for the increase in the number of Italian members. See: Claudio Annibaldi, "'The singers of the said chapel are chaplains of the Pope": some remarks on the papal chapel in early modern times', *Early Music*, 39 (2011), 1: 15-24; here, 16-17.

²⁴¹ Aringhi, *Vitae*, I-Rv, O 59: c. 348.

²⁴² Ibid.

²⁴³ I-Rf, C. I. 7. *Libro Sesto de'Decreti*, 81, 105.

²⁴⁴ Cipriani had been accepted into the Papal Choir on 18 January, 1626. See: Adami, *Osservazioni per ben regolare il coro de i cantori della Cappella Pontificia: tanto nelle funzioni ordinarie, che straordinarie,* 196.



Fig. 3.9 The tombstone marking the burial place the Papal singers (photo: May 2015). ²⁴⁵

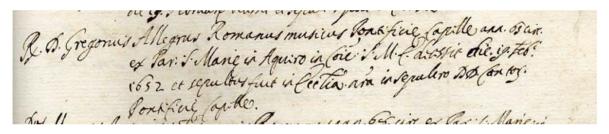


Fig. 3.10 The record of Gregorio Allegri's death and burial. 246



Fig. 3.11 The record of Antonio Cipriani's death and burial.²⁴⁷

²⁴⁵ The Papal singers were allowed to be buried in the Chiesa Nuova from 1639. The tombstone was placed there in 1792 and reads: 'The Papal singers, anxious that those whom melody united in life should not be separated in death, wish this one burial place. AD 1792'. ²⁴⁶ I-Rf, *Libro de' Morti del anno 1645*.

²⁴⁷ Ibid..

survives.²⁴⁸ Although Allegri would have known Rosini from December 1629, when he joined the Papal Choir, the indications are that he attended the Oratory or possibly even sang in the liturgical services at the Chiesa Nuova before that date, as he included in a volume of motets printed in 1621, *Florete flores Beati Neri quasi lilium et date odorem*, a motet honouring Neri, who was by that time beatified.²⁴⁹

During the years that Rosini was *maestro di cappella* the expenditure on the music continued to increase from 305 scudi in 1623 to 419 scudi in 1644, the year of his death. This expenditure was not shown in the records and it appears that the expense was often met by benefactors, ²⁵⁰ although money spent on purchasing as well as copying music was recorded. On 30 January 1627 Rosini was given 5 scudi to buy twelve books of masses by Palestrina, bound in five volumes and 5 scudi to have the music of Martini copied. ²⁵¹ It is interesting that they should still be buying the music of Palestrina and this perhaps indicates the rather conservative leanings from Rosini, who had, by then, spent more than twenty-five years as a member of the Papal Chapel.

Any surviving accounts of liturgical performances in the Chiesa Nuova during Rosini's time as maestro di cappella are rare, but there is one that deserves mention for providing a further indication of the continued rapport with the papal musicians, as well as an example of the continued use of multiple choirs for performances of polychoral music. In 1643, Loreto Vittori, a renowned soprano, famed in Rome for his singing of principal roles in many oratorios, as well as a member of the Papal Choir and thereby a friend of Rosini, was ordained in the Chiesa Nuova. It appears that great numbers came to sing and, although there is no specific description of the music, the composers, all active in Rome at that time, were mentioned:

²⁴⁸ See Appendix 5, Catalogue of Manuscript and Printed music from the Chiesa Nuova, nos. 22 and 69.

²⁴⁹ Gregorio Allegri, *Motecta binis, ternis, quaternis, quinis, senisque vocibus* (Roma: Soldi, 1621)

²⁵⁰ Morelli, Il Tempo Armonico, Musica nell'Oratorio dei Filippini in Roma (1575-1705), 94.

²⁵¹ I-Ras, Orat., 166, Copia de' mandati (1621 - 31), 1627 - nº 18.

150 cantori, diversi in sei cori, cantarono musiche dei migliori maestri di cappella romani del momento, quali Stefano Fabbri, Virgilio Mazzocchi, Francesco Foggia e Giacomo Carissimi ...²⁵²

[150 singers, divided into six choirs, sang music of the best masters of Roman choirs of the time, such as Stefano Fabbri, Virgilio Mazzocchi, Francesco Foggia and Giacomo Carissimi ...]

Rosini's time as *maestro di cappella*, with the years covered by Martini before him, marked a period of expansion in the provision of music by the Congregation of the Oratory. This was particularly evident in the 1640s with the building of the Boromini Oratory adjoining the Chiesa Nuova, with halls for musical performances relating to the spiritual exercises of the Oratory as established by Filippo Neri. The emphasis placed on the music for the liturgy in the Chiesa Nuova during that period was no less evident and will be corroborated by an examination of the surviving music sources.

After Rosini there was no professional musician among the members of the Oratory able to fulfil the role of *maestro di cappella* and it was thus necessary to appoint a professional musician from among the laity. The role of *prefetto della musica*, however, had to be a priest, due to the nature of the office in advising about matters of liturgy, and in subsequent years, circumstances dictated that this post could not always be given to a musician.

5. The Organs and organists

From the books of decrees and the records of expenditure we know that the church was equipped with an organ by 25 July 1581, when Padre Angelo Velli arranges for its tuning. ²⁵³ The indications are that an organ had been installed earlier than this date as, in 1580, the chapel of the Ascension was decorated with money from a legacy left in 1577 for

²⁵² Morelli, *Il Tempo Armonico, Musica nell'Oratorio dei Filippini in Roma (1575-1705)*, 33. Morelli takes his information from Bianca Maria Antolini, 'La carriera di cantate e compositore di Loreto Vittori', *Studi musicali*, 7 (1978), 160. He states hat the number of singers was probably an exaggeration. ²⁵³ I-Rf, C. I. 2, *Libro primo de' decreti*, 11.

the purchase of an organ. The legacy was reallocated by a Papal brief, with the consent of the son of the donor. From at least January 1584, a regular stipend of 5 scudi every two months was paid to an organist referred to as 'Pietro'. Morelli has identified him as a Belgian organist, Pietro Speilier di Liegi, who, in April 1592, became the organist of S. Luigi dei Francesi, a post which he retained until his death in August 1619. Luigi dei Francesi, a post which he retained until his death in August 1619.

As mentioned above, Prospero Santini was also the organist during his time as *maestro di cappella* from 1593 to 1603, but information is quite vague for the twenty-five years following. On 3 March 1607, 'Alessandro organista' receives payment for the month of February and, on 30 October 1608, 'Roberto organista' is paid for that month. ²⁵⁷ Whilst the latter remains a mystery, it is possible that the first is Alessandro Costantini (c.1581-1657) who, like Santini, was among those organists who assisted Frescobaldi when extra organists were needed for polychoral performances at St. Peter's. For the Feast of Saints Peter and Paul on 29 June 1607 he played there along with Ercole Pasquini, Giovanni Francesco Anerio and Prospero Santini. ²⁵⁸ The strong link of Anerio and Santini with the Chiesa Nuova further enhances the probability of Costantini's playing at the Chiesa Nuova. There is the possibility that, with so many accomplished musicians associated with the Chiesa Nuova, there were those willing to play without remuneration and therefore no record was kept.

During Rosini's time as *maestro di cappella*, however, Giovanni Battista Ferrini (c.1600-1674) became the organist, having left S. Luigi dei Francesi due to a dispute over a reduction in his salary.²⁵⁹ He was a virtuoso keyboard player, particularly skilled in continuo playing and a composer of keyboard music in the decorative and virtuoso style

²⁵⁴ Ponnelle and Bordet, St. Philip Neri and the Roman Society of his Times, 416.

²⁵⁵ I-Ras, Orat., 293, *Liber debitorum et creditorum (1578-90)*, c.108^r, c.109^r.

²⁵⁶ Morelli, Il Tempo Armonico, Musica nell'Oratorio dei Filippini in Roma (1575-1705), 89.

²⁵⁷ I-Ras, orat., 164, *Registro de mandati del P. Ministro* (1603-16), c. 117 & 151 .

²⁵⁸ Rostirolla, Musica e Musicisti nella Basilica di San Pietro, 333.

²⁵⁹ Alexander Silbiger, 'The Roman Frescobaldi Tradition, c. 1640-1670', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 33 (1980), 1: 42-87; here, 59

that we would associate with Frescobaldi. There is proof that he held the position at the Chiesa Nuova from at least June 1628 as he was listed among the organists who played for the Feast of Ss. Peter and Paul in that year and is referred to as: 'Signor Giovanni Battista - Chiesa Nuova'. ²⁶⁰ He served the Congregation for almost twenty-five years and was clearly appreciated as he continued to receive a bi-monthly pension until his death. ²⁶¹ He is also among those musicians buried in the church. ²⁶²

The Chiesa Nuova was in fact the first church in Rome to have two fixed organs positioned to enable performance together. Both are clearly visible on either side of the high altar in a painting by Andrea Sacchi (1599-1661) of the interior of the church on the day of Filippo Neri's canonisation, on 13 March 1622 (Fig.3.14). References prior to that date, however, suggest the use of two organs for accompanying polychoral music. On 26 December 1594, the payment to the organ tuner, Giovanni Guglielmi, for tuning both the large and small organs in the church, was recorded and on 8 March 1612, Martini was given money to pay for the moving of the small organ into one of the choir galleries. A little later, in May 1614, the suggestion is that both galleries were used regularly, as it was decided to build a passageway to make it possible for singers to move from one gallery to another.

6. Conclusion

Having considered the formation of the Congregation of the Oratory and touched on those aspects of Neri's aspirations as well as the friendships he cultivated, which were to both enable and influence the liturgical music at the Chiesa Nuova, it is now important to look

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Rostirolla, *Musica e Musicisti nella Basilica di San Pietro*, 376.
 Silbiger, 'The Roman Frescobaldi Tradition, c. 1640-1670', 59

²⁶² Lewis Reece Baratz, 'Ferrini, Giovanni Battista', Grove Music Online,

http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com (accessed 14 January 2017).

Arnaldo Morelli, 'Gli Organi della Chiesa e dell'Oratorio di S. Maria in Vallicella (Chiesa Nuova) a Roma', *Amici dell'organo di Roma*, Series II (1986), 5: 122-129; here, 124.

²⁶⁴ Oil on canvas, 98x74 cm, Pinacoteca, Musei Vaticani, Citta del Vaticano.

²⁶⁵ I-Ras, Orat., 163, *Copia de mandati* (1593-1602), c. 33^r and I-Ras, orat., 164, *Registro de mandati del P. Ministro* (1603-16), c. 229^r.

²⁶⁶ I-Rf, C. I. 5, *Libro quarto de 'decreti*, 357-358.

at what was happening elsewhere in Rome. Indeed the spirit of Filippo Neri cannot be separated from a general spirit of reform in the Church in the late sixteenth century which, formulated in the Council of Trent, led to a new-found optimism and sense of triumph that permeated and found expression in the cultural life of the Church and reached its zenith in the pontificate of Urban VIII (1623-1644).

Encouraged by this spirit of reform, new religious orders and congregations, most notably the Jesuits and Oratorians, were established. These were frequently prompted by the activities of charismatic individuals whose influence was to have significant and lasting worth, not only in creating a more spiritual and less worldly Church, but in promoting a culture that aspired to appreciate and value, and be inspired by the finest that could be offered. The arts became less about a show of wealth for the privileged few, but rather an inspirational tool to draw the masses.

Although Neri was only one of many taking practical measures to bring about reform, his concern focused on the spiritual life of individuals from all walks of society. While the Jesuits' main focal point was to increase vocations and, in turn, create a body of priests who could evangelise the world, Neri was more concerned with Rome and wished to attract others, clergy and laity alike, to his spiritual ideal.

While the establishment of seminaries, especially by the newly founded Jesuit Order, led to a more educated and cultured clergy, the education of the laity, assisted by the formation of confraternities devoted not only to charitable works but also to communal worship, played a vital part in the cultural development, influencing both art and music. Churches built on basilica-like proportions, especially the Gesù for the Jesuits and the Chiesa Nuova for the Oratorians, gave a strong message. Constructed with a wide nave and a long aisle, they were capable of accommodating large congregations. The Chiesa Nuova, with its balconies on each side of the sanctuary and two fixed organs, gave promise of music on a lavish scale, in keeping with the post-Tridentine spirit (Fig. 3.12).

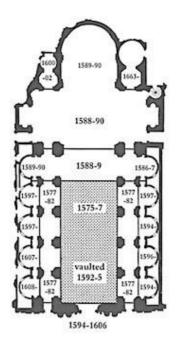


Fig. 3.12 A plan of the Chiesa Nuova showing the building phases.²⁶⁷

The artistic fame and popularity of the music at the Chiesa Nuova could not have been achieved without men who valued education and culture, not as a means of self-aggrandisement or selfish pleasure, but as a tool for the evangelisation of all people in every rank of society. The Oratorians' fundamental approach to any artistic expression was devotion, as suggested by one of the first members of the Congregation, Francesco Maria Tarugi: 'Il compito del nostro istituto è di parlare al cuore.' ²⁶⁸ ('The task of our Congregation is to speak to the heart'). Their aim was to inspire devotion though sensations and emotions. It was recognised, however, that the art that could produce the most powerful effect was music and the rules drawn up for the new Congregation included Neri's wish that 'his fathers, together with the faithful, should rouse themselves to the contemplation of heavenly things by means of musical harmony', ²⁶⁹ thus clearly echoing the sentiment prompted by the Council of Trent rather than any of its definite rulings.

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²⁶⁷ Downes (ed.), *Borromini's book*, 224. The date of the chapel in the right transept (1663) refers to the reconstruction of that chapel as a family chapel for the Spada family. It is dedicated to S. Carlo Borromeo.

²⁶⁸ Edoardo Aldo Cerrato, *San Filippo Neri. La sua opera e la sua* eredità (Pavia: Coop. Soc. Il Giovane

Artigiano, 2002), 64.

Capecelatro, *The Life of St. Philip Neri, Apostle of Rome*, vol. 2, 80.

which did no more than forbid anything that was 'lascivous' or 'impure' in sacred music.²⁷⁰

The period of almost seventy years, from the time the Chiesa Nuova was first in use on Septuagesima Sunday, 1577 until the death of Rosini in 1644, was one of rapid growth. In 1643 the Borromini Oratory, housing a magnificent library and halls for musical oratories, adjacent to the Chiesa Nuova, was formally opened, ²⁷¹ thus giving witness to the continued importance and sustained growth of the Congregation of the Oratory in Rome. Influenced by Neri's emphasis on the use of music to enhance the spiritual exercises, they were no less imbued by his understanding of the importance of the mystical powers of music to inspire religious devotion and attracted men who valued music and who could contribute to the growth of the liturgical music at the Chiesa Nuova, thus helping to establish it as one of the greatest centres for sacred music in Rome. A consideration of the music that was sung for the liturgical services there will provide a more in depth understanding of how this was achieved.



Fig. 3.13 The Chiesa Nuova and the Borromini Oratory.²⁷²

²⁷⁰ Craig A. Monson, 'The Council of Trent Revisited', Journal of the American Musicological Society, 55

^{(2002), 1: 1-30;} here, 11.

271 It appears that the sacristy remained in use for Sunday evening Oratories after 1643. See Bray, William (ed.), *The Diary of John Evelyn* (London: Walter Dunne, 1901), 106-7. https://exhibits,stanford.edu/lancian/browse (accessed 15 November 2017).

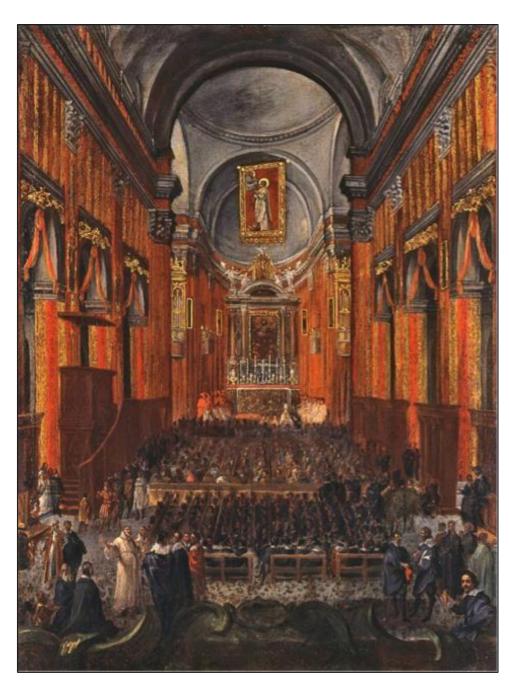


Fig. 3.14 Andrea Sacchi (1599-1661), A painting of the interior of the Chiesa Nuova on 13 March 1622, the day of Neri's canonisation.

(Oil on canvas, 98x74 cm, Pinacoteca, Musei Vaticani, Citta del Vaticano)²⁷³

²⁷³ Frederica Kappler & Giulia Silvia Ghia, *I Papi della Memoria: La storia di alcuni grandi Pontefici che hanno segnato il cammino della Chiesa e dell'Umanità* (Rome: Gangemi Editore, 2013), 229.

IV. AN EXAMINATION OF THE MUSIC UP TO 1608

1. Introduction

Having referred to the music inventories from 1592 and 1608 as useful sources in providing an indication of the music that was performed in the liturgy at the Chiesa Nuova during the first three decades, it is now important to look at the music itself to try to obtain a clearer picture of how music was used in the liturgy and what that music was like. While written sources have provided information on the growth of the music establishment, it will be interesting to see how developments are reflected in the music provision and how much more it can reveal about the role of music and the apparent emphasis placed on its importance in the liturgy by the Oratorians.

The two inventories of 1592 and 1608 enable a division into two periods. The first covers fifteen years from when the church, in its incomplete state, was first available for use in February 1577. These years from then up to 1592, with the continued building work and the decoration of the church, must have been both disruptive and expensive, but also a formative period when, as records indicate, decisions were made including those related to the use of music in the liturgy. The second period of sixteen years up to 1608 were significant years for the Congregation, with the death of Neri in 1595 and his subsequent veneration by his Congregation and the people of Rome pre-empting the official recognition of his sainthood, the completion of the Chiesa Nuova, and the first members reaching the zenith of their ecclesiastical careers, with even a cardinal among their ranks. We might expect to find that this increased prominence of the Chiesa Nuova would impact on the music.

²⁷⁴ Ponnelle and Bordet, St. Philip Neri and the Roman Society of his Times, 343.

²⁷⁵ Cesare Baronius, one of the first members of the Oratory, and Neri's successor as superior, was made a cardinal in 1602.

In my analysis I have initially consulted those copies of the music that have survived. Unfortunately, this only comprises a small part, thirteen items from a total of sixty-one listed in the 1608 inventory.²⁷⁶ Where the original copies are unavailable I have consulted other exemplars, either the same editions or modern editions depending on accessibility.

2. The Music during the formative years at the Chiesa Nuova

Written references, especially those included in the decrees of the Congregation, have already revealed that from as early as 1581 the Papal Choir was invited to sing at the Chiesa Nuova for the patronal feasts of the Nativity of Our Lady and St. Gregory. Coming *en masse* it is likely that they brought their own music with them. We can therefore assume that the music listed in the inventory of 1592 was obtained for the use of their own singers. It would have been unlikely at that time, when there were considerable expenses for the building and decoration of the new church, that music would have been purchased solely for the purpose of amassing a large library, but it is possible that some volumes were obtained in order to perform some, but not all, of the contents.

The overall impression of the music accumulated up to 1592 is that much of it closely reflected the standard repertoire being performed for Mass and Vespers in the major basilicas, including St. Peter's, and those churches where there was a professional choir.²⁷⁸ The first fifteen items appear to be organised in four groups starting with books of chant (1-4):²⁷⁹ two antiphonaries, two books of psalms, a gradual and the Office for the Feast of the Holy Trinity, followed by polyphonic settings for use at vespers: Magnificats (5-7) by Animuccia, Morales, Lasso and Victoria, a volume of Magnificats, psalms and hymns by Guerrero (8), hymns by Palestrina and Victoria (9-10). A third group comprises

²⁷⁸ See Appendix 1, A list of the music included in the Inventory of 1592.

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²⁷⁶ Appendix 2, items 3, 8 - 11, 15, 18, 22, 24, 28 - 30.

²⁷⁷ I-Rf, C. I. 2, *Libro primo de 'decreti*, 12.

Numbers refer to the reference numbers in Appendix 1.

five collections of masses (11-15) by Goudimel, Animuccia, Victoria, Guerrero and Palestrina. The indications are that these three groups form the earliest part of the library and the final three items: psalms and hymns by Navarro (16), masses by Sermisy (17) and settings of the Magnificat by Arcadelt (18), which appear to be out-of-place, were added later despite the early publication dates of 1556 for the masses by Sermisy and 1557 for Arcadelt's Magnificats. Although dates of printing do not indicate when any of the music was acquired, Navarro's Psalmi, hymni ac Magnificat totius anni was not published until 1590, the latest date of publication of all the items in the inventory. ²⁸⁰ If music had been acquired by the time the church was in use in 1577, then the only items that could have been owned at that time were the Magnificat settings of Animuccia from 1568 and those of Morales from 1562 and the Masses by Goudimel from 1558, Animuccia's of 1567 and Palestrina's of 1572, although, as the Palestrina masses were placed last in the group of mass settings, they might have been obtained later. The indication that Animuccia's music was among the first items in the library raises the possibility that these few early publications were in use by the nascent Congregation of the Oratory at S. Giovanni Fiorentini, when Animuccia was the *maestro di cappella*.

By 1592, however, all of these printed editions and books of chant would provide the musical material necessary, and with the possibility of some variety, to cover the sung liturgical services throughout the year for Mass and Vespers. There is even a polyphonic requiem with Guerrero's *Missa pro defunctis* included in his *Missarum liber secundus* (11). The same volume also provides a Mass setting for Christmas, *Puer qui natus est nobis*, and one for feasts of Our Lady, *De beata Virgine*. All three masses are for four voices and thus extremely serviceable for use by the Congregation of the Oratory in their early years as they established a repertoire to fulfill their liturgical requirements.

²⁸⁰ Psalmi, hymni ac Magnificat totius anni...quatuor, quinque ac sex vocibus...necnon B. V....antiphonae in finem horarum dicendae (Rome: Francesco Coattino,1590).

One noticeable omission, however, is any music for Holy Week. We can only assume that, as singers employed in other institutions would not be available, they kept to plainchant and harmonised chants in falsobordone. Whilst it has been seen that written documents refer to the use of *falsobordone* for vespers on minor feasts and Sundays during these early years, a single folio of surviving music suggests that they might have sung some of the Holy Week music in this style. This is included in *Un' offo' della S^{ma} Trinità* con comm. per annum, the fourth item listed in the inventory. It is a single surviving page from a setting of the Litany of Saints in *falsobordone* (f.2^r) and does not belong with the other items in this binding, which includes thirteen folios of plainchant antiphons for vespers for the Feast of the Holy Trinity and Magnificat antiphons for other feasts (f. 3^r-15^r), and is clearly only the first part of the original choirbook indicated in the title. Also included are various fragments of hand-written, unidentified chant that are from a later period. As the binding dates from the mid-twentieth century, it appears that these incomplete examples were possibly bound together for conservation purposes. An engraving of the Trinity with and image of Santa Maria in Vallicella and dated 1586 (f.1^v) may have been part of the original chantbook, which forms the greater part of this present binding (Fig.4.1). The fragment from the Litany of the Saints, which was traditionally sung in procession for a variety of liturgical celebrations, among them for the transportation of the newly-blessed water to the baptismal font at the Easter Vigil, suggests that falsobordone settings could have been used to enhance the music for the Holy Week liturgy. This single example is for five voices (CCATB) harmonising a simple chant setting (Fig.4.2) and, although it appears to be from a later period, could be an indication of the Congregation's practice of singing in *falsobordone* as referred to in the early historic documents, which indicate that both novices and members of the clergy were taught to sing in this style.²⁸¹

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²⁸¹ See page 75 of this thesis.



Fig. 4.1. Engraving of the Trinity with the image of Santa Maria in Vallicella. 282

²⁸² I-Rn Mss. Mus. 156, f.1^v.



Fig. 4.2 A fragment of a setting of the Litany of the Saints in falsobordone. 283

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²⁸³ I-Rn Mss. Mus. 156, f.2^r. There is no indication of the date of this fragment. The style of the handwriting could suggest the late seventeenth century.

Of the fourteen volumes of printed polyphonic music listed in the 1592 inventory (5-18) as many as seven are by Spanish composers. Whilst we might regard this as being due to the influence of the Spanish Oratorian, Soto de Langa, who was at that time in charge of the music for both the liturgy and the oratory exercises, it is also a reflection of the strong Spanish presence in Rome during the second half of the sixteenth century. Soto was only one among many Spanish members of the Papal Chapel who dominated the soprano section until the appointment of the Italian castrato, Rosini, in 1601. It is likely that he would have favoured those works that he would have been used to performing in the Pope's Chapel. Although his singing days there were possibly over, he remained on the list of singers there until 1590. Section 1590.

The choice of music can also provide some indication of those parts of the liturgy where polyphonic settings might have been used during this early period. The predominance of Magnificats, with settings by Animuccia, Morales, Lasso, Victoria and Guerrero (5-8) reflects the Roman practice of reserving the more elaborate music for the Magnificat and possibly the hymn, as they possessed both Palestrina's and Victoria's collections of hymns (8 & 9). The psalm antiphons would then be sung in chant with the verses possibly in *falsobordone*. Only two volumes listed include polyphonic settings of psalm verses. The earliest is the *Liber vesperarum* of Guerrero (7) from 1584, which includes settings of alternate verses of the vesper psalms as well as Magnificat settings in each tone and vesper hymns. The later collection, *Psalmi*, *hymni ac Magnificat* (1590), a posthumous publication of music by the Spanish composer Juan Navarro (c.1530-1580),

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²⁸⁴ When the English Jesuit, Gregory Martin, visited Rome in 1581 he noted this strong Spanish presence and stated that in all things that relate to religion, *this Nation is of al Strangers the cheefe*. See Gregory Martin, *Roma Sacra*, (1581) ed. George Bruner Parks (Rome: Edizione di Storia e Letteratura, 1969), 194.

²⁸⁵Adami, Osservazioni per ben regolare il coro de i cantori della Cappella Pontificia: tanto nelle funzioni ordinarie, che straordinarie, 189

²⁸⁶ Richard Sherr, *The Papal Choir during the Pontificate of Julius II to Sixtus V (1503-1590): an Institutional History and Biographical Dictionary*, (Palestrina: Fondazione Giovanno Pierluigi da Palestrina, 2015), 441.

was doubtlessly included in the library as it had been edited by Soto.²⁸⁷ Maybe these settings were used for the major feasts when, as recorded as early as 1583, the music was allowed to 'be more solemn at the discretion of the singers'.²⁸⁸

The polyphonic settings are all in folio choirbooks rather than partbooks. The only polychoral items among these printed works are the double choir settings of the Marian antiphons included in Victoria's 1581 volume of Magnificats (7) and, if these were sung, the single choir book would not enable any spatial division of the two choirs. It appears that works for three or fours choirs were not purchased, and indeed Roman publications for more than eight voices were extremely rare at that time, although a collection of motets by Victoria, which included one 12vv piece, a setting of Psalm 121, was printed in partbook format in Rome in 1583, 289 but the Chiesa Nuova did not appear to own this.

While information on the early years of the life of the Congregation at the Chiesa Nuova is sparse, and no records were kept until July 1580,²⁹⁰ the impression given from this list of choirbooks and books of chant is that the provision of liturgical music during this early period was considered important enough to begin to collect a range of music to suit their needs at that time. Where written documentation about the organisation of the music up to 1592 survives, it seems to reinforce the evidence suggested by the contents of the music library up to that date.

Evidence indicates that vespers were sung on all Sundays and feast days from at least January 1583. The music for Sundays and minor feasts would be sung in plainchant

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²⁸⁷ Soto edited this collection of vesper music at the request of Francisco Reinoso, a wealthy official of Palencia Cathedral who also paid for the publication. Juan Navarro, *Psalmi, hymni ac Magnificat totius anni...quatuor, quinque ac sex vocibus...necnon B. V....antiphonae in finem horarum dicendae* (Rome: Francesco Coattino,1590), I-Rsc. G.CS.1.E.11

²⁸⁸ I-Rf, C. I. 2, Libro primo de 'decreti, 27.

²⁸⁹ Tomás Luis de Victoria, *Motecta*, *que 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...* (Rome: Alessandro Gardano, 1583), RISM V 1422.

²⁹⁰ Ponnelle and Bordet, St. Philip Neri and the Roman Society of his Times, 343.

with alternate psalm verses and the Magnificat in *falsobordone*.²⁹¹ It appears that none of these *falsobordone* settings for vespers survive, although the surviving fragment from a litany setting (4) implies that they were handwritten and may not even have been bound or catalogued. For major feasts, while written records tells us that the music should be as solemn as it can be, at the discretion of the singers,²⁹² the music indicates that polyphonic settings of the Magnificat and hymns were usually sung and possibly polyphonic settings of psalm verses.

Regarding music for solemn masses, written reports give no details regarding the arrangements. Having considered the music, however, it appears that polyphonic mass settings for a single choir were used with the proper sung in plainchant. The absence of any motet settings suggests that, at that time, no other sung music was included and that there was no music sung at low masses.

Also absent from the repertoire in this early period are any settings of litanies. We know from at least 1583 it was the practice to sing litanies in procession in the Chiesa Nuova.²⁹³ It was only towards the end of that century, however, that Roman composers in particular began to set litany texts, especially the popular Litany of Loreto. At this time the texts would be chanted with, as suggested by the surviving fragment among this early collection (4), the possible use of *falsobordone*.

It might appear that the provision of music for the liturgy in the Chiesa Nuova was limited during this first period, but it should be considered in the context of the expense and disruption of completing the building work on the church. The absence of any payments to singers other than for the two patronal feasts of S. Gregorio and the *festa della Madonna*, suggests that the singing of polyphonic music for Mass and Vespers was carried out by members of the Congregation, such as Soto, probably with one singer to a part. It

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²⁹¹ I-Rf, C. I. 2, Libro primo de'decreti, 27.

²⁹² Ibid.

²⁹³ I-Rf, C. I. 2, *Libro primo de 'decreti*, 33.

was only in February 1590 that the transepts and choir were completed,²⁹⁴ and is not until 1591, after the completion of work to enlarge and renovate the organ, that there are the first suggestions of regular payments to choir members when the Congregation began to spend 10 scudi a month to supplement the salaries of the musicians and the organist.²⁹⁵

3. The Music during the years around 1600

The perod from 1592 to 1608 included events of great significance in the history of the Congregation of the Oratory at the Chiesa Nuova. The death of Neri in 1595 and his subsequent veneration as a saint, by not only the Community at the Oratory but also by the people of Rome, pre-empting any official recognition by the Church, has been referred to as well as those reports on the music for several choirs performed on the anniversaries of his death from 1597 onwards. The Congregation was also growing, not only in stature within the Church, but also in numbers and continued to attract skilled musicians such as Isorelli, Martini, Rosini and Giovanni Francesco Anerio, who all joined the Oratory during this period and, with the exception of Anerio, remained to the end of their lives. Whilst the involvement of the members of the Papal Choir dates from much earlier, ²⁹⁶ the appointment of Felice Anerio as the composer to that choir, following the death of Palestrina in 1594, must have reinforced that link. In the light of these developments it will be interesting to consider the music acquired up to 1608 and what this can reveal about the use of music in the liturgy at that time.

The eighteen items that were listed in the 1592 inventory are all included in the inventory of March 1608 and presumably remained in the repertoire. The sixty-one items listed in 1608, however, indicate a considerable increase in the quantity of music. While

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²⁹⁴ Ponnelle and Bordet, St. Philip Neri and the Roman Society of his Times, 412.

²⁹⁵ Morelli, *Il Tempo Armonico, Musica nell'Oratorio dei Filippini in Roma (1575-1705)*, 90.

²⁹⁶ The first reference to the Papal Choir is in August, 1581. See: I-Rf, C. I. 2, *Libro primo de' decreti*, 12.

this inventory, taken five years into the period when Francesco Martini was *maestro di cappella*, has been described when considering the sources, it will now be helpful to take a more analytical approach to see if this larger library is reflected in a greater provision of music in the liturgy as well as significant changes in style in the musical repertoire used during this next period in the history of the Congregation.

As with the earlier inventory, the impression is that the music was listed according to the order in which it was shelved. There then appears to be no obvious order to the shelving in relation to composers or usage, other than the division of size between folio and quarto. There is a possibility, however, that the order relates to when the music was acquired, as the final eleven entries for the editions in quarto, entries 47 to 57,²⁹⁷ include all the volumes listed that were published after 1600 and items for which the purchase date was recorded as after 1600.²⁹⁸ The final entry among that group (57) comprises two collections of motets by Martini, each in four partbooks and published in 1607, thus shortly before the inventory was taken.

The following table (Fig. 4.3) gives the results of an initial analysis of the items as listed in the inventory. It provides the types of works, as suggested by the titles, and some indication of their liturgical function. The number of printed and manuscript copies are also indicated in order to see how this compares with expenditure on the copying of music at that time. Finally, having noted the dominance of music by Spanish composers in the previous period, the nationalities of composers are listed and then those associated with Rome and those who can be connected, to a lesser or greater degree, to the Chiesa Nuova. Where a single entry in the inventory refers to two or more printed collections I have

²⁹⁷ Numbers for the remainder of this chapter refer to the reference numbers in Appendix 2.

²⁹⁸ Ibid., item 51. The motets of Anerio and Giovannelli, published 1596 and 1593 respectively, were purchased together on 27 August 1603. Items 53 and 54, motets of Agazzari and responsories by Matelart were purchased several months later. (I-Ras, Orat., 164, *Registro de' mandati del P. Ministro* (1603-16), c. 34^r and Ibid., c. 52^v).

treated them as one in this initial analysis, whether the indication was that they were bound together or not. ²⁹⁹

TYPE OF WORK/LITURGICAL FUNCTION	
Mass collections	12 printed editions
Vesper music including Magnificat settings	13 printed editions / 1 manuscript
Motet collections	19 printed editions/ 3 manuscripts ³⁰⁰
Hymns / Litanies	3 printed editions/1 manuscript
Chant books/ Passion music	7 printed editions/ 2 manuscripts
PRINTED / MANUSCRIPT MUSIC	
Music printed in Rome	32
Music printed in Venice	18
Music printed in other countries	4
Manuscript copies	7
COMPOSERS	
Total number of composers identified	27
Italian composers	16
Other nationalities	5 Spanish, 6 Franco-Flemish
Composers who worked in or visited Rome	14
Composers who can be linked to the Chiesa Nuova	9

Fig. 4.3. A Table of information from the 1608 inventory

Even this basic analysis suggests that the provision of music in the liturgy had increased. Clearly the emphasis was placed on purchasing a varied selection of mass settings and music for vespers, including many Magnificat settings and hymns, to add to those already in use as listed in 1592. In addition there were nineteen volumes of motets and Litany settings, included separately (45) and in several motet collections, for example in *Mottetti di Felice Anerio* (51), which would be sung especially for Marian feasts, at vespers and for processions. Early references have already indicated that it was the practice

²⁹⁹ Appendix 2, items 16, 47, 53.

The manuscript collections of *Vesperi* by Montemayor (24) and Mottetti by Animuccia (29) also include masses.

to sing litanies, 301 in chant or falsobordone. The purchase of these settings by Anerio for eight voices clearly indicates the possibility of a choir capable of singing in eight parts, made possible by the increase in the numbers of professional musicians joining the Congregation and the addition of a small number of paid singers.

Whilst no volumes of motets were listed in the previous inventory, the large number of motet collections here, with works by sixteen composers, 302 suggests an increase of music at solemn masses with polyphonic settings of the proper, such as those found in Palestrina's Offertoria totius anni of 1593 (55) and the addition of other liturgically appropriate musical settings. This increase was possibly needed for a longer and more impressive liturgy, due in part to an increased attendance of both clergy and laity. Motets might also have been sung at low masses where the celebrant would be responsible for reciting the proper. Similarly, the need for polyphonic settings of psalms (31, 34, 50) and litanies (45) indicates a more spacious liturgy in keeping with the increased prominence of the Chiesa Nuova. Pacelli's Motectorum et psalmorum (31) for example, with the partbooks carefully bound in parchment with strips of white and turquoise silk, 303 include a double-choir setting of psalms for Sunday vespers, suggesting that by then there were enough singers to enable the alternation between two four-part choirs.

This initial analysis also shows that the Congregation spent more money on purchasing printed music during the years up to 1608 rather than paying for music to be copied. This can be supported by documented expenditure that only indicates an increase

³⁰¹ I-Rf, C. I. 2, *Libro primo de' decreti*, p.33, 3 settembre, 1583. This refers to the positioning of those

singing the litany and states that they should always come immediately before the priests.

302 See Appendix 2. Motets included are by Pacelli (31, 34), Paciotto (35), Palestrina (36, 44, 55), Girolamo Vespa (38), Lasso (32, 39, 40, 41), Vincenzo Ruffo (42), Animuccia (43), Asola (46), Viadana and Fattorini (47), Pompeo Signorucci (48), Giovanni Biondi (49), Anerio and Giovannelli(51), Agazzari (53) and Martini

Appendix 2 (31). Salmi di Asprillo a 8 legati in c.p. con fettuccie di seta bianca et turchina.

in money spent on copying music after 1608.³⁰⁴ Even some of the manuscripts included in the inventory were clearly not copied at the Chiesa Nuova.

If we can identify the two collections of manuscript partbooks: I-Rn Mss. Mus. 77-88, and the single collection now divided between I-Rn Mss. Mus. 117-121 and I-Rsc G.Mss. 792-795, as possibly those items described in this inventory under entries 28 and 30, 305 it still does not rule out the possibility that the origins of the first was the Arciconfraternita della Sanctissima Trinità dei Pellegrini. 306 Regarding the second collection, the signature of Pompeo Pateri indicates that the music was copied at the Chiesa Nuova and evidence suggests an early date, but presumably after 1592, as it is not included in the inventory taken in that year. Firstly, references to Pateri's active role in the liturgical music at the Chiesa Nuova are all before the death of Neri in 1595. As the music establishment became more organised, and especially with the appointment of Martini in 1603, he was not mentioned again in relation to the music and, in all probability, his role in managing all the business of the growing Congregation left him with little time. 307 Secondly, the majority of composers represented in this collection were only active in the sixteenth century, while those of the younger generation and known to the Oratorian Congregation at the Chiesa Nuova, such as the younger Anerio brother, Giovanni Francesco and Gregorio Allegri, are not included. If this is Mottetti di varii auttori in 8 tomi ... (30) then it could be the first layer of motets before the pieces for three choirs, all in a different hand, were added, although the fifteen motets for three choirs are by composers already represented among the pieces for fewer voices, thus raising the possibility that the complete collection of 12 partbooks could be item 28 in the inventory: Mottetti di Varij auttori in 12 m.s. tomi.

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³⁰⁴ See Appendix 6.

³⁰⁵ Se Appendix 1.

³⁰⁶ O'Regan, Institutional Patronage in Post-Tridentine Rome: Music at Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini 1550-1650, 65-67.

³⁰⁷ Ponnelle and Bordet, St. Philip Neri and the Roman Society of his Times, 306.

The origins of the manuscript partbooks containing music by Animuccia, the *Mottetti dell'Animuccia* (29) and the choirbook of music by Montemayor, *Vesperi di Christoforo Montemaior* (24) have been described and it is certain that they were not copied at the Chiesa Nuova. This does not, of course, rule out the possibility that the music from these manuscript volumes was performed in the liturgy there, but, as mentioned, these may have been valued as gifts rather than considered as a useful addition to the choir's repertoire.

The memory of Animuccia, one of the first professional musicians associated with the Oratory, must still have been cherished by members of the Congregation who remembered the earlier days of the Oratory at San Giovanni de Fiorentini. With regards to the music by Montemayor, the fact that Ancina decided to take such a large choirbook with him when he returned to Rome indicates that either he considered it would be useful there, or that he had a strong friendship with Montemayor and thus valued the gift. ³⁰⁸ It will therefore be interesting to look in more detail at these rare manuscripts as possible repertoire.

Regarding the three remaining manuscripts, the indications are that *Il Passio in musica* (59) would be three unaccompanied vocal parts for the singing of the Passion, possibly a copy of Guidetti's setting of 1586; ³⁰⁹ the remaining two manuscripts, *La Profetia duodecima del sabato santo a 8* (25) and *Litanie del nome di Giesù e della Madonna con la Salve, di diversi m.s. a 8* (45) are interesting because they are described as eight-part settings, and may have been among the few compositions for two choirs in the music library at that time, but both are lost and do not appear to correspond to any other source.

³⁰⁸ See this thesis: Chapter II, 38-42, for a description of the origins of this manuscript.

³⁰⁹ Giovanni Guidetti, *Cantus ecclesiasticus Passionis Domini Nostri Jesu Christi* (Rome: Alessandro Gardano, 1586).

Of the twenty-seven composers represented, clearly the emphasis is now on music by Italian composers with Palestrina's music taking up almost twenty per cent of the library. Whilst much of the music by Spanish composers was obtained before 1592, there is the addition of the music by Montemayor as well as Messae liber secundus (19) by Victoria and Liber quartus missarum (17) by Morales, whose music was well-known in Rome and who had sung in the Cappella Pontificia from 1535 to 1560. Of the Franco-Flemish composers, the music of Lasso, one of the most celebrated composers in Europe at that time and who visited and held posts in Rome, continued to be purchased, especially his books of motets (32, 39, 40, 41). Matelart, although of Flemish origins held the post of maestro di cappella at S. Lorenzo in Damaso, situated close to the Chiesa Nuova, from 1565 until his death in 1607. It is not unreasonable to assume that he was acquainted with his compatriot at the Chiesa Nuova, Martini. The masses by the two French composers, Goudimel and Sermisy (10 & 23), published in Paris in the mid-sixteenth century, are representative of an earlier generation and a period when Franco-Flemish music was an important influence in Rome. An inventory of the Cappella Giulia taken between 1559 and 1566 includes both these collections of masses. 310

Nine of the composers listed have already been seen to be associated with the Chiesa Nuova, ³¹¹ and an apparent preference for their music contributed to the dominance of compositions by composers associated with Rome and, in particular, Palestrina. Having already purchased Palestrina's *Missarum liber primus* (14) and his *Hymni totius anni* (8), the collection of music by Palestrina is subsequently augmented. A single entry in the inventory (16) suggests that his second, third and fifth books of masses were either all obtained together or in quick succession. A second copy of his *Missarum liber secundus*

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³¹⁰ Jeffrey J. Dean, 'The Repertory of the Cappella Giulia in the 1560s', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 41, (1988), 3: 465- 490; here, 473.

³¹¹ These are Animuccia, Martini, Ancina, Victoria, F. Anerio, Pacelli, Giovannelli, Montemayor and Palestrina whose various links to the Oratory have been discussed in Chapter III.

(18) was then added. These are all in choirbook format, but partbooks were also purchased: another collection of Masses, his *Missarum cum quator, quinque, et sex vocibus, liber octavus* (33) which, considering the date of publication, were obtained between 1599 and 1608; collections of motets by Palestrina: his first, fourth and fifth books (36, 44) as well as his *Offertoria totius anni* (55). With this emphasis on the music of Roman composers it is not surprising to find that more than half of the inventory is made up of music printed in that city. The music printed in Venice includes collections by Palestrina and Lasso and some of the more ancient editions of chant.

The publication dates of almost all of the items in the inventory that were added to the library after 1592 suggest that they were acquired soon after their publication. For those items published earlier, the date of purchase is occasionally recorded, for example, Animuccia's *Il secondo libro delle laudi* (43) was purchased in 1601,³¹² and Morales book of masses (17) was purchased in 1602.³¹³ The purchase of the latter indicates that the acquisition of large folio choirbooks continued and included further books of masses in that format by Palestrina (18) and Victoria (19), although it appears that partbooks were becoming the more popular option, probably due to their greater availability. The volumes of psalms and motets by Pacelli (31, 34), Girolamo Vespa (38), Lasso (39 - 41), Vincenzo Ruffo (42), Palestrina (44) and Asola (46) as well as those for eight voices by Felice Anerio and Giovannelli (51) are all in partbook format and thus enable spatial division for double-choir pieces.

With regard to repertoire, it once again becomes obvious that there is still a lack of music for a choir during Holy Week. The contents of what can be assumed to be Giovanni Guidetti's *Cantus ecclesiaticus officij majoris hebdomadae* (58) and *Il Passio in musica* (59), can be seen to be housed in the sacristy as the parts would have been sung by

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³¹² I-Ras, Orat., 295, *Entrata e Uscita A* (1599-1605), 1601 - no 36. As Animuccia composed his second book of laude for the Oratory, it is likely that this purchase was a replacement for the first issue of 1570. ³¹³ I-Ras, Orat., 163, *Copia de' mandati* (1593-1602), c. 111r.

deacons. The latter is interesting as it indicates that it had become the practice to sing the parts of the Passion although, as yet, there appear to be no choral settings for the *turba*. There are, however, volumes of motets and hymns acquired before 1608, for example Matelart's *Responsoria*, *antiphonae*, *et hymni in processionibus per annum*, *quinis*, *et quaternis vocibus concinenda*, which include motet settings such as the *Sicut Cervus* or hymns such as *Vexilla Regis* that are specifically for the Holy Week liturgy. ³¹⁴

Having looked in general terms at the complete collection of music as detailed in the inventory, a consideration of a selection of pieces from this expanding collection of music for use in the liturgy will provide a clearer picture of what the music was like.

There are only a small number of manuscript collections included in the library by 1608 but some of these are rare, especially the *Mottetti dell'Animuccia* (29) and the *Vesperi di Christofor Montemaior* (24). As these have not been described elsewhere, a more in-depth study of them is provided here whereas the collection of twelve manuscript partbooks: (I-Rn Mss.Mus.77-88) and the incomplete collection (I-Rn Mss.Mus 117-121 with I-Rsc G.Mss. 792-795) have both been considered in great detail by Noel O'Regan. Both these manuscript collections are referred to briefly here in their relevance to the present study.

The manuscript partbooks, *Mottetti di Animuccia* (29), are valuable in providing the only known source of some of Animuccia's earliest compositions. Only four of the works, *Ave Maria, Alma Redemptoris* (parts 1 and 2) and a setting of the Magnificat antiphon *Adaperiat Dominus cor vestrum* were printed and can be found included in *Il primo libro dei motetti a cinque voci*, published in Rome in 1552.³¹⁶ This printed collection

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³¹⁴ See Appendix 2, no. 54.

³¹⁵ O'Regan, 'Sacred Polychoral Music in Rome 1575-1621', 117-125 + 179-193; O'Regan, *Institutional Patronage in Post-Tridentine Rome: Music at Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini 1550-1650*, 66-73 and O'Regan, 'Polychoral Music of Orlando di Lasso New Light from Roman Sources', 234-251.

³¹⁶ Madrigali, e Motteti Sacri dell'Animuccia fascetto uno, listed in the 1794 inventory (Appendix 3) is probably this printed collection rather than the manuscript partbooks of motets and masses (I-Rn mss. Mus

further confirms the fact that the motets are for five voices as well as making it possible to identify the different vocal parts: the surviving four volumes are the cantus, quintus, tenor and bassus parts and thus it is the altus partbook that is now missing.

These manuscript partbooks also contain settings of antiphons for vesper psalms, Magnificat antiphons and two complete mass settings. The second of these, Missa qui la dira, is based on Adrian Willaert's chanson: Qui la dira la peine da mon cueur ('Who will tell the trouble of my heart'). 317 Although Willaert's time in Rome predates Animuccia's arrival there by many years, there is evidence that Willaert had connections with the Sforza family and, maybe for this reason, Animuccia chose a piece by him on which to base his mass in this collection, which he dedicated to Cardinal Ascanio Sforza. Another possibility is that during this period Animuccia showed a keen interest in the theory of musical composition: his 1552 book of motets is dedication to Archbishop Antonio Altoviti and refers to the theoretical debate of 1551 between Nicola Vicentino and Vicente Lusitano, which both Animuccia and the archbishop had attended. The works of Willaert were used by Zarlino in his Le istitutioni harmoniche of 1558 to explain contrapuntal devices such as canon, invertible part-writing, cantus-firmus paraphrase and fugue as well as using them to illustrate skillful text declamation, expressive harmonic variety, use of major and minor triads, melodic inventiveness and refined use of chromatic inflection. Although Zarlino's publication postdates Animuccia's collection by a few years, it appears that Willaert was generally recognised as the composer par excellence of advanced compositional techniques. Animuccia's work at this time, evidenced by these manuscript partbooks, clearly shows an interest in contrapuntal devices and paraphrase, techniques that he was to continue to use in his liturgical settings of masses and motets.

⁵¹⁻⁵⁹⁾ as suggested by Morelli in Antonio Addamiano and Arnaldo Morelli, 'L'archivio della cappella musicale di Santa Maria in Vallicella (Chiesa Nuova) a Roma nella prima metà del Seicento', 49. ³¹⁷ Willaert, La Couronne et Fleur des Chansons a troys (Venice: Andrea Antico, 1536). Available at: http://imslp.org/wiki/13 Chansons a troys (Willaert, Adrian) Daniel Van Gilst (ed.), 2015.

The Mass, Missa qui la dira, is unique in Animuccia's sacred music as it appears to be the only sacred work where he paraphrases a secular piece. This does not necessarily suggest that it predates any prohibitions that emerged following the Council of Trent in relation to motet and mass settings based on elements that might be regarded as 'impure' or 'lascivious'. 318 Recent research indicates that many composers. Palestrina included. continued to make use of secular pieces in their liturgical settings regardless of any directives and that they were even performed in the Papal Chapel.³¹⁹ Could Animuccia have abandoned any idea of publishing this mass because he was a little more scrupulous? All his other masses, included in his *Missarum Liber Primus* of 1567, are clearly based on plainchant, for example, Ave Maris Stella or Victime Paschale Laudes, as would be fitting for the maestro of the Cappella Giulia and who might feel obliged to uphold any recommendations by the Church in relation to the composition of liturgical music. There is evidence that might support this theory as on 23 December 1568 Animuccia was paid twenty-five scudi by the Cappella Giulia for the effort and the expense of composing and having copied hymns, motets and masses 'le quali erano necessarie in Capella, et che sono secundo la forma del Concilio di Trento et de l'offitio novo ...' ('which were needed in the chapel, and which are according to the form of the Council of Trent and of the new Breviary ...'). 320

Here we can refer back to the earlier question as to why the partbooks are incomplete and why Animuccia might never have presented them to the Cardinal for his approval. Did he decide that it was inappropriate to include a Mass based on a secular model and subsequently abandon the project altogether? If this was the case, he was displaying a stricter interpretation of the Council's directives than was possibly prompted by his employers. The other Mass in these partbooks is without title and it would be

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³¹⁸ Robert F. Hayburn, *Papal Legislation on Sacred Music* (Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1979), 29.

³¹⁹ Monson, 'The Council of Trent Revisited', 24.

Dean, 'The Repertory of the Cappella Giulia in the 1560s', 488.

interesting to discover if that too is based on a secular piece, but this one also displays his keen interest in the use of canon. The Kyrie, for example, uses a different canon in each of its three sections.

In his motets, however, Animuccia bases his melodies on the plainchant original. In the Ave Maria, 321 for example, he takes much of its melodic material from the chant, perhaps suggesting again the influence of Willaert who treats the same text (a variant on the more common and standardised text, interpolating the words 'Regina caeli, dulcis et pia' in the second part) with a similar use of the chant. In this motet, in particular, Animuccia's skill in maintaining a continuous polyphonic texture as well as a clear sense of climax achieved by varied and well-managed sonorities is clearly evident. His reference to the plainchant antiphon Regina caeli in the cantus part at those words (bar 50) and the one break in the polyphony with the voices coming together at O Mater Dei, other than the tenor, which creates some dissonance (bars 54-55), suggests his attention to the expression of the words.

Were these works ever performed in the Chiesa Nuova? They were housed and catalogued in the music library that was purposely placed for the convenience of the musicians. The chances are that the music of their first maestro di cappella might have been regarded as old-fashioned, but reference has already been made to the decrees of the Congregation that record money given to Santini to purchase music by Animuccia in 1601 and a book of Masses by the even older composer Morales in 1602. 322 Animuccia is also well-represented among this earliest layer of the archive with his collection of eleven Magnificats (3) and his Missaum liber primus (11). The indication is that the Congregation, in building up its repertoire for the sung liturgy, continued to collect music

 ³²¹ See Appendix 7, Transcriptions, no. 1.
 ³²² See Appendix 6, 13 Feb. 1601 and 5 Sept. 1602.

that was in a style familiar to members of the choir and to Soto in particular, who was at that time still the Prefetto della Musica.

The next manuscript that survives only in the music from the Chiesa Nuova is Vesperi di Christofor Montemaior (24). The origins of this choirbook have already been discussed but the content of this impressive volume is worth close examination. It is unique among the manuscripts listed in the inventory in that both an exact date and provenance cannot be disputed. It is likely that the composer, in giving the music to Ancina, would initially have intended it for use at the Oratory in Naples. The Oratorian musical tradition became very strong in that city as a result of the work of the first fathers of the Oratory who had all been members of Neri's Congregation in Rome at the Chiesa Nuova. Some of them, like Ancina, were musicians who encouraged composers such as Jean de Macque and Scipione Dentice to give their support. 323 The music of Macque is included among the manuscript music from the Chiesa Nuova. 324 This volume by Montemayor provides an even closer musical link between the two Congregations.

The table of contents at the end lists the compositions in two columns, dividing the works into three main sections labelled: *Motetti*, *Salmi* and *himni* followed by other works that do not fit with any of those headings. There are sixty-three compositions in total: four antiphons, five canticles, six hymns, two masses (including a Requiem), twenty-nine motets and sixteen psalms. All are settings of liturgical texts with the exception of the final motet, a non-liturgical setting for two choirs of Psalm 131:14: Hic est requies, which is not included in the table of contents.

The index, however, obscures information that presents itself when the pieces are taken in the order in which they appear. The collection has an impressive opening with a

³²³ Dinko Fabris, *Music in Seventeenth-Century Naples* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2007), 102.

³²⁴ The 'Pateri' partbooks contain several motets by Macque including four motets for three choirs: I-Rn. Mss.Mus.117-121 with I-Rsc. G.Mss 792-795. Macque was in Rome until 1585 so it is possible that their origin is a Roman source.

complete set of psalm settings for vespers for two CATB choirs concluding with two settings of the vesper hymn for Marian feasts, *Ave Maris Stella*. The title for the collection, *Vesperi Cum Octo della Madona Santissima Vergine*, suggests that the whole book grew from these vesper settings.

In the opening prayer for Vespers, *Deus in adjutorium meum*, Montemayor begins with the plainchant intonation followed by the two choirs presenting a homophonic setting in alternation, but coming together for main cadences. He maintains this *alternatim* treatment throughout the psalm verses, but concludes with an eight-part setting of either the whole of the *Gloria Patri* doxology, or its final section, *Sicut erat*, thus following standard liturgical practice.

The vesper hymn, *Ave Maris stella*, sung on feasts of the B.V.M., is in *alternatim* style, setting only the odd numbered verses in four-part polyphony; we can assume that the even numbered verses would have been sung in chant. A further setting for double choir of just the second verse follows. It is a possibility that, following the vespers for double choir, the eight-part setting of the second verse could be used as an alternative to the plainchant for that verse, thus providing one verse for double-choir within the four-part setting. Throughout the whole collection Montemayor provides similar substitute settings, employing fewer or more voices suggesting his intent to provide music that was adaptable to the available voices.

A second series of vesper psalms are primarily for single CATB choir, with the exception of a double-choir setting of *Super flumina Babylonis*. In this set, however, the composer shows an interest in varying different vocal combinations with particular interest in two or three-part textures with emphasis on higher voices. In the second of two settings of *Dixit Dominus* the first verse is set for two cantus parts and verse 6, *Dominus a dextris tuis*, presented first of all in a four-part setting, is subsequently repeated in a three-part

setting for upper voices.³²⁵ For this psalm the first part of the doxology is not set and is only taken up by the full choir at Sicut erat. We can assume that the Gloria Patri was sung to the chant which would run smoothly into the Sicut erat where the altus has a cantus firmus-like setting of the chant melody.

In the four and five-part motets Montemayor writes in a more archaic polyphonic style as can be seen in his setting of the Marian antiphon, Ave regina celorum [sic.]. 326 Here he maintains the polyphonic texture almost throughout and without much rhythmic variety, although there is the occasional harmonic surprise including an augmented sixth at bar 10, and false relations at bar 63. Whilst the composer's use of homophonic texture can be seen in his laude, his use of imitative polyphony can only be found in this collection. Of particular interest is the use of specific contrapuntal devices: a canon for the last verse of the hymn Ave Maris Stella, a canon at the unison in the Pentecost motet Dum complerentur and a canon at the lower fourth, Canon in subdiatessaron, for the closing Sicut erat of the vesper psalm Laudate pueri.

In this whole motet series Montemayor makes ample reference to relevant chants. Of particular interest is a five-voice motet for the feast of the Immaculate Conception, Gloriosae Virginis Mariae, one of several motets showing close links with Marian devotion (Fig. 4.4). The quintus part, notated in a high soprano range incorporates into the polyphonic texture the words and chant of the first verse of the popular Litany of Loreto: 'Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis':

 $^{^{325}}$ See Appendix 7, Transcriptions, nos. 2 and 3. 326 Ibid., no. 4.

Fig.4.4. Montemayor, Gloriosae virginis, bars 1-12 [I-Rn Mss. Mus. 135, f. 135v-137r]



This use of two texts together, whilst suggesting a fairly early date, is more likely an indication that Montemayor was looking back to earlier practices. Similar treatments with the use of litany verses can be found in the music of Heinrich Isaac during the early decades of the sixteenth century.³²⁷ In the six-part motet, *Tu es pastor ovium* (f.143^v-145^r), Montemayor provides a more extreme example by writing a tenor motet with the antiphon *Tu es Petrus* as a cantus firmus in the first tenor part. This use of two texts sung

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³²⁷ See: Heinrich Isaac, *Gaudeamus Omnes*, Choralis Constantinus: Graduale in mehrstimmiger Bearbeitung (A-Capella), vol. 2, Denkmäler derTonkunst in Österreich, XVI/1 = 32, ed. by Anton von Webern (Vienna, 1919).

concurrently looks back to an earlier age and was certainly rarely found by the latter half of the sixteenth century. Twenty of the sixty-three compositions by Montemayor are for double-choir and the predominantly homophonic style of his polychoral writing, however, places him firmly in the latter part of the sixteenth century.

Montemayor includes two mass settings. The first, the Missa Defunctorum (f. 152^v-162^r), a Requiem Mass for four voices, makes use of the standard practice of plainchant intonations for the start of each movement. Whilst there are staggered entries for the voices the overall texture is predominantly homophonic. The second Mass, Missa cum quinque vocibus (f.162^v-173^r), presents a more continuous polyphonic texture with imitative entries and skillfully written counterpoint with the exception of the Gloria and the Credo where he adopts a harmonic style for the longer texts, as was common practice.

His final motet in the collection, Hic est requies mea, perhaps expresses a sentiment that had some personal significance for Montemayor: 'Hic est requies mea hic habitabo per secula et seculi. Quoniam elegi eam' ['This is my rest for ever and ever: here will I dwell, for I have chosen it']. With this setting of Psalm 131:14, he concludes the collection with a double-choir setting. 328 Here, in contrast to his polyphonic settings for a single choir, the style is more modern with features that will be seen to characterise Roman polychoral settings. He is clearly writing for two equal and generally homophonic choirs (CATB/CATB) with effective textual repetition tossed between the two as, for example, his treatment of *Alleluia* (bars 9-12). But for the choirbook format of this manuscript, they could easily be placed apart. We can only guess as to why Montemayor ended this colossal choirbook with a text which appears to have some personal connotation.

It is the general lack of music for Holy Week that suggests that the set of twelve partbooks, I-Rn Mss. Mus. 77-88, may have been part of the music collection in the Chiesa Nuova. The suggestion that they were initially used during the Lenten season by the

³²⁸ See Appendix 7, Transcriptions, no. 5.

Confraternity of Ss. Trinità in the late 1570s and early 1580s does not rule this out.³²⁹ When considering the contents of these partbooks, it is clear that they would have provided a very useful and necessary resource. Included is a complete setting of the Lamentations and Responsories for Maundy Thursday, Good Friday and Holy Saturday as well as some settings of the Benedictus and Miserere. The Responsories are possibly by Zoilo and there are similarities in the Lamentations with other settings by Palestrina. ³³⁰ Both the Lamentations and the Responsories could be sung with small forces as all are for four voices with the verse set as a duet in the Responsories and as a trio in the Lamentations.

Apart from the Holy Week music, many of the motets included in the volume would also be appropriate for performance at oratory gatherings during Lent. Settings of the Marian antiphon for Lent, *Ave Regina*, are included here in five different settings for 8, 12 and 16 voices. Zoilo's *Regina coeli* for 20 voices, arranged in 5 CATB choirs extends the usefulness of the volume to Easter. It is the preponderance of polychoral music included in this relatively early set of partbooks that makes them particularly interesting, and reflects a growing trend towards writing for multiple choirs with a clear consideration for the possibility of spatial division.

A comparison of two settings of the *Pater noster* by Animuccia, both included in this collection, highlights the difference between an eight-part texture and a double choir arrangement with a focus on the spatial possibilities. As early as 1570 Animuccia had included in *Il secondo libro delle laudi...*, a volume that included Latin motets as well as laude, polychoral pieces composed to supply for the growing needs of the Oratory devotions prior to the move to the Chiesa Nuova. With first-hand knowledge of the singers available and their ability, he would have been unlikely to have composed music that could not have been sung at the Oratory. Included in that collection is his 8-part setting of the

³²⁹ Noel O'Regan, *Institutional patronage*, 71. ³³⁰ Ibid.. 70.

Pater noster that was, at a later date, copied into I-Rn Mss. Mus. 77-88 as well as a revised version, maybe by Zoilo, whom O'Regan suggests might have compiled the collection. 331 These two versions provide an interesting insight into the development of the polychoral style in Rome during the 1570s and early 1580s. In the original version of 1570 there is significant polyphonic overlap between the two choirs as well as the necessary combination of voices from the two choirs to form the harmonic structure:



Fig. 4.5. Giovanni Animuccia, *Pater noster* [I-Rn Mss. Musicali 77-80, f.17v-18r]

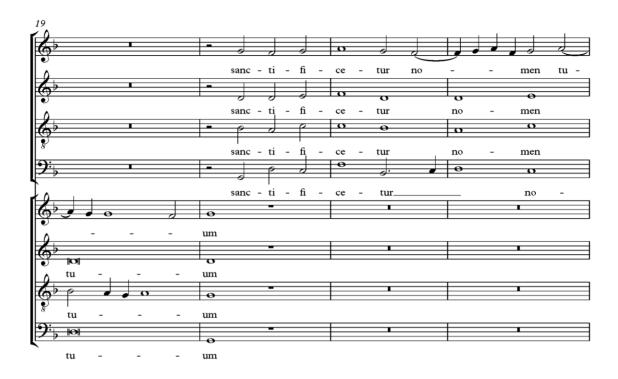
³³¹ Ibid., 68.



This arrangement would make it impossible for the two choirs to be spaced at a distance in performance and, especially considering the date, it was unlikely that Animuccia intended that. In the revised version the two choirs are made harmonically independent of each other with any overlap kept to the bare minimum:

Fig. 4.6 Giovanni Animuccia, Pater noster (Revised) [I-Rn Mss. Musicali 81-85, f.4v]





Clearly, in this revised form, Animuccia's *Pater noster* could be performed by two choirs that were spaced apart.

Thus it appears that the music copied into these partbooks was intended for performance in a large building where the spatial division was possible for two, three, four and, in the case of Zoilo's *Regina Coeli*, even five choirs. These polychoral compositions and arrangements would work particularly well in a large church such as the Chiesa Nuova.

This interest in the polychoral style at the Chiesa Nuova is confirmed by an incomplete set of manuscript partbooks (30), already mentioned as possibly shelved close to those just described, and probably dating from the same period. ³³² The certain provenance of the Chiesa Nuova, due to the signature of a priest of the Congregation of the Roman Oratory, Pompeo Pateri, on each of the surviving partbooks, has already been discussed. Only by consulting the remaining partbooks of Choir I can we obtain a full idea of the content of the set. There is an overlap of contents between these partbooks and I-Rn

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³³² These are I-Rn. Mss.Mus. 117-121(A2, C3, A3, T3, and B3) and I-Rsc G.Mss.792-795 (C1, Al, Tl, B2) from a set of 12.

Mss. Mus. 77-88 (28) suggesting that Pateri possibly copied pieces from the latter. It is likely that Pateri was responsible for the first layer of pieces in eight partbooks; the pieces for three and four choirs, clearly in a different hand, may have been added after 1608 if these are *Mottetti di varii auttori in 8 tomi* (30). Alternatively they could well be *Mottetti di Varij auttori in 12 m.s. tomi legati* (28) indicating that the collection I-Rn Mss. Mus. 77-88 was not acquired until later. There is a clear contrast in vocal groupings, with the earlier sections including motets by Willaert, Palestrina, Lasso, Animuccia, among others, for four, five six and eight voices, whereas the pieces added later by Palestrina, Zoilo, Macque and Giovannelli, are for two or three choirs suggesting a developing interest and use of polychoral settings.

As already mentioned, it is in the mid-1590s that Felice Anerio, who in 1594 had succeeded Palestrina as composer to the Cappella Pontificia, became actively involved in organising and conducting the music for the anniversary vespers and masses commemorating the death of Filippo Neri. The performances of music for three and fours choirs with organ and other instruments for that occasion in 1598 and 1599, described by Francesco Zazzara in his *Diario*, included the participation of members of the Papal Chapel, who probably made possible the performance of music for so many voices. Unfortunately he gives no indication as to what music was performed on those occasions:

26 maggio 1599

La musica fu a quattro chori assai più bella che mai, per essere la cappella di S. Santità 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 organ, cembalo, liuti, tiorbe, et altri istrumenti ... 333

[The music for four choirs, much more beautiful than ever, was performed by the choir of His Holiness in Rome and as it was a ferial day they were free to perform. At the crossing in the

³³³ I-Rf, A. IV. 13. *Diario A. A.* [di Francesco Zazzara], c. 21^{v.}

church a large stage was built for a choir with organ, harpsichord, lutes, theorbos, and other instruments ...]

The reference here to the use of instruments in addition to the organ is interesting. Of the music listed in the inventory, only one item refers to instruments: Agazzari's *Sacrae laudes... quaternis, quinis, senis, septenis, octonisque vocibus, cum basso ad organum, et musica instrumenta, liber secundus* (53), but no instrumental parts are included, indicating that it was expected, as Agazzari explains in his treatise *Del sonare sopra il bass* of 1607, 334 that instrumentalists would improvise on or just double vocal lines. It appears that not only the use of the organ in the performance of polyphonic sacred music was increasingly becoming the norm, but the use of instruments was also common especially for festive occasions. 335

The music purchased around these years indicates that it was likely that music for at least two choirs was beginning to be performed more often. Also, the fact that this music is in partbooks, rather than a single choirbook, suggests that the spatial separation of choirs was possible and probable.

Totally missing from the 1608 inventory are any references to mass settings for more than one choir. O'Regan references fourteen masses for double choir written by between 1575 and 1620 by composers who worked in Rome. 336 Of these, eight were printed, five of them before 1608 with four by Palestrina and one by Victoria. Although Victoria's *Missa Salve Regina* was printed after his return to Spain, O'Regan justifies including this mass as it was printed in Rome and he believes that it could have been written there before his departure. All of Victoria's other double-choir masses were printed in Madrid. Of the masses that survive in manuscript, one each by G. F. Anerio,

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³³⁴ *Del sonare sopra 'l basso con tutti li stromenti e dell'uso loro nel conserto* (Siena, 1607). It is available in English translation in W. Oliver Strunk (editor), *Source Readings in Music History* (New York; London: Norton, 1998), 424-431.

³³⁵ Graham Dixon, 'Roman Church Music: The Place of Instruments after 1600', *The Galpin Society Journal*, 34 (1981), 51-61.

³³⁶ Noel O'Regan, 'Sacred Polychoral Music in Rome 1575-1621', 278-279.

Giovannelli, Marenzio, G. M. Nanino and one anonymous setting, it is those by Anerio and Giovannelli that are particularly interesting. References have already been made to their close association with the Chiesa Nuova. Further investigation reveals that the copy of Anerio's Mass referenced by O'Regan, *Missa Surge et illuminare*, was made by Fortunato Santini who references his source as *Archivio di S Maria in Vallicella, Roma*. As there is no reference to this in the 1608 inventory, or indeed to any of the music by the younger Anerio, we can assume that it was composed, after 1608.

The 'nesessary' revision of Animuccia's 8-part *Pater noster* to create two choirs that were each harmonically complete and could therefore be placed apart, has already been described, although if the origins of the manuscript partbooks (I-Rn Mss. Mus. 77-88) was Sanctissima Trinità dei Pellegrini, ³³⁸ that revision was not necessarily made to suit the performance possibilities at the Chiesa Nuova. The case is different, however, in relation to the music specifically purchased by the Congregation for performance there. Not only is there an increase in music for two or more choirs, but the emphasis is on compositions by Roman composers with motets and psalms by Asprilio Pacelli: *Motectorum et psalmorum qui octonis vocibus concinuntur liber primus*, 1597 (31) and *Chorici psalmi, et motecta quatuor vocibus, liber primus*, 1599 (34); ³³⁹ motets by Felice Anerio: *Sacri hymni, et cantica, sive motecta...liber primus* (1596) and Ruggiero Giovannelli: *Sacrarum modulationum...quae quinis, et octonis vocibus concinuntur, liber primus*, 1593 which were bound together (51), and a second collection by Anerio: *Sacri hymni et cantica, sive motecta...liber secundus*, 1602 (52). ³⁴⁰

Giovannelli's Sacrarum modulationum ... liber primus included more pieces for five voices than eight whereas the seventeen motets in Anerio's Sacri hymni ...liber

³³⁷ D-MÜs, SANT Hs 1215 (Nr. 1). RISM ID no.: 451004664 Show MarcXML Show RDF/XML Noel O'Regan, *Institutional patronage*, 66-68.

Pacelli concludes each psalm setting and the setting of the Magnificat with a *Gloria Patri* for double choir

³⁴⁰ These last three collections were purchased by Santini on 27 August 1603: I-Ras, Orat., 164, *Registro de'* mandati del P. Ministro (1603-16), c. 34r and c. 52v.

primus, are all for double choir (CATB + CATB). His *liber secundus* included a mixture of 38 motets for five, six and eight voices. This was, perhaps, a sensible move to make the prints more saleable as those establishments where the available forces were not great enough to split into eight parts might still be tempted to buy them. Giovannelli's publication was clearly popular: after the first publication in 1593 it was reprinted twice in Venice and then in Frankfurt in 1608.³⁴¹ The possibility that the Chiesa Nuova obtained these partbooks solely for the pieces for a smaller number of voices is not the case as, at the same time, they purchased publications that were only for eight voices.

All the pieces for double choir in these collections show a similarity of style that reflects a concern for the spatial division of choirs. The emphasis on homophonic writing with dialogue between the two groups in full chordal style interspersed with the occasional passage of tutti writing could only work to full effect in a large building. Anerio, composer to the Papal Choir, would possibly have discovered that his double-choir motets, dedicated to Pope Clement VIII, would work to much greater effect in a large church like the Chiesa Nuova rather than the Sistine Chapel, where the spatial division of the two choirs was impossible. It is unlikely, in fact, that these works, printed in partbooks, were ever intended for performance in the Sistine Chapel where the Papal Choir maintained the practice of singing from large-format choirbooks far longer than anyone else. His Regina Caeli from his Sacri hymni, et cantica, sive motecta provides an excellent example of antiphonal arrangement of the two choirs making use of the repeated alleluias to maximum effect and in a way that would work well with the spatial separation of the two choirs in a large church like the Chiesa Nuova. At the same time the central words of the text, such as 'ora pro nobis' ('pray for us'), are presented in a broader and more sustained texture so they can

³⁴¹ Graham Dixon, 'Liturgical Music in Rome (1605-45)', 206.

³⁴² Thomas Schmidt, 'On the Transmission of Polychoral Music in the Papal Chapel around 1600', Conference paper: *Music for Liturgy and Devotion in Italy around 1600* (University of Manchester, 2016).

be clearly heard.³⁴³ Likewise, the following passage from Giovannelli's *Jubilate Deo* from his *Sacrarum modulationum* (51), clearly illustrates the typical use of dialogue between the choirs and, in the *tutti*, the harmonic wholeness and independence of each choir:

Fig.4.7 Ruggiero Giovannelli, Jubilate Deo, from Sacrarum modulationum, 1593 (b.13-30). 344



³⁴³ See Appendix 7, Transcriptions, no. 6 for a full transcription of this motet.

Transcribed from the 1598 edition, http://www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/scripts/gaspari (accessed 16 November 2016).



This applies even where the forces might be occasionally reduced, as in the following passage from Pacelli's *Tres sunt* from his *Motectorum et psalmorum qui octonis vocibus* (31) where the very short passage for cantus and altus from each choir form, for the most part, two harmonically sufficient duets followed by the full sonority of both choirs: ³⁴⁵

Fig.4.8 Asprillo Pacelli, Tres sunt from Motectorum et psalmorum qui octonis vocibus, (bars 47-59).



³⁴⁵ This motet is printed in full in Noel O'Regan, *Institutional patronage*, Appendix 10.

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The use of word-painting is prominent with the use of repetition at the words *in* 'saecula saeculorum' ('for ever and ever'), with bouncing dotted rhythms and repeated notes adding to the imposing effect. A dominant characteristic of polychoral music is the greater use of homophony and short, declamatory phrases. Pacelli goes a stage further a few bars later and, just as in the extract from Giovannelli's motet at *in cythara*, a four-note phrase, repeating *in saecula*, is tossed backwards and forwards between the two choirs:

Fig.4.9 Asprillo Pacelli, Tres sunt (bars 62-64).



Besides the emphasis on powerful homophonic sonorities, in contrast to the polyphonic style for fewer voices, this publication also reveals that it was the usual practice in Rome to have an organ accompaniment. Although no separate basso continuo part appears with these publications, Pacelli states in his *Chorici psalmi et motecta* that the organ can be used:

Mi sono risoluto dunque per sotisfattione di molti dare alla Stampa li presente Libro di Salmi, & Mottetti fatti piu per concerti con Organo, quali oggi si usano in Roma ... 346

[I am therefore determined for the satisfaction of many to make this printed book of psalms and motets suited for performance with organ, as is usual today in Rome ...]

References to the use of two organs in the Chiesa Nuova, from as early as 1594, suggest that polychoral pieces were accompanied. It seems likely that even when a basso continuo part was not provided, an organist could improvise from a vocal bass line but, as the seventeenth century progressed, and as will be evidenced by later music in the Chiesa Nuova archive, the majority of polyphonic music, excluding that for Holy Week, was published with a *basso per l'organo*. Of seventy-five surviving publications in Rome from

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³⁴⁶ Pacelli, *Chorici psalmi, et motecta quatuor vocibus, liber primus,* (Rome: Nicolò Mutii, 1599).

the second decade of the seventeenth century only three were issued without an organ part.347

These purchases of music for double choir by Anerio, Giovannelli and Pacelli suggest that the vocal forces available at the Chiesa Nuova were making use of the polychoral idiom on a more regular basis at least by 1608. Works for more that two choirs in print were quite rare and this could account for the increased expenditure on the copying of music that we see from the first decades of the seventeenth century, reaching its peak around 1611 to 1613.348

Having noted the contrasting styles in the music copied around 1600, it is interesting to discover that a similar contrast is also evident among the music purchased around 1600 and, in particular, the interest shown in acquiring music for one or two voices with organ accompaniment, such as the two collections of motets for solo voices and organ, printed in Venice in 1602: Viadana's *Cento concerti ecclesiastici*, ³⁴⁹ and Fattorini's I sacri concerti a due voci facili (47). These were purchased for use in the Chiesa Nuova by Santini in the year that they were printed. 350 The use of organ accompaniment probably attracted Santini to these two collections and it is interesting that they are described in the inventory as Concerti per l'organo. We know that Santini was a skilled organist, but these solo pieces, many of which make considerable technical demands on the performer, suggest that there were also singers of a high standard available to sing them. This vocal flourish at the end of Viadana's *Exaudi me Domine* provides a typical example of the vocal agility required:³⁵¹

³⁴⁷ Graham Dixon, 'Roman Church Music: The Place of Instruments after 1600', 52.

³⁴⁸Addamiano and Morelli, 'L'archivio della cappella musicale di Santa Maria in Vallicella (Chiesa Nuova)',

^{39.} Available in a modern edition: Lodovico Viadana, *Cento Concerti Ecclesiastici*, 1602, ed. Claudio Gallico (Kassel: Barenreiter, 1964). ³⁵⁰ I-Ras, Orat., 163, *Copia de'mandati* (1593-1602), c. 111r.

³⁵¹ Ludovico Viadana, Cento Concerti Ecclesiastici, 23.

Fig.4.10 Ludovico Viadana, Exaudi me Domine b.50-58.



We would expect such treatment of the solo voice would not be unusual in Venice, but, in his introduction to *Cento concerti ecclesiastici*, Viadana indicates that the small-scale motet was also popular in Rome before the end of the 16th century:

... vedere, cioè che alcuni di questi Concerti, che io composi cinque ò sei anni sono ritrouandomi in Roma ... trouorno tanto fauore appresso a molti cantori, e musici, che non solamente furno fatti degni d'essere spessissime volte cantati in molti luoghi principalissimi; ma alcuni ancora hanno pigliata occasione di imitargli felicemente, & darne alla stampa...

[... to see that some of these Concerti, which I composed five or six years ago when in Rome . . found such favour with many singers and musicians that they were not only found worthy to be sung again and again in many of the important places, but that some actually took occasion to imitate them very cleverly and to print some of these ...]

Maybe one of these 'imitators' that Viadana refers to was Agostino Agazzari who was maestro di cappella at the Seminario Romano from about 1603 to 1607. As he was thus working in close proximity to the Chiesa Nuova, his compositions will have been known to the musicians there in general but, specifically, the inventory of 1608 lists the Mottetti del Agazario libro secondo, terzo e quarto, distinti il secondo in sette tomi, il terzo in sei, il quarto in quattro (53). The numbering of the books (libro primo, secondo etc.) indicates that these were printed editions, but they now appear to be lost. This archival reference, however, indicates that the music of Agazzari was performed at the Chiesa Nuova. It is not difficult to determine the three collections by Agazzari that are listed as they could only date from before 1608 and thus during the time that he was working in Rome. There are just two publications of 1603: Sacrae laudes... liber secundus and Sacrarum cantionum ... liber tertius and, from 1606: Sacrae cantiones ... liber quartus. These collections were the first single-composer prints published in Rome with a basso per

l'organo part, and enjoyed much popularity. The *Sacrae cantiones* ... *liber quartus*, a momentous collection of twenty-four motets for two voices and eleven for three voices, remained popular with many reprints in both Venice and Rome up to 1633 and established the popularity of, in particular, the two-voice motet among Roman composers, many of whom contributed to that genre in the years following.³⁵²

Agazzari's motets are characterised by a much freer style than those of Viadana enabled by taking advantage of the supporting role of the organ and the freedom of thinner and lighter texture of just two or three voices. Whilst the opening of his motets owe much to the style of polyphonic antecedents, this texture is short-lived and the vocal lines soon develop with greater flexibilty and melodic interest with frequent musical response to the text. Clearly his motets would be very attractive to churches, such as the Chiesa Nuova, where the desire was to maintain a sung liturgy, at least for vespers, on a regular basis, as they could be performed when only a few voices were available.

When we consider the music that had been amassed at the Chiesa Nuova by 1608, with an attempt at a chronology that can possibly be indicated by the arrangement of the entries in the inventory as well as by some known dates including those relating to records of purchase, we can see a clear development and expansion of repertoire. The suggestion is that the earliest collections were not unexpectedly influenced by Soto de Langa who, as a member of the *Cappella Pontificia* from 1562 would have had an excellent working knowledge of the polyphonic repertoire as performed there as well as access to the music and singers who could assist when required. This does not infer that the music establishment at the Chiesa Nuova at the beginning was meagre as in the years before the move to the Chiesa Nuova Animuccia had written music for the Oratory in as many as eight parts: laude for the spiritual exercises but also motets for liturgical performance.

³⁵² Graham Dixon, 'Progressive Tendencies in the Roman Motet during the Early Seventeenth Century', *Acta Musicologica*, 53 (1981), 1: 105-119; here, 106-109.

During the 1590s, however, it is clear that the Congregation gained greater prominence especially with the completion of the Chiesa Nuova, which would undoubtedly have attracted people from all over Rome, including musicians. The death of Filippo Neri in 1595 also prompted an outpouring of devotion from laity and clerics alike. It appears that the community at the Chiesa Nuova strove to build and maintain a liturgy where there was great emphasis on a high standard of musical performance. This is evidenced not only by the number of professional musicians who involved themselves with the music but also by the increase and development in the musical repertoire as suggested by the music listed in the 1608 inventory. Starting from a repertoire of chant, *falsobordone* and single-choir polyphony in the 1580s it appears that from the 1592 up to 1608 there was a growing interest in the use of polychoral music as well as the use of solo motets with organ accompaniment as such works became available in the first decade of the seventeenth century.

The performance of Cavalieri's *Rappresentatione di Anima, et di Corpo*, the text written by Padre Agostino Manni, a member of the Oratorian Congregation, in the oratory of the Chiesa Nuova during the jubilee year of 1600, was probably a significant influence in the value of the use of the solo voice in presenting a text. It was shortly after this date that the solo motet with organ accompaniment became a popular form, not only for the spiritual exercises of the Oratory but also in liturgical performances at the Chiesa Nuova.

By 1608 the Congregation of the Oratory was clearly established as one of the most significant new religious bodies in post-Tridentine Rome. The Chiesa Nuova was one of the most imposing churches in Rome, along with the Gesù and the new St. Peter's. In the late 1500's and the early 1600's the chapels in the church were decorated under the patronage of private families according to the program that had been proposed by Neri, in which each chapel was dedicated to a mystery of the Virgin. It is testimony to the growing strength of the Oratory that in 1594 it was decided to enlarge the church, creating two side

aisles and with the addition of two side entrances on either side of the central door.³⁵³ In 1605 the facade was added and, in 1608, Peter Paul Rubens completed the altarpiece for the high altar.³⁵⁴

At the same time, there was a no less important development in their promulgation of the faith through music, in keeping with Neri's thoughts on the vital role of music in encouraging devotion not only in the spiritual exercises of the Oratory but also in the liturgy. Just as the period from around 1594 to 1608 was a period of growth regarding the decoration and enlargement of the church, the music provision appears likewise appears to have grown with an emphasis on a variety of styles from polychoral works to pieces for accompanied solo voices. It now remains to be seen how, with the Chiesa Nuova complete and its reputation for good music seemingly established, the liturgical music would develop after 1608.

³⁵³ Ian Verstegen, 'Federico Barocci, Federico Borromeo, and the Oratorian Orbit', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 56, (2003), 1: 56-87; here, 64.

³⁵⁴ Marilyn Dunn, 'Father Sebastiano Resta and the Final Phase of the Decoration of S. Maria in Vallicella', 601.

V. AN EXAMINATION OF THE MUSIC FROM 1608 - 1644

1. Introduction

When we consider the surviving music post 1608, although this can only be considered a fraction of the once apparently magnificent library, both manuscript and printed sources fall broadly into three categories: *stile antico, cori spezzati* and *stile moderno*. Taking this surviving collection as representative, it is interesting to compare the amount of music in each style that was acquired after 1608 (Fig. 5.1).

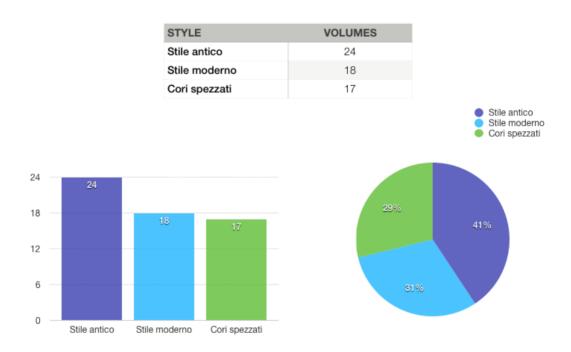


Fig. 5.1 An indication of the distribution of styles post 1608.

Compared with the previous decades there is a notable increase in the purchase of music for a smaller number of voices with organ accompaniment in the 'modern' style. This was obviously enabled by the increased availability of printed music in this style but, bearing in mind the Congregation's alacrity in purchasing Viadana's *Cento concerti ecclesiastici* as soon as it was printed in 1602,³⁵⁵ the suggestion is that music in that style was sought after. There could be several reasons for this: the availability of professional singers, some of whom were acclaimed soloists, including members of their own Congregation; the need to

³⁵⁵ See Appendix 6, Records of expenditure, 5 Sept. 1602.

maintain a high standard even when the full choral forces were not available; that such music was considered more popular and would attract a larger congregation. It will be seen that the larger number of collections in *stile moderno* were printed rather than manuscript copies. That these printed collections were available in Rome testifies to the increased popularity there of the 'modern' style.

There is also an increase in the purchase of music for two and sometimes three choirs. Although the use of multiple choirs in the Chiesa Nuova was reported in the 1590s, in particular for the anniversary masses following the death of Neri, there was no music listed in the 1608 inventory that matched with the descriptions of the music used on those occasions, although there were, as described, pieces for double choir. During the decades after 1608, however, music for more than one choir was being bought and copied, perhaps suggesting that the performance of this music was becoming more frequent and that it was possibly being performed by singers who sang regularly at the Chiesa Nuova including members of the Congregation.

Besides buying music there was also a great increase in the copying of music (Fig. 5.2). It is interesting that more of the music in traditional polyphonic style that was acquired was in manuscript form rather than printed format. Among these are some large choirbooks containing mainly the music of Giovanni Francesco Anerio (40, 41, 45, 47, 48)³⁵⁶ in *stile antico*. As two of these are dated 1606 (47) and 1596 (48) it is possible that they originated elsewhere, and were placed in the library after 1608 and could even have been gifts donated by Anerio himself so that they would be preserved in what was clearly expanding into an impressive library of liturgical music.

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³⁵⁶ Numbers in this chapter refer to Appendix 5, Catalogue of manuscript and printed music.

DESCRIPTION	PRINTED EDITIONS	MANUSCRIPT COPIES
Stile antico	5	19
Stile moderno	14	4
Cori spezzati	10	7

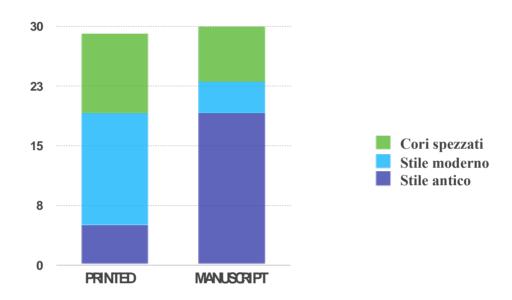


Fig. 5.2 An indication of the distribution of manuscript and printed copies post 1608.

The Congregation had, however, already acquired a large collection of mass and vesper music in printed editions to provide for their needs before 1608 and they would no doubt have continued to use that music. By adding the music in the 1608 inventory a clearer picture is achieved regarding the possible contents of the music library during the first half of the seventeenth century (Fig. 5.3):

DESCRIPTION	PRINTED EDITIONS	MANUSCRIPT COPIES
Stile antico	24	20
Stile moderno	12	4
Cori spezzati	10	7

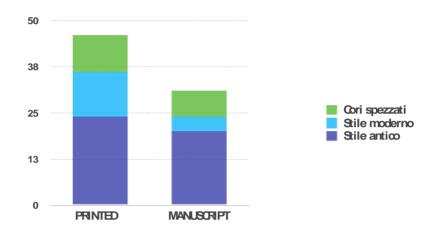


Fig. 5.3 An indication of the distribution of manuscript and printed copies, including the music in the 1608 inventory.

A further general analysis in relation to usage for Mass, Vespers or any paraliturgical service of all the music known to have been in the library up to the middle of the seventeenth century can also indicate where the main emphasis was placed on building up the repertory (Fig. 5.4). This analysis again takes into account the music that survives and that which was listed in the 1608 inventory, including those works that have now disappeared. The charting of this is again very much an estimate due not only to music being lost, but also to the fact that collections vary in the number of works included. Another factor is that, although in manuscript copies different genres could be combined in one volume, this had been unusual in printed editions. By the 1620s, however, printed editions containing more than one genre and works by different composers are becoming more common.³⁵⁷ In such cases the different genres are all entered into the chart as separate entries. Motets - mostly setting the words from the liturgies of the different feasts

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³⁵⁷ See for example Appendix 5 nos. 6 and 69 (Costantini's *Selectae cantiones*).

of the Church's year including mass propers, psalm or magnificat antiphons, devotional prayers for communion or Marian antiphons - could be used applicably for mass and vespers or for blessed sacrament devotions, such as *Quarant'ore*, or on Marian feasts for devotions or processions. Litanies would also be used for the latter. The music for the Holy Week liturgies includes Passion settings, settings of the Miserere and Responsories, Lamentations and Penitential Psalms.

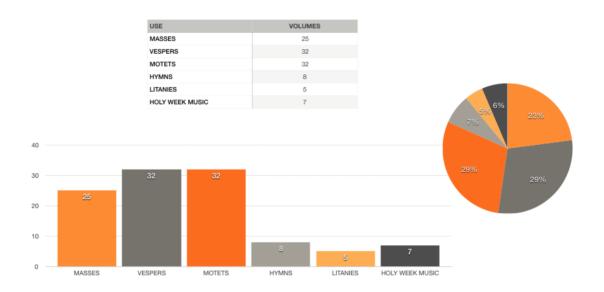


Fig. 5.4 An indication of the distribution of usage.

These general observations present an overall picture from which some conclusions can be drawn during a period of tremendous expansion in the reputation and prestige of the Congregation of the Oratory at the Chiesa Nuova; a period which included the beatification of Neri in 1615 and his canonisation in 1622 and, in 1640, the opening of the Borromini Oratory, providing space for a library and halls for musical performances relating to the spiritual exercises of the Oratory. Clearly the musical Oratory had grown in popularity beyond the earlier increase described by Animuccia in his preface to his second book of laude in 1570.³⁵⁸

³⁵⁸ Giovanni Animuccia, *Il secondo libro delle laudi, dove si contengono motteti, salmi et altre diverse cose spirituali...* (Rome: Eredi di Antonio Blado (Camerali) 1570).

Whilst the Oratory performances would have been an important means of evangelisation for the Oratorian Congregation, the suggestions are that they also gave considerable attention to liturgical music. The increased expenditure on the choir and the participation of singers connected to the Papal Chapel have already provided evidence of this, but a consideration of the amount of music obtained for the liturgy provides further proof. What is particularly interesting, however, is the great variety of styles that was not so prominent during the earlier period. The performance of music in the *stile antico* style, represented especially in the masses of Palestrina, not surprisingly continues; this would be the music that Rosini and other members of the Papal Chapel would be used to. At the same time, however, the increase in the amount of music for more than one choir suggests an increase in performances of polychoral music. Similarly, an increase in the purchasing and copying of music for a small number of voices, including that for soloists capable of a more virtuosic style, suggests the availability of good voices as well as the Congregation's aspiration to provide a high standard of performance even when fewer voices were available. A more detailed examination of the music acquired after 1608 will provide a deeper insight into the liturgical performances in the Chiesa Nuova during this period of expansion.

2. Music for a single choir and the *stile antico*

By 1608 the Congregation had already amassed a large collection of printed polyphonic music: masses, motets, magnificat settings by Palestrina, Animuccia, Victoria, Guerrero, Morales, Asola. Much of this printed music that was in the library has now been lost. We know that Cifra's Missarum liber primus of 1619 was purchased in 1620 and that too is lost, although it is mentioned in the inventory of 1828. It is not unreasonable to assume that both Martini and Rosini continued to buy printed editions of music by the masters of sixteenth-century polyphony as well as by those who continued to write in that style in the first few decades of the seventeenth century. It is possible that at a later date, probably during the nineteenth century, some of these early and valuable editions were sold.

The extant printed music in polyphonic style from after 1608 amounts to just four items. Two are choirbooks: a setting of eight magnificats by Lasso (Octo Cantica Divae Mariae Virginis quorum initium est Magnificat, 1578) and Victoria's setting of the Office of the Dead with a Requiem Mass (Officium defunctorum, 1605), and two are in partbook format: a reprint of Palestrina's first book of Masses of 1554 (Missarum cum quatuor quinque ac sex vocibus liber primus, 1591) and Felice Anerio's settings of the Passion Responsories for Holy Week (Responsoria ad lectiones diuini officij feriae quartae, quint ae, & sextae, sanctae hebdomadae, 1606). These are all now housed in the Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica S. Cecilia along with those editions included in the 1608 inventory that have survived. Whilst the ambiguity of the 1794 inventory cannot indicate with any certainty that these items are listed there, the inventory of 1828, with its more precise detail, does appear to include these four editions. 360 Although this extant music provides us with a very small selection, the fact that it is the music of four of the major

³⁵⁹ See Appendix 5, items 56, 61, 63, 64. ³⁶⁰ See Appendix 4, items 45, 13, 44, 5 or 46.

composers of the traditional polyphonic style, three of whom, Palestrina, Victoria and Anerio, can be connected to the Chiesa Nuova, as previously discussed, strongly indicates that music in that style was still being obtained and performed during the years following 1608. The inventory of that year lists a 1572 print of Palestrina's first book of Masses (1554) in choirbook format. References to the purchase of Palestrina's music, in the late 1620s by Rosini, indicate that his music was still being performed at the Chiesa Nuova. The survival of the partbooks of Palestrina's first book of masses, obtained in this later period, provides further proof. The need for partbooks of masses already owned in choirbook format gives strength to their continued popularity and likely performance.

The surviving manuscript copies of music in *stile antico* are greater in number than printed editions. There are sixteen choirbooks and one set of partbooks comprising six volumes of vespers psalms, five of masses, five of hymns and one collection of music for Holy Week. By far the dominant composer is Giovanni Francesco Anerio who is represented by eight of the volumes. Other composers, with just a single volume each, are Palestrina, Victoria, Cifra and Giovannelli, and single pieces by Allegri, De Grandis, Matelart and Heredia are included in volumes with music by more than one composer. No composer is given for three of the collections of music for vespers: two of psalm settings and one including seventeen settings of the Magnificat.

Taken as a group the surviving mass settings in print or manuscript are as follows (Fig. 5.5):

My ref. ³⁶¹	Composer	Title/Content	Format	Date
30	Anerio, G.F.	2 Masses: Missa Hic est vere martir Missa della battaglia	Manuscript choirbook	n.d.
38	Palestrina, G.P.	Missa Assumpta est	Manuscript score + b.c.	n.d.
40	Anerio G.F.	3 Masses: Missa in te Domine Speravi Missa Quarti Toni Missa Stella quam viderant Magi	Manuscript choirbook	n.d.
47	Anerio, G.F.	Missa Circuire possum Domine	Manuscript choirbook	1606
49	Giovannelli, R	Missa iste qui ante Deum	Manuscript choirbook	n.d.
61	Palestrina, G.P.	Missarumcum quatuor, Printed quinque, ac sex vocibus, liber primus		1591
63	Victoria, T.L	Officium defunctorum, sex vocibus.	Printed choirbook	1605

Fig. 5.5 A table of surviving Mass settings from the Chiesa Nuova

In distinguishing the styles, a notable feature in these *stile antico* compositions is the obvious absence of an organ *basso continuo*. Were these works performed with an organ accompaniment? The answer to this question might be given in the one exception found among this group, the manuscript of Palestrina's *Missa Assumpta est Maria* (38), where the whole of Palestrina's six-part Mass, based on his own motet of the same title, is copied in open score with the addition of a carefully worked-out figured bass. The absence of words, except for at the beginning of sections, indicates that this was not a copy intended for the use of singers and was more likely to have been the workings of an organist preparing a figured bass part for performance. It appears that this was intended as a copy for the organist to play from, rather than just his sketches for preparing an organ partbook as each folio has nine carefully-ruled equidistant bar lines through fourteen staves, creating two systems on each side, so that a page turn is necessary only every thirty-six bars (Fig.

³⁶¹ See reference in Appendix 5 for full details.

5.6). It is possible that the organist then made his own part from his workings but, as this copy is so carefully written, this seems unlikely.

The source from which this copy was made is not among the surviving music from the Chiesa Nuova. The indications are that it would have been a manuscript copy as the mass appears not to have been printed until Proske's 1855 edition for which he consulted only manuscript copies in the Vatican archives. Haberl, later in that century, included it in volume XXIII of his edition of Palestrina masses and, likewise, stated that his sources for all the masses in that volume are from the same manuscript sources. The Casimiri edition quoted the same Vatican sources but with the addition of this manuscript from the Chiesa Nuova. No references are given, however, to some of the few interesting discrepancies that appear in this manuscript source. At the end of the *Sanctus*, for example, the concluding *Hosanna* is presented in triple time to match with the *Hosanna* at the end of the Benedictus, differing from the printed editions and presumably other manuscript sources. The discrepancy is simply in the placing of the barlines by the copyist, but the suggestion is an interpretation not presented in modern editions.

The figured bass added by the copyist follows the harmonies of the vocal parts, clearly observing suspensions and doubling either the vocal bass or the lowest part throughout. An exception to this is in those passages for higher voices alone. In such places an organ bass line is maintained by either doubling the lowest part at the octave or by adding a bass that fits harmonically and thus adding a new line to the texture, so that it can be described as a true *basso continuo* rather than a *basso per l'organo*. This latter

³⁶² These were I-Rvat C.S. 76, 137, 127. See: Carolo Proske, *Selectus Novus Missarum, Praestantissimorum superioris aevi Auctorum juxta Codices Originalis*, Tomus primus, Ratisbonae, 1855. See: http://imslp.org/wiki/Selectus_Novus_Missarum (accessed 12 April 2017).

³⁶³ Franz Xaver Haberl, *Opera omnia Ioannis Petraloysii Praenestini*, vol. XXIII (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel 1887)

³⁶⁴ R. Casimiri and L. Bianchi (eds.), *Le Opere Complete di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina*, vol. XXV, (Rome: Istituto Italiano per la Storia della Musica, 1958), x.



Fig. 5.6 I-Rn Mss. Mus. 129, f. 1^r.

treatment, however, is extremely rare and lasts no more than one or two bars as in the following passage from the *Credo* at the words *et ascendit in cœlum*:

Fig. 5.7 I-Rn. Mss.Mus. 129, f. 9^v.



The discovery of this manuscript, which has not previously been discussed, provides a valuable insight into the performance of polyphonic music for a single choir with the addition of an organ accompaniment. Whilst it is accepted that, during the early seventeenth century and possibly earlier, the organ was often used to accompany polyphonic works from the sixteenth century, with the exception of the performances by the Papal Choir in the Sistine Chapel where instruments were forbidden, very few manuscript sources survive to give evidence of this.

Patrizio Barbieri has referred to this topic with reference to a manuscript copy in the hand of Girolamo Chiti (1679-1759) of Palestrina's six-part motet *Dum complerentur* with an organ bass. ³⁶⁵ Chiti claimed to have copied the score from a manuscript in S. Giovanni in Laterano in which the *basso continuo* was written by Palestrina, although the original, as yet, has not been discovered. The manuscript score of Palestrina's six-part mass from the Chiesa Nuova is very similar in layout to Chiti's copy of Palestrina's motet and provides a further example for research into this field. The notation, in score, of not only the organ bass but also the vocal lines of both of these six-part works, presents the

³⁶⁵ Patrizio Barbieri, 'On a Continuo Organ Part Attributed to Palestrina', *Early Music*, 22 (1994), 4: 587-605.

possibility that the organist provided not only harmonic support but, on occasions, may have needed to play some of the individual vocal lines when neither the required number of voices, nor appropriate music for the available voices could be found. Dixon has pointed out that the majority of churches, excluding the Papal basilicas and a few of the wealthier churches, relied on a small number of singers to sing the polyphony, and that the fashion for the composition of motets for one to four voices suggests a maximum of four solo voices.³⁶⁶

This manuscript thus poses some interesting questions regarding performance practice at the Chiesa Nuova, where members of the choir, included priests of the Oratorian Congregation, were also members of the Papal Choir and thus might have had to absent themselves to fulfill their duties in the Sistine Chapel.

Whilst it appears that the masses of Palestrina continued to be performed, there also seems to have been a particular preference for those of Giovanni Francesco Anerio. It is not known how six of his masses, all in manuscript and in choirbook format, I-Rn Mss-Mus. 69, 131 and 151 (my ref. 30, 40, and 47 respectively) found their way to the music library of the Chiesa Nuova, but archival evidence, already referred to, testifies to the close connections that this composer had with the Oratory. Of these six masses in manuscript only three were printed: *Missa in te Domine Speravi* (40) and *Missa Circuire possum Domine* (47) as part of a collection of five masses in 1614, 367 and *Missa della battaglia* (30) with his arrangements for four voices of three of Palestrina's masses in 1619. 368 The remaining three masses are incomplete in this source: *Missa hic est vere martir* (30) for four voices has only the Kyrie and Gloria, *Missa Stella quem viderant Magi* (40) for five

³⁶⁶ Graham Dixon, 'The Performance of Palestrina: Some Questions, but Fewer Answers ', *Early Music*, vol. 22, No. 4, (Nov., 1994), 666-675: here, 669.

³⁶⁷ Giovanni Francesco Anerio, *Missarum quatuor, quinque et sex vocibus, missa quoque pro defunctis... liber primus* (Rome: Robletti, Giovanni Battista, 1614).

³⁶⁸ Messe a quattro voci le tre prime del Palestina, cioè Iste Confessor, Sine nomine et di Papa Marcello ridotta à quattro da Gio. Francesco Anerio, et la quarta della bataglia dell'istesso Gio. Francesco Anerio con il basso continuo per sonare (Rome: Luca Antonio Soldi, 1619).

voices includes the Kyrie, Gloria and the Credo, and Missa Quarti toni ((40), also for five voices, has just the Kyrie, Gloria and Credo up to et homo factus est. The appearance of each manuscript, with blank folios following the end of the music copy, suggests that these copies were simply never completed. The only other surviving source for any of these masses are copies that were made by Abbate Fortunate Santini from the Chiesa Nuova manuscripts in the early nineteenth century. 369 His copies do not include any other movements than those that survive today in these manuscripts from the Chiesa Nuova.

Whilst all the Masses have a title, usually placed above the Kyrie, the Missa in te Domine Speravi and the Missa Circuire possum Domine have a carefully similarlyinscribed title page naming the composer and the latter includes the year of composition:

Missa Circuire possum domine Quinque vocibus | Ioanne Francisco Anerio Romano | auctore. A.D. MDCVI.

The date of 1606 is eight years before the publication of that Mass.

The choirbook format is interesting when compared with the printed editions which were all printed as partbooks with a part for organ basso continuo. Possibly the choirbooks were given to the Chiesa Nuova by Anerio himself, with the intention that parts could then be made and an organ part added. As an accomplished organist himself, he may have felt that it was unnecessary to provide an organ part as a skilled organist would be able easily add an accompaniment. Another possibility is that Anerio first presented his masses in this form hoping that they might be introduced into the repertory of the Papal Chapel where his brother Felice had been employed as composer since Palestrina's death in 1594. As singers from the Papal Chapel regularly sang at the Chiesa Nuova, perhaps Anerio wished to present them with music in a format they were familiar with and might then wish to make use of. They would find that the familiarity extended beyond the format, as three of the Masses are parody masses on three of Palestrina's motets. The two incomplete Masses

³⁶⁹ Missa Hic est vere martir: D MÜs SANT Hs 1218 (Nr. 60), Missa in te Domine speravi: D MÜs SANT Hs 1218 (Nr. 6), Missa Stella quam viderant Magi: D-MÜs SANT Hs 4224 (Nr. 4).

Missa hic est vere martir and Missa Stella quem viderant Magi are based on the motets of the same name by Palestrina with the opening of each Kyrie following exactly the opening bars of Palestrina's motets as seen in the example below:

Fig. 5.8 Palestrina, motet: Hic est vere martyr³⁷⁰



Fig. 5.9 G.F. Anerio, Missa hic est vere martir, Kyrie:



Anerio's published mass, *Circuire possum Domine*, is a parody on the motet of the same name by Palestrina's son, Angelo, which Palestrina included in his second book of motets.

Fig. 5.10 A. Palestrina, motet: Circuire possum Domine ³⁷¹

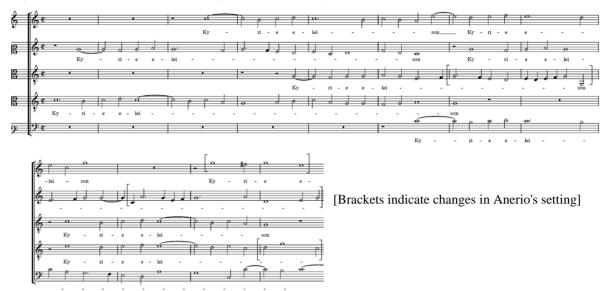




³⁷⁰ Transcribed from *Opera omnia Ioannis Petraloysii Praenestini*, vol.5 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1875).

³⁷¹ Transcribed from *Opera omnia Ioannis Petraloysii Praenestini*, vol.2 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1881).

Fig. 5.11 G.F. Anerio, Missa Circuire possum Domine, Kyrie:



This direct copying of Palestrina's music was not unusual. Anerio, like many Roman composers of his time, venerated Palestrina, and he was not alone in closely imitating his style in his polyphonic writing. Palestrina's works remained popular as testified by Anerio's four-voice arrangements of three of his most popular masses: *Missa Papae Marcello, Missa Sine Nomine* and *Missa Iste Confessor* included with his publication of his own *Missa della battiglia* in 1619. It is not surprising that this music would be part of the repertory at the Chiesa Nuova where many of the singers would have first-hand knowledge of that style in the Papal Chapel.

Among those singers was Ruggiero Giovannelli, the composer of another mass, *Missa iste qui ante Deum*, included among the manuscript choirbooks at the Chiesa Nuova (49). This is also a mass based on the motet of the same name by Palestrina and appears to be the only surviving copy other than the copy made from this manuscript by Fortunato Santini, ³⁷² until a modern edition was produced in 1992. ³⁷³

372 Missa iste qui ante Deum D-MÜs SANT Hs 1218 (Nr. 62).

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³⁷³ Ruggiero Giovannelli, *Composizioni sacre: messe, mottetti, salmi,* ed. Paolo Teodori (Palestrina: Fonti musicali, 1992).

The cover and binding, and its restoration, match the scores of the masses by Anerio but the writing is quite plain, lacking any of the decoration seen in the Anerio copies. The title of the mass is written above the beginning of the Kyrie $(f.2^{v})$ and on the opposite folio - *Quatuor vocum* and the composer's name - *Rogerij Ioan*. At a later date *Di Ruggero Giovanelli* has been written on $f.1^{v}$.

Francesco Martini had already purchased a book of motets by Giovannelli, and we know that the composer freely gave his time as a singer at the Chiesa Nuova. As it appears in no other seventeenth century source, it is possible that he provided his *Missa iste qui ante Deum* specifically for use in the liturgy there. It is clearly a *missa brevis* for four voices, *alla Palestrina*, with the final *Agnus Dei* expanded to five voices by the use of two cantus parts in canon.

Finally, the collection of extant mass sources includes Victoria's setting of the Requiem Mass, published in Madrid in 1605. ³⁷⁵ By that time it appears that it was rare for the Oratorians to purchase music other than that composed by Roman composers. The music of Victoria, however, remained an exception, not only at the Chiesa Nuova, but also in the music establishments of the Papal basilicas and the Papal Chapel. ³⁷⁶ By the time Victoria left Rome in 1585 his music was already being widely performed and continued to feature in the repertory of the Papal Chapel after his death in 1611. ³⁷⁷ He remained in contact with the Chiesa Nuova, particularly through his compatriot, Soto de Langa, and his music would doubtlessly have been performed. The contrast of homophonic and

³⁷⁴ On f.31v a note, dated 1838, relates that the Prefect of Music removed white ruled paper from the book for the service of the church, to write on them the introits for advent in *falsobordone* and a Requiem for the soul of the Prefect: Si levò da q.to libro caryta bianca rigata/per servizio di Chiesa del Pref° di Musica/nell'anno 1836 che servì per iscrivervi/ gl'introiti dell'avvento a falso Bordone/un Requiem per l'anima del Pref°.L.Buttani.

T.L.Victoria, Officium Defunctorum sex vocibus. In obitu et obsequiis sacrae imperatricis, (Madrid: Ex typographia regia / Apud Ioannem Flandrum, 1605).

typographia regia / Apud Ioannem Flandrum, 1605).

376 Two other copies of this first edition of Victoria's Requiem are extant in Rome. One in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, [fondo Cappella Giulia] and the other in the Archivio musicale della Basilica di San Giovanni in Laterano.

³⁷⁷ Jean Lionnet, 'Performance Practice in the Papal Chapel during the 17th Century', *Early Music*, 15 (1987), 1: 3-15; here, 15.

polyphonic textures in his *Officium Defunctorum* would be perfectly suited to the open spaces of the Chiesa Nuova.³⁷⁸

Clear evidence, relating to the purchase of masses by Morales, Cifra and Palestrina,³⁷⁹ leaves no doubt that of the surviving mass settings for a single choir those in *stile antico* continued to be sung. Mass settings in other styles are rare among the surviving sources and it can thus be assumed that for sung masses, excluding those where the Papal Choir came *en masse* for those feast days that were celebrated with added splendor, the settings for a single choir, generally in *stile antico*, were used.

In contrast, the large collection of music for vespers, including antiphons, psalm verses, Magnificats and hymns, encompasses a wide variety of styles. Whilst great emphasis was placed on polychoral settings and settings for solo voices, there are also pieces for single choir. Listed below are all the surviving settings of vesper music for a single choir (Fig. 5.12):

My ref. ³⁸⁰	Library shelfmark	Composer	Title/Content	Format	Date
22	I-Rn Gesuiti 1657	Allegri, G., de Grandis, V., Anon.	Lucis Creator Optime, Gregorii Allegri, 5 hymns.	Mss. choirbook	n.d.
23	I-Rn Gesuiti 1658	Anon.	Ad vesperas Psalmus 5 vesper psalms.	Mss. choirbook	n.d.
24	I-Rn Gesuiti 1659	Anerio, G.F. Cifra, A.	Anerio Inni 4 hymns and 2 psalms.	Mss. choirbook	1607
27	I-Rn Mss.Mus. 9-12	Anon.	Psalm verses for Sunday vespers.	Mss. partbooks	n.d.
35	I-Rn. Mss.Mus. 125	Cifra, A.	Hymn: Placare Christ servulis.	Mss. choirbook	n.d.
36	I-Rn. Mss.Mus. 126	Anon.	17 magnificat settings.	Mss. choirbook	n.d.

³⁷⁸ Daniele V. Filippi, 'Sonic styles in the music of Victoria', *Revista de Musicología*, 35 (2012), 1: 155-182; here, 166-169.

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³⁷⁹ See Appendix 6: 5 September 1602, 8 March, 1620, 8 January 1627.

³⁸⁰See reference in Appendix 5 for full details.

39	I-Rn. Mss.Mus. 130	Victoria, T.L.	10 vesper psalms.	Mss. choirbook	n.d.
41	I-Rn. Mss.Mus. 132	Anerio, G.F. Anon.	No title but complete index with titles. 23 vesper psalms, 1 Magnificat.	Mss. choirbook	n.d.
44	I-Rn. Mss.Mus. 143	Anerio, G.F. Matelart, G.	Te Deum, 5 Magnificats, 2 Marian antiphons, 2 hymns.	Mss. choirbook	n.d.
45	I-Rn Mss.Mus. 144	Anerio, G.F. Heredia, P.	4 vesper hymns.	Mss. choirbook	n.d.
46	I-Rn Mss.Mus. 148	Anon.	19 hymns.	Mss. choirbook	n.d.
56	I-Rsc G.C.S. 2.E.9	Lasso, O.	Octo cantico divae Mariae virginis 8 Magnificat settings.	Printed choirbook	1578

Fig. 5.12 A table of surviving vesper music from the Chiesa Nuova.

The wide variety of styles found in the vesper music suggest that music was acquired to enable the choice of appropriate settings to suit the voices that were available. The settings for a single choir, listed above, are all in manuscript except for the Lasso collection of Magnificats (56). These manuscript collections include psalm settings, Magnificats, Marian antiphons and vesper hymns. All are in choirbook format with the exception of I-Rn Mss.Mus. 9-12 (27), which comprises four surviving partbooks from a collection of five and includes settings of vesper psalms, two hymns and eight settings of Marian antiphons. Once again the dominant composer is Giovanni Francesco Anerio and the others all had connections with Rome, such as Vincenzo de Grandis and Gregorio Allegri who were both members of the Papal Choir during Rosini's time there.

It is interesting to note that there are no settings of antiphons for either psalms or Magnificats among this collection. These were possibly sung using the prescribed chant or using a more elaborate setting for soloists with organ accompaniment. Such settings are found among the manuscript collections to be discussed later in relation to compositions in the *stile moderno*.

The psalm settings included in this group of eleven manuscript collections suggest that composers did not necessarily conceive their compositions as a group of psalms liturgically suited to be performed together at a single office of vespers. In only one collection, I-Rn Gesuiti 1658, Ad Vesperas Psalmus (23) are there settings by an unidentified composer of five psalms: Dixit Dominus, Confitebor tibi, Beatus vir, Laudate pueri and Laudate Dominum that could have been sung together at, for example, the first vespers of major feasts. This would not, however, provide a complete setting of the music for vespers as settings of the antiphons, the Magnificat and the hymn are all missing. There are features displayed in this group, however, that were generally common in vesper settings and will be seen again in some of the other psalms in this collection of manuscripts: a plainchant intonation for the opening of the first verse, followed by a setting for choir for the remainder of the verse; the remaining odd numbered verses are then set for choir, with the even verses presumably sung in chant. In this collection, in particular, the four-part vocal writing is simple, with homophonic treatment occasionally moving into what could be described almost as a psalm-tone harmonisation in falsobordone as in the following extract from the psalm Dixit Dominus:

Fig. 5.13 Anon., *Dixit Dominus*, v.5 [I-Rn Mss. Ges.1658, f.1^v - 2^r]



It is likely that the upper voices would have been embellished according to the practice of the time, as typified in, for example, Allegri's *Miserere*. Any of the castrati of

the Papal Chapel, Rosini included, would have been skilled in adding this form of vocal embellishment, which was particularly associated with Roman performance style. Indeed, in 1615, Francesco Severi, a soprano in the Papal Chapel and a contemporary of Rosini, published in Rome his *Salmi passaggiati per tutte le voci nella maniera che si cantano in Roma sopra i falsi bordoni di tutti i tuoni ecclesiastici, da cantarsi ne i vespri della domenica e delli giorni festivi di tutto l'anno, con alcuni versi di Miserere sopra il falso bordo* ('Psalm passages for all voices in the manner sung in Rome above the *falsi bordoni* on all the ecclesiastical tones to sing at Sunday vespers and all the feast days throughout the year, with some verses of the *Miserere* above the *falso bordo*'), a volume that instructed singers on how to add embellishments 'in the Roman manner'. ³⁸¹

The five psalms of this collection were transcribed by the same professional copyist with calligraphic initial letters and carefully formed diamond note-heads. Likewise the two psalm settings in I-Rn Gesuiti 1659, *Domine probasti me* (24), one of the longest vesper psalms sung on feasts of apostles and evangelists, and *Laudate pueri Dominum* (Ps. 112), sung at vespers on feastdays and Sundays, are in the hand of a copyist and show an even higher level of decoration for the initial letters. The beginning of *Domine probasti me*, which does not quote the initial chant but starts with the second half of the verse, *Tu cognovisti* ..., provides the only date among the three 'Gesuiti' manuscripts which all share similarities in size and binding. Within the initial 'T' the date 1607 is inscribed, possibly the date of the copy.

The style is the same, with alternate verses set in a predominantly homophonic style. The accumulation of these individual psalm settings for liturgical use at the Chiesa Nuova corroborates the possibility that the music performed at vespers included a variety of settings and styles even within a single vesper service. Such an approach to the selection

³⁸¹ Mattias Lundberg, *Tonus Peregrinus: The History of a Psalm-tone and its use in Polyphonic Music*, (Farnham Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2011), 196-197.

of music for vespers would undoubtedly influence both composers and publishers in providing collections of vesper psalms from which choirs might select appropriate settings as required. From the surviving music of the Chiesa Nuova the setting of ten vesper psalms by Victoria in I-Rn Mss. Mus. 130 (39) and the anonymous collection of twenty-one psalms included in the incomplete set of partbooks of I-Rn Mss. Mus. 9-12 (27) confirm this idea.

Victoria's set was prepared for future publication but does not provide, as a unit, a complete set of psalms for a specific vesper service. Their origins and how they were acquired by the Chiesa Nuova via Soto have already been discussed. They were clearly not given to the Chiesa Nuova primarily for performance there but, having looked now at other vesper settings housed at the Chiesa Nuova, with a likewise variety of psalm settings in one collection, it becomes apparent that Victoria's settings would have proved useful and it is likely that some, if not all of the psalm settings, could have been performed, although not together in a single office of vespers.

An overview reveals some superficial differences between Victoria's compositions and those psalm settings already considered: in four of the psalms he sets even verses rather than odd verses and in four he writes for *voci pari* - equal voices using clefs: C^1 , C^1 , C^1 , C^3 . The ten psalms are as follows:

- 1. Psalm 109 Dixit Dominus (Primi Toni) odd verses.
- 2. Psalm 110 Confitebor (Quarti Toni) odd verses.
- 3. Psalm 111 Beatus vir (Octavi Toni) even verses.
- 4. Psalm 112 Laudate pueri (Sesti Toni) even verses, equal voices.
- 5. Psalm 116 Laudate Dominum (Tertii Toni) even verses.
- 6. Psalm 147 Lauda Jerusalem (Septimi Toni) odd verses.
- 7. Psalm 110 Confitebor (Quarti Toni) even verses, equal voices.
- 8. Psalm 111 Beatus vir (Octavi Toni) odd verses, equal voices.
- 9. Psalm 126 Nisi Dominus (Sesti Toni) odd verses, equal voices.
- 10. Psalm 115 Credidi (Sesti Toni) odd verses.

³⁸² See this thesis, Chapter II, 45-48.

Victoria's writing for equal voices is extremely rare. In the totality of his motet writing only four motets are for four equal voices. Maybe the priests' and boys' choir attached to the *Monasterio de las Delcalzas de Santa Clara de la Cruz de la Villa de Madrid* where Victoria was employed as chaplain to Empress Maria on his return to Spain in 1587, and where he may have acted occasionally as *maestro*, encouraged him to explore different vocal sonorities. Alternatively, with his intention of publication, he may have been making the collection more attractive to a wider number of establishments.

When we take a more detailed look at the music, it is noticeable that, although Victoria makes use of homophonic textures, passages in *falsobordone* hardly appear. Instead, there is far greater use of imitative counterpoint, voice pairing in thirds and imitative melisma to decorate the texture as well as a more dramatic approach achieved by frequent changes to and from triple time and strategically placed rests. Victoria frequently paraphrases the chant melody, with either a paraphrase of the second half of the chant following the plainchant intonation or, starting with a setting of the first verse, without an intonation, but with a paraphrase of the beginning of the chant melody, as seen in his setting of the final psalm of the collection, *Credidi* (Ps. 115), which also illustrates most of the features noted above.³⁸⁵

Certainly Victoria's vesper psalms surpass the more modest settings found in the other manuscripts. There is one more collection, however, I-Rn Mss. Mus. 9-12 (27), that also displays more polyphonic artifice. Unfortunately, the name of the composer is not provided and the partbook for the bass voice is missing. The four surviving partbooks are clearly labelled on the covers as: Quintus, Cantus, Altus and Tenor. The alto part has a full-page index listing eighteen psalms, all for CATB, and two Magnificats. Two vesper

³⁸³ Eugene Casjen Cramer, *Studies in the Music of Tomás Luis de Victoria* (Oxford: Routledge, 2017), 250. ³⁸⁴ Ibid.. 264.

³⁸⁵ A full transcription of Victoria's Ten Vesper Psalms are available with modern updates at: http://imslp.org/wiki/10_Vespers_Psalms_(Victoria,_Tom%C3%A1s_Luis_de) (accessed 19 June 2017).

hymns, Lucis Creator optime (f.6), for Sunday Vespers, and Audi benigne Conditor (f.13), for Sunday Vespers in Lent, precede each Magnificat, but are not included in the index. Also missing from the index are eight Marian antiphons, seven for five voices, and a second set of the three very common vesper psalms: Dixit Dominus, Confitebor tibi and Beatus vir, also for five voices. As the index fills a page, it is possible that there was originally a second page. As it stands, this one-page index provides not only the page reference and the number of voices required, but also the mode for each psalm, making it a very serviceable reference tool for choosing appropriate psalm settings from the collection to suit the particular Sunday or feastday that was being celebrated (See Fig. 5.14). The collection is a comprehensive one, providing settings required for most major feastdays and all Sundays throughout the year. The index and the music are all in the same hand and, although carefully written, the music is not in the elaborate script as was seen in the 'Gesuiti' manuscripts: the note heads are round and not diamond shaped and, although care is taken with the initial letters, they are only moderately decorative. It is possible that the copies were made by a priest of the Oratory and, as no composer is mentioned, the music may have been composed by another member of the congregation. It is equally possible that they are in the hand of the composer.

There is a consistency of style that goes beyond the format of the generally conventional approach of setting alternate verses of the psalms, magnificats and hymns, that suggests a single composer. With the addition of a reconstructed bass line, a transcription of the first setting of *Dixit Dominus Domino* reveals the skill of the composer in using a variety of compositional styles within a single psalm setting. Whilst the conclusion of verse 1, following the opening chant, appears to present a balance with a simple harmonised melody, the homophony of verse 3, whilst incorporating some imitation

³⁸⁶ See Appendix 7, Transcriptions, no.7.

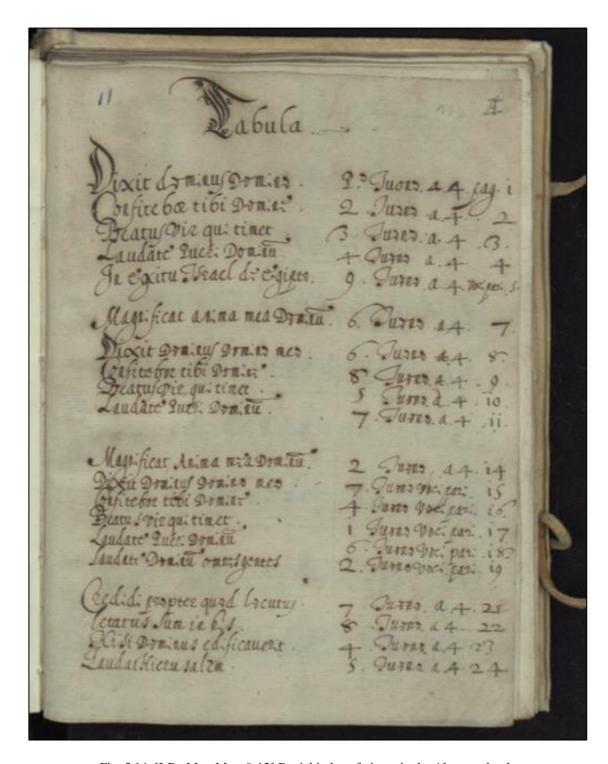


Fig. 5.14 [I-Rn Mss. Mus. 9-12] Partial index of pieces in the Altus partbook.

in the voices, provides the possibility for vocal decoration over the slow-moving harmony. In contrast, verse 5 presents a more vigorous style with a change to triple metre followed by rising imitative phrases for verse 7. The final *Gloria Patri*, with its sweeping lines and long sustained notes, provides a climax that would be well-suited to the vast open spaces of a large church.

This very useful set of vesper music could have been written especially for the Chiesa Nuova. The fact that the composer is not given suggests, as mentioned, a member of the Congregation, but one who was adept in writing in contrapuntal style. Based on what we know, this rules out Soto, who would have been well-versed in that style as a performer, but appears to have only composed simple laude. The most likely candidate is Martini. We know that in 1627 it was recorded that 5 scudi was paid to Rosini for copying his music, ³⁸⁷ but none of his music has been identified among the surviving music from the Chiesa Nuova. A printed collection of his motets was listed in the 1608 inventory but this now appears to be lost. ³⁸⁸ He was described by Giovanni Francesco Anerio as 'uno de' megliori compositori c'habbia l'età nostra' ['one of the best composers of the time'], ³⁸⁹ and surviving music, including laude, *concertato* motets and polychoral pieces, suggest that he was skilled in writing in a variety of styles, albeit in a rather conservative manner. ³⁹⁰

Another collection of vesper music, twenty-three vesper psalms and a magnificat in the manuscript choirbook I-Rn Mss. Mus. 132 (41), also presents uncertainties regarding authorship. A title page (f.2^r) following the index page (f.1^r) provides a composer for the first psalm setting: DIXIT DOMINUS / A QUATTRO / DEL ANERIO. As this appears to be the only extant copy of this setting of the psalm, it is difficult to say with certainty

³⁸⁷ Appendix 6, 8 January 1627. I-Rf, C. I. 6, Quinto Libro de' Decreti, p.144.

³⁸⁸ See Appendix 2, Inventory of 1608.

³⁸⁹ Aringhi, Vitae, 58.

³⁹⁰ Noel O'Regan, 'Martini, Francesco', *Grove Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com, (accessed 21 November 2016).

which of the two Anerio brothers was the composer. In addition, as the collection appears to have been copied together, with the second psalm starting on the reverse folio of the final page of *Dixit Dominus*, is it likely that the psalms that follow are by a different composer? An entry in the 1794 inventory, *Dixit Dominus a Quattro dell'Anerio volume uno in folio*, provides no additional information.³⁹¹ Morelli identifies the composer of this *Dixit Dominus* as Giovanni Francesco Anerio but without any justification.³⁹²

Like the previous collection, this set, with its index clearly listing the number of voices and folio numbers for each psalm, appears to be designed to offer appropriate settings for vespers on Sundays and feast days (See fig. 5.15). The first five psalms provide a complete set for Sunday vespers and a comparison of these psalms shows great similarities that go beyond the shared characteristics of structural layout and thus suggest that they belong together and were written by the same composer. They all follow the fairly standard practice of an opening incipit followed by the setting of alternate verses, but there are other features that link them together: firstly, their predominantly homophonic texture that is loosened to a degree by delaying individual entries and the use of crotchet runs, common to all voices, even the bass; secondly, a similarity in rhythmic features, particularly in the interpolation of momentary passages in triple time and thirdly, there is a noticeable attention to word-setting with the repetition of individual words to give emphasis and highlight a particular part of the text.

If it appears that these psalms are by the same composer, can we be certain that the Anerio referred to is the younger brother, Giovanni Francesco? Whilst the larger amount of the manuscript music that survives from the Chiesa Nuova was composed by him, in those

³⁹¹ See Appendix 3 for a transcription of: I-Rf B.VI.18, f. f.6^v: *Dixit Dominus a Quattro dell'Anerio volume uno in folio.*

³⁹² Catalogo del fondo musicale della Biblioteca nazionale centrale Vittorio Emanuele 2. di Roma / introduzione storica di Arnaldo Morelli (Rome: Consorzio Iris per la valorizzazione dei beni librari, 1989).

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Dixit dis dio meo
                             a4 acaz
 Confitebor
                            a 4 ac
 Beatus vir
                            a4 ac
 Landate' pueri
                            a 4 ac
                            a 4 ac
 In exitu
 Credidi
                            a 4 ac
 Laudate Dnm ones gentes
                            a 4 ac
Letatus sum in bis
Nisi Dominus
                            a4 ac
                            å å ac
Beatis omnes
                            a 4 ac
Deprofundis
                            a 4 ac 35
 Memento Dne
                            a 4 ac
 Confiteboz
                            a 4 ac 43
Lauda: Hierufalem
Domine Probasti
                            a 4 ac $3
                            a 4 ac 46
                            a 4 ac 56
 Dixit Dns
 Confirebor
                            a 6 ac 65
 Lauda Hierufalem
                            a 6 ac >3
 Dixit Dums
                            a 8 ac 82
                            a 8 ac 89
 Confitebor
                            a 8 ac
 Beatus Viz
  Laudate pueri
                            a 8 ac 106
 Magnificat
                            a sac 113
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Fig. 5.15 [I-Rn Mss. Mus. 132, f.1r.] Index of pieces.

copies where his name is given, either by the copyist,³⁹³ or by what appears to be a later hand,³⁹⁴ his full name is provided in every case. Was this to avoid confusion with his older brother, Felice, who, from 1594, held the prestigious post of composer to the Papal Chapel? Would the labeling 'Anerio' obviously refer to the latter just because he was the older brother and already a well-established as a composer?

Whilst similar stylistic features found in these psalms create a cohesion that suggests a single composer, these are features that are found in the vesper settings of many composers at that time, including those of both Felice and Giovanni Francesco Anerio. A texture that enabled clarity in word setting was a focus for many composers in post-Tridentine Rome. As early as 1566, Paolo Animuccia had written to his brother, Giovanni, of his understanding that the Pope would wish to reform the music of the Papal Chapel so that the words could be understood. Another important consideration, however, was the acoustics of large churches, such as the Chiesa Nuova, where homophonic settings might create imposing or even dramatic effects. This led to less complex polyphony and much greater use of homophony.

In this collection there is careful attention to the expression of the words throughout as, for example, in verse 7 of the psalm *Domine probasti me*, where the text 'Si ascendo in caelum, tu illic es: si descendero in infernum, ades' ('If I ascend to heaven, you are there: if I descend to hell, you are there'), is treated with the rising and falling passages that we might associate with madrigal style, showing an overlap in secular and sacred idioms that was not uncommon:

³⁹³ See I-Rn Mss. Mus. 131, 151, 152.

³⁹⁴ See I-Rn Mss. Mus. 143, 144.

³⁹⁵ Richard Sherr, 'A Letter from Paolo Animuccia: A Composer's Response to the Council of Trent', *Early Music*, 12 (1984), 1: 74-78; here, 76.

Fig. 5.16 Ps.138, *Domine probasti me* [I-Rn Mss. Mus. 132, f. 48^v - 49^r].



When considering the harmonic style, there are elements that show similarity with other works by Felice Anerio – in particular the use of notes outside of the ecclesiastical mode, primarily to achieve heightened intensity, as in the following two extracts (Figs. 5.17 and 5.18). The first is the beginning of verse 7 from the opening psalm of this collection, *Dixit Dominus*, which we know is attributed to 'Anerio', and the second is Felice Anerio's *Astiterunt reges terrae* from his settings of Responsories for Holy Week. The settings of *Judicabit in nationibus* ['He will judge nations'] and *Astiterunt reges terrae* ['The kings of the earth'], whilst expressing an analogous sentiment, show unmistakable similarity not only in texture but, even more strikingly, in the opening harmonic progression:

³⁹⁶ Felice Anerio, *Responsoria ad lectiones divini officii...sanctae hebdomadae*, (Rome: Zannetti, Aloisio 1606).

Fig. 5.17 *Ps. 109, Dixit Dominus*, verse 7 [I-Rn Mss. Mus. 132, f.3^v - 4^r].

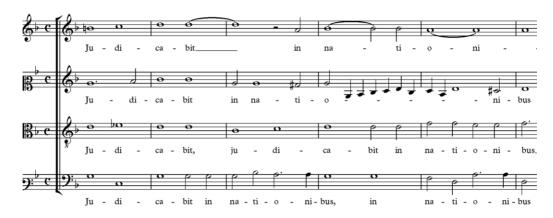


Fig. 5.18 F. Anerio, Astiterunt reges terrae, from Responsoria ad lectiones divini officii...sanctae hebdomadae, 1606 (b. 1-4).



Once again, however, such features were equally common in the music of others at that time and do not present a convincing argument that the composer of the whole collection is Felice Anerio.

More persuasive, however, is the fact that here are other sources for two of the psalms that name Felice Anerio as the composer. The setting of *Memento Domine* (f. 39^v - 44^r) was included in Proske's *Musica Divina* vol. III (1859) attributed to Felice Anerio.³⁹⁷ Proske's source was a manuscript in the collection from the Palazzo Altemps, a collection that was at that time stored in the library of the Collegio Romano.³⁹⁸ The discovery of Felice Anerio's music in that collection would be likely, as during his time as composer to

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³⁹⁷ Carl Proske, *Musica Divina* vol. III (Regensburg: 1859), 143. Available at: http://imslp.org/wiki/Musica_Divina_ (Accessed 16 June 2016).

³⁹⁸ Ibid., x.

the Papal Chapel he was also employed as *maestro di cappella* by Duke Giovanni Angelo Altemps, who maintained his own chapel.³⁹⁹

A second psalm from the collection, a setting of *Dixit Dominus* (f.81^v- 87^r) for eight voices arranged as two CATB choirs, begins with choir 1 with an exact restatement of the first verse of the first psalm of this collection (f.2^v- 4^r), which was clearly attributed to 'Anerio' at the beginning of the collection. Whilst this later double-choir setting will be discussed in relation to polychoral music sung at the Chiesa Nuova, the link between the two psalms has a bearing on the identification of the composer for this whole collection. The 8-voice setting exists among the copies made by Santini in the 1850s. Santini's source is not indicated, but his copy clearly gives Felice Anerio as the composer. ⁴⁰⁰

These latter considerations point strongly to possibility that Felice Anerio was the composer of all twenty-three psalms, which, like I-Rn Mss. Mus. 9-12, would have provided the Chiesa Nuova with a useful collection of psalm settings that could easily have been performed by a small choir. The additional four psalms for two choirs at the end of the collection were possibly intended for major feasts or, quite simply, for use when more voices were available.

The final piece in this collection, a setting of the *Magnificat* (112^v-124^r) for five voices (CATTB), is unusual in that the whole of the canticle is set polyphonically rather than just alternate verses, as was the custom in settings for a single choir. For possibly practical reasons relating to timing, the composer avoids expansive treatment in some verses with little, if any, word repetition and, although staggered vocal entries are maintained, any imitation is momentary within a generally homophonic treatment. There are, however, verses where the composer employs a more expansive treatment of the words with the same apparent thought for sonority and expression noted in some of the

³⁹⁹ Klaus Fischer, 'Anerio, Felice', *Grove Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com, (accessed 15 August, 2017).

⁴⁰⁰ Santini-Bibliothek (D-MÜs) SANT Hs 3510 (Nr. 4)

previous psalm settings. This is especially noticeable in the middle verses. In verse 5, 'Et misericordia ejus ...', the composer employs a low sonority for just four voices (ATTB) with a smooth vocal lines and extensive use of melisma. In contrast, verse 6, 'Fecit potentiam ...', bursts in with homophonic, syllabic-treatment with all five voices in triple metre, energetic dotted rhythms and the over-all vocal range extended an octave higher.

Such contrasts of sonority would be extremely effective in the open spaces of the Chiesa Nuova. Whilst there is no conclusive evidence to prove that Anerio, who is the most likely composer, wrote the music specifically for vespers there, clearly this copy, which can be traced back to the Chiesa Nuova and was referred to among the archival material in the inventory of 1794, 401 was made for performance there.

Other Magnificat settings in *stile antico* are small in number among the music acquired after 1608. Besides the printed edition of Lasso's *Octo Cantica Divae Mariae Virginis quorum initium est Magnificat*, ⁴⁰² consisting of very concise settings of even verses in each mode, there are just two manuscript volumes although one of these, I-Rn, Mss. Mus. 126 (36), contains seventeen magnificats, possibly by Felice Anerio and the other, I-Rn, Mss. Mus. 143 (44), includes five settings by Giovanni Francesco Anerio. Considering the number of printed collections of magnificat settings for a single choir in *stile antico* already acquired before 1608, ⁴⁰³ including those by Animuccia, Morales, Lasso, Palestrina and Victoria, it is not surprising that there appears to have been less interest in acquiring others in that style.

The first collection, 17 Magnificats (Mss. Mus. 126), copied by a single hand in choirbook format would, nevertheless, have provided an interesting and useful addition to the music collection at the Chiesa Nuova. Each of these seventeen settings, comprising

⁴⁰¹ Appendix 4 (I-Rf B.VI.18, f. f.6^v): *Dixit Dominus a Quattro dell'Anerio volume uno in folio.*

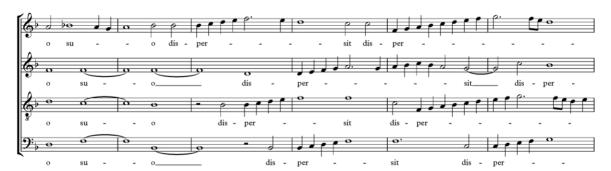
⁴⁰² Orlando di Lasso, *Octo Cantica Divae Mariae Virginis quorum initium est Magnificat* (Paris: Adrian Le Roy & Robert Ballard, 1578).

See Appendix 2, A list of the Music included in the Inventory of 1608, nos. 3 - 7, 15, 22, and 56.

eight settings of odd-numbered verses in each tone, followed by an additional eight settings of even-numbered verses in each tone plus one extra setting of even verses in the 8th tone, is clearly labelled with its relevant tone. The composer's name is not given and, although a 1989 catalogue gives the name of Felice Anerio, 404 RISM claims that the composer is unknown. 405 None of the settings appear to exist in any other source.

Although they are predominantly for four voices, with only two for five voices and two for six, the majority expand in the concluding verse to a five or six-part texture, sometimes with the use of canon. The composer shows the ability to work effectively with a balance of both polyphonic and homophonic textures. The tonality, vocal range, varied textures and melodic shape all contribute to an expressive treatment of the text, with frequent repetition of single words for particular emphasis that is reminiscent of other compositions already referred to by Felice Anerio. Such treatment results in pieces on a much larger scale than would generally be found among the printed copies of magnificats that have been mentioned. The following example from the ninth setting of this collection, with in its staggered entries and repetitions of *dispersit* with melismas that increase in length, shows the composer's spacious treatment of the text (Fig. 5.19):

Fig. 5.19 Magnificat Primi Toni, verse 6 [I-Rn Mss. Mus. 126, f. 39^v-40^r].



Not only does he return to the word again for further elaboration, but he also singles out the reference to *cor* ['heart'] for similar treatment.

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⁴⁰⁴ Catalogo del fondo musicale della Biblioteca nazionale centrale Vittorio Emanuele 2. di Roma / introduzione storica di Arnaldo Morelli (Rome: Consorzio Iris per la valorizzazione dei beni librari, 1989). ⁴⁰⁵ RISM ID no.: 850037266.

In the composer's setting of the word 'humilitatem' from Magnificat Secondi toni, verse 3 (f. 5^v - 7^r), ⁴⁰⁶ the soprano's first entry beginning with that third word of the verse and the repetitions throughout all voices presenting the same falling phrase, creates an inspiring interpretation that seems to go beyond simple word-painting. Such treatment could be seen to relate directly to Oratorian spirituality found in the ideology of Neri, whose life and teaching was permeated by the importance of the virtue of humility, which, due to his influence, was subsequently embodied in the rules of the Congregation as the foundation of Oratory life. 407 Similar expression in art has already been investigated in relation to iconography in the Chiesa Nuova, especially relating to those paintings that were completed during Neri's lifetime. An especially interesting parallel can be found in Federico Barocci's painting of the Visitation, completed in 1586 and a particular favourite of Neri. The painting's composition aimed at projecting Oratorian values in its exaltation of the humble. 408 It is not unreasonable to suggest that a similar approach could be found in the music written to be performed in the Chiesa Nuova by composers such as Felice Anerio, who were influenced by Oratorian spirituality often as the result of their direct contact with Neri.

A more apt comparison in this examination of vesper music can be found in another of Anerio's Magnificat settings included in his *Sacri hymni, et cantica, sive motecta...liber* primus (1596).⁴⁰⁹ Written for double choir, this *Magnificat, secundi toni* is not among the surviving music from the Chiesa Nuova but, as we know Anerio conducted and wrote the music for both vespers and masses marking the anniversary of the death of Neri, it is possible that it was performed in the Chiesa Nuova on such an occasion.

⁴⁰⁶ See Appendix 7, Transcriptions, no. 8, for a transcription of the whole verse of this Magnificat.

⁴⁰⁷ Cardinal Capecelatro in his life of Neri wrote: '... our rule magnifies humility; it is itself humble; it never commands ...', Capecelatro, *The Life of Saint Philip Neri*, vol. II, 66.

⁴⁰⁸ Ian F. Verstegan, *Federico Barocci and the Oratorians* (Missouri: Truman State University Press, 2015),

⁴⁰⁹ Felice Anerio, Sacri hymni, et cantica, sive motecta...liber primus (Venice: Vincenti, Giacomo, 1596).

Although for double choir, this setting has features in common with the collection of seventeen Magnificats for one choir particularly in similarities in word setting and harmonic style and thus adds credence to the theory that Anerio was also the composer of I-Rn Mss. Mus. 126. In the double choir setting from 1596, once again the one word 'humiles' ['the humble'] is singled out above all others for a more expansive and decorative treatment (Fig. 5.20):

Fig. 5.20 Felice Anerio, Magnificat Secundi Toni (verse 3). 410



In this collection of Magnificats, the first sixteen were clearly composed as a set, following the pattern of odd-verse settings for each tone followed by even-verse settings in each tone. In the seventeenth and final setting, *Magnificat Octavi Toni*, the composer sets even verses. It is separated in the copy by three blank folios suggesting that it does not belong with the rest. Here the composer writes for six voices (CCATTB) rather than four and, whilst the music shows similar harmonic and melodic features, it is more concise with a generally homophonic approach. The bass line moves predominantly in fourths and fifths which could be well-suited for an organ *basso continuo*. The six voices enable the composer to use alternating vocal groupings delivering almost a double-choir effect as seen in the opening of verse 6 (f. $78^{v}-79^{r}$). Here the harmonic style, with a strong emphasis on the circle of fifths, passages of pulsating rhythm with much use of repeated

410 Felice Anerio, *Magnificat Secundi Toni*, Trans. & ed. by Martyn Imrie (Vanderbeek & Imrie Ltd., 2006). The editor halves the original note values.

⁴¹¹ See Appendix 7, Transcriptions, no. 9, for a transcription of the whole of verse 6 of this Magnificat.

crotchets and the word-setting presenting syllables on crotchets all contribute to a rather 'modern' approach - very unlike anything Palestrina would have written. Comparisons can be drawn with the music of Giovanni Francesco Anerio, in particular in the final section his double-choir motet Jubilemus in arca Domini Dei. 412

This complete collection of Magnificats in I-Rn Mss. Mus. 126, with their spacious design, would have provided more lavish settings of this prayer, the pinnacle of the office of vespers, than many of those settings in the printed collections owned by the Oratory. This six-voice setting in particular would lend itself well to instrumental accompaniment and could have created a powerful effect in the resonant acoustics of the Chiesa Nuova.

The final collection in this consideration of magnificats in *stile antico* is a group of five settings by Giovanni Francesco Anerio included in I-Rn, Mss. Mus. 143 (44). These five settings are bound together with other music by Anerio: a Te Deum, two Marian antiphons, one for use in Lent (Ave Regina caelorum) and the other for Eastertide (Regina coeli), and a hymn for Christmas vespers: Christe Redemptor omnium. A second hymn, Audi benigne conditor, for vespers in Lent, is by Ioanne Matelart. Together these make a rather eclectic mixture and, although all the music by Anerio is copied by the same hand, the pagination raises the possibility that the *Te Deum* (f. 1^v-5^r) and Marian antiphons (f. 5^v-9^r) may have been bound with the magnificat settings (f. 10^v-20^r) and the first hymn (f. 20^v-21^r) at a later date. Folio 10^r is quite dirty compared with the reverse side suggesting that it had lain unprotected at some time. The presence of Roman numerals - here on folio 1^r (XXXXVI) and folio 22^r (LIII) but not on folio 10^r - that have already been noted on other manuscripts, suggest that at least the hymn by Matelart (f. 22^v - 27^r), which is in a different hand, was bound with the other items later.

There is no way of knowing if this collection of five magnificats, clearly copied in sequence through the five modes starting at the fourth, and setting only odd-numbered

⁴¹² See Appendix 7, Transcriptions, no. 14, bars 66-83.

verses, was ever part of a complete collection of eight, as there appears to be no other source. If settings for the first three modes existed then they were not copied with this collection as folio 10^r, the reverse of the copy of Magnificat Quarti Toni, is blank. All the settings are for four voices and present a generally homophonic treatment of the words matching, in their brevity, similar settings of the time. Whilst going far beyond a simple falsobordone treatment - there is interesting variety in the rhythm and some vocal decoration - these do not appear to be in an expansive style appropriate for an important feast and would possibly have been performed during Lent or Advent or when brevity was required when maybe the focus was on a lengthier settings of other pieces.

Having considered all the surviving psalm and magnificat settings in *stile antico* that were added to the library after 1608, there remains the hymns, sung after the psalms, and the Marian antiphons, with the appropriate antiphon for the season sung at the conclusion of vespers. Outside of Vespers, hymns could also be sung for processions: popular Marian processions and those relating to specific liturgical feasts such as Corpus Christi, when the *Pange lingua* and other hymns were sung during the Blessed Sacrament procession at the end of Mass and before Benediction. The Purification provided another occasion with the singing of Lumen ad revelationem during the procession of candles at first vespers.

Before 1592 the Congregation had obtained the printed collection of hymns for the whole year by Palestrina and Victoria as well as some by Guerrero and Navarro, included with other vesper music. 413 These are all alike in style with predominantly polyphonic settings of alternate verses with the other verses sung with the familiar chant melody. The Hinni e mottetti di Felice Anerio, listed in the 1608 inventory, contains only motets despite its title.414

⁴¹³ See Appendix 1, Inventory of 1592, nos. 8, 9, 10, 16. ⁴¹⁴ See Appendix 2, 52.

Following 1608, the surviving collections of hymns in *stile antico* that were added to the library are all found in manuscript choirbooks and the composers represented are among those active in Rome during the early seventeenth century. Whilst some of these can be linked directly to the Chiesa Nuova, such as Giovanni Francesco Anerio, or Gregorio Allegri and Vincenzo de Grandis with their links via the Papal Chapel, others worked close by, including Antonio Cifra, Ioanne Matelart and Pedro Heredia.

Although none of the collections are dated, it appears that they belong to the first three decades of the seventeenth century as changes to the words of hymns by Pope Urban VIII, as part of his reform of the Breviary, are not seen in any of these manuscript volumes. The revised Breviary, which incorporated the new versions of the hymns, was published in 1631, when the Papal Chapel was required to alter its musical settings. In several cases the surviving music from the Chiesa Nuova includes what appear to be the only extant copies of hymn settings by significant composers of that time.

Such is the case regarding the first of three volumes that contain just hymns. I-Rn Mss. Gesuiti 1657 (22) includes four hymns of which the first two are settings of the hymn for Sunday vespers, *Lucis creator optime*, one by Gregorio Allegri and the second by Vincenzo de Grandis. These are followed by the latter composer's setting of *Veni Creator spiritus*, for vespers on the Feast of Pentecost. The composer of the final hymn, *Pater superni luminis*, for vespers on the Feast of St. Mary Magdalene, is not given.

These four hymns, each in a different hand, appear to have existed separately but were bound together in parchment at an early date, possibly when they became part of the library at the Chiesa Nuova in the early seventeenth century. The first three all have a title page with a different Roman numeral (XXX, XXXXVII and XXXVIIII) at the top right-hand corner, as seen on many of the copies belonging to the Chiesa Nuova. The fourth, in

⁴¹⁵ Frederick Hammond, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome: Barberini Patronage under Urban VIII* (New Haven: Yale University Press,1994), 177.

an impressive script, has large decorative initials with grotesques, each filling almost a quarter of the page (Fig. 5.21).





Fig. 5.21 I-Rn Mss. Gesuiti 1657, f.24^r.

There appears to be no other known source for any of these hymns, although it is recorded that Grandis' *Veni Creator spiritus* was sung for a papal ceremony on 21 May 1616. As an alto member of the Papal Choir from 1605, Grandis would have performed with both Soto and Rosini and maybe through that connection his music was introduced into the repertoire of the Chiesa Nuova. In 1629 Allegri, only five years his junior, also joined the Papal Choir as an alto and is possible that their time overlapped. It could be that not only Allegri, but also Grandis may have sung at the Chiesa Nuova.

All four hymns follow the same pattern of an intonation followed by settings for all the odd-numbered verses. They provide an interesting collection, not only because of their rarity and connections with the Papal Choir, but also because of the skillful polyphonic writing. Allegri's setting of *Lucis creator optime* in particular shows his ability to write with an excellent feel for the rhythmic flow and a sense of climax, as in the closing passage at the end of the first verse (bars 24-29). Allegri was considered a true defender of the *stile antico* and, in 1640, was elected by the members of the Papal Choir to revise Palestrina's hymns following Urban VIII's revision of the texts.

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⁴¹⁶ See 'Music for Papal ceremonies in 1616', in Jean Lionnet, 'Performance Practice in the Papal Chapel during the 17th Century', *Early Music*, 15 (1987), 1: 3-15; here, 14.

⁴¹⁷ See Appendix 7, Transcriptions, no.10

⁴¹⁸ Jerome Roche & Noel O'Regan, 'Allegri, Gregorio', *Grove Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com, (accessed 15 August, 2017).

A second volume, I-Rn Mss. Mus. 148 (46), contains nineteen hymns for four voices, clearly put together as practical collection for use at vespers on Sundays and major feasts throughout the year. The order of the hymns, following the liturgical calendar, suggests that they were copied together as a group although slight variations in handwriting, especially in relation to clefs, indicate two copyists. With the exception of the sixth hymn, Salvete flores martyrum (f. 12^r), which is incomplete, all the hymns share the same features: a clear title indicating usage regarding the feast at the start, the opening standard plainchant for the start of the first verse assigned to tenor or bass, settings of oddnumbered verses only and no indication of the composer. The cover adds nothing further regarding authorship with just a title for the volume on the spine: Inni diversi ('various hymns'). Nine of the hymns are likely to be by Giovanni Matelart as copies of these are ascribed to him by Fortunato Santini in his copies of the 1850s, although Santini does not provide his source. 419 The fact that his copies follow the same chronological order as found in this manuscript, although here other hymns are inserted between, does not necessarily indicate that Santini's source was the Chiesa Nuova as the hymns are ordered liturgically.

Musical style demonstrates a predominantly homophonic approach made more interesting with varying melodic decoration used in all the voices. Each verse is treated differently, although always maintaining the four-voice texture, with often a verse in triple time providing added contrast. We can assume that the even verses were sung to the chant melody, probably by the choir and other members of the clergy, maintaining the style of alternation as used in the magnificat and vesper psalms.

A smaller collection of just four hymns, I-Rn Mss. Mus. 144 (45), includes three hymns by Giovanni Francesco Anerio and one by Pedro de Heredia. Anerio's hymn settings, which appear to have been copied together and consecutively, appear to be in the hand of one of the copyists of the previous collection. Whilst the name 'Anerio' is written

⁴¹⁹ Santini-Bibliothek (D-MÜs) SANT Hs 1218 (49-57).

on the spine of the cover, the composer's full name is written on folio 1^r as well as the Roman numeral: XXXXII. The hymn by Pedro de Heredia, following after several blank folios (f.6^v-8^v), is in a different and unfamiliar hand when compared with all the Chiesa Nuova copies. As the cover of the whole collection appears to be contemporary, it was probably originally bound with Anerio's hymns, but may have come from a different source. It is interesting that Santini made copies of the three hymns by Anerio, and in the same order as they appear in this manuscript, but did not copy Heredia's hymn. ⁴²⁰ He may have simply over-looked it, due to the blank folios, or he copied Anerio's hymns from a different source.

Anerio's contribution provides another setting of *Vexilla regis*, a hymn that was sung not only in Passiontide but also for vespers on the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross. The addition of alternative words for the verse *O Crux Ave*, written in a different hand, indicates this dual role for this hymn. ⁴²¹ The other two hymns by Anerio: *Tristes erant apostoli*, for Feasts of Apostles and Evangelists, and *Aurea luce et decore roseo*, for the Feast of Saints Peter and Paul, are the only settings of these words among the manuscript collections and would thus have provided useful alternatives to those in the printed collections of Palestrina and Victoria. Heredia's setting of the hymn for Sunday vespers, *Lucis creator optime*, provides an additional setting for a hymn sung often. Whilst following the custom of setting the odd verses, his use of triple time for both his first and last verse gives the text a rather exultant tone. Beginning with the traditional chant for the opening words: *Lucis creator optime*, he continues as follows:

⁴²⁰ Santini-Bibliothek (D-MÜs) SANT Hs 1218 (34-36).

⁴²¹ The same alternative can be seen in I-Rn Mss. Mus. 148 (f. 19^v-20^r) but there the writing is in the same hand and presumably at the same time.

Fig. 5. 22 Pedro de Heredia, *Lucis creator optime*, (bars 1-14) [I-Rn Mss. Mus. 144, f. 9^v-10^r].



The build-up, created by the imitative entries, although the polyphony is short-lived, makes this a slightly more expansive composition compared with others that are homophonic from the start.

An approach that is truly in the *stile antico*, however, is found in I-Rn Mus. 125 (35), a setting by Antonio Cifra of the hymn for Second Vespers on the Feast of All Saints: *Placare Christe sevulis*. This single hymn, copied by a professional hand, is bound, unusually, on its own in the original parchment. The usual identifying marks that determine the provenance of the Chiesa Nuova are present, although the Roman numeral (possibly XXXXIII) has been almost totally trimmed off. Beginning with a plainchant incipit, it continues with a four voice polyphonic setting for CATB of verses 1,3,5 and 7. Verse 7, *Chorea casta virginum*, is then repeated with a setting for CCAT. Morelli

suggests that the parts combine to form an eight-part setting for verse 7.⁴²² On closer examination, however, it is clear that the two choir sections do not fit harmonically. There is also the additional fact that the CCAT setting is on the next two pages thus making this choir book copy totally impractical for performance purposes in that format if the eight parts are intended to be sung at the same time. It appears that Cifra is illustrating the text, referring to a heavenly choir, by choosing a higher vocal grouping and prominent rising phrases, thus providing an alternative setting of the words for verse 7:

Fig. 5.23 Antonio Cifra, *Placare Christe servulis*, verse 7 (bars 1-14) [I-Rn Mss. Mus. 125, f. 7^v-8^r].



Dixon points to a similar concern for appropriate sonority to suit the text in Cifra's use of three basses to set *Magi videntes stellam*, the Magnificat antiphon for the first vespers of the Epiphany, and in his use of four sopranos for *Ex ore infantium*. ⁴²³ We cannot rule out the possibility, with the growing interest in creating dramatic effects, that the repeated verse was sung by a separate group of soloists or a semi chorus, separated

 422 Catalogo del fondo musicale della Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele II di Roma (Rome, 1989).

Graham Dixon, 'Progressive Tendencies in the Roman Motet during the Early Seventeenth Century', 110.

from the main choir, although an extra copy would have been needed. The spacious architecture of the Chiesa Nuova would have provided a very dramatic setting.

Another hymn by Cifra is included in I-Rn Gesuiti 1659 (24), a manuscript volume that has already been referred to as it contains settings of vesper psalms. 424 The title, Anerio Inni, written on the spine of the parchment cover, only partially describes the contents and refers to the first items, three hymns by Giovanni Francesco Anerio. Folio 1^r identifies the younger Anerio as the composer as his name is written in ink as well as a Roman numeral: XLIX. The three hymns, all in the same hand, are two settings of Audi benigne conditor, the vesper hymn for Sundays in Lent, and a setting of Pater superni luminis for vespers on the feast of St. Mary Magdalene. Cifra's hymn, which follows the psalms, is clearly identified by a title page (f.32^r) giving the usage: Plurimus Martis -Tempore Paschali (Feasts of Martyrs in Pascal Time), the composer's name and the Roman numeral XXXXIV. All four hymns follow the usual pattern of setting alternate verses, although Cifra's polyphonic setting of *Rex gloriose martyrum* is far more expansive than Anerio's more homophonic approach. Setting only even verses in this 4-verse hymn, he provides a setting of verse 2 that is more motet-like in its proportions, followed by an equally expansive treatment of verse 4, the doxology, where the use of triple metre does not lead him to homophonic treatment, as was commonly the case. 425

A complete contrast in style can be found in Giovanni Francesco Anerio's setting of *Christe redemptor omnium*, included in I-Rn Mss. Mus. 143 (44). 426 This hymn by Anerio provides what appears to be the only surviving example in the archive of a hymn that can be related to the style of the lauda or to hymn-style in the more modern or protestant reformation style. Writing in strophic form, he sets the even verses in four short balanced phrases with homophonic texture and an almost totally syllabic word setting.

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⁴²⁴ See page 167.

⁴²⁵ See Appendix 7, Transcriptions, no. 11, for a complete transcription of Cifra's hymn.

⁴²⁶ See Appendix 7, Transcriptions, no. 12, for a complete transcription of Anerio's hymn.

Decoration is limited to two suspensions. This could easily be an Italian lauda, but for the Latin words, and typical of those printed by Ancina and Soto. Anerio would have had first-hand experience of these simple laude due to his close association with the Oratory during his youth and, as mentioned, he composed works in that tradition for the Roman Oratory.⁴²⁷

Given the context of the laude, is it surprising that composers connected to the Roman Oratory did not provide more examples of this style of hymn writing? To answer this it is necessary to consider how composers of the Tridentine era viewed the role of the hymn. Clearly its purpose was primarily related to the Divine Office, and principally the Office of Vespers, where the progression from the opening *Deus in adjutorium* through the psalms, hymn, Magnificat, prayers and responses and concluding with a Marian antiphon, appropriate to the season, could provide a uninterrupted flow that contributed to the beauty of the liturgy. The style of the majority of the hymns considered would, therefore, correspond with the other musical settings - the antiphons, psalms, magnificat - especially when maintaining what appears to have been the usual practice of alternation with chant for the alternate verses. The hymn in the Roman rite at that time was something very different from our modern concept. There was certainly no thought given to congregational participation with the necessary provision of memorable themes that were easy to sing. Such practices, promoted especially by the Oratory, were confined to the laude tradition for performance outside of the liturgy.

The final piece for the choir in the Office of Vespers was one of four Marian antiphons, chosen according to the liturgical season.⁴²⁸ Whilst there was the choice of the

⁴²⁷ See page 82.

⁴²⁸ The rubrics, according to the Tridentine rite, proscribed the *Alma Redemptoris*, from Vespers on the Saturday before the first Sunday of Lent until the second Vespers of the Purification, the *Ave Regina caelorum*, from Compline of the Purification to Compline of the Wednesday in Holy Week, the *Regina Caeli*, from Compline of Easter Sunday until Compline of the Friday after the feast of Pentecost and the *Salve Regina* from Compline of the Saturday before the feast of the Most Holy Trinty until the Friday before the first Sunday of Advent.

plainchant settings, each set with the choice of a simple or solemn tone, the Chiesa Nuova already possessed by 1608 settings in a variety of styles including double choir settings by Victoria and Asprillo Pacelli, ⁴²⁹ settings for six voices by Juan Navarro, ⁴³⁰ and another collection by Pacelli for four voices, described by the composer in his preface as 'fatti per concerti con Organo, quali oggi di si usano in Roma' ('composed more as concerti with organ, such as is nowadays the custom in Rome'). ⁴³¹

With so many choices among the printed collections already obtained by 1608, it is not surprising that few settings in *stile antico* of these Marian antiphons appear to have been added to the music library after that date. Whilst settings in *stile antico* of the more lengthy parts of the liturgy, especially the psalms and the Magnificat, where the structure called for alternation, could be of value on occasions where voices were limited in either skill or numbers or when more time was needed to allow for a more expansive musical setting of another part of the liturgy, the text of the Marian antiphons, compared with psalms and the Magnificat was short. Evidence suggests that composers and performers were prompted to provide a more spacious setting of the Marian texts. This will become even more apparent when considering the music in other styles added to the library after 1608. The indication from the surviving music from the Chiesa Nuova is that composers writing after 1600 also looked to a more modern and imposing style or at least that was what was favoured by the Oratorians.

There are just two manuscript collections amongst the music obtained after 1608 that can be described as being in *stile antico* that include Marian antiphons. The first, I-Rn Mss. Mus. 143 (44), which was discussed in relation to Giovanni Francesco Anerio's five

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⁴²⁹ Appendix 2, item 6: Victoria, *Cantica B. Virginis vulgo Magnificat quatuor vocibus. Una cum quatuor antiphonis B. V. per annum: quae quidem, partim quinis, partim octonis vocibus concinuntur,* (Rome: Domenico Basa, 1581) and item 31: Pacelli, *Motectorum et psalmorum qui octonis vocibus concinuntur liber primus.* (Rome: Nicolò Mutii, 1597).

primus, (Rome: Nicolò Mutii, 1597).

430 Ibid., item 15: Navarro, Psalmi, hymni ac Magnificat totius anni...quatuor, quinque ac sex vocibus...necnon B. V....antiphonae in finem horarum dicendae, (Rome: Francesco Coattino,1590).

431 Ibid., item 34: Pacelli, Chorici psalmi, et motecta quatuor vocibus, liber primus, (Rome: Nicolò Mutii, 1599).

settings of the Magnificat and then again with reference to his hymn setting, 432 includes four-voice settings by Anerio of the Ave Regina Caelorum (f. 5^v-7^r) and the Regina Caeli (f. 7^v-9^r). As this manuscript appears to be the only source for both pieces, other than copies by Santini, 433 it is possible that Anerio, with his close connections to the Chiesa Nuova, composed these for performance there and, although not dated, their similarity of style suggests that they were both composed around the same time.

Anerio's focus on the importance of the words is apparent throughout both. Whilst not missing the obvious opportunities for word painting at the mention of 'heaven', he gives maximum expression to the words by taking each phrase and creating a new idea with varied textures and rhythms, occasionally achieving an almost madrigal-like setting, particularly noticeable with the longer text of the Ave regina caelorum at the words super omnes speciosa, vale, o valde decora where he increases the pace and uses syncopation within the homophonic texture until he restores a degree of solemnity with 'old style' imitative entries at *Christum exora*. In both antiphons an impact is made with a change to triple metre with very similar treatment for the key statements: 'Gaude Virgo gloriosa' ('Rejoice glorious virgin') in Ave Regina Caelorum, and 'Resurrexit sicut dixit' ('He has risen as he said') in Regina Caeli. Neither begins with the customary plainchant intonations, although the cantus in the Regina Caeli starts with a reference to the familiar chant.

The second manuscript collection that contains settings of the Marian antiphons is the incomplete collection of partbooks, I-Rn Mss. Mus. 9-12 (27). 434 Once again, as mentioned, these were probably written specifically for performance at the Chiesa Nuova. Also, the suggestion that this concluding antiphon gave the opportunity for a slightly more extravagant treatment can be seen here in the composer's providing the opportunity of

⁴³² Pages 182-183 and 190.

 ⁴³³ Santini-Bibliothek (D-MÜs) SANT Hs 1218 (37-38).
 434 See the description of these partbooks earlier in this chapter, 169-70.

settings for a greater number of vocal parts than he used in the psalms. His eight settings, which include all the antiphons needed to cover the complete liturgical cycle, comprise three settings of *Salve Regina* (4v., 5v., 6v.), three of the *Alma Redemptoris* (4v., 5v., 5v.) and single settings of *Ave Regina caelorum* and *Regina caeli*, both for six voices.

Unlike the Anerio settings, these are more strictly in the true *stile antico*. In, for example, the *Regina caeli*, written for CAQQTB, the composer makes skillful use of canon, labelled as *Canon a subdiatessaron* (canon at the fourth), between the cantus and second quintus parts with a paraphrase of the chant melody. His handling of the vocal parts indicates a composer who was, above all, skilled in contrapuntal techniques:

Fig. 5.24 Anon., Regina caeli, v.6, b. 1-13 [I-Rn Mss.Mus. 9-12: CAT: f.52^v, Q f.23^v-24^r, B: reconstructed].



The music acquired for Holy Week before 1608 was noted as being quite limited and, as mentioned, this may have been due to regular singers being required for Papal ceremonies. The collection of Holy Week music in I-Rn Mss. Mus. 77-88 has also been mentioned as possibly part of the library before 1608. After this date, however, besides the

Passion settings by Soriano that were purchased in 1620, 435 there are two interesting collections that survive, which suggest a greater emphasis was being placed on the music during Holy Week, and implying a greater availability of singers.

The first of these is a complete set for four voices of all the twenty-seven Responsories for the Divine Office in Holy Week as well as settings of the 'turba' for the St. Matthew and the St. John Passions all composed by Giovanni Francesco Anerio and dated 1596 (48). Unfortunately this manuscript choirbook is in a very poor state and there appears to be no other copy. ⁴³⁶ Only the final Responsory for Holy Saturday, *Sepulto Domino*, provided legible parts for all four voices and a transcription gives some indication as to Anerio's style in setting these very solemn texts. ⁴³⁷ He chose a simple homophonic style, quite subdued and with less variety than seen in much of his other music. The fact that he also includes choral settings for the Passions gives further proof that the Passions during Holy Week in the Chiesa Nuova were sung and there were, by that time, enough voices to sing choir settings of the *turba*.

The second collection is Felice Anerio's setting of the Responsories, also for four voices, but in printed partbooks: *Responsoria ad lectiones diuini officij feriae quartae*, *quintae*, & *sextae*, *sanctae hebdomadae*, 1606 (64). ⁴³⁸ This collection, in providing a complete setting of the whole cycle of twenty-seven texts, is rare among printed collections. Lassus, Victoria and Gesualdo provided composed music for six from each day and Palestrina did not provide settings of any. Anerio's settings show the same dramatic response to the text as has been seen in his other music among the collections in the Chiesa Nuova, with interesting harmonies and vocal lines and sudden rhythmic shifts - imaginative touches that are hard to equate with the style of Palestrina and the *stile antico*.

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⁴³⁵ See Appendix 6, 28 April 1620.

⁴³⁶ A copy by Santini of Anerio's *Caligaverunt oculi mei*: Santini-Bibliothek (D-MÜs SANT) Hs 1202 (Nr. 39) is not from this collection.

⁴³⁷ See Appendix 7, Transcriptions, no. 13.

⁴³⁸ This collection is now available in modern edition: Felice Anerio, *Responsories for Matins (Tenebrae)*, transcribed and editied by Martyn Imrie (Lewis: Vanderbeek & Imrie Ltd.), 2009.

In this extract from *Vinea mea electa*, the third Responsory for Good Friday, Anerio achieves an intense expression of *amaritudinem* ('bitterness') in the paired voices moving in contrary motion and an expressive use of dissonance.

Fig. 5.25 F.Anerio, Vinea mea electa, bars 10-13, Responsoria ad lectiones diuini officij feriae quartae, quintae, & sextae, sanctae hebdomadae, 1606. 439



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⁴³⁹ Transcribed from: Felice Anerio, *Responsories for Matins (Tenebrae) on Good Friday*, no. xii, transcribed and editied by Martyn Imrie (Lewis: Vanderbeek & Imrie Ltd.), 2009. The editor halves the original note values and raises the pitch by a tone.

3. Polychoral music

It has already been established that polychoral music was performed in the Chiesa Nuova from at least the late 1590s onwards. Reference has been made to the music for several choirs that was performed under Felice Anerio's direction for the anniversaries of the death of Filippo Neri, although we have no knowledge as to what music was performed on these occasions. Also, as indicated by the 1608 inventory, in the years around 1600 copies were possibly made of music for three choirs by Palestrina, Zoilo, Giovannelli and Maque, and printed partbooks were purchased of music for two choirs by Felice Anerio (51), Giovannelli (51) and Pacelli (31).

With the addition of a second fixed organ, possibly as early as 1617 when, on 23 December, Francesco Martini was given the money to pay *mastro Giovanni* for tuning the two organs in the church, ⁴⁴¹ and certainly built by the time of Neri's canonisation in 1623, as evidenced by the painting by Andrea Sacchi, ⁴⁴² plus the construction of the passageway in 1613 to enable singers to move from one gallery to another, ⁴⁴³ the indications are that the performance of music for two or more choirs became more prevalent in the period after 1608. Even before the installation of a second organ, there are references to payments in 1609 and 1612 for the moving of a small organ into one of the galleries. ⁴⁴⁴ It remains to investigate the surviving music to see what that reveals regarding the extent to which polychoral music was sung in the liturgy at the Chiesa Nuova during the years up to 1644, the composers whose music was favoured by the Oratorians and what that music was like.

There can be no doubt that any increase in the performance of music for more than one choir would have been facilitated by the increased availability of printed partbooks,

⁴⁴⁰ I-Rn. Mss.Mus.117-121with I-Rsc. G.Mss 792-795

⁴⁴¹ I-Ras, Orat., 298, Giornale dell'Entrata e dell'Uscita [1612-1617], c. 148^r.

⁴⁴² Oil on canvas, 98x74 cm, Pinacoteca, Musei Vaticani, Citta del Vaticano. See Fig.3.14

⁴⁴³ I-Rf, C. I. 5, *Libro quarto de' decreti*, 334, 7 December 1613.

⁴⁴⁴ I-Ras, Orat., 297, *Giornale dell'Entrata e dell'Uscita*, p.150 and I-Ras, Orat., *Registro de' mandati del P. Ministro*, [1603-1616], c. 229^r.

which, among the surviving polychoral music from after 1608, out-number the manuscript sources. Of these, the majority are for two CATB choirs with a *bassus ad organum*. Indeed, it was generally the case that music for just two choirs was more frequently published, being more saleable, as churches with just eight singers would be capable of performing it. Music for more than two choirs was reserved for special feasts due to the costs involved in hiring more singers and the music was frequently circulated in manuscript parts that, with the passing of time, could be more easily lost or destroyed.⁴⁴⁵

While surviving sources point to the likelihood that music for two choirs was often performed in the Chiesa Nuova, there is evidence, from the music sources, that music for three and four choirs was also performed. Several printed editions survive, with music by Cifra (65), Soriano (68) and Ugolini (72), and there are also some manuscript partbooks: the incomplete set, I-Rn Mss.Mus.33-34, 40-46 (28), including antiphons and motets for three choirs, as well as the three-choir arrangements of masses by Palestrina (1, 2 & 3). It is very likely, however, that the present holdings only represent a portion of the original music library and that hand-written partbooks, in particular, have not survived. As an example, the double-choir mass by G. F. Anerio, *Missa Surge et illuminare*, which Santini stated was in the archive of the Chiesa Nuova and from which he made a copy, is now lost.⁴⁴⁶

The vogue for polychoral liturgical music in Rome, as explored by Noel O'Regan and Graham Dixon, 447 coupled with the tremendous prominence of the Chiesa Nuova, particularly during the years of the beatification and subsequent canonisation of Filippo Neri, points to the possibility that there would have been more polychoral music in the original holdings. This possibility can be supported by the references to monies paid for

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⁴⁴⁵ Graham Dixon, 'The Origins of the Roman "Colossal Baroque", *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 106 (1979-80), 115-28; here, 117.

⁴⁴⁶ D-MÜs, SANT Hs 1215 (Nr. 1).

⁴⁴⁷ See, for example: Noel O'Regan, 'Sacred Polychoral Music in Rome, 1575-1621', and Graham Dixon, ibid..

copying music throughout the period and the close association of musicians who had good knowledge of the polychoral style in Rome, either as performers or, as in the case of the Anerios and Giovannelli, as composers.

The table below (Fig. 5.26) lists the extant sources although item 3, the *Missa Papae Marcelli* for three choirs, as previously mentioned, has been lost in recent times.

Fig. 5.26 A table of surviving double choir and polychoral music from the Chiesa Nuova.

My ref. ⁴⁴⁸	Composer	Title on source	Format	Date
1	Anon	Missa Sine Nomine	18 manuscript partbooks	n.d.
2	Anon.	Missa Aspice Domine	14 manuscript partbooks	n.d.
3	Anon.	Missa Papae Marcelli	18 manuscript partbooks (now lost)	n.d.
12	Lorenzo Ratti	Litanae beatissimae virginis Mariae	Printed partbooks 2 of 9 (CI + b.c.)	1630
14	Stephano Bernardio	Psalmi octonis vocibus opus decimum quartum	9 Printed partbooks	1632
18	G. F. Anerio	Litaniae deiparae Virginis	9 printed partbooks	1611
19	Vincenzo Ugolini	Psalmi ad vesperas	9 printed partbooks	1628
21	L. Ratti	Musicae praefecti sacrae modulationes	8 partbks. 3 vols. bound together.	1628
28	Bartolomeo Le Roy, Giovanni Battista Locatello, Giovanni Maria Nanino, Felice Anerio, Asprillo	No title [Antiphons and motets]	9 mss. partbooks from original 12.	n.d.

 $^{^{\}rm 448} See$ reference in Appendix 5 for full details.

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	Pacelli, Ruggero Giovanelli, Stefano Nascimbeni, Bernadino Nanino, Luca Marenzio, Palestrina and anon.			
37	F. Anerio, Palestrina, Dentice	Improperii e miserere	2 choirbooks	n.d.
65	G.F. Anerio, A. Cifra	Litaniae deiparae Virginis, septem, octonisque vocibus bound with: Litaniae Deiparae Virginis, octonis, et duodenis vocibus decantandae	Printed partbooks	1611
68	F. Soriano	Psalmi et mottecta quae octo, duodecim et sexdecim vocibus concinuntur liber secundus	Printed partbooks	1616
72	V. Ugolini	Motecta et missae octonis et duodenis vocibus cum basso ad organumliber primus	Printed partbooks	1622
73	V. Grandis	Psalmi ad vesperas, et motecta octonis vocibus quorum aliqua concertata cum litanijs liber primus	Printed partbooks	1624

All the music listed would have enabled the spatial division of the choirs. Although the Holy Week music by Palestrina, Anerio and Dentice (37) is the only music not in partbooks, the format of a separate choirbook for each of the two choirs would still allow the choirs to be apart. It can also be assumed that, due to the fact that there are only single copies of each part, the choirs were small, most likely just one to a part. The only exception to this is the two copies of the parts for Choir III (CATB) in the *Missa Sine Nomine* (1) and the *Missa Papae Marcelli* (3). This suggests that Choir III would be larger

or possibly made up of two separated choirs singing the same music, thus presenting, visually, four choirs.

Although evidence suggests that the music for *cori spezzati* before 1608 was accompanied, the printing of a separate organ part was rare. With these post-1608 editions, however, there is a separate organ part with figuring. All of these, with the exception of Bernardio's *Psalmi octonis vocibus* (14), are referred to as *bassus ad organum*, indicating that they are likely to be no more than a *basso seguente*, follow the lowest sounding voice at any point, rather than adding an additional line to the texture. Bernardio's organ bass, however, is given the name *basso continuo*, implying that the organ part may have a degree of independence from the vocal bass. Printed in 1632, this is the latest of the works within this collection of polychoral music from the Chiesa Nuova up to 1644 that has survived, and will provide an interesting comparison with the earlier works.

The two choirbooks containing music for the Holy Week liturgy (37) would, of course, have no organ part, but the handwritten partbooks containing a collection of antiphons and motets for various parts of the year (28) likewise have no *bassus ad organum*. Reference has already been made to the use of the organ in accompanying polyphony, as evidenced by the manuscript score with figured bass of Palestrina's *Missa Assumpta es* Maria (38). Polychoral music was accompanied as a matter of course, as testified by the references to the payments to porters for moving a small organ 'many times' to the choir loft, 449 although manuscripts do not always include an organ part and it was considered that the organist would have the skill to add a *basso seguente*. The surviving manuscript copies of *cori spezzati* from the Chiesa Nuova, as well as those referred to previously as possibly in the archive before 1608 (31 & 33) appear to support that idea. An exception to this, however, is found with the manuscript partbooks containing

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⁴⁴⁹ See Appendix 6, 10 July, 1609 and 8 March, 1612.

the three-choir arrangements of Palestrina masses (1, 2 & 3), each of which was supplied with a separate *bassus ad organum* for choir I and for choir II.

When we come to look at the composers of all these polychoral works it is interesting to see the names of those who were also represented among the works in *stile antico* including Palestrina, Giovannelli, both Anerio brothers, Grandis and Cifra. There are, however, a number of new names: composers who, as there works were in print, were clearly making a name for themselves in writing for *cori spezzati* and who were representative of a younger generation. These include Lorenzo Ratti, Stephano Bernardio [Steffano Bernardi] and Vincenzo Ugolini, who were all Italians that spent at least some time working in Rome.

Whilst this list no doubt represents only a portion of the polychoral music performed in the Chiesa Nuova, considering, as mentioned, the likelihood of musicians bringing their own music and the possible loss of manuscript parts, it is, nevertheless, possible to achieve some idea from the remaining music of those parts of the liturgy that were singled out for the more elaborate treatment with *cori spezzati* settings. Clearly there were certain parts of the liturgy, such as vesper psalms and Magnificat settings, litanies and the Improperii and the Miserere psalm for Holy Week that, due to their antiphonal nature, lent themselves to double-choir settings. These are well-represented among this music from the Chiesa Nuova. There are also, however, motets composed for two, three and four choirs, suited to a variety of liturgical seasons, such as those by Soriano (68), Ratti (21) and Ugolini (72).

Regarding mass settings, we know that there were manuscript partbooks that have now been lost or destroyed. The only surviving examples are the handwritten partbooks containing the anonymous arrangements for three choirs of Palestrina masses (1, 2 & 3) and, among the printed music, masses for two and three choirs by Ugolini (72). Graham Dixon, writing in the 1980s, emphasised the importance of the polychoral masses by

Ugolini claiming that, other than a single mass setting by Giovanni Francesco Anerio, 450 they are the only fully extant examples of twelve-part mass settings. 451 The discovery of these three 12-voice arrangements of Palestrina masses is therefore of great importance in providing further examples of Roman polychoral mass settings among a very scant surviving repertoire. Furthermore, the fact that these are the only known copies, with the addition of the eighteenth century score of the Missa Papae Marcelli made from these partbooks, suggests that these masses may have been written specifically for performance in the Chiesa Nuova, and therefore warrant particular attention.

Having provided an overview of the music for two or more choirs that has survived from the Chiesa Nuova, a more detailed consideration will hopefully provide a more in depth understanding of the music, helping to add to what we already know about the performance of *cori spezzati* in the Chiesa Nuova.

Regarding the music for double choir, there is a clear contrast between those composers who adopted a generally syllabic homophonic style with a strict adherence to the use of *alternatim* between choirs of equal forces (CATB), perhaps joining together at climatic moments, and those who adopted the concertato style, taking full advantage of an organ bass to allow the use of solo voices. Regardless of either treatment, however, none of the composers represented adopted the Venetian style of scoring for choral groups of varying forces within one work and, instead, rigidly maintained equal choirs of four parts (CATB).

Giovanni Francesco Anerio's Litaniae deiparae Virginis clearly follows the alternatim style. 452 The partbooks are listed twice, first as a separate group (18) and then bound with the Litany settings of Cifra (65), possibly indicating their popularity with the

⁴⁵⁰ G.F. Anerio's 12-part *Missa Constantini* was written during his time in Warsaw. The manuscript partbooks survive: I-Bc R.29, 858.

451 Dixon, 'The Origins of the Roman Colossal Baroque', 122.

⁴⁵² Giovanni Francesco Anerio, *Litaniae deiparae Virginis, septem, octonisque vocibus...* (Rome: Bartolomeo Zannetti, 1611).

choir of the Chiesa Nuova. Of the five litanies, one is for a single seven-part choir and the remaining four are for double choir. Also included are double choir settings of the four Marian antiphons and four Marian motets suitable for different feasts of the B.V.M. Although Anerio incorporates *stile antico* textures when writing for each CATB choir, with the one exception of the motet *Jubilemus in arca Domini Dei*, he makes no use of solo lines or duets and does not combine voices from the two choirs except at climatic points where the two choirs come together, sometimes in a forceful homophonic texture for maximum impact. The format of the Litany lends itself easily to that treatment, but Anerio's settings go beyond a mere alternation of chordal passages and suggest careful attention to the words. In the following passage a degree of intensity is added to the lines of the text with increasing overlap in an almost *stretto*-like fashion and the use of ebullient rhythms until, at the words *Consolatrix afflictorum* ('Consoler of the afflicted'), the expression of the words are intensified by a sudden thinning of the texture and a chain of suspensions:

Fig. 5. 27 Giovanni Francesco Anerio, Litaniae Deiparae Virginis ... (1611), bars 69 - 83.





His double-choir settings of the antiphons in this collection are treated in the same way, using antiphonal effects for emphasis and the impact of combined choirs in a homophonic texture for the most crucial parts of the text with the organ bass remaining as a *basso seguente*.

An exception to this treatment, however, is found in one of the four Marian motets, his setting of *Jubilemus in arca Domini Dei*, which is described as a *motetto concertato*.

Although displaying the features already referred to in the other double-choir settings, Anerio, breaks new ground here. A full transcription is given, due to it being an exceptionally good example of the double-choir idiom in *concertato* style. 453 As Dixon points out, in describing the motet as *concertato*, Anerio provides what could be the first use of this term in a Roman print. 454 In addition, O'Regan explains that this motet could be the first use in Rome of an organ bass with figures, in effect a basso continuo, 455 although the term bassus ad organum is still used here and, apart from the solos for higher voices, this is still, for the most part, a basso seguente with even the bass solos doubled by the organ bass. In other solo passages the organ, although not doubling a vocal line, simply provides a harmonic support, rather than an independent line adding extra decorative features to the texture. Although individual solo passages last no more than a few bars, in total they make up almost half of the motet with the majority being duets for varied combinations of voices generally one from each choir, particularly favouring the combination of voices of the same type. Within these close two-part textures Anerio makes use of brief imitation lasting only one or two bars seen, for example, in the duet for two sopranos (bars 33-36), with exact imitation two beats apart, or the bass duet (bars 44-49) with imitation a fifth below. Whilst this might be seen as the composer looking back to the imitative textures of his *stile antico* works, it is more likely that he was considering the resultant antiphonal effect, creating a sense of echo, made possible by the spatial separation of the choirs in a reverberant acoustic such as that of the Chiesa Nuova.

Anerio's writing for the two choirs also shows great skill with careful attention to the expression of the text. Clarity is maintained throughout by an almost totally syllabic and homophonic approach. Joyful words such as 'jubilemus' and 'exultemus' are set with the full ensemble in eight parts in triple time while, in contrast, some words warrant a more

⁴⁵³ See Appendix 7. Transcriptions, no. 14.

⁴⁵⁴ Graham Dixon, 'Progressive Tendencies in the Roman Motet during the Early Seventeenth Century', 118. ⁴⁵⁵ O'Regan, 'Sacred Polychoral Music in Rome 1575-1621', 246.

expansive treatment. At 'Ave, ave sancta virgo' ('Hail, hail holy virgin'), for example, both choirs enter together with the majority of the voices moving in semibreves and provide a majestic interpretation of the opening words before proceeding to a more invigorating rhythmic treatment with effective use of syncopation and with phrases tossed backwards and forwards between the choirs. The *alternatim* style is maintained for the repeated 'alleluias', a lengthy passage, which finally concludes with an impressive eight-part texture.

This motet must rank among Anerio's best works and it is hard to equate it with his earlier *stile antico* mass settings. There is an unmistakable Venetian influence, not only in the varied textures, including solos with organ accompaniment, but also in those passages where the harmonies progress slowly or the voices simply swap notes within a single repeated chord as seen at setting of 'clamemus' ('let us cry') (bars 26-27) with a repeated and emphatic d major chord reminiscent of Monteverdi. This Venetian influence is not surprising as Anerio's *Litaniae deiparae Virginis* of 1611 was printed in the same year as he returned from Verona where he had been *maestro di cappella* of the Cathedral from July 1609. It is even possible that these works were written in Verona, or at least this final motet of the volume. In 1610 he made a brief visit to Rome to organise the publication of some of his works, ⁴⁵⁷ most likely those that appeared in this 1611 print.

That Anerio's motet, *Jubilemus in arca Domini Dei*, was possibly ahead of its time in Rome at that early part of the seventeenth century, is suggested by the similarities with the Litany settings of Lorenzo Ratti (12), published almost twenty years later in 1630. They, likewise, do not keep to a strict alternation throughout. Unfortunately the full set of partbooks are now lost, but the surviving nine volumes provide all the music for the

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⁴⁵⁶ Klaus Fischer, 'Anerio, Giovanni, Francesco', *Grove Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com (accessed 7 October 2016).

⁴⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁸ Lorenzo Ratti, *Litaniae B. V, M. quinis, senis, septenis, octonis, duodenisque vocibus...* (Venice: Alessandro Vincenti, 1630).

double-choir settings and the organ bass. Two partbooks (CI and organ) remain in the archive of the Chiesa Nuova and seven are next door in the Biblioteca Vallicelliana (I:ATB II:CATB). As previously mentioned, it is likely that these were originally together as a set in the Chiesa Nuova.

At the outset, Ratti's Litany setting for double choir follows a similar style of alternation as seen in Anerio's settings with the organ bass, described as *bassus ad organum*, clearly following the lowest part throughout:

Fig. 5.28 Lorenzo Ratti, Litany I from Litaniae B. V. M. ... (1630), bars 1 - 12.





Described, however, as in *concertato* style, Ratti makes full use of the organ bass line to introduce vocal solos and duets, occasionally combining voices from the different choirs. The following section sets a passage for the two cantus parts (CI & CII), then a solo tenor (TII) followed by solo cantus (CI) before an animated buildup leading to a full-choir cadence with decorative flourishes in Baroque style:

Fig. 5.29 Lorenzo Ratti, Litany I from Litaniae B. V. M. ... (1630), bars 31 - 45.





Such fondness for contrasting sonorities, using voices from the different choirs, supported in some cases by a separate organ bass line, is also seen in his settings of Marian antiphons in this collection. In his *Ave Regina caelorum*, after an extended *Ave* for *tutti* choirs, the two cantus parts are supported by a dominant-tonic organ bass in *basso continuo* style:

Fig. 5.30 Lorenzo Ratti, Ave Regina caelorum from Litaniae B. V. M. ... (1630), bars 1 - 9.



As he progresses to a high-voiced trio (CCA) for *Ave Domina angelorum* ('Hail Lady of Angels'), the organ bass reverts to a *basso seguente*, taking the notes from the alto

line. This contrast of vocal sonorities continues, however, with Ratti using lower voices from both choirs for *Salve radix* ('Hail root'):

Fig. 5.31 Lorenzo Ratti, Ave Regina caelorum from Litaniae B. V. M. ... (1630), bars 10 - 17.



Whilst similarities can be drawn between Anerio's compositions in his 1611 print and these later settings of Marian texts by Ratti, there is a noticeable difference in the

fluidity and greater decoration found in the vocal lines of the latter composer. It will be seen when following the development of Anerio's treatment of the voice in his solo motets that he moved towards a more decorative vocal line in his later works.

A very similar approach to vocal writing can be seen in the vesper psalms of Ratti's teacher and uncle, Vincenzo Ugolini (19), 459 who provides two settings of vesper psalms, each concluding with a Magnificat. The first set is for performance with or without organ and in a more typically Roman homophonic style, making maximum use of alternation between two choirs. The second set, however, cum organo concertati, displays great variety in the use of the eight vocal parts making use of the organ support to provide solos and duets with much use of decorative vocal passaggi, as in this phrase for two altos from the *Beatus vir*:

Fig. 5.32 Vincenzo Ugolini, Beatus vir from Psalmi ad vesperas octonis vocibus (1628).



These works by Ratti and Ugolini, so similar in style, were both printed in Venice, presumably to attract a wider market and not because such works would not have attracted interest in Rome, where works for double choir were popular and were performed in large churches such as the Chiesa Nuova. They, nevertheless, appear to display a more 'Venetian' approach to settings for two choirs in the treatment of voices, with the use of solos and varying vocal combinations, albeit within the context of two CATB choirs.

⁴⁵⁹ Vincenzo Ugolini, *Psalmi ad vesperas octonis vocibus cum basso ad organum concinendi ...* (Venice: Alessandro Vincenti, 1628).

Another of the later publications is Steffano Bernardi's *Psalmi octonis vocibus*... (14) from 1632. 460 First printed in 1624 and again in 1641, it was clearly popular throughout the second quarter of the seventeenth century and is unique in this group of works in being the only edition that refers to the organ bass as a *basso continuo*. On closer inspection, however, the organ part is again a *basso seguente*, and Bernardi writes in a style more akin to that of Felice Anerio in his Litany settings, with alternating choirs and no use of solos, as found also in the double choir pieces of Cifra (65).

Among the printed music for more than two choirs, Soriano's *Psalmi et mottecta* ... *liber secundus* (68) of 1616 and Ugolini's *Motecta et missae...liber primus* (72) of 1622, there is a similar contrast in styles. Soriano, *maestro* of the Cappella Giulia from 1603 to 1620, was the first of a line of composers in that post to publish music for multiple choirs during the seventeenth century. Known for his skill in writing *alla Palestrina* in his single-choir music, in his works for multiple choirs he follows the standard syllabic, homophonic style with choirs answering each other and occasional *tutti* sections - a style no doubt well-suited to the acoustics of St. Peter's.

His successor there, Ugolini, who produced his *Motecta et missae...liber primus* two years after taking over from Soriano, whilst emphasising the spatial positioning of the choirs in his triple-choir masses, also makes colourful use of varying vocal combinations. At the *Et incarnatus* of his *Missa Beate*, for example, he divides the text into four phrases, setting each to four equal voices using altos, tenors, sopranos and basses in turn. Such use of four voices coming from different parts of a large church, whether it was St. Peter's Basilica or the Chiesa Nuova, could have produced a striking effect.

Having considered the printed music for two or more choirs that was part of the music archive of the Chiesa Nuova, it remains to look at the items in manuscript and, in

⁴⁶¹ Dixon, 'The Origins of the Roman "Colossal Baroque", 119.

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⁴⁶⁰ Steffano Bernardi, *Psalmi octonis vocibus...opus decimum quartum* (Venice: Alessandro Vincenti, 1632).

particular, the three triple-choir arrangements of Palestrina masses in manuscript partbooks.

In their close adherence to the polyphonic style of their origin, they are unavoidably less modern in style. Whilst the composer or composers of the three triple-choir Mass settings remain unidentified, what is certain is that they would have had to have access to the original Palestrina Masses. Palestrina's *Missa Aspice Domine* and his *Missa Papae Marcelli* were both included in his second book of Masses, published in 1567 and 1600 and his *Missa Sine Nomine* for 6 voices was included in the fourth edition of his first book of Masses published in 1591. The Chiesa Nuova owned all these volumes (61 and 62), thus not ruling out the possibility that a member of the Oratorian Congregation was responsible for these triple-choir works.

As the condition of the manuscripts housed in the Chiesa Nuova, the *Missa Sine Nomine* and the *Missa Aspice Domine*, is poor, a full transcription would be extremely difficult. The *Missa Papae Marcelli*, written out in score and now in the Vatican Library is obviously easier to transcribe, although there is no way of checking the accuracy of the copyist. My appendices includes a transcription of the Kyrie and Agnus Dei from the *Missa Papae Marcelli* and the Agnus Dei from the *Missa Sine Nomine*. These Masses are of great importance as they appear to be the only complete surviving triple-choir mass settings from Roman sources with exception of Ugolini's publication of 1622 and the Santini copy of Anerio's *Missa Surge et illuminare*.

It was often common practice for a student to make arrangements of works by their teacher in order to honour them, as we see, for example, with the two other arrangements of Palestrina's *Missa Papae Marcelli*, one in 8 parts by Francesco Soriano and one for four voices with organ bass by Giovanni Francesco Anerio, now available in a modern

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⁴⁶² See Appendix 7, Transcriptions, nos. 15 - 17.

edition. Hold Both composers had been taught by Palestrina. In his editorial commentary Busch points out that arrangements of Palestrina's popular *Missa Papae Marcelli* abounded in the early seventeenth century and more people were familiar with the arrangements than with the original. Hold Both Palestrina is popular to the early seventeenth century and more people were familiar with the arrangements than with the original.

It is hard to imagine that these three manuscript masses, copied and decorated with care, should omit the composer's name unless it was deliberate. We can look to those composers who were actively involved with the music of the Chiesa Nuova or whose music was copied or purchased for the liturgical services there: the two Anerio brothers and Giovanni Francesco in particular, Palestrina, Victoria, Lorenzo Ratti, Antonio Cifra, Francesco Soriano but in all sources of these composers works, including manuscripts, the composers are identified with very few exceptions.

The possibility is that the composer, or composers, of these three masses came from among the members of Oratorian Congregation. It has already been noted that some of the most acclaimed musicians of the time were drawn to the Roman Oratory, not only because of the musical opportunities offered, but also, because of the attraction of Neri himself, who could offer them spiritual solace and inspiration. Among those who decided to join the Congregation there were composers who had had music published, such as Francesco Martini, Francesco Soto da Langa, Girolamo Rosini, Giovanale Ancina and Dorisio Isorelli. It could be reasonably supposed that, with such talent among the members, any of them might have supplied appropriate Mass settings especially for the yearly Mass to mark the anniversary of the death of Filippo Neri.

All three masses are set for three equal choirs of CATB, in contrast with the Venetian habit of contrasting choirs of different tessiture and different vocal and instrumental combinations. Whilst we are certain that the two organs were used, we cannot

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⁴⁶³ G. F. Anerio, F. Soriano: *Two Settings of Palestrina's "Missa Papae Marcelli"*, edited by H. J. Busch, Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era, 16 (Madison, Wisconsin: A-R Editions, 1973).

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid., 6.

rule out the possibility of other instruments being employed for the purpose of giving support to the continuo line rather than any independent contribution, a practice explained by Agostino Agazzari. 465

An obvious starting point for an examination of these masses is to make a comparison with the Palestrina masses from which they are derived to determine how much of the original music is used or rearranged and how much is newly-composed. That the triple-choir *Missa Papae Marcelli* is based on Palestrina's *Missa Papae Marcelli* for 6 voices, is abundantly clear at the beginning of each movement. Palestrina begins with just four of the six voices so this is simply restated as the opening material for whichever choir begins. This can be seen at the beginning of each section of the Kyrie (bars 1-5, 25-27 and 52-56), as well as at the start of the Agnus Dei (bars 1-5). In subsequent sections of the Agnus Dei there is a less-noticeable correlation, except in the bass where at the start of *qui tollis* (bass I: bars 14-18) and *miserere* (bass I: bars 33-37) the bass has the original bass-line. The use of three choirs, however, leads to a more homophonic approach with interplay between the choirs as seen in the Kyrie (bars 5-12 and 33-37), and which is even more noticeable in the Christe (bars 29-36). The ending of each movement presents a texture of 12 real parts that produces a magnificent sonority surely well suited to the vast proportions of the Chiesa Nuova.

The composer's use of the original Bassus II line from Palestrina's *Missa Papae Marcelli*, using it as the foundation for independent choirs, which finish each of their entries with a cadence that works without additional notes from other choirs, provides the possibility for the choirs being placed at a distance from one another. If harmonies for any one choir are incomplete without notes from another choir the aural effect for a listener placed closer to one choir could be quite unsatisfactory.

⁴⁶⁵ Agazzari, Agostino, 'Of Playing upon a Bass with All Instruments and of Their Use in the Consort', 1607 in Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History*, 424-431.

Another interesting feature is an added emphasis on the higher pitch range, necessary to accommodate the fuller and richer texture of three choirs. With three soprano lines the highest note is heard thirteen times as compared with three in the original. Also new decorative rhythms are introduced that are not found in the original. A section for choir II towards the end of the Kyrie (bars 43-49) has a certain angularity and jauntiness that we might not associate with Palestrina. In the Agnus Dei there is a similiar use of more decorative rhythms as seen, for example, in the dotted rhythms of cantus III at bar 45 and tenor I at bar 47. Another feature of this movement is the highlighting of a single word, in this instance *miserere*, when choir I enters with a homophonic exclamation of the single word at bar 41 presenting a dramatic element not present in Palestrina's original. The copy of this triple choir Agnus Dei in I-Rvat C.S. 469 only includes Agnus Dei I and, as this is also the case for the *Missa Sine Nomine*, we can assume that the source he copied from in the Chiesa Nuova did not include a setting for three choirs for the Agnus Dei II from Palestrina's mass.

The similarities between the *Missa Sine Nomine* and Palestrina's Mass of that name for six voices are not so obvious and the composer takes much greater liberties with the original material. Although some melodic features are recognisable, Palestrina's more syllabic treatment is developed into more expansive lines with far greater use of melisma. Interesting here, however, are the two organ parts, clearly labelled as *bassus ad organum* on two separate partbooks, one for Choir I and the other for Choir II, but in fact identical and providing a harmonic support for all three choirs. This is the same for the *Missa Aspice Domine*. We can assume that the two organ bass parts for the *Missa Papae Marcelli* would have likewise been identical. Such use of two identical parts but clearly marked for two

different choirs was not unique to these works. Quagliati's *Mottetti, dialoghi ... libro secondo* of 1627 has likewise two identical basso continuo parts, one for each choir. 466

Another consideration is the deployment of each of the choirs. Was choir III possibly reserved for ripieno effects where the full force of 12 parts were heard together? Also why were there two partbooks for each voice in choir III in two of the masses? Does this add further evidence of a ripieno choir?

Whilst there are passages when all 3 choirs do combine, particularly at the end of sections, each choir was also heard on its own as well as combining with one or other of the other two. In the Kyrie of the *Missa Papae Marcelli* for example, Choir I begins Kyrie I, Choir II begins the Christe and Choir III begins Kyrie II. The following diagram shows the use of the three choirs in each section of the Kyrie in this triple choir Mass.

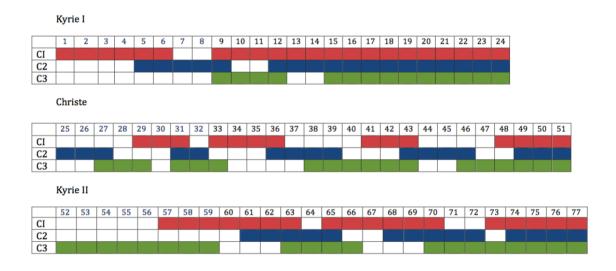


Fig. 5.33 A diagram showing the use of the three choirs throughout the Kyrie (Missa Papae Marcelli)

This brings us to the point of how these works were performed. Where were the choirs placed? We have references to platforms being erected but we also know that at the Chiesa Nuova the two galleries on either side of the transept were used by the singers, as in the early part of the seventeenth century a passageway was constructed to enable easy movement for the singers between the two galleries. Whilst payment records exist for the

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⁴⁶⁶ Dixon, 'The Origins of the Roman "Colossal Baroque", 121.

movement of a second portable organ, by at least 1617 the Chiesa Nuova was the first church in Rome to have two fixed organs, positioned so that they could be played together. This contributed to the opportunity for music on a grand scale and in a space that was ideal to explore the sonorous potential of these settings.

Does the fact that there were two partbooks for each voice in Choir III for two of the Masses indicate that that choir had twice as many voices, or could it be that choir III was split into two choirs giving the visual effect of four choirs as related in the description of performances on the anniversaries of the death of Filippo Neri?

The survival of these masses is important, not only due to the rarity of extant triple-choir mass settings among the music by Roman composers, but also in their particular association with the Chiesa Nuova where we can assume they were performed. They are only representative, however, of one style of the polychoral music that would have been heard in that church, as surviving music clearly suggests that the more modern *concertato* styles as represented in the music of Giovanni Francesco Anerio as early as 1611, and subsequently in later works of Ratti and Ugolini was also performed there. It was possibly that style which was heard in the Chiesa Nuova at Vespers in May 1615 to celebrate the beatification of Filippo Neri:

Lunedi nella primi vespri con solenne apparato a 4 chori di musica in detta chiesa un vespro delle più elette voci et musici di Roma, onde gl'huomini erano rapiti della meludia [sic] et da concerti così suavi, al quale vespro intervennero 3 cardinali et la mattina seguente alla messa solenne 9, con tanto concorso di populo, che è impossibile a crederlo.

[On Monday at the first Vespers: the Vespers was sung in the said church with great pomp by the most distinguished voices and musicians of Rome arranged in four choirs at which the people were ravished by the melody and by such sweet *concerti*; at this Vespers three cardinals were present and the following morning at the Mass nine cardinals with such a crowd of people that it is impossible to believe it.]⁴⁶⁷

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⁴⁶⁷ Dixon, 'The Origins of the Roman "Colossal Baroque", 118, quoting from: J. A. F. Orbaan, *Documenti sul barocco in Roma* (Rome, 1920), 233.

4. Small-scale music and the *stile concertato*

Having already made reference to music that can be described as *stile moderno* in relation to the development of the use the *concertato* style in polychoral pieces, it now remains to look at how, in taking the surviving liturgical music from the Chiesa Nuova as a representative collection, music for solo voices was used in the liturgy there. Dixon has pointed out that Roman liturgical music of the early seventeenth century is often seen as epitomised by two main styles: the *stile antico* with its 'pale imitation of the mastery of Palestrina' and the 'colossal Baroque' with its grandiose polychoral effects, while the popularity of the *concertato* motet and the small-scale motet is often overlooked. In all probability this is due to the general focus of research on the main basilicas, with their more accessible resources, where the emphasis remained on the more traditional choral repertoire. Research by Dixon and, more recently, that by O'Regan into the music of the confraternities in Rome, has made progress in redressing the balance and indicating the importance of smaller-scale music with organ accompaniment.

Several factors point to the great popularity of this type of music during the first half of the seventeenth century and it appears that most of the Roman composers at that time, even those noted for their ability to write *alla Palestrina*, such as Allegri, Cifra and the Anerio brothers, composed solo motets that were printed in motet collections, which often achieved enough popularity to justify a second or even a third printing. Whilst Cifra, for example, excelled in the ability to write in the polyphonic style, as demonstrated by his two volumes of polyphonic mass settings, his output is nevertheless dominated by books of motets for two to four voices and organ, some of which were popular enough to run into

⁴⁶⁸ Graham Dixon, 'Progressive Tendencies in the Roman Motet during the Early Seventeenth Century', 105.

⁴⁶⁹ See, for example, Noel O'Regan, 'Le pratiche della musica nelle chiese e nelle confraternite di Roma nel cinquecento' in Thomas Schmidt-Beste (ed.), *Institutions and Patronage in Renaissance Music* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 66-117 and O'Regan, *Institutional Patronage in Post-Tridentine Rome*, 75.

several editions.⁴⁷⁰ The readiness of music publishers to print music in this style clearly indicates that there was a demand.⁴⁷¹ This popularity of music for solo voices, particularly in the form of the small-scale motet, is clearly evident within the surviving music from the Chiesa Nuova.

It is possibly indicative of the widespread availability of printed music in this style that the greater number of items that remain from the original music library are in printed format, although there are also a few manuscripts of music for solo voices that were in all probability copied specifically for use in the liturgy there. These will be seen to be of importance in providing a more certain picture of the emphasis placed on music for solo voices in the liturgy. Whilst there is the likelihood that other manuscript partbooks have not survived, it also appears that more of the printed music that belonged to the Chiesa Nuova might yet be discovered. The provenance of printed collections still remaining in the archive of the Chiesa Nuova is indisputable, but, as previously mentioned, the large stock of music from the church that is now housed in the Biblioteca Santa Cecilia possibly includes much more of the original holdings than previously thought.

The following tables provide all the items within the period under consideration that make use of solo voices, either in their entirety or in *concertato* style with solo passages alternating with *tutti* passages for full choir, that belonged to the original music library, excluding those polychoral works in *concertato* style that have already been described. The table in fig. 5.34 lists all the printed works and that in fig. 5.35 lists the small group of manuscript copies. Included are not only motets, but also a number of antiphon settings, responsories, psalm settings and masses that can all be considered as small-scale works not only in length, but also in their use of reduced forces with organ

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⁴⁷⁰ Jerome Roche, 'Cifra, Antonio', *Grove Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com, (accessed 7 October 2017).

⁴⁷¹ The Roman printer Giovanni Battista Robletti, who printed between 1609 and 1650, usually at his own expense, printed all of the motets of Cifra, G.F. Anerio and G.B. Nanino. See 'Printed Sacred Music in Europe 1500-1800', *RISM*, *Printed Sacred Music Database*, www.printed-sacred-music.org (accessed 12 December 2016).

accompaniment. They reveal the strong emphasis placed on the use of the solo voice and small ensembles in the liturgy of the Chiesa Nuova.

Fig. 5.34 A table of printed collections of music for solo voices with organ

My ref.	Composer	Standardised Title	Format	Date
6	Bianchi, G.C. Losio, C. Monteverdi, C.	Libro secondo de motetti. In lode della gloriosissima vergine Maria nostra signora. A' una, due, tre, quattro, e cinque voci, et una messa, a' quattro, con il basso generale, di Giulio Cesare Bianchi con le letanie à sei voci del sig. Claudio Monteverde.	5 partbooks	1620
7	Paoletti, A.	Sacrae cantiones, ad organum, binis, ternis, quaternis, senisque vocibus concinendae.	4 partbooks	1611
8	Anerio, G.F.	Motecta singulis, binis, ternisque vocibusliber primus	4 partbooks	1609
9	Anerio, G.F.	Motectorum singuli, binis, ternis, quaternisliber secundus	4 partbooks	1611
10	Anerio, G.F.	Motectorum singulis, binis, ternis, quaternis, quinis, senisque vocibus; una cum litaniisliber tertius	5 partbooks	1613
11	Anerio, G.F.	Sacri concentus singulis, binis, ternis, quaternisque, quinisque, senisque vocibusliber quartus	5 partbooks	1617
13	Cima,T.	Salmi per il vespero e dui Magnificat a quattro vociopera quinta	5 partbooks	1636
15	Cifra, A.	Sacrae cantiones, quae binis, ternis, quaternis, senis, octonisque vocibus concinuntur	5 partbooks	1638
66	Anerio, G.F.	Antiphonae, seu sacrae cantionesin tres partes distributae	5 partbooks	1613
67	Anerio, G.F.	Responsoria nativitatis Dominiternis, quaternis, octonis vocibus	5 partbooks	1614
69	Allegri, G.	Concertini a due, a tre, et a quattro voci con il basso continuo, libro secondo.	partbooks (bound together)	1619

⁴⁷² See reference in Appendix 5 for full details.

69	Costantini, F.	Selectae Cantiones excellentissimorum auctorum, Binis,		1616
		Ternis, Quaternisq; Vocibus concinendae		
74	Bernardi, S.	Messe a quattro et cinque voci, parte sono per capella, e parte per concertolibro primo, opera sesta	6 partbooks	1627
76	Piochio, C	Sacrae Cantiones quae binis, ternis, quaternisque vocibus concinuntur : Liber secundus	4 partbooks (1 missing: organ b.c.)	1637
77	Capece, A	Responsorii di Natale e di Settimana santa concertati a quattro vociopera 25	5 partbooks	1636

Fig. 5.35 A table of manuscript collections of music for solo voices with organ

My ref.	Composer	Title on source	Format	Date
25	Anon.	Index Antiphonarum tam communium quam propiarum in 2.is vesperis cuiuslibet sancti ad magnificat toto anno currentium Binis Vocibus	3 manuscript partbooks	n.d.
26	Anon.	INDEX Antiphonarum quae cantari solent ad ve= speras in Dominicis Adven tus, ac totius anni, in vigil: et festo Nativit: Dni, in octava S.Stephani S.Io:nis Apost: S.S.Innoc:um in fe= stis mobilibus in Communi sanctorum et Dedicatio:is ecclesiae. Binis et quater= nis vocibus	3 manuscript partbooks	n.d.
32	Anon.	No title but full index. (Settings of antiphons for vespers mostly for 2 voices)	2 of 3 manuscript partbooks	n.d.
42	Anon.	No title (A setting of the Seven Penitential Psalms for solo voice).	Score	n.d.

⁴⁷³ See reference in Appendix 5 for full details.

Foremost among those composers who followed in the style established by Agazzari was Giovanni Francesco Anerio, who once again is seen to be the main composer of that genre in the surviving music from the Chiesa Nuova. It is not unreasonable to suggest that Anerio's partiality for the small-scale motet, more numerous than his mass settings, was due partly to his early experiences of music at the Chiesa Nuova where he possibly heard, or even performed, motet settings that had already been acquired by $1608.^{474}$

Before that, however, he would have experienced from his teenage years the music that formed part of the spiritual exercises there. Reference has already been made to the close involvement of his parents from the time that the Congregation of the Oratory was established at the Chiesa Nuova, and that Giovanni Francesco Anerio had originally intended to join the Congregation. He was clearly actively involved in the liturgy in 1598, 475 and it was likely that at that time and earlier he took part in the Oratory exercises that would have introduced him to the laude collections printed by Soto. In 1599 two laude by Anerio were included by Ancina in his *Tempio armonico della Beatissima Vergine*. For these he chose not to write in the strophic style seen in other composers' contributions to this collection, but rather to treat each verse differently, suggesting a greater concern for expressive word setting. Although not liturgical, it is significant that Anerio wrote laude, doubtlessly for the spiritual exercises at the Oratory, and that these three-voice settings were probably his first pieces of sacred music to be printed.

Another source of influence may have also come from the *canzonette spirituali* produced by the Dutch calligrapher, editor and engraver of music, Simone Verovio, whose

⁴⁷⁴ Viadana's *Cento concerti ecclesiastici* (1602) was acquired in the year of publication, which was the same year that Anerio was made a deacon at the Oratory (I-Rf, C. I. 3, *Libro secondo de' decreti*, 81). The third and fourth books of Agazzari's *Sacrarum cantionum* were acquired the following year.

⁴⁷⁵ I-Rf, C. I. 3, *Libro secondo de' decreti*, 81.

⁴⁷⁶ Giovanni Giovenale Ancina, *Tempio armonico della Beatissima Vergine ... prima parte a tre voci*, (Rome: Nicolo Mutii, 1599).

editorial workshop was based close to the Chiesa Nuova. ⁴⁷⁷ Both his *Diletto spirituale* of 1586, printed initially with just vocal parts and then with keyboard score and lute tablature, and his *Canzonette spirituale* of 1591, included works by composers who were connected in some capacity with the Roman Oratory, among them Felice Anerio, Giovannelli, Pacelli and Santini. Both are three-voice mostly homophonic settings of sacred texts, the first in Latin, where, like the lauda, the main interest is the melodic line. ⁴⁷⁸

It is probably no coincidence that Giovanni Francesco Anerio's *Dialogo pastorale* al presepio...a tre voci of 1600 was printed by Verovio. This dialogue text, previously set by Soto in strophic form, was likely to have been written by one of the priests of the Oratory. Anerio's setting for varied combinations of three voices prefigures his later motet settings, not only in the textures, showing a fondness for imitative beginnings and homophonic passages in triple time, but most significantly in the choice of voices being determined by the text and thus producing a sense of characterisation that will be seen to be a feature of, in particular, his motet settings for three or more voices.

An indication of the influences on Anerio's style of composition is important, especially as his experiences of music at the Chiesa Nuova are likely to have contributed to his development as a composer, not only in the styles he adopted but also in the types of works he chose to write. Whilst this influence is most apparent in his spiritual madrigals, where he often used the dialogue texts of the Oratorian priest, Agostino Manni, it can also be seen in his small-scale liturgical music.

⁴⁷⁷ Daniele V. Filippi, "Selva Armonica". La Musica Spirituale a Roma tra Cinque e Seicento (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 46.

⁴⁷⁸ Diletto spirituale includes two pieces by Palestrina, further strengthening that composer's possible links with the Oratory.

⁴⁷⁹ Giovanni Francesco Anerio, *Dialogo pastorale al presepio di Nostro Signore: a tre voci con l'intavolatura del cembalo e del liuto*, Rome: Simone Verovio, 1600, transcribed with an introduction by Arnaldo Morelli (Roma: Pro Musica Studium, 1983).

⁴⁸⁰ The setting of the identical text by Soto, with the title *Nell'apparir del sempre solo* was included in Ancina's *Tempio armonico*.

⁴⁸¹ See Morelli's introduction to 'Giovanni Francesco Anerio, *Dialogo pastorale al presepio di Nostro Signore*', viii.

⁴⁸² Three important collections are *Selva armonica* (Rome, 1617), *Teatro armonico* (Rome, 1619) and *Rime sacre* (Rome, 1620).

His *Motecta* of 1609 was his first motet collection and the earliest collection among the Chiesa Nuova music from after 1608. Although he left Rome in July 1609 to take up his post as maestro di cappella at the cathedral in Verona, it is unlikely, as Dixon suggests, that he composed all 54 motets in Verona. 483 Considering that he felt it necessary to make a return visit to Rome in 1610 to oversee the publication of some of his works, it is more likely that he presented this first volume of motets for publication in Rome before he left and, while his dedication to Cardinal Antonio Maria Gallo (1553/4-1620), Dean of the College of Cardinals and Protector of the Papal Choir, is dated Rome, November 1609, suggesting the possibility that he presented them after his departure, no mention is made at all, in either the dedication or on the title page, of his new post as maestro di cappella in Verona. It is likely therefore that all his influences, besides those already mentioned, were from his experience of motet settings popular in Rome and particularly at the Chiesa Nuova: those by Viadana and Agazzari. Like Agazzari in his Sacrae cantiones ... liber quartus, Anerio shows a preference for motets for two voices, composing 34 of the 54 motets for various duos. His was, however, also the first Roman publication to include motets for one voice and he continued to include solo motets in subsequent collections.⁴⁸⁴

His motets in this publication are not presented in relation to the liturgical calendar of specific devotions. They are settings of either familiar texts dominated by the theme of rejoicing, such as *Gaudent in coeli, Exultate Deo, Laudemus viros*, or more meditative texts, possibly suited for use at communion, such as *Anima mea, Amor Jesu, Benedicite Domini*. The final motet, *Sancte Franciscæ*, for two sopranos and tenor, is probably a gesture to his own patron saint. The intended use for these motets at mass is indicated in Anerio's closing words of his dedication to Cardinal Gallo:

⁴⁸³ Graham Dixon, 'G. F. Anerio (1567-1630) and the Roman School', *The Musical Times*, 121 (1980), 1648: 366-368; here, 366.

⁴⁸⁴ Dixon, 'G. F. Anerio (1567-1630) and the Roman School', 367.

Precor tandem ab immortali Deo, ut sicut tibi nunc primum hæc sacra concino; sic possim aliquando inter missarum solemnia lætissimo plausu, & bonorum omnium letitia gratulari. 485

[Finally, I pray to immortal God that, just as I now sing these sacred motets for you for the first time, so, hereafter I may be able to sing them at solemn Masses with the most happy approbation, and to give joyful thanks for all good things.]

Anerio's reference to 'inter missarum solemnia', literally 'in amongst the solemn mass', indicates that these are paraliturgical texts. While settings of the appropriate texts of the proper would be used for a solemn mass, other settings of sacred texts might be sung in addition to these and it appears that this was Anerio's intention. Evidence from that time suggest that motets could also be sung during a low mass. In November 1617, for example, the Papal Choir went to sing at San Crisogono, the titular church of Cardinal Scipione Borghese, where they sang 'a motet to accompany the entrance of My Lord Cardinal, and other motets in concertato style during his low Mass, after which the solemn Mass was sung'. 486 It is likely that Anerio envisaged such a use for his motets, but would also be aware of their usefulness at any church where there were limited vocal resources. The surviving copies from the Chiesa Nuova, one each of the three vocal parts (CI, CII and B), 487 possibly provided a useful resource in their efforts to retain a reputation for music when, at times, only a small number of singers could be found. During Martini's tenure as maestro do cappella, in particular, there are references to payments for two or three singers as, for example, on 10 July 1609 when he is given 6.50 scudi 'per pagare li doi cantori et l'organista per il mese di giugno prossimo passato, che hanno servito la nostra cappella'.

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⁴⁸⁵ Giovanni Francesco Anerio, *Motecta liber primus*, 1609, dedication.

⁴⁸⁶ Jean Lionnet, Norma Deane & John Whenham, 'The Borghese Family and Music during the First Half of the Seventeenth Century', *Music & Letters*, 74 (1993), 4: 519-529; here, 522.

⁴⁸⁷ These partbooks remain in the archive of the Chiesa Nuova (I-Rf H.II.6), bound together with Anerio's collections of 1609, 1612, 1613 and 1617. The organ part for each publication is missing. The Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Santa Cecilia has in its holdings only the organ part for each and we can assume that these copies are from the Chiesa Nuova.

('to pay two singers and the organist for the month of June just past, who had served our choir'). 488

Although we do not know what music such singers were required to sing, or even if they were employed as soloists or part of an ensemble, the music copies themselves suggest that Anerio's motets of 1609 (8) were well-used and were likely to have been popular as subsequent collections by Anerio were obtained as well. That the four motet collections of 1609, 1612, 1613 and 1617 (8-11) were bound together might even suggest ease of use for performers.

The varied combinations of voices offered a wide choice, with duets for almost every grouping of different voices or equal voices. In the motets for one voice the level of vocal agility required is likewise varied. The opening of the first motet, *Cantabo Domino* for soprano, quoted below, suggests that Anerio might have expected a skilled singer to add their own decoration; he would certainly have been used to hearing such treatment from the singers of the Papal Choir, such as Soto and Rosini.

Fig. 5.36 G. F. Anerio, Cantabo Domino from Motecta ... liber primus (1609) bars 1-18.



 $^{^{488}}$ I-Ras, Orat., 297, Giornale dell'Entrata e dell'Uscita [1609-11], 150.

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It is interesting that, as Dixon also noted, he chose to add ornamentation to these motets for solo voice when this collection was reprinted in 1620, as well as adding figures to the organ bass throughout. ⁴⁸⁹ The opening of *Cantabo Domino* in the later version shows Anerio writing for the solo voice in a far more decorative style:

Fig. 5.37 G. F. Anerio, Cantabo Domino from Motecta ... liber primus (1620) bars 1-3.



In all probability Anerio, as a skilled organist, felt that initially there was no need to add figures to music that was harmonically quite simple, and that he could rely on the harmonic knowledge of the performer to provide a correct realisation. ⁴⁹⁰ Likewise, it is possible to assume that his first edition was aimed at singers, and in particular sopranos, who were capable of adding decoration according to the guidelines followed at that time, especially in Rome. ⁴⁹¹ In the two bass solos, *Benedicta* and *Laudemus viros*, the organ bass doubles the voice throughout, a practice also adopted by Viadana, ⁴⁹² but, especially in *Laudemus viros*, Anerio writes for the bass voice in a more decorative style, as for example in the concluding section in praise of the Church (Fig. 5.38):

Fig. 5.38 G.F. Anerio, Laudemus viros from Motecta ... liber primus (1609) bars 51-58.



⁴⁸⁹ Graham Dixon, 'G. F. Anerio (1567-1630) and the Roman School', 367.

⁴⁹⁰ Such an attitude was widely held in the first decade of the sixteenth century when a composer might occasionally provide instructions for the continuo player or, as in the case of Amante Frazoni in his *Concerti ecclesiastici* (Venice, 1611), refer them to Agostino Agazzari's treatise, *Del sonare sopra 'l basso con tutti li stromenti* (Siena, 1607). See Giulia Nuti, *The Performance of Italian Basso Continuo: Style in Keyboard Accompaniment in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2007), 24-25.

⁴⁹¹ See previous reference to this in relation to singers of the Papal Chapel and the treastise written on adding vocal embellishments by the castrato, Francesco Severi, *Salmi passaggiati ... sopra i falsi bordoni di tutti i tuoni ecclesiastici ... con alcuni versi di Miserere sopra il falso bordone del Dentice* (Rome, 1615).

⁴⁹² Ludovico Viadana, *Cento Concerti Ecclesiastici*, *1602*, ed. Claudio Gallico (Kassel: Barenreiter, 1964), nos. 31-40.

Among the duets *Dulcis amor Jesu* ('Jesus, sweet love'), ⁴⁹³ set for canto and bass, provides an expressive and varied treatment of an emotional text which, in addressing Jesus directly, is reminiscent of many of the laude texts with their unrestrained communicative gestures that were a vital part of Oratorian spirituality. ⁴⁹⁴ The music presents a wide variety of ideas that can be clearly linked to the text. After a broad opening with repetitions of *Dulcis amor Jesu* at different pitches and in contrasting keys, there is a complete change at 'Rogo te saggitis tuis confige me moriar pro te' ('I implore you, pierce me with your arrows') (bar 10-17) with 'saggitis' ('arrows') set to quaver runs, and then the sigh at 'Ah mi Jesu' ('Ah my Jesus') (bar 17-19) is enhanced by falling fourths, first perfect and then diminished. Ascending quaver runs return for 'caelum' (bar 41). Such abrupt changes in mood and almost excessive treatment of the text is completely at odds with the conservative style of Anerio's mass settings but can be closely aligned with the overt spirituality of the Roman Oratory and the *stile moderno* more generally.

It was also from his oratory experiences that Anerio would have been very familiar with three-part vocal textures, the most common number of parts for laude. Having already composed two laude for Ancina's *Tempio Armonico* (1599) and his *Dialogo pastorale al presepio...a tre voci* of 1600, the style adopted here in his three-voice motets is very similar with either homophonic treatment or simple imitation, mainly for the purpose of emphasis by the resultant repetition of words by each voice in turn. His choice of voices also shows a response to the text as, for example, his use of three sopranos for the motet *Tres pueri*. Although here Anerio makes some use of his skill in writing in a polyphonic style, this motet is far removed from the polyphonic motet in its clearly perceptible structure, falling into six sections (ABCBCB) defined by changes in metre and repetition.

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⁴⁹⁵ See Appendix 7, Transcriptions, no. 19.

⁴⁹³ See Appendix 7, Transcriptions, no. 18.

⁴⁹⁴ This important and essential characteristic of Oratorian devotion can be noted in the many dialogue poems of the Oratorian Agostino Manni including the text for Cavalieri's *Rappresenatione di Anima et di Corpo* and in the poem *The Dream of Gerontius* by the nineteenth century Oratorian, John Henry Newman.

Anerio's *Motectorum liber secundus* followed two years later in 1611, by which time he had returned to Rome from Verona and was the *maestro* at the Jesuit Seminario Romano. Presumably this was the reason why he chose to dedicate this second book of motets to the Superior General of the Society of Jesus, Claudio Aquaviva. For this collection there are figures added to the organ bass line and motets for four, five and six voices are included, for example, *Dixerunt Discipuli*, for five voices and *Magi ab Oriente* for six voices. Once again he is seen to identify characters by his choice of voices. In the former, in describing Christ's appearance to Thomas, he set the words of Thomas as a tenor solo, and those of Christ as a soprano duet while the *tutti* acts as narrator. *Magi ab Oriente* relates the meeting between the three kings and Herod and the words of the three kings are set as a trio. Although he did not create divisions between sections for different characters, they could possibly be regarded as precursors of the oratorio.

We can assume that Anerio's motet collections were popular, as his second book was reprinted in Venice the following year and the year after, in 1613, after having been appointed *maestro di cappella* of the small Jesuit church of Santa Maria dei Monti, his *Motectorum liber tertius* was printed. Presumably because of his new appointment to a church dedicated to Our Lady, he began and ended this collection with Marian motets, *Ave Virgo gratiosa* for soprano or tenor solo at the start, and a six-voice setting of *Ave Virgo gloriosa* to finish. In this collection he makes more explicit demands on the soloists as seen in the sweeping phrases at the beginning of the first motet (Fig. 5.39):

Fig. 5.39 G. F. Anerio, Ave Virgo gratiosa from Motecta ... liber tertius (1613), bars 1-8.



In the same year as this third book of motets, Anerio produced a set of vesper antiphons in three volumes for the whole liturgical year, Antiphonae seu sacrae cantiones (66). The three volumes have four partbooks each: the Prima Pars and the Tertia Pars identified as Cantus, Altus, Tenor and Bassus ad Organum and the Secunda Pars identified as Cantus, Tenor, Bassus and Bassus ad Organum. Whereas all the music for vespers considered so far has all related to settings of the psalm verses, the Magnificat and Marian antiphons, this provides the first settings, and indeed the only settings in print among the surviving music, of the antiphons for the psalms. As indicated by the title, 'Antiphons or sacred songs', these are really miniature motets for two or four voices. Whereas many composers included settings of vesper antiphons within motet collections, ⁴⁹⁶ Anerio was one of the first to produce a complete collection of antiphons following through the entire liturgical year. They include some of his most attractive music, as seen in his duet setting for soprano and tenor of the antiphon for first and second Vespers for the feast of the Assumption, In Assumptione B. Virginis, 497 where decorative vocal lines are treated in imitation between the two voices. The exact imitation, with the first soprano taking the lead, gives an echo effect which, with the high tessitura of the voices, would have been acoustically dramatic.

The final book of Anerio's motets to survive among the music of the Chiesa Nuova is his *Sacri concentus liber quartus*. That this was printed in the year following his ordination at the Gesù in 1616 probably accounts for the dedication to Mutio Vitelleschi who had succeeded Aquaviva as Superior General of the Society of Jesus in 1615. Although Anerio had been ordained as a secular priest, the title page indicates that he was still in his post at the Jesuit church, Santa Maria dei Monti. Whilst still providing a range

⁴⁹⁶ See Graham Dixon, 'Liturgical Music in Rome, 1605-45', 158-159 for details of Cifra's antiphon settings in his motet collections.

⁴⁹⁷ See Appendix 7, Transcriptions, no. 20.

of settings for one to six voices, he provided a detailed index which groups the motets according to appropriate liturgical usage, such as motets for the Blessed Sacrament, Our Lady, Apostles and Martyrs as well as those for general use. This more structured approach is reflected in the music itself with Anerio making frequent use of short sections in triple time with short, repetitive ideas providing an almost refrain-like function to punctuate the sections and provide a sense of formal design as seen below in the first soprano part from the motet for three voices (CCB), *Cantate Domino*:

Fig. 5.40 G. F. Anerio, Cantate Domino, from Sacri concentus liber quartus, 1617, Cantus I, p.14.



The fact that Anerio produced so many books of motets testifies to the popularity of that form in Rome during the second decade of the sixteenth century. The Chiesa Nuova obtained the first printings and the surviving partbooks show evidence of much use thereby indicating that the small-scale motet was popular for use in the liturgy there as well. Not only did they obtain these four collections by Anerio, but motets by other Roman composers from that decade.

The earliest of these, *Sacrae cantiones* by Antonio Paoletti (7),⁴⁹⁸ were printed in 1611 and appear to be the only complete set of partbooks for this work that survive and there is no record of any other music by that composer. Especially interesting in this collection of twenty motets for two to six voices is Paoletti's apparent concern with structure. In particular, he makes an even greater use than Anerio of repeated passages in triple time to both sectionalise and give cohesion to the music. In the final motet, *Quam*

⁴⁹⁸ The title page reveals that Paoletti was a Augustinian monk from Mont'Alcino, close to Siena.

pulcra es amica mea (a 6),⁴⁹⁹ the opening triple-time setting for all six voices of the first phrase (bars 1-6) is repeated after each subsequent line of the text, each one set for different voices including solos, duets and trios with a lively use of imitative motifs in passages for more than one voice. In just one of these sections all six voices are used, no doubt prompted by the powerful text expressing a simile to the tower of David with 'mille clypei pendent ex ea omnis armatura fortium' ('a thousand bucklers hanging upon it, all the shields of mighty men'). The voices are divided into two homophonic groups of three voices (CI,CII,BII and TI,TII,BI) in an invigorating setting that tosses motifs with lively dotted rhythms between the groups before joining together for the closing bars of that passage. Despite Paoletti's dedication indicating that these *concerti musicali* were written for his recreation, thus suggesting his possible amateur status, he was clearly skilled in writing in the modern style. It is possible that he was familiar with the music of Agazzari who, by the time, was *maestro di cappella* at the cathedral of Siena, Paoletti's home town.

Similarly, the motets of Gregorio Allegri in his *Concertini libro secondo* of 1619 (69), for two to five voices, present him also as a composer imbued with the early Baroque style, despite his reputation as a defender of *stile antico*. In *Angelus ad pastores ait*, he uses the contrast of solos and *tutti* sections in true *concertato* style with balanced phrases, modulations, sequences and clear cadence points. Although the organ bass follows the lowest voice in *tutti* passages, there is a degree of independence from the voices elsewhere and the *bassus ad organum*, unlike Anerio's and Paoletti's motet collections, is referred to as a *basso continuo*.

⁴⁹⁹ See Appendix 7, Transcriptions, no. 21. The text is an emotive one taken from the Song of Solomon (7:6-7, 11-12) and used allegorically for feasts of Our Lady.

⁵⁰⁰ Jerome Roche & Noel O'Regan, 'Allegri, Gregorio', *Grove Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com, (accessed 15 August, 2017).

⁵⁰¹ See Appendix 7, Transcriptions, no. 22.



Fig. 5.41 Gregorio Allegri, Concertini libro secondo (1619), basso continuo part.

Another motet in the same set, Assumpta est Maria for two sopranos, 502 bears a strong resemblance to Anerio's setting of the same words in his Antiphonae seu sacrae cantiones, 503 both in the melodic features, rhythms, use of imitation and vocal range. We know that Allegri, like Anerio, attended the Oratory at the Chiesa Nuova, and it is not unreasonable to assume that it could have been there that Allegri, the younger by eighteen years, heard the music of Anerio or possibly even sang it.

The four partbooks of Allegri's Concertini libro secondo are bound with Fabio Costantini's Selectae Cantiones excellentissimorum auctorum (1616), a collection of motets for two, three and four voices. This again testifies to the popularity of the smallscale motet in Rome in that it includes examples of motets by a wide range of composers

⁵⁰² See Appendix 7, Transcriptions, no. 23.⁵⁰³ See Appendix 7, Transcriptions, no. 20.

(Fig. 5.42), many of whom held prestigious posts in the main ecclesiastical establishments in Rome.



Fig. 5.42 Fabio Costantini's Selectae Cantiones excellentissimorum auctorum (1616), Index.

Two final collections of motets, Cifra's *Sacrae cantiones* of 1638 (15) and Cristoforo Piochio's *Sacrae cantiones liber secundus* of 1637 (76), published closer to the end of the period under consideration, indicate the continuing popularity of the small-scale motet and its continued use in the liturgical services at the Chiesa Nuova. It is surprising that the motets of Cifra, a prolific composer in that style, appear to have been absent from the music library at the Chiesa Nuova until this date. This collection of over two-hundred motets is made up completely of works from earlier prints and was published posthumously by the Roman printer, Grignani, who included a well-structured, chronological index in three parts covering every Sunday and feast day throughout the Church's year, starting with dated feasts from the Feast of the Circumcision on 1 January

and ending with the Feast of the Holy Innocents on 28 December, followed by moveable feasts and then the common feasts such as, Apostles and Martyrs, Confessors, the dedication of a Church. Many are settings of antiphons for first or second vespers and are clearly numbered for identification or marked as the antiphon for the Magnificat. In addition there is another index that organises all the motets according to vocal forces. This convenient indexing of the motets probably made this 1638 publication an attractive and useful acquisition for use at the Chiesa Nuova and its procurment provides evidence of the continued use of small-scale motet settings for the antiphons at vespers. Dixon provides archival evidence from the Gesù that, in March 1639, four scudi was spent on motets by Cifra, ⁵⁰⁴ presumably this 1638 publication.

Although no reference survives relating to the purchase of the partbooks at the Chiesa Nuova, the inventory of 1794 lists in the archives: *Vesperi, e motetti fascetto uno.* - *Antonio Cifra*, ⁵⁰⁵ and the five well-used partbooks still remain in the archive there. ⁵⁰⁶ It is reasonable to assume that, as was the case at the Gesù, these were obtained for use soon after they were printed.

There is no evidence to support any participation by Cifra in the music at the Chiesa Nuova, although, before his departure for Loreto, where he became *maestro di cappella* of the Santa Casa in 1609, he took an active part as both a singer and an organist at several prominent churches and basilicas in Rome and directed the music at the Seminario Romano from 1605 to 1607 and then at the Collegio Germanico in 1608. Undoubtedly his path would have crossed that of other musicians connected to the Chiesa Nuova.

⁵⁰⁴ Dixon, 'Liturgical Music in Rome, 1605-45', 50.

⁵⁰⁵ Appendix 3, Extracts from the inventory of 1794 that relate to archival material.

⁵⁰⁶ I-Rf H.II.11. Also see Appendix 5, Catalogue of Manuscript and Printed Music from the Chiesa Nuova, item 15.

As this collection of motets by Cifra is made up of motets published much earlier it can be expected that they will share characteristics with those by other composers, such as Anerio, who were composing motets around the second decade of the seventeenth century. Cifra's first book of motets, *Motecta liber primus* (1609), was issued in the same year as Anerio's first collection. In favouring settings for two voices, it is likely that the main influence was that of Agazzari, his predecessor at the Collegio Germanico. Unlike Anerio, Cifra did not compose any motets for solo voice and avoided the use of solos in *concertato* style thereby avoiding monody as a means of expressing the meaning of the words. Also, unlike Anerio, he showed little interest in gaining structural cohesion by the use of sectional divisions or the use of refrain-like features. Dixon points out that there are two exceptions to this: his setting of Beatus vir for two sopranos, and Misit Dominus Angelum suum for soprano and bass. In both an ABB structure is achieved by a repetition of the second section, with a reworking of the material in Beatus vir, and embellishment of the vocal lines at their second appearance in *Misit Dominus Angelum suum*. ⁵⁰⁷

The majority of his motets for two voices follows a similar pattern in that they begin with imitative entries using longer notes but soon merge into faster moving phrases with the voices moving in parallel thirds or sixths but with frequent returns to short imitative motives. Florid runs can be seen to be the result of word painting or are used to provide a sonorous conclusion. His setting for two sopranos of *Nativitas gloriosae*, ⁵⁰⁸ the first antiphon for second vespers for the Nativity of the B.V.M., shows many of these typical features. The interplay of extensive passaggi between the two equal voices in the final section would have produced a striking effect in a large resonant church, such as the Chiesa Nuova.

⁵⁰⁷ Dixon, 'Progressive Tendencies in the Roman Motet during the Early Seventeenth Century', 110-111. ⁵⁰⁸ See Appendix 7, Transcriptions, no. 24.

The latest collections of motets that are known to have survived from the Chiesa Nuova are those by Cristoforo Piochi, who was for a short time during 1612 organist at S. Maria in Trastevere, Rome. ⁵⁰⁹ By 1637, however, when his *Sacrae cantiones liber secundus* was printed in Rome, he was, as the title page indicates, the *maestro di cappella* at the Cathedral in Faenza. Unfortunately the *basso continuo* part is missing and does not appear to survive in any other source. Piochi's motets are for two, three and four voices and are clearly structured, frequently in ABA form or ABB, as in his setting of *Panis Angelicus* for two sopranos and bass, where there is an exact repeat of the second half, indicated by repeat marks.

His four-voice motets, such as *Domine qui habitabit*, are in *concertato* style with clear divisions between solo passages and *tutti* using predominantly syllabic writing with marked rhythmic features and much use of repeated notes. In his motets for two voices generally both voices begin together rather than the imitative texture favoured by composers earlier in the century. Sometimes he uses short motivic ideas which contrast with long *passaggi* of earlier composers as in this final section of *Deus miserere nostri* (Fig. 5.43):

Fig. 5.43 Cristoforo Piochi, Deus miserere nostri from Sacrae cantiones liber secundus, bars 36-42.



⁵⁰⁹ Nigel Fortune & Rodobaldo Tibaldi, 'Piochi, Cristoforo', *Grove Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com (accessed 15 August, 2017).

As would be expected, it is motet settings that provide the greatest amount of smaller-scale music in *concertato* style. There are, however, among the printed partbooks some mass settings which, due to the use of short solo passages and homophonic *tutti* for a single choir, can be described as 'small-scale'.

The first of these is a single mass setting by Giulio Cesare Bianchi (1576/7-1637), *Messa della Gloriosissima V. Maria*, included in his *Libro secundo di motetti in lode della gloriosissima vergine* (6), published in 1620. Besides his own mass and motets, he included Monteverdi's *Litanie della Beata Vergine* for six voices as well as a motet, *Nesciens Mater Virgo* by Cipriano Losio, which appears to provide the only published work by that composer and the only reference to him. His inclusion of Monteverdi's music can be explained by the fact that the two composers, both from Cremona, were friends and Bianchi was in charge of the wind band at the Gonzaga court in Mantua during the time that Monteverdi was *maestro di cappella* there.⁵¹⁰ Bianchi's first and second books of motets were published in Venice in the year that he left Mantua. His dedication of the second book to Cardinal Montalto suggests that he may have been hoping to find a post in Rome,⁵¹¹ although there is no evidence that he ever visited there.

These partbooks are interesting in that they provide one of the few collections of music from the early decades of the seventeenth century in the Chiesa Nuova not by Roman composers. Bound in parchment with the crest of Cardinal Montalto embossed in gold on the front (Fig. 2.6),⁵¹² it is possible that they were a gift from the Cardinal who had a particular fondness for the Chiesa Nuova and Neri.⁵¹³

⁵¹⁰ Denis Stevens, *The Letters of Claudio Monteverdi* (London: Faber and Faber, 1980), 40.

⁵¹¹ Alessandro Damasceni Peretti di Montalto (1571 – 2 June 1623), Cardinal-Bishop of Albano and Vice-Chancellor of the Holy Roman Church (1589–1623), indulged his taste for music and lavish theatrical productions staged in his residence, the Cancelleria palace. Bianchi, known as *dal Cornetto* because of his skill in playing the cornett, may have hoped to enter his service.

⁵¹² See page 34 of this thesis.

⁵¹³ Cardinal Montalto provided Neri, who preferred to live on alms, with his *fiaschettino* of wine. See Ponnelle and Bordet, *St. Philip Neri and the Roman Society of his Times*, 519.

In his *Messa della Gloriosissima V. Maria* Bianchi's solo passages are quite plain with a generally syllabic treatment, repeated notes and little decoration. ⁵¹⁴ Against this however, the organ bass has a degree of autonomy, moving in notes of shorter value and approaching the style that would later be referred to as a 'walking bass' and possibly learnt from Monteverdi who, although ten years his junior, instructed him in composition. ⁵¹⁵ The *tutti* passages are predominantly homophonic and syllabic with repeated notes but with variety in rhythmic treatment, including faster moving passages in crotchets and the use of syncopation. In these passages the organ just doubles the vocal bass. There are printed bar lines in the organ part, possibly to assist in the playing of the more florid writing in the solo passages, as well as a clear indication differentiating between passages for solo voices, which are marked *Principale*, and those for full choir, which are marked *Ripieno* - these two directions presumably relating to organ registration: ⁵¹⁶



Fig. 5.44 Giulio Cesare Bianchi, Messa della Gloriosissima V. Maria, basso per organum, p.21.

Bianchi's treatment of *tutti* and solos has much in common with Monteverdi's treatment of the voices in *Litanie della Beata Vergine*. The simplicity of Monteverdi's litany setting suggests that it was originally composed for one of the many processions that took place in Venice and could equally be of use at the Chiesa Nuova where it was the practice, as in the rest of Rome, to sing the Litany of Loreto every Saturday and on feasts of Our Lady. Although requiring six voices (CAATTB) it was less demanding on resources than the double choir settings of Ratti and G.F. Anerio.

514 The Kyrie from this mass is transcribed in full in Appendix 7, Transcriptions, no. 25.

⁵¹⁵ Stevens, *The Letters of Claudio Monteverdi*, 79.
516 In the seventeenth century the term *principale* would refer to the diapasons and *ripieno* to full organ.

of the Seventeenth Century the term principale would refer to the diapasons and repend to full organical Claudio Monteverdi, Opera Omnia, vol. XVIII, ed. Mariella Sala (Cremona: Foundazione Claudio Monteverdi, 1995), 496-526.

Bianchi's solo motets, such as Ave Sanctissima Maria, 518 are in declamatory style with the words, for the most part, determining the rhythm and the basso continuo providing little more than harmonic support. In this particular motet Bianchi creates a sense of binary structure by a repeat of the two sections before closing with a decorative Amen. Again parallels can be drawn with Monteverdi with similar features relating to rhythm, for example the use of the distinctive \mathcal{I} rhythm in melismatic passages for the solo voice.⁵¹⁹

For Nesciens Mater Virgo, Cipriano Losio sets a long text as a duet for cantus and bass. Unlike Bianchi, Losio does not appear to share any characteristics with Monteverdi. Throughout, the organ bass doubles the vocal bass and the part is not figured. Although there are some lively imitative passages with dotted rhythms, this motet lacks a sense of cohesion. 520

The second collection that includes mass settings in concertato style is also provided by a north Italian composer, Stefano Bernardi (c.1585-1636) who, although he spent a short time in Rome when he was maestro di cappella of the church of the Madonna dei Monti in 1610, returned to his hometown of Verona in 1611 where he took over the post of maestro di cappella at the cathedral, ⁵²¹ presumably replacing Anerio. His Messe a quattro et cinque ... libro primo (74) includes one a cappella mass based on Arcadelt's madrigal, Il bianco e dolce cigno and two others that he describes as a concerto: Missa Sexti Toni a 4 and Missa a 5 Octavi Toni. He demonstrates the dichotomy that was found to exist in the music of some composers in the early seventeenth century where experience in stile antico did not rule out the possibility of being equally skilled in more modern styles of composition. His Missa a 5 combines his skill as a contrapuntist with his ability to

⁵¹⁸ See Appendix 7, Transcriptions, no. 26.

⁵¹⁹ See, for example, Monteverdi's motet Nigra sum in Claudio Monteverdi, Sacrae Cantiunculae, vol. XIV, pt.1, edited by G. Francesco Malipiero (Austria: Universal edition, 1932), 150-152. See Appendix 7, Transcriptions, no. 27.

⁵²¹ Jerome Roche and Elizabeth Roche, 'Bernardi, Stefano', *Grove Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com, (accessed 20 October 2017).

combine varied textures with solo passages and lively, homophonic *tutti*. The collection must have been popular as it was printed by the publishers Vincenti of Venice three times, 1615, 1624 and finally in 1627. It was this final print that was obtained for use at the Chiesa Nuova.

The remaining printed editions both date from 1636 and introduce two composers who are represented by a single print in the whole collection from the Chiesa Nuova. The first is a Roman publication, Salmi per il vespero e dui Magnificat a quattro voci (13) by Tullio Cima (1596-1675),⁵²³ which includes four-voice settings of seven vesper psalms and two Magnificats. The second of these is described as a Magnificat Concertata and is differentiated from the rest of the set by Cima's use of solos for cantus and bassus, thus making the basso continuo essential. Whereas in the psalm settings and the first Magnificat the verse structure of the text is maintained by an exchange of polyphonic settings and short syllabic homophonic settings - typical of psalm settings in that period - the Magnificat Concertata is through-composed achieving contrast by the variety of the vocal textures. In full-choir passages the treatment is mainly syllabic and generally focused on a narrow vocal range for each voice, even when the texture is polyphonic. The overall effect is rather dull. The short solo passages for cantus or bassus are a little more wide-ranging, often as a result of following some of the conventions of the time in the decoration, which nevertheless appear too contrived, as in the bass solo at Deposuit potentes de sede; et exaltavit humiles ('He has put down the mighty from their seat, and has exalted the humble'):

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⁵²²See Appendix 7, Transcriptions, no. 28.

⁵²³ In 1636 Cima was *maestro di cappella* at the Seminario Romano. See Jerome Roche and Rodobaldo Tibaldi, 'Cima, Tullio', *Grove Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com, (accessed 25 October 2017).

Fig. 5.45 Tullio Cima, Magnificat Concertata from Salmi per il vespero e dui Magnificat, bars 49-57.



The organ bass, here described as a *basso continuo*, shows little independence from the voices, other than in the cantus solos, and generally follows the bass voice as in the extract above.

The second item from 1636 is *Responsorii di Natale e di Settimana santa concertati a quattro voci* by Alessandro Capece, who held posts as *maestro di cappella* as far apart as Naples and Ferrara. It is likely, however, that he at least visited Rome during his time as *maestro di cappella* at Tivoli Cathedral in the 1620s and may have spent some time there earlier, as Robletti published a book of his psalm settings (1615) and his first book of madrigals (1616). Responsories, however, were published in Naples and show a much more progressive *concertato* style with expressive solos, dynamic markings and much use of chromaticism. Also interesting is the fact that Capece set the Responsories for the Nativity. Whilst settings of Passiontide Responsories were more common, the only other settings of Christmas Responsories among the music from the Chiesa Nuova were Giovanni Francesco Anerio's *Responsoria nativitatis Domini* (67), for

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Giuseppe Vecchi, 'Capece, Alessandro', *Grove Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com (accessed 27 October 2017).

525 Patrizio Barbieri 'Music colling in Santata' (de la colling in Santata').

⁵²⁵ Patrizio Barbieri, 'Music selling in seventeenth-century Rome: three new inventories from Frazini's bookshops 1621, 1633, 1686', *Recercare*, 23 (2011), 1/2: 131-173; here, 142-143.

⁵²⁶ Dixon, 'Liturgical Music in Rome, 1605-45', 193.

⁵²⁷ The Chiesa Nuova had settings by both Felice and Giovanni Francesco Anerio as well as manuscript sources in I-Rn Mss.Mus.77-88

four voices and organ and printed in Rome in 1614. Although printed with an organ part, Anerio's settings are more akin to his *stile antico* mass settings. These two sets, however, provide some information on liturgical practice. The Responsories for the Nativity were performed for Matins which were held before Midnight Mass when there were generally musicians assembled. It seems likely that this was the practice at the Chiesa Nuova and that possibly both these sets were used with the choice depending on the musicians available.

Having considered all the printed music in *concertato* style, it now remains to look at the very small collection of manuscript copies of music for solo voices with organ (Fig.5.35). The first three (25, 26 & 32) are sets of partbooks that share many similarities in layout, hand and musical style. The first two of these (25 & 26) are complete with three partbooks each: Cantus I, Cantus II and Bassus ad organum. The third set (32) originally had the same number of partbooks but the Cantus I partbook is now missing.

Their content suggests that they belong together as a set. The first includes fifty-three settings of Magnificat antiphons for Sundays and all feast days throughout the liturgical year and the other two include, in total, one hundred and fifty-seven settings of the psalm antiphons. The first two have at the beginning of each partbook a page outlining the content, use and voices, followed by a full index with pages numbers in the calendar order of the liturgical feasts. The third begins with an index that places the antiphon settings in alphabetical order, although the content reveals them to be laid out in chronological order of feasts. The content of this third set provides a second setting of antiphons for the Feast of the Nativity and then settings for those feasts not included in the other set. The style of the writing with calliographic initials suggests a professional copyist and possibly the same hand throughout all three sets.

No composer is given, but the two complete sets exhibit a very similar approach in the style of vocal writing, and the surviving partbooks for the third set suggests that they too were in the same style. The emphasis is on duet settings, predominantly for cantus and tenor but other combinations, including two equal voices, are also found. The few settings for four voices, always four sopranos, appear to be determined by a consideration of text, for example, a setting for of the Magnificat antiphon for the feast of SS. Inocentium (the 'Holy Innocents') and the similar use of four high voices for the final psalm antiphon for the Vigil of the Nativity, Levate capita vestra ('Lift up your heads').

The composer sets the words clearly, generally starting with a single voice, which is then 'echoed' by the second in imitation. Textures vary between short imitative motifs and decorative quaver runs that sometimes combine in thirds or sixths. Such decoration often highlights an important word. The use of word painting extends beyond the individual vocal lines into the harmonic combinations. The setting of the Magnificat antiphon for second vespers on the feast of martyrs (de pluribus martyribus), Gaudent in *coelis*⁵²⁸ for two sopranos, for example, shows clear attention to the word setting in every detail from the close imitation with fast repeated notes at 'qui Christi vestigia sunt secuti' ('who have followed in the footsteps of Christ') (bars 16⁴-20) to the descending melodic lines at 'sanguinem suum fuderunt' ('they shed their blood') (bars 38-43). For the final phrase, 'ideo cum Christo exsultant sine fine' ('they rejoice with Christ without end'), the sense of unity with Christ is portrayed by the voices arriving at the only homophonic passage in the piece (bars 50-51) before breaking up again for an exuberant conclusion.

Besides the sonorous effects created by echoes and well-shaped rising and falling figures, there are some dramatic effects, such as the opening of the Magnificat antiphon for the Feast of All Saints, O quam gloriosum ('O how glorious'), ⁵²⁹ where a rest follows the initial 'O quam' in the soprano. The repetition of this by the bass has the addition of a high 'g' in the soprano producing a fifth and then an octave with the bass. A similar use of a rest

⁵²⁸ See Appendix 7, Transcriptions, no. 29.⁵²⁹ See Appendix 7, Transcriptions, no. 30.

breaking up the first phrase is seen in *Angelus autem Domini* ('But the Angel of the Lord'),⁵³⁰ the first psalm antiphon for the second Vespers of Easter Sunday, where the text, with phrases such as 'descendit de coelo' ('descended from heaven') and 'revolvit lapidem' ('rolled away the stone') abounds in opportunities for elaborate vocal passagework of which the composer takes full advantage.

A sense of structure is achieved by the repetition of sections, which are varied by changes of tonality and possibly intensified on repetition by a higher pitch and closer imitation. Sometimes the setting will conclude with a change to triple time as in *Angelus autem Domini*, with its lively 'alleluia' refrain (bars 26-47).

The organ provides a strong harmonic support and it is clear that, although the composer can write flowing lines with some use of counterpoint, he is also thinking vertically with sections focused towards clear cadences. In those settings with a bass voice, the organ bass follows the bass line but omits any decoration used in the vocal part, but in duets for two high voices, it is a little more independent but, for the most part, provides primarily harmonic support. The organ parts are carefully figured throughout. The fact that the use of figures began to be common in Roman prints from the second decade of the seventeenth century, gives a clue as to the dating of these partbooks.⁵³¹ It is possible, of course, that the figures could have been added later, but the popularity of duet settings from the second decade of the seventeenth century suggests that they are more likely to have been written sometime after 1610.

As none of the motets appears to exist in any other source than these copies from the Chiesa Nuova, it is reasonable to assume that they were composed for use at Vespers there. The careful structuring of the books for ease of use and the enormity of the task producing, in total, 210 motets suggests the composer had very close affiliation to the Chiesa Nuova

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⁵³⁰ See Appendix 7, Transcriptions, no. 31.

Anerio's second book of motets (1611) included figures in the organ bass, but his first book (1609) did

and might have been a member of the congregation. Once again the possibility arises that Francesco Martini could have been the composer and that these, as well as the a cappella settings of psalms for Sunday Vespers (I-Rn Mss.Mus.9-12 (27)) mentioned previously, were among those copies of Martini's works that Rosini was instructed to have made after Martini's death. 532 Clearly the style of the psalm settings and the motets is quite diverse. but features such as a fondness for long crotchet runs seen, for example, in the final eight bars of the psalm *Dixit Dominus*, ⁵³³ and noted in the motets, as well as the strong focus on imitation in the motets, suggesting a composer who was adept in writing polyphony, and could indicate the same composer. Similarities can also be drawn with Martini's Motecta festorum, totius anni of 1607 where, although it is impossible to make musical comparisons due to missing partbooks, there is an index laid out according to the liturgical calendar in the same format as found in these partbooks. 534 Martini's only known compositions for reduced voices are his laude that were included in Ancina's Tempio armonico della Beatissima Vergine (1599). His 3-voice Alta armonia gentile, though clearly closer to polyphonic style, does show him using some features, such as long quaver runs and clear cadences with modulation, that are also a feature of the motets, but are not uncommon generally in motet settings at that time (Fig. 5.46):

Fig. 5.46 Francesco Martini, Alta armonia gentile from Tempio armonico, p. 152, bars 1-6.



⁵³² Addaminao & Morelli, 'L'archivio della cappella musicale di Santa Maria in Vallicella (Chiesa Nuova) a Roma nella prima metà del Seicento', 42.

⁵³³ See Appendix 7, Transcriptions, no. 7.

⁵³⁴ Francesco Martini, *Motecta festorum, totius anni ... liber primus* (Rome: Zannetti, 1607).



If these antiphon settings are by Martini then, like many Roman composers of that time, he demonstrated the ability to compose effectively in a variety of styles.

They are important firstly in providing an insight in to the style of music performed at the Chiesa Nuova for Vespers on Sundays and feast days. We know that during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries the Oratorian Congregation had several professional singers among its members. Possibly, when a choir was not available, a high standard of performance was still achieved with the use of a small number of good singers. It is also possible that, considering the reputation of singers as famous as Rosini, the inclusion of solos at vespers would have helped in drawing a large congregation. Secondly, these pieces provide additional evidence of the popularity of the solo motet in Rome during the early seenteenth century.

There is one further manuscript, a setting of the seven Penitential Psalms for solo voice and organ ((42), I-Rn Mss. Mus. 133). Four are for soprano [C1 clef] and three for tenor [C3 clef] and there is a figured bass throughout. The style is very different from any of the music considered so far in that the vocal line is in monodic declamatory style.

All seven psalm settings are characterised by a powerful expression of the emotions that are suggested by the words. In the opening psalm, *Domine ne in furore* ('Lord, do not rebuke me in your anger'), ⁵³⁵ after a strong and emphatic address to the 'Lord', with *Domine* set to the notes of a descending D major chord, the phrase rises through a minor

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⁵³⁵ See Appendix 7, Transcriptions, no. 32.

seventh to be followed by a rest and a fall of a major seventh for 'corripias me' ('chastise me') at bar 3. This use of falling intervals for expressive purposes is seen to be a common feature and, in particular, the diminished fifth, seen in this psalm at bars 9 to 13 with a fall of a perfect fifth then reduced to a diminished fifth for the descending leaps that follow. There appears to be a symbolic gesture here as the text at these points is always directly referring to the penitent. This becomes even more evident at 'vocem fletus mei' ('the voice of my weeping') (bars 56-58) where, after climbing to a high G, the voice falls a diminished twelfth for 'mei'. Chromatic inflection is also used to express sentiments of growing intensity, for example, 'Laboravi in gemitu meo, lavabo per singulas noctes lectum meum: lacrymis meis stratum meum rigabo' ('I have laboured in my mourning, I will every night wash my bed: I will water my couch with tears') (bars 33-43) steadily rises in chromatic steps through an augmented fifth before dropping a major sixth, once again after a rest, for the final word, presumably prompted by the reference to falling tears. For the final verse of this psalm (bars 66-69) a sense of triumph at answered prayer is achieved with an increase of rhythmic movement around a Bb major chord before concluding in d minor, appropriately for the end of a penitential setting. All these features: varied tonalty, intense chromaticism, telling leaps, extremes of vocal range and a dramatic use of rests are enhanced by the contrast of passages of repeated notes in recitative style. The figured bass provides harmonic support throughout adding to the expression with suspensions.

When trying to determine the composer obvious parallels can be drawn with the music of Cavalieri whose association with the Oratory at the Chiesa Nuova especially during the Holy Year of 1600 and before, have been discussed. Specific identifying features can be identified in his scores, for example the style of the figured bass notation with the use of the number 11 for a compound fourth. Regarding word-setting similarities can also be found in his *Lamentationes* as, for example, in his setting of *Plorans, ploravit*

nocte et lacrimae eius in maxillis eius ('Weeping, she has wept in the night and her tears are on her cheeks') with his use of chromatic inflection, the outlining of falling diminished fifths and the breaking of the phrase with a rest emphasising *her* cheeks:

Fig. 5.47 Emilio de Cavalieri, Plorans ploravit from Lamentationi per la Settimana Santa. 536



Unlike Cavalieri's settings of the Lamentations and Responsories, however, these settings of the Penitential Psalms appear to have been stored with the liturgical music, but are not, however, listed in the inventory of 1608, suggesting that they entered the library at a later date. The possibility arises that they were composed later and, as Cavalieri died in 1602, the most likely composer would be Doritio Isorelli, who was the scribe for the set of Cavalieri's Lamentations and Responsories as well as being the composer of part of Cavalieri's incomplete setting of Lamentations, all included in the same manuscript. 537 Although Isorelli did not fully complete Cavalieri's unfinished Lamentations, there is sufficient evidence of his ability to compose in monodic style with similar use of chromaticism, a dramatic use of rests and figured bass notation. 538 Besides a couple of *Laude* included in Ancina's *Tempio armonico*, 539 there are no other extant compositions by

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⁵³⁶ Emilio de Cavalieri, *Lamentations and Responsories for Holy week*, edited by Elam Rotem (Wilhelmshaven: Florian Noetzel Verlag, 2014), 96.

⁵³⁷ I-Rv MS 0 31.

⁵³⁸ Cavalieri, Lamentations and Responsories for Holy week, 106.

⁵³⁹ Giovanni Giovenale Ancina, *Tempio armonico della Beatissima Vergine ... prima parte a tre voci*, (Rome: Nicolo Mutii, 1599), 102, 151.

Isorelli despite the fact that Aringhi, who joined the Oratory ten years before the death of Isorelli, described his music as 'una cosa di Paradiso' ('a thing of heaven'). 540

Although the Penitential Psalms, like the Litany of Loreto, are not strictly liturgical, it is likely that this setting would have been performed as part of the Lenten devotions, possibly on the Fridays or on Sundays at the *oratorio vespertino* and so following Sunday Vespers during Lent. The use of the organ, however, suggests that during Lent they would not have been performed in the church, but it then seems strange, as evidence indicates, that they were housed with the liturgical music.⁵⁴¹ Could it be possible that they could have been sung in the church on other occasions outside of Lent, at one of the many paraliturgical devotions held there when, as described by Manni, after a sermon was preached 'the singers would apply themselves to the singing of a new devotional work'?⁵⁴²

Although the singing of the Penitential Psalms during Lent was widespread in Rome, particularly as part of the devotions of the many confraternities, like that at Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini, 543 it appears that no polyphonic settings of the complete set survive in Roman sources other than falsobordone settings of the fourth, the Miserere (Psalm 50), and so it is likely that they were just chanted to a plainchant tone.⁵⁴⁴ Neither does there appear to be any surviving setting for smaller forces other than this one from the Chiesa Nuova, making this not only a rare example of monodic style among the liturgical music of the Chiesa Nuova, but also a rare example of a setting of that particular penitential text.

⁵⁴⁰ I-Rv O. 60, n.47, c. 294^r.

⁵⁴¹ It is probably this setting of the Penitential Psalms, referred to as *Salmi penitenziali volume in foglio*, that is listed in the 1794 inventory (See Appendix 3).

⁵⁴² Agostino Manni, *Primordia Oratorii - The Earliest Beginnings of the Congregation of the Oratory*, trans. Timothy Ashurst (London: Oratory publications, 2011), 111. Also listed in the 1608 inventory is G.F. Anerio's Teatro armonico (Rome: Giovanni Battista Robletti 1619), which might also have been used on such an occasion.

⁵⁴³ O'Regan, Institutional Patronage in Post-Tridentine Rome: Music at Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini 1550-1650, 33, and Dixon, 'Lenten Devotions. Some memoriae of Baroque Rome', The Musical Times, 124 (1983), 1681: 157-161; here, 158. ⁵⁴⁴ O'Regan, ibid., 33.

As previously mentioned, the music listed in the inventory of 1608 and the records of purchase indicate that those in charge of the music in the first decade of the seventeenth century, first Santini and then Martini, were quick to acquire printed copies of motets for solo voices as soon as they were available: those by Viadana and Fattorini in 1602 and then Agazzari's in 1606. Whilst the readiness of printers in Rome to provide partbooks of motets and antiphon settings indicates that the popularity of music for solo voices was not limited to the Chiesa Nuova, the surviving music from after 1608, including manuscript sources, suggests that this enthusiasm for smaller-scale music, especially for one or two solo voices, greatly increased during the remainder of Martini's time as *maestro di cappella* and continued during Rosini's tenure.

VI CONCLUSION

This exploration of the surviving liturgical music from the Chiesa Nuova, alongside historical documents such as inventories and decrees, has provided abundant evidence of the emphasis placed on the use of music in the liturgy by the Congregation of the Roman Oratory. It has also helped to substantiate the claim that the Chiesa Nuova became 'one of the greatest centres of sacred music in Rome'. 545

A picture of growth has been seen to emerge in the provision of music for the liturgy as the Congregation became established. The survival of music inventories make it possible to align this growth with the progress in the building and decoration of the Chiesa Nuova, one of the largest churches in Rome, as well as with the increasing prominence of the Oratoria Congregation within the Church and among the people of Rome and beyond.

Initially, when the church was first available for use, albeit in an incomplete state, the repertoire was seen to be less varied and, in its reliance on chant and polyphony *alla Palestrina*, reflected the more conservative stance of the Papal Chapel. Whilst the influence of Soto on the choice of music at that time has been referred to, there must have also been financial restraints that would have impacted on the payment of musicians and the purchase of music. The building of the new church, which Neri himself insisted should be on a plan far exceeding that of the original, proved to be a huge financial burden. ⁵⁴⁶

Nevertheless, the inventory of 1592 has shown that attention was given to amassing a repertoire, including polyphonic settings, to provide for a sung liturgy for both Mass and Vespers. As noted, there was no mention of any regular payments to singers up to 1592, so it can be assumed that these settings were sung by members of the Oratorian Congregation

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⁵⁴⁵ Capecelatro, *The Life of Saint Philip Neri*, vol. II, 83

⁵⁴⁶ By 1581 the Congregation had incurred so much debt that building work had to be suspended until support could be found. See Ponnelle and Bordet, *St. Philip Neri and the Roman Society of his Times*, 342.

or by those who frequented the Oratory.⁵⁴⁷ As all the music at that time was in choirbook format, it can only have been performed with small numbers and possibly with just one singer to a part, whilst we know that the novices and members of the clergy were tutored in the singing of plainchant and *falsobordone*.⁵⁴⁸ Money was spent, however, on regular payments to an organist, as well as for visiting singers for the patronal feasts of the Chiesa Nuova: the Nativity of Our Lady in September and the feast of St. Gregory.⁵⁴⁹ The impression is that from the start music was considered to be important in the liturgy even when the Congregation had to work under severe financial constraints.

During the period up to 1608 the music library was seen to grow considerably to include sixty-one items. At the same time, recorded expenditure showed payments to individual singers and money spent on copying music and purchasing music was seen to increase from 1598 onwards. The completion of the Chiesa Nuova, impressive in its proportions and its decoration, attracted not only a large congregation, but also more benefactors. Numbers attending increased still further with the death of Neri and his subsequent veneration as a saint. At the same time, undoubtedly enabled by the availability of funds and encouraged by the large numbers attending, the music has been seen to be more varied with a move towards the use of polychoral settings and small-scale motets. There were also increased references during this period to the increased involvement of professional musicians including those, such as Martini, Isorelli and Rosini, who joined the Congregation.

By 1608 the foundations were clearly laid for an expansion in the provision of music in the liturgy with Martini and then Rosini as *maestro di cappella*. The Chiesa

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⁵⁴⁷ As far back as 1570 Animuccia had decided to write laude in eight parts due to the numbers attending and presumably there were singers capable of performing them. See the dedication in Giovanni Animuccia, *Il secondo libro delle laudi, dove si contengono motteti, salmi et altre diverse cose spirituali...* (Rome: Eredi di Antonio Blado (Camerali) 1570).

⁵⁴⁸ See page 74.

⁵⁴⁹ See Appendix 6, Records of expenditure: 28 Jan. 1584 - 2 April 1591.

⁵⁵⁰ Ibid., 1 Aug. 1598 - 4 May 1608.

⁵⁵¹ See Appendix 2, items 31, 51, 53 and 47-49.

Nuova, complete with its facade, was by that time attracting even greater numbers, which increased and widened with the beatification and subsequent canonisation of Neri. At the same time there were increased references to the involvement of professional musicians, singers and composers.

If the 'lost' inventory of the music taken in 1644, referred to in the decrees, was to be discovered, it would give a very exact indication of the music performed up to that date. Nevertheless, the survival of such a large amount of music that belonged to the Chiesa Nuova, and that, if not dated, has been seen to have features that place it in the first half of the seventeenth century, has presented a clear indication of the music sung in the liturgy at that time. In contrast with the music listed in 1592, analysis of the sources has revealed a plethora of styles reflecting not only the diversity of the Baroque period, but also the wide range of musical styles found in liturgical music in Rome in the early decades of the seventeenth century.

As expected, the Mass remained at the centre of Catholic worship but, taking account chronologically of the music resources acquired at the Chiesa Nuova between the 1570s and 1640s, clear evidence has been seen of a development from the use of polyphonic masses by such composers as Palestrina, Morales and Victoria and plainchant or *falsobordone* settings for the proper, to a more spectacular liturgy with considerably more music, including motets that could even be sung at a low Mass at the Offertory, the Consecration and Communion. While settings of the Ordinary in *stile antico* were still retained, it has been shown that there was a noticeable broadening of styles to include music for two or more choirs, pieces in *concertato* style and small-scale motets, all made possible by the use of organ accompaniment and well-suited to the varied needs, where the choice of music might be determined by the importance of the feast or the singers available, such as Soto and Rosini and others from the Papal Chapel, famous for their vocal accomplishments, who provided a bait to attract a large congregation.

The surviving music has also revealed that a great emphasis was placed on Sung Vespers on Sundays and on feast days. This can be substantiated by a statement by the Oratorian Agostino Manni, who, in writing of the devotional practices on feast days, described Vespers, which, he wrote, were sung 'after lunch, at the appointed hour' and 'with such a degree of solemnity and careful observance of the prescribed ceremonial as to ensure the flourishing of devotion'. Once again the surviving music has indicated that from modest beginnings, with a heavy reliance on chant and *falsobordone* for psalms and antiphons with the possible addition, on some occasions, of a more elaborate setting of the Magnificat, the hymn and the Marian antiphon in *stile antico*, the music provision grew to encompass a wide range of music with double-choir psalm and Magnificat settings, antiphons set as small-scale motets and Marian antiphons for two or three choirs, providing a fitting conclusion.

Other music required for particular celebrations, such as *Quarant'ore* and feasts of Our Lady, has revealed similar developments. The settings of the popular *Litany of Loreto*, for example, originally sung in plainchant or *falsobordone*, were composed in polychoral style by Giovanni Francesco Anerio and Antonio Cifra (65) and by Lorenzo Ratti (12), with the latter employing solo voices in *concertato style*.

It has been seen that composers of the highest calibre, such as Victoria, Allegri, Felice and Giovanni Francesco Anerio, Giovannelli were all associated with the Oratory and the liturgical music. Giovanni Francesco Anerio in particular provides ample evidence that the spiritual ethos found there influenced, not only what he composed, but also the emotional intensity of his writing. The musicians who were drawn to the Chiesa Nuova appeared to create a bond with the Congregation there that suggested a closer affinity than they had with any other church where they offered their services.

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⁵⁵² Agostino Manni, Primordia Oratorii - The Earliest Beginnings of the Congregation of the Oratory, 109.

Although lists of payments have been seen to be rather sketchy, probably due, in part, to the fact that members of the Congregation included professional singers, references to papal singers providing the music sometimes *en masse*, but also as willing individuals who might give their services freely, were discovered throughout the whole period. The make-up of the choir, suggested by the number of surviving partbooks, coupled with records of payments, has indicated that the music, even during the 1630s and 1640s would have been generally sung with only one or two voices to a part, confirming earlier research on the performance practice of sacred music in Rome during that period. 553

This study is therefore crucial in providing evidence of the emphasis placed on liturgical music at the Chiesa Nuova, as well as revealing what the music was like. It should not be thought, however, that all the music that was accumulated was also performed. It has already been noted that the volume of music by Montemayor (43) was presented as a gift, and other music might have similarly been donated. The collection of psalm settings by Victoria (39) may have been copied by Soto solely as a printer's copy and, in addition, it is also possible that collections were purchased in order to acquire only some of the contents for performance. Even considering this, however, the extant music still provides a clear indication of an impressive liturgy that attracted professional musicians from all over Rome.

This investigation of the extant sources has revealed rare works, both printed and in manuscript copies, that do not exist in modern editions and, in some cases, appear not to have survived in any other source than those mentioned. Of particular note are the manuscripts containing the early compositions of Animuccia (29), the choirbook containing what appears to be the all the liturgical music of Montemayor (43), the triple-choir masses arranged from masses by Palestrina (1-3) and the setting, for solo voice, of

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⁵⁵³ Noel O'Regan, 'The Performance of Roman Sacred Polyphonic Music in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries: Evidence from Archival Sources,' *Performance Practice Review*, 8 (1995), 2: 107-146; here, 117-118.

the Penitential Psalms (42). All of these, as well as some of the early printed music, provide interesting material for future editorial and performance projects.

This study has been enabled and prompted by the recent and continuing work on the restoration and re-cataloguing of the archive of the Chiesa Nuova. Besides the music preserved there, the inventories of the music, including that of 1592, which had remained undiscovered until now, have been invaluable in providing a chronology and therefore a sense of development to this exploration of the music. In addition, the earlier work on cataloguing and identifying sources of manuscript music in the holdings of the Biblioteca Nazionale, ss well as the recent and on-going work on digitalising these sources, has also been extremely useful in providing the means to describe much music which had previously not been examined in detail.

The findings presented in this research into the liturgical music from the Chiesa Nuova have revealed possibilities for future research that could not be encompassed within the specific aims of this study. Frequent references have been made, for example, to copies of music that appear to be in the hand of professional copyists. We do not know the source for these copies or the copyists responsible. Could further research into the historic documents of the Chiesa Nuova or a comparison with copies in other institutions provide information on this?

Another interesting area for further research, prompted by this study and referred to in passing, is the musical interaction between the other oratories of S. Filippo Neri that were established in Italy during that period. The Oratory in Naples, founded by members of the Congregation from Rome in 1586, has been mentioned in relation to the music of Montemayor. In addition, the clergy of the Oratories in Rome and Naples maintained a

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⁵⁵⁴ Monti, 'The Archive of the Roman Oratory', 22.

⁵⁵⁵ Catalogo del fondo musicale della Biblioteca Nazionale centrale Vittorio Emanuele II di Roma / introduzione storica di Arnaldo Morelli (Roma, 1989).

⁵⁵⁶ www.internetculturale.it

weekly correspondence. ⁵⁵⁷ Likewise, the Oratory at Bologna, established in 1615 by Cardinal Paleotto, a great admirer and close friend of Neri, ⁵⁵⁸ has been mentioned with reference to the aim of that Congregation to make their Oratory resemble the one in Rome as closely as possible. In total, eighteen Congregations of the Oratory were established in Italy by 1644. ⁵⁵⁹ Of these, eight, including the Roman Oratory, still remain. ⁵⁶⁰ A comparison of their musical resources and their interaction with each other would provide a fascinating study, while providing an interesting perspective on the dispersal of music throughout the Italian peninsular in the decades around 1600.

Although the developments in the use of music in the liturgy were not confined to the Chiesa Nuova, the surviving sources provide one of the most complete pictures of the provision of liturgical music in a single institution during the decades around 1600. Excluding the libraries of the Papal basilicas and the Papal Chapel, research to-date points to this being one of the largest collections of sacred liturgical music that survives from a single church and thus provides a valuable contribution to research into sacred music in Rome during a period straddling the two traditionally defined epochs of the Renaissance and Baroque, as well as covering an era of renewed energy in the post-Tridentine Church.

When we also consider that by 1644 the founder of the Congregation of the Oratory, Filippo Neri, had been dead for less than fifty years and had already been acclaimed by the Church with his beatification in 1615 and canonisation in 1622 we can assume, with a degree of certainty, that the Roman Oratory retained considerable popularity. Neri's stress on beauty in worship, including visual imagery and good music as an aid to devotion, made it a pervasive influence on artistic life and one of the most famous religious institutions in Rome.

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⁵⁵⁷ Ponnelle & Bordet, St. Philip Neri and the Roman Society of his times, 8.

⁵⁵⁸ Ibid., 493

⁵⁵⁹ Alfonso Capecelatro, The Life of Saint Philip Neri, vol. II, 503.

⁵⁶⁰ www.oratoriosanfilippo.org/cong/index.html (Accessed 12 December, 2017).

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APPENDIX 1

A list of the music included in the inventory of 1592

Libri di Choro, et missali [Books of the Choir, and missals]

I-Rf [Not catalogued]

This inventory is added to the end of a book entitled Libro degli Inventarii di casa, which lists a wide range of items relating to the daily life of the Congregation. Those lists are dated 1592 and it can be assumed, by its contents, that this inventory of the music is from the same year. At the end of this list are a further four entries relating collections of missals. The book was included in a box with various other oratory papers that are not referred to in the present catalogue.

No. ⁵⁶¹	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE	MY
	(AS GIVEN IN THE ORIGINAL	TO THE 1608	REFERENCE ⁵⁶³
	INVENTORY)	INVENTORY. ⁵⁶²	
	Di Choro		
1	Doi Antifonarii de 'Sanctis et de'	1	
	Tempore in folio		
2	Doi salterii in folio	26	
3	Uno graduali' in folio	27	
4	Un' offo' della S ^{ma} Trinità con comm. per	2	50
	annum		
5	Un libro di magnificat del Animuccia, et	3 & 4	55 (only the
	Morales legato insieme		Animuccia)
6	Un 'altro d'Orlando Lasso	5	
7	Uno simile del' Victoria	6	
8	Uno de salmi, Hinni, mag ^{at.} del Guerrero	7	
9	Uno d'Hinni di Palestrina	8	59
10	Uno d'Hinni del Vittoria	9	57
11	Uno di misse di Goudimel	10	53
12	Uno simile d'Animuccia	11	54
13	Uno simile del Vittoria	12	
14	Uno simile del Guerrero	13	
15	Uno simile p ^a : del Palestrina	14	
16	Uno de salmi, et hinni di Navarra	15	60
17	Uno di mesa' di Claudio Sermissi	23	
18	Uno di mag ^{at} : del Arcadelt	22	51

⁵⁶¹ Numbers here are for reference purposes. Entries are not numbered in the original.

⁵⁶² Numbers here refer to my numbering in the transcription of the 1608 inventory.
563 Numbers here refer to the surviving music as listed in Appendix 5.

APPENDIX 2 A list of the music included in the inventory of 1608

Inventario di tutte le robbe che si ritrovano per uso / della Chiesa, Sacrestia, et Coro. Fatto per ordine / del Reverendo Padre Flaminio Ricci rettore l'anno / 1608. Del mese di

(An inventory of all things found for use in the Church, the Sacristy and the Choir. Ordered by the Reverend Father Flaminio Ricci, rector, in March, 1608) This inventory, which is preserved in the Chiesa Nuova (I-Rf B.VI.6), includes all the printed and manuscript music catalogued in 1608

Libri che si conservano in coro in foglio

No. 564	COMPOSER	DESCRIPTION AS GIVEN IN THE INVENTORY ⁵⁶⁵	PRESENT LOCATION IF KNOWN ⁵⁶⁶	BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS ⁵⁶⁷
1		Due Antifonarij de 'Sanctis et de' Tempore con coperte di tavola. Ven.1566		
2		Un offitio della Santissima Trinità con commemorationi per annum m. s. di carte 20.	I-Rn Mss.Mus.154 (My ref: 50) ⁵⁶⁸	
3	Giovanni Animuccia	Un del magnificat dell'animuccia Romae 1568	I-Rsc G.CS.1.E.18 (My ref: 55)	Canticum B. Mariae Virginisad omnes modos factum (Roma: Eredi di Valerio e Aloisio Dorico, 1568). RISM A 1237.
4	Cristóbal de Morales	Un magnificat del morale Ven. 1562		Magnificat omnitonum cum quatuor vocibus (Venezia: Antonio Gardano, 1562) RISM M 3597.

⁵⁶⁴ Numbers here are for reference purposes. Entries are not numbered in the original.

⁵⁶⁵ All information in Italics in this column provides the exact information (including spellings) as presented in the handwritten inventory. The ordering of items is unchanged.

⁵⁶⁶ Any library reference refers to items that were part of the library at the Chiesa Nuova.

⁵⁶⁷ I have provided the reference from the RISM (*Répertoire International des Sources MusicalesMusicales*) Online Catalogue of Printed Sacred Music (http://www.printed-sacred-music.org). The title given in the details is the standardised title from RISM. No information indicates that the music is lost.

568 See Appendix 5, Catalogue of extant manuscript and printed music from the Chiesa Nuova.

No.	COMPOSER	DESCRIPTION AS GIVEN IN THE INVENTORY	PRESENT LOCATION IF KNOWN	BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS
5	Orlando di Lasso	Un magnificat d'orlando lasso Ven. 1578.		No volume of magnificats by Lasso appears to exist from 1578. There maybe an error in the date in which case it could be: Magnificat octo tonum suavissimae modulationis quatuor vocum (Venezia:, Giacomo Vincenti, 1588) RISM L 988.
6	Tomás Luis de Victoria	Un magnificat del Vittorio in foglio reale Romae 1581		Cantica B. Virginis vulgo Magnificat quatuor vocibus. Una cum quatuor antiphonis B. V. per annum: quae quidem, partim quinis, partim octonis vocibus concinuntur (Roma: Domenico Basa, 1581) RISM V 1430.
7	Francisco Guerrero	Un magnificat et salmi et hinni del guerriero in fog. reale Roma 1584		Liber vesperarum, (Roma: Alessandro Gardano, 1584) RISM G 4873.
8	Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina	Hinni del Pelestrina Romae 1589	I-Rsc G.CS.1.E.15 (My ref: 59)	Hymni totius anniquattuor vocibus concinendi, necnon hymni religionum (Roma: Francesco Coattino, 1589) RISM P 737.
9	Tomás Luis de Victoria	Hinni del Victorio in fog. reale Romae 1581	I-Rsc G.CS.1.E.5 (My ref: 57)	Hymni totius anni (Roma: Domenico Basa, 1581) RISM V1428.
10	Claude Goudimel	Messe di Goudimel in foglio reale, Lutetijs, 1558	I-Rsc G.CS.1.E.7 (My ref: 53)	RISM G 3192
11	Giovanni Animuccia	Messe dell'Animuccia Romae 1567.	I-Rsc G.CS.1.E.17 (My ref: 54)	Missarum liber primus (Roma: Valerio e Aloisio Dorico, 1567) RISM A 1236.

No.	COMPOSER	DESCRIPTION AS GIVEN IN THE INVENTORY	PRESENT LOCATION IF KNOWN	BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS
12	Tomás Luis de Victoria	Messe del Vittorio in foglio reale Romae 1583		Missarum libri duo quae partim quaternis, partim quinis, partim senis concinuntur vocibus, (Roma: Domenico Basa, 1583) RISM V 1431.
13	Francisco Guerrero	Messe del Guerriero in foglio reale Romae 1582		Missarum liber secundus, (Roma: Francesco Zanetti, 1582). RISM G 4872
14	Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina	Messe del Pelestrina Romae 1572		Missarum liber primus, (Roma: Aloisio Dorico, 1572) RISM P 656.
15	Juan Navarro	Salmi et Hinni del Navarra Romae 1590	I-Rsc: G.CS.1.E.11 (My ref: 60)	Psalmi, hymni ac Magnificat totius anniquatuor, quinque ac sex vocibusnecnon B. Vantiphonae in finem horarum dicendae (Roma: Francesco Coattino, 1590) RISM N 283.
16	Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina	Il secondo, terzo, et quinto delle messe del Pelestrina distinti Il 2°. Roma 1567. Il Terzo 1570. il quinto 1590.		Missarum liber secundus (Roma: Eredi di Valerio e Aloisio Dorico, 1567) RISM P 660. Missarum liber tertius, (Roma: Eredi di Valerio e Aloisio Dorico, 1570) RISM P 664. Missarum liber quintus, quatuor, quinque, ac sex vocibus concinendarum (Roma: Giacomo Berichia, 1590) RISM P 670.

No.	COMPOSER	DESCRIPTION AS GIVEN IN THE INVENTORY	PRESENT LOCATION IF KNOWN	BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS
17	Cristóbal de Morales	Messe del Morale Romae 1594 [sic. 1544?]		Liber quartus missarum quinque cum quatuor vocibus paribus canendarum (Venezia: Antonio Gardano, 1544) RISM M 3588.
18	Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina	Il secondo libro delle messe del Pelestrina Romae 1600	I-Rsc G.C.S.2.E.5 (My ref: 62)	Missarum liber secundusquaternis, quinis ac senis vocibus (Roma: Nicolò Mutii, 1599) RISM P 663.
19	Tomás Luis de Victoria	Il secondo libro delle messe del Vittorio Romae 1592		Missae quattuor, quinque, sex et octo vocibus concinendae, una cum antiphonis Asperges et Vidi aquam totius anni, liber secundus (Roma: Ascanio Donangeli, 1592) RISM V 1434.
20		Un messale Venetijs 1570		
21		Un manuale di coro Venetijs 1572		
22	Arcadelt etc	Magnificat dell'Arcadelt et di diversi auttori insieme Lutetiae 1557	I-Rsc: G.C.S.1.E.8 (My ref: 51)	RISM A 1384
23	Claudin de Sermisy	Messe di Claudio Sermisii Parisijs 1556		RISM S 2820-2823
24	Christoforo Montemayor	Vesperi di Christoforo Montemaior M. S. cart. 178	I-Rn Mss. Mus 135 (My ref: 43)	
25		La Profetia duodecima del sabato santo a 8 MS.		
26		Salterio usato assai Venetijs 1563		
27		Graduale in canto fermo con coperta di tavola usato assai Venetijs 1544		

Libri che si conservano in Coro in auarto

No.	COMPOSER	DESCRIPTION AS GIVEN IN THE INVENTORY	PRESENT LOCATION IF KNOWN	BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS
28		Mottetti di Varij auttori in 12 m.s. tomi legati in c. p. con fettucce di seta pavonazza. ⁵⁶⁹	I-Rn Mss. Mus 77-88 or I-Rn Mss. Mus.117-121 with I-Rsc G. Mss. 792-795 (My ref: 31)	
29	Giovanni Animuccia	Mottetti dell'Animuccia m.s. in 5 tomi legati in corame verde con oro. 570	I-Rn mss. Mus 51-59 (My ref: 29)	
30		Mottetti di varii auttori in 8 tomi m.s. legati in c.p. ⁵⁷¹	I-Rn Mss. Mus. 117- 121 with I-Rsc G.Mss. 792-795	
31	Asprilio Pacelli	Salmi di Asprilio a 8 legati in c. p.[carta pecora] con fettuccie di seta bianca et turchina. ⁵⁷²		Motectorum et psalmorum qui octonis vocibus concinuntur liber primus (Roma: Nicolò Mutii, 1597) RISM P 24.
32	Orlando di Lasso	Mottetti d'Orlando a 5 e 6 in 6 tomi legati in c.p. Venetijs 1561		Not recorded in RISM but the date may be wrong. Description fits RISM 786: Quinque et sex vocibus perornatae, sacrae cantiones nunc primum omni diligentia in lucem editae,liber secundus (Venezia: Girolamo Scotto, 1565) or RISM 1567/3: Primo libro de gli eterni mottetti di Orlando Lasso, Cipriano Rore et d'altri eccel. musici a 5 et 6 voci, Venezia: Girolamo Scotto, 1567)

Bound in parchment with strips of silk crimson.

570 Bound in green leather with gold.

571 carta pecora: bound in parchment.

572 Bound in parchment with strips of white and turquoise silk.

No.	COMPOSER	DESCRIPTION AS GIVEN IN THE INVENTORY	PRESENT LOCATION IF KNOWN	BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS
33	Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina	Messe del Plestrina [sic] libro nono legato in corame ⁵⁷³ Ven. 1599		Missarum cum quatuor, quinque, et sex vocibus, liber nonus (Venezia: Girolamo Scotto 1599) RISM P 683.
34	Asprilio Pacelli	Salmi d'Asprillo a 4 in 5 tomi con fettuccie bianche e turchine. 574		Chorici psalmi, et motecta quatuor vocibus, liber primus, (Roma: Nicolò Mutii, 1599) RISM P 26.
35	Pietro Paolo Paciotto	Motttetti a cinq. del Paciotti legati in cartone, Roma, 1601		Motecta festorum totius anni cum Communi Sanctorumquinque vocibus concinenda, liber primus (Roma: Eredi di Nicolo Mutii, 1601) RISM P 40.
36	Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina	Mottetti del Pelestrina p° libro a 4 legati in cartone, Romae [?] 1585		Motecta festorum totius anni cum Communi sanctorumquaternis vocibusliber primus (Venezia: Angelo Gardano, 1585) RISM P 693.
37		Uno simile Venetijs, 1564		Motecta festorum totius anni cum Communi sanctorumquaternis vocibusliber primus (Venezia: Antonio Gardano, 1564) RISM P 689.
38	Girolamo Vespa	Mottetti del Vespa in 6 libri legati in cartone Ven. 1594.		Sacrae cantiones per Patrem Augustinum Thadeum de Zagaroloeditae, quaternis, quinis, senis, septenis, et octonis vocibus (Venezia: Ricciardo Amadino, 1594) RISM V 1323.

⁵⁷³ bound in leather with white and turquoise strips.

No.	COMPOSER	DESCRIPTION AS GIVEN IN THE INVENTORY	PRESENT LOCATION IF KNOWN	BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS
39	Orlando di Lasso	Mottetti d'Orlando a 5, libro sesto e settimo in 5 tomi legati in cartone, Venetijs 1569		Liber sextus motectorum cum quinque vocibusnoviter impressus(Venezia: Claudio Correggio, 1569) RISM L 827.
40	Orlando di Lasso	Mottetti d'Orlando prima parte a 5, seconda a 6, in sei tomi legati in cartone.		Impossible to identify from the information provided.
41	Orlando di Lasso	Mottetti del med. secondo e terzo e quinto seperati in 5 tomi l'uno di stampa di Venezia in divers'anni.		Impossible to identify from the information provided.
42	Vincenzo Ruffo	Mottetti di Vicenzo Rufo a 6 in sei tomi legati in cartone, Brixiae, 1583.		Sacrae modulationes vulgo motecta, quae potissimos totius anni festos dies comprehendunt et senis vocibus concinunturliber secundus (Brescia: Pietro Maria Marchetto, 1583) RISM R 3062b.
43	Giovanni Animuccia	Mottetti e laudi spirituali dell'Animuccia tomi 8 legati in c.p. scritta Rome 1570		Il secondo libro delle laudi, dove si contengono motteti, salmi et altre diverse cose spirituali (Roma: Eredi di Antonio Blado (Camerali), 1570) RISM A 1238.
44	Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina	Mottetti del Pelestrina quarto e quinto libro separate a 5 Romae 1584		Motettorum quinque vocibus liber quartus (Roma: Alessandro Gardano, 1583) RISM P 716. Motettorum quinque vocibus liber quintus (Roma: Alessandro Gardano, 1584) RISM P 728.

No.	COMPOSER	DESCRIPTION AS GIVEN IN THE INVENTORY	PRESENT LOCATION IF KNOWN	BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS
45		Litanie del nome di Giesù e della Madonna con la Salve, di diversi m.s. a 8 con c.p. scritta		
46	Giovanni Matteo Asola	Mottetti dell'Asola a quattro ci manca una parte		Possibly: Sacrae cantiones in totius anni solennitatibus paribus quaternis vocibus decantandae (Venezia: Vincenti, Giacomo e Ricciardo Amadino 1584) RISM A 2555.
47	Ludovico Viadana / Gabriele Fattorini	Concerti per l'organo di Viadana e Gabriel fattore [sic: Fattorini] in cinque tomi legati in c.p. [carta pecora] Venetijs 1602		Cento concerti ecclesiastici, a una, a due, a tre, et a quattro voci, con il basso continuo per sonar nell'organo, nova inventione commoda per ogni sorte de cantori, et per gli organistiopera duodecima (Venezia: Giacomo Vincenti, 1602) RISM V 1360. I sacri concerti a due voci facili, et commodi da cantare, et sonare con l'organo a voci piene, et mutate a beneplacito de cantorinovamente ristampati, et corretti, con una nova aggiunta di alcuni ripieni (Venezia: Ricciardo Amadino, 1602) RISM F 130.
48	Pompeo Signorucci	Mottetti del Signorucci libro terzo in 4 tomi Venetijs 1607.		No reference in RISM

No.	COMPOSER	DESCRIPTION AS GIVEN IN THE INVENTORY	PRESENT LOCATION IF KNOWN	BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS
49	Giovanni Battista Biondi [Cesena]	Il p°. libro di concerti di Gio. Battista Cesena, tomi tre legati in cartone, Venetijs, 1606		No reference in RISM Could be: Secondo libro de concerti a due voci per tutte le solennità dell'anno. (Venezia, Giacomo Vincenti, 1606) RISM B2708
50	(Giovanni Battista Biondi?)	Salmi a quattro voci dell'istesso Venetijs 1605.		Possibly: Biondi: Salmi a quatro voci che si cantano alli vespri nelle solennità di tutto l'annolibro primo (Venezia: Giacomo Vincenti, 1606) RISM B 2706.
51	Felice Anerio Ruggiero Giovannelli	Mottetti di Felice Anerio Il p°. libro a 8 et il p°. libro di mottetti di Ruggiero Giovannelli legati insieme.		Sacri hymni, et cantica, sive motectaliber primus (Venezia: Giacomo Vincenti, 1596) RISM A 1080. Sacrarum modulationumquae quinis, et octonis vocibus concinuntur, liber primus, (Roma: Francesco Coattino, 1593) RISM G 2446
52	Felice Anerio	Hinni e mottetti di Felice Anerio libro secondo tomi sei legati in cartone Romae 1602		Sacri hymni et cantica, sive motectaliber secundus (Roma: Aloisio Zannetti, 1602) RISM A 1081.

No.	COMPOSER	DESCRIPTION AS GIVEN IN THE INVENTORY	PRESENT LOCATION IF KNOWN	BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS
53	Agostino Agazzari	Mottetti dell' Agazario libro secondo terzo e quarto distinti il 2°. in setti' tomi, il 3°. in sei, il 4°. in quattro		Sacrae laudes quaternis, quinis, senis, septenis, octonisque vocibus, cum basso ad organum, et musica instrumenta, liber secundus (Roma: Aloisio Zannetti, 1603) RISM A 334 Sacrarum cantionum quae quinis, senis, septenis, octonisque vocibus concinuntur, liber tertius, (Roma: Aloisio Zannetti, 1603) RISM A 337. Sacrae cantionesliber quartus, cum basso ad organum (Roma: Aloisio Zannetti, 1606) RISM A 340.
54	Ioanne Matelart	Responsorij del Matelarto flander tomi cinque legati in cartone, Romae 1596		Responsoria, antiphonae, et hymni in processionibus per annum, quinis, et quaternis vocibus concinenda (Roma: Nicolò Mutii, 1596) RISM M 1346.
55	Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina	Offertorii del Pelestrina in cinque libri Romae 1593		Offertoria totius anniquinque vocibus concinendapars prima (Roma: Francesco Coattino, 1593) RISM P 746.
56	(Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina)	Magnificat del med. ⁵⁷⁵ tomi 4 legati in carta, Romae 1591		Magnificat octo tonum. Liber primusnunc recens in lucem editus (Roma: Alessandro Gardano,1591) RISM PP 745a.

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⁵⁷⁵ medesimo= the same

No.	COMPOSER	DESCRIPTION AS GIVEN IN THE INVENTORY	PRESENT LOCATION IF KNOWN	BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS
57	Francesco Martini	Due mute di mottetti di tutte le feste del'anno a voci pare del P. Francesco Martini, Romae 1607. a 4 voci tomi quattro per muta legati uno in c. p. [carta pecora] l'altro in cartone.		Motecta festorum, totius anni, cum communi sanctorum, quaternis vocibusquibus addita suntquinisseptenis .liber primus (Roma: Bartolomeo Zannetti,1607) RISM M 1000

Libri che si conservano in Sacristia. In foglio 576

58	[Guidetti,	Cantus ecclesiaticus	No reference in RISM.
	Giovanni]	officij majoris	
		hebdomadae	
		Romae 1587	
59	[Guidetti,	Il Passio in musica m.s.	Possibly a copy of
	Giovanni]	con le coperte di	Guidetti's 'Cantus
		cartone nero di carta	ecclesiasticus Passionis
		torchina tomi 3.	Domini Nostri Jesu
			Christi', Roma:
			Alessandro Gardano,
			1586.
60	Giovanni	Il primo libro delle	Presumably another
	Animuccia	mese in canto figurato	copy of Animuccia's
		dell'Animuccia senza	first book of Masses:
		coperte, Roma, 1567	Missarum liber
			primus
			(Roma: Valerio e
			Aloisio Dorico 1567)
			RISM A 1236. See no.
			11
61	Giovanale	Il tempio Armonico del	Tempio armonico della
	Ancina	P. Giovenale in tre tomi	Beatissima
		legato in cartone,	Vergineprima parte a
		Romae, 1599	tre voci
			(Roma: Nicolò Muti,
			1599) RISM A 1034,
			1599/6 & S 3998.

Another 32 books are listed. The majority are Missals for use at the altar by priests saying Mass. A few items relating to the sung liturgy are listed here.

APPENDIX 3⁵⁷⁷

Extracts from the inventory of 1794 that relate to the archival material.

Inventario della Musica della Chiesa Nuova consegnata al Sigr. Abate Francolini 1794⁵⁷⁸ Organo – Sopra S. Carlo⁵⁷⁹

Vesper settings, Masses and motets by eighteenth century composers including:

Casali (1715-1792), Costanzi (1704-1778), Bencini (c.1670-1755), Anfossi (1727-

1797) with the addition of *Messa iste Confessor* by Palestrina, *Quatro libretti di Messe* of Palestrina and Giovanni Francesco Anerio's *Messa di Requie*.

Organo- sopra la Cappella di S. Filippo⁵⁸⁰

 $(f.5^r)$

Canoni cento dieci libri in stampa

Cantata a cinque per il giorno della Purificazione della B.V. di Pietro della Valle⁵⁸¹

Versi in Musica tomo uno stampato

Inni, Credo, Agnus Dei, libro uno

Missa pro Defunctis libri due

Gloria in excelsis, e Credo libro uno

Messe volume uno

Introiti di Messa per tutto l'anno, volume uno

Responsorij per la Settimana Santa volume uno

Inni volume uno

Otto Magnificat volume uno

Te Deum a quattro voci volume uno, e Magnificat⁵⁸²

 $(f.5^{\rm v})$

Messa a cinque voci volume uno

Saltiero corale volume uno

Messa, l'Inno Ave Maris Stella di Giovanni Animuccia Maestro di Capella della Vaticana

Basilica, volume uno

Vesperi e mottetti fascetto uno Antonio Cifra⁵⁸³

Vespero a due voci volume uno

Messa, volume uno

Vespero, volumi due

Volumi due con Inni

Magnificat, volume uno

Messe tre, volume uno

Salmi, Inni, e magnificat volume uno

Lamentazione per la Settimana S.a volume uno

Messe volume uno

Messe volumi due, 1° e 2°

Vesperi, volume uno

287

⁵⁷⁷ This inventory was made two years after the death of Casali (1715-1792) who was *maestro di cappella* at the Chiesa Nuova from 1754 until his death. He was one of the best known composers of sacred music of his time. He also wrote many oratorios.

⁵⁷⁸ I-Rf B.VI.18

⁵⁷⁹ All the music listed in this part of the inventory includes composers' names and the number of voices required

required 580 This part of the inventory, which appears to relate to the more ancient music, is sparse in detail. Occasionally an item can be identified although not always with total certainty. Links to the references elsewhere are presented in footnotes below.

⁵⁸¹ I-Rn Mss.Mus.123

⁵⁸² I-Rn. Mss.Mus.143

⁵⁸³ I-Rf H.II.11

Vesperi, e motetti fascetto uno. - Antonio Cifra

Motetti fascetto uno

Vesperi a otto, nove, e dieci fascetto uno. - Graziani⁵⁸⁴

Litanie a due cori fascetto uno. Annerio, e Cifra

Motetti a quattro

Messa a dodici fascetto uno. - Pape Marcelli⁵⁸⁵

Motetti, antifone, e salmi ecc. volumi quindici

Raccolta d'arie spirituali volume uno

Motetti, e antifone, volumi quattro

Miserere a quattro fascetto uno

 $(f.6^{r})$

Antifone fascetto uno

Miserere a due cori fascetto uno

Motetti volumi tre

Vesperi a otto volumetti due

Vesperi a otto con motetti fascetto uno

Motetti Sacri fascetto uno

Teatro armonico spirituale volume uno 586

Salmi volume uno

Messa a dodici fascetto uno⁵⁸⁷

Vespero a otto dell'Ugolini, e concerti⁵⁸⁸

Salmodia Vespertina per tutto l'anno del Bussi fascetto uno

Antifona fascetto uno

Salmi a cinque fascetto uno – Fabbri⁵⁸⁹

Psalmi, et Cantiones

Responsorij di Natale, e della Settimana S.a⁵⁹⁰

Vesperi del Cima⁵⁹¹

Motetti e Messa a otto d'Ugolini⁵⁹²

Psalmi Vespertini a otto, novo e dieci del Mazzocchi tometti quattro

Antifone, Kyrie, Agnus Dei dell'Animuccia⁵⁹³

Concerti per tutto l'anno, volumetti otto

Salmi a quattro fascetto uno

Salmi a otto fascetto uno

(f.6°)

Concerti per tutto l'anno del Ratti, volume uno - Ratti

Salmi fascetto uno

Mottetti dell'Allegri, e concertini fascetto uno 594

Motetti e Salmi a tre fascetto uno

Antifone a tre fascetto uno

Motetti libro uno

Salmi penitenziali volume in foglio⁵⁹⁵

⁵⁸⁴ I-Rf H.15

⁵⁸⁵ I-Rf H.II.3

⁵⁸⁶ I-Rsc A.C.S. 2.A (1-9)

 $^{^{587}}$ I-Rf H.II.1 or I-Rf H.II.2

⁵⁸⁸ I-Rf H.17

 $^{^{589}}$ I-Rf H.II.12

⁵⁹⁰ I-Rsc G.C.S. 4.D.2

⁵⁹¹ I-Rf H.II.8

⁵⁹² I-Rsc G.C.S. 4.D.6 (1-2)

⁵⁹³ I-Rn Mss.Mus. 51-54

⁵⁹⁴ I-Rsc G.C.S.3.A (28-31)

Messa, e Miserere in foglio

Tomo in foglio per la maggior parte bianco, ed infine Messa da morto

Cinque fogli di Pergamena, dove si trova incominciata la pma lamentazione della Settimana S.a

Madrigali e Mottetti Sacri dell'Animuccia fasceto uno 596

Inni, Breviarij Romani volume uno stampato

Messe volume uno in foglio

Inni di tutto l'anno del Pallestrina⁵⁹⁷

Volume uno in foglio

Inni volume uno in foglio piccolo

Messe da Morto volume uno in foglio

Dixit volume uno in foglio

Inni volume uno in foglio

Messe volume uno in foglio

Sedici Magnificat volume uno in foglio

Inni di tutto l'anno volume uno in foglio

Messe, volume uno in foglio

Messe del Pallestrina volume uno in foglio

Dixit Dominus a Quattro dell'Anerio volume uno in folio⁵⁹⁸ (f.7^r)

Magnificat volume uno in folio di Vittorio Ablelense⁵⁹⁹

Salterio Corale, volume uno in foglio

Lauda Sion del Sig. Anfossi

Responsorij dell'uffizio de' morte in canto ferma

at the end:

Dieci Motetti nuovi, Cinque del Sig. Anfossi, Cinque de Sig. Santi Pascoli

Lib. 1 Organo, Lib. 2 sola parte cantante, D. Domenico Francolini M^o

The pages that follow list seventeenth and eighteenth century oratorios and some litanies from the eighteenth century.

Signed: Camillo del Dan....? Prefetto della Musica

⁵⁹⁵ I-Rn. Mss.Mus.133

⁵⁹⁶ Probably Animuccia's *Il secondo libro delle laudi*, 1570. Also listed in the 1608 inventory, no. 43

⁵⁹⁷ I-Rsc G.C.S. I.E.15

⁵⁹⁸ I-Rn Mss.Mus.132

⁵⁹⁹ 'Vittorio Ablelense' = Victoria from Avila. Probably *Cantica B. Virginis* (1581) RISM V 1430, listed in the 1608 inventory, no.6.

APPENDIX 4⁶⁰⁰

Extracts from the inventory of 1828 that relate to the archival material.

[Liturgical music from 16th and 17th centuries listed in the Inventory of 1828 which was made by the *maestro di cappella*, Sante Pascoli, as instructed by Fr. Giovanni Conca.]⁶⁰¹ Heading: *Elenco di tutti*

- La Musica che esiste Nell'Archivio Grande - Oratori, Messe, Salmi, Libri- Stampati Dei Più Celebri M'si di Musica

At the end:

Sante Pascoli Fece il Presente Elenco L'Anno 1828 = Per Ordine Del P.re Conca

No. ⁶⁰²	Information as preso	ented in the Inve	entory	Comments & references 603
	Piccolo Archivio Dell	l'Oratorio		
1 2 3 4 4 4 5 6 7 6 7 8 8 8 5 6	Antifonario A Canto solo tutto L'Anno	Vittori	L'Anno 1637	Lost
2	Teatro Armonico Di Madrigali	A Cinque Sei e Sette	Maestri Anerio	I-Rsc A.C.S. 2.A (1-9)
3	Mottetti Mottetti Mottetti	A Trè	Foggia Pauletti Anerio	
4	Litanie A Otto Voci Antifonario tutto L'anno	Con Organo A quattro	Anerio Giamberto	I-Rsc G.C.S. 4.C.2 (6-13) & I- Rf H.16 (Anerio only) Giamberto RISM: G 1831 (1650)
5	Responsorii la Settimana Santa Canzoni Sacre Litanie	A quattro A due A Otto	Anerio Piochio Anerio	I-Rsc G.C.S. 4.C.4 (1,3,6)? (See no. 46)
6	Antifonari Manca L'Organo	A Trè	Giamberto	RISM G 1831
7	Inni Inni e Graduali Messe	A Cinque A quattro	Anomimo Graziani Bernardi	I-Rf H.15 I-Rsc G.C.S. 4.C.5 (5-10)
8	Salmi Del Vespero Brevi	A Otto	Bussio	Possibly: <i>Salmi</i> , Giovanni Battista Bussio, 1710
9	Concertini A Trè	Due Can: e Basso	Allegri	I-Rsc G.C.S.3. A (28-31)

⁶⁰⁰ I-Rf BV1 18

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⁶⁰¹ Omitted from the list below are any entries relating to oratorios or to music of a later period.

⁶⁰² Numbers here are for reference purposes. Entries are not numbered in the original.

⁶⁰³ These references refer principally to surviving copies of the music that belonged to the Chiesa Nuova.

No.	Information as pres	ented in the Inve	Comments & references		
10	Responsori Di	Can: Alto ten:	Саресе	Pub.	
	Natale	Basso		Naples,1636	
	A quattro			RISM: C 895	
11	Madrigali A Trè	A Trè	Animuccia	Il primo libro	
	Con Alcuni Mottetti			delli madrigali,	
				a tre vocicon	
				alcuni motetti, Roma: 1565	
				RISM: A 1244	
12	Salmi A Cinque	Due Can: Alto	Anonimo	TGSWITT 1211	
	A Cappella	ten: Basso			
13	Messe Di Chiesa		Palestrina	I-Rsc G.C.S.	
	Nuova ed Anche Da			4.D.1 (1-5)?	
	Morte				
14	Messa Di Requie		Anonimo		
15	A Otto	A Dodici	C M	I-Rf H.II.1-3	
15	Messa Aspice Domini	A Doalci	Sensa Nome	I-KI H.II.1-3	
	Messa Papae				
	Marcelli				
	Altra Messa				
		Secondo Spa	rtimento		
16	Canzone Sacre	1	Cifra	I-Rf H.II.11	
10	Canzone sacre		Cijra	1-K1 11.11.11	
17	Mottetti e Salmi	A 8, 12 e 16	Soriani	I-Rsc G.C.S.	
		voci		4.D.4 (1-13)	
	Diversis Mottetti	A Otto voci	Anonimo		
18	Salmi Della	A Cinque voci	Spogli	Salmi vespertini	
	Madonna			della Madonna	
				Roma:1681 RISM: S 4165	
	Vasnari con organo	A Otto voci	Dell'Ugolini	I-Rf H.17	
19	Vesperi con organo Salmi con organo	A quattro voci	Anerio	I-Rsc G.C.S.	
1)	Vesperi con organo	A cinque voci	Foggia	4.C.2	
	, esperi con a gant		1 000101	Psalmi quaternis	
				vocibus, Roma,	
				1660	
				RISMF1444	
20	Mottetti	A cinque voci	Graziani	This could refer	
				any of several	
				books of motets	
				by Bonifacio Graziani's pub	
	Mottetti	A otto voci	Cifra	Graziani's pub. 1650s - 1670s	
	Monent	A OHO VOCE	Cijra	I-Rf H.II.11	
21	Musica Diversa		Animuccia	I-Rn Mss.Mus.	
	A Cappella			51-54	

No.	Information as preso	ented in the Inve	entory	Comments & references
22	Diversi Mottetti In Partitura Di Due Autori	A quattro	Anerio Batistelli	
23	Gloria si tibi Trinita Libro Stampato Inni per tutto L'anno	A otto	Anonimo Anonimo	
24	Salmi A quattro Quarto e quinto Libro Mottetti	Can, Alto Ten, Basso A quattro	Cifra Palestrina	
25	Vespero Vesperi con organo	A 8 voci A 8, 9 e 10	Bernardio Mezzocchi	I-Rf H.II.10
26	Salmi Vesperi	A quattro A Otto, Nove, Dieci	Bernardi Gratiani	
27	Responsori Di Natale Responsori Di Natale	A quattro A quattro	Anerio Anonimo	I-Rsc G.C.S. 4.C.3 (10-14)
28	Christus e Miserere	A Trè	Martini	
29	Terra Tremuit	A Due con quattro Pieni	Bencini	
30	Intonuit De Celo Messa senza organo	A quattro A quattro	Costanzi Palestrina	
31	Tantum Ergo Terz	Tenore solo so Spartimento	Anonimo	
32	Dodici libri legati in carta pecora con molte composizione Sacre Autori buoni		Senza Nome	I-Rn. Mss.Mus. 117-121 with I-Rsc. G. Mss. Mus. 792-795 or I-Rn Mss.Mus. 77-88
33	Nove tomi legati in carta pecora che contengo i salmi di tutto l'anno		Ratti	
34	Salmi Con Organo Salmi con organo e senza	A quattro A quattro	Cima Franchi	I-Rf H.II.8
35	Mottetti in Lode di Maria		Bianchi	I-Rf H.II.4
36	Salmi con organo Salmi con organo	A quattro A cinque	De Grandis Vitalio	
37	Salmi con organo Salmi con organo	A otto A cinque	Sabatino Fabri	
38	Messe con Organo Diversi Miserere	A otto e dodici A quattro Libretti antichi	Ugolini Anonimo	I-Rsc G.C.S. 4.D.6 (1-2)

No. 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47	Information as prese	Comments & references		
39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 50	Ventisette mottetti legati in libretti	A due soprani di carta pecora	Anonimo	
40	Antifonario con organo legati in libri di carta pecora	A due soprani	Pietro della Valle	
41	Canzone Sacre di Maria Sanctissima Stampe non legate		Martino	
42	Inni per le Dominiche un libro Grande Stampa Antica		Allegri	
43	Salmi della Madonna stampati un libro grande		Anonimo	
		Quarto Spa	rtimento	•
44	Canoni Obligati di cento e dieci sorte spora l'Ave Maris Stella	A 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8	Suriani	
45	Antifone in libro stampato		Suriani	
	Messa di Requie	A sei	Victori	I-Rsc G.C.S. 2.E.10
46	Salmi della Madonna	A cinque	Lassusio	I-Rsc G.C.S. 2.E.9
	Te Deum stampa Antica		Anonimo	
47	Responsori della Settimana Santa Stampa Antichissima		Anerio	I-Rsc G.C.S. 4.C.4 (1,3,6)? (See no. 5)
48	Salmi della Madonna Psalterio		Animuccia	I-Rsc G.S. I.E.18
49	Inni stampati in libro Ricercati e canzone		Palestrina	I-Rsc G.C.S. I.E.15
	Francese stampa		Cifra	
50	Arie spirituale Poemati e Carmina		Diversi autori	
51	Arie diverse Miserere Antico libro	A Più voci	Asperger Asperger Anonimo	
52	Salmi per le Dominiche A cappella		Anonimo	I-Rn Mss.Mus. 9-12?
53	Salmi per le Dominiche Stampa Antica		Anonimo	

No. 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64	Information as present	ted in the Inv	entory	Comments & references
54	Magnificat diversi stampa antica assai		Anonimo	
55	Invitatori e Matutino Stampa in libro	A otto voci	Cristoforo MonteMaior	I-Rn. Mss.Mus. 135 ?
56	Salmi Inni Magnificat della Madonna Stampe in Libro		Navarri	I-Rsc G.C.S. I.E.11
57	Tutti li salmi dell'anno a cappella		Anonimo	
58	Salmi; che occorrono, a cappella, quando nei primi vesperi di San Gregorio			
59	Libro stampato Messe Libro stampato Messe		Palestrina Claudio Goudimel	I-Rsc G.S. I.E.7?
60	Salteri in stampa Libro stampate Messe		Cifra	Possibly Cifra's first book of Masses - see also 73 below.
61	Libro stampati Inni diversi Altro simile Inni Diversi		Anonimo Anonimo	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,
62	Libro Stampato per le Domeniche dell'Anno		Pietro Heredia	
63	Libro di Messe scritto a mano Altro simile		Anonimo Anonimo	
64	Libro di Messe scritto a mano Libro stampato con N. nove Messe	A cinque	Anerio Animuccia	I-Rn. Mss.Mus. 151?
65	Messe scritte a mano Benedictus e Miserere scritto a mano		Palestrina si crede Palestrina	I-Rn Mss.Mus.
66	Libro stampato Messa In te Domine speravi Libro stampato Messe		Anerio Palestrina	I-Rn. Mss.Mus. 131 (mss. copy)
67	Libro di carta per scrivere musica			
68	In fine la Messa da Morto		Anonimo	

No.	Information as presented in	the Inventory	Comments & references
69	Un libro bislungo Canzone sacre a solo Originale di Maestro		
	Nove libri stampati di Messe d archivio sopra S. Carlo	ed altro che havano in	ı
70	Primo Inni Diversi	Anonimo	I-Rn Mss. Mus.148 ⁶⁰⁴
71	Secondo Genitori	Vittori	
72	Terzo Magnificat	Vittori	
73	quarto Messe	Cifra	Possibly Cifra's first book of Masses purchased on 8 March 1620.
74	quinto Messe	Suriano	
75	sesto Messe	Guerriero	
76	settimo Salve Regina, Alma redemptoris, Regina Celi	Guerrieri	
77	ottavo Inni diversi annuali	Vitali	
78	Nono Passio Diversi	Suriani	Probably the Holy Week music of Soriano purchased on 28 April 1620.606

Go4 See Appendix 5, no. 46.
Go5 See Appendix 6.
Go6 Ibid..

APPENDIX 5 CATALOGUE OF EXTANT MANUSCRIPT AND PRINTED MUSIC FROM THE CHIESA NUOVA

The catalogue is ordered taking each archive (Chiesa Nuova, Biblioteca Nazionale and the Conservatorio d. S. Cecilia) in turn as ordering either by date or composer is impossible. Many of the manuscripts are not dated and some volumes contain music by more than one composer. An explanation of the column content:

Library Shelfmark:

Library insigna: I-Rf = Archivio della Chiesa Nuova

I-Rn = Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Rome

I-Rsc = Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica S. Cecilia

Composer:

Where there are a large number of composers I have provided a reference to where I have listed these in full.

Title:

Exact titles are given in italics. Where there is a RISM reference I have use the standardised title, occasionally in abbreviated form.

Contents:

The contents list gives, where applicable, the number of compositions and the type of works.

Date/imprint:

n.d. = no date given on the music. Names of printers as well as dates are given for printed music.

Format/size:

The size of manuscript copies is given in millimetres.

Voices/instr.

Where voices are not named I have given the clefs used.

1608 inv.

This refers to the 1608 inventory [I-Rf: B.VI.6]. The numbering relates to my own transcription of this inventory, where I have listed the entries in the order in which they appear but have numbered them for reference purposes.

1794 inv.

This refers to the 1794 inventory [I-Rf: B.VI.18].. I have indicated by a tick if the music is included or appears, by the discription in the inventory, that it could be the same music.

N: This refers to the 19th century numbering in black ink that appears on most of the volumes in this collection.

CA		1	RIPT AND PRINT	1			** /* ·	G	1.600	1501	1 3 7
	Library shelfmark	Composer	Title	RISM	Date	Format/size in mm.	Voices/instr.	Content	1608	1794	N
									Inv.	Inv.	
1	I-Rf H.II.1	Anon.	Missa Sine		n.d.	18 mss.	Triple choir	Arrangement of			
			Nomine			partbooks.	CATBx3,	Palestrina's		/	8
						275 x 210	bassus ad	Missa 'Sine			
							organum I +II	Nomine' 5v.			
2	I-Rf H II 2	Anon.	Missa Aspice		n.d.	14 mss.	Triple choir	Arrangement of			
			Domine			partbooks.	CATBx3,	Palestrina's		/	
						275 x 210	bassus ad	Missa 'Aspice			
							organum I +II	Domine' 5v.			
3	I-Rf H.II.3	Anon.	Missa Papae		n.d	18 mss.	Triple choir	Arrangement of			
	[Missing]		Marcelli			partbooks.	CATBx3,	Palestrina's		/	
	607					275 x 210	bassus ad	Missa Papae			48
							organum I +II	Marcelli 6v.			
4	I-Rf	Anon.	Raccolta di 27		n.d	1 mss. partbook.	CI,CII + org.	A collection of			
	H.II.9a		mottetti			250 x 180mm	Only	27 motets -			
	[Missing]						CI catalogued	settings of			
	608						here (Now	antiphons for			
							missing)	vespers			
5	I-Rf	Anon.	Raccolta di 21		n.d	I mss. partbook.	CAQTB	21 pieces:			
	H.II.9b		mottetti negli			235 x 170	Only B	psalms, hymns,			
	[Missing]		otto toni				catalogued	antiphons for			
	609						here (missing).	vespers.			

This has gone missing in recent times. I have included the information from the most recent catalogue. It can be found copied in score: I-Rvat C.S. 469.

Recently gone missing. Belongs with I-Rn: Mss. Mus. 91-92.

Recently gone missing. Belongs with I-Rn: Mss. Mus. 9-12.

CAT	TALOGUE O	F MANUSCRI	PT AND PRINTE	D MUSIC	,						
	Library shelfmark	Composer	Title	RISM	Date	Format/size in mm.	Voices/instr.	Content	1608 Inv.	1794 Inv.	N
6	I-Rf H.II.4	Bianchi, G.C. Losio, C. Monteverdi C.	Libro secondo de motetti	1620/4 610	Venice: Alessandro Vincenti, 1620	5 partbooks.	CATB5 + organ - basso generale	19 motets for Marian feasts and a Mass by Bianchi. One motet by Losio & Monteverdi's 1602 'Litanie della B.V'			62
7	I-Rf H.II.5	Paoletti, A.	Sacrae cantiones, ad organum	P 859	Rome: Giovanni Battista Robletti, 1611	4 partbooks.	CI,CII, B, ad organum	22 motets for a variety of feasts. Some of the words from the 'Song of Songs'.			63
8	I-Rf H.II.6	Anerio, G.F.	Motecta singulis, binis, ternisque vocibus	A 1096	Rome: Giovanni Battista Robletti, 1609	3 of 4 partbooks.	C, T, B (bassus ad organum - missing)	53 motets for 1/2/3 v. with organ b.c.			55
9			Motectorum singuli, binis, ternis, quaternis liber secundus	A 1098	Venice: Amadino, Ricciardo 1612	3 of 4 partbooks.		32 motets for 1/2/3/4/5/6 v. with organ b.c.			

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⁶¹⁰ This location is not listed in RISM

CA	FALOGUE	OF MANUSCI	RIPT AND PRINTI	ED MUS	SIC						
	Library	Composer	Title	RISM	Date	Format/size	Voices/instr.	Content	1608	1794	N
10	shelfmark I-Rf H.II.6 (cont.)	Anerio, G.F.	Motectorum singulis, binis, ternis, quaternis, quinis, senisque vocibus; una cum litaniisliber tertius	A 1102	Rome: Giovanni Battista Robletti, 1613	in mm. 3 of 4 partbooks.	CI, CII, B (bassus ad organum - missing)	25 motets for 1/2/3/4/5/6 v. with organ b.c.	Inv.	Inv.	
11			Sacri concentus singulis, binis, ternis, quaternisque, quinisque, senisque vocibus liber quartus	A 1114	Rome: Giovanni Battista Robletti, 1617	3 of 4 partbooks.	C, T, B (bassus ad organum - missing)	Motets for 1/2/3/4/5/6 v. with organ for the liturgical year. Placed in calendar order.			
12	I-Rf H.II.7	Ratti, L.	Litaniae beatissimae virginis Mariae, 5/6/7/8/12 v.	R 334	Venice: Vincenti, Alessandro 1630	2 of 9 partbooks.	I: CATB II: CATB bassus ad organum (CI, organ only).	Litanies and Marian antiphons.			28
13	I-Rf H.II.8	Cima, T.	Salmi per il vespero e dui Magnificat	C 2233	Rome: Paolo Masotti, 1636	5 partbooks	CATB +organ	9 vesper psalms (some set twice) 2 Magnificats.		~	27

CA	FALOGUE	OF MANUSCI	RIPT AND PRINTI	ED MUS	SIC						
	Library shelfmark	Composer	Title	RISM	Date	Format/size in mm.	Voices/instr.	Content	1608 Inv.	1794 Inv.	N
14	I-Rf H.II.10	Bernardio, S.	Psalmi octonis vocibusopus decimum quartum	B 2058	Venice: Vincenti, Alessandro 1632	9 partbooks.	I: CATB II: CATB + org. basso continuo	Vesper Psalms & Magnificats for Sundays, Feasts of BVM, Apostles, Christmas.			51
15	I-Rf H.II.11	Cifra, A.	Sacrae cantiones	C 2211	Rome: Lodovico Grignan, 1638	5 partbooks.	CATB + org. basso continuo	208 settings of Mass propers ordered according to the liturgical calendar.		•	
16	I-Rf H.II.12	Fabbri, S.	Salmi concertati a cinque voci	F 25	Rome: Giacomo Fei d'Andrea, 1660	6 partbooks.	CCATB + org. basso continuo	Vesper psalms & 2 Magnificats		•	28
17	I-Rf H.15	Graziani, B.	Psalmi vespertini, binis chorisopus XVII	G 3684	Rome: Amadeo Belmonte, 1670	10 partbks.	I:CCATB II:CATB + org. basso continuo	Vesper psalms and Magnificats			52
18	I-Rf H II.16	Anerio, G.F.	Litaniae deiparae Virginis	A 1099	Rome: Bartolomo Zannetti, 1611	8 of 9 partbooks. 225 x 160	I:CATB II:CATB (basus ad organum missing)	5 Litanies of BVM, Marian antiphon + 4 Marian motets.			55

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⁶¹¹ The name on the published copy is 'Stephano Bernardio'. This may not be the same composer as 'Stefano Bernardi' to whom RISM attributes this work. Groves does list this collection (1624 edition) in the works of Stefano Bernardi.

	Library shelfmark	Composer	Title	RISM	Date	Format/size in mm.	Voices/instr.	Content	1608 Inv.	1794 Inv.	N
19	I-Rf H II.17	Ugolini, V.	Psalmi ad vesperas octonis vocibus	U 37	Venice: Alessandro Vincenti, 1628	9 partbooks. 235 x 165	I:CATB II:CATB + bassus ad organum	2 settings of vesper psalms and Magnificat. 1st with optional organ, 2nd with organo concertati		V	50
20	I-Rf H II.18	Anerio, G.F.	Missa pro defunctis, cum sequentia, & responsorio	A 1113	Rome: Fei, Giacomo 1677	9 partbooks. 220 x 160	C(2 copies), A(3 copies), T(2 copies), B(2 copies)	Setting of the Requiem Mass for 4v. with Sequence and Libera Me			54
21	I-Rf H II.19 (1-3)	Ratti, L.	Sacrae modulationes	R 331- 333	Venice: Alessandro Vincenti, 1628	7 of 8 partbks. 3 vols. bound together. 225x160	I:CATB5; II: C/T,A/B org (5 missing)	Settings of Mass propers, hymns, sequences for the whole church year.		V	49
22	I-Rn Gesuiti 1657	Allegri, G, De Grandis, V	Lucis Creator Optime, Gregorii Allegri			Manuscript Choirbook 500x380	CATB	5 hymns			
23	I-Rn Gesuiti 1658	Anon.	Ad vesperas Psalmus			Manuscript Choirbook 500x380	CATB	5 vesper psalms			

CA	TALOGUE (OF MANUSCI	RIPT AND PRINTI	ED MUS	SIC						
	Library shelfmark	Composer	Title	RISM	Date	Format/size in mm.	Voices/instr.	Content	1608 Inv.	1794 Inv.	N
24	I-Rn Gesuiti 1659	Anerio, G.F., Cifra, A, Anon.	Anerio inni		1607	Manuscript choir book 500x380	4/5v.	4 Vesper hymns, 2 psalms			
25	I-Rn Mss.Mus. 1-3	Anon.	Index Antiphonarum ⁶¹²		n.d.	3 mss. partbooks 250 x 120	2 vocal parts, organ b.c.	Settings of Magnificat antiphons for feasts.			2
26	I-Rn. Mss.Mus. 4-6	Anon.	Index Antiphonarum ⁶¹³		n.d.	3 mss. partbooks 250 x 120	2 vocal parts, organ b.c.	Settings of psalm antiphons for Sunday vespers and feasts.			1
27	I-Rn Mss.Mus. 9-12	Anon.	No title		n.d.	4 mss. part- books from original 5. 226 x 1164	CAQTB (B missing) Full index in A	Settings of psalm verses for Sunday vespers.			6
28	I-Rn Mss.Mus. 33-34, 40- 46	Anon.	No title		n.d.	9 mss. partbks from original 12. 230 x 170	I: CATB (C missing) II:CATB III:CATB(T B missing)	Antiphons and motets, all for 3 choirs.			18

⁶¹² Title page reads in full: Index | Antiphonarum tam | communium quam propiarum | in 2.is vesperis cuiuslibet sancti | ad magnificat toto anno | currentium | Binis Vocibus 613 Title page reads in full: INDEX | Antiphonarum | quae cantari solent ad ve= | speras in Dominicis Adven | tus, ac totius anni, in vigil: | et festo Nativit: Dni, in | octava S.Stephani S.Io:nis | Apost: S.S.Innoc:um in fe= | stis mobilibus in Communi | sanctorum et Dedicatio:is | ecclesiae. Binis et quater= | nis vocibus

CA	FALOGUE	OF MANUSCI	RIPT AND PRINTED	MUSIC							
	Library shelfmark	Composer	Title	RISM	Date	Format/size in mm.	Voices/instr.	Content	1608 Inv.	179 4 Inv.	N
29	I-Rn Mss.Mus. 51-54	Animuccia, G.	No general title.		n.d. given c.1550 -1555	4 of 5 mss. partbooks. 162 x 235	Voices not identified. Clefs used: G2/C1, C3, C4, F4	18 compositions: Antiphons and 2 Masses, 4/5/6 v.	29	(v)	
30	I-Rn Mss.Mus. 69	Anerio, G.F.	Missa Hic est vere martir, Missa della battaglia.		n.d.	Manuscript choirbook 420x280	CATB	Two 4-part Masses			5
31	I-Rn Mss.Mus. 77-88	Palestrina, Zoilo and others	No title. Index only for Miserere and Benedictus settings.		n.d.	12 mss. partbooks. 228 x 170	4/5/6/8/9/12/16 /20 v.	Motets with Holy week music: Responsories, Lamentations	28?		35
32	I-Rn. Mss.Mus. 91-92	Anon.	No title. Full index		n.d.	2 of 3 partbooks. C2, org. b.c. (CI missing) 240x175	2 voices with b.c.	Antiphons for vespers.			6
33	I-Rn. Mss.Mus. 117-121 with I- Rsc. G. Mss. Mus. 792-795	Palestrina, Zoilo, Giovannelli, Macque etc.	None. Known as the 'Pateri' manuscripts as his signature is on the first page of each volume.		n.d.	9 of 12 mss. partbooks. 285x220	4-12 v.	Motets			5

CA'	TALOGUE (OF MANUSCI	RIPT AND PRINT	ED MUS	SIC						
	Library shelfmark	Composer	Title	RISM	Date	Format/size in mm.	Voices/instr.	Content	1608 Inv.	1794 Inv.	N
34	I-Rn. Mss.Mus. 123	Della Valle, P.	Per la festa della Santissima Purificatione		1640	Manuscript score 335x230	5v, CCATB +b.c.	Dialogue for the Presentation in Italian		~	8
35	I-Rn. Mss.Mus. 125	Cifra, A.	No title		n.d.	Manuscript choirbook 480x310	CATB	Hymn: Placare Christe servulis (Alternate verses of Hymn for vespers on feast of All Saints)			
36	I-Rn. Mss.Mus. 126	Anon.	No title		n.d.	Manuscript choirbook 430x290	4/5/6 v.	17 Magnificat settings		~	
37	I-Rn. Mss.Mus. 127-128	Anerio, F., Palestrina, G.P., Dentice, F.	Improperii e miserere		n.d.	2 manuscript choir books - one for each choir. 430x290	2 choirs 4v/5v	1 Improperio, 3 Miserere settings for double choir			3
38	I-Rn. Mss.Mus. 129	Palestrina, G.P.	Missa Assumpta est		n.d.	Manuscript score 430x280	6v, organ basso continuo	Palestrina's Mass, Assumpta est Maria'			1
39	I-Rn. Mss.Mus. 130	Victoria, T.L.	No title		n. d.	Manuscript choirbook 330x220	4v.	10 vesper psalms			

	Library	Composer	IPT AND PRINTE Title	RISM	Date	Format/size in	Voices/instr.	Content	1608	1794	N
	shelfmark	Composer	Tiue	KISM	Date	mm.	v oices/ilisu.	Content	Inv.	Inv.	14
40	I-Rn. Mss.Mus. 131	Anerio, G.F. & anon.	La Prima sola Messa a 6		n.d.	Manuscript choirbook 417x278mm	4/5/6 v.	3 masses by Anerio: 6v., 5v., 5v. (last 2 incomplete) Antiphons			
41	I-Rn.Mss. Mus. 132	Anerio?	Dixit Dominus a quattro del Anerio		n.d.	Manuscriptch oirbook 330x280	4v/8v	23 vesper psalms, 1 Magnificat		>	
42	I-Rn. Mss.Mus. 133	Anon.	No title		n.d.	Score. Solo + acc. in one vol. 415x280	solo voice + basso continuo	7 Penetential Psalms			
43	I-Rn. Mss.Mus. 135	Montemayor, C.	Liber Primus cum octo et sex et ⁶¹⁴ Full index		1592	Manuscript choirbook 430 x 285	4/6/8v.	62 compositions inc. Masses & vesper psalms, antiphons, hymns,	24		5
44	I-Rn. Mss.Mus. 143	Anerio, G.F. Matelart, G.	No title		n.d.	Manuscript choirbook 480x280	4/5/6v	Te Deum, 5 Magnificats, 2 antiphons, 2 hymns			
45	I-Rn Mss.Mus. 144	Anerio, G.F. Heredia, P	No title		n.d.	Manuscript choirbook 410 x 280	4v.	4 vesper hymns			

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⁶¹⁴ Full title: Liber Primus cum octo et sex et | Quinque et Quator Vo= | cibus composita per | Cristoforus Monte | Mayor Hispanus | ãno Dni | 1.5.9.3 | Laus, Deo, | Cristoforo Montemayor | Hispanus | Vesperi Cum Octo; Della Madona sant.: ma | Vergine, e Madre del'Alto Signor Iddio Il | qualle Lui cidia[!] La sua santa grã e pace in | questo Mondo, et poi a l'altro il suo regno | Amen | In Napoli, Ãno D. 1.5.9.2 | Finis

CA'	TALOGUE	OF MANUSCR	RIPT AND PRIN	TED M	USIC						
	Library shelfmark	Composer	Title	RISM	Date	Format/size in mm.	Voices/instr.	Content	1608 Inv.	1794 Inv.	N
46	I-Rn Mss. Mus.148		Inni diversi (on the spine)		n.d.	Manuscript choirbook 370x260	4v.	19 hymns, I antiphon			7
47	I-Rn. Mss.Mus. 151	Anerio, G.F.	Missa Circuire possum Domine		1606 (Printed in 1614)	Manuscript choirbook 415x280	5/6v.	1 Mass			4
48	I-Rn. Mss.Mus. 152	Anerio, G.F.	Responsoria feriae, quintae, sextae ⁶¹⁵		1596	Manuscript choirbook 440x270	3/4/5v.	A full set of Passion responsories, and settings of the 'turba' for St. Matthew and St. John Passions.		V	2
49	I-Rn. Mss.Mus. 153	Giovannelli, Ruggiere	Missa iste est qui ante Deum		n.d.	Manuscript Choirbook 415x280	CATB Agnus: CCATB	1 Mass			
50	I-Rn. Mss.Mus. 154		In festo Sanctissimae Trinitatis		1586?	Manuscript choirbook 370x260		Vesper chants	2		
51	I-Rsc G.C.S.I.E. 8	Arcadelt, Jacobus.	Canticum beatae Mariae virginis	1557/8	Paris: Adrien Le Roy e Robert Ballard, 1557	Choirbook	4v.	Magnificat settings	22		

⁶¹⁵ Full title reads: Responsoria feriae, quintae/ sextae, et Sabbathi in hebdo - /mada sancta quator vocibus/ una cũ duab' paβionib' Mat/thej, et Joannis, Joanne francisco Anerio Romano Auctore. 1596

CA	TALOGUE	OF MANUSCR	IPT AND PRINT	TED MU	ISIC						
	Library shelfmark	Composer	Title	RISM	Date	Format/size in mm.	Voices/instr.	Content	1608 Inv.	1794 Inv.	N
52	I-Rsc G. Mss. 968	Danckerts, G Anon.	No Title		n.d. 16th c. ?	Manuscript choirbook 360x245	4-8v	Motets, hymns.			
53	I-Rsc G.S. I.E.7	Goudimel, C., Sermisy, C., Maillard, I.	Messae tres	G 3192	Paris: Adrien Le Roy e Robert Ballard, 1558	Manuscript choirbook 370x260	4 v.	Masses	10	~	4
54	I-Rsc G.S. I.E.17	Animuccia, G.	Missarum liber primus	A 1236	Rome: Eridi di Valerio e Aloisio Dorico, 1567	Choirbook	4/5/6 v.	Masses	11	~	3
55	I-Rsc G.S. I.E.18	Animuccia, G.	Canticum beatae Mariae virginis	A 1237	Rome: Eredi di Valerio e Aloisio Dorico, 1568	Choirbook	4v.	11 Magnificats	3		
56	I-Rsc G.C.S. 2.E.9	Lasso, O.	Octo cantico divae Mariae virginis	L 912	Paris: Adrien Le Roy e Robert Ballard, 1578	Choirbook	5v	8 Magnificat settings			6

CA	TALOGUE (OF MANUSCR	IPT AND PRINT	TED MU	JSIC						
	Library shelfmark	Composer	Title	RISM	Date	Format/size in mm.	Voices/instr.	Content	1608 Inv.	1794 Inv.	N
57	I-Rsc G.C.S. I.E.5	Victoria, T. L.	Hymni totius anni	V 1428	Rome: Domenico Basa, 1581	Choirbook	4/8v	Vesper hymns and psalms	9		
58	I-Rsc G.C.S. 4.C.19 (1-8)	Palestrina, G.P.	Motectorum liber quartus	P 719	Venice: Vincenti, Giacomo, 1588	Partbooks	CATB5	Motets	44		21
59	I-Rsc G.C.S. I.E.15	Palestrina, G.P.	Hymni totius anni	P 737	Rome: Francesco Coattino, 1589	Choirbook	4v.	Vesper hymns	8	•	
60	I-Rsc G.C.S. I.E.11	Navarro, J.	Psalmi, hymni, ac magnificat quatuor sex vocibus	N 283	Rome: Francesco Coattino, 1590	Choirbook	4/5/6v	Psalms, hymns, Magnificat settings and Marian antiphons	15		
61	I-Rsc G.C.S. 4.D.1 (1-5)	Palestrina, G.P.	Missarum liber primus	P 658	Rome: Alessandro Gardano, 1591	5 partbooks	4/5/6v	7 Masses:			57
62	I-Rsc G.C.S. 2.E.5	Palestrina, G.P.	Missarum liber secundus	P 663	Rome: Nicolò Mutii, 1599	Choirbook	4/5/6v	7 Masses (including a Requiem)	18	~	
63	I-Rsc G.C.S. 2.E.10	Victoria, T.L.	Officium defunctorum, sex vocibus	V 1436	Madrid: Ex Thipografia regia, 1605	Choirbook	6v	Full setting of the Office of the Dead with a Requiem Mass.			

CA'	TALOGUE (OF MANUSCR	RIPT AND PRINTE	D MUS	SIC						
	Library shelfmark	Composer	Title	RISM	Date	Format/size in mm.	Voices/instr.	Content	1608 Inv.	1794 Inv.	N
64	I-Rsc G.C.S. 4.C.4 (1,3,6)	Anerio, F.	Responsoria ad lectiones divini officiisanctae hebdomadae	A 1082	Rome: Aloisio Zannetti, 1606	Part books 4°	4v.	Settings of the responsories for Holy Week			31
65	I-Rsc G.C.S. 4.C.2 (6- 13)	Anerio, G.F. Cifra, A	Litaniae deiparae Virginis, septem, octonisque vocibus bound with: Litaniae Deiparae Virginis, octonis, et duodenis vocibus decantandae	A 1099 C 2195	Rome: Bartolomeo Zannetti, 1611 Rome: Giovanni Battista Robletti, 1613	Partbooks	8v + basso per organo 8/12 v. + basso per organo	Litanies and Marian antiphons			
66	I-Rsc G.C.S. 4.C.1 (1-3)	Anerio, G.F.	Antiphonae, seu sacrae cantionesin tres partes distributae	A 1104	Rome: Giovanni Battista Robletti,1613	Partbooks	2/3v. + bassus ad organum	Vesper antiphons for the complete church-year.			60
67	I-Rsc G.C.S. 4.C.3 (10- 14)	Anerio, G.F	Responsoria nativitatis Dominiternis, quaternis, octonis vocibus	A 1106	Rome: Giovanni Battista Robletti, 1614	5 Partbooks	3/4/8 v + bassus ad organum	Christmas responsories			23

CA	FALOGUE	OF MANUS	CRIPT AND PRINTI	ED MUS	SIC						
	Library shelfmark	Composer	Title	RISM	Date	Format/size in mm.	Voices/instr.	Content	1608 Inv.	1794 Inv.	N
68	I-Rsc G.C.S. 4.D.4 (1- 13)	Soriano, F.	Psalmi et mottecta quae octo, duodecim et sexdecim vocibus concinuntur liber secundus	S 3984	Venezia: Giacomo Vincenti, 1616	Partbooks	8/12/16v. + org. basso continuo	Vesper psalms and motets inc. psalm Dixit Dominus for 4 choirs			16
69	I-Rsc G.C.S. 3.A (28- 31)	Allegri, G. Costantini,	Concertini a due, a tre, et a quattro voci con il basso continuo, libro secondo, bound with Selectae	A 858	Roma: Luca Antonio Soldi, 1619	Partbooks	2/3/4v. + org. basso continuo	Motets plus a Litany by Robero Valeri			
		F. (ed.)	cantiones a Fabbio Costantini collectae, liber primus, opus tertium and Scelta di motetti di diversi eccellentissimi autori a 2, a 3, a 4 et a 5, posti in luce da Fabio Costantini	1618/3	Roma: Zannetti, 1618		2/3/4/5v + org. basso continuo	Motets by a wide selection of Roman composers of that time.			

CA'	TALOGUE	OF MANUSCI	RIPT AND PRINT	ED MUS	SIC						
	Library shelfmark	Composer	Title	RISM	Date	Format/size in mm.	Voices/instr.	Content	1608 Inv.	1794 Inv.	N
70	I-Rsc A.C.S. 2.A (1-9)	Anerio, G.F.	Teatro armonico spirituale di madrigali a cinque, sei, sette et otto voci concertati con il basso per l'organo	A 1123	Roma: Giovanni Battista Robletti, 1619	9 Partbooks	5/6/7/8v. + basso per organo	Spiritual Magrigals		•	17
71	I-Rsc G.C.S. 4.C.2	Anerio, G.F.	Psalmi vesperarum, qui in totius anniternis quaternisque vocibus	A 1109	Roma: Robletti, Giovanni Battista 1620	5 Partbooks	3/4v + basso ad organum	Vesper psalms and 2 Magnificats			44
72	I-Rsc G.C.S. 4.D.6 (1- 2)	Ugolini, V.	Motecta et missae octonis et duodenis vocibus cum basso ad organumliber primus	U 36	Roma: Luca Antonio Soldi, 1622	Partbooks (3 missing - all bass parts)	12/8 v. + + basso per organo	Motets and masses		~	36

CA'	TALOGUE	OF MANUS	CRIPT AND PRINTE	ED MUS	SIC						
	Library shelfmark	Composer	Title	RISM	Date	Format/size in mm.	Voices/ins tr.	Content	1608 Inv.	1794 Inv.	N
73	I-Rsc G.C.S. 4.C.9 (1- 5)	De Grandis, V.	Psalmi ad vesperas, et motecta octonis vocibus quorum aliqua concertata cum litanijsliber primus	G 3481	Roma: Luca Antonio Soldi, 1624	9 Partbooks	8v + b.c.	Psalms, motets, litanies			30
74	I-Rsc G.C.S. 4.C.5 (5- 10)	Bernardi, S.	Messe a quattro et cinque voci, parte sono per capella, e parte per concertolibro primo, opera sesta	B 2053	Venezia: Alessandro Vincenti, 1627	6 Partbooks	CATBQ, b.c	Masses			43
75	I-Rsc G.C.S. 4.D.2 (4- 9)	Vitali, F.	Psalmi ad Vesperas quinque vocibus cum basso ad organum si placet	V 2124	Roma: Bianchi, Vincenzo 1641	6 Partbooks	CATB5 + organ b.c.	Vesper psalms			22
76	I-Rsc G.C.S. 4.D.2 (1-3)	Piochio, C	Sacrae Cantiones quae binis, ternis, quaternisque vocibus concinuntur: Liber secundus	P 2415	Roma: Robletti, Giovanni Battista, 1637	4 Partbooks (one missing)	CI,CII,B (b.c. missing)	Motets		•	

CA	TALOGUE (OF MANUSC	RIPT AND PRINT	ED MUS	SIC						
	Library	Composer	Title	RISM	Date	Format/size	Voices/instr.	Content	1608	1794	N
	shelfmark					in mm.			Inv.	Inv.	
77	I-Rsc G.C.S. 4.D.2	Capece, A	Responsorii di Natale e di Settimana santa concertati a quattro vociopera 25	c 895	Napoli: Beltrano, Ottavio 1636	Partbooks	CATB, b.c.	Responsories for Christmas and Holy Week.		•	

APPENDIX 6Records of expenditure relating to the music for the liturgy⁶¹⁶

Date	Reference	Cost in scudi ⁶¹⁷
28 Jan. 1584	Payment to Germanico Fedele for costs incurred for the Feast of S. Gregorio.	4.10
	A further payment to give to the organist for his salary in January and February.	5.00
7 May 1584	Organist Pietro's salary for March and April	5.00
11 Sept. 1584	Payment to Fedeli for the tuning of the organ.	1.50
23 Sept. 1587	Payment to Pietro Pozzo for the musicians and those who transported the instruments for the feast of the Madonna.	4.221/2
2 Apr. 1591	Payment to Felice Anerio and Oratio Malvezzi for the music for the feast of S. Gregorio and the 40 hours.	10.00
8 Apr. 1593	Payment to Felice Anerio to give to the Pope's musicians who came for the feast of S. Gregorio and the 40 hours.	10.00
26 Dec. 1594	Payments to Santini to 'tip' the singers (4 sc.) and for the tuning of the grand and the small organs in the church (2 sc.)	6.00
17 Jan. 1595	For a trombone register for the organ in the church.	25.00
12 Sept. 1595	Payment to Santini of sc.5.30 for the papal singers and 0.30 for the children from S. Maria Maggiore for singing for the feast of the Nativity of the B.V.M.	5.60
15 Sept. 1595	Payment to organ builder Guglielmi for the principal register for the organ in the church.	10.00
3 Mar. 1598	For copying works of music for the church and for buying books of music.	4.00
8 Jun. 1598	Payment for organ tuning to Guglielmi for six months	4.00
	Payment for tin and lead for pipes and for the repair of the organ	294.41
1 Aug. 1598	Payment for a month and ten days to the soprano, Ms. Oratio for singing at the services in the church.	4.00
28 Nov. 1598	Copying music for the church.	4.00
18 Aug. 1599	Payment to Isorelli for the organist, Ms. Andrea Vespeno, for two months.	4.00
12 Feb. 1601	Books of music for the church and binding.	3.00
13 Feb. 1601	Payment to Santini for books of motets and laudi by	3.00

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of this list is compiled from references to expenditure relating to payments for musicians, organ building and tuning (where the church is specified and not the oratory), the purchase of music and the expenses incurred in having music copied and bound. The source for this information are the books of decrees (I-Rf, C 1-9), the *Entrata et Uscita et diverse memorie* (I-Rf, C. IV) and the *Copie de' mandati* (I-Ras, Orat., 161-166). Addamiamo and Morelli in *L'archivio della cappella musicale di Santa Maria in Vallicella (Chiesa Nuova) a Roma nella prima metà del Seicento. Una ricostruzione*, Fonti Musicale Italiane, 1997, vol. 2, 37-67 (here 41) provide a similar list but restrict their information to the copying and purchasing of music.

The principal denominations at that time were the scudo, worth ten giuli, which in turn was worth ten baiocchi. Some idea of the value of this currency can be given by considering that a pair of shoes could be bought for 45 baiocchi and six sheets of music paper for 9 baiocchi. See: John Walter Hill, *Roman monody, cantata, and opera from the circles around Cardinal Montalto*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), xvii-xix.

Date	Reference	Cost in scudi ⁶¹⁷
	Animuccia for use in the church and the oratory.	
13 Sept. 1601	Payment to Isorelli for Ms. Pietro, tenor of the Pope's	?
	Chapel, who sang at the vigil of the feast	
5 Sept. 1602	A book of masses by Christoforo Morales.	
5 Sept. 1602	Lodovico Viadana's Cento concerti ecclesiastici.	
26 Oct. 1602	Payment to Santini for binding books of music	
20 Dec. 1602	Payment to Santini to pass on to the children who sing.	0.20
27 Aug. 1603	Payment to Martini for three collections of books, two of Felice Anerio for 8 voices and one for 8 voices by Rugiere [sic].	1.95
24 Mar. 1604	Payment to Martini for providing a bass for the present months	4.50
20 May 1604	Payment to Martini for the tuning of the organ for a year.	10.00
20 May 1604	Three collections of books for the choir. responsories of Matelate. Motets of Agostino Agazzara, 2nd and 3rd books.	1.75
5 Sept. 1605	A book of music.	0.30
18 Mar. 1606	Payment to Martini for a singer and organist for the previous month.	2.50
19 Aug. 1606	For copying some books for the choir.	1.00
11 Jan. 1607	Payment to Jacomo Verovio for singing on feastdays at mass and vespers.	2.00
1 Feb. 1607	Payment to the singer, Alessandro, for a month and a half for his services to the church.	3.75
1 Feb. 1607	A further payment of 'tips' to Ms. Martini and others.	2.00
1 Feb. 1607	Payment to Jacomo Verovio for January.	2.50
3 Mar. 1607	Payment to Jacomo Verovio and to ms. Alessandro organista for the month of February	5.00
23 Aug. 1607	Payment to Nicolò, contralto in the Papal Chapel, per month for singing at mass.	
6 Dec. 1607	Payment to Martini to buy ten collections of motets to give to the singers who give their services.	4.00
4 May 1608	Payment to Alessandro, singer, for the month of April.	2.50
4 May 1608	Payment to Martini for a collection of books for the choir.	0.36
28 May 1608	Payment to Martini to give an advanced payment to the organ builder, Guglielmi, for the new organ for the church.	25.00
30 Oct. 1608	Payment to Martini for the organist, Roberto, for that month.	2.00
30 Oct. 1608	Payment to Martini for copying music for the church.	2.00
1 May 1609	For 2 psalters 'grandi' and 2 other collections of books for the choir.	3.90
3 Jun. 1609	A further payment to the organ builder, Guglielmi, for the new organ.	55.00
10 July 1609	Payment to Martini for two singers and an organist for the month of June.	6.50
10 July 1609	Payment to the porters for carrying the organ, many times, to the second choir loft.	1.40

Date	Reference	Cost in scudi ⁶¹⁷
7 Aug. 1609	For books and for copying music for the choir.	2.10
10 Nov. 1609	For some books bought for the choir.	0.90
30 Apr. 1611	For copying music for the choir.	1.90
28 Jun. 1611	For buying books and materials to make copies of music.	2.65
23 Dec. 1611	For copying and the materials.	11.25
8 Mar. 1612	Payment to Martini for the salaries of the singers and organist for the months of January and February	6.50
8 Mar. 1612	Payment to Martini for organ tuning and for moving the small organ to the choir loft for the feast of 'our saints'.	6.30
27 June 1612	For manuscript paper, inks and binding materials.	2.00
27 Apr. 1613	For copying various music, card and a collection of books.	8.20
13 Oct. 1613	For copying music.	1.00
26 Nov. 1613	For a large book of masses.	?
24 Dec. 1613	For collections of books and for copying music.	3.50
28 Feb. 1614	Payment to Martini for the singers for the months of January and February.	26.00
29 Dec. 1615	For paper, ink and binding material for this year.	3.43
27 Apr. 1616	Payment to Martini for the music in the church for March and April.	36.00
23 Dec. 1617	Payment to Martini for the musicians in the church for the months of November and December.	36.00
23 Dec. 1617	A further payment as a 'tip' to singers for their services.	25.00
23 Dec. 1617	Payment to <i>mastro Giovanni</i> for tuning the two organs in the church.	14.00
29 Apr. 1618	Payment to Martini for the singers for March and April.	27.00
29 Apr. 1618	Payment to Martini for a collection of books of music for the church.	1.00
29 Dec. 1619	For paper, binding and tanning of the books for the choir.	5.50
8 Mar. 1620	Payment to Martini for singers for the months of January and February.	28.00
8 Mar. 1620	Payment to Martini for a book of Masses by Cifra.	3.50
28 Apr. 1620	Payment to Martini for singers for March and April.	34.00
28 Apr. 1620	Further payment for a book of Holy Week music by Soriano.	2.50
7 Nov. 1620	Payment to Martini for the provision of the music in the church for September and October.	32.00
7 Nov. 1620	A further payment for copying some masses and <i>laudi</i> spirituali.	3.00
9 Sept. 1621	For a large book of masses.	3.50
? Jun. 1622	Payment to Martini for the feast of S Filippo Neri	53.50
3 June 1623	To buy psalms and motets and to make copies of psalms and motets.	6.00
28 Feb. 1625	For making two large choirbooks with ribbon markers and brass plates.	16.00

Date	Reference	Cost in scudi ⁶¹⁷
8 Jan 1627	Payment to Rosini for buying some masses of Palestrina and for copying the music of Martini.	10.00
30 Sept 1629	Payments to singers for the Feast of the Assumption.	6.00
6 Aug 1639	Payment to Rosini for a copy of motets.	0.80

APPENDIX 7 TRANSCRIPTIONS

1.	Ave Maria	Giovanni Animuccia	323
2.	Dixit Dominus a 2 (v.1)	Cristoforo Montemayor	333
3.	Dixit Dominus a 3 (v.6)	Cristoforo Montemayor	334
4.	Ave Regina celorum	Cristoforo Montemayor	335
5.	Hic es Requies	Cristoforo Montemayor	344
6.	Regina Caeli	Felice Anerio	350
7.	Dixit Dominus	Anon.	358
8.	Magnificat Secundi toni	Felice Anerio?	367
9.	Magnificat Octavi toni	Felice Anerio?	370
10.	Lucis creator optime	Gregorio Allegri	372
11.	Rex gloriose martyrum	Antonio Cifra	379
12.	In Nativitate	Giovanni Francesco Anerio	385
13.	Sepulto Domino	Giovanni Francesco Anerio	386
14.	Jubilemus in arca Domini Dei	Giovanni Francesco Anerio	388
15.	Kyrie -Missa Papae Marcelli	Anon.	396
16.	Agnus Dei -Missa Papae Marcell	li Anon	418
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18.	Dulcis Amor Jesu	Giovanni Francesco Anerio	447
19.	Tres Pueri	Giovanni Francesco Anerio	450
20.	In Assumptione B. Virginis	Giovanni Francesco Anerio	456
21.	Quam pulcra es amica mea	Angelo Paoletti	459
22.	Angelus ad pastores ait	Gregorio Allegri	470
23.	Assumpta est Maria	Gregorio Allegri	474
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25.	Kyrie- Messa della	Giulio Cesare Bianchi	480
	Gloriosissima V.Maria		
26.	Ave Sanctissima Maria	Giulio Cesare Bianchi	482
27.	Nesciens Mater Virgo	Cipriano Losio	484
28.	Kyrie - Missa a 5	Stefano Bernardi	490
29.	Gaudent in coelis	Anon.	495
30.	O quam gloriosum	Anon.	500
31.	Angelus autem Domini	Anon.	505
32.	Domine ne in furore	Anon.	509

EDITORIAL NOTES

Sources

The thirty-two transcriptions included in appendix 7 have been referenced and discussed in this thesis. Numbers 1-5, 7-13 and 32 are transcribed from manuscript sources identified as originating from the Chiesa Nuova and now housed in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Rome. Numbers 17 and 29-31 are from manuscript sources in the archives of the Chiesa Nuova and numbers 15-16 are from a manuscript source in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, a nineteenth-century copy, in-score, made from partbooks that were housed in the archive of the Chiesa Nuova, but are now lost. The remaining transcriptions are from early printed copies, the majority originally belonging to the music library at the Chiesa Nuova. Some are in the archive of the Chiesa Nuova (numbers 14, 18-19, 21, 24-27) and others in the Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica S. Cecilia (numbers 20, 22, 23 & 28). For the first transcription, as one manuscript partbook is now missing, a copy of the printed edition from 1552 was consulted in order to supply the missing altus part. 618 For transcription no. 6, the original set of printed partbooks containing Felice Anerio's Regina Caeli are now lost, but an alternative set of the same print of Anerio's Sacri Hymni et cantica, sive motecta...liber primus, 1596, housed in the Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome, was consulted.619

Editorial Commentary

Each transcription is presented with a heading including a number for reference purposes followed by the title as presented in the original source. The composer's name (if known) is given on the right and details of the source on the left. This includes a number (in brackets), which provides a reference to Appendix 5, where details of the present location for the original source, details of format as well as the RISM reference number can be found. If the original source is lost, the location of the source used is given. Following this, the library shelf mark and folio numbers are provided for manuscript sources and, for printed copies, the title and date. A page reference to where each work is discussed in the thesis is also given.

⁶¹⁸ Bodleian Library, Mus. 56 e.69 (1-5).

⁶¹⁹ Biblioteca Casanatense, Mus.481bis-488.

Editorial Method

Modern clefs are used with the originals provided in the prefatory stave. The individual vocal parts are identified with the names as used in the source.

The original note pitches and, where used, the stave signature of a single flat are maintained.

The time signatures from the source are provided on the prefatory stave. Bar lines have been added, generally at four-minim intervals (requiring a modern 4/2 time signature) or, in passages in triple time, at three semibreve intervals (requiring a modern 3/1 time signature). Any deviation from this is mentioned in the detailed critical commentary for each individual work, presented below.

The original note values are maintained, although the addition of bar lines sometimes requires the use of editorial ties. Ligatures in the original are denoted by a bracket above the stave.

Accidentals appear as in the sources, although the mi-sign (corresponding to the modern sharp as a graphic sign) is reproduced as a natural where appropriate according to modern usage. Superfluous accidentals, resulting from the lack of bar lines, have been omitted. Editorial accidentals have been added above the stave for reasons of repeated notes, *musica ficta* and harmonic sense.

Figured bass is reproduced as in the original sources with the same adaptation of mi-signs to naturals where appropriate.

The text is transcribed in the spelling of the original and follows as closely as possible the underlay as presented in the source. Where repetition has been indicated in an abbreviated form in the source (as 'ij' or similar) the words have been written out in full. As there is no ambiguity in the text, the words have been transcribed without an explanatory note.

Critical Commentary

Obvious errors have been corrected in the transcriptions and these are indicated below by specifying the reading that appeared in the original source. Any illegible notes or passages are also referenced and a possible solution has been provided in the relevant transcription.

Abbreviations

```
4 III 5 means bar 4, third voice from the top, fifth symbol (note, tied note or rest).

s semibreve
m minim
c crotchet
q quaver
t tie
t-s time signature

The names of notes are capitalized.

No. 1: Animuccia, Ave Maria
9 III 3 & 4: both s in the manuscript and the printed source.
```

No. 2: Montemayor, *Dixit Dominus a 2* 2 I 1: s.

2 I 1: s. 2 I 3: s

No. 4: Montemayor, Ave Regina celorum

50 I 2-4: q q m, altered to avoid consecutive 5ths with the altus

58 IV 1-3: t-s 3

79 II 1: m 80 II 4: s

No. 5: Montemayor, His est requies

8 V 2: B 10 V 1: # 23 VI 3: # 40 I 2: #

No. 7: Anon., Dixit Dominus

Only the words for the plainchant incipit are provided in the source.

9 III 4: D 42 II 3: F 52 II 1: C 56 I 1, 2: both m

No. 9: F. Anerio? Magnificat Octavi toni

4 VI 6 - 5 VI 1-3: unclear in the original. What I have presented here is a possible interpretation.

10 I 1: #

No. 10: Gregorio Allegri, Lucis creator optime

The plainchant incipit is taken from the *Liber Usualis* as it is identical with that given in the source.

No. 12: G. F. Anerio, In nativitate domini

In the source the text for verses 2 and 3 is placed under the music for each vocal part.

No. 13: G. F. Anerio, Sepulto Domino

4 III 4 - 7 III 6: very unclear in the original. What I have presented here is one possible interpretation.

14 IV: Unclear in the original.

No. 14: G. F. Anerio, Jubilemus in arca Domini Dei

63 VI 4: #

72 II 2: #

No. 17: Anon., Missa Sine Nomine a 12, Agnus Dei

41 II 1 - 43 II 4: Barely legible. This appears to be the most likely solution.

No. 18: G.F. Anerio, Dulcis Amor Jesu

20 I 5: c

24 I 3: #

No. 25: G. C. Bianchi, Messa della Gloriosissima V. Maria - Kyrie

3 I 4: #

4 I 6: #

9 I 3: #

No. 26: G. C. Bianchi, Ave Sanctissima Maria

1 II 1: 2s + t

9 II 1: 2s + t

10 II 1: 2s + t

12 II 4-5: t

18 II 2: E

26 II 1-2: t

No. 29: Anon., Gaudent in coelis

29 I 3: A

No. 31: Anon., Angelus autem Domini

5 III 2 - 9 III 3: The source returns to a C3 clef whilst the notes themselves clearly continue in an F4 clef.

42 III 1-2: t

No. 32: Anon., Domine ne in furore

1 I + II: No t-s (the original baring has been kept in the transcription)

39 II 1: 2m + t

48 I 1: c E

51 II 1: 2m + t

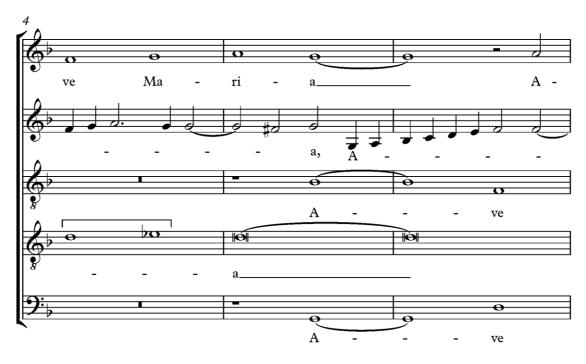
69 II 1: s

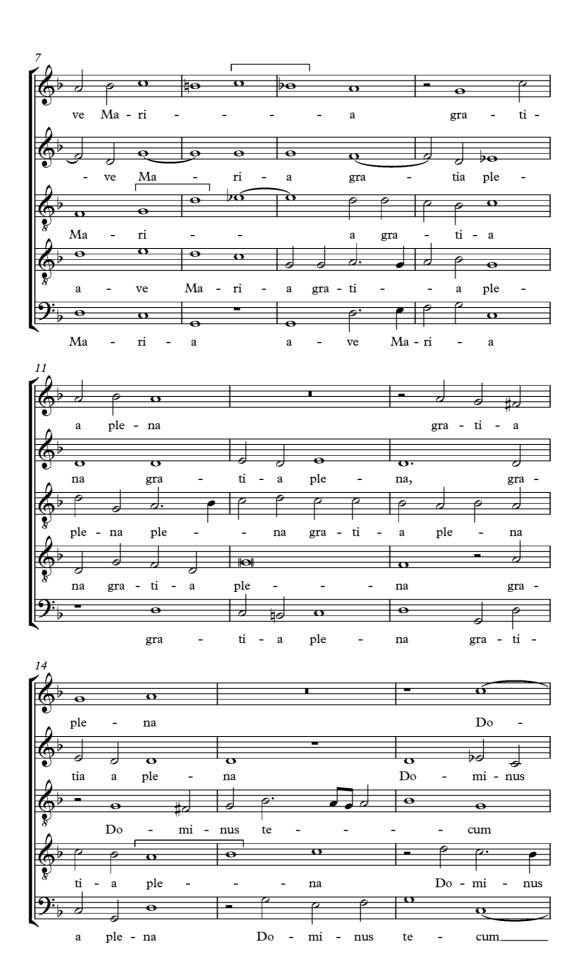
1. Ave Maria

Giovanni Animuccia (1520-1571)

[Sources: (29) I-Rn mss. Mus 51-54, f. 4v.-5r. and *Il Primo Libro de i Motetti a cinque voci*, Rome, 1552, VII] See reference, page 124.



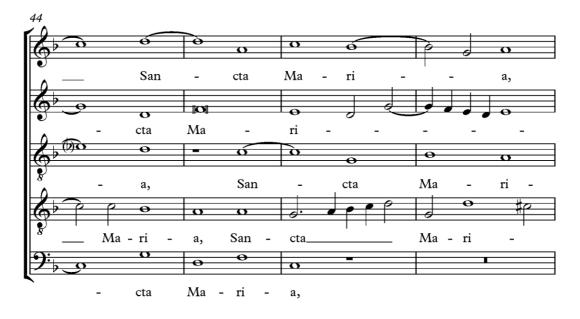


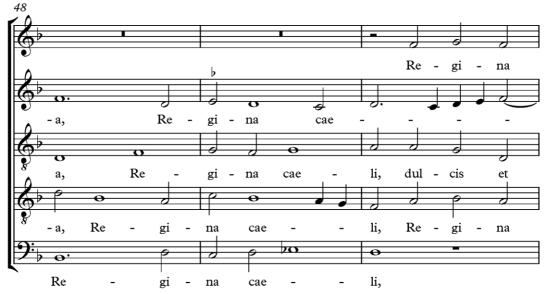


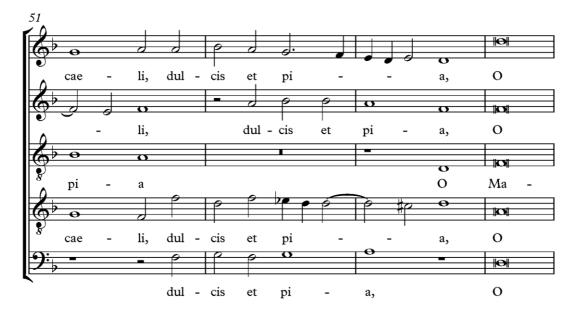
















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vi - de

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mus,

mus,

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te





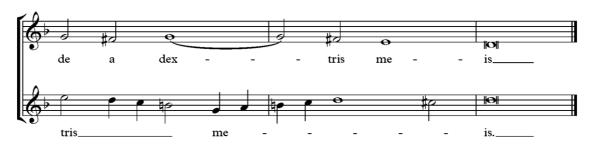
2. Dixit Dominus a 2











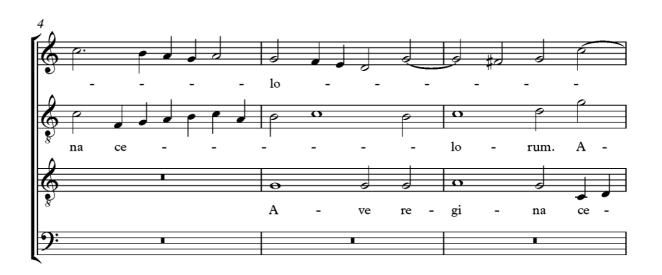
3. Dixit Dominus a 3 (v. 6)

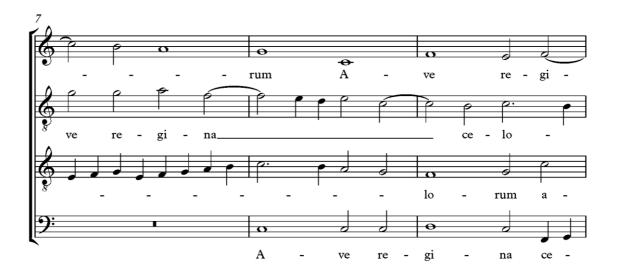


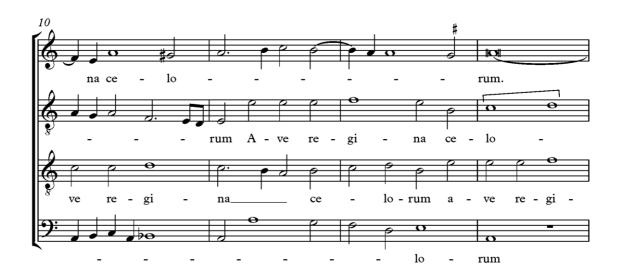
4. Ave Regina celorum

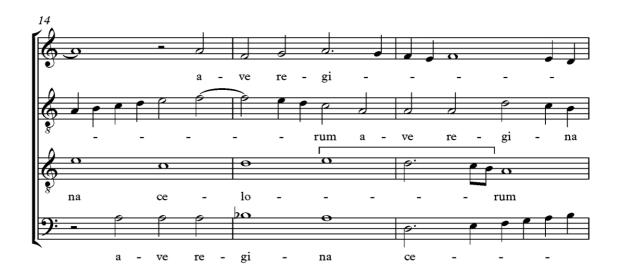
[Source: (43) I-Rn Mss.Musicali 135, f.117v-119r.] See reference, page 127.

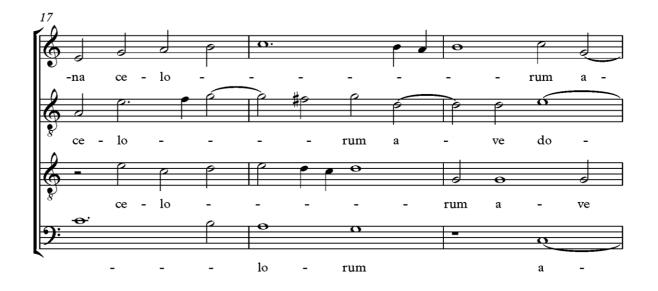


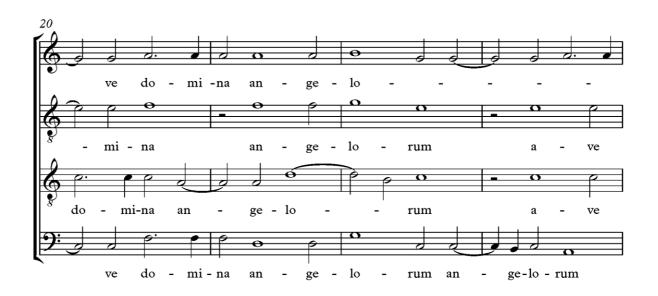


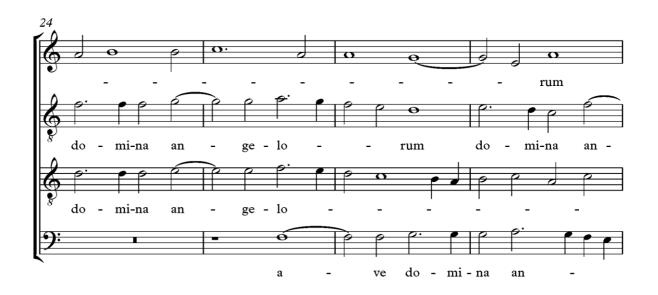


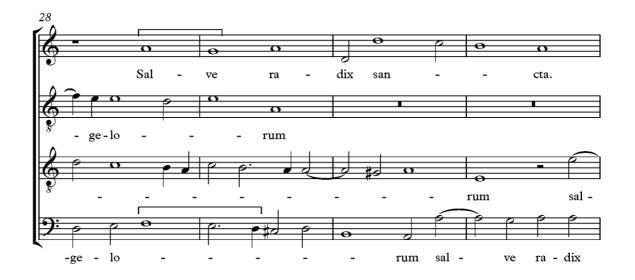


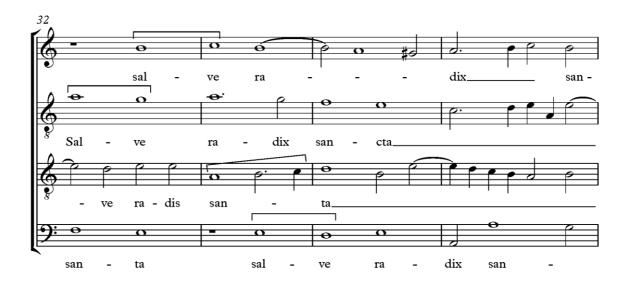


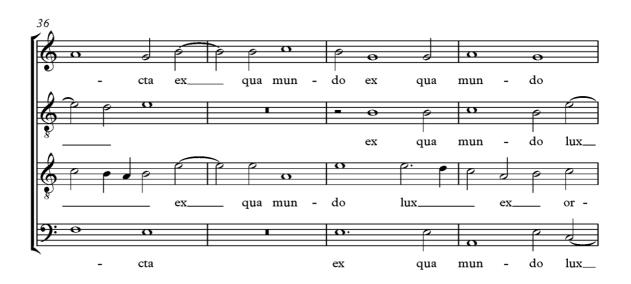


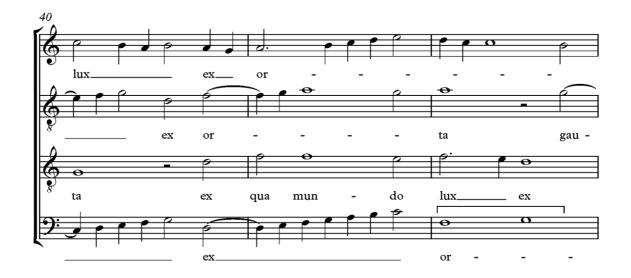


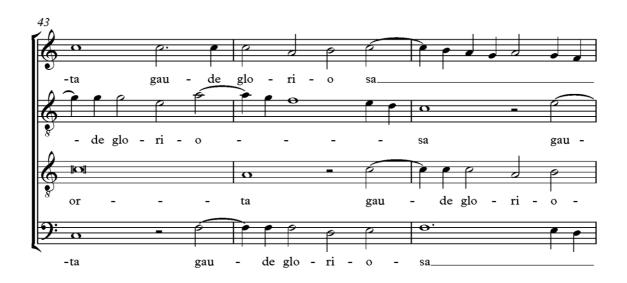


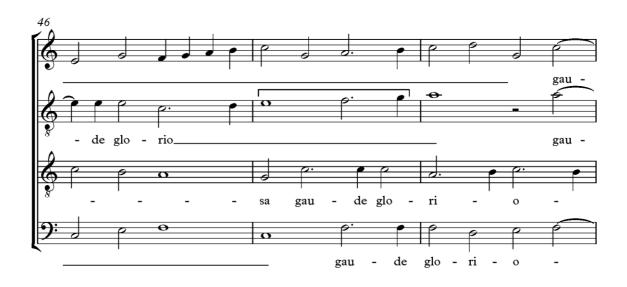




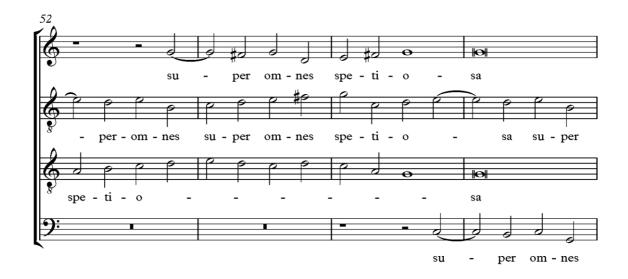


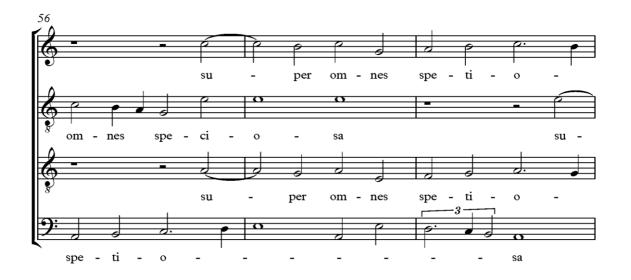


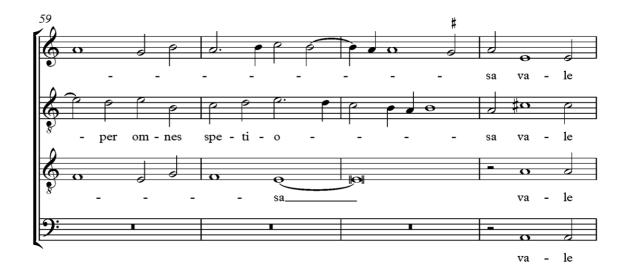


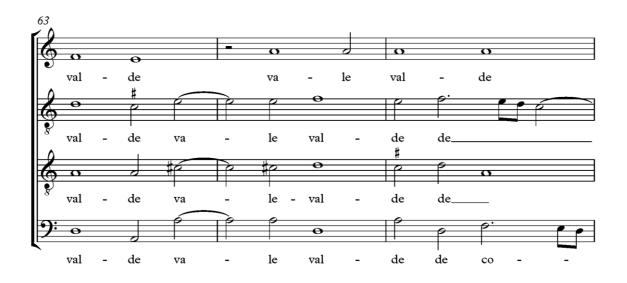


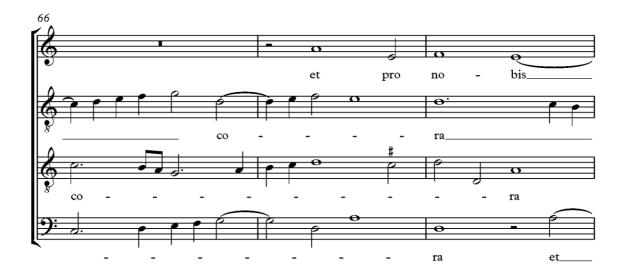


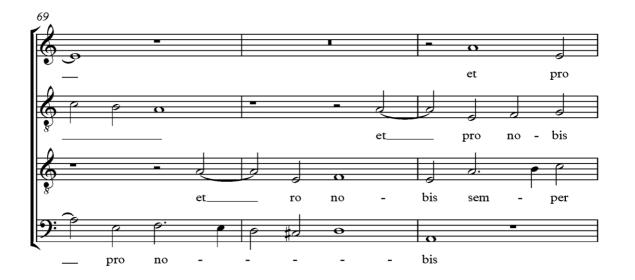


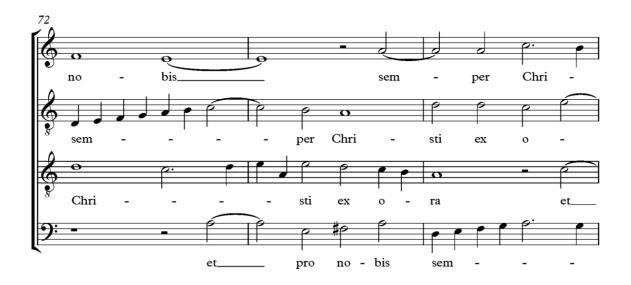


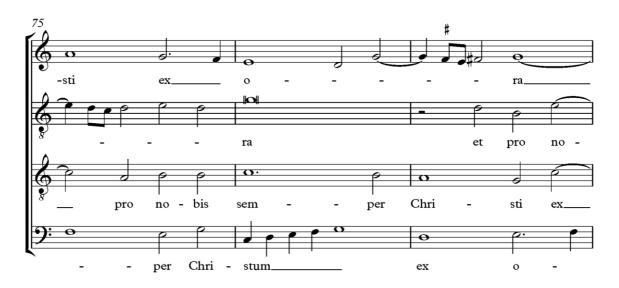


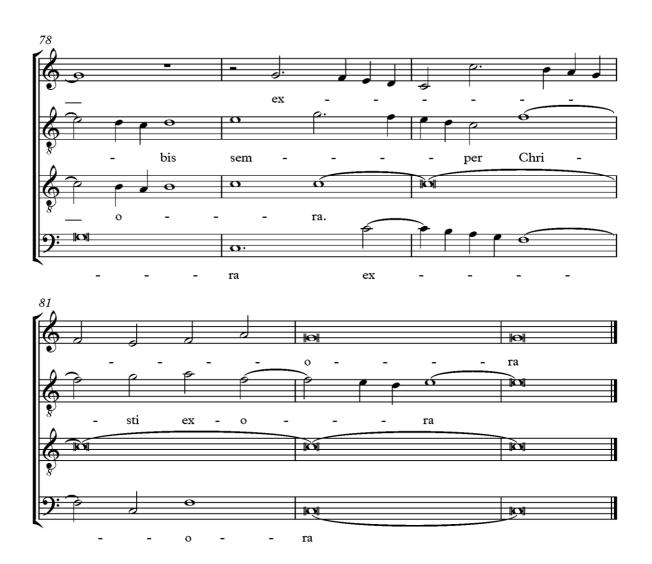




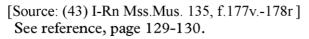








5. Hic est requies















6. Regina Caeli

[Source: (I-Rc, Mus481bis-488) *Sacri Hymni et cantica, sive motecta...liber primus,* Venezia: Giacomo Vincenti, 1596.] Felice Anerio See reference, page 137-138. CANTUS I KN li Re gi na. cae ALTUS I Re li gi TENOR I 3,€ li gi na cae BASSUS I gi na cae li CANTUS II Re Re TENOR II KN Re BASSUS II Re lae lae lae li gi cae li na KS li na cae

li

cae

gi

na













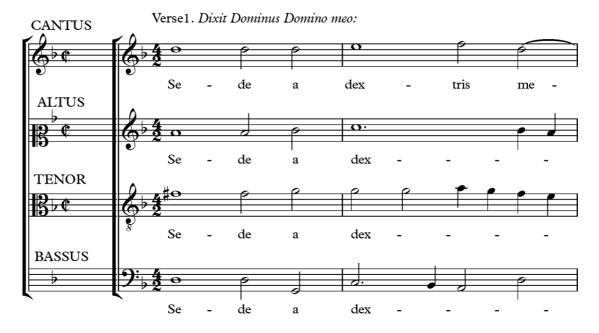


7. Dixit Dominus

[Source: (27) I-Rn Mss. Mus. 10-12, f. 1r - 1v. Transcribed from partbooks: C, A, T. with a reconstructed bass line due to a missing partbook. The first partbook, I-Rn Mss. Mus. 9 (Quintus) does not include music for this four-part setting.]

See reference, page 170.

Anon.

















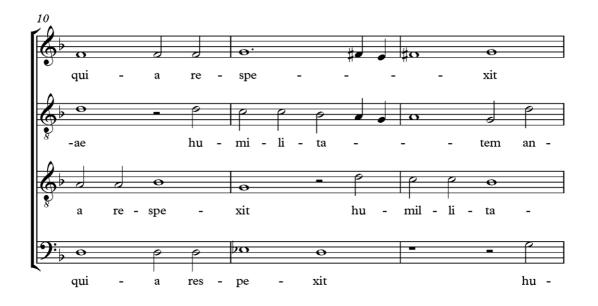


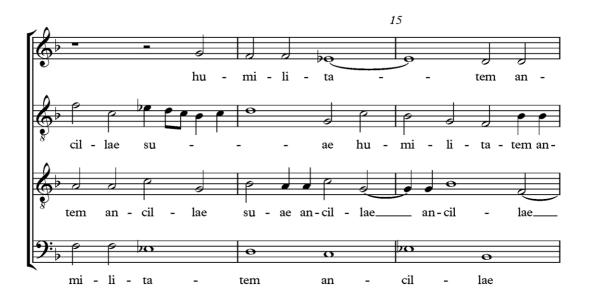


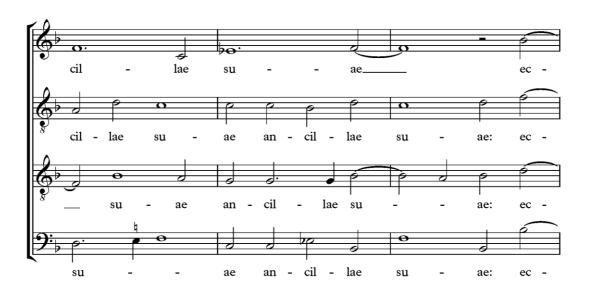
8. Magnificat Secundi toni

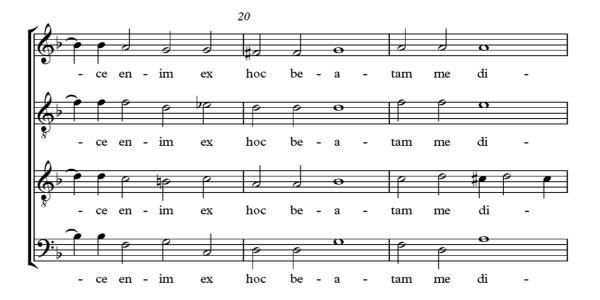
[Source: (36) I-Rn Mss. Mus. 126, f. 5v -7r] Felice Anerio? See reference, page 181 Verse 3. CANTUS hu mi - li ta **ALTUS** Qui xit an - cil - lae spe TENOR Qui xit a BASSUS hu 5 li tem hu tem cil su ae an lae su hu an - cil - lae su ae an cil lae mi - li lae tem su cil - lae an su ae cil-lae mi mi - li su - ae hu ta tem qiu -

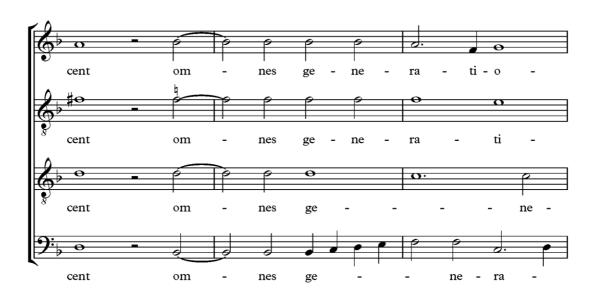
ae.

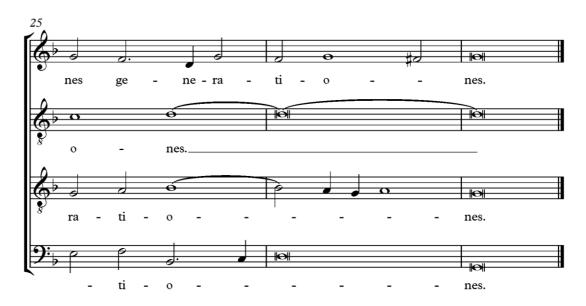












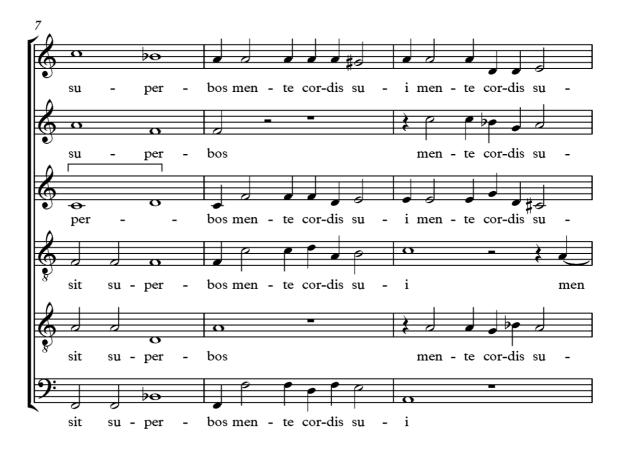
9. Magnificat Octavi toni

[Source: (36) I-Rn Mss. Mus. 126 f. 78v - 79r.] See reference, page 182

Felice Anerio?



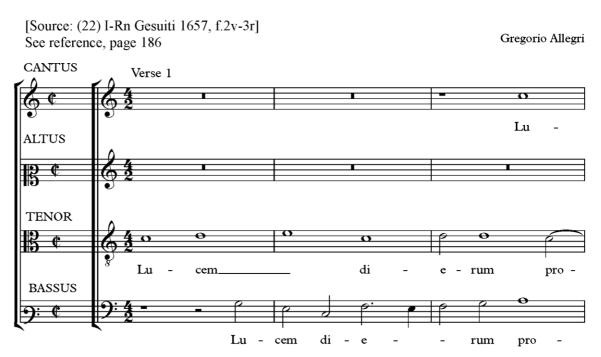


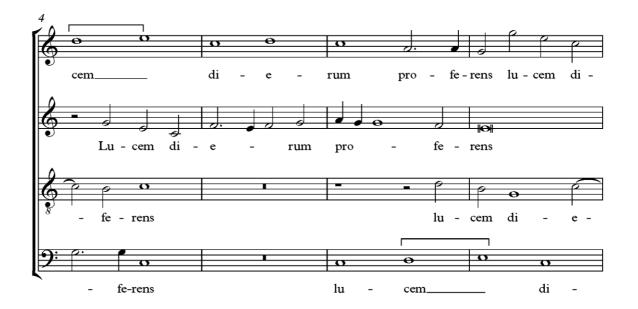


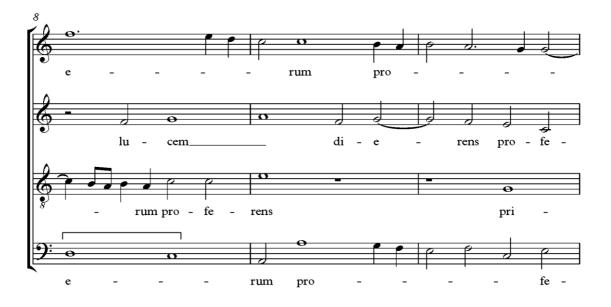


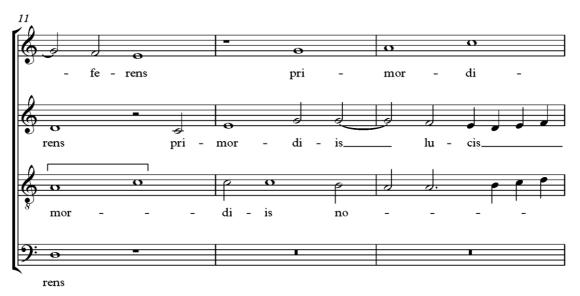
10. Lucis creator optime

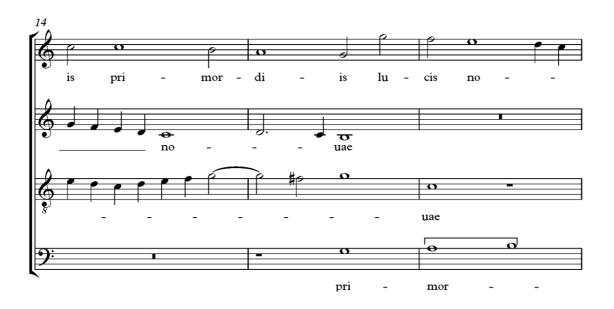






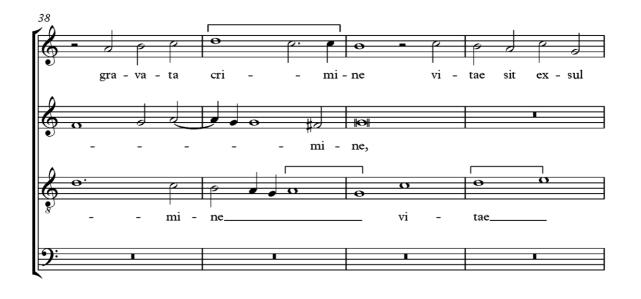


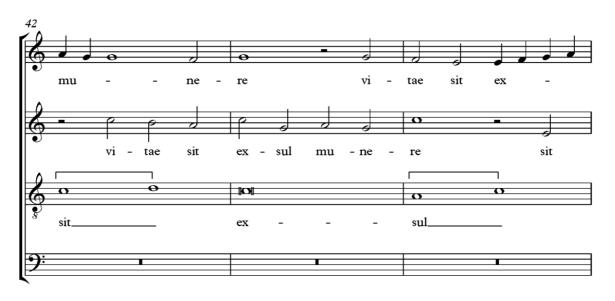


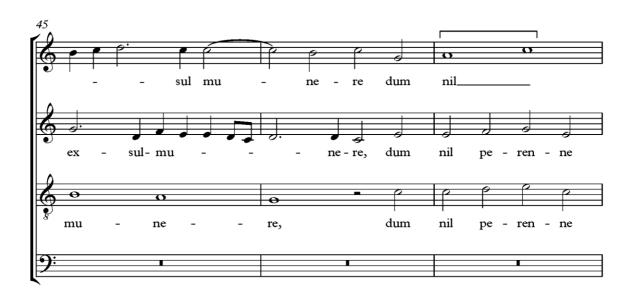


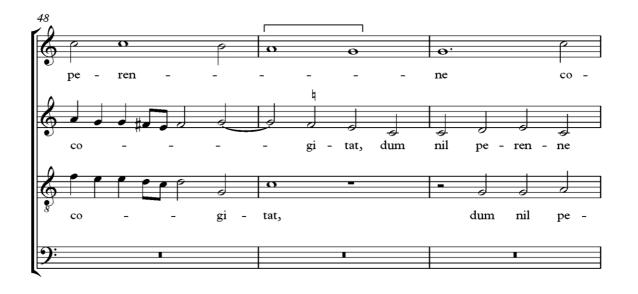


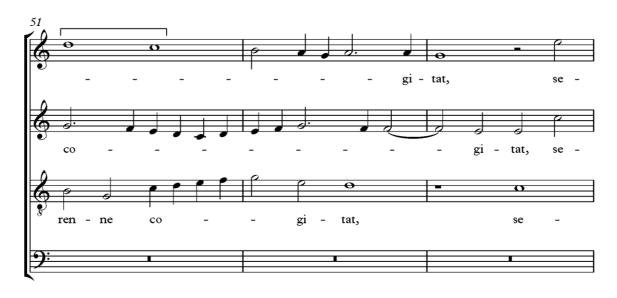


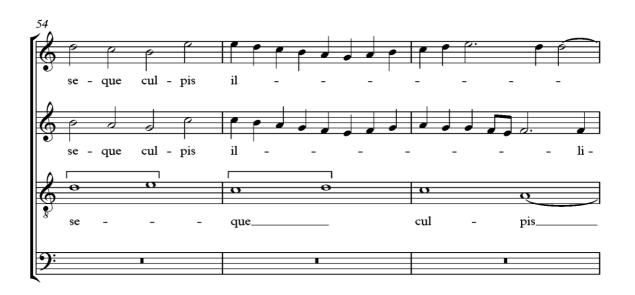




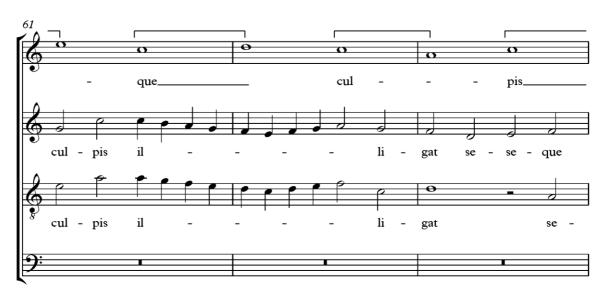


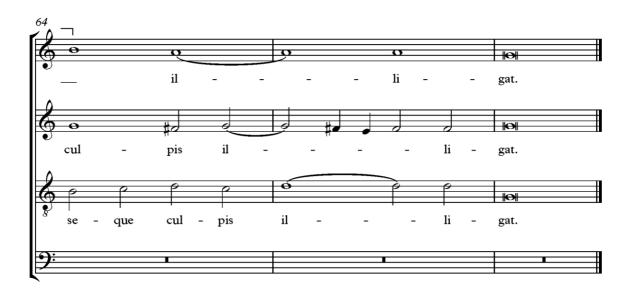








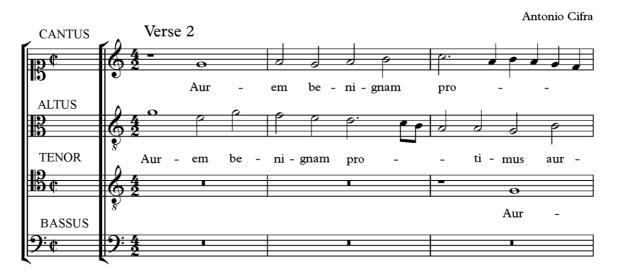


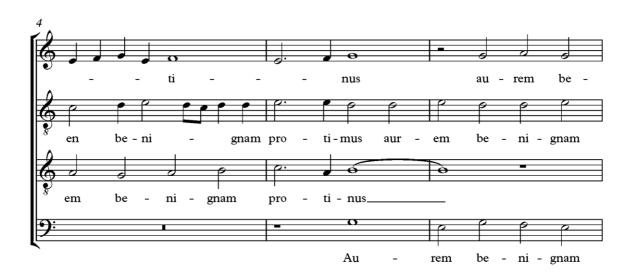


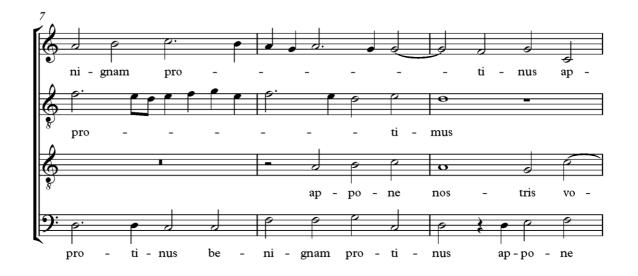
11. Rex gloriose Martyrum

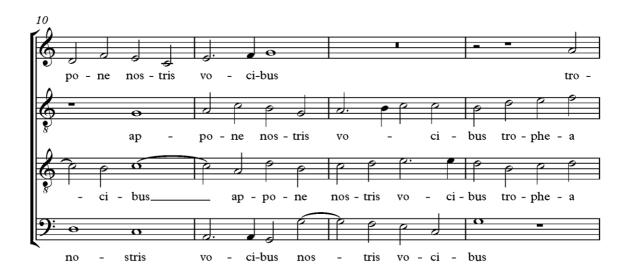
Vesper Hymn - Pro pluribus Martyribus

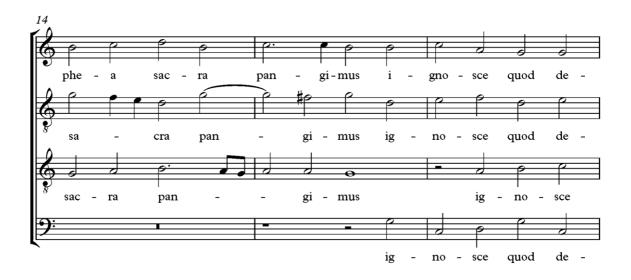
[Source: (24) I-Rn Gesuiti 1659, f. 32r-33-34r.] See reference, page 191.

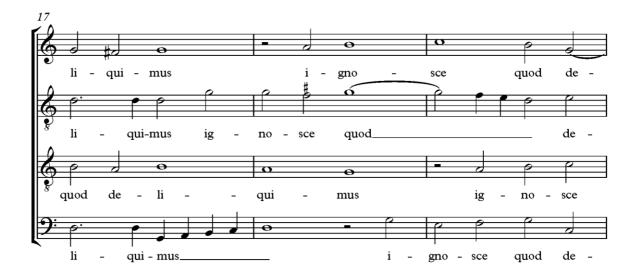


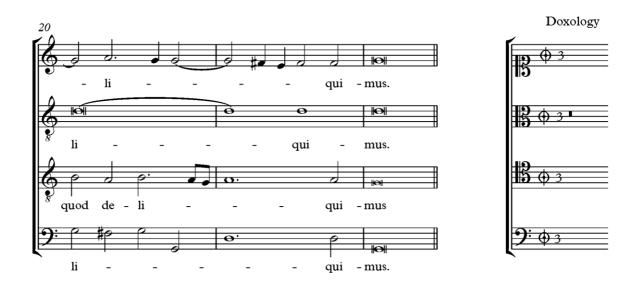


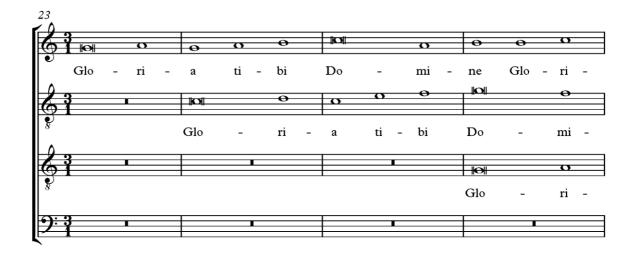




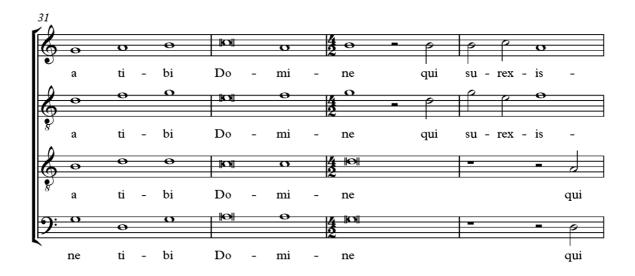


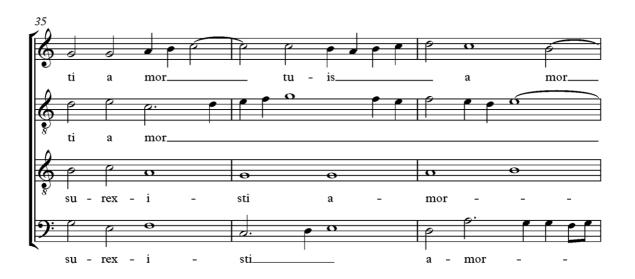


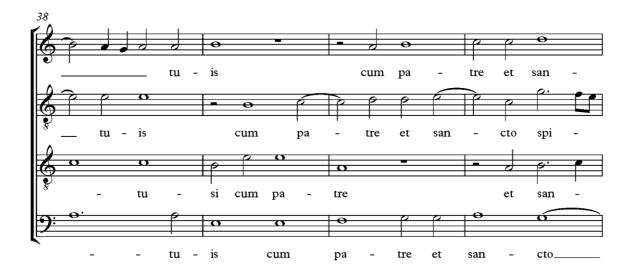


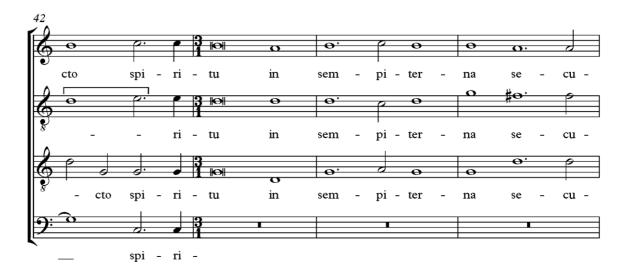


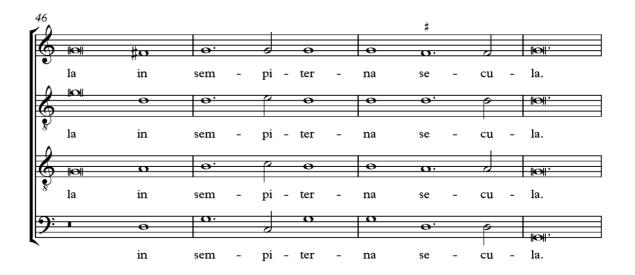


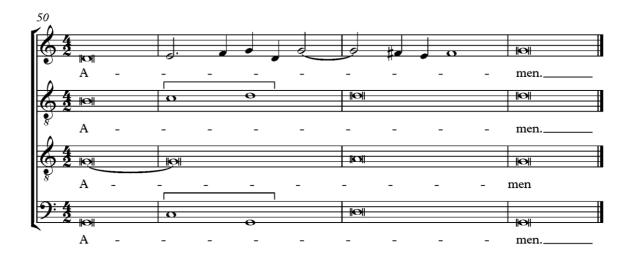










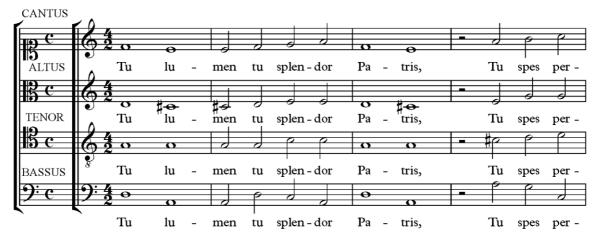


12. In nativitati domini

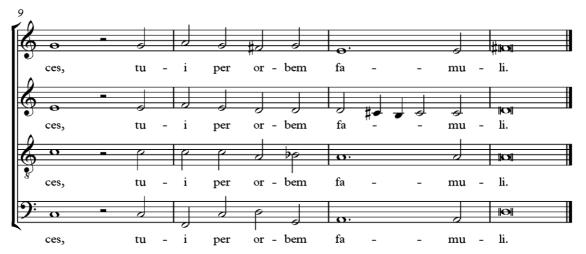
Hymnus brevis

[Source: (44) I-Rn Mss. Mus. 143, f. 20v - 21r] See reference, page 191

Giovanni Francesco Anerio







Hic praesens testatur dies, currens per anni circulum, quod a solus sede Patris mundi salus adveneris; Nos quoque, qui sancto tuo redempti sumus sanguine, ob diem natalis tui hymnum novum concinimus.

13. Sepulto Domino

[Sabbato Sancto ad Matutinum in Tertio Nocturno Responsorium IX]

[Source: (48) I-Rn Mss. Mus. 152, f. 27v-28r.] See reference, page 196. Giovanni Francesco Anerio CANTUS - pul to Do - mi si mo nu - men ALTU TENOF pul to Do - mi - no, gna - tum est mo nu - men -Do pul to mi tum est mo nu - men BASSUS

Se

- pul

to

Do - mi

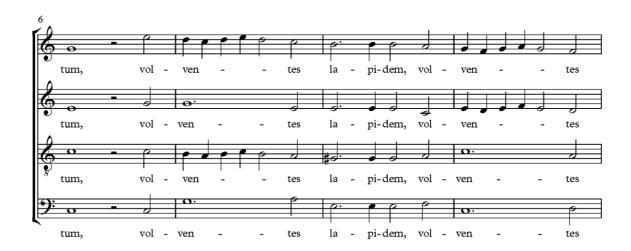
- no,

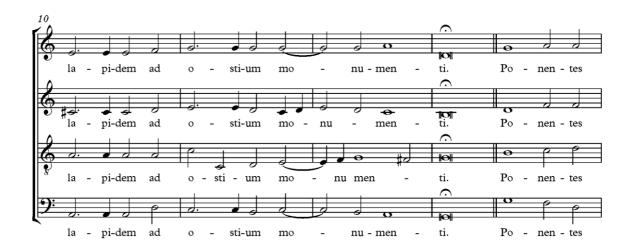
si -

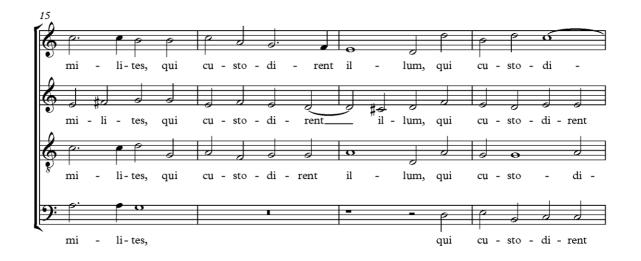
gna - tum est

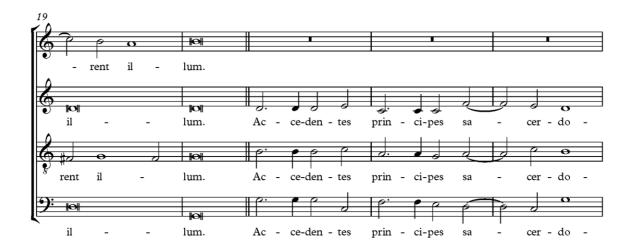
mo

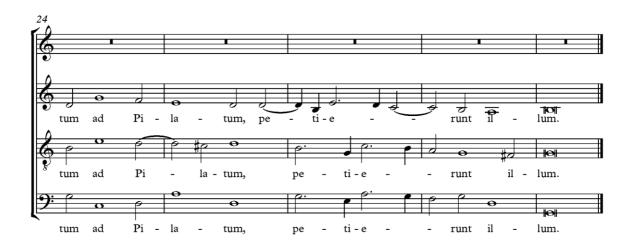
nu - men -











Potentes ut supra Sepulto Domino ut supra

14. Jubilemus in arca Domini Dei

a 8 Concertato

































15. Missa Papae Marcelli Kyrie



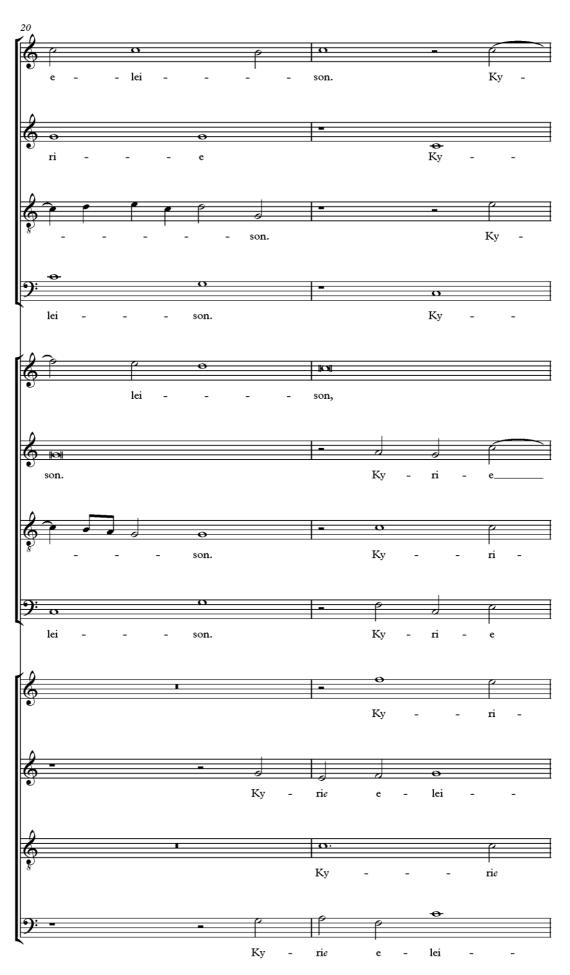


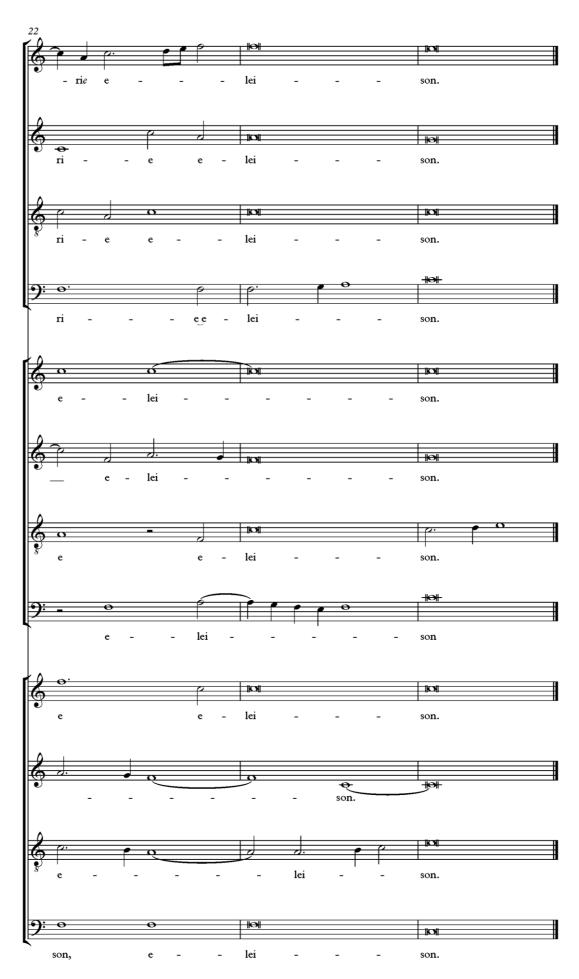




























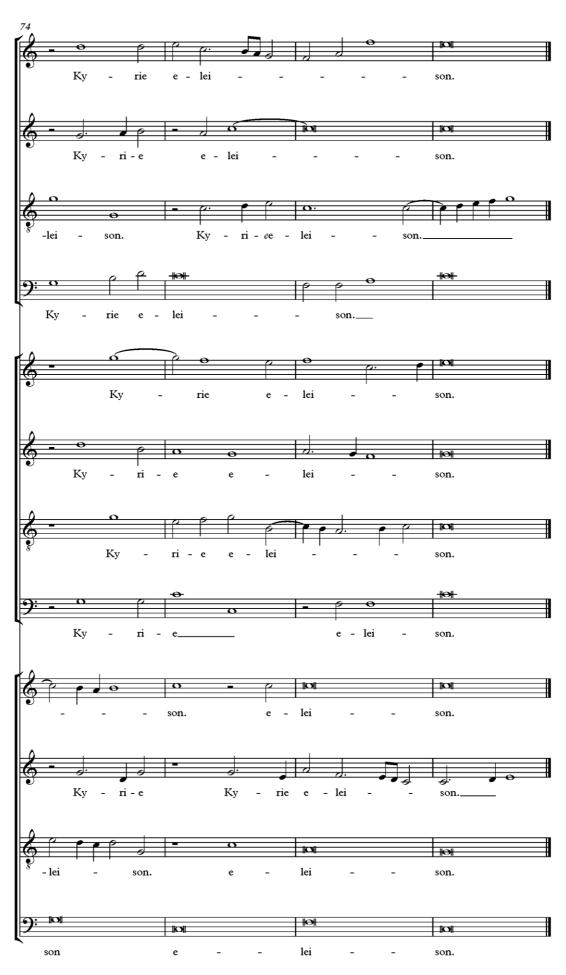












16. Missa Papae Marcelli Agnus Dei





























17. Missa Sine Nomine a 12 Agnus Dei































18. Dulcis Amor Jesu



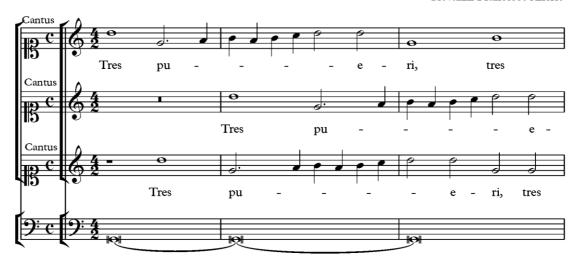


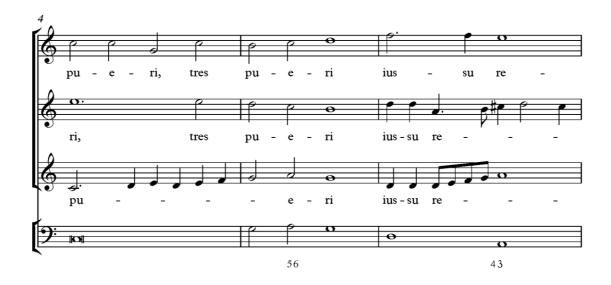


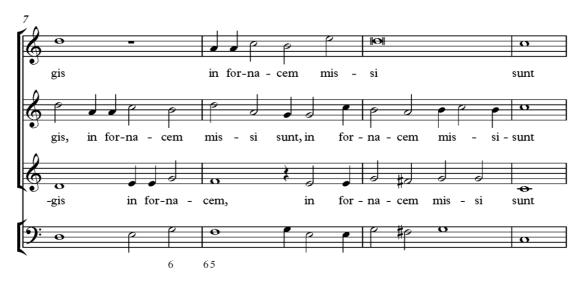
19. Tres pueri

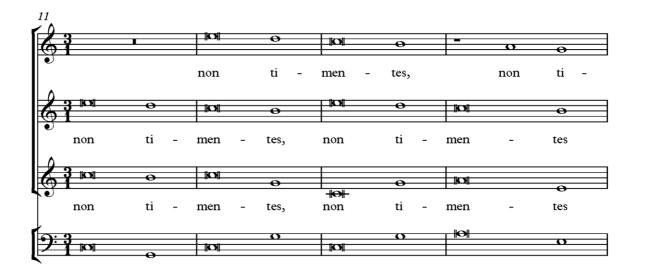
[Sources: (8) *Motecta singulis, binis, ternisque vocibus...liber primus,* 1609] See reference, page 232.

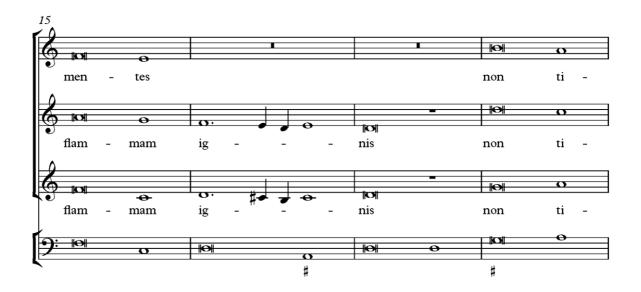
Giovanni Francesco Anerio

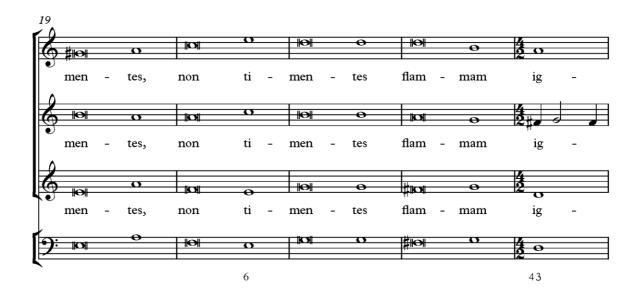


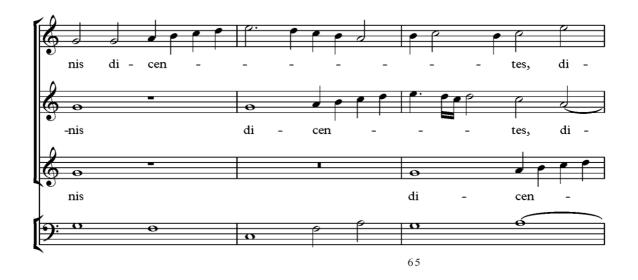




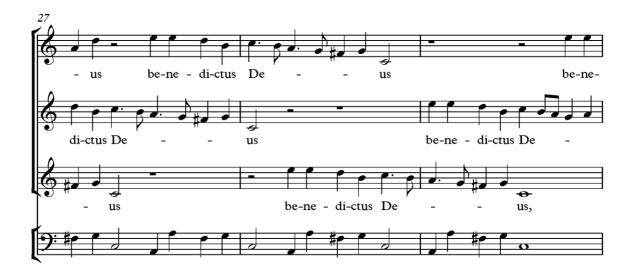


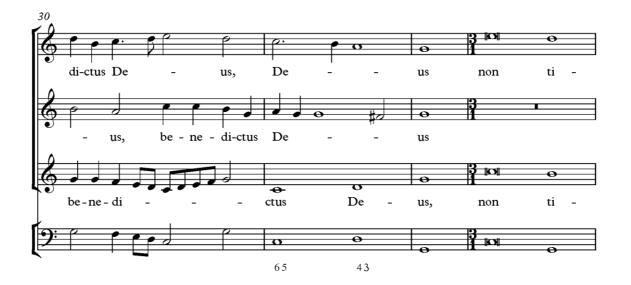


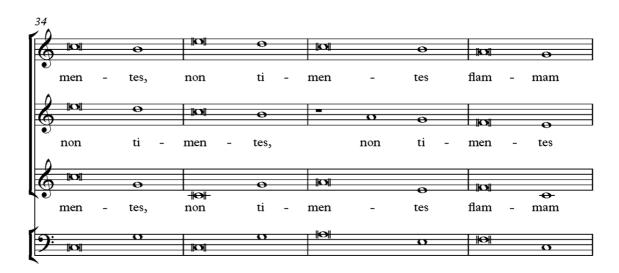


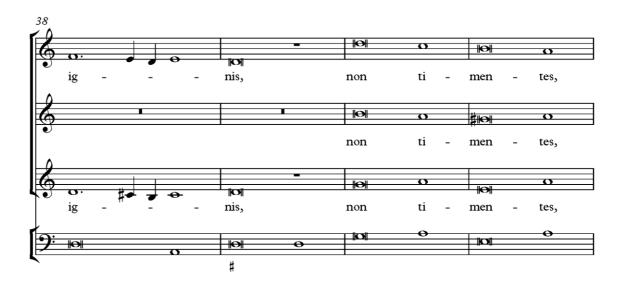


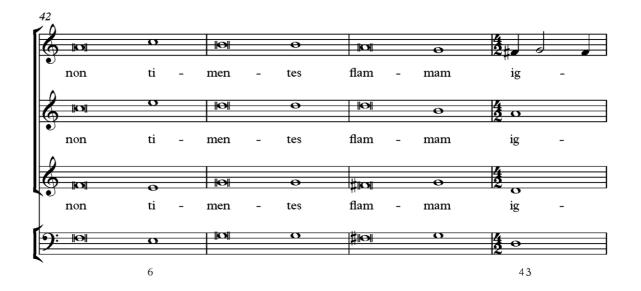


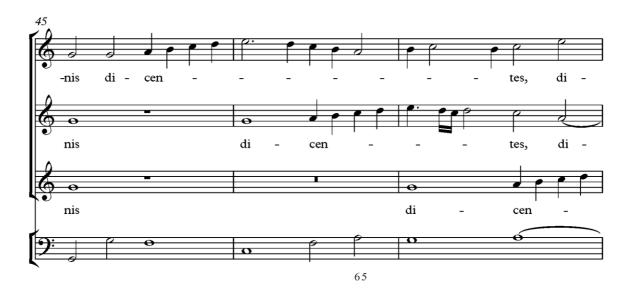




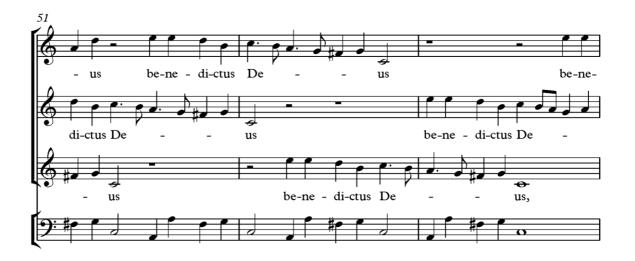


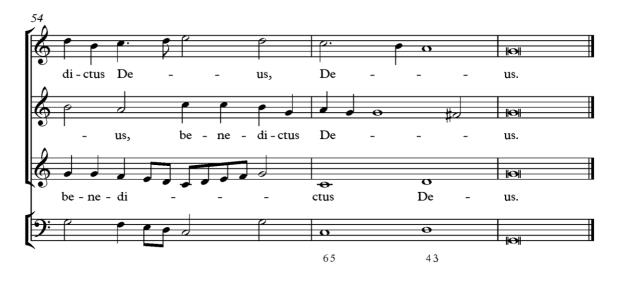








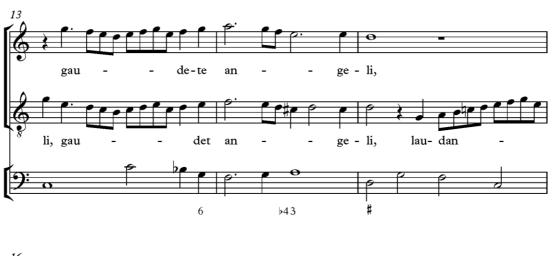




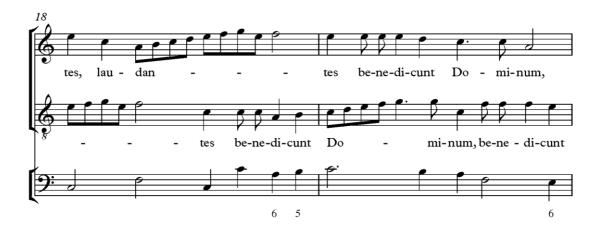
20. In Assumptione B. Virginis.

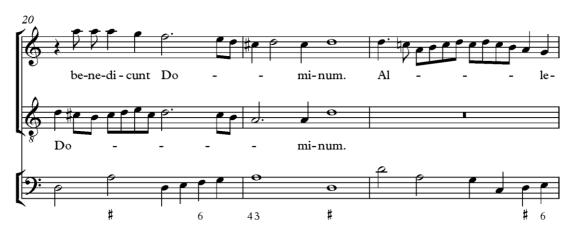
In primus, et secundis Vesperis













21. Quam pulcra es amica mea

[Source: (7) Sacrae cantiones, ad organum, binis, ternis, quaternis, senisque vocibus concinendae, Roma: Robletti, 1611] See reference, page 236.

Angelo Paoletti





























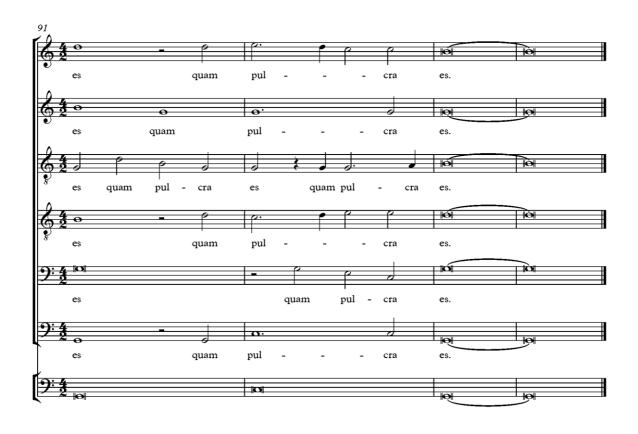




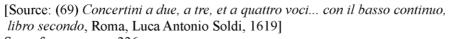








22. Angelus ad pastores ait











23. Assumpta est Maria

[Source: (69) Concertini a due, a tre, et a quattro voci... con il basso continuo, libro secondo, Roma, Luca Antonio Soldi, 1619]

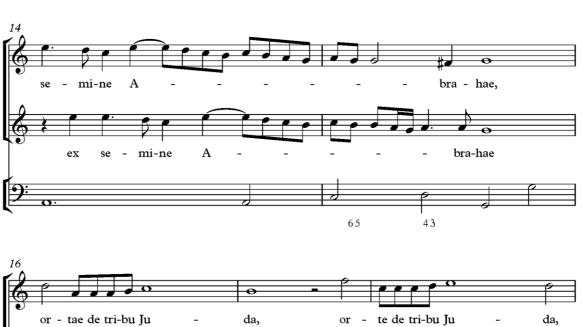






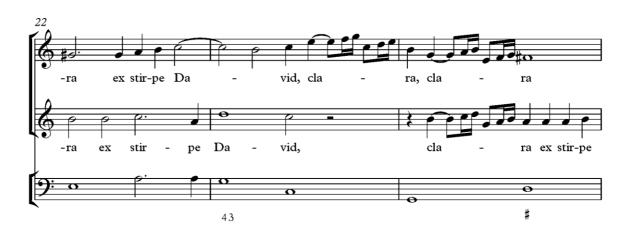
24. Nativitas gloriosae









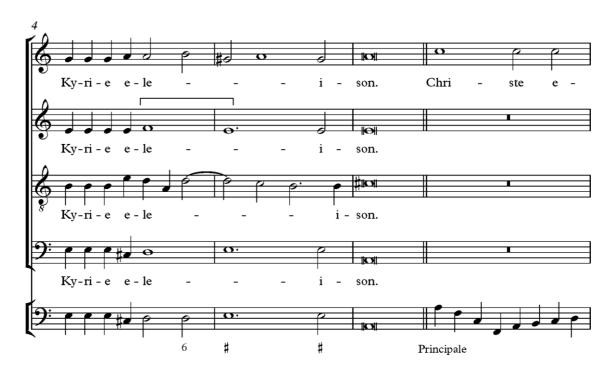




25. Messa della Gloriosissima V. Maria KYRIE

[Source: (6) Libro secundo di motetti in lode della gloriosissima vergine Maria nostra signora ... et una messa a quattro con il basso generale ... Venice: Alessandro Vincenti 1620]. See reference, pages 243.

Giulio Cesare Bianchi (1590-1661) CANTUS Ky - ri i - son. Ky-ri - e e - le - i - son. e le ALTUS Ky-ri - e e - le - i-son. TENOR e - le - i-son. BASSUS '): c BASSUS per l'organo # Principale Ripieno





26. Ave Sanctissima Maria



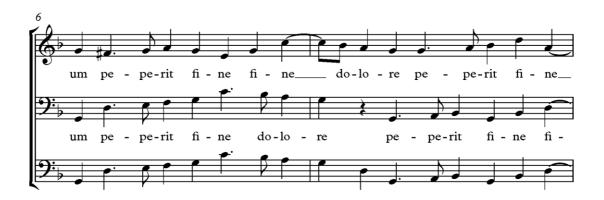


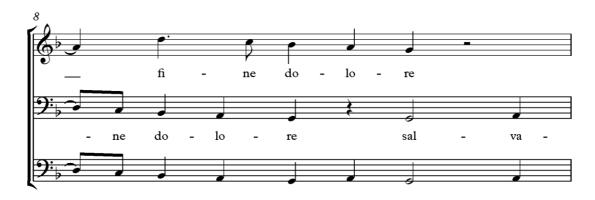
27. Nesciens Mater Virgo

[Source: (6) Libro secondo de motetti. In lode della gloriosissima vergine Maria nostra signora ... (Venice: Vincenti, 1620)]







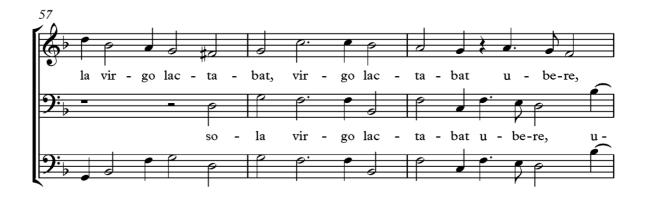














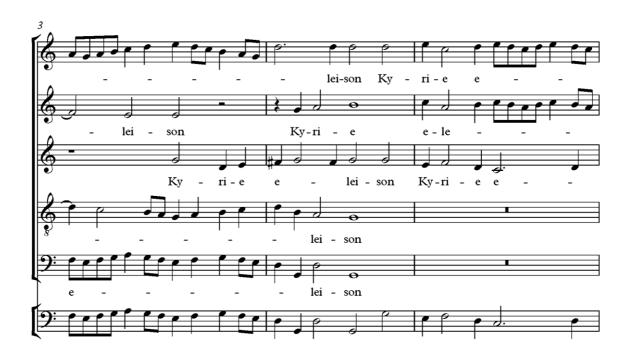


28. Messa A 5. Oĉtavi Toni. Da Concerto

[Source: (74) Messe a quattro et cinque voci, parte sono per capella, e parte per concerto ... libro primo (Venice: Vincenti, 1627) See reference, page 245.

Steffano Bernardi













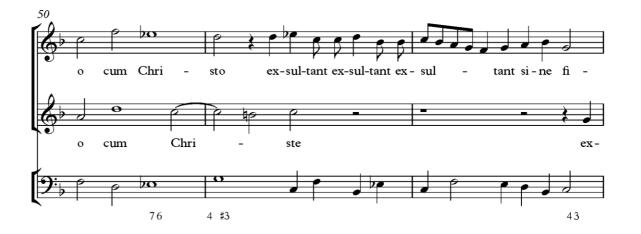
29. Gaudent in coelis

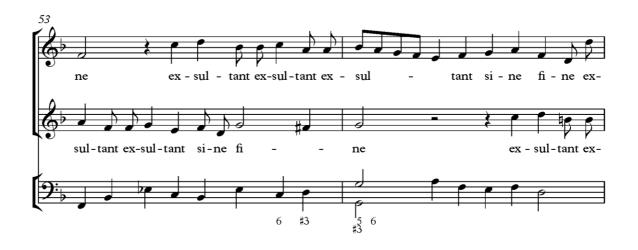


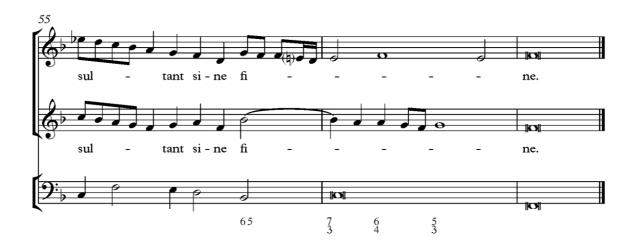












30. O quam gloriosum









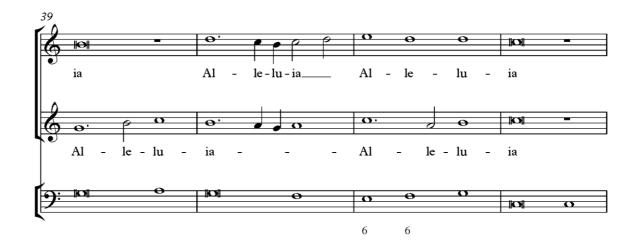


31. Angelus autem Domini

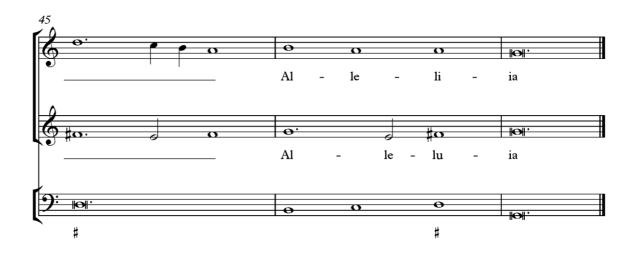












32. Domine ne in furore











