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Musei Vaticani, Galleria delle Carte Geografiche.
Annibale Stabile

A man of no little repute among the masters of music

The Sacred Music

Volume I

Ruth Lightbourne

A thesis submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

at the University of Otago, Dunedin,
New Zealand

July 1994
ABSTRACT

The object of this thesis is to contribute to a neglected area of musical scholarship, that of music and performance practice in late 16th-century Rome. Annibale Stabile, the composer chosen as the vehicle for this study, was one of a number of composers working in Rome during this time and he achieved considerable recognition in his day and made significant contributions to the music of the period, particularly in the area of rhythmic development. He served as *maestro di cappella* at three important Roman institutions, S. Giovanni in Laterano, the Collegio Germanico, and S. Maria Maggiore.

This thesis consists of two volumes. Volume I contains a discussion of Stabile, his career and music, and Volume II contains an edition of his sacred music. In Part One of Volume I a chronological survey of Stabile’s biography and rediscovery of his works is followed by a discussion of performance practice at the three institutions where he served as *maestro*, based upon new information from original sources. Part Two is an analysis of his musical style, followed by some observations on mensuration signs, dissonance and chromatic alteration, musica ficta, canon, cantus firmus and large scale structures, cadences and clefs, and mode, in which Stabile is compared where possible to other Roman composers. Part Three consists of a commentary on the various sources, their contents, dedicatees and editors, with a full listing of contents where known. Included in the Appendices is a table of composers active in Rome between 1570 and 1600, a chronological list of Stabile’s publications, and a Thematic Catalogue of Stabile’s sacred works. An index of names concludes this volume.

The accompanying edition of Stabile’s sacred music also includes several works by some previously unknown composers whose compositions are discussed in the body of the thesis: Salvatore Sacchi, Paolo Papini, Jacopo Corfini, Antonio Gualteri, and Giovanni Andrea Dragoni.
While every effort was made to include all of Stabile’s sacred music both in the analytical discussion and the accompanying edition, in the event some items had to be omitted. These include the Lamentations and two Passions from Codex 58, two hymns from Codex 61 (both codices held at the Archivio Storico del Vicariato di Roma, Fondo S. Giovanni in Laterano), and the motet *Hodie Christus natus est*. The codices were unavailable for most of the period of research, due to the closure of the Lateran archives for cataloguing, and no reply was received from the Ratsschulbibliothek in Zwickau, where *Hodie Christus natus est* is believed to be held, despite numerous letters. However, since I was able to view the two codices briefly at the conclusion of a research period in Rome, the antiphon and two of the four hymns from Codex 61 have been included. Also omitted from the edition are the masses, which have already been published in a modern edition, although some comment has been made concerning them and the two omitted hymns where relevant in the thesis.

Two points may need clarification. First, since the individual *partes* of the motets were given separate titles in the original sources, they have been treated in the same way in the edition and also in the discussion in Volume I of this thesis. Therefore, unless it is particularly desired that a work be referred to as a complete unit (e.g. *Salve Regina — Eia ergo — Et Jesum*), each individual *pars* of a motet is referred to by its own title throughout (e.g. *Eia ergo 2a pars* rather than *Salve Regina 2a pars*). Second, in all examples taken from the Casimiri edition of Palestrina *Le Opere complete*, original note-values have been restored without further comment.

I wish to acknowledge assistance with Latin translations by the following people: the Revs Margaret Marsh and Con O'Donovan of Sydney, and the Rev. Dr Ken Booth, Ruth Stanfield, and the Rev. Father Kevin McKone of Dunedin. For assistance with the Polish language, I am grateful to Ludmilla and Edward Sakowski of Dunedin, and Joanna Giedroyc-Lutyk of Warsaw. All translations not otherwise acknowledged are my own.

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Grateful thanks are also extended to the Interloan and Acquisition Departments of the Otago University Library for their unceasing efforts to locate various items, and to Ian Stewart, the librarian at Holy Cross Library for the loan of liturgical books. Thanks also to Dr Anthony Ritchie and Tecwyn Evans for assistance with proof reading, to Professor Jack Speirs, the Marama Singers, and the Southern Consort of Voices, and also to Bruce Aitken and the Knox Choir, and to Diccon Sim, Tecwyn Evans, and Ben Gadd for performing some of these works.

Of the various people who made my research in Rome an easier task, I would like to thank: Frank Felgner and Michael Jung of the Archivio Collegium Germanicum et Hungaricum, Mons. Fernandez of the Archivio Santa Maria Maggiore for his unceasing help despite our language difficulties, Annapia Sciolari of IBIMUS (Roma), Professor Luciano Luciani, Signor Aldo Pucci, Secretary of the Biblioteca Arciconfraternità di S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini, the Rev. Mons. Sciubba and other librarians at the Archivio Storico del Vicariato di Roma, and the librarians at the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

For financial help, I am grateful to the University of Otago for an Otago Postgraduate Award which financed the earlier part of my PhD studies and the Fanny Evans Award which financed my research in Rome.

I would also like to thank my colleagues in the Music Department for their encouragement and finally and most importantly, I would like to thank Professor John Steele for his supervision of the bulk of this thesis prior to his retirement and Dr Patrick Little who took over the task of supervising the final stages.


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## ABBREVIATIONS

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<thead>
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<td>Altus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Bassus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>born</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BR</td>
<td>Breviariuim Romanum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BVM</td>
<td>Blessed Virgin Mary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>circa [about]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Cantus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch</td>
<td>Choir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CMM</td>
<td>Corpus Mensurabilis Musicæ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>col., cols</td>
<td>column, columns</td>
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<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>died</td>
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<td>def.</td>
<td>defective</td>
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<tr>
<td>Diss.</td>
<td>dissertation</td>
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<td>Dox.</td>
<td>doxology</td>
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<td>ed.</td>
<td>editor, edited (by)</td>
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<td>eds.</td>
<td>editors</td>
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<td>ex.</td>
<td>copies</td>
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<td>f., ff.</td>
<td>folio, folios</td>
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<td>F</td>
<td>final</td>
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<tr>
<td>fl.</td>
<td>flourished</td>
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<tr>
<td>GR</td>
<td>Graduale Romanum</td>
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<tr>
<td>IBIMUS</td>
<td>Istituto di Bibliografia Musicale</td>
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<tr>
<td>inc.</td>
<td>incomplete</td>
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<tr>
<td>JAMS</td>
<td>Journal of the American Musicological Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JRMA</td>
<td>Journal of the Royal Musical Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ks</td>
<td>key signature</td>
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<tr>
<td>lit.</td>
<td>literally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LU</td>
<td>Liber Usualis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MGG</td>
<td>Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>MME</td>
<td>Monumentos de la Musica Española</td>
</tr>
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<td>Ms., mss</td>
<td>manuscript, manuscripts</td>
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<td>Münster, Diözesan-Bibliothek</td>
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<td>n.d.</td>
<td>no date</td>
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<tr>
<td>p., pp.</td>
<td>page, pages</td>
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<td>PRMA</td>
<td>Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association</td>
</tr>
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<td>r</td>
<td>recto</td>
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<td>R.</td>
<td>reprinted</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ras</td>
<td>Rome, Archivio di Stato di Roma</td>
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<tr>
<td>Reg</td>
<td>Rome, Archivio Collegium Germanicum et Hungaricum</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rcr</td>
<td>Rome, Archivium Romanum Societatis Jesu</td>
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<td>Resp.</td>
<td>Responsory</td>
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<td>Rev., Revs</td>
<td>Reverend, Reverends</td>
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<td>Rsm</td>
<td>Rome, Archivio Capitolare di Santa Maria Maggiore</td>
</tr>
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<td>RSV</td>
<td>The Holy Bible Revised Standard Version</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rvat</td>
<td>Rome, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana</td>
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<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>Soprano</td>
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<td>T</td>
<td>Tenor</td>
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<td>v</td>
<td>verso</td>
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<td>V</td>
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<td>vol., vols</td>
<td>volume, volumes</td>
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Part One

Stabile and his Career
The late 16th century produced a number of outstanding and gifted composers in Rome. Although this era has long been dominated by the names of Palestrina, Lassus, and Victoria, there were many other composers who achieved considerable recognition in their day and made significant contributions to the music of the period. Such a person was Annibale Stabile. Despite the fact that he is virtually unknown today, Stabile was a skilful craftsman and, as a study of his music will reveal, well deserving of the early 17th century reference to him as 'Hanibal Stabile, a man of no little repute among the masters of music'.

His neglect is largely due to the fact that he chose to work outside the Sistine and Julian chapels. Until recently musicologists have been interested mainly in those musicians connected to these institutions, with the exception of Victoria and Lassus, in the mistaken assumption that they were the only churches of any musical importance in Rome. This is an extremely narrow view and indeed as research is proving, rather than being the most exciting institutions in Rome, they tended to be the more conservative. This conservatism probably gave rise to the received idea that all Rome must therefore be of the same conservative bent. It is apparent from the

---

1Rcr Ms:Vitae 6, ff. 42-44v. From Matthias Schrick's biography of Michele Lauretano, Rector at the German College from 1573 to 1587, written c. 1630, cited as Doc. 3 in Thomas D. Culley, 'Jesuits and Music: I. A Study of the Musicians connected with the German College in Rome during the 17th Century and of their Activities in Northern Europe (Rome, 1970), p. 276. Schrick was a student at the College from 1583 to 1589 during Stabile's time as maestro. See Culley, Jesuits, p. 25.
following report written by Gregory Martin, an English priest who resided in Rome from 1576 to 1578, that this was not so.

It is the most blessed varietie in the world, where a man may goe to so many Churches in one day, chose where he wil, so heavenly served, with such musike, such voices, such instruments, al ful of gravitie and majestie, al moving to devotion and ravishing a mans hart to the meditation of melodie of Angels and Saintes in heaven. With the Organs a childes voice shriller and louder then the instrument, tuneable with every pipe: Among the quyre, Cornet or Sagbut, or such like above al other voices. ²

And the music at S. Apollinare, the church of the German College where Stabile was maestro from 1578 to 1590, was among the best, as can be seen from this account written in 1588 by the contemporary historian Pompeo Ugonio, who makes the following comments about S. Apollinare when describing the stational churches in Rome: ³

Thus, whereas this church was hardly known at first, it is now esteemed and visited by a large number of people, mainly because there are frequent Masses there, and because the divine offices are celebrated most devotedly, accompanied on the more solemn days by very beautiful music, with voices, organ and other instruments. ⁴

The musical influence of Annibale Stabile, while apparent in Rome, also spread much further afield than Rome itself. Thomas Culley has already pointed out the significance of the German College as an important channel for the diffusion of Italian music into northern countries, and this should not be underestimated. ⁵

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⁴ Pompeo Ugonio, Historia delle stationi di Roma (Rome,1588), f. 286, cited by Culley, Jesuits, p. 86.

⁵ Culley, Jesuits, pp. 13–14. See also Culley, 'Musical Activity in Some Sixteenth Century Jesuit Colleges, with Special Reference to the Venerable English College in Rome from 1579 to 1589', Footnote cont. overleaf...
claimed that students of the College left to go to places as far afield as England, Sweden and Denmark as well as Germany, and they would have taken with them Italian music, training and techniques. The German College, as well as being one of the most important musical institutions in Italy, has long been recognized as an institution of great importance for the history of clerical education in the Roman Catholic Church. The Council of Trent had decided that it was to be the prototype for other seminaries to be founded throughout Europe, and between 1540 and 1600, more than four hundred Jesuit Colleges were established. The following report written in 1579 by Claudio Aquaviva, superior of the Jesuits in Rome and later General of the Order, refers to the spread of this influence far from the boundaries of Rome and particularly in Germany.

Moreover, care is taken that [the students] not only know very well the sacred ceremonies of the Roman Church (which are observed with solemn pomp in the church [S. Apollinare], in celebrating the holy Mass and singing the Divine Offices), but more, that they are also trained with that modesty and reverence which are fitting in such matters. Wherefore it has come about that some bishops from Germany, and Prince Electors of the Empire, have requested young men from this college to be masters of ceremonies in their churches and chapels, and to introduce the holy ceremonies and regulations which they have learned in Rome. Finally, this college is so famous in Germany, that men of this college are called to care for many churches [there] . . . .

While the above may be referring more particularly to the liturgical aspect of training at the College, the music, particularly the polyphonic music of the College, was also well-known further afield. Matthias Schrick comments:

Wherefore, this type of singing, by reason of a certain strength of its own, has also obtained admittance to the ecclesiastical offices . . . which are performed by the students in the Church of S. Apollinare . . . that, besides whatever other fame [the college may have], the divine offices of the German College, because of the precise, grave and beautiful singing, earn outstanding praise in the entire city, and wherever news of the events in the fair city reaches.

---

*Analecta musicologica*, xix (1979), pp. 1–2; and 'The Influence of the German College in Rome on Music in German-Speaking Countries During the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *Analecta musicologica* vii (1969), pp. 1–3.


Jesuit connections were undoubtedly the reason for Stabile's inclusion in the *Thesaurus litaniarum* (1596) and the resulting spread of his music to various cities in what are now Switzerland, Austria and Germany.\(^9\)

Stabile published three books of motets in 1584, 1585, and 1589, two books of litanies in 1583 and 1592 (one of which also contained settings of several Marian antiphons), a setting of St Peter Damian's *Hymnus de gloria paradisi* in 1590, two (possibly three) books of madrigals in 1572 (with a second edition in 1586), and 1585, and a further book of madrigals in conjunction with G. M. Nanino in 1581. This last item was especially popular and received a reprint in 1587. Forty-seven single items, some of which were re-publications, also appeared in various anthologies between 1582 and 1621, with some further items surviving only in manuscript form.

**THE SPREAD OF STABILE'S MUSIC**

Extant catalogues and manuscripts from the 16th and early 17th centuries indicate that compositions by Stabile were included in the personal library of an Augsburg bibliophile, in the repertoire of churches in Augsburg, Nuremberg, and Warsaw, in bookshops in Florence and Venice, and that they also passed through the book fairs at Frankfurt. Published anthologies containing his sacred works were put together by editors from Nuremberg, Munich, Dillingen, Basel, Speyer, Leipzig, Strasbourg, and Krakow, as well as Italy itself.

**ITALY**

Extant stocklists from two Florentine bookselling firms, the larger and more important Giunti firm and a smaller concern run by Piero di Giuliano Morosi, provide evidence that music by Stabile was available in Florence both during his lifetime and after his death.\(^10\)

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\(^9\)See also ‘The Primary Sources’, p. 338.

The Giunti catalogue printed in 1605 contains over 1,100 music titles. It was prepared as part of a claim to being the best-stocked bookshop in the city following the collapse of the Marescotti press.\(^\text{11}\) In this catalogue there are over 640 secular items, nearly 400 sacred, 72 instrumental, and 19 prints dealing with musical theory. Included is the *Madrigali à 5 vv di G. M. Nanino et di Annibal Stabile*.

The inventory of musical items in the bookshop of Morosi is undated but was probably compiled in the late 1580s or early 1590s. This contains 175 musical titles mostly secular, predominantly madrigals for five and six voices, including two copies of Stabile’s *Il terzo libro de madrigali à 5v* (Venice, Scotto, 1585). Stabile’s third book of madrigals is one of the few more recent publications since the bulk of Morosi’s repertory dates from between the 1550s and the 1570s. This preference for older music was not peculiar to Morosi, but is also evident in the surviving details of other Florentine booksellers.\(^\text{12}\)

Venetian catalogues of the printshops of Angelo Gardano, Girolamo Scotto, and Alessandro Vincenti also contain publications by Stabile.\(^\text{13}\) The Gardano catalogue printed in 1591 lists a copy of the *Litanie di Annibal Stabile a 8*. This was probably the *Letanie BMV et Nominis Jesu 8vv* (Rome, Alessandro Gardano, 1583). The catalogue also lists three books of motets, proving the formerly disputed existence of the first book. The second and third books which are still extant were indeed published in Venice by Gardano. From this information, we can assume the *Liber Primus* was also published by the Gardano firm, but whether in Rome by Alessandro Gardano or in Venice by Angelo Gardano is not stated.\(^\text{14}\)

Stabile’s two books of madrigals are listed in Girolamo Scotto’s catalogue of 1596. These are the second edition of Stabile’s *Il primo libro de madrigali* (1586) and *Il terzo libro* (1585), both of which were published in Venice by Scotto. There is no mention of *Il secondo libro* and this may support Vogel’s later assertion that Stabile considered his combined publication with G. M. Nanino in 1581 to be his second book.\(^\text{15}\)

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\(^{11}\)See Carter, ‘Music-Selling, p. 486.

\(^{12}\)Carter, ‘Music-Selling, p. 491.

\(^{13}\)These can be found in Mischiati, *Indici*, pp. 83–92, 99–106, 135–162 respectively.

\(^{14}\)But see the list of Stabile’s publications given by the 19th century Italian musicologist Giuseppe Baini (p. 12 of this thesis), where Venice is given as the place of publication.


_Footnote cont. overleaf_
The book of eight-voice litanies, which was listed in Gardano's 1591 catalogue, reappears as 'Annibal Stabile a 8', in Alessandro Vincenti's catalogue of 1621 in a section entitled 'Litanie'. This could mean one of three things: either Vincenti stocked publications by other firms, which seems most unlikely, or Stabile's Letanice BMV et Nominis Jesu, originally published in Rome by Alessandro Gardano in 1583, was reprinted by Vincenti — if so no mention of it seems to have survived; or, third, it is a misprint for 'Annibal Stabile a 4'. A book of four-voice litanies is noted by the 19th century musicologist Giuseppe Baini as being published in 1592,16 and a book of four-voice litanies does reappear in a later catalogue issued by Vincenti in 1635 as 'Lettanie a 4 voci'. The inclusion of the Lettanie a 4 (1592) in another inventory of 1676, this time of a Roman bookseller, Federico Franzini,17 confirms its existence.

Further evidence of the presence of Stabile's music in Venice was the selection of one of his madrigals, La bella bianca mano, by the Venetian composer Giovanni Bassano for embellishment and insertion into Bassano's Motetti, madrigali et canzoni francese . . . diminuti . . . (Venice, 1591). Bassano's source for this madrigal was G. B. Moscaglia's second book of madrigals published in Venice in 1585.18

• GERMANY

Hans Heinrich Herwart (1520–1583), one of the City Fathers of Augsburg, was an avid collector of music who acquired a vast number of musical works both sacred and secular during his lifetime. The extant catalogue of this collection, dating from shortly

However see also Fétis who mentions an Il secondo libro published in Venice, 1584. F.-J. Féti,
Biographie Universelle des Musiciens et Bibliographie Générale de la Musique, 2nd edition, with
16See below, p. 12.
17For contents, see Mischiati, Indici, pp. 244–263.
18Di Gio. Battista Moscaglia, il secondo libro de madrigali a quattro voci (Venice, G. Vincenzi and R.
Amadino, 1585). Moscaglia's collection, published while he was still in Rome, is an anthology and
contains works by most of the main composers of secular music in Rome at the time. Included are P.
Moscaglia, G. M. Nanino, G. Pellio, N. Pervue, B. Roy, J. della Salla, A. Stabile, and A. Zoilo. From
this group, Bassano has selected for embellishment compositions by Giovannelli, Marenzio, and G. M.
Nanino as well as Stabile. See Ernest T. Ferand, 'Didactic Embellishment Literature in the Late
Renaissance: A Survey of Sources', in Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Birthday
after Herwart's death when the collection was bought by Wilhelm V of Bavaria, comprises some 456 titles of prints, two manuscripts, and three miscellanies. Herwart continued to add to his library throughout his life since publications date from 1512 right up until 1583, the year of his death. Included in this collection is the Madrigali à 5 vv di G. M. Nanino et di Annibal Stabile (1581).

The Madrigali à 5 vv di G. M. Nanino et di Annibal Stabile (1587 reprint) was also included in the library of the church of St Anna in Augsburg. Another publication by Stabile included in this repertoire was the Hymnus de gloria paradisi (Dillingen, 1590). These items are listed in a catalogue compiled in 1620.

A number of Stabile's works were also known in Nuremberg, especially at St. Aegidien, where they formed part of the repertoire established there by the Cantor Friedrich Lindner. Lindner was responsible for the copying of 17 choirbooks for this choir. One of these manuscripts, dated 1585, contains two motets by Stabile. Both are psalm settings for five voices, Jubilate Deo — Laudate nomen and Omnes Gentes.

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20 Roman composers of the late 16th century are not particularly well represented in this collection, but a number of their secular compositions are present. Not surprisingly, Luca Marenzio is the best represented with four books of his madrigals: Il primo libro de madrigali à 5 (1580), Il secondo libro à 5 (1581), Il terzo libro à 5 (1582), and Il primo libro à 6 (1581). There are also two books of madrigals by Giovanni Andrea Dragoni, Il primo libro de madrigali à 5 (1575) and Il secondo libro à 5 (1575); Palestrina’s Il primo libro de madrigali à 5 (1581); and G.M. Nanino’s second edition of Il primo libro de madrigali à 5 (1579). Also listed, but unfortunately now missing from the collection (and to my knowledge, not now extant), is Paolo Bellasio’s Il primo libro delle flamelle à 3, 4vv (Venice, 1579).


22 Also included in the same manuscript are items by Séverin Comet, Antonius Gosswin, Marc’Antonio Ingegneri, Fernando de Las Infantas, Orlande de Lassus, Tiburtio Massaino, Claudio Merulo, Palestrina, Jean Pennequin, Giaches de Wert, Pandolfo Zallamella, and some anonymous compositions. For a full list of the contents of this and other St Aegidien manuscripts, see Walter H. Rubsam, ‘The International ‘Catholic’ Repertoire of a Lutheran Church in Nürnberg (1574–1597)’, Annales musicologiques, v (1957), pp. 229–327.
Further works by Stabile are included in two of the anthologies edited by Lindner. The five-voice motet *Quam pulchrae — Favus distillans* in Leonhard Lechner's *Harmonia miscellae* (1583) provides further evidence that Stabile's music was known in Nuremberg.

At least one of Stabile's musical publications passed through the late 16th and early 17th century book fairs of Frankfurt. The *Madrigali a 5 voci di G. M. Nanino et di Annibal Stabile* (1581) was included in Georg Draudius's *Bibliotheca classica* (Frankfurt, 1611), one of three lists which Draudius published with the purpose of listing all books currently available in the city, and whose sources were the Frankfurt fair and dealers’ catalogues. As a result it is also included in Paulus Bolduanus's *Bibliotheca philosophica* (1616). Bolduanus, a 17th century pastor in the village of Vessin in Pomerania, published three book lists in 1614, 1616, and 1620, and took his material largely from Draudius.

- **POLAND**

Stabile's music was also known and performed in Krakow due to his presence there, at some stage during his career, as *maestro di cappella* to the chapel of Zygmunt III. With the gradual move of the King's court from Krakow to Warsaw between 1596 and 1609, the repertoire of this choir also became known in Warsaw. According to Jerzy Golos, a manuscript recently re-discovered in Warsaw, containing two masses by Stabile, was copied between 1596 and 1604 either for the King's chapel or for the collegiate church of St John the Baptist.

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23 See 'The Primary Sources', p. 333, and 'Secondary and Secular Sources', p. 367.

24 See also M. E. C. Bartlet, 'Draudius, Georg', *NG*, v, p. 610.

25 The music sections of Bolduanus’s lists have been published in facsimile with commentary by D. W. Krummel, *Bibliotheca Bolduaniana: A Renaissance Music Bibliography*, Detroit Studies in Music Bibliography – 22 (Detroit, 1972). The entry for Stabile can be found on p. 114. There may have been other books by Stabile listed in Draudius, but I have not been able to consult these sources personally.

26 Jerzy Golos, 'Liber Missarum z Archiwum Kapituly Warszawskiej' [Liber Missarum from the archives of the Warsaw collegiate chaplet], *Muzyka*, xviii/i (1973), pp. 40–55. I am grateful to Ludmilla Sakowski of Dunedin for the translation of this article. The collegiate church of St John the Baptist, now known as the Cathedral of Warsaw, was situated close to the Royal Castle and had existed from the 13th century. It is believed that polyphonic music was sung there from the mid-16th century. See Hieronym Feicht, 'Warsaw', *NG*, xx, p. 216.
An eight-voice Litany by Stabile was also included in the collection of Prince Jan Christian, a member of the Silesian branch of the Piast family resident in Brieg (Brzeg), and is evidence of the spread of his music to the western part of Poland.27

• CHRONOLOGICAL SURVEY •

Annibale Stabile’s biography has been gradually reconstructed over the years. The earliest references to him in the years following his death were by historians or biographers of the German College such as Matthias Schrick mentioned above. Further references to Stabile are found in Wilhelm Fusban’s history of the German College written between 1655 and 1662 when Fusban was in residence there.28 Since these references are largely concerned with performance practice rather than biographical details, discussion of them will be left to a later chapter.

• 17TH CENTURY

Giuseppe Ottavio Pitoni’s Notizia de’ contrapuntisti e compositori di musici provided the first reference to Stabile’s career and compositions. This lexicographical collection of information on the lives and works of musicians and music theorists was compiled in the late 17th century during Pitoni’s time as maestro di cappella at the German College. He writes:

Annibale Stabile was an excellent contrapuntist and composer of music in his time. He was maestro di cappella of S. Giovanni in Laterano of Rome from the year 1575 to the year 1576 and then he was maestro di cappella of S. Apollinare at the German College from the month of July 1578, until February 6, 1590.29

Later researchers found the date of departure given by Pitoni for S. Giovanni in Laterano to be incorrect, but the very specific dates given for Stabile’s time as maestro at the German College should probably be accepted since Pitoni would have had access to the College archives when they were in a far more complete state than they are today. Works known to Pitoni were the second and third books of motets for

27See ‘The Primary Sources’, p. 351.
28Reg Ms: Historia Collegii Germanici et Hungarici, ab anno 1552–1581.
29See Giuseppe Ottavio Pitoni, Notizia de’ Contrapuntisti e Compositori di Musica, edited by Cesarino Ruini, Studi e Testi per la Storia della Musica, 6 (Florence, 1988), p. 106. Pitoni was born in 1657 and died in 1743.
five, six, and eight voices which Pitoni correctly notes were published in Venice by
Angelo Gardano in the month of July 1585 and in 1589 respectively. He knew of the
collaborative collection of madrigals by Stabile and Giovanni Maria Nanino
published in Venice by Gardano in 1587. This was the reprint of the 1581 collection.
Pitoni also lists the ‘lettanie a 4 voci’ but clearly had not seen it since he refers to the
Vincenti catalogue of 1635 as his source. Pitoni knew of one other work, the madrigal
_Nel tempo che ritorna_ contained in the 1599 reprint of the anthology _Il trionfo di Dori_ (RISM 159910).

**18TH CENTURY**

The early 18th-century Lexicon compiled by Johann Gottfried Walther and
published in 1732 provided the next reference, where the only information given
(erroneous) is that Annibale Stabile may be identical with Annibale Padovano.30 No
works are listed.

Stabile receives a brief mention in a general history written towards the end of the
18th century by the Englishman John Hawkins. Here Stabile is listed with other
composers as being one of a number of ‘... very eminent masters of whom little
more is known than their general characters, arising either from their compositions, or
their skill and exquisite performance on the organ.’31 Hawkins does not mention any
specific works. There is no mention in Charles Burney’s general history.32

In 1790–92 Ernst Ludwig Gerber, the German collector and lexicographer
published his _Tonkünstler-Lexicon_ which was essentially a two-volume enlargement
of Walther’s _Musicalisches Lexicon_. There is no mention of Stabile in this, nor of
Annibale Padovano. In the expanded four-volume _Neuen Historisch-Biographisches
Lexicon der Tonkünstler_ of 1812–14, Stabile does receive a mention, but the reader is

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30 Johann Gottfried Walther, ‘Stabiles Annibal’, in _Musikalisches Lexikon oder musikalische Bibliothek_
(Leipzig, 1732), reprinted in facsimile, Association International des Bibliothèques
musicales/Internationale Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft, Documenta musicologica ser I:
31 John Hawkins, _A General History of the Science and Practice of Music_, A new edition with the
32 Charles Burney, _A General History of Music: From the Earliest Ages to the Present Period_ (1789),
once more referred to Annibale Padovano. There was obviously still confusion between the two composers.

• 19TH CENTURY

The next major contribution to Stabile’s biography was the result of research by the Italian musicologist Giuseppe Baini into the life and works of Palestrina. He was able to confirm that Stabile was maestro at S. Giovanni in Laterano and the German College and establish that Stabile was also maestro at S. Maria Maggiore. Baini added the months of September (1575) and May (1576) to Pitoni’s dates for Stabile’s time at S. Giovanni, and gave the dates January 1592 to 1595 for Stabile’s appointment at S. Maria Maggiore. These incorrect dates were later rectified by Casimiri in his series of articles published in the 1930s and 1940s. To the list of works noted by Pitoni, Baini added the first book of motets which he says was published in Venice by Gardano in 1584. Baini also notes that in the dedication of the ‘lib. di litanie a 4. vo. nel 1592’ already listed in Pitoni, Stabile refers to Palestrina as his teacher, ‘suo maestro Giovanni Pellestrina’. This suggests that Baini had a copy of this now lost publication to hand and was not just referring to the Vincenti catalogue of 1635. It is not clear what Baini’s source was for the first book of motets. He cannot have referred to the Gardano catalogue of 1591 in which the three books of motets are listed, since he would have noted the ‘Litanie di Annibal Stabile a 8’ which is also listed there. It is therefore possible that Stabile’s first book of motets was still extant in the early 19th century at Baini’s time of writing.

A later supplement to Gerber’s lexicon edited by R. G. Kiesewetter, and published in 1834 from material collected by Franz Kandler, contains an entry on Stabile

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33The two volume Tonkünstler-Lexicon of 1790–92 and the four volume Neuen Historisch-Biographisches Lexicon of 1812–14, as well as later supplements have been reproduced in facsimile in Historisch-Biographisches Lexicon der Tonkünstler (1790–1792) und Neuen Historisch-Biographisches Lexicon der Tonkünstler (1812–1814), 4 vols, edited by Othmar Wessely (Graz, 1966–77). The entry on Stabile can be found in the Neuen Historisch-Biographisches Lexicon der Tonkünstler (1812–1814), iv, col. 245.


consisting of information taken from Baini. It also mentions, without giving specific
details, that compositions by Stabile are to be found in other collections.

The next major contribution occurs in the biographical dictionary by François-
Joseph Féti, published in Paris between 1835 and 1844. Féti has attempted to
assemble the information given in previous sources. He quotes the months and years
given by Baini for S. Giovanni, but introduces an error by incorrectly stating that on 6
February 1592 Stabile moved to S. Maria Maggiore. February 6 was probably a mis-
taken quotation of the date originally given by Pitoni, and later quoted by Baini for
Stabile’s departure from the German College. Féti introduced a further error by
noting that in July of 1576 rather than 1578 Stabile accepted the position as maestro
at the German College. It is clear that Gerber was one of Féti’s sources, since he
notes the confusion Gerber made between Stabile and Padovano, originally stemming
from Walther. Féti’s major contribution to Stabile’s biography was in the area of
known works. To those already mentioned by Pitoni and Baini, he added several
anthologies: RISM 15934, 15918, 159610, and two reprints of Il trionfo di Dori 16016,
and 161411. Féti also lists a 1596 publication of this anthology published in Venice
by Gardane, which could be either RISM 159211 (Venice, A. Gardano) or 15969
(Antwerp, P. Phalèse). One further anthology is added, Dolci affetti, but Féti gives
an incorrect date of publication 1568, and the publisher as ‘Alex Gardane’. The
anthology Dolci affetti was first published in 1582 (RISM 15824), and was reprinted
twice, in 1585 and in 1590, all by G. Scotto.

Shortly after this, the German organist, teacher, and bibliographer Carl F. Becker
published a list of works from the 16th and 17th centuries based largely on his own
collection. Additions related to Stabile are restricted to anthologies. These include
the two motets Beata es Virgo Maria and Mane nobiscum published in Corollarium
cantionum (RISM 15905) and a version in organ tablature of the previously published

reproduced in vol. 4 of Historisch-Biographisches Lexicon der Tonkünstler (1790–1792) und Neuen
Historisch-Biographisches Lexicon der Tonkünstler (1812–1814), edited by Othmar Wessely (Graz,

36François-Joseph Féti, ‘Stabile Annibal’, in Biographie Universelle des Musiciens et Biographie

37Carl F. Becker, Die Tonwerke des XVI und XVII Jahrhunderts oder systematisch-chronologische
Zusammenstellung der in diesen zwei Jahrhunderten gedruckten Musikalien, 2nd edition (Liepzig,
m motet *Hi sunt qui venerunt—Dignus es Domine* in *Nova musices* (*RISM* 161724).38 To the secular anthologies are added 158911 and 16006.

The second edition of Fétis’s biographical dictionary was published in Paris in the 1860s, with a later impression and supplement edited by M. Arthur Pougin in 1873–1880.39 The biographical information remains unchanged but Stabile’s first and third books of madrigals are added. Fétis describes the first book of madrigals as ‘Madrigali a 5 voci (Venice, Gardano, 1572)’, and states it was reprinted in Venice by Gardano as a second edition in 1581, with a third edition in 1587. In this he was in error and what he considered to be the second and third editions were probably the *Madrigali a cinque voci di Gio. Maria Nanino et di Annibal Stabile* of 1581 and its 1587 reprint, both of which were indeed published in Venice by Gardano. Having already listed three motet collections of 1584, 1585, and 1589 as previously noted by Baini, Fétis also adds a further sacred publication, ‘*Sacrarum modulationum, quae quinies, senes et octonis vocibus concinitur liber secundus* (Venetiis, apud Angelum Gardanum, 1586)’. This is the first time one of the motet books has been given something approaching its correct title. It may have been copied directly from the original, in which case the publication date of 1586 may just be a misprint for 1585, or the incorrect publication date may be a deliberate alteration by Fétis so that it does not clash with his previously mentioned ‘*Motetti a 5, 6 et 8 voci, il secondo libro* (Venice, Gardano, 1585)’. If he did have the original source, it seems odd that he does not give the complete title, which names Stabile as maestro at the German College, since he gives these details for other composers where known. It is also surprising that he does not give the correct title for the *Liber Tertius* rather than the *Liber Secundus*, since a copy of the *Liber Tertius* exists in the Fétis collection held at the Bibliothèque Royale Albert in Brussels. Another possibility is that this *Sacrarum... liber secundus* (Venice, 1586) was a reprint of the 1585 book of motets. However, I have not come across any other references to such a publication. Also included in the Fétis collection at the Bibliothèque Royale Albert are the three German anthologies of sacred music published by Gerlach, *RISM* 15832, 15882, and 15905. Fétis makes no mention of Stabile’s works in these collections even though he lists other secular anthologies. Perhaps these anthologies and Stabile’s *Liber Tertius* were later additions

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38 *Hi sunt qui venerunt—Dignus es Domine* was previously published in Stabile’s third book of motets (1589).

to this collection. Fétis also introduces an *Il seconde libro de madrigali* (Venice, Gardano, 1584), but as with the *Sacrarum ... liber secundus* (1586) there are no other known references to this publication.

In 1877, Robert Eitner, in collaboration with others, published a catalogue of items contained in anthologies from the 16th and 17th centuries. This greatly expanded the list of known compositions by Stabile. Eitner also includes the first 1581 print of the collaborative Stabile and Nanino madrigals. Until now only the 1587 reprint has been recorded. New sacred works are *Quam pulchrae — Favus distillans* published in *Harmoniae miscellae* (*RISM* 15832), the Litany of Jesus and the three Litanies of the BVM published in *Thesaurus litaniarum* (*RISM* 15962), *Deus misereatur* in *Motecta ... Antonii Gualterii* (*RISM* 16046), *Nos autem gloriari in Missa, motecta ... Salvatoris Sacchi* (*RISM* 16072), and the *Nunc dimittis* which Eitner notes were published in both *Promptuarii musici* (*RISM* 16111) and *Florilegii* (*RISM* 16212). He also listed two further sacred sources, both containing republications of sacred works: *Continuatio cantionum* (*RISM* 15882), and *Melodiae sacrae* (*RISM* 16042).

Newly added secular anthologies are: *RISM* 15824, 15825, 158310, 158311, 158312, 158529, 15867, 159015, 15918, 159112, 159211, 159714, 160822, 161014, and 161213.

The pioneering bibliography of Italian secular music of the 16th and 17th centuries, compiled by Emil Vogel, was a major step forward. This was published in 1892. For the first time Stabile’s secular publications are correctly listed with their reprints and second editions. Vogel also noted that in the dedication of the *Il primo libro*, Stabile referred to his compositions as ‘*queste mie primitie*’ (‘my first fruits’). Vogel also suggested that Stabile may have considered his collaborative publication of 1581 with G. M. Nanino as his *Il seconde libro*, and this could indeed be so since there has never been any indication that such a publication existed. New anthologies listed are: *RISM* 158314, 158515, 158532, 15868, 15897, 15899, 159012, 15914, 15932, 15933, 15935, 15969, 159612, 16008, 16018, 16058, 160714, 161412, and 161916.

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40 "Stabile, Anibal oder Annibale", in *Bibliographie der Musik-Sammelwerke des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts*, edited by Robert Eitner, with F. X. Haberl, A. Lagerberg and C. F. Pohl (Berlin, 1877/R. Hildesheim, 1977), pp. 862–863. A photocopy of this entry was supplied by the holding library. I have not been able to check the original for information which may have been contained elsewhere.

41 Eitner also states that *Hi sunt qui venerunt — Dignus es Domine* was published in *Promptuarii* (1611). This was probably an error for *Promptuarii* (1613).

42 Emil Vogel, *Bibliothek*, ii, p. 221. See above p. 6, n. 15 for full reference.
At the beginning of the 20th century, Robert Eitner produced his important biographical *Quellen-Lexicon* which was to form the basis of much research for at least half a century. In an effort to assemble information from previous sources he erroneously states that Stabile was born in Padua, an assumption which he probably took from Gerber, but which originally stems from Walther’s *Lexicon*, where Stabile was confused with Annibale Padovano. A new piece of biographical information to emerge is that Stabile had spent some time in Krakow as a member of the chapel of Zygmunt III. However, the given date for this sojourn, 1604, is later refuted by Casimiri. The date of 1604 and the assumption that Stabile spent some of his career in Poland, was at this time based on the information presented on the title page of the anthology *Melodiae sacrae*. This runs as follows: *Melodiae sacrae, quinque, sex, septem, octo, & duodecim vocum, quatuor celeberrimorum musices moderorum seri.mi ac potent.mi Poloniae, Sueciaeque &c, regis Zygmunti Tertii, nec non aliquot aliorum præsentis Capellæ præsantantium musicorum. Opera ac studio, Vincentii Lilii romani, capellæ regiæ musici hinc inde collectæ* (Krakow, Lazari et B. Skalski, 1604). Translated this reads: ‘Sacred melodies, for five, six, seven, eight & ten voices, of four highly celebrated directors of the music of the most serene and powerful King of Poland, Zygmunt the Third, and also by a few other excellent musicians of the present choir. . . ’ This anthology, edited by Vincenzo Lilio and published in Krakow in 1604, contains Stabile’s motet, *Lux perpetua*.

Eitner provided further proof of Stabile’s residence at the German College by quoting the phrase ‘*in alma vrbe collegii germanici musicae magistri*’ which appears on the title pages of Stabile’s second book of motets published in 1585 and the *Hymnus de gloria paradisi* of 1590. In fact, the same wording also appears on the title page of the third book of motets (1589), and a similar wording on the title page of the *Letaniae Beate Marie Virginis et Nominis Jesu* of 1583, where the text reads, ‘*in Ecclesia S. Apollinaris Collegij Germanici Cappellæ Magistro*’. Apparently Eitner had not seen a copy of these last two items.

Eitner also made a significant contribution to the list of known works, in particular those in manuscript. Because he listed only those items which he knew existed at his time of writing, as well as adding the libraries where these were held, he makes no

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mention of the *Lettanie a 4* of 1592 nor of the *Liber Primus* and the possible ghost publication, the *Il libro seondo de madrigali* first mentioned by Fétis. Other works added are the printed copy of the *Hymnus de gloria paradisi* (1590), a manuscript version of the same work, a tablature version of *Hi sunt qui venerunt—Dignus es Domine*, two incomplete copies of a litany (henceforth called the ‘Polish’ Litany), which together make up the complete composition, and scored versions of *Jubilate Deo — Laudate nomen* and *Omnes Gentes*. Other manuscripts noted were scored versions from already known publications.44 Several manuscript items mentioned cannot now be traced. These include one motet in organ tablature held at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek which Eitner describes as Ms. 257, 39, ‘four Latin spiritual songs’ held at the Bibliotheken in Breslau (Wroclaw), *Hodie Christus natus est* for eight voices held at the Ratschulbibliothek, Zwickau, and the seven items for four to eight voices which were held at the Bibliotheca Rudolfina, Liegnitz, Poland.45

The most comprehensive biography of Annibale Stabile to date is that compiled by Raffaele Casimiri in the 1930s and 40s as part of his extensive series of articles on Roman musicians.46

Casimiri suggested that Stabile spent some of his early life in Naples due to the reference in a list of salaried persons of March 1589 ‘1 Mastro di Capella: Ms Annibale Stabile Napolitano’, which he found in the archives of the German College.47 The archives at S. Giovanni in Laterano provided two other possible early

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44 Eitner incorrectly noted that three litanies existed in score at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich. This source contains transcriptions of all four litanies from the *Thesaurus litaniarum* (1596). See ‘Secondary and Secular Sources’, p. 378.

45 Eitner’s source for the ‘Latin spiritual songs’ was the catalogue prepared by E. Bohn and published in Berlin in 1883. This listed items held in the Stadtbibliothek, the Akademisches Institut für Kirchenmusik, and the Königlichen und Universitätsbibliothek in Breslau and much was lost from these libraries during the Second World War. It is possible that three of the seven items held at the Bibliotheca Rudolfina in Liegnitz were the *Ave Maria a 5, Salve Regina a 5*, and another version of the ‘Polish’ Litany which are now spread between the Biblioteka Narodowa, in Warsaw and Biblioteka Uniwersytecka in Wroclaw. See Part Three of this thesis ‘The Sources’, pp. 346 and 378.

46 For the particular section which deals with Stabile, see Raffaele Casimiri, ‘Disciplina Musicae e mastri di capella’, *Note d'archivio per la storia musicale*, xix (1942), pp. 103–107. Some further documentary information relating to performance practice appears on pp. 159–168.

47 Casimiri, ‘Disciplina’, p. 105. Unfortunately Casimiri does not give the source for this and a number of other references, since he had planned to publish them as an appendix to his series of articles. It is *Footnote cont. overleaf*...
references to Stabile. The first is to an Annibale who is listed as a *contralto* in the Lateran choir in December 1555 through to the end of 1556. At this time the *maestro di cappella* was Palestrina, and as noted by Baini, Stabile did claim to be a pupil of Palestrina in the dedication of his *Lettanie a 4* of 1592. The other reference is to an Annibale as *putto cantore* ten years earlier, in 1544–1545.48 It was from this reference that Stabile’s date of birth has been estimated as c.1535. This was later questioned by Ruth DeFord.

Casimiri corrected the error made by former biographers when he established that the earliest reference to Stabile in the Lateran archives was in October 1575 where he is named in the account books as *maestro di cappella*. He also found that the last mention occurs on 6 January 1578.49 This conflicts with Patricia Ann Myers’s

believed that copies of these references may be among his uncatalogued papers in the Vatican Library. ‘*Napolitano*’ rather than referring to the city of Naples, probably refers to the Kingdom of Naples which covered the lower half of Italy at this time. However this reference to ‘Annibale Stabile Napolitano’ should not be taken to be conclusive, since in another document (in the Archives of S. Maria Maggiore), Stabile is referred to as ‘Anibal Stabilis ... Romanus’ (*Instrorum Tom 20 ab Anno 1595 usq ad 1603, f. 2v*).

48 Both references to Annibale as a member of the Lateran choir, from Casimiri, ‘*Disciplina*, p. 106.

49 Casimiri ‘*Disciplina*, p. 105. Exact bibliographical details are not given. This is later rectified by Dale Hall (see below) but without a transcription of the entries. For a transcription of part of the first entry, see p. 19, n. 53 of this thesis. The last entry in Rsg *Ms: Fabrica et Capella 1578*, Pxxv, f. 9, reads as follows:

**Pagamenti**

Il contro scritto ms hanibale stabile ha hauto per Il suo salario del mese di ottobre 1577 s[cudi] sei et

per li doi putti scudi sei s[cudi] 12

Et per Il mese di novembre 1577 scudi dodici come di sop[ra] s[cudi] 12

Et per Il mese di xbre 1577 s[cudi] dodici come di sop[ra] s[cudi] 12

Et per tutto il di sesto di Gennaro s[cudi] doi b[aiocchi] 40 s[cudi] 2 40

Stabile succeeded Francesco Adriani who had been the previous *maestro* from May 1575 until August 1575. There is no mention of a *maestro* in September. (I am grateful to Greer Garden for sharing her transcriptions with me. See also Greer Garden, ‘François Roussel: A Northern Musician in Sixteenth-Century Rome’, *Musica Disciplina*, xxxi (1977), pp. 107–133). Patricia Ann Myers (‘Adriani, Francesco’, *NG*, i, p. 113) is incorrect in stating that Adriani was *maestro* from 1573.
statement in *New Grove* that Giovanni A. Dragoni succeeded Stabile in June of 1576.\(^5^0\) In fact, the first reference to Dragoni as *maestro di cappella* does not occur until 1 February 1578, and this date is in accord with Stabile’s departure.\(^5^1\) While it is clear that Stabile was paid up until 6 January 1578, there is one further ‘extraordinary’ payment to him on 8 January, perhaps for some amount previously overlooked.\(^5^2\) Stabile in all likelihood took up office at S. Giovanni on 11 October 1575 because he is noted in the accounts as receiving expenses for Pietro the boy soprano from this date.\(^5^3\) Prior to this time, from the 4th to 10th October, the bass Giovanni had been paid for this task.\(^5^4\)

Casimiri stated (erroneously), that Stabile was *maestro* at the German College from 1579 following Soriano.\(^5^5\) He established that the first reference to Stabile now found in the archives of the German College is on 31 December 1580, where an order for payment of 150 scudi in gold is made to *maestro* Annibale Stabile,\(^5^6\) with the last reference occurring in a list of salaried persons in March 1589.\(^5^7\) He also states (again erroneously), that Stabile probably remained at the College until his appointment as *maestro* of S. Maria Maggiore in February of 1591.\(^5^8\)

Casimiri corrected dates given by earlier biographers for Stabile’s assumption of duties at S. Maria Maggiore and was also able to be more precise concerning his date of departure. He wrote that from the 18th or 19th of February 1591 Stabile took up his duties as *maestro di cappella* at S. Maria Maggiore, since in February 1591 he found

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\(^{50}\)Patricia Ann Myers, ‘Dragoni, Giovanni Andrea’, *NG*, v, p. 608.

\(^{51}\)Rsg Ms: *Fabrica e Capella 1578*, Pxxv, f. 11v.

\(^{52}\)Rsg: *Fabrica e Capella 1578*, f. 9v.

\(^{53}\)Rsg Ms: *Introitus et Exitus Fabrica et Cappella 1574 et 1575*, P xxiii, f. 80v: ‘Pagarete a m° Anibale Stabile n[ost]ro m° di cappella . . . per haver dato il Vitto da ma[n]giare a pietro sop’\(^9\) di n[ost]ra capella giorni 23 . . . dalli xi di ottobre 75 . . .’

\(^{54}\)See ‘Choirs and Performance Practice’, p. 45, n. 4.

\(^{55}\)Thomas Culley later corrected both these assumptions.

\(^{56}\)Casimiri, ‘Disciplina’, p. 103: ‘scudi 150 d’oro in oro fattone a Ms. Annibale Stabile nostro mastro de Capella’. There are some slight discrepancies in Casimiri’s transcription. For a copy of the original document see Appendix A, Document 1.


\(^{58}\)Casimiri, ‘Disciplina’, p. 104. This is later emended by Culley.
that Stabile was paid 11.32 scudi for acting as maestro for one third of the month.59 Further, he established that Stabile remained at S. Maria Maggiore probably until the end of 1594, but that he had certainly left by early January 1595, since there are no payments for a maestro during January, and in February 1595 Soriano, his successor, is noted as receiving 21 scudi.60 One of Stabile’s last actions at this church occurred on 5 January 1595 when he is documented as appointing a procuratore (attorney) as his representative.61 Casimiri suggested that this was due to poor health, since Stabile died a few months later.62

Other biographical information supplied by Casimiri includes Stabile’s ordination as deacon and then as priest while at the German College. This took place on two successive Sundays — the 15th and 22nd of July 1582.63 Also while at the German College, on 28 August 1580, Stabile was granted a benefice which gave him an annual income of 50 ducats from the Church of S. Lorenzo di Coll’Alto in the diocese of Nocera in Umbria.64 At S. Maria Maggiore he was granted a second benefice on 29 March 1592 as indicated by the ‘Collo beneficiati in favore[m] Do. Hannibalij Stabilij’, and the ‘Posso Beneficiati Do. Hannibalij Stabilij’ dated 30 March 1592.65

Casimiri provided no information on any publications by Stabile or manuscript sources, except to quote from Baini the phrase in the dedication of the Lettanie a 4 (1592) in which Stabile expresses gratitude to his teacher Palestrina, and the reference in Vogel to ‘my first fruits’ from the dedication of the Il primo libro de madrigali à

59Casimiri, ‘Disciplina’, p. 104: ‘Ms Anibale Mò di Cap.14 per un terzo del mese, con 4° putti uno per 4° giorni, s[scudi] Ìì, b[aiocchi] 32’, see Rsm Ms: Cappella 1589 al 1600 Tom 4, f. 41. The previous incumbent had been Curzio Mancini, who was maestro from 1589 to 1591 (Anthony Newcomb, ‘Mancini, Curzio’, NG, xi, p. 601).
60Casimiri, ‘Disciplina’, p. 104: ‘Ms Francesco Soriano con 4 putti sc. 21’. Casimiri’s reference is incomplete. This reference can be found in Rsm Ms: Isinuto 1594 al 1600 Tom 3, f. 89.
65Rsm Ms: Instr Tom 19 ab Anno 1592 usq ad 1595, ff. 10v and 11. See also Casimiri, ‘Disciplina’, p. 107.
However, in an earlier publication of 1919, Casimiri mentions three large books of Lamentations which existed at his time of writing under the Codex numbers 58, 87, and 88. He mentions only that they contain compositions by Stabile and Dragoni and gives no further details, since his prime interest was Codex 59. Casimiri also established conclusively that Stabile died in Rome in April 1595. In the Archivio della Curia Vescovile of Nocera Umbra, in the Esito della Cattedrale 1571–1598, following various remarks concerning the Church of S. Lorenzo di Coll’Alto, we read that in the year 1595 ‘soluerunt heredes dicti D. Annibalis defuncti, mihi etc.’ And in the Registrarum Bullarum for the years 1593–1595 is recorded: ‘per obitum dicti Annibalis qui . . . de mense aprilis [of the year 1595] diem clausit extremum . . . ’ This is dated in Rome and it also states that the benefice which became vacant at Stabile’s death was conferred on Felice Anerio ‘dilecto filio Felici Anerio’. As a result of this evidence, Casimiri refuted Eitner’s suggestion that Stabile could have been in Poland in 1604, and suggested that more likely times for this were either before his appointment to S. Giovanni in Laterano in 1575, or the years 1578 and 1579. As Casimiri pointed out, the wording on the title page of Lilio’s anthology of 1604 does not say that all the composers included were alive, but that the collection includes compositions by four celebrated maestri di cappella, together with the compositions of some musicians and other members of the present choir. The years 1578–1579 were put forward based on Casimiri’s mistaken assumption that Stabile did not begin at the German College until 1579, having concluded his previous appointment at S. Giovanni in Laterano in January 1578. While 1579 is therefore most unlikely, there are five or six months from 6 January 1578 to July 1578 when Stabile’s whereabouts are not accounted for, though this seems too short a time for him to have established a lasting reputation in Poland.

In 1944 The International Cyclopedia of Music and Musicians, edited by Oscar Thompson, gleaned its information from Eitner, thus perpetuating the two errors of place of birth at Padua and Stabile’s presence in Krakow in 1604. No works are

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listed. This entry remains unchanged, despite the new evidence uncovered by Casimiri, in the more recent tenth edition published in 1975.\textsuperscript{71}

Knud Jeppesen, in his book on Palestrina published in 1946, mentions the dedication in which Stabile calls himself a pupil of Palestrina but gives no bibliographical source for his statement. It is unlikely that he saw the actual publication, and he probably obtained this information from Baini or the supplement to Gerber.\textsuperscript{72}

The entry on Stabile by E. van der Straeten in the fifth edition of Grove’s Dictionary, published in 1954, makes no reference to the research done by Casimiri.\textsuperscript{73} He continues to suggest that Stabile was \textit{maestro di cappella} in Krakow in 1604, and also repeats the error made in Fétis which states that Stabile began as \textit{maestro} at the German College in 1576. The only change from earlier editions of Grove’s Dictionary is his statement that Stabile was born in Rome c.1540 and may have died in Krakow, but he gives no basis for these assumptions. As in previous editions, he lists only the three books of motets, three books of madrigals, the \textit{Lettanie a 4vv} and ‘single numbers in various collections’. No account is taken of the further works listed in Eitner.

Walter Rubsamen, writing in 1957, uncovers a previously unknown source of two works by Stabile in a manuscript originally belonging to the church of St Aegidien in Nuremberg.\textsuperscript{74} These two items, \textit{Jubilate Deo — Laudate nomen} and \textit{Omnes Gentes plaudite}, are both psalm-settings for five voices. These were probably the source for the later scored versions noted earlier by Eitner. Rubsamen suggested that they may have been published in Stabile’s \textit{Liber Primus}. For the biographical details on the composers featured, Rubsamen has consulted Eitner, and was evidently unaware of Casimiri’s research, since he incorrectly states that Stabile was \textit{maestro} at the German College in 1576 and at the Polish Chapel at Krakow in 1604.\textsuperscript{75}


\textsuperscript{74}Rubsamen, ‘The International “Catholic” Repertoire’, pp. 229–327. For full reference see p. 8, n. 22 above.

\textsuperscript{75}Rubsamen, ‘The International “Catholic” Repertoire’, p. 252.
Chronological Survey

Glen Haydon noted the existence of further works by Stabile, this time in Rome, in the Lateran archives, although Casimiri had earlier mentioned the presence of the manuscript in his book on the Lateran Codex 59 but without specific reference to Stabile’s compositions. Haydon was originally interested in this particular manuscript since it contained the *Hymni per totum annum* of Costanzo Festa, but as a result of this research, he published an article on the remaining items in 1959.\(^{76}\) This manuscript contains Stabile’s settings of strophes from the hymns *Aurea luce, Audi benigne Conditor, Lauda mater ecclesia,* and *Urbs beata* and the antiphon *Haec dies.* In the few biographical details he provides, Stabile’s dates are given as c.1540–c.1595 but no source for this is provided. Haydon has also overlooked Casimiri’s research since he continues to state that Stabile was *maestro* at S. Giovanni in Laterano from 1575 to 1576.

The unsigned entry in *Hugo Riemann Musik Lexicon* (1961) does take into account some recently discovered details and gives Stabile’s dates as c.1540–1595, but also notes that some sources say Stabile was in Krakow in 1604. However, the incorrect date of 1592 given by Fétis for the beginning of Stabile’s term at S. Maria Maggiore is quoted and further errors are introduced in the date and place of publication of the published works.\(^{77}\) The entry states that Stabile published three books of madrigals for 5 voices in Venice between 1572 and 1585 as well as the Stabile and Nanino collection (1581/R.1587). This may have been taken from Fétis where three books of madrigals are listed as being published in 1572, 1584, and 1585. The entry also states that three books of motets were published in Venice between 1585 and 1589. These dates cover only the second and third books, not the first book which Baini, and later Fétis and others gave as being published in 1584.

A further unsigned entry, this time in the *Enciclopedia della Musica,* published 1964, cites Casimiri’s research and therefore includes Casimiri’s error by giving 1579 as the date for Stabile’s assumption of duties at the German College.\(^{78}\) In the list of publications, the revised *Il libro primo* of 1586 is omitted, and there has obviously been confusion between the *Lettanie a 4* (1592) and the *Lettanie BMV et Nominis*

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Jesu 8v (1583), since a Litanie 5 et 8v (1592) is included in the list. However, this is the first indication that the existence of the Letania BMV et Nominis Jesu 8v, 1583 was known.

The most comprehensive list of known works by Stabile following Eitner was made by Claudio Sartori in Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, published in 1965.\textsuperscript{79} While this list is very extensive with regard to published works, Sartori omitted the manuscript items mentioned by Eitner except to add as a footnote that other works could be found in libraries in Basel, Berlin, Brix, London, Munich, and Breslau (Wroclaw). Some of this list is almost certainly quoted from Eitner without any attempt by Sartori to confirm the whereabouts of these items following the Second World War, since the item Eitner noted as being held at Brix was moved to Wroclaw in 1899. Moreover there are some omissions in the area of published works that had been clearly set out in Vogel. The revised edition of the Il primo libro de madrigali (Venice, Scotto, 1586) is not mentioned, neither is the 1581 reprint of the Madrigali a 5vv di G. M. Nanino et di Annibal Stabile (Venice, Gardano). In the list of anthologies, there is confusion between what should have been the first two anthologies in the list. The madrigal Fu'l lauro sempre verde, in Il lauro secco (Ferrara, V. Baldini, 1582) is given as being published in Dolci affetti (Venice, G. Scotto, 1582), and Qual vaga pastorella, which was published in Dolci affetti, is omitted altogether. This is probably a simple misprint. As a result, the reprint of Il lauro secco, (RISM 1596\textsuperscript{12}) is also omitted. Also missing from his list of anthologies for no apparent reason, since the item was previously listed in Vogel, is RISM 1614\textsuperscript{11}. Additions to the list of anthologies containing secular works by Stabile (in this case reprints only) are: RISM 1590\textsuperscript{14}, 1595\textsuperscript{2}, 1628\textsuperscript{12}, and 1628\textsuperscript{14}.

He notes that the Lettanie a 4 (1592) is now lost but observes that the contents may be the three litanies for 5 and 8vv mentioned by Eitner. As already stated, these litanies are the items published in the Thesaurus litaniarum of 1596 and cannot be from the 1592 publication, since earlier references to this publication all specify four voices.

Sartori's biographical details are taken from Casimiri, but newly added is that Stabile was a member of the Compagnia dei musici di Roma. This society, founded

\textsuperscript{79}‘Stabile, Annibale’, in Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, 14 vols, edited by Friedrich Blume (Kassel, 1965), xii, cols 1102–1104.
by Alessandro Marino in 1584 and given papal recognition on May 1 1585, comprised the most important musical figures in Rome at the time. An indication of the personnel included can be seen from the list of contributors (of which Stabile is one) mentioned in the dedication of Le gioie, an anthology of madrigals compiled by Felice Anerio and published in Venice in 1589. S. Maria della Rotonda (the Pantheon) was named as the church of residence and members of the confraternity were expected to observe the feasts of St Gregory (12 March), Visitation of the Virgin (22 July) and St Cecilia (22 November) there, and possibly also the Nativity and the feast of the Assumption although the last two would be difficult for musicians already connected to another church. Possible collaboration by members of this confraternity can be seen in the number of publications from the end of the 16th century containing compositions by members.

The Dictionnaire de la Musique, published in 1970, repeats the mistaken date of 1579 for the beginning of Stabile’s time at the German College and also includes inaccuracies in the list of publications. The revised Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci of 1586 has obviously been confused with the Madrigali a cinque voci di Gio. Maria Nanino et di Annibal Stabile (1581).

In 1970 Thomas Culley, in his book on music in the German College, confirmed that Casimiri’s reference to Stabile on 31 December 1580 was the first that can now be found in the archives of the German College and in doing so he was able to provide the source. Culley was also able to correct the error made by Casimiri

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81 It has commonly been assumed that Felice Anerio was the maestro di cappella of this society since he is referred to as maestro on the title page. However, Jonathan Couchman has pointed out that this title referred instead to Anerio’s position at S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini and that the Compagnia had no need of a maestro. See Jonathan Paul Couchman, ‘Felice Anerio’s music for the church and for the Altemps Cappella’ (PhD Diss. University of California, 1989), p. 22.


83 For a list of these, see Summers, ‘The Compagnia’, pp. 15–18.

84 ‘Stabile, Annibale’, in Dictionnaire de la Musique, 2 vols, edited by Marc Honegger (Bordas, 1970), ii, p. 1044. This entry is unsigned.

regarding Stabile's predecessor. This was not Francesco Soriano, but Francesco Martini. Unfortunately he could not confirm Casimiri's reference to the last mention of Stabile in March 1589. Further, Culley was able to state that Stabile's successor was not Ruggiero Giovannelli as suggested by Casimiri, but was Stefano Fabri the elder who, according to Pitoni, began as maestro on 11 May 1590.

In 1973 the Polish scholar Jerzy Golos published an article following the rediscovery of a book of masses in Warsaw. This manuscript contained two parody masses by Stabile, thus providing further evidence that Stabile had spent some time in Poland. Unfortunately both the title page and any archival marks are missing, therefore making it difficult to determine its history. It is now held in the Archiwum Akt Dawnych Archidiecezji Warszaeskiej (Archives of Old Records of the Warsaw Archdiocese) under the call number M4. Prior to this, it had been in the possession of Wladyslaw Kwiatkowski, a former archivist of the Warsaw Archdiocese. For biographical details Golos has relied upon Eitner, the Riemann Musik Lexikon of

and has transcribed the reference as: 'Adi 31 Dicembre 1580. Scudi 150 d'oro In oro a maestro Anibale Stabile per il organo va In Sebastiano Haj.' While the source he gives is correct, the folio number is not f. lxxiii, but f. 74 (in Arabic not Roman numerals) and Culley's transcription is not accurate. Either he has erred or was looking at another reference altogether. A copy of the relevant part of f. 74 can be found in Appendix A, Document 1 of this thesis.

Culley found several references to a 'Francesco' as maestro. He was able to establish that this was Martini rather than Soriano because of a reference in Pitoni's Notizia de' contrapuntisti which says: 'Francesco Martini. Sacerdote della Congregazione dell'Oratorio di S. Filippo Neri in Roma fu maestro di Cappella di S. Apollinare de Febraro 1577. a tutto Maggio 1578.' See Culley, Jesuits, p. 284, Doc. 22. Culley also notes that Pitoni may have erred in his arrival date for Martini since Pitoni also states that Victoria was maestro until June 1577 (see Jesuits, p. 48). Pitoni's Notizia de' contrapuntisti has since been reproduced in a modern edition, see above p. 10, n. 29.

See Culley, Jesuits, p. 49, where he notes that on January 1, 1591 in a list of medical expenses for that year, the following was recorded: 'The Venerable German College on the first day of January, ought to give twelve [bailocchi per acqua pettorale for Don Stefano, maestro di cappella . . .]' (Reg Ms: Conti del spetiale, 1591 (folios unnumbered)). That Don Stefano was Stefano Fabri the elder, can be confirmed by Pitoni who says: 'Stefano Fabri Seniore Maestro di Cappella di S. Apollinare dalli 11. Maggio 1590. sino a tutto Marzo 1590. See Culley, Jesuits, p. 284, Doc. 20. Culley also notes (Jesuits, p. 50) that the date of departure must be an error since Fabri was in the College in 12 March 1591. He concludes that 'Marzo 1590' was a mistake for Marzo 1591.

1961, and Sartori’s entry in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. He obviously knew nothing of Casimiri’s series of articles, since he continues to suggest that Stabile was in Poland in 1604.89

In 1975 Ruth DeFord questioned the accepted c.1535 as Stabile’s date of birth.90 She pointed out that 1535 seems a little early for a man who did not produce his first published works until 1572, when he would have been 37, and even more unlikely when, in the dedication, he refers to the compositions therein as being his ‘first fruits’ (*queste mie primitie*). This, she felt, was a more likely comment for a person of 27 than 37 years. She also noted in support of this that most of the other madrigal publications which began to appear in Rome in the 1570s were written by composers born in the 1540s. These composers included Dragoni, Tartaglino, G.M. Nanino, Soriano, and Macque, all of whom were born between 1540 and 1550. As further evidence she noted that a later birth date would make Stabile a closer contemporary of G.M. Nanino who was born c.1543–45, and who was a personal friend. This is evident from their collaboration on the collection of madrigals published in 1581 and from its dedication which mentions that Nanino and Stabile had often frequented the house of Lelio Pasqualino (the dedicatee) for musical gatherings.91 This is a

89In 1973 Golos also gave a paper entitled *Le opere sconosciute di Annibale Stabile* at the 5th Polish-Italian Musicology Session in Bologna putting forward the same suggestion. As far as I have been able to ascertain, this was not published at the time, but eventually appeared in an updated version in 1988 (Jerzy Golos, ‘Nieznane Dzieła Annibala Stabile’, *Pagine*, v (1988), pp. 363–65. For the translation of this article, I am grateful to Joanna Giedroyc-Lutyk of Warsaw). In this later article Golos takes into account Casimiri’s research, and concludes that Stabile could not have been in Poland in 1604. He then suggests a further and much more likely possibility of between February 1590 when Stabile finished his appointment at the German College, and February 1591 when he took up his duties at S. Maria Maggiore.


91‘... alla cui cortesia, & humanità usatasi sempre, & massime casa sua, ricetito de virtuosi, si conosciamo molto affettonati, & obligati...’ From the dedication to *Madrigali a cinque voci di Gio Maria Nanino et di Annibal Stabile* (Venice, Gardano, 1581). Lelio Pasqualino was a Canon at S. Maria Maggiore during the time that Stabile was maestro, see Rsm Ms: Giustificazioni 6 1591–1592 Mandato No 8 (1592). He was also the author of the text of Marenzio’s well-known madrigal *Lique perle*. See James Chater, *Luca Marenzio and the Italian Madrigal 1577–1593*, 2 vols (Ann Arbor, 1981), i, p. 6.
convincing argument and the suggestion of c.1535 based on the reference to an
Annibale as a boy singer in 1544–1545 is very speculative. I would suggest that a
more likely possibility for the Annibale putto cantore of 1544–45, and perhaps also
for the Annibale contralto of 1555–56, might be Annibale Zoilo who was born in
Rome c.1537. Zoilo's first known appointment was in 1561 as maestro di cappella at
S. Luigi dei Francesi in Rome and his first published work appeared a year later in
1562 when he was 25 years old. Zoilo was certainly a singer as well as a composer
since he later joined the Sistine Choir as an Alto in 1570.92

DeFord also made further suggestions regarding the date of Stabile's sojourn in
Poland. She noted that Stabile was definitely in Rome in 1572 since he signed the
dedication of his first publication Di Annibale Stabile il libro primo de madrigali a
cinque voci (Venice, Gardano, 1572) from Rome.93 But she also pointed out that he is
absent from the anthology Il quarto libro delle muse a cinque voci (Venice, Gardano,
1574), which included all the other major Roman composers, and that this absence
could indicate that Stabile was not in Rome at the time.94

What happened between the years 1572 and 1575 is unknown, and it is possible that
he was in Poland over this period. It would also explain how a relatively unknown
composer gained what would otherwise have been a first appointment to such a major
position as master of the choir at the cathedral church of Rome. On the other hand
there is some evidence to support the theory that he was in Rome in the early 1570s
when he may have had associations with the artistic community that gathered at the
Villa d'Este.95

93This was dedicated to Horatio Mandosio. The first madrigal, Mandosio, per mostrar was composed
in his honour. This work and the dedication are omitted from the reprint of 1586 by Scotto. Until now,
it was thought that the sole surviving part of Stabile's Il libro primo de madrigali (1572) held at the
former Deutsche Staatsbibliothek in Berlin was lost during the Second World War, but it has
94DeFord, 'Ruggiero Giovannelli', i, p. 268. The composers in this anthology included: Gio.
Animuccia, Gio. Andrea Dragoni, Giovanni de Macque, Gio. Maria Nanino, Gianetto Palestrina,
Ridolfo Pierluigi Palestrina, Nicolo Pervue, [Francesco] Rossello, Bartolomeo Roy, Francesco Soriano,
Gio. Troiano, and Annibale Zoilo.
95For information on Stabile's association with Scipione Gonzaga the dedicatee of his Liber Tertius,
and this community, see 'The Primary Sources', p. 328.
The other possible time for Stabile’s sojourn in Poland is in 1590 between his appointments at the German College and S. Maria Maggiore. According to Pitoni, Stabile concluded his term at the German College on 6 February 1590, and Casimiri found that by 18 or 19 February 1591 Stabile had become maestro at S. Maria Maggiore. This leaves a full year unaccounted for and is a long enough period for Stabile to have established a lasting reputation in Poland. The reason the year 1590 did not suggest itself to Casimiri (nor at the time to DeFord) is that they both assumed Stabile had remained at the German College until his appointment as maestro di cappella at S. Maria Maggiore in February 1591.

As already noted by Casimiri, the title page of the 1604 anthology does not say that all four celebrated maestri di cappella were alive, only that the musicians and members of the choir were in that category. These maestri probably included Luca Marenzio who was in Poland c.1596 to c.1598, Giulio Cesare Gabussi, maestro from 1601 to 1602, Asprilio Pacelli who is thought to have been maestro from 1603 until his death in Poland in 1623, and Annibale Stabile, who is likely to have been the fourth and the earliest. Marenzio, Gabussi and Pacelli were all in Poland in the decade prior to the publication date of 1604 and it might therefore seem a little odd to include Stabile from as far back as before 1575. The compiler of the anthology, Vincenzo Lilio, was active in the royal chapel from about 1600 until his death c.1640, but in what capacity is not clear. Other composers represented in the publication are more likely to have been included in the category of ‘musicians and other members of the present choir’. Of these, Vincenzo Bertolusi went to Poland in 1595 and Antonio Patarto was first mentioned in Polish court records in 1598. Both are also included in the Italian section of a list of musicians at the royal court in September 1599, Patarto as ‘Antonio Trembanistæ’, and Bertolusi as ‘Vincentio Organista’. Also listed

is a ‘Jacobo Violistæ’, and this could well be J. Abbatis.99 ‘Jacobo’ reappears in a later list compiled in June 1601, when Gabussi was maestro, as a ‘Violinistis’,100 and under Gabussi’s leadership, Patarto and Bertolusi are still listed (as Antonio Pedardo, and Vincentio). Included in this list of 1601 are ‘Tenoristis Julio and Lauren.’, who are probably Giulio Oscurati and L. Belotti.101 The other listed violinist, ‘Alfonso’ is probably Alfonso Pagani,102 and the ‘Hipolito’ included among the ‘Altistis’ is very likely I. Bonnani. Andreas Hakenberger may have been the ‘Andreae’ mentioned in the list of Polish musicians in 1599, but is certainly included among the Polish musicians in 1602 as ‘Andrysz Hakenberg’,103 but nothing is known of the three remaining composers represented in the anthology, Szymona Amorosius, A. Staniczewski, and Rafaela Veggio, though they are unlikely to have been maestri and would most probably have been included in the category of ‘musicians and other members of the present choir’. Since all composers included in the anthology were in Poland from the latter half of the 1590s on, this reinforces a later date than before 1575 for Stabile’s time in Poland. Unfortunately, the preserved documents of the Polish royal court are incomplete and no trace of Stabile has yet been found.104

A major point for consideration is that the reign of Zygmunt III did not begin until 1587, so if the wording on the title page of Lilio’s anthology can be taken at face

99 For this list, compiled when Krzysztof Klabon was maestro, see Anna Szweykowska, ‘Przeobrazenia w kapeli krolewskiej na przelomie XVI i XVII wieku’ [Changes in the royal chapel in the late 16th and 17th centuries], Muzyka, xiii (1968), p. 12. The list is divided into Italian and Polish musicians.

100 For this list, see Szweykowska, ‘Przeobrazenia’, p. 15.

101 See also Zygmunt M. Szweykowski, ‘Osculati, Giulio’, NG, xiv, p. 3.

102 For a brief reference to Alfonso Pagani, see Miroslaw Perz, ‘Patart, Antonio’, NG, xiv, p. 298.

103 See Szweykowska, ‘Przeobrazenia’, pp. 12 and 16, for the lists of Polish musicians at the royal court in 1599 and 1602. See also NG, viii, p. 42, where Jerrold C. Baab notes that Hakenberger was in Poland from 1602 until 1607 as a singer and lutenist. Hakenberger’s later appointment in 1608 as Kapellmeister of the Marienkirche in Gdansk may have been the route whereby some of Stabile’s publications arrived in this city. Eitner noted the existence of Stabile’s second and third books of motets, the first book of madrigals (2nd edition), and third book of madrigals in the Stadbibliothek and the Bibliothek der Marienkirche in Danzig [Gdansk]. Hakenberger remained at Gdansk until his death in 1627.

value, Stabile cannot have been in Poland prior to this.\textsuperscript{105} Associated with this is the fact that Zygmunt was a known supporter of the Jesuits. He had been strongly influenced by them as a child and was, as a result, converted to Roman Catholicism.\textsuperscript{106} Later when Pope Gregory XIII sent three priests to Sweden to discuss religion with Zygmunt, he chose to select them from the German College since they were required to pose as musicians in order to avoid incurring the displeasure of Zygmunt’s father, the King of Sweden, who was not a Catholic. One of these three priests reported in a letter of 30 December 1586 that the Swedish people praised their music, saying that the like of it had never been heard before.\textsuperscript{107} Who better then for Zygmunt to appoint as music master of his chapel after his election as King of Poland, than the \textit{maestro} of this renowned College?

Support of a different kind for the later date of 1590, rather than before 1575, comes in the form of a manuscript now held in Wroclaw but previously held in Brieg, which contains a litany by Stabile. This litany was also published in 1583 but with different text. However, the manuscript example contains certain rhythmic alterations suggesting it was a later version and these alterations must therefore have been made after 1583.\textsuperscript{108} The text of the published version is very similar to the standard format of other Roman litanies, whereas the text of the manuscript version does not appear to be of Roman origin.

Ruth DeFord’s entry in \textit{New Grove} (1980) gives up-to-date biographical material and the list of works includes Stabile’s contribution to the \textit{Missa Cantantibus organis}, for the first time since Casimiri had produced a modern edition of the mass in 1930.\textsuperscript{109}

In an article on the secular music of Stabile published in 1988,\textsuperscript{110} Dale Hall was able to confirm the source for Casimiri’s first and last references to Stabile at S. Giovanni in Laterano.\textsuperscript{111} Hall also suggested that Stabile’s appointment of a \textit{procuratore} as his representative on 5 January, 1595, noted earlier by Casimiri, could

\begin{itemize}
  \item\textsuperscript{105} Dale Hall also suggested the year 1590 as a possibility. See Hall, ‘Annibale Stabile’, p. 87.
  \item\textsuperscript{107} See Culley, \textit{Jesuits}, p. 54.
  \item\textsuperscript{108} For discussion on this aspect, see ‘The Middle Period’, p. 197.
  \item\textsuperscript{109} ‘Stabile, Annibale’, \textit{NG}, xviii, p. 37.
  \item\textsuperscript{110} Hall, ‘Annibale Stabile’, pp. 84–104. See above p. 30, n. 104 for full reference.
  \item\textsuperscript{111} Hall, ‘Annibale Stabile’, p. 99, n. 9.
\end{itemize}
have indicated that Stabile was about to go on an extended journey to Poland.\(^{112}\) This seems doubtful since he died so soon after, and two months in Poland would hardly seem long enough to establish himself as well as he must have done to be included in Lilio’s anthology of 1604. Hall also suggested the year 1590 as another possibility. Also possible is that Stabile went to Poland on more than one occasion.

Dale Hall endorsed Eitner’s sighting of the manuscript versions of the *Hymnus de gloria paradisi* and was able to give exact references to three copies now held at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. However, he erroneously states that the published edition is no longer extant.\(^{113}\) Further, he was able to identify the dedicatee of Stabile’s first book of madrigals printed in 1572. This was Horatio Mandosio (d.1594), Vicar-General of Rome and author of philosophical, theological, and juridical works.\(^{114}\) Hall also notes correctly for the first time since its listing in *RISM* in 1980,\(^{115}\) the existence of Stabile’s *Letaniae BMV et Nominis Jesu* (1583).\(^{116}\)

Noel O’Regan added to the list of sources containing works by Stabile in his dissertation submitted in 1988.\(^{117}\) These include in manuscript form, *Alma Redemptoris* a 8 in the Pelplin Tablatures, *Veni sponsa Christi*,\(^{118}\) *Nos autem gloriari*,\(^{119}\) and the anthology *Promptuarii musici* (1613\(^2\)) which contains another source for *Hi sunt qui venerunt—Dignus es Domine*. The uncovering of the *Alma Redemptoris* for eight voices was particularly fortunate, since the only other known source, the *Letaniae BMV et Nominis Jesu* (1583), is now incomplete. However, under the entry for Annibale Stabile in his catalogue of polychoral music by Roman composers, O’Regan

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\(^{112}\) Hall, ‘Annibale Stabile’, p. 86.

\(^{113}\) The published version is now held at the Biblioteka Jagiellonska, Krakow. See ‘The Primary Sources’, p. 329.


\(^{115}\) *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales*, series A, Band 8 (Kassel, 1980), p. 133.


\(^{118}\) Nine partbooks from an original set of twelve are now spread between two libraries: Rome, Bibl. Nazionale Centrale, Mss Mus. 117–121, and Rome, Bibl. dell’Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia, G Ms. 792–795. The remaining three partbooks have disappeared. See O’Regan, ‘Sacred Polychoral Music’, i, pp. 124–125.

\(^{119}\) See ‘Secondary and Secular Sources’, p. 378.
has not listed all the sources noted elsewhere in his thesis.\textsuperscript{120} He omits the 1617\textsuperscript{24} and 1621\textsuperscript{2} reprints of *Hi sunt qui venerunt* — *Dignus es Domine*, and the 1621\textsuperscript{2} reprint of the *Nunc dimittis*. He also omits the two eight-voice litanies which were first published in the *Letania BMV et Nominis Jesu* (1583) although he notes that they were re-published in 1596. Further, he has given only one of the two sources for the nine partbooks of *Veni sponsa Christi*.

As a result of this present dissertation, the discovery of new sources of sacred music has added to the list of known works: a set of eight Christmas responsories, two Passions, a set of Lamentations, and a four-voice *Salve Regina* (incomplete), as well as two motets *In tribulatione* — *Propretia Confitebor* and *Iste Sanctus*, where the attribution to Stabile is somewhat doubtful.\textsuperscript{121} An item listed in the catalogues at the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana as ‘*Falsobordoni a 4 voci* . . . Annibale Stabile’ could not be traced by the present librarian. The only other secular anthology containing a work by Stabile is *Delitiae musicae sive cantiones* (*RISM* 1612\textsuperscript{18}).

\*MODERN EDIlONS\*

While contributions to Stabile’s biography and works list continued to expand, modern editions of his works have been very slow in coming. Since 1621 when two of his motets were published in *Florilegii musici*, very little of his music has come to light. The 19th century saw a revival of interest in his sacred compositions with the work of the German music historian and editor, Franz Commer. In his series of publications of sacred music by composers of the 16th and 17th centuries, he included two works by Stabile, *Tu gloria Jerusalem* and the *Nunc dimittis*\textsuperscript{122}.

Stabile’s secular compositions have fared little better. The madrigal *Ohime partito e’l mio bel sol* appeared in a modern edition in 1885.\textsuperscript{123} In 1897, *Io non so come vivo*
was published by Alfred Wotquenne-Platteel along with *Fuggite amanti Amor* as part of an edition of the complete anthology *Canzonette a quattro voci* (RISM 1591)\(^\text{124}\), and slightly later, in 1899, in England, Stabile's madrigal *Io non so come vivo* was re-edited by Lionel Benson (from the edition by Alfred Wotquenne-Platteel)\(^\text{125}\).

In the 20th century, *Donna tue chiome d'oro*, first published in *Canzonette per cantar et sonar di liuto* (RISM 1591)\(^\text{14}\), was published in 1917 in a modern edition\(^\text{126}\). In 1930 Casimiri published his edition of the collaborative *Missa Cantantibus organis* which contained a Kyrie, Patrem omnipotentem, and Crucifixus by Stabile.\(^\text{127}\) In 1979 Stabile's two masses, the *Missa Ung gay bergier* and *Missa Vestiva i colli*, were edited by the Polish scholar, Tadeusz Maciejewski,\(^\text{128}\) and in 1980 Anthony Newcomb included two madrigals by Stabile, *Fu il lauro sempre verde* and *Verde lauro gentil* in the second volume of his book on the madrigal at Ferrara.\(^\text{129}\)

A number of other items have also been transcribed but unpublished. In the early 19th century, six motets by Stabile were transcribed by the German musicologist Carl Winterfeld.\(^\text{130}\) Franz Commer also left a number of unpublished transcriptions. These include the motets from Stabile's second book (1585), the *Nunc dimittis*, the canzonette *Ich hab o Jungfrau zart*, and the madrigal *Vaneggio od'e pur vero*. Robert Eitner transcribed *Sub tuum praesidium* from Stabile's third book of motets (1589).

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\(^\text{126}\) *Romeo Bartoli, Composizioni vocali polifoniche a due, tre e quattro voci sole dei secoli XVI e XVII* (Milan, [1917]), p. 62.


\(^\text{128}\) Annibale Stabile, *Msze Krolewskie*, transcribed and edited by Tadeusz Maciejewski (Warsaw, 1979). I am grateful to Elisbieta Zwolinska of Warsaw for obtaining a copy of this publication for me.


\(^\text{130}\) These are the *Nunc dimittis*, *Beata es Virgo Maria*, *Victima paschali*, *Hi sunt qui venerunt* — *Dignus es Domine*, *Ibant Apostoli*, and *Quam pulchrae* — *Favus distillans*. A seventh motet was also transcribed and attributed to Stabile, but *Domine a lingua dolosa* is clearly by Hannibal Padovano. See also 'Secondary and Secular Sources', p. 377.
Unsigned transcriptions include the sacred works *Quae est ista*, two transcriptions of the *Nunc dimittis*, the *Salve Regina* for four voices, and three copies of the *Hymnus de gloria paradisi*. Secular works include *Alla riva del Tebro*, and the madrigals from Stabile’s third book (1585). Stabile’s four litanies and two further motets *Omnes Gentes* and *Jubilate Deo — Laudate nomen* have also been transcribed.

In the 20th century, several other madrigals have been transcribed but not published: *Già fu ch’io desai* transcribed by Alfred Einstein, *Nel tempo che ritorna* transcribed by Harrison Powley, and *Ecco l’aurora, Di martir in martir*, and *Amorosetto neo*, transcribed by Ruth DeFord.

**FURTHER DETAILS**

To add to the biographical and bibliographical details discussed so far, it is clear that the years Stabile spent at the German College (1578–1590) were his most productive as far as publications were concerned. All except two of his own collections of music were published during these years as well as a number of other compositions in different publications.

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131 All these items are held at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin — Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung: the motets from Stabile’s second book of motets (Mus.ms. Commer 154), the *Nunc dimittis* (Mus.ms. Commer 148), the canzonette *Ich hab o Jungfrau zart* (Mus.ms. Commer 122), the madrigal *Vaneggio od’e pur vero* (Mus.ms. Commer 28), *Sub tuum praesidium* (Mus.ms. 40242, Nr.91), *Quae est ista* (catalogue no. illegible), two transcriptions of the *Nunc dimittis* (Mus.ms. 40110 Bl. 272, Mus.ms. 30092), *Salve Regina* for four voices (Mus.ms. 30296 Nr.11), and three copies of the *Hymnus de gloria paradisi* (Mus.ms. 2178, 2178/2, 2178/1), *Alla riva del Tebro* (same source as *Quae est ista*, see above), and the madrigals from Stabile’s third book (Mus.ms. 21,080). With the exception of the *Hymnus de gloria paradisi*, the information concerning these items is contained on the catalogue cards, copies of which were kindly conveyed to me by Dr Helmut Hell, librarian of the Musikabteilung, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

132 See ‘The Primary Sources’, p. 349.


various anthologies. One of these exceptions, the *Il libro primo de madrigali*, was published in 1572 prior to this appointment.\textsuperscript{136}

With the publication in 1583 of the *Letaniae BMV et Nominis Jesu*, Stabile was among the earliest Roman composers, apart from Palestrina, Victoria, and Animuccia, to have a collection of his own sacred music published.\textsuperscript{137} Three other composers who preceded him in this accomplishment were Hippolito Tartaglino, Alessandro Marino, and Fernando de las Infantas.\textsuperscript{138} All these composers, with the exception of Victoria, were older than Stabile. Following Stabile in 1583, the next composer to have a collection of his sacred works published was Luca Marenzio in 1585 with G.M. Nanino following soon after in 1586. After this no new composers published collections until 1591 when Jacobus Peetrinus and Pietro Pavolo Paciotti published their first books of motets and masses respectively, and 1593 when Ruggiero Giovannelli and Sebastian Raval published their first collections of motets.\textsuperscript{139}

\[
\textit{Footnote cont. overleaf.}
\]
To illustrate this, Table 1 (overleaf) lists the collections of sacred music published by composers working in Rome between 1570 and 1600. Once a composer left Rome, his publications are no longer included. Only first editions are listed, reprints have been excluded unless new material was added, and anthologies are not included. The far right-hand column lists by name composers who published secular music during this time.

It is immediately apparent that while secular publications were predominant overall in the 1570s and 1580s, the 1590s saw a rise in sacred music and a corresponding fall in secular publications in Rome. The dominant composers of the 1580s, Stabile’s most prolific period of publication, are still Palestrina and Victoria but they are followed closely by Stabile. It is evident from Table 1 that in the 1570s, Venice was the preferred place for the publication of sacred music by Roman composers, but in the 1580s Rome has taken a slight lead, and by the 1590s Rome is the preferred place of publication.

As well as being one of the earliest composers in Rome to publish his own collection of sacred music, Stabile was even more prominent in the area of publishing works for double choir. The first evidence of polychoral music in Rome appears with the publication of Giovanni Animuccia’s, Secondo libro delle laudi in 1570. Following this was Palestrina in 1575 and Victoria in 1581 (see Table 1). Animuccia also published an eight-voice magnificat in Rome, but this is now incomplete and bears no date. Annibale Stabile was the next composer to publish works for eight voices in 1583. Victoria and Stabile continued to publish polychoral works in the


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140 This is supported by an analysis of music publishing throughout Italy carried out by Tim Carter in ‘Music Publishing in Italy, c.1580–c.1625: Some Preliminary Observations’, *Research Chronicle*, xx (1986–87), pp. 19–37. He notes (p. 21) that in the years 1550 to 1575, secular publications predominated. After 1580 the volume of sacred publications begins to increase until by 1610 sacred music far outweighs the secular.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>COMPOSER</th>
<th>ITEM</th>
<th>PLACE OF PUBL.</th>
<th>PUBLISHER</th>
<th>SECULAR PUBL.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1570</td>
<td>G. Animuccia</td>
<td>Il secondo libro delle laude, ... motteti, salmi 2–8vv</td>
<td>Rome</td>
<td>Dorico</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>G. da Palestrina</td>
<td>Missarum liber tertius, 4–6vv</td>
<td>Rome</td>
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<tr>
<td>1571</td>
<td>T. L. Victoria</td>
<td>Motecta, 4–6, 8vv</td>
<td>Venice</td>
<td>Girolamo Scotto</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>G. da Palestrina</td>
<td>Motettorum liber secundus, 5, 6, 8vv</td>
<td>Venice</td>
<td>Girolamo Scotto</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1572</td>
<td>H. Tartaglino</td>
<td>Motettorum quinque &amp; sex vocum liber primus</td>
<td>Rome</td>
<td>Giovanni Gigliotti</td>
<td>A. Marino</td>
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<td>1573</td>
<td>G. da Palestrina</td>
<td>Liber primus: qui missas, psalms, Magnificat ... 4–6, 8vv</td>
<td>Venice</td>
<td>Angelo Gardano</td>
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<td>Venice</td>
<td>Girolamo Scotto</td>
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<td></td>
<td>F. de las Infantas</td>
<td>Sacrarum varii styli cantionum liber primus</td>
<td>Venice</td>
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<td>P. Bellasio</td>
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<td>F. de las Infantas</td>
<td>Sacrarum varii styli cantionum liber secundus</td>
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<tr>
<td>1579</td>
<td>A. Marino</td>
<td>Psalms omnes qui ad vespas decantant, 6vv</td>
<td>Venice</td>
<td>Girolamo Scotto</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F. de las Infantas</td>
<td>Sacrarum varii styli cantionum liber tertius</td>
<td>Venice</td>
<td></td>
<td>P. Bellasio (lost)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>F. de las Infantas</td>
<td>Plura modulationem genera</td>
<td>Venice</td>
<td></td>
<td>G. A. Dragoni</td>
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<td>G. de Macque</td>
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<td>1580</td>
<td>L. Marenzio</td>
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<td>G. B. Moscaglia</td>
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<td>1581</td>
<td>T. L. Victoria</td>
<td>Cantica beate virginis vulgo Magnificat ... 4, 5, 8vv</td>
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<td>Francisco Zanetti</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T. L. Victoria</td>
<td>Hymnus totius anni ... 4vv, una cum 4 psalmis ... 8vv</td>
<td>Rome</td>
<td>Francisco Zanetti</td>
<td>G. A. Dragoni</td>
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<td>G. da Palestrina</td>
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<td>Missarum liber quartus, 5vv</td>
<td>Venice</td>
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<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Composer</td>
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<td>Performer/Editor</td>
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<tr>
<td>1583</td>
<td>A. Stabile</td>
<td>Letania Beate Mariae Virginis, et Nominis Jesu [5], 8vv Missarum libri duo, 4-6vv Motecta, 4-6, 8, 12vv (7 new works)</td>
<td>Rome</td>
<td>Alessandro Gardano</td>
<td>Alessandro Gardano, Alessandro Gardano, G. de Macque (lost)</td>
</tr>
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<td>1584</td>
<td>G. da Palestrina</td>
<td>Motettorum liber quartus ex Canticis canticorum, 5vv Motectorum liber quintus, 5vv Motetti a 5, 6, 8vv liber primus (lost, see Gerber, Baini and Fétis)</td>
<td>Venice</td>
<td>Angelo Gardano</td>
<td>Angelo Gardano, L. Marenzio (4x)</td>
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<td>1585</td>
<td>L. Marenzio</td>
<td>Motecta festorum totius anni ... 4vv ... liber primus Sacrarum modulationum ... liber secundus, 5, 6, 8vv Motecta festorum totius anni, 4-6, 8vv Officium Hebdomadae Sanctæ, 3-8vv</td>
<td>Rome</td>
<td>Alessandro Gardano</td>
<td>Alessandro Gardano, Angelo Gardano, G. da Palestrina, G. de Macque (3x), N. Pervue, A. Stabile, P. Quagliati</td>
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<td>Venice</td>
<td>Angelo Gardano</td>
<td>R. Giovannelli, G.M.Nanino, G. da Palestrina, A. Stabile, F. Anerio, J. Peetrinus</td>
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<td>A. Marino</td>
<td>Psalmi vesperarum ... liber secundus, 4vv</td>
<td>Venice</td>
<td>Girolamo Scotto</td>
<td>F. Anerio, L. Marenzio (3x), G. da Palestrina, G. de Macque (3x)</td>
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<td>1588</td>
<td>G. da Palestrina</td>
<td>Lamentationum Hieremiae prophetæ liber primus Sacrarum cantionum ... liber primus, 6vv</td>
<td>Rome</td>
<td>Alessandro Gardano</td>
<td>Ricciardo Amadino, L. Marenzio, G. da Palestrina, G. de Macque, R. Naldi, J. Peetrinus</td>
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<td>1589</td>
<td>A. Stabile</td>
<td>Sacrarum modulationum ... liber tertius, 5, 6, 8vv Hymni totius anni, 4vv</td>
<td>Venice</td>
<td>Angelo Gardano</td>
<td>Coattino &amp; Gardano, R. Giovannelli, G. da Palestrina, R. Naldi, J. Peetrinus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Composer(s)</td>
<td>Works</td>
<td>Editions</td>
<td>Publishers</td>
<td></td>
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</table>
| 1590 | A. Stabile  | Hymnus, quatuor vocum, de gloria paradisi Missarum liber quintus, 4–6vv | Dillingen Rome | Johann Mayer Francesco Coatti
|      | G. da Palestrina | | | F. Anerio P. Bellasio M. Cancineo & G. B. Locatello |
| 1591 | G. da Palestrina J. Peetrinus P. Paciotti | Magnificat octo tonsur liber primus Liber primus motectorum, 5vv Missarum liber primus, 4, 5vv | Rome & Venice Rome | Gardano & Gardano Alessandro Gardano
|      |              |          |            | P. Bellasio L. Marenzio B. Roy G. Boschetti |
| 1592 | A. Stabile T. L. Victoria | Letanie, 4vv (lost) Missa, una cum antiphonis... liber secundus, 4–6, 8vv | Venice Rome | ?Alessandro Vincenti Francesco Coatti
|      |              |            |            | F. Soriano P. Bellasio |
| 1593 | R. Giovannelli S. Raval G. da Palestrina G. da Palestrina G. da Palestrina | Sacrarum modulationum... liber primus, 5, 8vv Motectorum liber primus, 5vv Litanie die pars die virginis... liber primus, 4vv (lost) Offertoria totius anni, 5vv | Rome Rome Rome Rome & Venice | Francesco Coatti Coatti & Gardano
|      |              |          |            | R. Giovannelli S. Raval (2x) G.M. Nanino G. Boschetti |
| 1594 | G. da Palestrina G. da Palestrina S. Raval G. da Palestrina G. da Palestrina | Missae quinque, liber sextus, 4, 5vv Missae quinque, liber septimus, 4, 5vv Lamentations Hieremiae prophetae, 5vv Modulationum sacramun, ... 8vv | Rome Rome Rome Rome & Venice | Francesco Coatti Francesco Coatti Francesco Coatti
|      |              |          |            | G. A. Dragoni L. Marenzio G. da Palestrina |
| 1595 | L. Marenzio G. da Palestrina | Completorium et antiphona, 6vv (lost) Motettorum liber quintus, 5vv | Venice Venice | P. Bellasio L. Marenzio (2x) S. Raval |
| 1596 | F. Anerio A. Marino J. Matelart | Sacri hymni, et cantica... liber primus, 8vv Completorium ad usum romanum 12vv Responsoria, antiphona, et hymni ... 4–5vv | Venice Venice Rome | Giacomo Vincenzi Ricciardo Amadino Nicolò Mutti
|      |              |          |            | A. Marino |
| 1597 | A. Pacelli F. Soriano | Motectorum et psalmorum, liber primus, 8vv Motectorum, 8vv | Rome Rome | Nicolò Mutti Nicolò Mutti
|      |              |            |            | A. Marino |
| 1598 |              |            |            | F. Anerio L. Marenzio |
| 1599 | A. Pacelli G. da Palestrina G. da Palestrina | Chorici psalmi et motecta, liber primus, 4vv Missarum liber octavus, 4–6vv Missarum liber nonus, 4–6vv | Rome Venice Venice | Nicolò Mutti Girolamo Scotto Girolamo Scotto
<p>|      |              |            |            | G.B. Nanino R. Giovannelli L. Marenzio |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Work Description</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Printer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1600</td>
<td>G. A. Dragoni</td>
<td>Motectorum 4, 5vv, liber primus</td>
<td>Rome</td>
<td>Nicolet Mutii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A. Pacelli?</td>
<td>Missarum liber decimus, 4–6vv</td>
<td>Venice</td>
<td>Girolamo Scotto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>G. da Palestrina</td>
<td>Missarum liber undecimus, 4–6vv</td>
<td>Venice</td>
<td>Girolamo Scotto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>G. da Palestrina</td>
<td>Motectorum duobuschoris...liber primus</td>
<td>Venice</td>
<td>Angelo Gardano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R. Naldi</td>
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*Chronological Survey*
1580s, but no other composers issued works in this genre until 1592 when Gio. Luca Conforti published an anthology containing works for eight voices by F. Anerio, R. Giovannelli, L. Marenzio, G. M. Nanino, Palestrina, and P. Quagliati (RISM 1592). This was followed by Ruggiero Giovannelli in 1593, Gerolamo Boschetti in 1594, and Felice Anerio in 1596.

Stabile assumed duties as maestro at S. Maria Maggiore in 1591. While there, he published his last collection of music, the Letanie a 4 in 1592. The only anthology published during this period containing sacred compositions by Roman composers (laude and canzonette spirituali excepted), was that assembled by Conforti (RISM 1592), and no works by Stabile are included. Only seven works appeared in secular anthologies, one of which had been published previously in 1585.

Following Stabile’s death in 1595, both his sacred and secular works continued to be published in anthologies until 1621.

While much has been assembled with regard to Stabile’s biography, there are still a number of gaps, and undoubtedly some of these will be filled by later researchers. To summarize, the following significant events regarding Stabile’s career have been established:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event/Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>c.1545</td>
<td>Born possibly in the Kingdom of Naples</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before Oct 1575</td>
<td>Activities unknown but possibly in Rome and involved with the artistic community at the Villa d’Este</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Oct 1575 – 6 Jan 1578</td>
<td>Maestro at S. Giovanni in Laterano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 1578 – 1590 probably 6 Feb 1590</td>
<td>Maestro at the Collegio Germanico</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 July 1580</td>
<td>Granted a benefice from the Church of S. Lorenzo di Coll’Alto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 July 1582</td>
<td>Ordained deacon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 July 1582</td>
<td>Ordained priest</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

143 Conforti was a contralto in the Cappella Sistina. He also published a volume of vocal ornamentations. See Imogene Horsley, ‘Conforti, Giovanni Luca’, NG, iv, p. 657.

144 La bella bianca mano was first published in G.B. Moscaglia il libro secondo (1585) and was republished in Nuova spoglia amorosa in 1593.
1584

February 1590 – January 1591

18 or 19 February 1591 – December 1594

29 March 1592

April 1595

Member of the Compagnia dei musici di Roma

Probably in Poland as maestro at the chapel of Zygmunt III

Maestro at S. Maria Maggiore

Granted benefice from S. Maria Maggiore

Died in Rome.

* * *
CHOIRS AND PERFORMANCE PRACTICE

• SAN GIOVANNI IN LATERANO 1575–1578 •

• THE CHOIR

Stabile’s first known appointment at S. Giovanni in Laterano gave him a monthly salary of 6 scudi. This amount had remained unchanged since Palestrina was maestro some 30 years previously. The size of the permanent choir at S. Giovanni had also remained fairly constant. From the time of Palestrina the choir had consisted of six adult singers and usually two (but sometimes three or four) boy sopranos. When Stabile took office in October 1575, this was indeed the size of the choir although for part of his time the number of permanent adult singers was reduced to five. Other than the two boys, named as Belardino and Pietro, whose monthly expenses of 3 scudi each were added to that of the maestro di cappella, payments were made in the following order for the month of October to the following singers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Payment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jo basso et chorista</td>
<td>scudi 5 baiocchi 70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Julio tenore et chorista</td>
<td>scudi 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Franco Mellone tenore</td>
<td>scudi 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cesare di gallicani contralto</td>
<td>scudi 8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 See Garden, ‘François Roussel’, p. 118. The units of Roman currency at this time were the scudo and the baiocco. There were 100 baiocchi to the scudo. Sometimes the term giuli is used. There were 10 giuli to the scudo.

2 Garden, ‘François Roussel’, p. 119.

3 Rsg Ms: Introitus et Exitus Fabrica et Cappella 1574 et 1575, P xxiii, f. 80v.
Apart from the bass, Giovanni, who was paid an extra 70 baiocchi for attending to Pietro the boy soprano for seven days prior to Stabile’s arrival, and Cesare, who received a combined payment for two months (September and October), their payments were clearly ranked, with the bass and tenors receiving 5 scudi per month and the contraltos 4 scudi. The boy sopranos as already mentioned received 3 scudi. This ranking is confirmed in subsequent payments. Since Augustino Gomez is listed separately from the boys and receives the same payment as the two tenors and the bass, he was probably a falsetto or castrato. After Gomez left the choir in mid-November the number of adult singers was reduced to five and these with the boy sopranos formed the permanent choir through to the end of 1576.

A choirlist for the following year, 1576 (no month given), occurs in one of the account books:

The Cantori of the Chapel of San Giovanni in Laterano

Ms Annibale Stabile Maestro di Cappella has for his provision for the month six scudi, and for the needs of the two boy sopranos another six scudi which in total is 12 scudi.

Ms Giovanni Basso Corista five scudi [for] the month

Ms Giulio Tenore and Corista

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4 Rsg: Introitus 1574 et 1575, f.80v: ‘Pagarete a Jo basso et chorista di nostra cappella per il suo salario servito del mese di ottobre 75 s[cudi] 5. et per haver fatto le spese giorni 7 a pietro sopno di n[ost]ra cappella . . . dalle 4 di ottobre per [?] fino alli x ditto dei 75 Su[m]ma In tutto — s[cudi] 5 b[aiocchi]70’. In transcription, superscript contractions remain unaltered since their meaning is clear, but abbreviations or contractions using the dash have been filled in using square brackets. All abbreviations of ‘con’, ‘per’, and ‘non’ have been written out in full without further comment.

5 Castrati were employed in the Sistine Chapel from 1565 (Thomas Walker, ‘Castrato’, NG, iii, p. 875).


7 Rsg Ms: Liber Cappella 1577, Pxxiv, p. 192. Although entitled 1577, this book includes accounts for 1576. See Appendix A, Document 2 for a copy of the original.
Ms Francesco Melone Tenore  
Ms Matteo Venturini contralto  
Ms Cesare da Gallicani contralto

<p>| | |</p>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>scudi 5</td>
<td>scudi 4</td>
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<td>scudi 4</td>
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35

The bass Giovanni and the tenor Giulio are both listed as ‘corista’ (also sometimes spelt ‘chorista’). This role is not clarified, but may possibly be a cantor, or someone who prepares the books of music for the various ceremonies.

The boy sopranos, Belardino and Pietro, continue to be named in the accounts from October 1575 to January 1576. In February 1576 two boys are mentioned but names are not given. For March the number of boys is not specified but Stabile’s pay of an extra 6 scudi for ‘alli putti della cappella’ indicates two boys. However, in March Stabile also receives 20 baiocchi for a pair of shoes for a Lorenzo soprano. Lorenzo seems to have been in the choir for a short period only. The accounts note that he served 26 days in April, but 31 days in total. Thus the remaining five days of the 31 were probably in the previous month of March when he was supplied with the pair of shoes. There is no mention of him after April. In April 1576 another two boys ‘pietro and gio. pietro’ are also named, so there appear to have been three boys for this period.

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8 Rsg: Liber Cappella 1577, p. 8: ‘Io Annibal Stabile ho riceputo dal R ms Curtio d’Alexijs per il mio servito del mese di marzo scudi 6. Et piu per haver fatto le spese alli putti della capp: scudi 6.’


10 Rsg: Liber Cappella 1577, p. 9: (April 1576) ‘Et piu Io An[n]ibal Stabile ho riceputo dal R ms Curtio D’Alexij Juli 26 quali sono per 26 giorni del mese di Aprile per haver fatto le spese a lore[n]zo soprano . . .’


12 Rsg: Liber Cappella 1577, p. 9: ‘Io An[n]ibal Stabile ho riceputo per lavatura de pan[n]i per il mese di Aprile et per haver co[m]prato le scarpe a pietro et a gio: pietro soprani della Cappella — s[cudi] 0 b[aiocchi] 90.’
Giovanni Pietro remained as a boy soprano probably until at least September of 1576, and Pietro until October 1576 when he received payment for shoes. After October no more boy sopranos are named although there were still two in November 1576. There were no accounts for the period December 1576 to September 1577 in the books available to me. For the remainder of 1577 (October to December) Stabile continued to receive an extra 6 scudi for two boy sopranos ("per li doi putti"). He concluded his tenure at S. Giovanni in Laterano on 6th January 1578.

Extra singers were sometimes hired. An 'Aunö basso' received 2 scudi in the months of September, October and November of 1575 for helping to sing Mass each morning and Vespers.

• SPECIAL FEASTS AND PROCESSIONS

Important events requiring extra musicians at S. Giovanni included the Processions of S. Marco and S. Jubileo, the celebration of the Dedication of the Church, and the feast of S. Giovanni (June 24). On some of these occasions the accounts also mention that the singers were paid for decorating [ornamento] the chapel. Whether this refers to a musical decoration or to something more tangible is not clear.

In April 1576 four cantori 'from outside' were hired for the Procession of S. Marco. The Procession of S. Jubileo also called for extra singers. In December 1575 the soprano Augustino Gomez returned to the choir for this event, and Stabile also

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13 Rsg: Liber Cappella 1577, p. 11: 'Io An[n]ibale Stabile ho riceputo per il mese de settembre scudi sei quali sono per il mio servito, et piú per haver spesato pietro soprano della cappella scudi tre di moneta, et piú per haver spesato gio: pietro sop. della cappella giorni vinti — s[cudi] ii.'
14 Rsg: Liber Cappella 1577, p. 12.
15 Rsg: Liber Cappella 1577, p. 13: 'Et piú [Annibale Stabile] ho riceputo dal R ms Curtio d'Alexij scudi dodici di moneta quali sono per il mio servito et delli due sopran della cappella per il mese di novembre 1576 — s[cudi] 12'.
16 Rsg Ms: Fabrica et Capella 1578, Pxxv, f. 9.
17 Rsg: Introitus 1574 et 1575, f. 82v.
18 Rsg: Liber Cappella 1577, p. 8: (April 1576) 'Et piú [Annibale Stabile] ho riceputo per pagar li ca[n]lori per la processione di S. Marco cioe quattro cantori forestieri — s[cudi] 2'. Greer Garden also noted that extra singers were hired for the procession of S. Marco during the time of Roussel. See Garden, 'François Roussel', p. 119.
19 Rsg: Introitus 1574 et 1575, f. 82.
collected payment for '3 cantori' for this same procession. As well, both Augustino Gomez and the three cantori were paid for helping to decorate the chapel. In 1576 'federico' and another were hired for the Procession of S. Jubileo. Federico was paid twice as much as his associate, so was either a better musician who could command a higher rate of pay, or else he was required to do more.

Singers in the employ of the Pope also helped on some occasions. Included among Stabile's expenses in January 1576 was an account for having spent 12 giuli on a meal for the cantori of the Pope. This may have been for a visit at Christmas. The cantori of the Pope also assisted with the singing at the celebration of the Dedication of the Church in November 1577. Again Stabile collected payment for providing them with a meal. Evidently this was one of his tasks as maestro di cappella.

On two other occasions Stabile was paid for providing a meal for some singers but in these cases it is not clear whether the recipients were the regular choir or extras. One such occasion was in November 1576 on the day of the celebration of the Dedication of the Church, and the other, on the feast of S. Giovanni in June.

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20 Rsg: Introitus 1574 et 1575, f. 81v.
21 Rsg: Liber Cappella 1577, p. 12: (October 1576) 'Et piu [Annibale Stabile] ho riceputo dal detto per ms federico giuli dieci quali [?] li dan[n]o per haver servito alla processione del giubileo: et piu per ms [?] giuli cinque per haver servito alla medema processione et sono in tutto — s[cudo] 1. b[aiocchi] 50'. Federico and the other whose name I cannot decipher, are not referred to specifically as singers, but since their payments were collected by Stabile, I have made this assumption.
22 Rsg: Liber Cappella 1577, p. 7: (January 1575) 'Et piu [Io Annibale Stabile] ho speso in collatione per li ca[n]tori di sua sa[n]ita giuli dodici quali ho riceputo dal detto ms Curtio d'Alexij et mi sono fatti boni — s[cudo] 1 b[aiocchi] 20'. A collation ('collazione') is the light meal allowed on days of fasting in addition to one full meal (see The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, p. 313). For reference to the singers of the Pope assisting at the Roman Seminary and at the Gesù, see Graham Dixon, 'Musical Activity in the Church of the Gesù in Rome During the Early Baroque', Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu, xlix (1980), p. 327.
24 Bartolomeo Roy a former maestro di cappella also received payment for this purpose. See Rsg Ms: Liber Introitus et Exitus Fabrice et Cappelle de anno 1572, Pxx, f. 80.
25 Rsg: Liber Cappella, 1577, p. 12: 'Io Anibal Stabile ho ricevuto per com[m]issione del R ms Gio: batt[ist]a Rubino m[aest]ro de Capp[el]la scudo uno per dar collatione alli ca[n]tori della capp[el]la nel Footnote cont. overleaf...
• OTHER ASPECTS

There are very few references in the accounts to the purchase of new books, which
would have provided information on the musical repertoire. One occurs in December
1575 when there is a payment for two ‘libri di motetti de Jov[?] di pellestrina
sta[m]pati’.27 Another occurs in June 1576 when a book of masses by Victoria was
added to the choir’s library.28 However, in a list of the books of music that were still
in the library of S. Giovanni during the time of Cristoforo Guizzardi, maestro from
1620 to 1622, this is not included: the only item by Victoria is a book containing a
Mass for the Dead.29 And in October 1575 the month when Stabile took office, Gio.
Battista Rubino was paid 1.30 scudi to enable the completion of a book of hymns and
for the binding of the same.30 This in all likelihood was Codex 61.

The writing or supervision of this manuscript was attributed to Stabile by Glen
Haydon due to the date and to the initials AS on the title page, and to the fact that he
believed Rubino had left S. Giovanni in 1550.31 He concluded that it was a copy of an

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giorno della dedicazione della chiesa — s[cudo] 1.’ For this apparent duplication of maestri di cappella
see discussion below.

Curtio d’alexij giuli venti cinque quali fumo spesi per il pranzo delli Ca[n]tori nel di de S. gio: s[cudi]
2 b[aio]cchi 50.

27 Rsg: Introitus 1574 et 1575, f. 82v.

furno dati per il libro di messe che fu donato al capitolo dal Vittoria et questo per com[m]issione del
Capitolo — s[cudi] 5.’

29 This list occurs on the verso of the last folio of Codex 58. It is entitled ‘Lista de libri de Musica che
sono in S. Gio: Laterano nel tempo che Christoforo Guizzardi era mastro di Cappella.’ See Casimiri, Il

30 Rsg: Introitus 1574 et 1575, f. 80: ‘Pagarete...Jo. bap[a]rubino Cano[n]o di cappella...et per
haver co[m]prato carta rigata et per venice per finire di scrivere il libro delli hymni della n[ost]ra
cappella et per ligatura di esso libro pagato s[cudo] 1 b[aiciochi] 30’.

31 While Haydon notes that there is some confusion over the dates for Rubino’s time as maestro di
cappella at S. Giovanni, he states that most writers agree on 1548 to 1550. This date of departure is
incorrect (see discussion p. 50). Haydon also thought that the other likely contender for authorship of
the codex could have been Stabile’s predecessor Francesco Adriani who was maestro until August
1575, but concluded that this seemed doubtful due to the fact that two of the five items by Stabile
Footnote cont. overleaf...
earlier manuscript by Rubino (otherwise known as Rubino Malapert) which is now missing. The title page reads:

Sacrosanctae Lateranensis Ecclesiae
Joannes Baptista Rubinus
Canonicus et Magister
Capellae restituit
et auxit
Anno Jubilaei, MDLXXV
AS.

However, it is clear from the account books that Rubino was still receiving payments in December 1575. Rubino also commissioned a meal for the cantori as late as November 1576 where he is described in the account book as maestro di cappella.32 This seeming overlap of positions with that of Stabile who was maestro from October 1575 was not new at S. Giovanni. In earlier account books in the ‘Introitus et Exitus’ series, the monthly summary of accounts is often headed by two different ‘maestri di cappella’. For example in December 1571 when Bartolomeo Roy was maestro, he was listed as ‘Bartolomeo Roy n[ost]ro mastro di Cappella’. But, immediately above also for December 1571, Attilio Cecio is listed as ‘Canonico et mastro di Cappella de cantori di Santo Lat[era]no’33. This same format is continued when Stabile was maestro. Rubino is recorded at the top of the list of payments as ‘Jo. bapa rubino Canoco et m0 di cappella de ca[n]tori di Sa[n]to Lat[era]no’ and directly underneath is ‘Anibal Stabile n[ost]ro m0 di cappella’. This occurs for the months of October, November and December 1575.34 There is, however, a clear distinction to be drawn in the titles. One person is a cleric since he is always referred to as Canon as well as maestro di cappella, and the other is just maestro di cappella. It is possible that there was a maestro and a vice-maestro such as there was at St. Marks in Venice from 1607, although this seems rather much for a

begin on folios 57v and 78v, whereas the single hymn by Adriani does not occur until 123v (Glen Haydon, ‘The Lateran Codex 61’, p. 127).

32 See p. 48, n. 25.
33 Rsg Ms: Liber Introitus et Exitus Fabrice et Cappelle de anno 1572, P xx, f. 80.
34 See monthly accounts beginning ff. 80, 81, and 81v in Rsg: Introitus 1574 et 1575.
choir of five to six adults and two to four boys, and there is no suggestion in the accounts of two choirs. However, at the Sistine chapel the job of maestro had always gone to a prelate (usually a bishop) until 1586 when Sixtus V decided that this position was best given to a professional musician. This person usually knew enough about music to be able to run things reasonably satisfactorily. Perhaps there was something similar at S. Giovanni but with a professional musician to look after the day-to-day activities of the choir and the cleric in more of an administrative role. Since Rubino was still in residence, it is therefore quite possible that he did indeed copy, or supervise the copying of Codex 61. The reason for Stabile’s initials is not clear.

Codex 61 contains compositions by Stabile as well as a cycle of hymns by Costanzo Festa, and a number of hymn settings by other composers, most of whom were at some stage maestri at S. Giovanni in Laterano. This gives some idea of the repertoire of the choir. The usual procedure for hymns is observed with alternate verses receiving a polyphonic treatment. At S. Giovanni there is no preference for either odd or even verses and in different hymns either can be set polyphonically.

Another codex which may have been copied for the choir at this time is Codex 58. In his book on Palestrina’s holograph, Codex 59, Casimiri suggests that Codex 58 was copied between December 1576 and March 1577 under the supervision of Stabile, but gives no reference for this supposition. Codex 58 contains two Passions and a series of Lamentations by Stabile, interspersed with Lamentations by Morales, Palestrina, and Festa. The complete set of Lamentations makes up the lessons of the 1st Nocturn at Matins for the Thursday, Friday and Saturday of Holy Week. The cycle of nine begins with a setting of the first Lamentation by Morales and concludes with a setting of the eight and ninth by Palestrina and Festa, plus a second setting of the ninth Lamentation by Palestrina. The fact that Stabile has arranged his own Lamentations and Passions around and within these, suggests that the items by

36See Haydon, 'The Lateran Codex 61', for contents. Other composers represented are: C. Festa, A. Zoilo, B. Roy, Lupachini, Matelart, Rubino (Malapert), Carpentras, F. Adriani, Palestrina, Dragoni, Montanari and J. Benincasi. Those who were maestri at S. Giovanni were Zoilo, Roy, Lupachini, Malapert, Adriani, Palestrina, Dragoni, and Benincasi. Both Dragoni, and Benincasi held this position after Stabile.
37Casimiri, Il 'Codice 59', p. 13. For contents of Codex 58, see 'The Primary Sources', p. 354.
Palestrina, Morales, and Festa were inserted as a tribute. Stabile certainly held Palestrina in high regard since he describes him as his teacher, and he must also have admired the music of Morales and Festa. The two Passions, both by Stabile, are assigned in the manuscript to Palm Sunday and Good Friday.

• COLLEGIO GERMANICO 1578–1590 •

For the move to the German College Stabile took a drop in salary. One of the few references to the maestro di cappella in the extant accounts for this period occurs in a summary of the year's expenses for 1587. Here he is recorded as receiving 48 scudi for the year.38 In another list of expenses for the year 1588, entitled ‘Spese di S. Apollinare 1588’, this is broken down into 4 scudi per month.39 Perhaps the greater amount of musical activity at the German College provided the incentive for this move.

Extant diaries and other documents in the archive of the German College covering some of Stabile's years provide a large amount of information on performance practice in this institution, and much work has been done on these by Thomas Culley.40 This section concentrates instead on other aspects, with reference to new primary source material. However, to provide some background, a brief resume of Stabile's duties at the German College and a comment on the use of instruments within the Liturgy follows.

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38 Rcg Ms: Romae: I. Bilanci antichi . . . 86. 87. folios unnumbered.
39 Rcg: Romae: I. Bilanci antichi . . . 86. 87: 'Al M° di Capella s[cudi] 4: il mese — s[cudi] 48:-'. A monthly salary of 4 scudi was also paid to the maestro di cappella at another Jesuit institution in Rome, the English College (see the appendix of documents in Culley, 'Musical Activity').
40 Culley, Jesuits; 'Musical Activity'; and 'The Influence of the German College'. Rather than requote all the documentary evidence found by Culley, the reader is referred to his books, except where a direct quotation of a particular document is applicable to the following discussion, in which case a reference to Culley's transcriptions of the source is included.
One of the documents held in the archives of the College, written about 1585 to 1590, contains the 'Rules for the Maestro di Cappella'. From this it is possible to establish Stabile's duties. He was responsible for the music at the services of the three churches of the College and of the House, and for the music required at Disputations, Congregations, and processions. He also taught counterpoint and composition, and how ‘to intone the psalms beautifully’ and ‘to get the tone from the organ’. From time to time he was required to go around the rooms when the students were practising Gregorian chant to examine their progress: ‘On these same days, at the time of the recreation, or after dinner, or following afternoon tea, the Father Rector together with the maestro di cappella examined the rooms . . . ’

Music was required all year round at night services as well as day and rehearsals were held prior to all special feasts and before every Sunday of the year, so that the chants and polyphony could be rehearsed. There were also many extra-liturgical occasions when music was required. As well as the Disputations, Congregations, and processions mentioned above, there were also thanksgivings, Saturdays, vigils of the various saints and of the Madonna and even just after a meal: ‘La sera doppo la colazione si canto il motetto . . . ’

In his discussion on the use of instruments within the liturgy other than the organ, Culley questions whether the Rector of the College Michele Lauretano approved of

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41 Rcg Ms: ‘Regole per il Mastro di Cappella’ in Bullae Regulae, Consuetudines Collegii Germanici Hungarici, pp. 175–76. For a complete transcription of these rules, see Culley, Jesuits, Doc. 49 with translation pp. 34–36.

42 S. Apollinare was the church of the German College. It was situated next door to the College itself. The churches of S. Stefano and S. Maria in Celsano originally belonged to the Hungarian College but became part of the German College when the two colleges were united in 1578. See Culley, Jesuits, p. 28. For a description of a Congregation and Disputation, see below p. 58, n. 74 and p. 67.

43 Culley, Jesuits, Doc. 49. See n. 41 above.


46 Lauretano, Diario, p. 43, 20 December 1582.
this practice.\textsuperscript{47} Clearly he had not noticed the significance of Matthias Schrick's reference to 'soft' rather than 'loud' instruments. Schrick says of Lauretano that he discouraged 'the soft instruments of musicians' as they would 'disturb the gravity of the divine services'.\textsuperscript{48} On the other hand, Culley also notes that Wilhelm Fusban says that Lauretano decided that instrumental music, and measured music, the use of which had been accepted in the church, were to be employed. This, Fusban continues, was so that 'worldly men, or not too devout ecclesiastics, might, after some time, be kept [coming to church] with that frequency with which they had begun.'\textsuperscript{49} The 'soft instruments' ('mollia Musicorum instrumenta'), undoubtedly referred to amorous instruments such as lutes and flutes rather than to 'loud' instruments such as cornetts and trombones which would have added grandeur to ceremonial occasions since it is clear from the following that Stabile did employ 'loud' instruments during services in the years prior to Lauretano's death in 1587. In 1585 on the feast of Epiphany: 'It was a solemn Mass . . . with beautiful music and cornetts . . . Vespers was very solemn with musicians, organs and cornetts. There was one bass from outside'.\textsuperscript{50}

Although Lauretano formed the general rules as to what style of music should be performed at the various services, that is, whether it should be chant, \textit{cantus firmus}, or figured singing (polyphony), and also outlined the type of musical training, it was Stabile who as \textit{maestro di cappella}, had the task of carrying out these decisions. That he did so with great success is evident from the following:

... besides whatever other fame [the college may have], the divine offices of the German College, because of the precise, grave and beautiful singing, earn outstanding praise in the entire city, and wherever news of the events in the fair city reaches.\textsuperscript{51}

\textsuperscript{47}Culley, \textit{Jesuits}, pp. 85–86. Lauretano was Rector of the German College from 1573 until his death in 1587. Between October 1582 and July 1583 he kept a diary and this provides many details on performance practice at the College. See p. 53, n. 44 above for full reference.


\textsuperscript{51}Culley, \textit{Jesuits}, Doc. 3, translation p. 77.
THE CHOIRS

Stabile trained at least four choirs, one of polyphony and three others. The three others were made up largely of students from the College and these shared the responsibilities for singing the chant and probably also the falsobordone.52 These three groups each numbered about 20 to 25 singers.53 The polyphonic group was made up of those who could sing well and to make it more desirable some priests and nobles were put in it and they had the occasional feast at the vineyard.54 These singers are probably the ‘cantori’ often mentioned in Lauretano’s diary. He certainly seems to make a distinction between ‘choristi’ and ‘cantori’, the former probably being those responsible for singing in chant. While the exact size of the polyphonic choir is never specified directly, some conclusions can be drawn from indirect references. The only record of choir members found by Culley during Stabile’s years dates from 1578, the year Stabile began.55 This lists twenty-one members, all students. Since no boy sopranos are included it is unlikely to have been the choir for polyphony and it probably refers instead to one of the other choirs. The first mention of boy sopranos is in 1583 when three were recorded as living at the College,56 and this seems to have been the average number until 1598.57 These boys were kept at the College especially so that they would be available to sing music other than Gregorian chant. If they were members of the polyphonic choir, which seems likely, then the choir was probably composed of about nine singers (SSSAATTBB). This is a typical number of singers for the period. As already noted, there were between two and four sopranos in the

52See Culley, Jesuits, p. 53. Separate groups for the singing of plainchant was not unusual, see Howard Mayer Brown, ‘Performing practice’, NG, xiv, p. 377.
53Lauretano, Diario, p. 41, 5 December 1582, cited by Culley, Jesuits, Doc. 61. See also p. 75 of this thesis where there is a reference to a choir of Gregorian chant which numbered about 25 singers.
54Rcg Ms: Consuetudini del Collegio Germanico et Hungarico racolte insieme dal Padre Michele Lauretano rettore dell’istesso collegio nel mese di Febbraro 1587, f. 25, cited by Culley, Jesuits, Doc. 48.
55Rcg Ms: Consuetudini e notizie circa la chiesa, cited by Culley, Jesuits, p. 54. The temporary archivist was unable to locate this document for me.
56Lauretano, Diario, p. 1, cited by Culley, Jesuits, Doc. 58.
57Rcr: Rom. 157, ff. 316–317, cited by Culley, Jesuits, Doc. 13. Wilhelm Fusban, a Jesuit who lived at the College from 1655 to 1662 records in a history of this institution, written during his years of residence there, that he found four boy sopranos listed in a census of the community during Stabile’s time. This record is no longer extant. See Culley, Jesuits, pp. 53 and Doc. 36.
choir of S. Giovanni in Laterano with five to six other permanent singers in the 1570s and 1580s and at S. Maria Maggiore the choir averaged four boys with six other permanent singers. Two to three sopranos is also the number in the Cappella Giulia until the late 16th century, and in the well-known engraving of a service in the Sistine Chapel made by Etienne Dupérac in 1578, three boys are pictured standing at the front of the choir immediately before the lectern. This choir as a whole numbers twelve singers. At the German College, a choir of around nine singers is suggested in a comment by Lauretano concerning the singers that went to S. Stefano with himself and the maestro di cappella on the feast of Ss. Primus and Feliciano on the 10 June 1583:

At Vespers the Father Rector with the maestro di cappella and the sopranos and two students per voice went to S. Stefano, but all were theologians, and they went at once after their lessons.60

Extra singers were also hired on occasion, undoubtedly for the polyphonic choir. These occasions included the feasts of the Purification, Apollinaris, Ss. Eustratio and Companions, and the Epiphany. Apart from ‘one Bass from outside’ for the feast of Epiphany in 1585,61 the numbers hired are not stated.62

**STYLES OF SINGING**

Various styles of singing were employed and one can assume that these were probably employed at other institutions as well. Among those mentioned are Gregorian chant (cantus Gregorianus), cantus firmus, falsobordone, counterpoint (contrapunctum), and polyphonic singing (cantus figuratus).

59Although numbers in the Sistine Choir totalled around twenty-four from the time of Sixtus, rising later to thirty-two, evidence suggests that they rarely performed together. It is more likely that they shared the singing of polyphony. See Richard Sherr, ‘Performance practice in the Papal Chapel during the 16th century’, Early Music, xv (1987), p. 458.
60Lauretano, Diario, p. 94, 10 June 1583: ‘Al vespero andò à S. Stefano il P. Rettore, col M.° di Cappella, et li soprani, et doi Alunni per voce, ma tutti errano theologi, et andorno subbito doppo le loro letzioni’.
61See above p. 54, n. 50.
CANTUS FIRMUS AND GREGORIAN CHANT

*Cantus firmus*, according to Matthias Schrick, was used for the Offices during the penitential seasons of Advent and Lent, except at high Mass and Vespers. At other seasons Gregorian chant was sung for the propers of the Mass and Office.⁶³

*Cantus firmus* was so called because ‘by the harmonious, uniform and steady voice, it produces something between singing and reading’.⁶⁴ Culley interprets this as a *recto tono* performance, or the recitation tones of plainsong.⁶⁵ This type of singing may have been peculiar to Rome as the English priest, Gregory Martin, says in his *Roma sancta* (1581):

> And that Verse which the Organs doth playe, one of the quyre in the meane time with a base voice very leasurely, rather sayth then singeth which there is common, in other places I have not scene it.⁶⁶

For Gregorian chant, Schrick says that Lauretano preferred it to be sung ‘seriously, slowly and tastefully’, since when this is done ‘it weakens the sense of the words very little, but rather impresses perfectly upon the ears and souls [of the listeners] the meaning of the underlying text’.⁶⁷

FALSOBORDONE

*Falsobordone* is usually thought to refer to four-part root-position harmonization on one chord, in a recitation style, followed by a cadence. However, in 1583, a description of a procession at the German College around the time of Corpus Christi mentions a choir singing *falsobordone* in three voices. This could be the technique sometimes described as *fauxbourdon*.⁶⁸ Whether this was the style of *falsobordone* sung at the College or whether they sang in various styles is uncertain. *Falsobordone*

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⁶³Culley, *Jesuits*, Doc. 3.
⁶⁴Culley, *Jesuits*, Doc. 3.
⁶⁵Culley, *Jesuits*, p. 78.
⁶⁷Culley, *Jesuits*, Doc. 3.
⁶⁸See pp. 71–79 for a description of this procession. *Fauxbourdon* usually refers to the procedure of harmonising a chant by supplying two voices a sixth and a fourth below to create a chain of parallel 6/3 chords. See also John Bettley, ‘North Italian *Falsobordone* and its Relevance to the early *Stile Recitativo*, *PRMA*, ciii (1976–1977), pp. 1–5.
(in either three or four voices) was employed for hymns, litanies, or for psalm verses sometimes in alternation with polyphony or Gregorian chant. On one occasion on 9 June 1583 it was sung while the priest carried out the censing, the cantori singing in falsobordone O salutaris hostia from the choir above and repeating the last verse until the priest had finished. Sometimes it was sung as a punishment! Perhaps on this occasion the previous performance, probably in polyphony had not been a success: ‘[The] Salve was [sung] before dinner, and they sang that Salve in falsobordone because the maestro di cappella considered it poorly done’.

COUNTERPOINT

Counterpoint (contrapunctum) is an improvised counterpoint or the adding of contrapuntal voices to a cantus firmus (usually plainchant). This is made clear by Matthias Schrick: ‘Gregorian chant should support at least the foundation, as happens in the singing which they commonly call counterpoint’. It is not certain to what extent it was practiced in liturgical situations at the College, but on 1 November 1584 the invitatory was sung in counterpoint (contrapunctu). More likely places of usage are at the Disputations or Congregations.

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69 For examples see Culley, Jesuits, Docs. 67, 75, 80, 85, and 97.
70 Lauretano, Diario, p. 93, 9 June 1583: ‘Quando comincia à ince[n]sare nel Choro di sopra li Cantori (che tutti hanno le cotte), cantano in falso bordone O salutaris hostia, que cæli pandis ostium Bella premunt hostilia, Da robur fer auxiliu[m], et repetendo q.10 ultimo versetto fin che il sacerdote ha finito et si leva.’ O salutaris hostia can be found in LU, p. 1854. The first part can also be found as the fifth verse of the Corpus Christi hymn for Lauds, Verbum supernum (LU, p. 941).
72 ‘... saltem basin Gregorianus cantus sustineret, ut fit in cantu, quem vulgo contrapunctum vocant.’ From Doc. 3, Culley, Jesuits.
73 Reg: Diarium Overbeck . . . et Tibaldi , f. 38, cited by Culley, Jesuits, Doc. 85.
74 Congregations (sometimes called sodalities) were religious societies at which conversations about spiritual matters, performance of spiritual dramas and much music occurred. These were actively encouraged by the Jesuits and in 1567 there were five such societies at the College. One description of a particular Congregation at the German College recounts that the Marian antiphon, the Salve Regina was sung every night, with excellent music with voices and instruments (see Culley, Jesuits, pp. 20 and 18). Congregations often met in Oratories and there was certainly an Oratory attached to the German

Footnote cont. overleaf...
For this style, the singers needed to be concerned only with the relation of each voice to the tenor (or voice carrying the plainchant), not the relationship of their line with all other voices. This is stated by Tinctoris in 1477, and again by Banchieri in 1614. Improvised counterpoint is distinctly different from improvised embellishment where a singer works from an already composed line. Singers in the 16th century were expected to be able to improvise counterpoint, although some would obviously have been more skilful at it than others. That there must have been inevitable and unexpected dissonances in this style, especially when more than two voices were involved, seems obvious, unless the counterpoint was well rehearsed beforehand. In this case, it is questionable whether it should be considered improvisatory or composed. If it was truly improvised, and there is no reason to suppose otherwise, the unexpected dissonant clashes must have been part of the excitement of this style when performed by skilled singers, and the avoidance of these clashes would have tested the skills of the performer to the utmost. In 1614, Adriano Banchieri commented:

What produces the wonderful effect (maraviglioso effetto), the particular charm, and the sweet sound (udito gustosissimo) of the contrappunti alla mente [improvised counterpoint] are the unexpected fifths and octaves, the sudden dissonant clashes (urtoni) among the voices, and other unusual liberties.

Perhaps this is what Schrick is referring to in the following comment about the reduction in the ‘natural discord of voices’ in (composed) figured singing:

Finally, figured singing has been so called, because, just as pictures, tapestries or other artistic things exhibit more dignity, effort and beauty, since they are subtle because of a variety of figures, so also, this type of singing — while, through various and numerous embellishments, [and] by a sound [that is] indeed agreeable and most pleasing to educated listeners, it reduces the natural discord of voices to concord — exhibits a more divine harmony.

On the other hand, he could also have been remarking on the fact that with improvised counterpoint it was almost inevitable that the words would be smothered,

College. Lauretano mentions it and one of the societies in his diary when describing a procession on 12 June 1583 (see below pp. 75 and 78). There were also visits to other Oratories, see p. 342, n. 34 of this thesis.

77 Culley, Jesuits, Doc. 3, translation p. 77.
whereas in composed music the syllables can all be carefully placed to allow maximum clarity. And in fact Gregory Martin makes just such a distinction in his *Roma sancta* of 1581:

The quyer standeth a loft at one side, with voices like so many belles tunable to one another. No organs because the quyer is so ful for al partes. No descant [improvised counterpoint] but such pricke song [written polyphony] as every syllable may be heard in thy eares like a Preachers voice.78

Although it is not exactly clear how much improvised counterpoint was practised at the College, Schrick indicates in his continued discussion on Lauretano’s view of figured singing that the over-use of improvised embellishment was not favoured, although this style was clearly practiced at the Congregations and Oratories.

In this type of singing, moreover, there are two things which he [Lauretano] studiously guarded against: one, that it should have some profane and flippant association (because of levity), or that the sense of the words and the smoothness of the singing should be weakened by the crude shouting, unskilled voices, or by complicated intricacies of too many rhythmic devices . . . . For although at certain sacred assemblies, the flatteries of such singing may be profitably used from time to time, to please the listeners, and to restore the waning devotion of men of the world, propriety [cannot], however, be maintained if [such abuses] be put in the ecclesiastical offices . . . . Wherefore [Lauretano] thought those things should be better relegated to oratories and festive assemblies of sodalists.79

**POLYPHONIC OR FIGURED SINGING**

Polyphony or figured singing has already been mentioned in connection with the previous styles. This was employed during the Offices and the Mass and its use has been well covered by Culley. One omission, however, was the performance of a motet at the elevation in 1582 on the feast of Ss. Simon and Jude, although he did note an occurrence of the same practice in 1592.80

Most of the few references to the type of polyphonic repertory sung by the choir have also been noted by Culley.81 The composers named are Lassus, Palestrina,

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Victoria, Morales, as well as Stabile himself. This indicates a standard repertory. The reference to a performance of one of Stabile’s own works occurs during the celebration of Mass for the inauguration of the scholastic year on 4 November 1584:

Before mass the cantori of our College sang various motets, and various psalms to give thanks, and at the Gospel they sang Veni Sancte Spiritus 8 vocum of our maestro di cappella Annibale Stabile. After mass they sang Te Deum laudamus very sweetly so as to cause many tears.\footnote{Sub missa Cantores nostri Collegii, varia cecinerunt motetta, varios psalmos pro gratiarum actione, et ad Evangelium cantarunt Veni Sancte Spiritus 8 vocum nostri magistri Capellae Hannibalis Stabilis. Post missam vero Te Deum laudamus ita suaviter ut multis lachrimas excusserit’. Reg: Diarium Overbeck . . . et Tibaldi , f. 38, cited by Casimiri, ‘Disciplina’, p. 162.}

There is also the rather tantalizing hint of possible concertato performance under Stabile. Schrick, in his discussion of Lauretano’s views on music, says:

It was, however, by no means contrary to this his instruction, if, now and then, either one voice alone, or several more supple voices, took, together with the organ, some particular verse, either from the psalms or the sacred hymns, or sang in between (in [its] entirety), some skillfully elaborated song (proper to the time), [which] they commonly call motets.\footnote{Culley, Jesuits, Doc. 3, translation p. 78.}

And on 16 January 1583:

... the melancholy motets and especially the Lamentations of Jeremiah . . . each hour, and more often, were sung to the organ with two or three soloists, giving great devotion to all.\footnote{Lauretano, Diario, p. 54, 16 January 1583: ‘. . . et li motetti malencolici, et per il piu delle lamente[n]ioni di Hyeremia, che à ogni hora, et piu spesso, si cantavano sopra l’organo con doi, ò 3. voci sole, davano gran divotione à tutti’. Also cited by Culley, Jesuits, Doc. 64.}

This could be construed as a use of the few-voiced concertato style. If so these were very early performances. Viadana’s Cento concerti was not published until 1602, although in the dedication of this publication he does say that some of his works dated from ‘five or six years ago’ when they had found favour with Roman musicians.\footnote{See Oliver Strunk, Source Readings in Music History from Classical Antiquity through the Romantic Era (New York, 1950), p. 419, for a translation of this dedication.} Even so this would still be after 1595. Whether Stabile himself composed any concertato works remains unknown.
Since Stabile composed four litany settings, a brief mention of their performance context would not be out of place here. Litanies were particularly associated with the season of Lent and Lauretano notes in his diary in 1583 that the *Litany of the Name of Jesus* was sung by two choirs at the altar of the cross in the evening after classes on Fridays in Lent, while the *Litany of the BVM* was sung on Saturdays by two choirs of polyphony and one of falsobordone. That this was a regular occurrence is confirmed by a further comment in 1587, when Lauretano again states that the *Litany of the Name of Jesus* was sung by two choirs of polyphony on the Fridays of Lent. This time, however, he notes that the *Litany of the BVM* was sung on the Saturdays of Lent by two choirs of falsobordone and one of Gregorian chant. Processions were another occasion for litanies: ‘The Mass was sung solemnly and before this one processed around the church, saying the litany . . .’

• POSITIONING OF THE CHOIRS

The various choirs were often spread around the church. On one occasion, involving a choir of Gregorian chant and one of falsobordone, one choir stood inside the gates of the altar rail and the other on the outside. On another occasion they stood on either side of an altar. The following diagram drawn up from a ground-plan shows the layout of S. Apollinare in the 16th century before it was completely demolished and rebuilt in 1742.

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88 O’Regan, ‘Sacred Polychoral Music’, i, p. 58. This last may be a reference to Stabile’s three-choir litany. See ‘The Middle Period’, p. 147.
89 See below p. 71, n. 122.
92 This diagram was drawn up by Noel O’Regan from a ground-plan of the original building preserved in the archives of the German College. See O’Regan, ‘Sacred Polychoral Music’, i, p. 54. The temporary archivist was unable to locate this plan during my research period in Rome.
Since no other information could be found apart from what is supplied in the diagram above, some suppositions must be made concerning the exact placement of the various choirs. It is not clear, for example, whether there were choir galleries on either side of the main altar, as was common in many Roman churches, as well as the one over the main door. Choir galleries towards the front of the church are implied when two choirs sing above the benches of the Canons.
Psalm 134 was sung with two choirs of polyphony [di musica] which stood above the benches of the Canons, and one [of] Gregorian [chant] . . . . to thank Our Lord for the Abbey of St. Peter at Lodi, given to the college around this time.93

On the other hand ‘above the benches of the Canons’ (‘sopra li bianchi de Canonici’) could just mean past, that is, closer to the high altar. For another event two choirs faced one another in the benches of the Canons themselves (‘tra le sedie’) while singing the motet Deus misereatur nostri by Lassus.94 This is clearly not from a gallery. And the same arrangement is suggested on Easter Monday when the cantori, after taking their cottas from the benches of the Canons, sang Deus misereatur nostri for two choirs while the Father Rector opened the Tabernacle.95 And again on the 18 May 1583 for the Vigil of the Ascension, the cantori remained in the benches of the Canons for the exhortation, although on this occasion they moved to the front of the high altar to sing the motet Viri Galilei.96

Another arrangement was for one choir to stand in the choir gallery at the back of the church and for the other to sing from the Choir.97 This is implied at Compline on 12 April 1583 when the cantori remained in the choir above, while the priests and choristi stood in church with the choristi remaining in the place of the beneficiati. The Nunc dimittis was then sung solemnly in two choirs, ‘one of which remained at the

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93 Lauretano, Diario, p. 40, cited by Culley, Jesuits, Doc. 60, translation p. 83. For another occasion where three choirs are mentioned there were also two choirs of polyphony but this time one of falsobordone. Placement of the choirs is not mentioned. See Culley, Jesuits, Doc. 67.
94 Lauretano, Diario, p. 55. See below p. 69, n. 114.
97 Where it is clear that the word ‘Choir’ is being used to mean the part of the church containing the seats of the clergy, I have spelt it with a capital to distinguish it from a choir gallery. When used to mean a choir of singers the context is self-explanatory. The Choir where the seats of the clergy are placed was at first situated in a semicircle behind the main altar. Later it was a railed-off space within the nave at its eastern end. See The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, p. 276.
organ, and the other in the Choir'. At another Compline service the psalm *Ecce nunc benedicite Dominum* and the *Nunc dimittis* were sung in two choirs, 'one choir standing at the organ, and the other in the accustomed place'.

While it is clear double-choir motets were sung, and indeed this is also apparent from the number of double-choir motets composed by Stabile during these years, there is no evidence that double-choir motets were performed responsorially with a solo group and a larger group such as one finds in Venice for example.

A less usual circular performance occurred in S. Stefano, one of the churches in the care of the College. This was doubtless influenced by the circular nature of the building which has three concentric colonnades with the main altar in the centre.

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Here, after Vespers on the Second Sunday in Lent in March 1583, those involved processed to the altar of the Cross where they formed a large circle to sing the *Litanie del Signore* for two choirs following which the eight-voice motet of S. Stefano was sung inside the circle of the central altar. A similar routine was followed on another trip to S. Stefano this time after Compline for the Station Day of this church. All again went in procession to the altar of the Cross where they made a large and orderly circle before saying the Litany of Jesus. After this they moved to the central altar and stood in a circle to sing the motet *Stephanus autem*. They then returned to the choir and sat in their places for a little while before singing the psalm *Deus misereatur nostri*. On both occasions, the items sung, the motet of S. Stefano (which is probably the same as the *Stephanus autem* mentioned on the second occasion), and the *Deus misereatur*, may well have been Stabile’s settings.

Sometimes the choirs would go to two different places altogether. On 17 April 1583, those who remained at the College were not required to sing Mass or Vespers at S. Apollinare, so instead, one group went to sing Mass at S. Stefano with a deacon, subdeacon, and the choir of polyphony, and the others sang Mass at S. Saba but in Gregorian chant. On one visit to S. Stefano, Lauretano notes some of the various trappings which had to be taken. ‘... and they take themselves to S. Stefano, together

101 Lauretano, *Diario*, p. 63: ‘A di 6 [Marzo 1583] fu la 2.ª Dom. ca di Quaresima ... Finito Vesperandorno tutti in processione al’ altar della Croce, et qui vi fatto un gran Circolo, cantorno le Litanie del Signore à doi Chori ... Doppo le Litanie, si cantò il Motteto di S. Stefano à 8. voci, dentro al circolo del altar di Mezzo, ut in die S. Stefano.’

102 The Station Day for S. Stefano was 1 April.

103 Lauretano, *Diario*, p. 69 (cited incorrectly as p. 68 by O'Regan, 'Sacred Polychoral Music', i, p. 95), 1 April 1583: ‘Doppo la Completa ... van[n]o tutti in processione à dir le Letanie del Signore al’Altar della Croce. Ma bisogna avvisarli, che faccino un Circolo grande et ordinato. Finite le Letanie, van[n]o al’Altar di Mezzo, et cantano il Motetto Stephanus autem, standing tutti dentro al Circolo, poi tornano in Choro, et sedono alli suoi luoghi per un poco di tempo ... et si canta il salmo Deus Misereatur nostri.’

104 Lauretano, *Diario*, p. 84: ‘Nel istesso giorno quelli che restorno in Collegio, non cantorno Messa, ne Vespero in S. Apollinare perché qu[ue]ndo s’officia in un loco, non [solo] obligati officiare nel altra, ma per trattenere[n]to, una parte andò à S. Stefano, et qui si cantorno una Messa con Diacono, et Subdiacono, et con Musica raccolta da q[ue]le Camere che fumo li, et l’altra parte Cantò la Messa in S. Sabba, ma in Gregoriano.'
with the books of singing, candlesticks, small rugs, torches, candles and whatever else they can'\textsuperscript{105}

Other visits included only some of the cantori. On a visit to the neighbouring Jesuit College, the Roman College, to sing Mass, only Stabile and the sopranos and contraltos went so perhaps this was as a result of a special request for these particular resources.\textsuperscript{106} And on a day spent at S. Maria dell'Anima in 1583, the sopranos and maestro di cappella sang motets on the organ.\textsuperscript{107}

\begin{itemize}
\item **DISPUTATIONS**
\end{itemize}

Disputations are mentioned from time to time in Lauretano's diary. These were public events which provided occasions for the better students to show off their skills in scholastic philosophy and theology. They were frequently attended by nobles and eminent prelates, and music was often provided at the more important of these.\textsuperscript{108} On one such occasion Lauretano mentions the names of some of these personages. They include Como, Gesualdo, Sanx, Deza, and Medici, and he also notes that for this particular event the music of the College was made solemnly without the assistance of a high cornett or other instrument or invited voices.\textsuperscript{109} From this it seems they often were employed. The diary of Gabriel Tibaldi provides a programme of events at one such Dispute held on 5 November 1584 at the Roman College, with musical items performed by the cantori of the German College. Also participating were other cantori with cornets and trombones (tubis).\textsuperscript{110} The programme runs as follows:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{105} Lauretano, *Diario*, p. 67, 31 March 1583: '... et si mandano a s.to Stefano a sieme con li libri da Cantare, Candelieri, tappeti piccoli, torcie, Candele, et quello che si puo.'
\item \textsuperscript{106} Lauretano, *Diario*, p. 65, March 1583: 'La non si canta Matutino, et La Messa si canto a buon huora, et dopp\'e quelli alcuni Cantori cio\'e Mastro di Cappella, li soprani, et contralti, non Alun[n]i andorno al Collegio Romano a cantar la Messa . . . '
\item \textsuperscript{107} Lauretano, *Diario*, p. 85, 24 April 1583: '... et tra il Giorno li n[ost]ri Soprani, et M.\textsuperscript{9} di cappella cantavano li motetti sopra l’organo'.
\item \textsuperscript{108} See Culley, *Jesuits*, p. 34, n. 25.
\item \textsuperscript{109} Lauretano, *Diario*, p. 101, 30 June 1583: 'La matina difese co[n]clusioni di filosofia Melchior Gerver, vi fu Como (al q\textsuperscript{16} erano dedicate la Co[n]clusioni) Gesualdo, Sanx, Deza, Medici, il q\textsuperscript{16} venne per amor del P. Toledo, che fa quasi Presidente della dispute . . . Vi fu solame[n]te la Musica del Collegio, senza alta cornetta, \(\bar{o}\) altro instrume[n]to, \(\bar{o}\) voci forastieri.'
\item \textsuperscript{110} Although 'tubis' is usually translated as trumpets, the combination mentioned by Lauretano in connection with voices at the German College has been cornets and trombones.
Choirs and Performance Practice

- motet prior to the dispute
- speech from the defendant
- music from the upper gallery above the main door
- five disputations
- another speech
- a song (cantilena)
- to conclude, from the upper gallery, voices then trombones (tubis) and cornets, singing in echo.\(^{111}\)

**PROCessions**

Processions were an essential part of life at the College and Lauretano’s diary is filled with such descriptions. Music was usually a part, if not an essential part, of these. Sometimes the processions were within the church, other times they moved outside the building, and still others went along the streets.

On 16 January 1583 there was a procession inside the Church. This began after Mass with the *cantori* singing *O salutaris hostia* before the Altar of the Martyrs while the priest, Father Leone Offman, put on the cope, placed the host in the monstrance and censed the Sacrament. The procession then passed from the side of the Church where the Altars of the Patriarchs and Angels were situated to the side of the Altar of the Apostles. While processing the *cantori* sang in polyphony some verses of the sequence *Lauda Sion* and the hymn *Sacris solemniis iuncta sint gaudia*. Also taking part were *beneficiati* carrying candles, priests carrying torches, and members of the Congregation of the Blessed Sacrament of the Parish carrying the baldaquin.\(^ {112}\) The baldaquin was held over the Sacrament which was probably carried by the officiating priest, Father Leone Offman.\(^ {113}\)

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\(^{112}\) A baldaquin is the canopy which covers the altar. It is also used to cover the Blessed Sacrament during processions. See *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, p. 122.

\(^{113}\) Lauretano, *Diario*, p. 54, 16 January 1583: ‘... et doppo la Messa, si fece la processione del SS.° Sacrament°o così. mentre che il sacerdote che era il P. Leone Offman, pigliato il Piviale, accomodava l'hostia nella custodia, et incensava, li Cantori cantorno avanti li Martiri, ò salutaris hostia, que celi pandis ostiu[m]. poi passando dalli Patriarchi, et Angeli, tornorno ava[n]ti l’altare dell’Apostoli, li cantori, et beneficiati, havevano le candele accese, li Sacerdoti, le torcie, del baldacchino hebbe cura la Congreg[ati]one del SS.° Sacr[amen]to della Parrochia. Nel andare, si cantavano in Musica alcuni versetti della seque[n]tia Lauda Syon salvatorem et Sacris solemnijs iuncta sint gaudia. Arrivati al
There was another procession after Compline on the following day. After the choir had sung *Alma Redemptoris Mater* and had come down into the Church (probably from the choir above), lit torches were distributed to the priests and candles to the *cantori*, *choristi*, and *beneficiati*. During the distribution, the *cantori* sang Lassus’s motet *Deus misereatur nostri* from the benches of the Canons. They then sang *O salutaris hostia* while the Sacrament was censed.\(^{114}\) For this procession, the *cantori* again sang in polyphony some verses of the sequence *Lauda Sion* and the hymn *altare il sacerdote pose il SS.\(^m^0\) Sacrament\(j\)o in mezzo L’Altare, et doppo d’haverli incensato disse l’or[at]ione del SS.\(^9\) Sacrament\(j\)o, et della Chiesa, et del Papa. et se partirno tuti’. *Sacris solemniis iuncta sint gaudia* is a hymn for the procession at the close of Mass (*L.U.*, p. 952). *Lauda Sion* is the sequence for Mass during the feast of Corpus Christi (*L.U.*, p. 945). For *O salutaris hostia*, see above p. 58, n. 70. For tracing the movements of the processions inside the church of S. Apollinare it can be assumed from these descriptions and those following, that the two altars on one side of the church shown on the ground plan (see p. 63), were those of the Doctors and Apostles, and on the other the Angels and Patriarchs. While only the altars of the Doctors and Apostles are directly mentioned in this and the quotation on p. 70, n. 117 of this thesis, the altars of the Patriarchs and of the Angels are mentioned elsewhere in Lauretano’s diary (p. 54: ‘La notte q[uan]do non in era quasi riuno, si portò il baldachino dal’Altare delli Apostoli, al altare delli Angeli, per la processione’, and p. 100: ‘Al altare d’Patriarchi se profero 4 panini di seta roscia, et gialla.’). The position of the altar of the Martyrs remains unclear unless it was the high altar. This is possible since S. Apollinare was a martyr. Another feature which is not shown on the ground plan but which is mentioned by Lauretano is the exit through the portico at the centre of the church and also a sacristy by the main altar through which processions sometimes entered the church. A further altar mentioned is that of the Madonna. This would probably be in the Chapel of the Madonna, but the placement of this chapel is also unclear. Some of these things may be elucidated elsewhere in the diary.

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Li Preti dell’Anima, fumo tutti alla Processione, et li si diedero le torcie, et andorno tra li nostri sacerdoti. Seguivano il SS.\(^9\) Sacrament\(j\)o 4 de n[ost]ri P[ri] et li, et poi li governatori della Compagnia del Anima, et la Comp.\(^a\) del SS.\(^9\) Sacrament\(j\)o.’
Sacris solemniis iuncta sint gaudia while processing. Included in the procession were priests from S. Maria dell’Anima who were holding torches and they were placed between priests from the German College. Then came the Blessed Sacrament and a further four priests from the College and then the Governors of the Company of the Soul and the Company of the Blessed Sacrament.

Torch and candles were an essential part of most processions with the torches often (but not always) held by the priests, and the candles by the singers. While the *choristi* could sometimes hold torches, the *cantori* always held candles and the reason for this was because they had to stand so close together.115 Elsewhere it is mentioned that those holding torches needed to stand further apart to avoid scorching the cottas of those nearby!116

A procession which moved outside the Church occurred on 2 February 1583, this time before Mass. In preparation, the candles were first blessed by the Rector, and the students who did not have cottas descended into the church and stood between the Altars of the Angels and the Patriarchs. The candles were then distributed to the priests, *beneficiati*, clergy, and *cantori*, and while candles were distributed to the College, two servers were positioned on either side of the balustrades to prevent the people from entering. This procession, headed by the priest and followed by six priests from the College and then all the students of the College three by three, went out of the portico in the centre of the Church and returned in the main door.117

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115Lauretano, *Diario*, p. 98, 12 June 1583: ‘Tutti gl’alunni hanno le cotte, et torcie, eccetto li Cantori, q[ue]li per la strettezza hanno le candele...’

116Lauretano, *Diario*, p. 95, 10 June 1583: ‘et se fennino tanto lontano dalla fila che li sta dietro, quanto che basta accio con le torchie non li brusino le cotte’.


Fornita la distributione delle Candele, si cominciò la Processione, la quale usci della porticella per mezzo la Chiesa, et ritornò dalla porta grande... Nella processione doppo il saccdote, andorno sei de N[ost]ri Pr[et]i, et poi tutti gl’Alunni à tre, à tre. et gl’Alunni restano poi in Chiesa à tutta la Messa grande, et stanno tra l’altare deli Dottori, et deli Apostoli.
Choirs and Performance Practice

Processions were certainly occasions for instruments. Trombones were played when certain groups entered the Church. The Priors and the cantori are two of those mentioned. During another procession after Compline which began on one side of the Church and returned via the central nave, trombones were played a bit after the cantori had sung a verse of the sequence *Lauda Sion*. Sometimes just the organ was played while the procession was in progress. Tower bells were sometimes rung at the beginning or during a procession. And one year Lauretano comments that cornets were not invited to S. Stefano in order to avoid the expense, suggesting that in other years they usually were. On this particular occasion an organ was taken. Most institutions probably kept a portative organ, and some had more than one. At S. Maria Maggiore, for example, there were several.

One of the most important processions of the year for the College was the Procession of S. Apollinare. This took place on the Sunday within the Octave of

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118 Lauretano, *Diario*, p. 81, 12 April 1583: ‘Nel entrare [li Priori] si sonomo li tromboni, fin che s’accomodorno, et poi un Motetto.’ See also p. 79 of this thesis.

119 Lauretano, *Diario*, p. 82, 12 April 1583: ‘Interim se distribuimo le torce à sacerdoti et Choristi, et Candele à Cantori, et la Comp. della Parocchia portò le sue, et mentre che se dicevano le 7. orationi, ut in principio, s’accesero le torce, et Mentre che se ince[n]sava il SS. Sacr[amen]to sonò un poco l’organo pieno, et poi li cantori cantomo o salutaris hostia. Et si comincio la Processione dalla banda de Patriarchi, et ritorna[n]do per mezzo. Li Cantori cantavano un versetto di Lauda Syon et poi si sonavano un poco li tromboni . . . . Se forni la Processione à un hora di notte et la Chiesa era piena . . . . Al te[m]po della Processione si sonomo le Campane della torre.’

120 Lauretano, *Diario*, p. 58, 2 February 1583: ‘Nel vespero, che fu solenne, al te[m]po della Magnificat, gl’Alunni che stavano in choro, andorno in Chiesa, et passando per mezzo della Cappella della Mad. si fermorno tra la Mad. et g’Apostoli, et al fine del vespero, li Cantori se messero le Cotte in choro et detto benedicamus [omi]no andorno in processione alla Mad. con tutto il clero, sonando l’organo intanto fin che tutti furono arrivate. et qui vi à doi chori dentro della Cappella cantorno l’antifona Ave Regina Caelor[um] et poi si pari.’

121 Lauretano, *Diario*, pp. 97 and 99. See also above n. 119, and p. 78 of this thesis.


123 See below p. 92. See also the reference to a musician in the Procession of S. Apollinare, p. 75.
Corpus Christi.\textsuperscript{124} There were at least two rehearsals for this and preparations began two days beforehand. As part of this preparation, 110 canes, around 115 nails, and enough satin fabric to surround the whole College was acquired from the Jewish merchants.\textsuperscript{125} It is not exactly clear what was done with the material, but two days later on the day of the procession some servers were sent early in the morning to assist the porters in attaching some fabric. This may have been the same satin material and it may have been attached to the canes with the aid of the nails, although this is not actually specified.\textsuperscript{126}

The first rehearsal was also held two days prior to the event on the 10th of June. Privacy must have been essential since no outsiders were allowed to enter while it was in progress.\textsuperscript{127} At this rehearsal the choirs and other non-singing groups practiced how to get into the Church for the Mass in an orderly manner and how and when each choir must sing.\textsuperscript{128} They were also instructed how to bow at the altar. Then they had

\textsuperscript{124}The complete description occurs in Lauretano, \textit{Diario}, pp. 97–98. For a transcription of these pages, see Appendix A, Document 3 of this thesis. A small part of this procession pertaining directly to the three choirs is cited by Culley, \textit{Jesuits}, Doc. 77, and a slightly expanded version by O'Regan, ‘Sacred Polyphonal Music’, i, p. 93.

\textsuperscript{125}Lauretano, \textit{Diario}, p. 94: ‘Alli X. [Giugno 1583] ... Hoggi in Collegia pigliorno da Giudei panni di rassa che bastino per circo[n]dar tutto il Collegio per la Processione, et se ne piglia canne, 110. et gra’ numero de chiodi, i circa 115 ...’

\textsuperscript{126}Lauretano, \textit{Diario}, p. 96, 12 June 1583: ‘Bisogna chela mattina a buon hora se chiamino tutti li servitori di casa, et distribuirli talmente che alcuni attendino con li facchini å attaccar li panni, ne si parta di la, et habbia cura de panni av[a][n]i che s’attacchino, altri custodisia li panni, q[uan]do stanno in casa, et veda quanti ne manda fuori, et chi le porta’.

\textsuperscript{127}Lauretano, \textit{Diario}, p. 94, 10 June 1583: ‘... si tiene la porta della Campanella serrata accio nessun forastiero entri me[n]tre si prova la processione’.

\textsuperscript{128}This was described by Lauretano as follows: ‘Esce adunque] di sacrestia doppo la Croce, et doppo alcuni con le corone che seguitano la Croce il pr.\textsuperscript{0} Choro Gregor.\textsuperscript{0}, et il lor capitano insieme con tutti gl’altri fatte le solei riverenze in choro à doi à doi va per la nave di mezzo fino al gradino che sta in mezzo della Chiesa, et aspetta voltato verso al’altare gra[n]de fin che tutto il suo choro è fuori de cancelli/balaustri [‘balaustri’ is written above ‘cancelli ‘and neither is crossed out], et poi subbito s’inginocchiano tutti verso l’altare, et cominciano à cantare il pr.\textsuperscript{0} versetto, poi si levano et seguitano il camino, et il 2\textsuperscript{o} versetto, fin che è formita la pr.\textsuperscript{a} stanza, et cosi poi ca[n]juno di mano, in mano. Mentre che q.\textsuperscript{10} choro si trattiene inginocchioni per comincià à cantare, quelli che vanno innanzi con la croce li tratte[n]gon to andando pian piano fin che q.\textsuperscript{10} choro l’arrivi, Il choro de Rosarij, che seguita doppo al

Footnote cont. overleaf...
to know how to return into the Church following the procession through the streets, and finally how to leave the Church after the benediction. At this rehearsal, each group was assigned a special place in the courtyard where they had to assemble on the day itself and where they had to collect their torches.

To better avoid every confusion it seems that it would be best if, when in this process one passes through the courtyard, each choir, those who sing as well as those who do not, is assigned as much as is possible, a certain and distinct place from the others in which they must assemble when it is time to put themselves in [their] groups to go outside. Because the day before the procession each guide is given so many torches, [for] however many he has under him, and he must distribute them, it is good if all know the specific place in the courtyard where they have to find their bundle of torches.129

There were further preparations on the next day. Large quantities of lilies, carnations, and other flowers were bought in the morning to avoid the price rise later in the day when other people would be buying flowers for the various processions to be held in the city.130 The Church was decorated and the palace whitewashed up to three palms above the ground as this was the level to which the satin fabric would fall.131 After dinner there was a second rehearsal this time with the organ, and the

Canto Gregoriano, con il suo capito, se trattiene avanti la porta della sacrestia fin che loro stanno per levarsi, et poi passando per il Choro, q[uando] il capitano è al istesso gradino, si volta con li suoi al altare et fatta la riverenza tutti insieme, si levano subbito, et seguitano gl’altri, nel istesso modo aspetta alla sacrestia et poi esce, et al mezzo della Chiesa si inginocchia, et comincia à cantare, il 2.º, et 3.º choro, et tutti gl’altri ordini de Rosarii q[ue]lli basta solo che s’inginocchino . . . et questi [li sacerdote] non s’inginocchiano in mezzo della Chiesa ma seguitano via sempre’ (Lauretano, Diario, p. 94, 10 June 1583).

129Lauretano, Diario, p. 95, 10 June 1583: ‘Per fuggir meglio ogni co[n]fusione pare che sarebbe bene, se q[uan]do in questa procia se passa del cortile si assegnasse à ogni choro così de q[ue]lli che cantano come de gl’altri, un loco certo et distinto da gl’altri quanto si può, nel quale devino co[n]venise quando è te[m]po de mettersi in ordine per uscir fuori, et parce che il giorno ava[n]ti la processione à ogni guida si danno tante torcie, quanti ha sotto di se, et lui le deve distribuire, è bene che nel cortile tutti sappiòro il loco determinato dove hanno da riandro il fascio delle sue torcie’.

130Lauretano, Diario, p. 95, 11 June 1583: ‘La mattina si co[m]pra gran qua[n]tita di gigli, garofoli, et altri fiori, p[er]che questa sera, et domattina faranno troppo cari per le molte processioni.’

131Lauretano, Diario, p. 96, 11 June 1583: ‘S’imbianca attorno al palazzo (?) per tre palmi sopra la terra, il q[ues]te è il termine fin dove hanno da arrivar li panni di rassa.’
torches were distributed to the leaders of each group.\textsuperscript{132} In the evening the litany and a motet was sung in the Church as usual, followed by the \textit{Salve Regina}. After this, all went to the Library where the Rector spoke briefly, and at 12.30 a.m. the tower bells were rung to herald the feast day.\textsuperscript{133}

On the day itself, the standard of S. Apollinare was placed in readiness outside the door of the College with two lanterns,\textsuperscript{134} and herbs and flowers in quantity were spread around the College, but Lauretano states that this latter task was not done until just before the procession otherwise the people would tread on everything!\textsuperscript{135}

Two processions were involved: a lay procession and the procession of the clergy.\textsuperscript{136} In the lay procession, the first group consisted of the Putti of the Doctrine who were dressed in white albs and carried olive branches. Lauretano notes that on another occasion it would be a good idea if an image, a large wafer or some gold stars were attached to these. Between the Putti and each of the three following groups were about eight others who carried in front a Cross with flowers and a lantern. They were followed by those dressed as the Holy Marys,\textsuperscript{137} some unmarried girls in the care of...
Parishioner, and then those who teach the Doctrine (see Table 3 overleaf for the order of this procession).

The next part of the first procession was headed by the Standard of S. Apollinare and the two lanterns, the latter probably on either side of the standard. Then came some people carrying about six silver rods, others carrying torches and then a musician (perhaps playing a portative organ). The Company of the Blessed Sacrament of S. Apollinare followed carrying torches, and they were all dressed in white sackcloth [sacchi bianchi]. The Priors brought up the rear. Altogether, Lauretano says that this part of the procession numbered about 100 people.

The second procession was lead by a prefect of the College who wore a cotta and carried a torch. He was followed by three noblemen, one carrying the Cross of the Clergy, the two others on either side carrying silver candlesticks in which were placed large beautifully-gilded candles. Each of the following groups was headed by a leader or guide, chosen from among the prefects or one of the more mature students, and he was instructed to leave a gap between himself and the preceding group and to keep his own group in order. Then came four to six of the newest members of the College carrying rosaries followed by the first of the choirs.

The first choir was the choir of Gregorian chant which numbered about 25 singers. They were singing the Corpus Christi hymn *Pange lingua* as they processed. Next was a second non-singing group carrying rosaries and numbering about 18 to 20 people. In his description of the rehearsal for this event Lauretano comments that the function of the intermediate non-singing groups was to allow each of the three choirs to sing as they processed without one impeding the other. Next was the choir of falsobordone, each member carrying a large sheet of music. This choir was singing in three parts *Sacris solemniis iuncta sint gaudia.* Another group carrying rosaries followed and attached to the end of this group were the priests ‘in sacris’.

The last choir was the choir of polyphony. While the others walked in pairs,

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138 The distance between the guide and the preceding group is mentioned in the first rehearsal for the procession. Lauretano, *Diario*, p. 94, 10 June 1583: ‘et ogni choro, et ordine ha il suo capitano che va in mezzo delli doi primi del suo ordine, un poco distante dal ordine o choro precedente.’

139 See n. 140 below.

### TABLE 3

**ORDER OF THE PROCESSION OF S. APOLLINARE**

#### FIRST OR LAY PROCESSION

- Putti of the Doctrine
- Cross with flowers and a lantern
- Holy Marys
- Cross with flowers and a lantern
- Unmarried girls
- Cross with flowers and a lantern
- Teachers of the Doctrine
- Standard of S. Apollinare
- c.6 silver rods
- Some torches
- Musician
- Company of the Blessed Sacrament of S. Apollinare
- Priors

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#### SECOND PROCESSION

- Acolyte
- Cross of the Clergy
- [Some crowns]
- Guide
- 4-6 of the newest members of the College carrying rosaries
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Choirs and Performance Practice</th>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Guide</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Choir of Gregorian Chant</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Guide</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Group carrying rosaries</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Guide</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Choir of Falsobordone</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Guide</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Group carrying rosaries</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>+ <strong>Priests in sacris</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Guide</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Choir of Polyphony</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Guide</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Priests</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Incense Boat</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Two thurifers</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Picture of Last Supper</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Custodia</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Blessed Sacrament</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>4 carrying the baldaquin</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>4 Servers</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Other lights</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>People</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4 carrying the baldaquin</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4 Servers</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
two to three paces apart, the choir of polyphony walked clustered together in a group ('tutti in un globo'). We are not told what this choir was singing but presumably it was something polyphonic. All these groups wore cottes and carried torches except the choir of polyphony who carried candles, and all processed with their heads uncovered. Following the Polyphony were the priests without chasubles or copes.

The next part of the second procession was that of the Blessed Sacrament. This was headed by one person carrying the incense boat, followed by the two thurifers. Then came a picture of the Last Supper embroidered in gold on red velvet. This was quite large since it hung almost to the ground. It was followed by the monstrance carried on a rose-red taffeta-covered wooden stand by a Deacon and Subdeacon. The Sacrament itself was carried by the Rector Lauretano and over this was held the baldaquin, the eight poles of which were held by various gentlemen and prelates who were frequently changed, supposedly to give everybody a turn at this honoured task. Special people were appointed to select these gentlemen and to supervise the changeovers. Also at each of the poles stood a server carrying a torch. Then came other lights and large crowds of people followed at the rear.

This procession went further afield than the previously mentioned processions. The procession began following the Mass and to signal the start of this event the tower bells were rung as the procession of the clergy neared the door of the Church and before it moved out into the streets. This procession then waited in the door of the Church while the lay procession left from the Oratory through the College door. However, this held up the second procession and interrupted the choir which was singing, so to avoid this problem on another occasion, Lauretano noted that it would be preferable if the lay procession left from the sacristy of the Chapel of the Madonna. From the Piazza di S. Apollinare the procession moved along the Via di S. Apollinare which took it past Cardinal Altemps's house. It then turned left and went to the Tor Sanguigna where Ms Gaudentio, a devotee of the College, had set up an altar. At this point the procession paused and while the thuribles were replenished and the Blessed Sacrament was censed, a motet was sung. Usually for this, the cantori divided into two choirs on either side of this altar and sang some verses of the Corpus Christi sequence *Lauda Sion*, but this time they did not divide and sang only *O salutaris hostia*. Following a prayer, the procession continued on its way around the block back to the Piazza di S. Apollinare. It then circled the palace which could mean that it processed around the inside of the palace or, the more likely, that it went around the block occupied by the palace before re-entering the Church. Large
numbers of people came to watch and this caused problems for the procession because of the narrowness of some of the streets. 141

Once the first procession reached the Church it had to spread out around the piazza to allow the second procession to pass through the circle and enter the church first. When the choir of Gregorian chant entered the building, it sang until the choir of falsobordone arrived and then they sang until the Polyphony arrived, 142 and as the Polyphony entered the Church, the ‘trombones etc were sounded’. The most likely instrument for the ‘etc’ are cornetts, since they were used on other occasions at the College. Once all were inside the Church, the priest censed the sacrament and then gave the benediction and so, the end.

In all there must have been over 200 people involved. Lauretano mentions that there were about 100 in the first procession and there were probably more in the second since he says that the groups carrying rosaries were made up of 18 to 20 (this must be the second and third groups since the first numbered four to six) and the choir of chant numbered about 25. The choir of falsobordone was probably also around 20 to 25 singers, and the Polyphony about nine singers. This does not count the priests, the various captains for each group, the servers carrying torches, those who carry the baldaquin, the Cross, the silver candlesticks, incense boat, thuribles, the picture embroidered on the velvet, and the monstrance. Also mentioned in the first rehearsal, but not in the event itself were some crowns which were carried after the Cross of the Clergy.

• RECREATIONAL SINGING

The singing of madrigals was also encouraged at the College for recreation or for practice and they were often sung in the room of the maestro di cappella. 143 They were also sung at the vineyard, and it is most likely that the madrigals which Stabile composed were sung at these places and Stabile himself may have sung on these occasions. There is no doubt that he was a singer since there are two references to him.

141 Lauretano, Diario, p. 96, 12 June 1583: ‘Questi lumi attorno sono assai al proposito, et sarebbe cosa bella, ma pare che non possa riuscire bene per la strettezza delle strade, et molta gente che sta à vedere, che appena possono passare gl’alunni à doi, à doi’.

142 This is mentioned at the rehearsal for the procession. Lauretano, Diario, p. 95, 10 June 1583: ‘Quando il primo choro è arrivato in Chiesa deve cantare fin che viene il 2.°, et poi cantano à vice[n]da fin che viene la Musica’.

143 Reg: Bullae, Regulae, p. 176, cited by Culley, Jesuits, Doc. 51.
in this role, once at a later date when he is maestro at S. Maria Maggiore (see below), and once during his years at the German College, when in 1585 on 17 March at S. Stefano, there were: 'Two singers: Master Annibale and the bass in the refectory of the Monastery . . .'\textsuperscript{144}

\textbf{\textit{• SANTA MARIA MAGGIORE 1591–1594 •}}

\textbf{THE CHOIR}

Stabile's monthly salary at S. Maria Maggiore combined with that for the care of four boy sopranos was 20 scudi. This was certainly an increase on his salary at the German College and was also an increase from that at S. Giovanni in Laterano. Assuming it cost the same to house and feed the boys at S. Maria Maggiore as it did at S. Giovanni, that is 3 scudi per boy soprano, this would leave Stabile with 8 scudi.

Although the pay rates for the choir members vary over the period 1591 to 1594 the relativity between the various members remains much the same. The highest paid member is usually one of the contraltos. This cannot have been directly related to one person in particular because at a changeover of contralti, one contralto continues to

\textsuperscript{144} 'Cantores duo: M. [magister] Hannibal [Stabilis] et ille Bassista in refectorio Monachorum . . .' Reg: \textit{Diarium Overbeck . . . et Tibaldi}, f. 54v, cited by Casimiri, 'Disciplina', p. 163. Lauretano makes many references in his diary concerning 'going to the vineyard'. For example on April 13 1583: 'all went to the vineyard' ('andorno tutti alla Vigna'). And the next day on the feast of St Urban, Pope: 'they went to say Mass at S. Cecilia and then go to the vineyard' (Lauretano, \textit{Diario}, p. 83). Some hint of activities at the 'vineyard' is given in another diary entry when at the vineyard they had an hour of dispute after dinner (Lauretano, \textit{Diario}, p. 88). This could be the vineyard which was visited once or twice a year as a privilege by the choir that sang the more complicated music. It could also be something like the rooms of Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Jesuit order. Known as the vineyard, these rooms were the mission field of Ignatius from 1544 until his death in 1556. This house stood until 1598 and the rooms themselves were preserved in 1599 in the present Casa Professa (Thomas M. Lucas, \textit{A Guide to the Rooms of St. Ignatius Loyola} (Rome, 1990), pp. 13 and 15). Philip Neri (1515–1595) mentioned another vineyard in a report he submitted to the Pope, this time of the Compagnia de'Napoletani where large crowds of people gathered for spiritual discussions and music (Marciano, \textit{Oratorio}, I:37, cited by Howard E. Smither, \textit{The Oratorio in the Baroque Era}, vol. i of \textit{A History of the Oratorio} (Chapel Hill, 1977), p. 52). Smither notes that this vineyard could be the large courtyard behind the church of S. Spirito della Compagnia dei Napoletani (see \textit{The Oratorio}, p. 52, n. 64).
receive the highest pay. Next in pay ranking throughout the period is the tenor Marc Antonio. This, however, can be explained since in 1591 he was referred to as the Choir Dean (‘Cantore Decano’). The lowest paid member is the second tenor.

For most of Stabile’s residence at S. Maria Maggiore, the permanent choir consisted of four boys, two contraltos, two tenors, and two basses, with the occasional fluctuation in the number of boys or basses.

### TABLE 4

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<th>Month</th>
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As at S. Giovanni in Laterano there was not a large turnover of choir personnel. The two tenors for example were particularly stable and remained in the choir for the
whole period under discussion. When Stabile began his tenure the choir was made up of the following members:\footnote{Rsm: \textit{Cappella 1589 al 1600} (Cappella 1591), f. 41. The foliation in this book begins anew for each year. Choir lists at this institution also included various other persons in its employ. In this list Carlo, the church mason and Panfilo Selva who attended to the accounts are added at the end. See also Appendix A, Document 4 of this thesis, for a copy of the choir list at the beginning of January 1594.}

\textit{Cappella Febbraro 1591}

Ms Anibale M\textsuperscript{o} di C\textsuperscript{a}pp\textsuperscript{a}lla per un terzo del mese, con 4\textsuperscript{o} putti uno per 4\textsuperscript{o} giorni, s[cudi] ii. b[aiocchi] 32

\begin{itemize}
\item Ms Marc Antonio Tenore 6. 50
\item Ms Gio. Domenico Tenore 4
\item Ms Antonio Contralto 7
\item Ms Claudio Contralto 6
\item Ms Cesare Basso 6
\item Ms Giovanni Basso 6
\item Ms Marc Ant: per il Choristato 0. 40
\item Ms Gio D[ome]nico per il Choristato 0. 40
\item Ms Bartolomeo Organista 5
\item Ms Carlo Murator della Chiesa 1. 20
\item M Panfilo selva Esattore 1
\end{itemize}

The two tenors are listed a second time as ‘\textit{Choristato}’, a position for which they were paid an extra 40 baiocchi. This position was evidently passed around occasionally since choir lists of July and December 1593 name a tenor and a contralto (Gio. Domenico and Gio. Battista) in this role. This position is probably the same as the ‘\textit{chorista}’ held by the tenor and bass at S. Giovanni in Laterano. Again no further clarification is given as to what the role entails.

Names of the boys are rarely given. From 27 September to the end of October 1591, expenses were paid to a Cecilia Landi for looking after the boy soprano Ottavio Mattei who was unwell over this period,\footnote{Rsm: \textit{Cappella 1589 al 1600} (Cappella 1591), f. 25v: ‘A di detto [ultimo Dicembre] s[cudi] 25 b[aiocchi] 55 pagati a M\textsuperscript{a} Cecilia Landi, per haver governato, et spesato Ottavio Putto n[os]tro.\textit{Footnote cont. overleaf}} and to Huolo Patriarcha and particularly
to Macello de Corbi for various things including medicines supplied to Ottavio. In November 1593 there is a mention of ‘Gio: Dom\(^{co}\) putto di Capp\(^{la}\)’.149

The choirboys lived with the *maestro di cappella*,\(^{151}\) from whom they received lessons in Latin and counterpoint. Among Stabile’s expenses for the boys in the first part of the 1591 were: ‘pens, ink, and lined paper for writing Latin’ and ‘four cartelle for counterpoint’.\(^{152}\) There are two possible definitions of a *cartella*. Thurston Dart considered it to be a blank sheet of parchment or paper incised with sets of stave lines which could be re-used until it disintegrated. Another interpretation is a folder or case for holding musical exercises.\(^{153}\) Either of these is possible.

In April of both 1591 and 1592, the permanent choir was short of a bass. This was also the case in some of the other surrounding months, but the shortage over Holy Week and Easter must have caused particular concern, because in both years an extra bass was added to the payroll. In 1591 Fra Anselmo basso was hired from the 1st to soprano, Et speso del suo nella Infinita, di detto Putto suo Figlio, dalli 27 di 7bre, per tutto Ottobre 1591 in Casa sua, per m\(^{10}\) n.\(^{o}\) 52 — s[cudi] 25.55.’


150Rsm Ms: *Giustificazioni 7 1593–1594*, Mandato No. 108 (1593).

151Rsm: *Cappella 1589 al 1600* (Cappella 1592), f. 21: ‘A di 24 detto [Maggio] s[cudi] 12. b[aiocchi] 50 pagati a Ms Anibale Stabile n[ost]ro M.\(^{o}\) di Cap:\(^{la}\) per la pigione della Casa dove habita con li Putti di Cap:\(^{la}\) per un semestre, cominciato il di p.\(^{o}\) del presente, per m:\(^{10}\) n.\(^{o}\) 29 — s[cudi] 12.50.’


153Thurston Dart, *The Interpretation of Music*, 4th edition (London, 1967/R.1984), p. 132, and Culley, *Jesuits*, p. 74. The term *cartella* also occurs in a document from the archives of the German College, where the boy sopranos were required to ‘give an account of the *cartella*’ and in another part of the same document ‘. . . . the sopranos go to the room of the *maestro di cappella* about an hour before the first table . . . . each one being trained according to his need in playing, singing, showing the *cartella*, and similar things.’ See Culley, *Jesuits*, Doc. 52, translation p. 73.
the 15th of April,\textsuperscript{154} and in 1592, the bass Cesare Valeriani was engaged for the whole of the month.\textsuperscript{155} A similar situation arose in 1594 at Christmas when the choir was short of a bass. On this occasion the services of the bass Geronimo were secured for five days.\textsuperscript{156} And in November of that year when both regular tenors were ill at the same time, a Brother from the Carmelite Order, Fra Geronimo, was engaged to sing tenor and the Office from All Saints Day until the feast of St. Martin.\textsuperscript{157} One of Stabile's tasks as maestro di cappella was to ensure that there was a cantor available for services. Included in his list of expenses for the year up until April 15, is 50 baiocchi for a cantor who was called for the day when the Pope celebrated in the church.\textsuperscript{158}

Apart from the permanent choir and its replacements, extra musicians were employed both on a semi-regular basis and for special occasions.\textsuperscript{159} At S. Maria Maggiore the special feasts included Holy Week and Easter, the feast of Our Lady of the Snows (August 5), the Assumption of the Virgin (August 15), Christmas, and the various processions on some of these and other occasions.

\textsuperscript{154}Rsm: \textit{Cappella 1589 al 1600} (Cappella 1591), f. 23v: 'A di 15 di Giugno s[cu]di 2 b[aiocchi] 50 pagati a Fra Anselmo Basso, per haver servito giorni 15 nel mese d’Aprile prossimo passato nella n[ost]ra Cap: a per m.\textsuperscript{10} n.\textsuperscript{6} 22 — s[cudi] 02.50.'

\textsuperscript{155}Rsm: \textit{Cappella 1589 al 1600} (Cappella 1592), f. 20v: [30 April] '... a Ms Cesare Valeriani, per haver servito nella n[ost]ra Chiesa per Basso un Mese ...' See also p. 89, n. 175.

\textsuperscript{156}Rsm: \textit{Giustificazioni 7 1593–1594}, Mandato No. 120 (1594): 'A di 24 xbre 1594 s[cu]di 1 a Ms Geronimo Basso, per haver servito cinque giorni nella n[ost]ra Cappella del presente Mese di xbre.'

\textsuperscript{157}Rsm: \textit{Giustificazioni 7 1593–1594}, Mandato No. 124 (1594): 'R.\textsuperscript{10} ms Pamphilo selva n[ost]ro Camerlengo del minuto pagarete al R.\textsuperscript{10} P. fra Geronimo dell’ordine Carmelitano scudi due di moneta quali se li deveno per haver servito per ca[n]tare il Tenor et l’offitio, dal giorno de ogni sa[n]li insino a S.\textsuperscript{10} Martino per esser stati am[m]alati in questo te[m]po ms Marc’ant.\textsuperscript{6} et ms Domenico Tenori, ne pigliaret e quieti[n]za che se vi faran[n]o buoni à conti che havete con noi di S.\textsuperscript{10} M.\textsuperscript{10} Magg.\textsuperscript{re} questo di 17 di xbre 1594.'


\textsuperscript{159}For those hired on a semi-regular basis, see p. 89.
**SPECIAL FEASTS**

**FEAST OF OUR LADY OF THE SNOWS AND THE ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN**

The importance of these two August feasts is immediately apparent due to the extra singers and instruments hired to add grandeur to the occasion. In 1591, for example, for the Assumption of the Virgin, a cornett, trombone, and an extra bass and tenor were engaged for first and second Vespers and Mass, with the tenor serving at first Vespers only. While this group of musicians as a whole is described in the *mandato* as ‘*cantori*’ it is quite clear that they were not all singers.

Ms Panfilo Selva our *esattore* will pay to Ms Marc Antonio Picchini, tenor and Dean of our chapel, 3 scudi and 30 baiocchi, to pay the *cantori* listed below who served in the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin in the present year at two Vespers and at Mass, that is to say: a cornett, a trombone, a bass and a tenor, the tenor serving only at first Vespers . . . this day 18 August 1591. ¹⁶₀

This interpretation of the word *cantori* — to include both singers and instrumentalists — is of particular interest since other payments to groups of *cantori* where the breakdown of participants is not given suggests that they also are likely to include instrumentalists.

In the same year, for the feast of Our Lady of the Snows, Stabile may have been ill or had another commitment since Giovanni Maria Nanino was called in to act as *maestro di cappella*. On this occasion, two sopranos and two basses were hired and a violin was added to the cornett and trombone. The group as a whole is again described as ‘*cantori*’ or more precisely as ‘*cantori forestieri*’. This therefore is best translated as ‘foreign musicians’ or ‘musicians from outside’ rather than as ‘singers from outside’. ¹⁶¹


In the accounts for October in the following year Stabile was paid for securing the services of eight musicians (cantori) who served at both feasts.\textsuperscript{162} In 1594 'diversi cantori' were engaged for the feast of Our Lady of the Snows.\textsuperscript{163} Unfortunately, in both 1592 and 1594, a further breakdown is not supplied, but at least one cornett and one trombone were almost certainly included.

The 20 scudi paid to Stabile in 1594 for the 'various musicians' for the feast of Our Lady of the Snows, suggests an unusually large group. For important feasts at S. Maria Maggiore, around 1 scudo per person per engagement seems to be the norm for outside musicians. For example, in 1592 eight musicians were paid 8 scudi, and in 1591 the four musicians were paid 3.30 scudi in total which amounts to 1 scudo each for those three who attended all three services and 30 baiocchi for the tenor who only did one third of the work.\textsuperscript{164} Thus for the feast of Our Lady of the Snows in 1594, approximately 20 musicians may have been employed which, added to the 10 regular choir members, would make a group of 30 altogether. Doubtless polyphonic music with instruments was the order of the day.

HOLY WEEK AND EASTER

Holy Week and Easter were also important times musically. In April of 1593 seven cantori were paid 7 scudi to help with the music for Easter Day,\textsuperscript{165} and again, one can

\textsuperscript{162}Rsm: \textit{Giustificazioni 6 1591–1592}, Mandato No. 58 (1592): 'R.do ms Pamphilo selva n[ost]ro esattore pagare al R.do ms Annibal stabile n[ost]ro m[aest]ro di Cappella scudi ottro, meno due giuli quali ha pagato delli suoi a otto ca[n]tori quali servimo il di de la Neve et il di dell'Assu[m]pta ... il di Ull.\textsuperscript{o} di Agosto, 92.'

\textsuperscript{163}Rsm: \textit{Giustificazioni 7 1593–1594}, Mandato No. 85 (1594): 'A di 5 Agosto 1594 s[cudi] 20 a Ms Anibale Stabile n[ost]ro M\textsuperscript{o} di Cap\textsuperscript{1a} per pagar di diversi Cantori che hanno servito nella presente Festa della Neve'.

\textsuperscript{164}Also seven scudi for seven musicians at Easter 1593, five scudi for the five cantori of the Pope at Easter 1594, and two scudi for two musicians for the procession in July 1593. Further details below.

\textsuperscript{165}Rsm: \textit{Giustificazioni 7 1593–1594}, Mandato No. 31 (1593): 'Ms Panfilo Selva n[ost]ro esattore darete a ms Anibale Stabili n[ost]ro mastro di Cappella, scudi sette di m.\textsuperscript{1a}, quali sono per sette cantori, che hanno aiutato alla n[ost]ra musica, il giorno di pasqua ... il di 18 d'Aprile 1593.' See also Appendix A, Document 5 for a copy of the original which also contains, in Stabile's own handwriting, his acceptance of this payment.
assume that a cornett and trombone may have been included. In 1594 five cantori in the employ of the Pope helped at Vespers for which they were paid 5 scudi. 166

In addition to the seven cantori above who helped with the Easter music, a different group of people, all beneficiati of S. Maria Maggiore, assisted on the morning of Easter in 1593, as well as singing three Passions for the Canons and ‘singing the relics’ during Holy Week. 167 One of these, the contralto Giovanni Battista, was already in the choir, suggesting that the regular choir was not included in these activities. These seven beneficiati were probably chaplains who also assisted with the singing when required. The seven, described as beneficiati on the reverse side of the mandato, are listed as follows:

A Ms Franc[esc]o Amorisio
A Ms Pamphilo Selva
A Ms Franc[esc]o Suriano
A Ms Vinc[enz]o de Gravis
A Ms Dom[en]ico giordano per 4 messe
A Ms Cesar[e] Nucca per s. Sixto
A Ms Gio: Batt[ist]a contraltò

166 Rsm: Giustificazioni 7 1593–1594, Mandato No. 36 (1594): 'A di x Aprile 1594 s[cudi] 5 al S.T
Marcello Vitellesco, per dar a 5 Cantori del Papa, che hanno aiutato al Vespero di Pasqua'.

167 Rsm: Giustificazioni 7 1593–1594, Mandato No. 33 (1593): 'Ms Pamphilo Selva n[ost]ro essattore vi piacera pagare alli infra[scri]tti de chiesa scudi quattro b[aicchi] 66 de m[one]ta sono per li tre passij cantati per li S. 64 Can. 65 la settimana s. 66 l'assistente la matina di pascha et cantato le relicie detto giorno et le 4 messe Celebrate alli x di febr. 67 nel anniversario de ms Mario del conte et altre 4 messe . . . per genn. 68 febr. 69 marzo Aprile cantate per il car. le S. 69 Sixto . . . li 20 di Aprile 1593.

paid for helping at four masses only, presumably those for Mario), sang four masses for Cardinal San Sisto in the months of January, February, March and April. These two sets of masses were not directly related to the Easter season, but provide evidence of some of the other duties for singers at the Basilica. Cardinal San Sisto was Filippo Boncompagni, papal nephew of Pope Gregory XIII. In 1584 Boncompagni bought a palace situated just off the Piazza S. Maria Maggiore and had various associations with S. Maria Maggiore.169

Similar tasks were carried out in a previous year (1591), by a group of six people. These included Stabile himself, Marc Antonio the tenor from the choir, Panfilo Selva the esattore, and three others, Vincentio Grati, Jo Antonio Flisio, and Claudio Cantore, perhaps also in the employ of the Chapter of S. Maria Maggiore. They were paid for assisting at the Pontifical Mass in Holy Week and for the feast of Easter, and again for singing the Passions for the Canons and for ‘pronouncing the relics’.170 In addition, a contralto Quintilio Scoccia was hired for Holy Week and Easter in 1591 but this was as a singer in the regular choir.171

CHRISTMAS

Christmas was another occasion for engaging extra musicians. In 1592 Marc Antonio Muti was paid 2 scudi for hiring some musicians to help with the music for Christmas Eve. Included in this, was payment for the transportation (condutta) of an organ to the church.172

169 See Burke, ‘Musicians of S. Maria Maggiore Rome’, p. 41.
172 Rsm: Cappella 1589 al 1600 (Cappella 1592), f. 24: ‘A di detto [25 Dicembre] s[cudi] 2. pagati al S.º Marc: Antº Muti, per pagar alchuni Cantori, che aiutomo la notte di Natale prossimo passato, Et per la condutta d’un Organo alla n[ost]ra Chiesa, per m:º n.º 72 — s[cudi] 02’. Noel O’Regan also noted that a portable organ was used at Christmas in the basilica’s Cappella Sistina which held the relics of the crib. See O’Regan, ‘Sacred Polychoral Music’, i, pp. 76–77.
• PROCESSIONS

At S. Maria Maggiore these included the Procession of the Pope on the day of Corpus Christi, and the Processions of Good Friday, S. Marco, and Ss. Proto and Giacinto. At each of these music was included.

The Pope’s procession on the day of Corpus Christi required extra forces on at least two occasions. In 1591, the bass Fra Anselmo Giroldi was engaged especially for this purpose, 173 and in 1593 the help of two cantori was enlisted (perhaps a cornett and trombone). 174 In April of 1592 Cesare Valeriani was hired to sing bass in the Processions of Good Friday and of S. Marco, 175 and in 1592 two cantori were engaged for the Procession of Ss. Proto and Giacinto, again possibly a cornett and trombone. 176

• OTHER ASPECTS

Some musicians were hired regularly for more than one task. Among these were Francesco Soriano and Domenico Giordano. Both were also chaplains (‘cappellani’). Domenico Giordano was employed from January to June and from October to December in 1591, specifically to serve at ferial Vespers. 177 Although it is never specified directly as a singing duty, this seems most likely. There is no sign of his continued employment in 1592, but it is possible that he was hired in this capacity after 1592. His voice-type is not mentioned although there was a ‘Domenico Basso’

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174 Rsm: Giustificazioni 7 1593–1594, Mandato No. 57 (1593): ‘A di pº Luglio 1593 s[cudi] 2. a Ms Anibale Stabile per pagare due Cantori che servirno nella Processione del Papa il giorno del Corpus D[omi]ni passato’.
175 Rsm: Cappella 1589 al 1600 (Cappella 1592), f.20v: ‘A di 30 detto [Aprile] s[cu]di 6 pagati a Ms Cesare Valerianii, per haver servito nella n[ost]ra Chiesa per Basso un Mese et nella Processione del Giovedi Sº et di S.º Marco prossime passate, per m:10 n.º 17 — s[cudi] 06.’
177 For one example from the accounts: Rsm: Cappella 1589 al 1600 (Cappella 1591), f.23v: ‘A di 6 di Maggio s[cudi] 4 pagati a Ms Domenico Giordano, per haver servito alli Vesperi feriali Gennaro, Febraro Marzo et Aprilie passata per m:10 n.º 17 — s[cudi] 04’.
in the choir in July and August 1591 and it is possible that this was the same person. Giordano is also listed among the seven beneficiati who assisted at Easter in 1593. Francesco Soriano, who was another of these seven beneficiati, received payment for administering the sacrament from 1 November 1592 until the end of October 1593.

Both Soriano and Giordano were among four extra singers hired every year over the summer months of July, August, and September from 1591 to 1594. In the accounts, the group is described as both choristi and cappellani, but not as cantori. This perhaps distinguishes them as a group of singing chaplains rather than professional singers or instrumentalists. Their singing duties are not given but their period of employment would have meant that they were also available for the two most important feasts in August; the feast of Our Lady of the Snows and the Assumption of the Virgin. Their combined salary of 14 scudi per month, or 3.50 scudi each is not very high, so their duties may have been correspondingly light. The group is not named in 1591, but in 1592 those employed were Domenico Giordano, Francesco Soriano, Gio. Baptista Anerio, and Hieronimo Piazza. In 1593 Hieronimo Piazza was again hired with Claudio Gualtereno, Ramiero de Ramieus, and Ascanio.

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178 Choir lists for July and August 1591 can be found in Rsm: Cappella 1589 al 1600 (Cappella 1591), ff. 43v and 44.

179 Rsm: Giustificazioni 7 1593–1594, Mandato No. 32 (1593): ‘A di 20 Aprile 1593 s[cudi] 4 a Ms Francesco Soriano per la sua provisione, della Com[m]unione per sei mesi dal p° 9bre del 92 per tutto Aprile del 93.’ Rsm: Giustificazioni 7 1593–1594, Mandato No. 94 (1593): ‘A di 17 8bre 1593 s[cudi] 4 a Ms Francesco Soriano per sua provisione per l’aministrazione del S:m° Sacramento per sei mesi dal primo di Maggio, per tutto 8bre del 1593.’

sacristano.181 And in 1594 the services of Domenico Giordano, Francesco Soriano, Ramiero de Ramieus and Hieronimo Piazza were secured.182

There are several references to books of music among the accounts. On the 4 March 1591 a large antiphonary of 'canto fermo' was bound and covered with plates, corners, and buckles of brass by the book binder Giulio Morelli.183 This may have been the same book mentioned in the accounts the previous month when Panfilo Selva collected 90 baiocchi for having written in a book of canto fermo.184 Another item bound for the choir by Giulio Morelli was a book containing music by Victoria.185 A few days later that same month (August 1593) payment was made for four books of litanies.186

There are a number of references to an organ. There was certainly a regular organist at S. Maria Maggiore since the incumbent is named in every monthly choir list during Stabile's period of tenure. From February 1591 until November 1591 the position was held by 'Bartolomeo'. From December 1591 and throughout the remainder of Stabile's occupancy, the 'organista' was Paolo Quagliati. There were, however, other times when another organist was required, either to fill in for the regular organist or perhaps to play a second organ. In a list of expenses for April 1594 there is a payment

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181 Rsm: Giustificazioni 7 1593–1594, Mandato No. 77 (1593): 'A di 2 7bre 1593 [cudii] 28 alli quattro Choristi che serveno per lo estivo, per lor salario della mesi di Luglio et Agosto pros.1 passati', and Rsm: Giustificazioni 7 1593–1594, Mandato No. 87 (1593): 'A di ulto 7bre 1593 [cudii] 14 alli 4 Cappellani dell’estivo, per lor salario del Mese di 7bre 1593'. Ascanio was the sacristan for S. Maria Maggiore. He is listed as 'sagrestano' in choir lists from at least July 1593 until at least December 1594.

182 Rsm: Giustificazioni 7 1593–1594, Mandato Nos. 84, 93, and 102 (1594).

183 Rsm: Cappella 1589 al 1600 (Cappella 1591), f. 22v: 'A di 4 Marzo [cudii] 5. pagati a M. Q Giulio Morelli Ligator de Libri, per haver ligato et coperto, con piastre et cantone et Fibbie d’ottone un Antifonario di canto fermo grande, per la nostra Chiesa per mandato n° 7 — [cudii] 05'.

184 Rsm: Cappella 1589 al 1600 (Cappella 1591), f. 22v: 'A di xi detto [Febraro] [cudii] 2 b[aiocchi] 40 pagati a me Panfilo selva per tanti spesi, in un Calepino per li Putti della Cappella [b[aiocchi] 90. per haver fatto scrivere in un libro di canto fermo b[aiocchi] 90. per due libri da tener li conti b[aiocchi] 50. et per penne et inchiostro b[aiocchi] 20. per m.10 n. 0 4 — [cudii] 02.40'.


186 Rsm: Giustificazioni 7 1593–1595, Mandato No. 73 (1593): 'A di 15 Agosto 1593 ... per quattro libretti d. Letanie ...'
for a ‘Ms Hieronimo’ who was organist for one day. There is no doubt that there was more than one organ since the accounts refer to *organi* on more than one occasion, and as we have already seen a portable organ was used at Christmas in 1592 and there is even a reference to a room in which the portable organs were kept.

For a whole year, from the beginning of February 1592 until the end of January 1593, an organ repairer/tuner was paid a salary of 4 scudi for each six-month semester. This person, Ms Geronimo Asprello, is described as an ‘*acconciator del nostro organo*’ on one occasion and as ‘*maestro d’organi*’ on the other. One of his responsibilities was to tune the organs and he carried out this task on one of the organs in March 1592.

Various other tasks were carried out on the organs from time to time. Four new bellows and other adjustments were made in September 1591 by the firm of Vincentio da Sulmona. And among payments in March 1592 to Lelio Pasqualino a Canon of S. Maria Maggiore, was an account for adjustments made to some old bellows on an organ, perhaps on another organ.

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187 Rsm: *Giustificazioni* 7 1593–1594, Mandato No. 79 (1594): ‘... Et piu a quello che aiutava all Ms. Hier.° organista una giornata...’

188 See below notes 189, 190, and 191.


Part Two

Stylistic Analysis
INTRODUCTION

Until recently it was thought that the style of the Roman School was largely that of Palestrina, and other composers were regarded as imitators. It is now becoming apparent that this is not so and that distinguishing features can be found between the various members of that School. The following chapters attempt to define some of these features through a study of the music of Stabile, a younger contemporary of Palestrina by some 15 years and one of the School’s more important members, comparing him where possible to other Roman composers.

The development of Stabile’s style can be traced with some certainty through the 1570s and 1580s due to the existence of a manuscript dated 1575 and the publications which began to appear in the 1580s. Although the date for the completion of a manuscript or publication does not necessarily mean that a work was written at that time, it does provide a terminus post quem for the date of composition, and the most forward-looking motets in each give a good indication of his stage of development at that particular time.

Stabile’s two major extant collections, the 1585 and the 1589 publications, include both conservative and forward-looking compositions with the double-choir motets on the whole exhibiting the most progressive features in each case. Apart from his twelve-voice contribution to the collaborative Missa Cantantibus organis, and his three-choir litany which is a different line of development altogether, Stabile does not seem to have been attracted to composing for multiple choirs, preferring instead to remain with the eight-voice idiom. Neither does he move into the field of the mixed concertato style,¹ this latter characteristic placing him securely within the 16th

¹Music where the textures and groupings change freely throughout and where solo voices are incorporated, the whole being supported by a basso continuo, as opposed to music for distinct separated choirs.
century Renaissance style along with his better-known older contemporaries Palestrina and Lassus.

The inclusion of both conservative and forward-looking works suggests that Stabile chose a selection of motets from among his earlier compositions as well as more recent ones for insertion into each publication. This is even hinted at in the dedication of the Liber Tertius where he says that the collection was assembled without order. And as further evidence, the motet Obsecro Domine, originally intended for inclusion in the Liber Secundus, was eventually inserted in the Liber Tertius.\(^2\)

There is also the possibility that a motet published in the 1580s which gives every appearance of being an earlier composition, may have been composed in a deliberately conservative style. This certainly seems to be the case for the two-part motet, Domine ne in furore – Convertere Domine from the Liber Secundus, where the secunda pars, composed in a more conservative style, is in direct contrast to its progressive prima pars.

The sacred works to be discussed and their dates of publication are listed below followed by the compositions in manuscript. Items first published in the same collection have been grouped together. The third and later columns indicate the republication of an item. The numbers attached to the three Litanies of the Blessed Virgin Mary are used here and in the following chapters as a convenient way of distinguishing them.

### TABLE 5

**DATE OF PUBLICATION OR COPYING OF THE SACRED WORKS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LETANIAE BMV ET NOMINIS JESU</th>
<th>DATE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ave Maria gratia plena (incomplete)</td>
<td>1583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Litany of the BVM [2]</td>
<td>1583 1596</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Litany of Jesus</td>
<td>1583 1596</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salve Regina a 8 (incomplete)</td>
<td>1583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ave Regina celorum a 8 (incomplete)</td>
<td>1583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alma Redemptoris a 8</td>
<td>1583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regina caeli (incomplete)</td>
<td>1583</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Quam pulchrae — Favus distillans | 1583 |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LIBER SECUNDUS</th>
<th>DATE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sancte Pater</td>
<td>1585</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ego sum panis — Caro mea — Multi ergo</td>
<td>1585</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pecem relinquuo vobis</td>
<td>1585 1588</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domine ne in furore — Convertere Domine</td>
<td>1585</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cum pervenisset Barnabas</td>
<td>1585</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^2\)See 'The Primary Sources', p. 326.
Pater Abraham 1585
Alma Redemptoris a 5 1585
Quæ est ista 1585
Tollite jugum meum 1585
Juste et pie vivamus 1585 1588
Apollinaris inclyti 1585
Cantantibus organis 1585
Veni Sancte Spiritus 1585
Tu gloria Jerusalem 1585
Stephanus plenus gratia 1585
Quæramus cum pastoribus 1585 1588
Lux perpetua 1585 1604

LIBER TERTIUS
Quam bene magnanimos 1589
Obsecro Domine 1589
Ibant Apostoli 1589 1590
Hi sunt qui cum mulieribus 1589
Sub tuum præsidium 1589
Notas mihi fecisti — Tu es qui restitues 1589
Salve Regina — Eia ergo — Et Jesum 1589
Sicut cervus 1589
Ego sum vitis vera 1589
Nisi quia Dominus — Anima nostra 1589
Usque modo — Petite et accipietis 1589
Hi sunt qui venerunt — Dignus es Domine 1589 1590 1613 1617 1621
Pastores loquebantur 1589
Victimæ paschali 1589 1590
Venit sponsa Christi 1589

Hymnus de gloria paradisi 1590

ANTHOLOGIES
Beata es Virgo Maria 1590
Mane nobiscum Domine 1590

Litany of the BVM [3] 1596
Litany of the BVM [1] 1596

Deus misereatur nostri 1604

Nos autem gloriari 1607

Nunc dimittis 1611 1621

WORKS IN MANUSCRIPT
Antiphon and hymns from Codex 61 COPIED c. 1575
Jubilate Deo — Laudate nomen 1585
Omnes Gentes 1585
Responsoria in Natali’s Domini 16th C
‘Polish’ Litany ?
Doubtful Authenticity

Iste Sanctus
In tribulatione — Propterea confitebor

Three stylistic periods have been identified, the main catalyst for development being the introduction of note nere to the sacred style. In the single-choir works this brings about contrasts between the note nere and note bianche notation either for rhythmic or expressive purposes. There is also an increasing use of the homophonic texture. In the double-choir works, an associated increase in the fragmentation of the text also leads to a faster interchange between choirs. The works belonging to each of the three periods are given in Table 6.

Codex 61 from the Lateran archives, dated 1575, provides some evidence for dating the earlier periods since we may assume that Stabile, who must have been associated with its copying in some way, would include fairly recently-composed works. If this supposition is correct, the items from the middle period were probably composed after c.1575, but before 1589 when the late works Quam bene magnanimos and His sunt qui venerunt — Dignus es Domine were published. Due to the later development of the double-choir technique in Rome, Stabile’s earliest compositions in this style were probably not composed until c. 1578 when he moved to the German College.

Table overleaf...
### TABLE 6

**STYLISTIC DISTRIBUTION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EARLIER STYLE</th>
<th>MIDDLE PERIOD</th>
<th>LATE STYLE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ego sum—Caro—Multi ergo</strong></td>
<td><strong>FIRST DOUBLE-CHOIR WORKS</strong></td>
<td><strong>Quam bene magnanimos</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Cum pervenisset Barnabas</em></td>
<td>Litany of Jesus</td>
<td>Nisi quia—Anima nostra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tollite jugum meum</td>
<td>Quixamus cum pastoribus</td>
<td>Hymnus de gloria paradisi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juste et pie vivamus</td>
<td>Veni Sanctus Spiritus</td>
<td>Deus misereatur nostri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obscuro Domine</td>
<td>Victimae paschali</td>
<td>Nos autem gloriari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ibant apostoli</strong></td>
<td>Litany of the BVM [3]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ego sum vitis vera</strong></td>
<td>WORKS WITH NOTE NERE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sub tuum præsidium</strong></td>
<td>Quam pulchra—Favus distillans</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Salve—Eia—Et Jesum</strong></td>
<td>Alma Redemptoris a 8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sicut cervus</td>
<td>Sancte Pater</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Usque modo—Petite</td>
<td>Pacem relinquo vobis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mane nobiscum Domine</td>
<td>Alma Redemptoris a 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beata es Virgo Maria</td>
<td>Domine—Convertere</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mss</strong></td>
<td>Cantantibus organis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hæc dies</strong></td>
<td>Apollinaris inclyti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Audi benigne Conditor</strong></td>
<td>Tu gloria Jerusalem</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lauda mater ecclesia</strong></td>
<td>Stephanus plenus gratia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jubilate Deo—Laudate</strong></td>
<td>Lux perpetua</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Omnès Gentes</strong></td>
<td>Quæ est ista</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DOUBTFUL AUTHENTICITY</strong></td>
<td>Hi sunt qui cum multicipius</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Ms)</td>
<td>Notas mihi—Tu es qui restites</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Iste Sanctus</strong></td>
<td>Pastores loquebantur</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Veni sponsa Christi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Litany of the BVM [1]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nunc dimittis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**DOUBTFUL AUTHENTICITY** (Ms)

* * *

**Part Two** *Introduction*  

98
The Earlier Style

3

THE EARLIER STYLE

- EARLY OR CONSERVATIVE WORKS -

The fundamental technique of all works in this period, and most of Stabile's works for single choir from the later periods, is imitative counterpoint with short passages of homophony for contrast. The most conservative pieces of this early group contain no homophony at all and the imitative texture is maintained throughout. This use of the imitative texture sets the single-choir works apart from the later double-choir motets, where the homophonic texture becomes more important. Within the imitative environment, a texture can be basically contrapuntal although simultaneous voice pairings may occur, or in one of the short homophonic passages there can be delayed or anticipated movement of (usually) one voice, or again decorated homophony may occur. Pure homophony is rare.

While the works in this section have been grouped together largely because of their lack of note nere, Ego sum vitis vera and Jubilate Deo 1a pars provide the only isolated exceptions. In each there is one entry containing rhythmic displacement at the crotchet level or, as I will term it in the interests of brevity, the off-beat crotchet entry, through the use of a crotchet rest in the Cantus at b. 24 of the former, and at b. 45 of the Tenor Secundus in the latter. The reason for this in an otherwise totally note bianche style is not clear but could be due to the fact that these were later compositions written in a conservative style rather than early works since Ego sum vitis vera, for example, was not published until 1589. Off-beat crotchet entries are not

1 Obscuro Domine and three of the canonic motets, Tollite jugum meum, Juste et pie vivamus, and Beata es Virgo Maria.
EXAMPLE 3.1. Stabile: *Multi ergo* 3a pars (bb. 66–69)

This formula also makes an appearance in the music of Palestrina, where the minim is the unit, and as in Stabile, it is more common for these pairs to be quitted by step in a continuing downward or upward line, or to occur as lower auxiliaries.

G. A. Dragoni likewise rarely uses this idiom. The present writer can find only one instance in his publication of 1600, in the Bassus of *Lauda felix*, where a quaver pair is approached by step but left by leap and, as with Stabile and Palestrina, he usually employs quaver pairs which either pass or occur as lower auxiliaries. This is the case too in Giovannelli’s *Sacrarum modulationum* (1593).

Apart from *Salve Regina* 1a pars and its *tertia pars*, *Et Jesum* where simultaneous rests occur as an expressive device, this feature is absent from Stabile’s earlier style. Simultaneous cadences in all voices, however, are present especially prior to a homophonic passage (EXAMPLE 3.2).

bergier, *Credo*, bb. 55 and 183. They are a feature of the single-choir rather than the double-choir works.


8For further discussion of *Salve Regina*, see below pp. 111–117.
otherwise found until the motets of the *Liber Secundus*. There are none in the complete motets and remaining extant voices of the *Letanice* 1583. On the other hand, isolated uses of *note nera* did occur in works by other composers. For example in *Ioannes Antiochenus* by Giovanni Andrea Dragoni, a contemporary of Stabile, there are two occurrences in the Tenor of the \( \text{\textbullet} \) \( \text{\textbullet} \) figure (no text) in an otherwise *note bianche* notation. Similarly, in Giovannelli’s setting of *Iste Sanctus* there is one occurrence of an off-beat crotchet entry.

Text-expressive devices in this earlier style tend, on the whole, to be rather subtle and understated. Two of the more obvious examples are the use of triple time to depict joy, and in *Omnes Gentes* (bb. 58–59), an arpeggiated triad to imitate a trumpet at the words ‘*in voce tubae*’ (‘the sound of a trumpet’). A less obvious example occurs in *Multi ergo* 3a pars where the intensity of the phrase ‘*Durus est hic sermo*’ (‘This is a hard saying’) is amplified by an unusually long string of suspensions. Other text-expressive examples will be noted as they arise.

An ornamental figuration consisting of a pair of quavers, the second of which is quitted by leap (and which is consonant), makes its first appearance among the works of this period. These are not common, and in each instance the approach is by step in a downward moving melodic line, the descending quavers then left by upward leap (EXAMPLE 3.1).

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2 But see ‘The Middle Period’, p. 149, n. 25.
3 This was published with 22 other motets by Dragoni including one further motet by Arcangelo Crivelli in *Motectorum Io. Andreae Draconis . . . Liber primus* (1600). Dragoni’s works are largely composed in the conservative contrapuntal imitative style, but with an obvious liking for homophony — more so than occurs in these earlier works by Stabile for example. Apart from the isolated use of the dotted crotchet + quaver mentioned above, there are no *note nera*. For contents of this publication, see ‘Secondary and Secular Sources’, p. 369.
4 This was published in Giovannelli’s *Sacrarum modulationum . . . liber primus*, 5, 8v (Rome, 1593). See p. 118 for further discussion of this motet. Transcriptions of the contents of this publication have been made available to me by Dr Paolo Teodori.
6 The only other examples from this period occur in *Ibant Apostoli*, bb.15 and 41; *Laudate nomen* 2a pars, b. 20 and *Lauda mater ecclesia*, bb. 7 and 21. From the middle period they can be found in the motets *Convertere Domine* 2a pars, b. 59; *Quae est ista*, b. 45; and *Tu es qui restitues* 2a pars, b. 26. They are also found in the masses, *Missa Vestiva i colli*, Gloria, bb. 78, 81, 116; *Missa Ung gay

Footnote cont. overleaf . . .
EXAMPLE 3.2. Stabile: *Sub tuum praesidium* (bb. 55–59)

Melismata, either in the middle of a word or on a final syllable, are fairly common throughout all the single-choir motets although most are in this earlier style, where they may occur on both important and relatively unimportant words, with the former being more common. Examples of unimportant words include ‘meam’ and ‘mihi’ from the phrase ‘Tu es qui restitues hereditatem meam mihi’ and ‘ad’ from ‘Sicut cervus desiderat ad fontes aquarum’. Melismata can occur incidentally in one or two voices in the course of a melodic line, or in all voices. In the latter case they may be either imitative or not. Unimportant words tend to receive incidental melismata (EXAMPLE 3.3a), but for significant words they tend to occur in all voices (EXAMPLE 3.3b). A melisma of two breves’ length is quite common, but melismata can be up to twice this length. In *Ibant Apostoli*, for example, there is a melisma of four breves’ length in the Tenor Secundus, beginning at b. 51. The opening of this motet is also notable for the garland of melismata which decorates the opening phrase. Such a concentrated and prolonged use for one imitative point is unusual in Stabile.

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9From the motets *Tu es qui restitues 2a pars* and *Sicut cervus*. 
EXAMPLE 3.3a. Incidental use of melisma at 'erat'. Stabile: *Cum pervenisset Barnabas* (bb. 49-53)

EXAMPLE 3.3b. Imitative use of melisma at 'bibit'. Stabile: *Caro mea 2a pars* (bb. 42-49)
The standard textural variety obtained through alternation of the homophonic and contrapuntal textures was mentioned at the outset and another characteristic is the employment of different combinations of voices. When the texture is homophonic it is usually softened in some way, either through decoration or the delayed or anticipated entry of one voice. Pure homophony, apart from triple time sections, is rare throughout much of Stabile's single-choir style, exceptions being found in the late works.\(^{10}\) As well as textural contrast, homophony can further express the text. Such an example occurs in *Pater Abraham* where the narrative ‘*And Abraham said to him*’ is offset from the previous speech by a simultaneous cadence. This is followed by a slow homophonic passage (with one delayed voice), for the first part of ‘*Et dixit illi Abraham*’. Abraham’s reply is further distinguished from the narration by a reduction in the texture.\(^{11}\)

With the exception of *Jubilate Deo* 1a pars, where the motet begins homophonically (with one delayed voice), and two *tertia partes*, *Et Jesum* and *Multi ergo*, all motets begin imitatively at a distance of a semibreve or more.\(^{12}\) In fact homophonic openings are rare until the late works, which all open homophonically. For the imitative openings, with the exception of *Salve Regina* 1a pars which opens with a dotted minim, each individual voice begins with a semibreve or breve before moving to the smaller values.

Imitation is ordinarily both melodic and rhythmic for at least the first few notes, following which there is free counterpoint, but on occasion canonic imitation is continued for the whole phrase (EXAMPLE 3.4). At intermediate points, the imitation may be more rhythmic than melodic, as at ‘*quoniam*’ in EXAMPLE 3.5.

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10 The only examples of pure homophony from this earlier style occur in *Salve Regina* 1a pars, bb. 31–35; *Et Jesum* 3a pars, bb. 32–34; and *Jubilate Deo* 1a pars, bb. 4–6 and 50–52.

11 See *Pater Abraham*, beginning at b. 33.

12 Dragoni is a composer who shows a liking for a more prompt entrance of a second voice. In both *Petre amas me* and *Exultate omnium turba* (*Motectorum ... Liber primus*, 1600), for example, the second voice enters after a minim, and in *Stans Beata Agnes*, the paired voices enter together. In Giovannelli's *Sacrarum modulationum*, 1593, five out of eleven single-choir motets begin either two voices together, all voices together, or the second voice is brought in at a minim's distance.
EXAMPLE 3.4. Stabile: *Ego sum panis vitae* 1a pars (bb. 65–73)

EXAMPLE 3.5. Stabile: *Ibant Apostoli* (bb. 26–28)
Intermediate imitation is also usually at the distance of a semi breve or more. Close imitation at a minim’s distance, creating on- and off-beat imitation (*per arsin et thesin*), does occur but becomes more common in the middle and late works. In this first period the number of voices concerned is usually two. In *Salve Regina*, for example, the motet opens with a rising motive, the second voice entering on the off-beat (EXAMPLE 3.6). This rising motive was a favourite theme among composers and is found combined and recombined in countless ways.

**EXAMPLE 3.6. Stabile: Salve Regina 1a pars (bb. 1–4)**

Voice pairing is especially prevalent in the single-choir items with the exception of the canonic motets where it is noticeably absent. This can present itself in a variety of ways. In *Cum pervenisset Barnabas*, the paired voices employ the same theme resulting in parallel movement (EXAMPLE 3.7). More common are differing themes in similar rhythms and moving in contrary motion (EXAMPLE 3.8).

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13For some of the other examples from the early period, see *Multi ergo 3a pars*, bb. 65, 67–68; *Cum pervenisset Barnabas*, bb. 54, 62; *Sub tuum praesidium*, bb. 15–16; or *Ego sum vitis vera*, b. 46.

14It can, however, be found in *Juste et pie vivamus*, beginning at b. 12, for the section ‘*in hoc sæculo*’ where the paired voice is one of the non-canonic voices.
EXAMPLE 3.7. Stabile: *Cum pervenisset Barnabas* (bb. 15–22)

EXAMPLE 3.8. Stabile: *Ibant Apostoli* (bb. 19–26)
Voice pairing with rhythmically contrasting themes occurs too in this style. In
EXAMPLE 3.9, following a similar opening, the paired themes consist of a faster
moving melismatic motive and a slower syllabic motive. Here the entries of each pair
are also staggered and the order of entry in the second pair is reversed.

EXAMPLE 3.9. Stabile: Ego sum panis vitae 1a pars (bb. 41–48)
In another example of staggered entries, the counterpoint is also inverted (EXAMPLE 3.10).

**EXAMPLE 3.10.** Stabile: *Caro mea* 2a pars (bb. 33–40)

And to extend this idea even further, Stabile will also on occasion incorporate staggered entries in which the order of entry is reversed, and where the counterpoint is also inverted (EXAMPLE 3.11).\(^{15}\)

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\(^{15}\) Another example of this occurs in *Convertere Domine* 2a pars at bb. 42–43.
Invertible counterpoint can also occur in a less obvious manner. In *Ego sum panis vitæ* the Tenor Primus and Bassus repeat in inversion what had been heard in the Cantus and Altus six bars previously, without much chance of this subtlety being noticed by any other than the singers themselves.\(^{16}\)

An unusual passage of vocal scoring occurs in *Mane nobiscum* where for a short section, the two highest voices are heard over the lowest line in an almost Baroque texture (EXAMPLE 3.12). Again, this may be an indication of a later composition composed in the earlier style rather than an early work.

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\(^{16}\) *Ego sum panis vitæ* 1a pars, bb. 54–57 and bb. 62–65.

To conclude this section, I will discuss in greater detail two motets: *Salve Regina*, a text which was set by many other Roman composers, and *Iste Sanctus*, attributed to Stabile in a manuscript, but published in an almost identical setting by Ruggiero Giovannelli.

**A COMPARATIVE DISCUSSION**

*Salve Regina*, the Marian antiphon for Trinity Sunday until Advent, was a popular text among Roman composers and was set by, among others, Stabile, Palestrina,
Victoria, Marenzio, Felice Anerio, Lassus, Soriano, Philips, and Paolo Papini. Both Felice Anerio and Francesco Soriano also composed settings in falsobordone style.

Most settings make reference to the chant by inserting the intonation prior to the opening or by quoting the intonation in the opening motive. All have chosen either D-dorian or G-dorian as the mode. Several composers also quote the chant at ‘vita, dulcedo et spes nostra’, and Marenzio and Stabile incorporate traces of it throughout their motets, Stabile in a more obvious manner than Marenzio.

Certain things were common when setting this text. For example many composers insert a break mid-verse to simulate a sigh before the word ‘suspiramus’. This was a common madrigalism, and Lassus, Victoria, Marenzio, and Philips as well as Stabile have done this. Victoria, Stabile, and Soriano incorporate a following break as well. Philips has even placed a break in the middle of the word. Paolo Papini has taken a quite different approach in his eight-voice setting, where the breathlessness associated with sighing and weeping has been depicted by a sudden increase in the rate of declamation, effecting by a change to note nere. This is all the more apparent since note nere are not employed anywhere else in the setting.

The phrase ‘in hac lachrymam valle’ (‘in this vale of tears’) is often set with a descending motif (EXAMPLE 3.18). Lassus has highlighted these words even further with a series of suspensions and Philips has also made use of the suspension at this point. Slow homorhythmic declamation at certain places in the text is seen in some

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18 This chant can be found in LU, p. 276.

19 See p. 117, Example 3.19, bb. 16–17.
works, most noticeably at ‘Et Jesum’. All the composers under consideration apply this texture at this point in at least one of their settings. Most are composed in C, with the exception of the polyphonic setting by Felice Anerio and that by Philips, but while Anerio’s motet contains one instance of five consecutive crotchets with text underlaid, it makes no real move to note nere notation. Philips on the other hand in his later publication of 1612 does make a definite move to note nere, but only for a very short passage at ‘suspiramus’ where there are entries containing the off-beat crotchet entry and an ascending four-note quaver run.

Harmony is employed for expressive purposes with the use of a chord on the flat submediant often followed by a cadence or move to the third of the mode (also a madrigalism).

**Example 3.13.** Stabile: *Et Jesum* 3a pars (bb. 31–35)

The two extant voices of Stabile’s eight-voice setting of this same text indicate that he has employed exactly the same harmonic progression at the same place in the text. This root movement was also associated with a semitonal movement in an upper voice from the fifth of the mode to the flat sixth and back to the fifth.

This chord progression was favoured by a number of composers. Passages where it is particularly prominent are: ‘suspiramus, gementes et flentes’, ‘Et Jesum’ or ‘O clemens, O pia, O dulcis’. These are very meaningful phrases and this chord, which is often emphasized by a slowing in the harmonic rhythm, must have held special appeal.

Jonathan Couchman notes that this progression was favoured by Felice Anerio, and he cites as his example the passage ‘Et Jesum’ from Anerio’s five-voice setting of this
text. However, he has not noted that Anerio has used exactly the same progression at the same textual position in his four-voice setting (EXAMPLE 3.14). Both examples include a slowing of the harmonic rhythm and are followed by a move to the third of the mode.

**EXAMPLE 3.14.** Felice Anerio: *Salve Regina* (Proske, *Musica Divina*, i/iii, p. 536)

Anerio employs this progression yet again at ‘*O clemens*’ in another four-voice setting (in falsobordone style), and this is followed by the semitonal movement in the Tenor at ‘*O pia*’.

**EXAMPLE 3.15.** Felice Anerio: *Salve Regina* (Proske, *Musica Divina*, i/iii, p. 463)

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Victoria too has applied the progression containing the flat submediant at 'O dulcis' in his five-voice setting, but has not followed this with a plagal cadence. Stabile has twice used the flat submediant at the passage 'Ad te suspiramus, gementes' and this chord is emphasized by the homophonic setting as indeed it is in the above EXAMPLES 3.14 and 3.15 by Felice Anerio.

**EXAMPLE 3.16.** Stabile: *Salve Regina* 1a pars (bb. 31–35)

Another favoured progression also containing the flat submediant is based on the fifth of the mode, and results in a semitonal move in the Bass, rather than an upper voice, *i.e.* from D–Eb–D in G-dorian or A–B♭–A in D-dorian. This was also very common at certain textual points. It can be found in Felice Anerio’s four-voice setting, at the words ‘O pia’, and in Palestrina’s, four-voice setting at the same place (EXAMPLES 3.17a and 3.17b).

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22Victoria: *Opera omnia*, Tomus vii, p. 111.
EXAMPLE 3.17a. Felice Anerio: Salve Regina (Proske, Musica Divina, i/iii, p. 537)

EXAMPLE 3.17b. Palestrina: Salve Regina (Le opere complete, xii, p. 113, bb. 43-46)

Paolo Papini too makes a feature of the semitonal movement in the Bass in his settings of Salve Regina for four, six, and eight voices. In the six-voice setting this occurs at ‘gementes et flentes’ (EXAMPLE 3.18), and also at ‘Et Jesum’ (b. 40) and at ‘O clemens, O pia’ of the same motet (note also the simultaneous false relations at b. 25 of Example 3.18 and the juxtaposed false relations at b. 26). In the setting for eight voices this movement presents itself at ‘et flentes’ (b. 18) and again at ‘O clemens O pia’ (b. 41), but in these, root position chords are employed. (EXAMPLE 3.19). 23

23See also ‘Musica ficta’, pp. 268–272 for further comment on Papini.
EXAMPLE 3.18. Papini: *Salve Regina* a 6 (bb. 24–29)

EXAMPLE 3.19. Papini: *Salve Regina* a 8 (bb. 15–19)
MISATTRIBUTION OR PLAGIARISM

The motet *Iste Sanctus* exists in a manuscript copied in the 17th century where it is attributed to 'Anibal Stabilis'. A very similar motet of the same name was also published as the first item in Ruggiero Giovannelli's *Sacrarum modulationum... liber primus 5, 8vv* (Rome, 1593). The beginning and ending of both settings is almost the same but some passages in the middle have been substantially altered or re-written. On the following pages are the complete motets by both composers with Giovannelli's motet directly beneath the motet attributed to Stabile so that the differences can be seen easily. These range from small ornamental changes to larger passages which have been virtually re-written. New material occurring in Giovannelli's setting has been outlined in solid lines. Material appearing in one voice in Stabile's motet but which appears in another voice in Giovannelli's motet has been outlined in dotted lines in both and joined by an arrow. Bar numbers given above each setting apply to both motets and comments have been added to the pages beneath the example where required. Blank bars in either motet (pp. 125, 127 and 131), indicate no material for those bars and were inserted for the purposes of this example to keep the bar numbers the same between the two motets, in addition to showing where material was removed or added in all voices.

Example begins overleaf...
The Earlier Style 119

**EXAMPLE 3.20. Stabile and Giovannelli: Iste Sanctus**

The first 25 bars have small alterations only, such as added or removed ornamentation, the addition of a rest prior to an entry, or a change in the text underlay.
The alteration in the Altus in the Giovannelli version brings this entry into conformity with the other imitative entries for this point.
The addition of a rest in the Altus allows the return of the first imitative point to stand out. The rest is already in the Cantus and Bassus parts of the Stabile version at bb. 12 and 14 (but see point 3 overleaf where there is no rest prior to the new point).
1. At b. 14, the A in the Altus thickens the harmony.
2. Ornamentation removed.
3. Text altered at bb. 16–18 in the Altus of Giovannelli version, but unlike previous entries there is no rest prior to the entry. The change in text may have been to avoid direct pairing with the Tenor.
Changes at b. 21 in the Altus and Tenor allow for insertion of rests at b. 22 and thus let some 'air' into the texture.
1. See note on previous page.
2. Decoration of cadence.
3. Ornamentation added.
In the next section from bb. 26 to 39 (pp. 125-128), the 'usque ad mortem' and 'et a verbis impiorum non timuit' imitative points include some substantial alteration consisting of a tightening up of the texture, compressing Stabile's 14 bars into Giovannelli's 8 bars. A number of entries are also moved from one voice to another (indicated by arrows on the score), but only the first or last part of a phrase, not the complete phrase.
Density of texture increased by Giovannelli. The omission of F♯ in the Altus of Giovannelli’s motet (b. 30) is due to the now immediate entry of the next imitative point on F♯.
From b. 40 the two settings once again largely correspond bar-by-bar apart from an insertion in Giovannelli’s motet at b. 55. A noticeable rhythmic addition in Giovannelli’s setting is the off-beat crotchet entry at b. 40. This is the only note nere feature in either motet. While the bars largely correspond, and the musical content is recognizably the same, there is more alteration than for the first 20 bars.
1. The F in the Altus creates harmonic variety.
2. Double suspension in the Cantus and Quintus avoided by Giovannelli.
1. The Altus phrase at Giovannelli bb. 50–52 is a compressed and altered version of the Stabile phrase at Altus, bb. 49–52.
2. Extra entry inserted in the Tenor at b. 51 of Giovannelli's setting.
3. Movement of voice entries from one part to another continues here and on the following pages.
Points 1 and 2 result in an increased density of texture.
From b. 61 to b. 69, a large amount of material is added in the Giovannelli motet.
Giovannelli avoids the minor sound of the Stabile example with a cadence on C rather than G at b. 64, followed at b. 65 by contrapuntal movement based on F rather than D. This is continued over the page at b. 68 where the Eb in Stabile's Cantus becomes Eb in the Giovannelli example.
From b. 70, the two motets return to an almost exact reproduction of one another except that the two Tenor parts have been exchanged.

Both versions retain the text expression for ‘supra firmam petram’ with the descending breves heard successively in the Bassus, Cantus and Altus.25

25Victoria also set this text and he has likewise made a feature of this very obvious place for text expression, but in the Tenor rather than in the Bassus, and with an irregular rather than a directly descending passage of breves. See Victoria: Opera Omnia, Tomus i, p. 43.
1. At b. 72 F# is omitted from the Cantus in Giovannelli, but would have probably been added through the rules of musica ficta.
2. At b. 73 Giovannelli has omitted the ornamentation in the Cantus, perhaps to retain the long-held notes for 'supra firmam' as long as possible before the final cadence.
In summary, the existence of these two very similar motets attributed to two different composers could mean one of several things:

1. The attribution to Stabile is incorrect in this 17th century copy and both versions are by Giovannelli, the second one being a revision.

2. Giovannelli took Stabile’s motet without acknowledgment, tightened it up and increased the density of its texture considerably (see especially the extra imitative entries on pp. 126, 130 and 131)

3. Still another possibility, though perhaps the least likely, is that it was included in Giovannelli’s 1593 publication as a tribute to Stabile but the attribution was mistakenly omitted.

Since Iste Sanctus was published in Giovannelli’s collection, it must remain as a work of dubious authenticity as far as Stabile is concerned.

* * *
THE MIDDLE PERIOD

• FIRST DOUBLE-CHOIR WORKS •
(after c. 1578)

With the exception of one or two single-choir items, the double-choir works in each publication represent Stabile's more forward-looking sacred compositions. This is perhaps not surprising since the last quarter of the 16th century saw a rapid rise in the popularity of polychoral music in Rome at the expense of works for single choir. One of the most important institutions for this growth was the oratory of Philip Neri, followed by the many other oratories and their confraternities which soon sprang up in the city, and from the 1580s on, polychoral music was almost invariably included in the celebration of certain services on the major feast days of the particular confraternity concerned.\(^1\)

\(^1\)For more on the development of the oratory movement particularly Philip Neri's Oratory, see Smither, *A History of the Oratorio*, passim. For information on other Roman Oratories, see Noel O'Regan, 'Roman Confraternities and Their Oratories, 1550–1600', in *Atti del XIV Congresso della Società Internazionale di Musicologia*, 3 vols, edited by Angelo Pompilio, Donatella Restani, Lorenzo Bianconi and F. Alberto Gallo, (Torino, 1990), iii, pp. 891–98, also O'Regan, 'Sacred Polychoral Music', i, pp. 89–92. A confraternity to which Stabile belonged was the Compagnia dei Musici di Roma (also known as the Confraternitatis Musicorum de Urbe), and he may also have had associations with the Arciconfraternità della Santissima Trinità. There were also various confraternities or congregations at the German College and Stabile was expected to provide the music for these. See 'Chronological Survey', pp. 24–25; 'Choirs and Performance Practice', p. 53, and p. 58, n. 74; and 'The Primary Sources' pp. 338–339.
Another reason for the growth of polychoral music may have been to reflect the importance of Rome as a spiritual centre, in a similar manner to the 'state motets' of Lassus in Munich and the Gabrieliis in Venice. Grandeur and festive occasions were certainly favoured by the Jesuits, a society with which Stabile had long associations during his term as maestro di cappella at the German College. This would have provided encouragement for the development of his own double-choir technique and there is no doubt that some, if not most, of his polychoral compositions were composed for performance there.

The origins and early development of polychoral music have been thoroughly discussed by Anthony Carver and the development relating specifically to Rome by Noel O'Regan, and the reader is referred to these sources. However, a brief history of Roman development is not out of place here.

The first examples of polychoral music in Rome are two eight-voice works and a nine-voice work by Costanzo Festa composed in the first half of the 16th century. Both his nine-voice Miserere and the eight-voice Te Deum are set for antiphonal choirs which sing alternate verses. However, in the final verse where they combine, the two choirs lose their separate identities and form various groupings. The nearest approach to a true polychoral style occurs in Festa's eight-voice canon Inviolata et integra est where both choirs retain their identity. Further eight-voice works were composed during the course of the century but with no division into consistent groups. It is these consistent groups which form one of the main identifying characteristics of polychoral music.

The next evidence of polychoral music in Rome appears with the publication of Giovanni Animuccia's Secondo libro delle laudi in 1570. This contained a number of works for eight voices and was compiled for Philip Neri's oratory. The purpose of these works, so the preface states, was to hold the interest of the important people

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2 See Noel O'Regan, 'Sacred Polychoral Music', i, p. 10, and p. 35, n.11.
3 Anthony F. Carver, Cori spezzati: The development of sacred polychoral music to the time of Schutz, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1988). For development relating more specifically to Rome, see O'Regan, 'Sacred Polychoral Music', passim.
4 Composers who wrote these eight-voice works include Ghiselin Danckerts, Jacques Arcadelt, and Cristóbal de Morales, with two other anonymous pieces. See O'Regan 'Sacred Polychoral Music' i, p. 145.
5 See Carver, Cori spezzati, i, pp. 5–12 where he looks at Zarlino's and Vincentino's discussions on the techniques required for composing in this style. Carver's resulting definition is presented on p. xvi.
who frequented the oratory while maintaining a clarity in the text. However, like Festa’s earlier settings, consistent groupings are not maintained. This lack of consistent groupings also applies to the eight-voice works published by Victoria and Palestrina in 1572. The first real polychoral music from Rome was published by Palestrina in 1575. These works were composed for two individual choirs which are harmonically independent.

In the earliest works, a sectionalized and antiphonal nature was the main feature of the texts set. Thus litanies, Marian antiphons, sequences, and non-liturgical psalm-motets were commonly set by Roman composers. The texts of these provided a natural division of the music into two choirs, with the change-over between choirs occurring at each verse, half verse, invocation, or petition. There was usually a freer treatment of the final verse or doxology or both, with a little more antiphonal interaction leading up to a final tutti. This was typical of the style in Rome before about 1585 and is found in many of Palestrina’s motets for double choir. An example of this early style is Stabile’s Easter sequence Victima paschali.

Immediately apparent in Victima paschali are the long passages set for each choir, in fact whole verses of the sequence. Antiphonal interaction which is so much a part of Stabile’s later style does not occur until the sixth verse at b. 44, when the text becomes more fragmented and some antiphonal dialogue occurs prior to the concluding tutti. In this tutti section as indeed in all tutti sections of Stabile’s motets for two choirs, the Bass lines are harmonically independent, with the two Bassus parts usually moving in contrary motion. The texture in the longer passages for each

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6 The preface to this publication is quoted in Lewis Lockwood, ‘Animuccia, Giovanni’, NG., i, p. 437.
7 For discussion on these works by Animuccia, see O’Regan, ‘Sacred Polychoral Music’, i, pp. 145–149.
8 Victoria, Motecta, 4–6, 8vv (Venice, 1572); and Palestrina, Mottetorum liber secundus, 5, 6, 8vv (Venice, 1572), see O’Regan, ‘Sacred Polychoral Music’, i, pp. 149–152.
10 There are three rare exceptions to the harmonic independence, all occurring on weak minimis: Queramus cum pastoribus, b. 39; Alma Redemptoris a 8, b. 10; and Deus misereatur, b. 28 and again at the repeat at b. 54. This adherence to harmonic completeness for each choir is in contrast to Marenzio who placed little importance on this factor, often writing bass lines for one of the choirs which have the 5th of the chord in relation to the lowest-sounding voice in the other choir. See Roland Jackson’s introduction to Marenzio: Opera omnia, i, p. xi. See also ‘The Late Works’, p. 222, n. 28.
individual choir, while more homophonic than in Stabile's single-choir works, still contains at this stage a fair amount of polyphonic movement. There is very little use of true homophony, apart from its usual occurrence in a triple time section. The lines are ornamented in the customary manner, with the two- and four-note crotchet figure or the quaver pair, all of which are used frequently, and the word 'Maria' calls forth a long melisma. Also apparent are the complete lack of note nere. Structurally the motet is also conservative, depending as it does upon a largely undecorated migrant cantus firmus and the verse structure of the sequence.11

Antiphonal repetition at this period is nearly always varied, though exact repetition increases in the later works. Variety in repetition is usually provided by the inner voices, with the outer voices remaining the same, although the Bassus (and sometimes the Cantus) may be transposed by a fourth or fifth. This was a common technique with Palestrina and other composers in this genre.12 A rare instance of a harmonic and melodic sequence occurs at bb. 44–45. The repetition is diatonic and is transposed down a fourth. This is one of only two instances of a true harmonic and melodic sequence in all Stabile's sacred works.13 Another sequence, this time rising, occurs at bb. 41–44 of Pastores loquebantur but here, although the harmony and the two outer voices remain the same, the notes of the inner voices are altered.

Comparison with settings of the same text by other Roman composers is of interest. Victimae paschali was set twice for double choir by Palestrina, and both motets are largely written in the older liturgical style, with complete verses for each choir.14 Palestrina also includes imitative entries at the beginnings of interior phrases, something not found in Stabile's eight-voice works (although Stabile will on a few occasions delay the entry of one voice),15 and the texture still contains some polyphonic movement, more in one setting than the other. Antiphonal interaction is

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11See also 'Canon, Cantus Firmus and Large-scale Structures', p. 280.
12See also O'Regan, 'Sacred Polyphonal Music', i, p. 175.
13The other example occurs in Alma Redemptoris a 5.
14Modern transcriptions of both motets can be found in Palestrina: Le opere complete, xxxiv, pp. 187 and 251. Neither setting was published by Palestrina, so precise dating is not possible. One is contained in Rvat, Barberini Latini 4184 copied in the 17th century, and the other was transcribed by Franz Espagne for a German edition of Palestrina's works c.1850–60 from a codex now lost. See the introduction to Palestrina: Le opere complete, xxxiv.
15A rare exception to this occurs in Nos autem gloriar, for the imitative point 'et resurrectio nostra', bb. 12–18.
absent from the greater part of both Palestrina's motets as there is no overlap between the choirs, not even cadential, until verses 7 and 8 when there is the usual build up to the final tutti. This is very similar to the style of Stabile's motet, except that cadential overlap is present throughout in his setting, and he employs some interaction a little earlier, at verse 6.

In comparison to both, a later and more concise composition was published by Victoria in 1600. The repetition of verses 4 and 5 produces an AAB form, a structure not found in Stabile. Here there is a much greater fragmentation of the text and a decidedly homophonic texture. Table 7 (overleaf) presents in diagrammatic form the way in which the text has been divided between the two choirs by the three composers.

The greater fragmentation of Victoria's setting and the increased repetition of the phrases, especially in the last verse, is immediately evident. The greater amount of antiphonal movement between the choirs is also evident from the outset. Since Victoria begins with the disciples' question 'Dic nobis Maria, quid vidisti in via?' ('Tell us Mary: say what did you see on the way?'), the immediate movement between choirs has in all probability been intended to depict the questioning disciples. Victoria also makes more of the dialogue opportunity between Mary and the disciples (verses 4 to 7) than either Palestrina or Stabile, since the whole of Mary's reply is given to one choir.

*Queramus cum pastoribus*, another of Stabile's more conservative works, is one of a few double-choir motets to begin in an imitative manner. Most begin homophonically in both the first and second choirs. Where there is an imitative opening in the first choir, the tendency is for the second choir to begin homophonically as in this motet.18

The text of *Queramus cum pastoribus* falls naturally into sections separated by the 'noe' refrains, and this structure has been followed in the motet, with the cantus firmus occurring at the opening of each section and snatches occurring elsewhere.

16A modern transcription of this motet can be found in Victoria: Opera omnia, vii, p. 147.
17The opening three verses, which are omitted from Victoria's setting, may have been intended for plainchant. See also Robert Stevenson, Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age (Berkeley, 1961), pp. 461–62. For a discussion of Stabile's use of large-scale structures, see pp. 278–286.
18In only three motets do both choirs begin in an imitative manner and one of these three is not a prima pars. See Pastores loquebantur, Veni sponsa Christi and Dignus es Domine 2a pars.
### TABLE 7

**TEXT-FRAGMENTATION IN VICTIMAE PASCHALI BY STABILE, PALESTRINA AND VICTORIA**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verse</th>
<th>Choir</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Choir</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Choir</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Choir</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Victimae paschali laudes immolent Christiani.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Victimae paschali laudes immolent Christiani.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Victimae paschali laudes immolent Christiani.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Agnus redemit oves Christus innocens Patri reconciliavit peccatores.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Agnus redemit oves Christus innocens Patri reconciliavit peccatores.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Agnus redemit oves Christus innocens Patri reconciliavit peccatores.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Mors et vita duello conflixere mirando dux vitae mortuus regnat vivus.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Mors et vita duello conflixere mirando dux vitae mortuus regnat vivus.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Mors et vita duello conflixere mirando dux vitae mortuus regnat vivus.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Dic nobis Maria quid vidisti in via?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Dic nobis Maria quid vidisti in via?</td>
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<td>Dic nobis Maria quid vidisti in via?</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sepulchrum Christi viventis et gloriam vidi resurgentis:</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sepulchrum Christi viventis et gloriam vidi resurgentis:</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sepulchrum Christi viventis et gloriam vidi resurgentis:</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Dic nobis Maria quid vidisti in via?</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Angelicos testes sudarium et vestes.</td>
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<td>Angelicos testes sudarium et vestes.</td>
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<td>Angelicos testes sudarium et vestes.</td>
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Jean Mouton also set this text, and both he and Stabile vary the music of the 'noe' refrains at each repetition. Stabile's second and third 'noe' sections are fairly short and succinct, and these contrast with the more substantial first and fourth sections. The repeated Fs of the first 'noe' section become compressed in the final section to create a particularly effective bell-like sound with the repeated note C being tossed from one choir to the other.

Antonio Gualteri's later double-choir setting of this same text seems by comparison rather perfunctory. He has chosen a minor mode which is perhaps not so appropriate to the text and each 'noe' section is given the same treatment. Although large scale repetition did increase in later compositions, and has been employed effectively by other uninteresting composers, it is less effective in this composition owing to the rather uninteresting musical material. Neither is there any use of the common resource of voice exchange between choirs to give some variety. However, there is considerable use of homophonic declamation and significant passages of note nere, largely due to its later date of composition. Like Stabile, Gualteri has employed a tutti for the words 'Te rogamus rex Christe' with the associated slowing down of the harmonic rhythm. This latter feature was often employed at a similar textual point, the 'Jesu Christe' in the Gloria sections of Palestrina's masses. In Stabile's motet, an indirect musical repetition occurs at bb. 92–94, for the words 'rex Christe', almost certainly an intended reference to the words 'de virgine' at b. 58–60.

Tutti sections are more frequent in Stabile's motet as opposed to the verse-by-verse antiphonal style of his sequence although the text, with the exception of the first and last 'noe' sections, is still shared between the two choirs in long fairly even phrases. These phrases contain prominent melismata. A melisma two breves or more in length is uncommon in the double-choir motets but is found on occasion throughout his works (see EXAMPLE 4.1). There is very little antiphonal repetition, apart from the 'noe' sections where, at bb. 117–118, there is also one of the few examples of exact

19See also 'Canon, Cantus Firmus and Large-scale Structures', p. 280.
20Motecta octonis vocibus Antonii Gualterii in terra D. Danielis musices magistri, liber primus. (Venice, 1604). This contains 16 motets by Gualteri and one by Stabile. For contents of this publication and more information on Gualteri, see 'The Primary Sources', pp. 339–340. A transcription of this motet can be found in vol. ii, p. 610 of this thesis.
21See also bb. 26 and 100 of the same work; Victima paschali, bb. 30 and 60; Veni sponsa Christi, bb. 3 and 10; Hi sunt qui venerunt 1a pars, bb. 80 and 106; Dignus es Domine 2a pars, b. 56; and Nos autem gloriaris at b. 16.
repetition. An effective example of varied repetition occurs at the word 'cantemus', where the long melisma also incorporates a phrase of invertible counterpoint. The melisma is first heard in the two upper voices of Choir 1, then passed to the two lower voices before being sung with two added voices by Choir 2, and for the last repetition with all voices (EXAMPLE 4.1).

EXAMPLE 4.1. Stabile: *Queramus cum pastoribus* (bb. 25–35)
There are no note nere in Stabile's setting, although it is more homophonic in texture than the sequence Victimæ paschali, but it still contains a fair amount of polyphony especially by comparison with Gualteri's later and very homophonic motet.

Stabile composed three polychoral litanies and all belong stylistically to this earlier middle period. All are functional in their settings, clearly to enable performance by other than professional singers. Litany texts, by their very nature, fall into either an antiphonal or a responsorial style, or both. Stabile's settings are a mixture of antiphonal treatment, where the choirs alternate complete invocations and petitions, and responsorial, where one choir sings an invocation, the other the accompanying response. This seems to have been standard, since similar treatments are found in settings by Palestrina, Victoria, Soriano and Salvatore Sacchi.  

Texts of litanies divide into three sections: the opening Trinitarian petitions, the series of invocations to the subject of the litany, and the Agnus Dei, and this is reflected in the musical settings of various composers where a tutti, often with concluding double-bars, marks off each section. Because of the length and style of litanies, there is very little antiphonal repetition of any kind and the texture is largely homophonic although there is usually some cadential decoration. All these features occur in Stabile's litanies.

The Litany of the BVM [3] is the most unusual insomuch as it is set for three choirs, two of polyphony and one of chant. This was not common. The usual polychoral format was either for two choirs of polyphony, or for one choir of plainsong which sang the petitions and an answering choir of polyphony which sang the responses. This piece provides an example of the way in which litanies were sometimes performed at the German College under Stabile's direction. It is also divided into three sections, but through textural change rather than by tuttis or double bars. The Trinitarian petitions are sung by the two polyphonic choirs, but for the invocations the choir of chant is introduced and the three choirs then alternate for each invocation

22 For examples of Palestrina's litanies, see Palestrina: Le opere complete, xx; for an example by Victoria, see Victoria: Opera Omnia, vii, p. 151; and for that of Soriano, see Soriano, Francesco, Motets for Eight Voices (1597), vol. i of The Works of Francesco Soriano, edited by S. Philip Kniseley (Gainesville, 1980), p. 91. Sacchi's litany, not yet available in a modern edition, is contained in Missa, Motecta, Magnificat et Litaniae BMV (Rome, 1607). For more information on Sacchi and the contents of his publication, see 'The Primary Sources', pp. 340-343. For discussion on his motet Veni sponsa Christi, see pp. 184-186.
and response until the final Agnus Dei when the two polyphonic choirs combine for the only tutti. The short lead up to this final tutti also contains the only cadential overlap throughout the whole work.

In summary, the main defining characteristics of this early double-choir style include very little or no *note nere*, a preference for varied rather than exact repetition, antiphonal treatment in whole verses or complete phrases, and associated with this a slow rate of antiphonal exchange.

**THE INTRODUCTION OF NOTE NERE**

The most striking development in the motets of this period is the introduction of *note nere* and, in the double-choir works in particular, a marked increase in the use of the homophonic texture and an increasing fragmentation of the text, associated with a faster rate of antiphonal exchange. These textural aspects are in keeping with similar developments in the double-choir compositions of some of Stabile's contemporaries, but Stabile appears to have been among the more progressive of Roman composers in his application of significant passages of *note nere* to sacred compositions.

**UP TO 1583**

Two motets published in 1583 illustrate these new developments, *Quam pulcher* — *Favus distillans* and *Alma Redemptoris a 8*.

Since the single-choir works from Stabile's first publication survive only in an incomplete form, the earliest fully extant published work is *Quam pulcher* — *Favus distillans*. This was included in the anthology *Harmonia miscellae* (1583), although it was probably composed at an earlier date. Stabile's early experiments in *note nere* can be observed in the *prima pars* of this motet. At the words 'tua vino' there is a small section containing four consecutive crotchets with underlaid text, as well as two instances of the \( \cdot \) figure. This latter feature occurs in a purely ornamental manner — it is not used imitatively but rather as part of a melismatic figure. The short passage of *note nere* has been inserted into a notation which is otherwise totally *note bianche* (EXAMPLE 4.2). As well as some syncopation at the crotchet level with the
there are also three closely-spaced entries at b. 31, but with the imitation being more rhythmic than melodic.

**Example 4.2. Stabile: Quam pulchrae Ia pars (bb. 31–35)**

![Example 4.2. Stabile: Quam pulchrae Ia pars (bb. 31–35)](image)

Here and throughout the motet the imitative contrapuntal style, with much melisma and paired imitation, still forms the basis of the texture. Paired imitation occurs at the opening, for example, after which the two motives are repeated in inverted counterpoint.

One of the earliest double-choir motets to include some *note nere* is the eight-voice Alma Redemptoris, published in Stabile’s *Letania BMV et Nominis Jesu* (1583). In one of the two short *note nere* passages, there are two instances of a four-note quaver run (Example 4.3a) and in the other, the \( \uparrow \uparrow \) figure with text underlaid to both notes (Example 4.3b).

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23 This figure does sometimes occur in Palestrina although it is rare, and it usually occurs as part of the ‘consonant fourth’ idiom. See Andrews, *The Technique of Palestrina*, p. 55.

24 This publication is no longer complete, but the motet under discussion survives in the Pelplin Tablatures. In the ensuing discussion I assume that there were no significant changes made, since the two existing parts of the *Letaniae BMV et Nominis Jesu* (1583) tally with those of the later copy.

25 See, however, Codex 58. The first item in this undated Codex, Stabile’s Passion for Palm Sunday, contains a short *note nere* passage at the word ‘Barabbas’ which includes the dotted crotchet + quaver with text, the off-beat crotchet entry, and a four-note quaver run. Since this manuscript was not discovered until the end of a research period in Rome, the present writer was unable properly to assess
EXAMPLE 4.3a. Stabile: *Alma Redemptoris* a 8 (bb. 20–23)

EXAMPLE 4.3b. Stabile: *Alma Redemptoris* a 8 (bb. 38–40)

the stylistic features of the rest of its contents, apart from noting down the items contained therein. For this last aspect, see “The Primary Sources”, p. 354.
These features had occurred earlier in published sacred works by Roman composers but not with any great frequency and mostly as isolated instances. For example, Victoria employed one instance of the \( \text{\textdagger} \text{\textdagger} \) figure with text underlaid in the note nere passage of his six-voice \textit{Nigra sum}, which he published in 1576, and another isolated incidence occurs in his eight-voice \textit{Super flumina}, also published in 1576.\textsuperscript{26}
The four-note quaver run is even less common but does occur in Palestrina’s \textit{Hodie nata est} published 1569 and also in the Benedictus of Palestrina’s \textit{Missa Ut Re Mi Fa Sol La} published 1570 and existing in manuscript from 1563.\textsuperscript{27} In this last instance the figure is even employed imitatively, but it is never common.

Giovannelli, Palestrina and Victoria also set the text of \textit{Alma Redemptoris} for double-choir. Victoria’s setting was published in \textit{Cantica beate virginis vulgo Magnificat}, 1581 and Giovannelli’s in his \textit{Liber Primus}, 1593. Palestrina’s motet was not published during his lifetime but exists in manuscript in Capp. Giulia XIII, 24, f. 5v.\textsuperscript{28}

Palestrina’s and Victoria’s earlier settings contain no note nere, and Giovannelli’s motet, published ten years after Stabile, includes only a very small amount. This consists of the off-beat crotchet entry occurring imitatively in both choirs at ‘succure’, one of the few points containing fast antiphonal exchange which makes Giovannelli’s setting, as already noted by Noel O’Regan, rather conservative.\textsuperscript{29}

\textsuperscript{26}Victoria: \textit{Opera omnia}, i, p. 139, and vii, p. 55. Passages of note nere, as opposed to single isolated occurrences, are absent from Victoria’s motets for single choir with the notable exception of \textit{Nigra sum}, published in 1576.

\textsuperscript{27}Palestrina: \textit{Le opere complete}, v, p. 85, and vi, p. 243. See also Andrews, \textit{The Technique of Palestrina}, pp. 52–53. When consulting modern editions concerning these matters, the researcher must first check whether the original note-values have been retained or reduced. Halved note-values, for example, cause the four-note quaver run to become four semiquavers.

\textsuperscript{28}See O’Regan, ‘Sacred Polychoral Music’, i, p. 112, for contents of this manuscript. Modern editions of the works by Palestrina and Victoria can be found in Palestrina: \textit{Le opere complete}, xxxiv, p. 20, and Victoria: \textit{Opera omnia}, vii, p. 73. A transcription of Giovannelli’s motet from his \textit{Sacrarum modulationum . . . liber primus} (Rome, 1593) has been made available to me by Dr Paolo Teodori. The work attributed to Palestrina in Giul. XIII, 24, was also attributed to Marenzio by Sanini and because of this is included in the modern edition of Marenzio’s works edited by Bernhard Meier and Roland Jackson (Marenzio: \textit{Opera omnia}, iii, p. 7). However, there seems to be no reason to doubt Palestrina’s authorship. See also O’Regan, ‘Sacred Polychoral Music’, i, p. 341.

\textsuperscript{29}O’Regan, ‘Sacred Polychoral Music’, i, p. 228.
However, as O'Regan also notes, what is unusual in this work is the amount of word-painting that is applied. Included are long notes for ‘porta manes’, scale-like runs on ‘maris’, falling figures at ‘cadentii’, and rising scale passages in seven of the eight parts for ‘surgere’. Word-painting is not so evident in the settings by the other composers, although both Stabile and Victoria employ a surge of voices at ‘surgere qui curat populo’, in Stabile’s case following simultaneous rests in all voices (see EXAMPLE 4.3a). Simultaneous rests increase noticeably in Stabile’s later double-choir motets.

Table 8 (overleaf) illustrates the division of the text between the two choirs by these four composers.30 Palestrina’s setting contains the least antiphonal interaction and is the most conservative in that respect. Long passages are given to each choir and in the traditional manner there is no tutti until the conclusion, which follows an increase in antiphonal exchange including some text repetition. Victoria and Stabile are fairly similar to one another in their treatment of the text although Victoria has made more use of the tutti and there is more fragmentation towards the conclusion. Despite Giovannelli’s later date of publication, there is not much more fragmentation in his motet than in the motets by Victoria and Stabile. The most notable exception is the passage at ‘succure’. The text-fragmentation occurring at the opening of Stabile’s setting is not his usual style and he does not employ this again, preferring instead to give the whole of the first phrase to one particular choir or, as in Tu gloria Jerusalem, to begin with a delayed tutti where the second choir enters homophonically with the same text a breve after the homophonic entry of the first choir.

* UP TO 1585 *

• SINGLE-CHOIR MOTETS

The Liber Secundus (1585) contains ten motets for single choir, five of which belong stylistically to the previous period. Pacem relingu vobis and the five-voice Alma Redemptoris are the most conservative of the remaining five in their use of note nere and are similar in this respect to Quam pulchræ — Favus distillans.

30Stabile’s use of text has been based on a reconstruction using the two extant voices as guide. See p. 149, n. 24 above.
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<td>Tu quae genuisti natura mirante</td>
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In both the move to *note nere* is very slight with one short passage in each containing some crotchet declamation, and in *Alma Redemptoris* a 5, one instance of the \( \dot{\text{j}} \) \( \dot{\text{J}} \) figure. As in *Quam pulchrae — Favus distillans* this is purely ornamental and there is no text underlaid to the quaver. In *Pacem relinquo vobis* the instability caused by a change in the unit of beat is an early sign of the expressive use to which Stabile puts *note nere* notation, and in this instance is a colourful representation of the troubled heart ("non turbetur cor vestrum").

In contrast, *Domine ne in furore* 1a pars represents the most forward-looking single-choir motet in the *Liber Secundus*, leaving aside the eight-voice motets *Apollinaris inclyti* and *Cantantibus organis*, discussed at the end of this section. In *Domine ne in furore* 1a pars, the *note nere* section is more substantial, seven breves in length (EXAMPLE 4.4). The change to the more percussive sound of crotchet declamation at 'conturbata sunt ossa mea' ('for my bones are troubled') is another illustration of *note nere* as an expressive device. In this passage, the \( \dot{\text{j}} \) \( \dot{\text{J}} \) figure is employed more deliberately as part of the imitative texture (bb. 53 and 55), as are the off-beat crotchet entries, which pervade all voices in imitation. Syncopation is apparent with several voices thrown to the crotchet off-beat during the course of a line (see for instance the Altus from b. 53, or the Bassus bb. 53–54), and at bb. 52–53 the Tenor Secundus, Cantus, and Tenor Primus, enter imitatively on the half-beats of consecutive minims. This is a new development.

**EXAMPLE 4.4.** Stabile: *Domine ne in furore* 1a pars (bb. 51–59)
Marenzio set a section of this psalm for seven voices. The nearest approach to note nere in his setting are the two consecutive crotchets with text, which occur not surprisingly at ‘ira’ (‘wrath’) (EXAMPLE 4.5). Marenzio’s setting uses very little homophony, and the infrequency of this feature and lack of note nere is probably due to the fact that it was composed at an earlier date, possibly between 1574 and 1580. Stabile’s motet with its forward-looking characteristics was probably composed after 1580.

31 Marenzio: Opera Omnia, i, p. 57.
32 See Roland Jackson’s introduction to Marenzio: Opera Omnia, vol. i.
Homophony, which had formerly been confined to triple time sections, increases over this middle period. Stabile’s six-voice motet *Quæ est ista*, with its greater amount of decorated homophony and contrasting blocks of texture, provides an example. The voice-pairing of the five-voice works changes to groups of three voices, often lower contrasted with higher voices. Other groupings are four voices which combine to form the traditional SATB texture followed by a six-voice tutti, or SATB contrasted with three upper voices of SAT.

The increase in homophony is also apparent in *Domine ne in furore* 1a pars, particularly at its conclusion, where there is the most concentrated use so far. This passage is unusual in that it is almost purely homophonic and it includes all voices (EXAMPLE 4.6).³³ EXAMPLE 4.6 also contains two of the few instances in the single-choir compositions of simultaneous rests in all voices at bb. 65 and 68.

³³Some homophony occurs in the eight-voice *Apollinaris inclyti*, when it breaks into double-choir style at bb. 29–35 and 39–45.
EXAMPLE 4.6. Stabile: *Domine ne in furore* 1a pars (bb. 59-72)

These rests, of a minim or semibreve's duration, are one of the indications of the breakdown of the steady continuous flow of the *prima prattica*. Although remaining rare in the single-choir works, they are much more frequent in the motets for double
choir. In *Quae est ista* at b. 35, the device occurs expressively prior to the word ‘terribilis’, intensifying the feeling of awe created by the static nature of the following homophonic passage.

Related to this is the unusual break at the opening (b. 2) of *Domine ne in furore 1a pars*, created by the minim rest part way through the opening theme (EXAMPLE 4.7). This occurs in each voice but is most prominent in the Tenor Secundus since no other voices are singing at that point. It is clearly inserted for textual articulation and is further evidence of the breakdown of the *prima prattica*.35

**EXAMPLE 4.7.** Stabile: *Domine ne in furore 1a pars* (bb. 1–5)

The homage motet from the *Liber Secundus, Sancte Pater*, is not a true sacred composition due to the subject of its text (Sixtus V), and dates from just before its actual publication (1585).36 For these reasons, one would expect it to be amongst the most progressive in style. This is certainly the case in the *Liber Tertius* where the

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34Simultaneous rests occur in *Domine ne in furore 1a pars* (2x), *Quae est ista* (1x), *Litany of the BVM* [1] (1x), and in *Notas mihi fecisti 1a pars* (1x). In the double-choir works from this period, they occur in *Litany of Jesus* (4x), *Litany of the BVM* [2] (and ‘Polish’ Litany) (4x), *Alma Redemptoris a 8* (2x), *Veni Sancte Spiritus* (2x), *Pastores loquebantur* (1x), *Nunc dimittis* (4x), and *Tu gloria Jerusalem* (1x).

35Similar breaks in the middle of a line, though with other voices continuing the texture, occur in *Apollinaris inclyti*, b. 18; *Tu gloria Jerusalem*, b. 2; and *Lux perpetua*, b. 8, from the middle period; and *Nos autem gloriari*, b. 4, from Stabile’s late period.

36See ‘The Primary Sources’, p. 326. For the text of this motet, see ‘Texts and Translations’, vol. ii of this thesis, p. xlvi.
homage motet, *Quam bene magnanimos*, is without doubt one of the most progressive in the whole collection, and composed in a decidedly madrigalian style. That *Sancta Pater* is not, may owe something to the subject to whom it is directed. While it does display some madrigalian tendencies, especially with regard to word painting, it is otherwise of a more conservative nature. It does, however, contain more than one passage of *note nere*, whereas the other single-choir items of this period include only one. In these *note nere* passages are off-beat crotchet entries and at b. 62 one appearance of the \( \begin{array}{c|c} \end{array} \) \( J \) \( J \) figure. Neither is used imitatively. Both occur with much greater frequency in other motets from the *Liber Secundus*.

*Sancta Pater* opens in the conventional manner typical of the sacred style, that is, with terraced entries separated by long notes, in this case a breve, and with the voices moving from breves into semibreves and finally to minims. Considering its madrigalian tendencies, this is very conservative. None of Stabile’s madrigals of 1585, nor indeed of 1581, begin in this manner. They open either in a much more condensed manner, or homophonically.

Word painting, however, is certainly more clearly in evidence. There is a sudden break into black-note melismata (also containing paired imitation) for ‘*curru*’ (chariot). The word ‘*alto*’ produces, at b. 23, the first ascent in both the Tenor and Cantus voices to A, the highest note of the motet. The second, and only other ascent to this note, occurs at b. 50 for ‘*summum*’ (‘highest’). Another instance of word painting can be found at b. 75 where ‘*rotis*’ (‘wheels’) calls forth a curved melisma.

Borrowing is evident in the works of this period. Part of the text of *Quae est ista* was also set by Palestrina.\(^{37}\) Rhythmic similarities are observed in the openings of both composers’ motets, with the first crotchet melisma in both occurring at the word ‘*progreditur*’. Rhythmic and melodic similarities can be seen at ‘*electa ut sol*’, the melodic similarities due no doubt to a solmization pun on ‘*ut sol*’ (EXAMPLE 4.8a/b). Like Palestrina, Stabile moves some of his entries to the off-beat, but where in Palestrina this is the minim off-beat, in Stabile it begins at the minim off-beat and then moves to the crotchet off-beat as the notation changes into *note nere*.

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EXAMPLE 4.8a. Stabile: *Quae est ista* (bb. 27–35)
EXAMPLE 4.8b. Palestrina: *Quae est ista* (*Le opere complete*, xi, p. 175, bb. 32–40)

The imitative texture is still very much in evidence in Stabile’s motets up to 1585. The *secunda pars* of *Domine ne in furore* — *Convertere Domine*, which is much more conservative than the *prima pars*, contains an example of Stabile’s less common voice pairing with rhythmically contrasting themes (EXAMPLE 4.9). This is immediately followed (from b. 24) by another set of paired entries, this time rhythmically similar, which also employ invertible counterpoint.
EXAMPLE 4.9. Stabile: Convertere Domine 2a pars (bb. 14–25)
The Middle Period

DOUBLE-CHOIR MOTETS

An excellent example of the amount of text-fragmentation which now occurs is *Tu gloria Jerusalem*.

TABLE 9

TEXT-FRAGMENTATION IN STABILE’S *TU GLORIA JERUSALEM*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BAR</th>
<th>CHOIR</th>
<th>TEXT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tutti</td>
<td>Tu gloria Jerusalem Maria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>tu laetitia Israel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>tu laetitia Israel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>tutti</td>
<td>tu laetitia Israel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>tu honorificentia populi nostri.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>tu honorificentia populi nostri.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Benedicta tu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>Benedicta tu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Benedicta tu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>a Deo tuo</td>
<td>a Deo tuo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>a Deo tuo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>a Deo tuo</td>
<td>a Deo tuo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>in omni</td>
<td>in omni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>in omni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>tabernaculo Jacob</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>prae omnibus mulieribus super terram.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>prae omnibus mulieribus super terram.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Benedictus Dominus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Benedictus Dominus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>quia nomen tuum ita magnificavit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>benedictus Dominus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>benedictus Dominus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>quia nomen tuum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>quia nomen tuum ita magnificavit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>ita magnificavit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>ut non recedat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>ut non recedat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>ut non recedat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>ut non recedat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>laus tua</td>
<td>laus tua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>laus tua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>laus tua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>laus tua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>tutti</td>
<td>de ore hominum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>qui memores fuerint virtutis Domini</td>
<td>qui memores fuerint virtutis Domini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>in aeternum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>in aeternum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>in aeternum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>in aeternum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tutti</td>
<td></td>
<td>in aeternum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The tutti at b. 63 is preceded by shorter and shorter antiphonal exchanges, including off-beat crotchet entries and an exact quadruple statement of the words ‘laus tua’, before the full choir enters following dramatic simultaneous rests (EXAMPLE 4.10).
This amount of exact repetition and close antiphonal exchange is new and had not occurred in earlier examples.

**EXAMPLE 4.10.** Stabile: *Tu gloria Jerusalem* (bb. 61–64)

The setting of *Tu gloria Jerusalem* is very homophonic, but with some decoration at cadences. Overlap between choirs is largely restricted to the cadence (an exception is at bb. 19–20), and repeated crotchet declamation at the same pitch begins to make an appearance (EXAMPLE 4.11)
EXAMPLE 4.11. Stabile: Tu gloria Jerusalem (bb. 57–59)

Stephanus plenus is similar in style to Tu gloria Jerusalem in its text-fragmentation and note nere. While most antiphonal overlap is still restricted to the cadence, there is one notable exception at bb. 34–35, in this case for expressive reasons. At 'ipsum sequuntur', one choir follows the other in close overlapping antiphonal exchange to depict the following of the righteous. The repetition is exact, although for the third statement, voice exchange between the Altus Secundus and Tenor Secundus is applied (EXAMPLE 4.12). The excerpt in EXAMPLE 4.12 is immediately followed by a tutti at the word 'omnes' — a common expressive device. As in Tu gloria Jerusalem, the antiphonal exchanges become shorter prior to the final tutti.

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38See, for example, the tutti at 'omnium populorum' in the setting of the Nunc dimittis by various composers, pp. 190 and 192, and 'omnium Sanctorum' in the Litany settings.

Ruggiero Giovannelli set a very similar version of this text. Although Giovannelli’s motet was published in 1593, eight years after Stabile’s, the amount of note nere is still very restricted, with the \( \frac{1}{2} \) figure (with underlaid text) being the most advanced feature. Both Giovannelli and Stabile employ expressive devices to depict the stoning of Stephen, but in different places in the text and in different ways. Giovannelli has set ‘torrentis’ from the phrase ‘Lapides torrentis’ with a long melisma (EXAMPLE 4.13), in a rather similar manner to Stabile’s setting of this word in the psalm motet Nisi quia Dominus 1a pars. In Stabile’s motet, the stoning of Stephen is represented by a dramatic change to crotchet declamation at ‘lapidata est’ (EXAMPLE 4.14).

\[ \text{EXAMPLE 4.12. Stabile: Stephanus plenus (bb. 34–36)} \]

\[ \text{Ruggiero Giovannelli set a very similar version of this text. Although Giovannelli’s motet was published in 1593, eight years after Stabile’s, the amount of note nere is still very restricted, with the } \frac{1}{2} \text{ figure (with underlaid text) being the most advanced feature. Both Giovannelli and Stabile employ expressive devices to depict the stoning of Stephen, but in different places in the text and in different ways. Giovannelli has set ‘torrentis’ from the phrase ‘Lapides torrentis’ with a long melisma (EXAMPLE 4.13), in a rather similar manner to Stabile’s setting of this word in the psalm motet Nisi quia Dominus 1a pars. In Stabile’s motet, the stoning of Stephen is represented by a dramatic change to crotchet declamation at ‘lapidata est’ (EXAMPLE 4.14).} \]

\[ \text{39 Sacrarum modulationum . . . liber primus, 5, 8v (Rome, 1593). Giovannelli’s text reads as follows: ‘Stephanus plenus gratia et fortitudine faciebat prodigia et signa magna in populo. Lapides torrentis illi dulces fuerunt. Adhæsit anima mea post te, quia caro mea lapidata est pro te Deus meus, alleluia.’ For Stabile’s text, see ‘Texts and Translations’, vol. ii of this thesis, p. liv.} \]

\[ \text{40 See Example 5.4, p. 206.} \]
(Transcription by Paolo Teodori but with original note-values restored)

Lux perpetua is the most forward-looking motet in the Liber Secundus in its use of note nere. New to this period and occurring in this responsory, is the texted quaver pair (text underlaid to both quavers). This is the earliest published instance known to the present writer by a Roman composer in sacred music, and for that matter in unpublished Roman sources as well. Quaver pairs with text are not a part of Palestrina’s technique,\(^41\) Victoria does not employ them prior to 1585, there are none in Soriano’s motets for eight voices published in 1597,\(^42\) and Noel O’Regan notes that texted quavers do not occur in the works of G. M. Nanino until his third period in the last decade of the 16th century.\(^43\) Neither is Stabile’s use of the quaver pair an isolated occurrence. It is employed here in all voices and is repeated antiphonally (EXAMPLE 4.15). In all instances it occurs as a declamatory, rather than a melodic device, due to the fact that all notes are at the same pitch. Stabile’s madrigals of 1585 differ in this, since in them texted quavers may be employed melodically as well as in a declamatory manner, that is, on different pitches.\(^44\) Ruth DeFord notes that two or more consecutive ‘texted fuse’ only began to be assimilated into the madrigal in the 1580s.\(^45\) Thus Stabile’s incorporation of this feature into his sacred music as early as 1585 is quite astonishing.

While Lux perpetua is the most forward-looking motet in the Liber Secundus in its use of note nere, the passages of antiphonal exchange are not as close-knit as in parts of Tu gloria Jerusalem, and at ‘ipsum sequuntur’ from Stephanus plenus. Overlap is largely restricted to the cadence.

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\(^42\)For a modern edition, see Soriano: Motets for Eight Voices (1597), edited by S. Philip Kniseley. Values have been halved in this edition.

\(^43\)O’Regan does not date this particular period precisely (O’Regan, ‘Sacred Polyphonic Music’, i, p. 222), but he considers the works of the second period were composed after 1585 (O’Regan, i, p. 221), and those of the fourth period after 1605 (O’Regan, i, p. 248).

\(^44\)See for example, Venga Himeneo, Pianega la Donna mia, and Di cipresso, in the Il terzo libro de madrigali a cinque voci (1585). Ruth DeFord states in her dissertation that texted quavers are not normally a part of Stabile’s secular style, but in this she appears to be incorrect (DeFord, ‘Ruggiero Giovannelli’, i, p. 151).

EXAMPLE 4.15. Stabile: *Lux perpetua* (bb. 19–22)

In EXAMPLE 4.15, *note nere* again occur as an expressive device, on this occasion to depict joy. Joy has also been depicted in the more traditional way in this motet by a move to triple time for the phrase ‘*gaudium et exultationem*’. Giovannelli has done the opposite in the five-voice setting from his *Liber Primus* (1593), where the phrase ‘*laetitia sempiterna*’ receives a triple-time setting and ‘*gaudium et exultationem*’ a passage of *note nere*.

**EIGHT-VOICE WORKS**

*Apollinaris inclyti* and *Cantantibus organis* are both composed for a single choir of eight voices. They are Stabile’s only examples of this format and include characteristics of both the double-choir and single-choir works. The single-choir characteristics include the constantly changing groupings, the contrapuntal texture frequently involving all eight-voices (especially in *Cantantibus organis*), the staggered entries, sometimes imitative, sometimes not, and the frequency of
The influence of the double-choir style is especially noticeable in *Apollinaris inclyti* when there is a division of the texture into two homophonic groups with antiphonal repetition (see EXAMPLE 4.16). Also in EXAMPLE 4.16 there is a move to *note nere* with repeated crotchet declamation to dramatize the martial nature of the words ‘*Fustes, catenas, carceres et saeva furt incendia*’ (‘Cudgels, chains, prisons and savage fires he bears’). When viewed with its preceding and following bars, this passage also shows the suddenness with which the notation can change from *note bianche* to *note nere* and back again.

**EXAMPLE 4.16.** Stabile: *Apollinaris inclyti* (bb. 29–33)

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46 For examples of melismata, see *Apollinaris inclyti*, b. 3, and *Cantantibus organis*, b. 19. Both occur on expressive words, ‘*inclyti*’ in *Apollinaris inclyti*, and ‘*decantabat*’ in *Cantantibus organis*. 
Rhythmic complexity, one of the hallmarks of Stabile’s style, especially in a contrapuntal note nere texture, is apparent in EXAMPLE 4.17.

**EXAMPLE 4.17. Stabile: Apollinaris inclyti (bb. 25–28)**
Adding to this complexity is the occasional employment of prolonged syncopation at the crotchet level produced by the dotted minim followed, not by a crotchet as is usual, but by three more minims \( \cdot \cdot \cdot \) (see Tenor Primus, bb. 18–19 of EXAMPLE 4.18). The break at b.19 in the Cantus Primus at the phrase ‘lux alma mundo prodiit’ provides an illustration of the increasing freedom of treatment of the textual line.

EXAMPLE 4.18. Stabile: Apollinaris inclyti (bb. 17–20)

The build up to the concluding climax is marvellously portrayed by hammered rhythms on repeated notes at the word ‘victoriam’. This word is tossed around various groupings of the eight voices, at various pitches, before finally settling from b. 71 for the final cadence on G.

Another example of note nere used for expressive purposes occurs at b. 44, where demons are sent scurrying with a change to faster-moving crotchets for the text ‘qui demonum ludibia tuis fugavit sedibus’ (‘who put to flight from your dwellings the scoffing of the demons’).
Cantantibus organis is not quite so progressive, although it is a sumptuously composed work with much full part-writing. Attention is gained at the arresting opening with the ascending and descending runs heard constantly as the motive moves from one voice to another and the full eight-voice texture is built up. Throughout the work, the brightness of the two Cantus voices is well exploited with a constant crossing of parts.

Confusion is aptly presented at ‘ut non confundar’ when six of the eight voices move into a syncopated passage of note nere; this passage again is typical of Stabile’s liking for rhythmic complexity (EXAMPLE 4.19). This particular opportunity for text expression is exploited in a similar manner by Luca Marenzio at ‘et non confundas me’, in his motet Iniquos odio habui, and by Peter Philips in his Cantantibus organis a 5, both works probably composed at a later date.47

EXAMPLE 4.19. Stabile: Cantantibus organis (bb. 36–41)
The \( \frac{1}{2} \) \( \frac{1}{4} \) rhythm which occurred in \textit{Apollinaris inclyti} occurs too in the Altus Secundus of \textit{Cantantibus organis} at bb. 37–38 (EXAMPLE 4.19). Further rhythmic confusion is created by the Cantus Primus when it is thrown to the crotchet off-beat for five minim beats at bb. 39–40.

Both \textit{Apollinaris inclyti} and \textit{Cantantibus organis} manage to combine the best of both the single- and double-choir techniques and represent some of Stabile’s best work. It is a pity that he did not compose more in this style.

A useful comparison of Stabile’s \textit{Liber Secundus} can be made with Luca Marenzio’s \textit{Motecta Festorum Totius Anni} also published in 1585. The contents of Marenzio’s \textit{Motecta} are believed to have been composed c.1580–1585.\footnote{A modern edition has been published in: Marenzio: \textit{Opera Omnia}, vol. ii. For information on this, see Roland Jackson’s introduction to vol. i.} The most immediately obvious difference is the lack of \textit{note nere} passages in Marenzio’s motets. I could find only two instances of the off-beat crotchet entry, and only one
occurrence of the \( \frac{1}{2} \), \( \frac{3}{4} \) figure, and none with underlaid text.\(^49\) Even two consecutive crotchets with underlaid text are rare and only one instance could be found.\(^50\) Stabile was certainly more forward-looking in his use of note nere. Marenzio employs other devices, however, such as direct chromaticism\(^51\) and a significant amount of sequence, neither of which are a part of Stabile’s style. Sequences do occur in Stabile’s music but they are rare. In Stabile’s five-voice setting of Alma Redemptoris there is sequence which is both melodic and harmonic, but there is only one repeat. Marenzio on the other hand, will extend a sequence for as many as five repeats.\(^52\) Similarities between the two composers include the frequent application of voice pairing and the use of contrasting textures.

Another publication of 1585 is Victoria’s Motecta fessorum totius anni. This included a number of items which had been previously published, but of the new single-choir works, there is not one which moves into note nere notation. The only exception is Pastores loquebantur and this is not by Victoria but Francisco Guerrero. The only new work for two choirs is the Corpus Christi sequence, Lauda Sion. This does contain some note nere but they are restricted to consecutive crotchets with text, although much use is made of the \( \frac{1}{2} \), \( \frac{3}{4} \) figure. However, this syncopation is never extended any further; there is nothing like Stabile’s \( \frac{1}{2} \), \( \frac{3}{4} \), \( \frac{3}{4} \), \( \frac{1}{4} \) such as occurs in Apollinaris inclytii, nor are there any quaver pairs with text.

* AFTER 1585 *

Stabile’s third book of motets was published in 1589. Four motets from this collection belong stylistically to the middle period but were probably composed after 1585 since they contain some new features which had not occurred in the Liber Secundus.

\(^49\)The off-beat crotchet entry occurs in Hodie Christus natus est, b. 46 and O Rex glorie, b. 50. The \( \frac{1}{2} \), \( \frac{3}{4} \) occurs in Super omnia, b. 60 as part of a triplet.
\(^50\)Hodie Christus natus est, bb. 49–51.
\(^51\)O Rex glorie, b. 48 and O beatum pontificem, bb. 41–42.
\(^52\)See the conclusion of the motet Tribus Miraculis, p. 20.
SINGLE-CHOIR MOTETS

At first glance *Notas mihi fecisti — Tu es qui restitues*, and *Hi sunt qui cum mulieribus* appear very similar in style to the more progressive motets of the *Liber Secundus*. Both begin with widely-spaced imitative entries and employ very little homophony in the case of *Notas mihi fecisti — Tu es qui restitues*, or none at all in the case of *Hi sunt qui cum mulieribus*. Also, both contain only one passage of note nere. However, it is largely in these note nere passages where the new developments occur.

*Hi sunt qui cum mulieribus* is significant among other things for the rare inclusion of a four-note quaver group. This is its first occurrence in one of Stabile’s published works for single choir. It is employed within the note nere texture in an ornamental fashion in one voice only. Text-expression is the reason for the note nere passage, with the close imitation and leaping melodic lines an illustration of the words ‘*et sequuntur Agnum*’ (‘and they follow the Lamb’) (EXAMPLE 4.20). Marenzio and Victoria also set these words but in another context in their motet settings of *O quam gloriosam*. Neither has made such a vivid feature of this particular opportunity for expression.53

EXAMPLE 4.20. Stabile: *Hi sunt qui cum mulieribus* (bb. 29–39)

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53 Modern transcriptions can be found in Marenzio: *Opera omnia*, ii, p. 84; and Victoria: *Opera omnia*, i, p. 2.
The repeated notes at the previous imitative point 'virgines' in Stabile's motet, part of which is visible at the beginning of EXAMPLE 4.20, could be due to the repeated notes of the chant. A similar rhythmic treatment of 'virgines' occurs in Costanzo Porta's setting of this text.54

EXAMPLE 4.21. Liber Usualis p. 426 (Feast of St John, Apostle and Evangelist)

Conmemoration of the Holy Innocents.

The passage in EXAMPLE 4.20 contains an unusual number of closely-spaced imitative entries. Two of these consist of two voices entering on consecutive minims, which is more common.55 At bb. 32 and 34, three voices are included (see the Bassus, Tenor primus and Altus at b. 32, and the Tenor secundus, Bassus and Altus at b. 34), with the third voice in both cases moving to the crotchet off-beat by reducing its initial opening note from the dotted minim to the minim. At bb. 37–38, the number of voices entering on consecutive minim beats is extended to four. Again the entries move to the crotchet off-beat by reducing their opening note, but here there is further reduction to the crotchet (Cantus and Altus), although still entering at a minim’s distance. These closely-spaced ‘reducing’ entries provide further evidence of Stabile’s liking for rhythmic complexity. Prolonged syncopation at the crotchet occurs in the Tenor Secundus at b. 34, with the  \( \text{j} \text{J} \text{j} \) rhythm.56

‘Reducing’ entries occur again in the note nere passage at ‘delectationes’ in Notas mihi fecisti — Tu es qui restitues, here extended to eight entries, beginning at b. 38 in the Cantus, with the second immediately moving to the crotchet off-beat and the last returning to an on-the-beat dotted minim entry (EXAMPLE 4.22). This follows three-voice close imitation at the minim, indeed a colourful expression of delight. Delight has called forth a similar though not quite so exuberant treatment in the Litany of the BVM [1], published posthumously in 1596. In this example the Tenor Primus has an unusually disjunct line (EXAMPLE 4.23)

55At b. 31, the Tenor secundus and Cantus enter on consecutive minims, and at bb. 35–36, the Cantus and Bassus enter together followed by the Altus.
56Prolonged syncopation at the crotchet had previously occurred in the two eight-voice motets from the Liber Secundus, Apollinaris inclyti and Cantantibus organis. It occurs again in Anima nostra 2a pars.
EXAMPLE 4.22. Stabile: *Notas mihi fecisti* 1a pars (bb. 36-41)

EXAMPLE 4.23. Stabile: *Litany of the BVM* [1] (bb. 41-44)
• **DOUBLE-CHOIR MOTETS**

*Pastores loquebantur* published in 1589 is an excellent example of the various new double-choir features. There are four passages of *note nere* which is an increase on any previous motet and evidence that it is becoming a more intrinsic part of the texture. There is an example of a much more close-knit antiphonal exchange at bb. 13–18 than had previously occurred. These short antiphonal phrases illustrate the exact repetition which increases slightly in these later works (EXAMPLE 4.24). The quadruple repetition of *'Et venerunt festinantes'* ('And they came with haste'), at bb. 28–32 of EXAMPLE 4.25, provides another illustration of exact repetition and also of *note nere* used for expressive reasons. There are no new *note nere* figures, however, and the off-beat crotchet entry and the \( \cdot | \cdot \) figure with text are the most forward-looking.

Evidences of a contrapuntal style remain, with the paired-voice imitative opening employing two-part invertible counterpoint. At the words *'glorificantes, et laudantes Deum'* , the motet breaks into triple time but the otherwise joyful effect is muted by a descent into the lower register for Choir 1 at bb. 70–74, although if the choirs were doubled by trombones, which is quite possible, the lower registers of the voices would be strengthened and the descent less noticeable.

**EXAMPLE 4.24.** Stabile: *Pastores loquebantur* (bb. 12–18)

*Example cont. overleaf...*
EXAMPLE 4.25. Stabile: Pastores loquebantur (bb. 27–32)
The first part of this text is included in Victoria’s *Motecta festorum totius anni* (Rome, 1585), as a six-voice motet, incorrectly attributed to Victoria in Pedrell’s modern edition. This work and another motet also included by Victoria in the same publication are by Francisco Guerrero and were clearly so labelled in the original. Some similarities to Stabile’s eight-voice setting can be seen. Victoria preceded Stabile as *maestro di cappella* at the German College and it is very likely that Guerrero’s work, which Victoria obviously liked, was known there. Although Guerrero’s motet is polyphonic, it changes to *note nere* and quasi-antiphonal homophonic repetition at ‘*et venerunt festinantes*’ (EXAMPLE 4.26). The same type of repetition, though without the *note nere*, occurs earlier at ‘*transeamus usque Bethlehem*’ — the very same places where Stabile makes a feature of his antiphonal exchanges. (See EXAMPLE 4.25 for Stabile’s setting of these words.)

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57 Victoria: Opera omnia, i, p. 142.
58 See Stevenson, Spanish Cathedral Music, p. 213. Guerrero re-printed *Pastores loquebantur* in his 1589 *Liber Secundus*.

Veni sponsa Christi is rather an anomaly. There is a complete lack of note nere and it contains fairly long passages for each choir yet it is progressive in its use of the ABB form. On the other hand, the fact that it does have an ABB form suggests that it was a later composition but deliberately composed in a conservative style, perhaps for some specific liturgical use. There is some repetition but this is due to the shortness of the text which is broken up according to the phrasing of the chant. These

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59 For a discussion on Stabile’s use of large-scale structures, see ‘Canon, Cantus Firmus, and Large-scale Structures’, p. 278.
repetitions occur only once before they are altered or extended and the phrases are longer and more flowing than the very short, rhythmically orientated interaction which is becoming more common.

A setting of this text by Salvatore Sacchi in the later style which also uses the ABB form and the same phrase structure, points up the conservative nature of Stabile’s composition. The treatment of the phrase ‘accipe coronam’ is a case in point. Stabile has repeated this phrase once with both the phrase and its repetition extended by a decorated cadence. Sacchi, on the other hand presents, in his later setting, a more rhythmically concise version of the phrase, passing this between the two choirs six times with varied repetition. The two composers have divided the text between the choirs as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**TEXT-FRAGMENTATION IN **VENI SPONSA CHRISTI** BY STABILE AND SACCHI**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FORM</th>
<th>CH</th>
<th>STABILE 1589</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Veni sponsa Christi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Veni sponsa Christi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>accipe coronam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>accipe coronam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>quam tibi Dominus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>quam tibi Dominus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>quam tibi Dominus praeparavit in aeternum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>praeparavit in aeternum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tutti</td>
<td>praeparavit in aeternum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FORM</th>
<th>CH</th>
<th>SACCHI 1607</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>tutti</td>
<td>Veni sponsa Christi, Veni sponsa Christi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>accipe coronam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>accipe coronam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>accipe coronam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>accipe coronam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>accipe coronam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>accipe coronam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>quam tibi Dominus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>quam tibi Dominus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>quam tibi Dominus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>quam tibi Dominus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tutti</td>
<td>praeparavit in aeternum, praeparavit in aeternum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>alleluia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>alleluia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>alleluia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>alleluia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>alleluia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>alleluia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tutti</td>
<td>alleluia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>[repeat from accipe]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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60 *Missa, Motecta, Magnificat ... Salvatoris Sacchi* (Rome, 1607). See also vol. ii of this thesis, p. 577, for a transcription of this motet.
Even in such a short piece where both composers use identical phrase structure, and allowing for the fact that Sacchi has included the alleluia, it is apparent that there is much more antiphonal exchange in Sacchi's later setting (the repeat of Sacchi's text has not been written out in Table 10).

While the text-fragmentation is more apparent in Sacchi's motet, it is rhythmically conservative in its use of the shorter note values. In the passages of note nere which occur mostly at the alleluia section leading up to the final tutti, there is very little employment of the \( \text{J} \). rhythm and when it does appear, its use is purely decorative, since there is no text underlaid to the quaver. Neither are there consecutive quavers with text or the even more progressive feature, the semiquaver pair. Although the motet was published in 1607 these factors tend to suggest that it was composed earlier. A figured basso continuo is included, but it is not independent and follows the lowest voice as a basso seguente.\(^6^1\)

Similarities between the two settings include the imitative openings of both motets which are based on what must obviously have been a very popular chant, since numerous settings by other composers begin this way.\(^6^2\) Stabile's motet is also one of the few of his double-choir compositions to begin imitatively in both choirs. In Sacchi's motet, the entries of the second choir are imitative also, but this effect is masked by their more closely-spaced entries, two voices entering together a breve apart while the first choir continues to sing. Both composers also begin the repeated section of the text at the choral part of the chant following the intonation, and in each the B section concludes with a tutti. In Stabile's motet there is some voice exchange therefore the repeat is written out, but in Sacchi's motet, the repetition is exact, indicated by the incipit 'accipe: ut supra, si placet'.

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\(^6^1\) However in another of Sacchi's works from the same publication, the Dialogus BMV, the basso continuo is occasionally independent, but only for short passages such as bb. 83–84 or b. 93. For a transcription of this work, see vol. ii, p. 561 of this thesis. See also 'Dissonance and Chromatic Alteration', p. 250, and n. 13, for further discussion.

\(^6^2\) The chant can be found in LU, p. 1214. For a few of the many examples of settings beginning with this chant, see the four-voice settings by Palestrina, Victoria, and A. Gabrieli in Proske, ed., Musica Divina, Annus primus, Tomus II, pp. 506–16; and the four-voice setting by Marenzio in Marenzio: Opera omnia, i, p. 8.
Stabile’s *Nunc dimittis* is also a little difficult to place stylistically. It was first published in the anthology *Promptuarii musici*, in 1611. While it is the last of Stabile’s works to be published posthumously (*Promptuarii*, 1613 and *Florilegii*, 1621 contained works which had been previously published), it is certainly not his most progressive composition. It does include a *basso seguente* probably added by Vincentius, much use of the ♩ ♩ figure and some fast interchange at ‘et gloriam’, but other factors in the work point towards the 1580s for a date of composition. The speed of antiphonal exchange is similar to that of *Tu gloria Jerusalem* and there is very little use of *note nere*, although some repeated crotchet declamation occurs at ‘*omnium populorum*’, and there are no off-beat crotchet entries. Text fragmentation, while very evident in the fourth verse and the doxology, is more conservative for verses 1 to 3 and this is illustrated in Table 11. The *Nunc dimittis* therefore seems to belong to this middle period rather than with the late works.

A comparison with Palestrina’s less fragmented and probably earlier setting, highlights the more fragmented style which Stabile has now adopted. That both composers have included the doxology indicates that liturgical performance was in all probability intended. Stabile’s motet begins in an imitative manner with the opening phrase of one of the chants for this canticle (*LU*, p. 271) forming the motive, thus making a feature of the quotation. Palestrina begins homophonically also with the quotation of a chant, this time a different chant (*LU*, p. 1744), but buried in the Altus part. Both composers have depicted ‘*omnium populorum*’ with a full-choir setting. Stabile’s, however, is a good illustration of the modern trend with its repeated crotchet declamation at the same pitch, a more homophonic tutti, and greater use of repetition (EXAMPLE 4.27a/b).

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63 Palestrina’s *Nunc dimittis* was not published and exists in manuscript form in Rvat, Cappella Giulia XIII 24 copied in the 16th century and also Rvat, Barberini Latini 4148 copied in the 17th century. A modern transcription can be found in Palestrina: *Le opere complete*, xxxiv, p. 70. There are only a few polychoral settings of this canticle by Roman composers. Other Roman polychoral settings are by: Francesco Anerio, Gio. Francesco Anerio, Alessandro Marino, Palestrina (2 settings), Francesco Soriano, Annibale Zoilo. See O'Regan’s catalogue of polychoral sources, ‘Sacred Polychoral Music’, i, pp. 319–350. With the exception of Palestrina, these are not yet available in modern editions.
### TABLE II

TEXT-FRAGMENTATION IN THE SETTINGS OF THE *NUNC DIMITIS* BY STABILE, PALESTRINA, AND CORFINI

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>CH</th>
<th>TEXT</th>
<th>CH</th>
<th>TEXT</th>
<th>CH</th>
<th>TEXT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Nunc dimitis servum tuum Domine secundum verbum tuum in pace:</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Nunc dimitis servum tuum Domine secundum verbum tuum in pace:</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Nunc dimitis servum tuum Domine secundum verbum tuum in pace:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Quia viderunt oculi mei salutare tuum:</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Quia viderunt</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Quia viderunt oculi mei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Quia viderunt</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Quia viderunt oculi mei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>oculi mei salutare tuum</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>salutare tuum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>salutare tuum</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>salutare tuum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>salutare tuum:</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>salutare tuum:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Quod parasti</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Quod parasti ante faciem omnium populorum:</td>
<td>tutti</td>
<td>Quod parasti ante faciem omnium populorum:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>quod parasti</td>
<td></td>
<td>omnium populorum, omnium populorum:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ante faciem</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>omnium populorum,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>tutti</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Lumen ad revelationem gentium et gloriam et gloriæ tuae Israel.

Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui sancto sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper et in saecula saeculorum. Amen.
EXAMPLE 4.27a. Palestrina: Nunc dimittis (Le opere complete, xxxiv, p. 72, bb. 24–28)

EXAMPLE 4.27b. Stabile: Nunc dimittis (bb. 25–30)
Apart from the imitative opening and the final tutti, the texture of Stabile's *Nunc dimittis* is more homophonic than previous works with little decoration even at cadences, the main interest being the antiphonal interaction between choirs. Palestrina's earlier setting on the other hand is more polyphonic and includes several internal entries of the imitative type (e.g. bb. 20, 28–30, and 34–35). The antiphonal interaction in Stabile's motet is particularly evident in the short exchanges at 'et gloriam plebis tuae Israel' (EXAMPLE 4.29b), although as mentioned above, none occur as off-beat crotchet entries such as was found in *Tu gloria Jerusalem*. Palestrina has also chosen to insert antiphonal repetition at this point but the interaction is short-lived and smooth compared to Stabile's much more decisive and vigorous style. Some of Stabile's exchanges are exact, but some are not, so that no predictable pattern is formed and interest is maintained. The repetition at ‘quod parasti’, on the other hand, is exact and is repeated three times antiphonally but with the final repetition extended to include the following phrase which then leads into the tutti at 'omnium populorum' (EXAMPLE 4.28b).
Annibale Zoilo has done a similar thing in his setting of this text. Noel O'Regan referred to this as Zoilo's 'rolling snowball' technique and thought that it was peculiar to Zoilo (EXAMPLE 4.28a).64

**EXAMPLE 4.28a.** Annibale Zoilo: *Nunc dimittis* (O'Regan, 'Sacred Polychoral Music', ii, p. 22, Ex. 24)

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64 O'Regan, 'Sacred Polychoral Music', i, p. 180. Both Zoilo and Stabile were pupils of Palestrina, and Zoilo preceded Stabile by five years as maestro at S. Giovanni in Laterano (Harry B. Lincoln, 'Zoilo, Annibale', NG, xx, p. 704). Zoilo's *Nunc dimittis* was probably composed for the choir of the Sistine Chapel since Zoilo sang as an alto from 1570 to 1577 after which he was forced to resign due to ill-health. However, he continued to compose for the choir until at least 1582. Zoilo's setting survives in manuscript in Rvat, Cappella Giulia XIII 24 (O'Regan, 'Sacred Polychoral Music', i, p. 180).
EXAMPLE 4.28b. Stabile: *Nunc dimittis* (bb. 20–27)

Example cont. overleaf...
However, where Zoilo repeats this procedure at the beginning of the doxology, Stabile does not. At 'et in saecula saeculorum', Stabile passes two musical phrases between the two choirs, sometimes attaching the two phrases to one another, sometimes not, and employing the added technique of voice exchange, thus creating the effect of repetition without predictability.

The anthology *Corollarium cantionum*, published in 1590, contains another polychoral setting of this text by a contemporary composer, though not a Roman.65 This work is by Jacopo Corfini (c.1540–1591), an Italian composer who seems to have spent his whole life as organist at S. Martino in Lucca, Northern Italy.66 Corfini's setting is rather attractive and features among other things an example of linear chromatic movement (b. 4) and an effective series of rising phrases on 'lumen'. While there are some off-beat crotchet entries, there are no figures, either with

65 Since there is no doxology, it was probably intended for mass at the Purification of the BVM and indeed the section of the anthology in which it is included is entitled 'De Purificazione, Annunciatione & Visitatione Mariae virginis'. See vol. ii, p. 602 of this thesis for a transcription of this motet.

66 Phillip D. Crabtree, ‘Corfini, Jacopo’, *NG*, iv, 775. Corfini published collections of sacred music in 1571, 1581 and 1591. Several of his works are included in *Corollarium cantionum*. These include: *Quem vidistis pastores*, a 7; *Verbum caro factum est*, a 6; *Senex puerum portabat—Hodie beata virgo Maria*, a 5; *Surrexit pastor bonus*, a 6; and *O Rex gloriae*, a 6.
or without text underlaid, no occurrences of four-note quaver runs or the ornamental semiquaver pair. There is, however, more text fragmentation in verse 1, the employment of a tutti very early in the work, and an effective alternation of passages of note nere with note bianche. Unlike the settings by Palestrina and Stabile, a tutti begins at ‘Quod parasti ante faciem’ rather than at ‘omnium populorum’. On the other hand, like Palestrina and Stabile, there is pronounced antiphonal interaction at ‘et gloriæm’ though this interaction is short-lived at this point and is not so prolonged as in Stabile (EXAMPLES 4.29a/b).

**EXAMPLE 4.29a.** Corfini: *Nunc dimitis* (bb. 42–48)

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*Example cont. overleaf...*
EXAMPLE 4.29b. Stabile: *Nunc dimittis* (bb. 34–40)
To conclude, I will look at two almost identical versions of a litany setting, one clearly Stabile's own work since it was published in the *Letania BMV et Nominis Jesu* (1583), and the other, underlaid with a different text, existing in several incomplete Polish manuscripts. One is clearly a re-setting of the other and while nothing at this stage can be proved conclusively since I have not seen the original manuscripts, there are a number of factors which point to the published version, the *Litany of the BVM* [2], being the earlier of the two and the manuscript a later copy. 67 The most likely time for the first manuscript version to have been copied with its different text would be during or soon after Stabile's time in Poland, and if the

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67 As noted for the eight-voice *Alma Redemptoris* (also first published in the *Letania BMV et Nominis Jesu*, 1583), discussed earlier in this chapter (pp. 149-152), I have assumed that there were no significant changes to the *Litany of the BVM* [2] surviving complete in the *Thesaurus litaniarum* (1596), since the existing parts of the *Letania BMV et Nominis Jesu* (1583) tally with those of this later publication.
published litany was the primary version, this suggests that Stabile was not in Poland before 1583.68

Most of the changes in the 'Polish' Litany are slight rhythmic adjustments to cater for the different number of syllables in the texts, such as the alteration of a semibreve to a dotted minim plus a crotchet or two quavers, or of a minim to two crotchets.69 EXAMPLE 4.30 contains one of the few melodic alterations, where an unaccented dissonant minim passing note has been inserted in the Altus at b. 112 of the 'Polish' Litany to cater for an extra syllable.

Significant are the added ornamental figurations, mostly at cadences.70 These are more likely to have been added rather than removed from a previously composed work. Other factors are even more important. There is a greater use of crotchet declamation in the 'Polish' Litany, suggesting the modifications were made at a later date, even though they are largely the result of an effort to accommodate the text. Perhaps the most important indication that the 'Polish' Litany was the later setting, occurs at b. 68, where the even notes of Litany of the BVM [2] have been altered in the 'Polish' Litany, at the word 'dulcedo'(sweetness), to typical note nere \(\ddot{\text{J}}\) rhythms (with underlaid text). This is especially significant since this alteration is not from any need to accommodate text (EXAMPLE 4.31).

EXAMPLE 4.30.
Stabile: Litany of the BVM [2] (Choir 2, bb. 112–113)  
Stabile: 'Polish' Litany (Choir 2, bb. 112–113)

68 For a discussion on the possible years for Stabile's sojourn in Poland, see 'Chronological Survey', pp. 28–31.
69 See, for example, bb. 39 and 41 in both settings.
70 Cadential ornamentation added to the 'Polish' Litany occurs at bb. 54, 81, 87, and 126. For non-cadential ornamentation, see bb. 80 and 147.
Texted \( \frac{8}{8} \) rhythms make their first appearance in Stabile's *Letaniae BMV et Nominis Jesu* of 1583 but only once, in the *Alma Redemptoris*, and do not occur with any regularity until Stabile's *Liber Secundus*, published in 1585, where they are mainly a feature of his more forward-looking compositions. The remaining extant parts of the *Letaniae* 1583 contain no \textit{note nere}.

Another factor suggesting that the 'Polish' Litany was the later setting, is the inconsistency of the text-fragmentation. The middle section of the *Litany of the BVM* [2], which is made up of a series of invocations and responses, sets either the complete invocation and response for one choir or gives the invocation to one choir and response to the other, whereas the 'Polish' Litany, which has no responses in the middle section of the text, but just a series of invocations, has had to divide one invocation into three sections at bb. 82–88 to fit the previous form of:

- Choir 1: response (to previous invocation)
- Choir 2: invocation
- Choir 1: response

Since fragmentation of these short invocations occurs nowhere else in the 'Polish' Litany apart from the usual places at the ends of whole sections (where the text is the same in both litanies anyway), one could assume that this was caused by the
underlaying of new text. A similar thing but with the opposite effect occurs at bb. 63-67. Where the _Litany of the BVM_ [2] has set a passage of complete invocation and response for Choir 1, in the 'Polish' _Litany_ Choir 1 is required to sing two petitions. As with the previous example, this occurs nowhere else, so again the assumption is that the text was underlaid to pre-composed music.

Other composers were known to make modifications to already published works. Francesco Soriano, for example, altered the ornamental crotchet figurations in tutti passages, rewriting groups of four even crotchets in dotted crotchet plus quaver rhythms in one of his double-choir motets first published in Victoria’s 1585 collection and later re-published (with the alterations) in his own collection in 1597. He also made other changes including redistribution of the text between the two choirs, and some added ornamental figurations.

While the modifications in the litany may be the work of Stabile himself, the triplet underlay in the Tenor Primus at b. 36 of the 'Polish' _Litany_ seems too clumsy for this. The reason for the awkward underlay is unclear since there is no difference in the text between the two litanies at this particular point. What is more puzzling is that exactly the same underlay occurs in the other extant manuscript copies of this voice. A possible explanation is that none of the extant copies is the first manuscript copy, and that the original scribe erred and omitted the repetition of the word ‘miserere’ when copying from the published version, but continued with ‘nobis’ following the triplet as given in the _Litany of the BVM_ [2] (compare EXAMPLES 4.23b/c/d with the published version EXAMPLE 4.32a). A second copyist may have filled in this gap as best he could.

**EXAMPLE 4.32a. Litany of the BVM** [2] (Thesaurus litaniarum: Tenor)

71See O'Regan, 'Sacred Polychoral Music', i, pp. 203–204 and 236–237.
EXAMPLE 4.32b. 'Polish' Litany (Warsaw, Biblioteka Naradowa, Mus. 2095, f. 272: Tenore)

EXAMPLE 4.32c. 'Polish' Litany (Wroclaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, 51431 Muz: Primus Tenor (folios unnumbered))

EXAMPLE 4.32d. 'Polish' Litany (Wroclaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, 51353 Muz: Primus Tenor (folios unnumbered))

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SINGLE-CHOIR MOTETS

Quam bene magnanimos is without doubt the most rhythmically progressive motet in the 1589 publication, double-choir motets included, and is a striking example of Stabile’s most advanced compositional style. Since this is a homage motet with a non-sacred text, the setting could be freer than its sacred counterparts. It includes an abundance of examples of note nere, some figurations otherwise rare in Stabile’s sacred works. These include the four-note quaver run, much crotchet declamation, the figure with underlaid text, the quaver pair with underlaid text, the dotted crotchet followed by three quavers, and the off-beat crotchet entry. The four-note quaver run is used imitatively, something which appears for the first time in the sacred motets of 1589, although this usage is commonly found, along with the other note nere figures mentioned, in his secular works (EXAMPLE 5.1).  

Although each voice in Quam bene magnanimos begins with the usual long notes, the opening is homophonic (with one delayed voice), and the note-values quickly shorten to note nere for the ‘purple-clothed birds’ at b. 8 (EXAMPLE 5.1). Thereafter the motet remains in note nere until b. 41 when there is a return to note bianche to depict ‘tranquil measures’ (‘inferimus placidis nomina vestra modis’). Thus the motet is basically note nere with a passage of note bianche now used for expressive

1In the madrigals of 1585, the quaver run both as an ornamental and imitative figure can be expanded to a much greater number than four. See for example Veramente in amore, or Ragion è ben. And DeFord cites a long virtuoso melisma of quavers in Stabile’s Or viene il lieto April from the first book of madrigals published in 1572 (DeFord, ‘Ruggiero Giovannelli’, i, p. 152).
contrast. This is a complete reversal of his former style where *note bianche* formed the basic notation with passages of *note nere* for contrast, and this is the most comprehensive use of this new style among the sacred works so far.

**Example 5.1.** Stabile: *Quam bene magnanimos* (bb. 8–13)

Further evidence of rhythmic freedom occurs in the triple time sections. These minim-based sections are enlivened with crotchet movement, a feature which is new to this publication, both among his sacred and secular works. Some close imitation at

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2 There are other rare occurrences of crotchet movement. These are in the semibreve-based triple-time sections of *Omnes Genties* and the two masses but all are isolated instances involving only two consecutive crotchets. *Omnes Genties*, b. 64; *Missa Vestiva i colli*, Osanna, b. 4 and b. 17; *Missa Ung gay bergier*, Osanna, b. 52, and Agnus Dei, b. 31.
The Late Works

The crotchet occurs but only in two voices (see the Tenor Secundus and Cantus entries at b. 57 or the Bassus and Tenor Secundus at b. 59), and with a reduction in the note-value of the imitating voice. The texture is still basically contrapuntal, although there is some homophonic declamation and some contrasting textural blocks (EXAMPLE 5.2).

EXAMPLE 5.2. Stabile: *Quam bene magnanimos* (bb. 20–23)

As in the homage motet from 1585, word painting is more conspicuous than in the sacred motets. The first ascent to high A in the Cantus and even to B in the Tenor at b. 40 occurs for the words ‘*vertice Pindus*’ (*peak of Pindus*), and there is a ‘delicious’ move to F ‘major’ at b. 61 for the words ‘*delitiae o hominum*’ (*beloved of men*), emphasized by a sudden slowing of the harmonic rhythm with a change to note bianche.
However, as this motet is not a sacred work, it does not give a true picture of the style of composition which Stabile employed for his sacred works, but rather, indicates the gap which still remained between the sacred and the secular. The nearest approach to *Quam bene magnanimos* from the rhythmic viewpoint can be found in the closing section of the double-choir motet *Dignus es Domine* 2a pars. A truer representation of Stabile’s most progressive style for single choir occurs in the contrapuntal *note nere* passages of the Christmas Responsories, the contrasting homophonic textural blocks and rich six-voice texture of *Nisi quia Dominus* 1a pars, and the total adoption of *note nere* and homophony with its declamatory rhythms in the *Hymnus de gloria paradisi*.

The psalm-setting *Nisi quia Dominus*—*Anim a nostra* has a final of B♭. This in itself is unusual. There is more than one passage of *note nere* and these are spread throughout the motet, thus becoming an intrinsic part of the work. The $\frac{1}{2}$ figure now has text underlaid to both notes and is employed as part of the imitative texture or homophonically in all voices. Repeated crotchet declamation at the same pitch also makes an appearance in several places (EXAMPLE 5.3). The off-beat crotchet entry creates delayed homophony in one or two voices (1a pars, bb. 18 and 19), or can occur as part of an imitative texture. At bb. 42–43 of the *prima pars*, all four voices enter on the off-beats of successive minimis.

**EXAMPLE 5.3.** Stabile: *Nisi quia Dominus* 1a pars (bb. 11–14)
Increased homophony is very apparent in the *prima pars* where there is only one textual phrase with imitative entries, namely ‘*qui non dedit nos*’ at bb. 40–42. The *secunda pars*, however, is more conservative in this respect, probably for contrast, and opens imitatively, with the following two points at ‘*Laqueus contritus est*’ and ‘*et nos liberati sumus*’ being treated in the same way. But for the remainder of the motet, new textual points are introduced homophonically.

*Nisi quia Dominus* 1a pars is more sectionalised than any previous composition for single choir and clear cadences occur at the conclusion of each psalm verse. The homophonic groups which began to appear in *Quæ est ista* are here much more clearly defined. These groups are constantly changing and being contrasted, smaller groups with tutti, or lower ATTB with higher SAAT (EXAMPLE 5.3), the frequent tutti producing a very sonorous motet.

Melismata are almost entirely absent from the *prima pars* with the notable exception of the torrent of crotchets at the word ‘*torrentem*’. This passage is offset by simultaneous rests in all voices (EXAMPLE 5.4).³

**EXAMPLE 5.4.** Stabile: *Nisi quia Dominus* 1a pars (bb. 21–24)

³Other instances of simultaneous rests in the single-choir works occur in *Quam bene magnanimos* (1x), *Hymnus de gloria paradisi* (4x), and four of the Christmas Responsories *Quem vidistis pastores* (1x), *O magnum mysterium* (2x), *Beata viscera Mariae* (1x), and *Verbum caro factum est* (1x).
- DOUBLE-CHOIR MOTETS

The most striking developments to occur in the Liber Tertius apart from those already discussed in the single-choir motet, Quam bene magnanimos, can be found in the two-part motet Hi sunt qui venerunt—Dignus es Domine. In view of the techniques used, it was probably composed not much earlier than the publication date.

Following its brief conventional opening in long notes, the motet launches straight into a syncopated passage in note nere with some repeated crotchet declamation. Rhythmically complex sections in note nere occur throughout the work. Especially notable are the antiphonal exchanges at the conclusion of the secunda pars where the words 'et exsultemus, et demus gloriam ei' are set to a series of antiphonal imitative entries beginning on the crotchet off-beat (partly visible at the beginning of EXAMPLE 5.5). All the latest rhythmic techniques are used to create the climax of this extended work. These include fast antiphonal exchange, off-beat crotchet entries, the \( \frac{\text{j}}{\text{j}} \) with text, the four-note quaver run and, new to this period, the semiquaver pair. The four-note quaver run had made brief appearances earlier but only as isolated instances and in descending motion or as a returning figure. Here it is an essential part of the rhythmic texture and is being used imitatively, not just as an incidental ornament in one voice, and it occurs both as a rising, as well as a descending figure. This is the only instance of its imitative use in the double-choir works. All these aspects can be seen in EXAMPLE 5.5.

The quaver pair with text as a declamatory device is prominent at the build up to the conclusion of the prima pars (see particularly bb. 85–88 and 96–98 in the accompanying edition). Simultaneous rests of a crotchet's duration are another new rhythmic feature (EXAMPLE 5.6). Previously these had been of at least a minim's duration.\(^4\)

\(^4\)Simultaneous rests of a crotchet's duration also occur in the Hymnus de gloria paradisi published in 1590.
EXAMPLE 5.5. Stabile: *Dignus es Domine* 2a pars (bb. 84–89)
Aspects of the later style can be seen in the double-choir works of some of Stabile’s younger contemporaries, but certainly not with any great frequency, and largely in later publications. In the eight-voice motets included in Giovannelli’s publication of 1593 there are only three occurrences of quaver pairs with underlaid text, all in *Laudate Dominum*, and an equally rare occurrence of the four-note quaver run, once in *Jubilate Deo* and twice in *Hodie apparuerunt*. There are no ornamental semiquaver pairs. 5 In Soriano’s *Motectorum quae octo vocibus concinuntur* (Rome, N. Mutium, 1597), published eight years after Stabile’s 1589 collection, all these *note nere* figures are still rare. 6 And Victoria, who was forward-looking in other ways, does not adopt this new style to any great extent until his publication of 1600 when some of his masses, most notably the *Missa pro victoria*, incorporate these features. 7 Giovannelli,

5 *Sacrarum modulationum... liber primus, 5, 8vv* (Rome, 1593).
6 Modern transcriptions of the works from this publication can be found in Soriano: *Motets for Eight Voices*.
7 *Missae, Magnificat, motecta, psalmi et alia quam plurima, 3, 4, 8, 9, 12vv* (Madrid, 1600). A modern transcription of the *Missa pro victoria* can be found in Victoria: *Opera omnia*, vi, p. 26.
Soriano and Victoria did, however, include a lot of text-fragmentation and passages of fast antiphonal exchange. Marenzio's polychoral compositions certainly contain all these features, and in some quantity, but he is not believed to have begun composing in this idiom until c.1589.

Because of the long text, most repetitions occur only once in *Hi sunt qui venerunt* — *Dignus es Domine*, sometimes with voice exchange. Repetition of the text also takes place within the same choir, such as this rather unusual example of reduced forces used homophonically at b. 95 of the *prima pars* (EXAMPLE 5.7). Reduced forces are commonly found only in polyphonic sections, and then mostly in the earlier double-choir motets; homophonic sections usually include all four voices of the choir.

At the opening of the *secunda pars*, there is a series of closely-spaced rising imitative phrases, in which the two choirs are treated as one unit. This treatment suggests that the choirs may not have been widely separated for this motet, and indeed given the rhythmic complexity at the conclusion, where the two choirs are closely involved, anything other than close positioning would make performance extremely difficult. Another factor pointing to the close proximity of the choirs is an

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8 Noel O'Regan notes that composers who did not adopt the new style in double-choir compositions were mainly associated with the papal chapel. They included Palestrina, Felice Anerio, Theofilo Gargari, and Arcangelo Crivelli. He found that their works tended to be more contrapuntal and minim-based (O'Regan, 'Sacred Polychoral Music', i, p. 224). While this may be largely correct, it is not totally so, since Palestrina does include a fair amount of homophony in some of his eight-voice works and four-note quaver runs occur sporadically throughout his works (see Andrews, *The Technique of Palestrina*, p. 53, for some examples), including an off-beat crotchet entry in one of his settings of *Regina caeli* (Palestrina: *Le Opere Complete*, xxxiv, p. 3, b. 21). However these are largely isolated instances and significant passages of *note nere*, such as occur in the works of Stabile, are not found.

9 See the introduction to Marenzio: *Opera omnia*, i. O'Regan, however, considers this untenable and suggests that *Jubilate Deo* (1600), the *Magnificat*, *Te Deum*, *Cantate Domino*, and *Egredimini filiae Sion* were composed c.1575–1585, with others composed after c.1585 (O'Regan, 'Sacred Polychoral Music', i, p. 236). Those works which he considers to be composed prior to 1585 contain only consecutive crotchets underlaid with text and the style is very much based on the minim (O'Regan, 'Sacred Polychoral Music', i, pp. 231–232).

10 A similar example of this occurs in *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, bb. 34–38.
overlapping entry where one voice is left sounding on its own at the end of a phrase but is overlapped by the entry of the other choir.\footnote{11}

**EXAMPLE 5.7. Stabile: *Hi sunt qui venerunt* 1a pars (bb. 94–96)**

![Musical notation](image)

Similar to this are the occasions when there is a temporary grouping across the choirs. This occurs in the *secunda pars* at bb. 36–38 (EXAMPLE 5.8), and again at bb. 41–43. In this case it is undoubtedly for expressive purposes since the lighter voices sing *'pusilli'*, and the heavier voices *'magni'* (*'small' and 'great'*)\footnote{12}.

\footnote{11}Prima pars, b. 20; Secunda pars, bb. 127–28, or bb. 48–50.

\footnote{12}Similar instances of new groupings between the two choirs are also found in the motets by Marenzio in the anthology *Promptuarii musici* (1611): in *Deus venerunt gentes*, *Exsurgat Deus*, and *Iniquos odio habui* (see also O'Regan *'Sacred Polychoral Music'*, i, pp. 232–233). In Stabile's *Hi sunt qui venerunt* —*Dignus es Domine*, new groupings also occur in the polyphonic tutti at the conclusion (see Example 5.5) where, following the standard group entries at b. 85 with the text *'gloriam ei'*, the groupings become C1, C2, A2, B2 at b. 86 and A1, T1, B1, T2 at b. 87.
Other expressive devices include the long melisma at bb. 55–58 of the secunda pars on the word ‘tonitrurum’ (‘thunderings’), and at b. 63 of the prima pars, where the Cantus leaps to form a dissonant second with the Altus suspension, serving to further accentuate the 9–8 suspension on the word ‘lacrymam’ (‘tears’). The descending four-note quaver run following soon after on ‘oculis’ may have been intended to depict tears, for the whole phrase reads ‘et absterget Deus omnem lacrymam ab oculis eorum’ (‘and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes’).

Comparisons with Giovannelli’s Sacrarum modulationum . . . liber primus 5, 8vv (Rome, 1593) have been made from time to time throughout this discussion, but a summary of these with regard to Stabile’s Liber Tertius, 1589, will be useful at this stage. Both collections include a mixture of styles, with the double-choir items in each exhibiting the more forward-looking features. However, Giovannelli’s collection is more conservative rhythmically than Stabile’s.

Note nere passages are absent from Giovannelli’s single-choir motets, with the exception of Lux perpetua where groups of five crotchets are underlaid with text, and Laudent nomen 2a pars, where at ‘tympano et psalterio psaltant ei’, as well as some crotchet declamation, there are off-beat crotchet entries, and figures with text.
There are no four-note quaver runs, no texted quaver pairs, nor are there several note nere passages of significant length within the one work such as occur in Stabile.

In Giovannelli's double-choir works repeated notes at the same pitch are prominent and there are occurrences of the texted quaver pair and the four-note quaver run, but these last two features are extremely rare. The semiquaver pair does not occur, and there is no use of the crotchet as the basic rhythmic unit throughout. However, expression of the text was perhaps of greater importance to Giovannelli than rhythmic innovation and as noted by O'Regan, he uses every opportunity for this.13

• 1590 •

The four-voice Hymnus de gloria paradisi, published in 1590, is set apart from the whole corpus of Stabile's sacred music since it is totally homophonic except for one phrase at the conclusion of the quinta pars where a descending four-note quaver run is treated imitatively. This is in complete contrast to a basically imitative texture with contrasting sections of homophony. It is also the only work with a sacred text to exhibit madrigalian tendencies. In this respect it is similar to Sancte Pater and Quam bene magnanimos, but in these two homage motets the text is not sacred, and whereas Sancte Pater and Quam bene magnanimos are composed in the imitative style of the 'madrigal proper', the Hymnus de gloria paradisi resembles more the madrigale arioso.

The term madrigale arioso was used, it seems almost exclusively, for four-voice madrigals, and was first applied by Antonio Barrè in his three anthologies published in 1555, 1558 and 1562.14 A feature of these madrigals was the dominance of the single melodic line over the other voices and the rejection of the imitative procedure. The prevailing texture therefore is homophonic and often strongly declamatory. There is a pronounced use of block-chord syncopation, and a fondness for root-position chords and standard harmonic formulae. Text repetition on a larger scale is confined to the exact repetition of the entire line.15 All these features are strongly evident in

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13 O'Regan, 'Sacred Polychoral Music', i, p. 229.
14 Primo libro delle muse a 4vv (Rome, Barrè, 1555); Secondo libro delle Muse a 4vv (Rome, Barrè, 1558); and Il terzo libro delle Muse a 4vv (Rome, Barrè, 1562).
this work. The *Hymnus de gloria paradisi* is written for four voices and the homophonic and declamatory style is illustrated in **Example 5.9**.

**Example 5.9. Stabile: Hymnus de gloria paradisi (bb. 1–8)**

Anthologist and Publisher — Some Preliminary Findings', in *Altro Polo: Essays on Italian Music in the Cinquecento*, edited by Richard Charteris (Sydney, 1990), pp. 82–112, particularly p. 96.
The exception, at the end of the *quinta pars*, is for expressive reasons where the imitative use of the descending quaver run is an effective expression of the text ‘*sudat balsamum*’ (‘dripping balsam’) (EXAMPLE 5.10). As the basic form is strophic, however, the remaining verses are compelled to follow suit.\(^{16}\) The imitative entries at ‘*sudat*’ are an excellent example of close imitation at the crotchet, now involving three voices. Also evident in EXAMPLE 5.10 is the text repetition encompassing the whole of the last line. While the four-note quaver runs are all descending, ascending groups also occur at an earlier point in the hymn (bb. 65 and 68–69), but not imitatively. The preponderance of root-position chords is well illustrated in the opening bars of the hymn, where in the eight bars of EXAMPLE 5.9 there are only two chords not in root position (bb. 6 and 7).

**EXAMPLE 5.10.** Stabile: *Hymnus de gloria paradisi* (bb. 78–85)

\(^{16}\) For explanation of the musical form of this hymn, see ‘Canon, Cantus firmus, and Large-scale Structures’, p. 284.
Syncopation is an important feature of this motet (EXAMPLE 5.11). Also evident in EXAMPLE 5.11 is an augmented triad at b. 60.

EXAMPLE 5.11. Stabile: *Hymnus de gloria paradisi* (bb. 56–61)

Syncopation is further increased with the simultaneous rests of a crotchet’s duration (b. 74). As previously mentioned, these are found only in the late works, the only other instance occurring in the double-choir motet *Hi sunt qui venerunt* 1a pars.

James Haar suggests the possibility of a Naples-Rome current in the development of the *madrigale arioso* and for Stabile, with his Neapolitan origins and later working life in Rome, this is a distinct possibility.17 Most of the composers included in Barre’s four-voice anthologies were from Rome, but a number were active in Naples in the

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1540s and 1550s, suggesting that the *madrigale arioso* may have been a development of both centres.  

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**• POSTHUMOUS PUBLICATIONS •**

One of Stabile’s late compositions, not the most forward-looking in all aspects but certainly so far as the *note nere* texture is concerned, is the responsory *Nos autem gloriari*. This was included in Salvatore Sacchi’s publication of 1607.

*Note nere* are apparent from the outset. There is a short passage in the middle of the motet where the minim becomes the unit for purposes of contrast at the versicle ‘*Tuam crucem adoramus Domine et recolimus gloriosam passionem*’. *Note bianche* also occur at the final three-bar tutti where they create a rallentando. With its largely *note nere* notation, this motet is the closest double-choir approach to *Quam bene magnanimos* and the *Hymnus de gloria paradisi*. The \(\uparrow\) \(\downarrow\) figure with text occurs frequently and there are a number of occurrences of the four-note quaver run and one instance of an ornamental semiquaver pair. Even Stabile’s favourite ornamental pattern for a final cadence has been reproduced in its *note nere* equivalent.

References to Palestrina’s four-voice setting of the same text published in 1563 can be found from time to time in Stabile’s motet.  
Stabile was certainly familiar with Palestrina’s work since it was performed at the German College on September 13, 1585. Both composers have chosen the second mode transposed to G and Stabile’s opening is the same in outline as Palestrina’s, apart from the leap of a fourth instead of a fifth. Less obvious is the imitative point at bb. 20–24 of Palestrina’s work, which recurs in the Tenor of Choir 1 at bb. 6–8 in Stabile’s motet (EXAMPLE 5.12a/b).

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20 Palestrina: *Le opere complete*, iii, p. 82.
21 ‘In the evening, one motet for four voices, *Nos autem* of Palestrina, was sung; but our [men] sang in three voices what was otherwise for four, because the beadle of the choir had been too [*bollardus*]’. From the diary of Gabriel Tibaldi, cited by Culley, *Jesuits*, Doc. 96, with translation p. 84.
EXAMPLE 5.12a. Palestrina: *Nos autem gloriari* (*Le opere complete*, iii, p. 83, bb. 20–24)

And more interesting is Palestrina’s paired imitation at ‘per quem salvati’ which is quoted by Stabile as inverted counterpoint in the Bassus and Cantus parts at bb. 18–19 for the same section of text (EXAMPLE 5.13a/b).
EXAMPLE 5.13a. Palestrina: *Nos autem gloriari* (*Le opere complete*, iii, p. 85, bb. 61–63)

EXAMPLE 5.13b. Stabile: *Nos autem gloriari* (bb. 17–20)

Palestrina’s motet was evidently popular since Felice Anerio also refers to it in his own four-voice setting of this text.²² He quotes this same section ("per quem salvati")

²²A modern transcription can be found in Proske ed., *Musica Divina*, 1/iii, p. 311. Palestrina’s motet was also used by Francesco Soriano as a basis for his *Missa Nos autem gloriari*. 
in the Altus and Bassus, though not in inverted counterpoint (EXAMPLE 5.14). He also begins his imitative point at 'in cruce' with the same descending fifth as does Palestrina.


The psalm-setting *Deus misereatur nostri* (published in Antonio Gualteri's eight-voice collection of 1604), is an example of Stabile's most progressive homophonic style for double-choir. There is much use of declamatory rhythms, with interest centred on the rhythmic interaction between choirs rather than the melodic line. A four-note quaver run occurs and there are declamatory quaver pairs with underlaid text, and frequent use of the rhythm. Like *Nos autem gloriari*, note nere forms the basic notation with occasional note bianche passages.

Particularly noticeable in Stabile's motet, owing to the homophonic texture, are the increased number of juxtapositions of major and minor versions of the same chord. As could be expected, there is a tutti at 'confiteantur tibi populi omnes' ('let all the people praise thee'), and a change to triple time at the joyful 'et exsultent gentes' ('Let the nations be glad').

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23 See 'Dissonance and Chromatic Alteration', p. 255.
The final items under discussion exist only in manuscript form. These are the eight Christmas Responsories and the two-part motet *In tribulatione — Propterea confitebor*.

The eight Christmas Responsories include both *note bianche* and *note nere* styles. As well as the previously mentioned *note nere* figures, the most progressive motets of this set, *Beata Dei Genitrix* and *Beata viscera Mariae*, also include the ornamental semiquaver pair, without text. This last feature, which occurs in no other single-choir work, suggests that the Responsories were composed after 1589, since the only other sacred work to contain this figure is the motet for double choir *Hi sunt qui venerunt — Dignus es Domine* published in 1589. Also included in *Beata viscera Mariae* is the four-note quaver run used imitatively in two of the four voices (EXAMPLE 5.15).

**Example 5.15.** Stabile: *Beata viscera Mariae* (bb. 4–7 of *Dies sanctificatus*)

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24 It was however reasonably common in Stabile's madrigals for single-choir published in 1585. See, for example, *Escon dal chiaro viso*, *Amorosetto neo*, *Et spuntar le viole* 2a pars, *Tien pur anima la pars*, *Da quei begli occhi*, *Ecco la negra sera*, *Donna co'l vostro sguardo*, and *Di cypresso e di salce* from *Il terzo libro*, 1585. It also occurred in the madrigals published in 1581 in conjunction with G. M. Nanino. See *Vaneggio* and *Volete pur ch'io more*. 
The Late Works

Three responsories contain no note nere at all (Hodie nobis caelorum, O magnum mysterium, and Sancta et immaculata), and these have probably been placed between the other items for contrast. These three motets are more examples of the homophonic texture which was taken to its limits in the Hymnus de gloria paradisi. The minim-based triple-time sections also suggest a late date of composition since most of the other works to notate these sections in this manner were from the late period.

In tribulatione — Propterea confitebor is a work of doubtful authenticity. There is no attribution to Stabile in any of the voice parts, and according to the holding library there is no title page or contents page. The reason for its attribution to Stabile is therefore unclear to me.

There are several aspects of this composition which raise doubts. It contains three instances of an Italian sixth (bb. 9, 24, and 31 of the prima pars), and three occasions of direct chromaticism (prima pars b. 37 and secunda pars bb. 35 and 57), neither of which occur in any other of Stabile’s works. The contrast of upper- and lower-voiced choirs (c1, c1, c3, c4 and c3, c4, F4, F4) is also uncharacteristic as is the lack of harmonic independence between the two choirs in the tutti sections on two occasions, both occurring on main beats (see prima pars bb. 49 and 51 and the repeat in the secunda pars). Still further doubt is raised by the low E in the Bassus in the secunda pars at b. 25. F in the second octave below middle C is otherwise the extreme of the Bassus range in all Stabile’s sacred works.

Although In tribulatione — Propterea confitebor is probably not by Stabile, the three occurrences of the Italian sixth are of interest. The earliest example otherwise

25 I have been unable to examine the whole manuscript and have only photocopies of the voice parts of the motet under discussion.

26 See also ‘Musica ficta’, p. 265.

27 For what is characteristic, see ‘Cadences and Clefs’, pp. 293–296.

28 In each case the first choir has a 6/4 chord on a strong beat causing the lowest voice to sound a fifth above the bass of the second choir. This does not occur in Stabile’s music, where the bass parts form unisons, octaves or occasionally thirds in tutti sections. See also Zarlino’s comments in Gioseffo Zarlino, Istitutioni harmoniche, part 3, facsimile of Venice, 1573 (Ridgewood, New Jersey, 1966), p. 330. This has been translated as Gioseffo Zarlino, The Art of Counterpoint. Part Three of Le Istitutioni harmoniche 1588, translated by Guy A. Marco and Claude V. Palisca (New York, 1968), p. 245.
known to the present writer occurs in Salvatore Sacchi’s *Dialogus BMV* published in 1607.\(^{29}\)

\(^{29}\)See ‘Dissonance and Chromatic Alteration’, p. 250.
A variety of mensuration signs exists in Stabile's music, and as in most music of the late 16th century, it is difficult to discover their precise meaning. Especially problematical is the intended proportional relationship at a change in all voices from duple to triple time. There are, however, some observations to be made.

In the Letanìa BMV et Nominis Jesu (1583), Liber Secundus (1585), and Liber Tertius (1589), both the duple signatures of alla breve $\Phi$ and the alla semibreve $\Phi C$ are employed. Particularly noticeable is the increasing variety of triple time signatures with each subsequent publication. In Stabile's Letanìa BMV triple time is indicated by $\Phi 3$. In the Liber Secundus $\Phi 3$ again appears and $\Phi 3$ occurs simultaneously with $\Phi 2$ in one motet. In the Liber Tertius there is a much greater variety, including $\Phi 2$, $\Phi 3$, $3$, $3$, and $C 3$. In two motets, the signature $\Phi 3$ again occurs simultaneously with $\Phi 3$. The Hymnus de gloria paradisi (1590) employs another new sign $\Phi C 3$, and the Christmas Responsories yet another sign, $C 3$.

An increasing use of the 'new' $C$ signature is also apparent, and the decision whether to employ $\Phi$ or $C$ is strongly related to the introduction of note nere. In the Letanìa BMV, six items are in $\Phi$ with only one item in $C$. In the Liber Secundus four items are in $C$ with the remaining 11 (leaving aside the motets with conflicting $C$ and $\Phi$ signatures) being in $\Phi$. In the Liber Tertius the numbers are almost equal, with

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1. $C$ is actually the older time signature. $\Phi$ was first introduced to indicate a faster tempo. The earliest works by Palestrina were all composed in the older $C$ time. See Andrews, The Technique of Palestrina, p. 37. The re-introduction of $C$ is clearly connected to note nere.

2. For this purpose, the various partes of a motet have been grouped as one item since a duple mensuration established at the outset, whether $\Phi$ or $C$, is normally retained throughout, aside from any excursions into triple time.
seven in C and eight in Ė. In each case it is the motets containing the most progressive note nere figures which are in C and is a reflection of Stabile’s interest in applying these rhythmic techniques to sacred music. Two exceptions are Tollite jugum meum and Obsecro Domine. These are among the most conservative of Stabile’s compositions and are examples of the traditional use of C time.

The number of motets containing a passage in a triple mensuration increases also. In Stabile’s earlier style, triple time is not common and occurs in only a few motets, usually at the mention of joy or praise. This absence of triple meter is also apparent in the earliest sacred compositions by Marenzio. In Marenzio’s case there is a total absence and it is not until his motets of 1585 that triple time makes an appearance, and as in Stabile it is often employed at the mention of joy, at words such as gloria, gaudebit, and alleluia. Neither is triple time very common in the music of Palestrina. In Stabile’s middle period, however, there is a marked increase and by the late period triple time occurs in most motets.

While not all motets containing some note nere are written in C, it is nevertheless clear that in each of his publications, Stabile has reserved this sign for his most rhythmically progressive motets. This is also the case in the unpublished set of eight Christmas Responsories. These are clearly composed as a set, yet Nos. 1, 3, 4, 6, and 8 are in Ė, and Nos. 2, 5, and 7 are in C. With the exception of No. 8, those in Ė contain no note nere (No. 3 changes to C for its note nere section). The Responsories in C do contain note nere, with Nos. 5 and 7 being the most progressive of the set. The alternation between the two is clearly for variety.

A few motets have conflicting Ė and C signs in one or more voices simultaneously. This is probably a printer’s error since there is no reason for the simultaneous use. Cum pervenisset Barnabas is a case in point. Here all voices begin in Ė with the exception of the Bassus who opens in C but, following the section in

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3 Other composers were not so forward in applying C time. In Dragoni’s posthumous publication, Motectorum . . . liber primus (Rome, 1600), there are no motets in C, all 24 items are notated in Ė. Lassus also composed all his sacred works in alla breve time. In Ruggiero Giovannelli’s Sacrarum modulationum . . . liber primus 5, 8vv (Rome, 1593), it is surprising to find that all the motets are notated in Ė time. Luca Marenzio’s Sacrae Cantiones (Venice, 1616), the contents of which were probably composed about 1580, contains one motet in C time, the remainder being in Ė. And the 42 motets in Marenzio’s Motectorum pro Festis Totius Anni (Rome, 1585) are all composed in Ė.

4 See also Roland Jackson’s introduction to Marenzio: Opera omnia, vol. i.

triple time, the Bassus returns to C as in all the other voices. The eight-voice motet *Nos autem gloriari* contains a similar instance, where the Primus Cantus, Primus Chorus has C while other voices have C. But in a manuscript version of the same work, all voices have C. This time signature is certainly more appropriate for the notation of this particular motet which is heavily weighted towards *note nere*.

The other motet with this mixture is *Domine ne in furore — Convertere Domine*. In *Domine ne in furore* 1a pars only the Altus has C while all other voices have C, but in *Convertere Domini* 2a pars all voices have C except for the Cantus, which alone has C. In this case it is likely that a change in mensuration from C in the *prima pars* to C in the *secunda pars* was intended and that the two irregular voices were printer’s errors. The *prima pars* is the most rhythmically progressive of the single-choir items in Stabile’s *Liber Secundus* and contains a fairly substantial section of *note nere*, whereas the *secunda pars* is much more conservative and there are no *note nere*. The change in signature probably indicates that the semibreve in the *secunda pars* with its C signature and white notation moves at a faster pace than that in the *prima pars*. The simultaneous combination of C and C within each individual partes has no discernible meaning.

It is more difficult to find a reason, if any, behind the variety of triple signs. Whether these were Stabile’s own choice or that of the printer is not clear. When applied to all voices simultaneously the signatures may be reduced to two basic types — a fast triple and a slow triple. Stabile also employs a third variety where all voices move to a triple meter without coloration and with no change from a duple mensuration. Discussion of this last type will be left until later in this chapter.

Some triple signs appear in both C and C time, whereas others, such as C3, occur only in C, and $\frac{3}{2}$ and C3 are found only in C. Another factor for consideration is that sometimes the semibreve is chosen as the unit of harmonic change, and sometimes the minim. For example, $\Phi \frac{3}{2}$ and $\Phi 3$ are always notated with the semibreve as the unit (with one doubtful exception), and C3, C3, $\frac{3}{2}$, and C 3 are notated with the minim as the unit. The sign 3 is usually notated in minim units, but may employ the semibreve as the unit.

Table 12 lists Stabile’s works in C and C. A move into triple time is indicated in the relevant column by the type of notation adopted, either minims (m) or semibreves.

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6Rvat, Cappella Giulia XIII 25, ff. 20v–21.

7Those signatures not applied simultaneously in all voices are discussed below.
A broken line indicates the simultaneous use of two different triple signatures. Italics indicate coloration.

**TABLE 12**

|MOTETS IN € TIME |
|---|---|---|---|---|
|€ | $\Phi^3$ | € | $\Phi^3$ | € |
| Quam pulchrae 1a pars | sb | | | | |
| Pavus distillans 2a pars | | sb | | | |
| Litany of Jesus | sb | | | | |
| Litany of the BVM [2] (and ‘Polish’ Litany) | sb | | m | | |
| Ave Maria gratia plena (incomplete) | | | | | |
| Salve Regina a 8 (incomplete) | | | | | |
| Ave Regina celorum (incomplete) | | | | | |
| Regina celtri lacte (incomplete) | | | | | |
| Ego sum panis — Caro mea — Multi ergo | | | | | |
| Pacem relinquo vobis | sb | | | | |
| Cum pervenisset Barnabas | sb | sb | sb | sb |
| Pater Abraham | | sb | | | |
| Alma Redemptoris a 5 | sb | | | | |
| Quae est ista | | | | | |
| Juste et pie vivamus | | | | | |
| Cantantibus organis | | | | | |
| Veni Sancte Spiritus | sb | | | | |
| Tu gloria Jerusalem | | | | | |
| Stephanus plenus gratia | sb | | | | |
| Queramus cum pastoribus | | | | | |
| Ibant Apostoli | | | | | |
| Sub tuum praesidium | | | | | |
| Salve Regina — Eia ergo — Et Jesus | | | | | |
| Sicut cervus | | | | | |
| Ego sum vitis vera | | | | | |
| Usque modo 1a pars | | | | | |
| Petite accipietis 2a pars | sb | | | | |
| Victimae paschati | sb | sb | sb | sb |
| Veni sponsa Christi | | | | | |
| Beata es Virgo Maria | | | | | |
| Mane nobiscum Domine | | | | | |
| Hymnus de gloria paradisi | m | | | | |
| Litany of the BVM [1] | | | | | |
| Litany of the BVM [3] | sb | m | | | |
| Nunc dimittus | | | | | |
| Missa Ung gay bergier | sb | | | | |
| Missa Vestiva i colli | sb | | | | |
| Jubilate Deo — Laudate | sb | | | | |
| Omnes Gentes | sb | | | | |
| Hodie nobis celorum (Resp. 1) | sb | | | | |
| O magnum mysterium (Resp. 4) | | | | | |
| Sancta et immaculata (Resp. 6) | sb | | | | |
| Hae dies | | | | | |
| Lauda mater ecclesia | | sb | | | |
| Audi benigne Conditor | | | | | |
Three factors govern the tempo of a triple section. The first is whether the tactus is falling on the breve or the semibreve in the previous duple section, the second is the triple mensuration sign itself, and the third whether the semibreve or minim has been selected as the harmonic unit. In theory, one tactus of the triple meter (notated in
either semibreves or minims) should equal one tactus of the preceding duplet meter whether that falls upon the breve or the semibreve.

At this point, it might be useful to include a definition of the tactus. Tactus in mensural music is usually described as the twofold ‘down-up’ (or up-down) motion of the hand or baton made by the directing cantor. This twofold motion can be made up of two short time-units as well as three such time-units. If the tactus has two time-units, the duration of the down-beat is the same as the duration of the up-beat. If three time-units are beaten per tactus, the down-beat has two time-units and the up-beat one.\(^8\)

In the 16th century the two-fold tactus was sub-divided into two types: tactus major where the tactus fell on the breve in \(\underline{\text{C}}\) and the semibreve in \(\underline{\text{C}}\), and tactus minor where the tactus fell on the semibreve in \(\underline{\text{C}}\) and the minim in \(\underline{\text{C}}\) (Table 13).\(^9\)

The tactus minor was first developed to cater for secular music with its black notation and use of smaller note values. Sacred music with its mainly white notation was more likely to use the tactus major, and this tactus is the basis of the following discussion. A statement in Adriano Banchieri’s *Conclusioni nel suono dell’organo* (1609), makes it clear that the tactus major was still in use at the end of the 16th century.

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\(^{8}\) Definition from J. A. Bank, *Tactus, tempo and notation in mensural music from the 13th to the 17th century* (Amsterdam, 1972), p. 7. A reference to a Renaissance use of the baton is made by Hercole Bottrigari in his *Il Desiderio* (1599). In his description of a concert given by the nuns of the holy Church of San Vito he writes: ‘They all enter quietly and approach the table without making the least noise and place themselves in their proper place, and some sit, who must do so in order to use their instruments, and others remain standing. Finally the Maestra of the concert sits at one end of the table and with a long, slender and well-polished wand (which was placed there ready for her, because I saw it), and when all the other sisters clearly are ready, gives them without noise several signs to begin, and then continues beating the measure of the time which they must obey in singing and playing.’ Hercole Bottrigari, *Il Desiderio*, with Vincenzo Giustiniani, *Discorso Sopra La Musica*, translated by Carol MacClintock, *Musicological Studies and Documents* 9 (American Institute of Musicology, 1962), p. 58.

\(^{9}\) There was also a tactus which fell upon the minim in \(\underline{\text{C}}\). Eucharius Hoffmann mentions that this existed for the benefit of novices and school pupils who had not yet mastered the performance of many quick notes under the semibreve tactus in \(\underline{\text{C}}\). Eucharius Hoffmann, *Musicae practicae praecepta* (Wittenberg, 1572), cap. 11, fol. F 3 and I 6, cited by Bank, *Tactus*, p. 237. Also in Bank, *Tactus*, pp. 226-230 is a table listing the various kinds of tactus mentioned in treatises from 1490 to 1615.
Modern musicians devised the following signs, reduced to two equal tempi, which makes it easier for the cantores and more pleasant for the combined singing. At present they are called ‘full-time’. . . written with C and two semibreves per tactus . . . and ‘smaller full-time’ . . . written with C and two minimae per tactus.\textsuperscript{10}

TABLE 13

TACTUS MAJOR AND TACTUS MINOR

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<tr>
<th>Tactus major:</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C, [8\textcircled{8}]</td>
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<td>C \textcircled{8}</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>Tactus minor:</th>
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In the second half of the 16th century, it seems to have been widely accepted that the speed of the tactus could vary between works depending upon the character of the piece concerned, and that in C time the semibreve moved at a faster pace than the semibreve in C.\textsuperscript{11} What is not clear is whether the speed of the tactus, once established at the beginning of a work, was maintained throughout (the length of the notes being altered by any succeeding mensuration signs), or whether the speed of the tactus could change during the course of a work, for example at a move to triple time or to a different duple time. The discussion in this chapter and the suggested equations in my accompanying edition are based upon a tactus which remains constant throughout a piece of music, the tempo having been established at the outset. A treatise written by the Roman theorist Agostino Pisa and published in 1611, provides support for this. He writes:

\textsuperscript{10}Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo (1609), p. 34, cited by Bank, Tactus, p. 253,\textsuperscript{11}Praetorius for example mentions that: 'Since madrigals and other Cantiones — in which the sign C semiminimae and fusae abound — proceed in quicker movement, but motets — which under the sign C mainly have breves and semibreves — proceed in slower movement, the latter [Motets] need a tactus celerior and the former [Madrigals] a tactus tardior, in order to stand midway between two extremes: weariness and precipitation'. Michael Praetorius, Syntagma musicum, facsimile edited by W. Gurlitt (1958), Lib. III, cap. 7, p. 50, cited by Bank, Tactus, p. 251.
The tactus is called maior, minor, and proportionatus, on account of the three grades of notes, which are measured with the same mensura, by the adaptation of the notes to the tactus and not of the tactus to the notes.\(^{12}\)

Let us first consider the signs $\Phi 3^\frac{3}{2}$, $\Phi 3$, and 3 which occur in both $\Phi$ and C time. With the exception of Dignus es Domine 2a pars, to which I will return, all are notated with the semibreve as the unit of harmonic change. In $\Phi 3^\frac{3}{2}$, the cut circle indicates a diminished time with the tactus falling on the breve (perfect). As the tactus is already falling on the breve (imperfect) in $\Phi$ time, the note-value carrying the tactus remains unaltered. However, the proportional values of the notes have changed as indicated by the figures $\frac{3}{2}$. Thomas Morley, in *A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music* published in 1597, writes that the upper figure refers to the semibreve and the lower to the stroke of the tactus.

... therefore take that for a sure and infallible rule which I have set down in my book, that *in all musical Proportions the upper number signifieth the semibreve and the lower the stroke*; so that if the Proportion be noted thus, 3/2, three semibreves (or the value of three semibreves) must go to two strokes; but if thus, 2/3, then must two semibreves (or their value) take three whole strokes.\(^{13}\)

Clearly, Morley is referring to a tactus minor or, as he terms it, the ‘less stroke’ where the tactus falls upon the semibreve in $\Phi$, otherwise an impossibly slow triple of $\Phi \frac{3}{2} + \frac{3}{2} = \Phi 3^\frac{3}{2} \frac{3}{2}$ would result.\(^{14}\) In a tactus major, two semibreve strokes are reduced to one breve stroke, thus three semibreves are sung to one stroke. The perfect breve (three semibreves) of the triple time is therefore equal to the imperfect breve (two semibreves) of the previous duple time ($\Phi 3^\frac{3}{2} = \Phi \frac{3}{2} \frac{3}{2}$). The outcome is a slow triple time.\(^{15}\) Support for this occurs in Stabile’s *Gloria Patri* from the

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14 See also Bank, Tactus, p. 247, who comes to the same conclusion but suggests that Morley means two ‘half-strokes’.

15 The existence of a slow triple is supported by a reference made by Glarean to an ‘admirable and majestic tactus’ which was applied at his time of writing (1547) in order to count three semibreves in one tactus (‘Caeterum in his quoque signis O3, C3 nostra aetas tactus diminutionem nimis licenter usurpavit, ut tres semibreves uno tactu, magnifico quidem illo et augustiore numerentur’), Heinrich Glarean, *Dodecachordon*, translation, transcription and commentary by Clement A. Miller.

Footnote cont. overleaf...
Christmas Responsory *Sancta et immaculata*, notated in $\Phi$ time, where the section opens with black semibreves in all voices simultaneously before finishing in white notation. Since it was generally accepted that coloured notes lost one third of their value,\(^{16}\) it seems highly probable in this case that three coloured semibreves are equal to two white ones.

When $\Phi \frac{3}{2}$ occurs in C, this suggests a different interpretation of speed. In C time the tactus falls on the semibreve and as noted before, the cut circle of $\Phi \frac{3}{2}$ time indicates a diminished time, thus making the tactus fall on the breve (perfect). Therefore the note-value carrying the tactus changes from the semibreve to the breve in the triple section. As before, the figures $\frac{3}{2}$ mean that three semibreves are sung in the time of one stroke of the tactus major, but in C time this is now two minims (one semibreve). Thus $C \circ = \Phi \frac{3}{2} \frac{1}{100} \cdot \cdot$. The result is a fast triple. Although the note value carrying the tactus in the triple section is exactly the same in $\Phi$ and C (the perfect breve), it is proportionally different from its duple neighbour. This seems a logical explanation for two identical time signatures which occur in two different duple mensurations.

With the exception of the verse *Uni Deo sit gloria* from the hymn *Lauda mater ecclesia*, $\Phi 3$ occurs only in simultaneous combination with $\Phi \frac{3}{2}$. The motets concerned are *Victima paschali*, *Dignum es Domine* 2a pars and *Cum pervenisset Barnabas*.\(^{17}\) Both *Victima paschali* and *Cum pervenisset Barnabas* are in $\Phi$ time and the triple section is notated in semibreves. Since the cut circle means that the tactus remains on the breve, there is no perceptible difference between $\Phi \frac{3}{2}$ and $\Phi 3$. The use of both signatures in different voices simultaneously therefore must have been a printer’s error. *Dignum es Domine* 2a pars presents a different case (EXAMPLE 6.1). This motet in C time is the only work to contain a triple section in $\Phi \frac{3}{2}$ notated with the minim as the harmonic pulse. It also has the signature $\Phi 3$ occurring in combination with $\Phi \frac{3}{2}$. However, the presence of an imperfect breve at the

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\(^{16}\) See for example Zarlino’s comments in Zarlino, *Istitutioni hamumiche*, p. 336, or *The Art of Counterpoint*, p. 255.

\(^{17}\) In *Dignum es Domine* 2a pars, the Cantus Secundus and Altus Secundus have $\Phi 3$, the other voices have $\Phi \frac{3}{2}$. In *Victima paschali*, the Bassus Secundus has $\Phi 3$ and the remainder have $\Phi \frac{3}{2}$. In *Cum pervenisset Barnabas*, the Altus, Tenor Primus, Bassus, and Tenor Secundus have $\Phi 3$, the Cantus has $\Phi \frac{3}{2}$. 

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Mensuration Signs and Relationships

conclusion of two overlapping phrases in the Altus Primus (b. 65) and Tenor Secundus (b. 63), and the perfect breve in the Tenor Secundus (b. 66) suggest that breve rather than semibreve groups were intended. Thus, as before, the tactus moves from the semibreve to the breve resulting in a fast triple $C \circ = \Phi \frac{3}{2}$ or $\Phi 3 \text{~}\frac{\text{o}}{\text{m}} \cdot$.

**EXAMPLE 6.1.** Stabile: *Dignus es Domine* 2a pars (bb. 60–68)

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18 Reprints of this motet in various later anthologies provide no further enlightenment. In *Florilegii* (1621) further signatures are introduced, including $C \frac{3}{2}$, $\Phi \frac{3}{2}$, and $\frac{3}{2}$, as well as the existing $\Phi \frac{3}{2}$ and $\Phi 3$. The organ tablatures introduce a further dimension. In triple time they halve the note values as well as using two more new signatures: in the manuscript version 3 is used and in *Nova musices* (1617), O3 occurs.
There are three works using the signature 3 in C time. Each triple section is notated in minim. This presents no difficulty since the tactus, already falling on the semibreve, continues to do so, therefore $C = 3 \cdot$. However, in the Litany of the BVM [3] in $\Phi$ time, there are three triple sections all indicated by the sign 3: the first two are notated in semibreves, so $\Phi = 3 \cdot$ (EXAMPLE 6.2a), but in the third, the minim becomes the pulse suggesting six minims are now sung to the tactus (EXAMPLE 6.2b). This produces the equation $\Phi = 3 \cdot$, the fast triple.

**EXAMPLE 6.2a.** Stabile: *Litany of the BVM [3] (first triple section)*
EXAMPLE 6.2b. Stabile: Litany of the BVM [3] (third triple section)

The Litany of the BVM [3] is the only instance where both the slow and fast triple, indicated by the notation rather than a change in sign, are required in the same work. Further support for the fact that the tactus unit has altered from the perfect breve to the perfect semibreve is the cadence of EXAMPLE 6.2b which, if the unit remains on the breve, would fall at the half bar.

The Litany of the BVM [2] and its 'Polish' companion reinforce this interpretation of $\Phi \circ = 3 \circ$, since they furnish the only examples where there is a move to a triple mensuration in one voice (indicated by 3), but with no change from a duple mensuration in the surrounding voices. In this case (b. 36 of EXAMPLE 6.3) it is quite clear that the three minims must be performed in the time of one duple semibreve.\footnote{This also occurs in a later version in score of Laudate nomen 2a pars but I have been unable to view the original source to see whether this was due to coloration alone or to a change in time signature. Coloration alone is employed in the work of doubtful authenticity Propterea confitebor 2a pars, at bb. 17 and 21.} $\frac{3}{2}$ and $C \, \circ$ occur only in C. Both are notated with the minim as the harmonic pulse. First the signature $\frac{3}{2}$, this time without the cut circle. As there is no new mensuration sign but just the proportional sign, the tactus continues to fall on the semibreve, and so three minims are now equal to two minims (two strokes in tactus minor, but one stroke in tactus major) of the previous duple time. This results in a fast triple and has exactly the same proportional result as $\Phi \frac{3}{2}$ time in $\Phi$ time, though since the tactus is falling on the semibreve, instead of the breve, a fast, rather than a slow triple results. Second, the other example $C \, \circ$ is also notated in minims. Due to the uncut C there is no change in the note value upon which the tactus falls (the
sminibreve), and so again three minims are equal to two minims of duple time: the same meaning in fact as $\frac{3}{2}$.

**EXAMPLE 6.3.** Stabile: *Litany of the BVM* [2] (bb. 34–37)

$\text{C, } 3$ occurs only in C time. The secular style of the *Hymnus de gloria paradisi* and its black notation indicate quite clearly that the tactus minor system is required whereby the tactus falls on the semibreve in C time. Although the incomplete circle suggests minor prolation, during the 16th century C, 3 became a common method of notating triple meter within the context of C time. If the tactus falls on the semibreve in both sections then $\text{C, } 3 = \text{C3}$ and this works well in the context of the hymn. It would not make musical sense for the tactus to return to the breve for the triple section as this would either result in an extremely fast triple section ($\text{C, } 3 = \text{C3}$ $\ddot{d} \ddot{d} \ddot{d} \ddot{d}$) or conversely, in order to slow the triple section down, the duple section would be far too slow. If, however, the tactus was intended to remain upon the breve

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Glaerean for example notes that: 'Some indicate the trochaic ratio by a plain 3, others by this sign $\text{C, } 3$.' Glaerean, *Dodecachordon*, ii, p. 239.
in both sections then the equation would be $C \cdot 3 \cdot = \cdot 3 \cdot$ (six minims in a minim-based triple time). Exactly the same result as occurs in $C \cdot = \cdot 3 \cdot$.

A third type of triple time is quite clearly shown in the responsory *Notas mihi fecisti —Tu es qui restitues*. The *prima pars* sets the second half of the respond in a fast triple time where $C \cdot = \cdot 3 \cdot$ as mentioned above (EXAMPLE 6.4).

**EXAMPLE 6.4.** Stabile: *Notas mihi fecisti* 1a pars (bb. 24–36)

In the *secunda pars* this same triple section returns but without any change from the duple time signature and without coloration, so constituting what could be one of the earliest uses of a notated allargando. The resulting speed falls between the already mentioned fast and slow triple (EXAMPLE 6.5).
EXAMPLE 6.5. Stabile: *Tu es qui restitues* 2a pars (bb. 26–36)

The Christmas Responsories provide the only examples where C and $\Phi$ are used successively. While *Domine ne in furor* — *Convertere Domine* seems to have been composed with a change of duple mensuration sign for the *secunda pars* (see above p. 226), unlike the responsory form, there is no immediate connection between the two partes, nor is there a return to the *prima pars* after the start of the *secunda pars*. Successive use of C and $\Phi$ occurs in *Verbum caro factum est* and *Quem vidistis pastores*. In *Verbum caro factum est* the mensural progression is $\Phi$ — C3 — C — $\Phi$. In *Quem vidistis pastores* the progression occurs twice, thus $\Phi$ — $\Phi \frac{3}{2}$ — C — $\Phi$ — $\Phi \frac{3}{2}$ — C etc.
Let us look at *Quem vidistis pastores* first. If we continue the argument established so far, the following equations result:

\[ C^{\|o\|} = \Phi \frac{3}{2} \|o\| \cdot = C \cdot = C^{\|o\|} \]

In other words, in this situation, the semibreve in \( C \) moves at twice the speed as in \( C \). The reason for the introduction of the \( C \) signature at the versicle is clearly due to a change to *note nere*; the rest of the duple sections in \( C \) are in *note bianche*.

In *Verbum caro factum est* we are introduced to a new triple sign, \( C^3 \). This is notated with the minim as the unit and follows \( C \) but is succeeded by \( C \). With the speed of the tactus established at the beginning of the Responsory, the change to the triple mensuration with uncut \( C \) causes the tactus to fall on the semibreve, so \( C^{\|o\|} = C^3 \cdot \) (a slow triple). The tactus remains on the semibreve at the change to \( C \) so \( C^3 \cdot = C \cdot \) and with the return to *allabreve* \( C \cdot = C^{\|o\|} \). The resulting relationship between \( C \) and \( C \) is as in *Quem vidistis pastores*.

Table 14 (overleaf) summarizes in tabular form these relationships and in the right hand column gives the resulting equations adopted in my accompanying edition.
# Mensuration Signs and Relationships

## TABLE 14

PROPORTIONAL EQUIVALENCE BETWEEN TRIPLE AND DUPLE MENSURATIONS

BASED ON A TACTUS MAJOR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>£</th>
<th>[\text{Equations in Edition}]</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(\Phi^3)</td>
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<tr>
<td>(\Phi^3)</td>
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<td>(3)</td>
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<tr>
<td>(C^3)</td>
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| \(\Phi^3\) | \(\circ \circ \circ\) | \(\circ \circ \circ\) |
| \(\frac{3}{2}\) | \(\circ \circ \circ\) | \(\circ \circ \circ\) |
| \(3\) | \(\circ \circ \circ\) | \(\circ \circ \circ\) |
| \(C^3\) | \(\circ \circ \circ\) | \(\circ \circ \circ\) |
Stabile’s treatment of dissonance and chromatic alteration falls within the accepted norms of the day. Unlike rhythm, they were obviously not areas that he wished to explore and as a result remain largely conventional throughout his creative life. The following section makes some general observations and comments on a few of the more unusual instances to be found in his music.

• DISSONANCE •

Of all the various types of treatment available (unaccented passing notes aside), the suspensions are by far the most regularly employed and of these the 4–3 is the most common. It is particularly associated with cadences. Usually the suspensions follow the standard format but there are occasional less common examples.

In one 4–3 suspension at the crotchet level, the note of resolution is sounded in the top voice against the suspension in the Altus (EXAMPLE 7.1). This short but acute dissonance highlights the word ‘conturbata’ (the troubled bones). A similar treatment but in closer position occurs in the Litany of Jesus where the note of resolution sounding in the Altus against a 4–3 suspension in the Tenor voice creates a three-note cluster (EXAMPLE 7.2) with the Cantus Primus. Anthony Newcomb comments that this madrigalism was an example of the bolder use of such devices by Roman composers in their secular works when compared with Venetian composers.1

1Newcomb, The Madrigal at Ferrara, i, p. 75. He made this comment in connection with a three-note cluster in G.M. Nanino’s madrigal Se d’uno indegno published in 1574. Another example of a three-
EXAMPLE 7.1. Stabile: Domine ne in furore 1a pars (bb. 52–54)

EXAMPLE 7.2. Stabile: Litany of Jesus (bb. 1–4)

Note cluster can be found in Marenzio's In tua patientia (b. 11) published in 1585, see Marenzio: Opera omnia, ii, p. 101. Other three-note clusters occurring in Stabile's sacred music can be found at b. 33 of O magnum mysterium (Christmas Responsory 3) and at b. 18 of the Benedictus in the Missa Vestiva i colli, both as part of a 2–1 suspension.
On another occasion (EXAMPLE 7.3), parallel sevenths occur at the ornamented resolution of a suspension.

**EXAMPLE 7.3. Stabile: Litany of the BVM [1] (bb. 86–90)**

With the exception of the two masses, triple time sections are largely consonant apart from the occasional suspension prepared on the first semibreve beat (minim beat in 3/2 time) and resolved on the third semibreve beat and, even less often, the passing minim (or crotchet in 3/2 time). An unusual treatment of the suspension occurs in *Pacem relinquo vobis*, where it is prepared on the second semibreve beat, suspended over the first minim of the third beat, and resolved via a minim anticipation on to the next beat (EXAMPLE 7.4). This is due to a change in accent involving the hemiola.

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2 There is a noticeably greater use of the dissonant minim both as passing note and auxiliary in the two masses.

3 Other examples occur in the *Missa Ung gay bergier*, Osanna (b. 61) and the Agnus Dei I (b. 31) where in both cases the suspension is also prepared on the second semibreve beat, suspended over the first minim of the third beat, and resolved via a minim anticipation onto the next beat.
The dissonant *nota cambiata* is rare in Stabile's music, although the figure itself occurs on some occasions with the relevant crotchet consonant. An exception is the motet *Pacem relinquo vobis* where a feature is made of the figure in the final alleluia section. The rarity of the idiom would support Ruth DeFord's assertion that the *nota cambiata* was considered old-fashioned by this stage, although she was referring specifically to madrigalists.4

The consonant anticipation approached from above occurs frequently (often with the dissonant lower (quaver) auxiliary), but the dissonant version rarely occurs.5 On the other hand the figure below is frequently found (EXAMPLE 7.5).

4Ruth DeFord found that the *nota cambiata* was considered old-fashioned by most madrigalists of the 1570s although, as she also noted, Dragoni continued to employ it in his secular works (DeFord, ‘Ruggiero Giovannelli’, i, p. 168). A composer who still harbours a fondness for the *nota cambiata* in his sacred music is Paolo Papini. It occurs one or more times in several of his settings of the Marian antiphons. See for example his eight-voice *Regina caeli*, vol. ii of this thesis, p. 583.

5Ruth DeFord notes that the consonant anticipation (or, as she describes it, ‘a cadential melisma in which the note of resolution of the suspension is anticipated on the weak beat, and then repeated on the following strong beat’), was particularly characteristic of Stabile’s secular music. She also notes that it occurred in the music of some of his contemporaries, but that it was not popular with the younger composers of the 1580s, and is never found in the works of Giovannelli (DeFord, ‘Ruggiero Giovannelli’, i, pp. 150–151).
Augmented chords occur in two late works, *Dignus es Domine* 2a pars at b. 25 and *Hymnus de gloria paradisi*, b. 60. In each case the chord is in first inversion and occurs on the weak beat, thus lessening its effect. Augmented chords were not a part of Stabile’s usual style and Dale Hall found that they were also uncommon in Stabile’s madrigals. A rare example occurs in *Da quei begl’ occhi* from Stabile’s *Il terzo libro*, 1585. In the sacred music, the clearly specified accidental as part of a cadential ornamentation in *Mane nobiscum* at b. 51 creates a rare example of an augmented fifth between upper voices (EXAMPLE 7.6).

**EXAMPLE 7.6.** Stabile: *Mane nobiscum* (bb. 48–52)

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• **COMBINED AND SUCCESSIVE DISSONANCES**

Usually dissonances, especially the more pronounced ones such as the suspension, the accented passing note, and the dissonant anticipation, occur separately, but on occasion several occur together or in succession. Dissonances on three successive minim beats are usually the most that are found. Three consecutive suspensions are also usually the most that occur. The four consecutive suspensions in the Tenor Secundus in *Multi ergo* 3a pars beginning at b. 13, provide one of the exceptions. This series of suspensions is extended with further suspensions in the Bassus including a double suspension with the Cantus, the last suspension returning to the Tenor Secundus. Also unusual is that the four consecutive suspensions are in the lowest voice — not a common occurrence in Stabile’s music (EXAMPLE 7.7).

**EXAMPLE 7.7.** Stabile: *Multi ergo* 3a pars (bb. 13–18)

The simultaneous sounding of the consonant anticipation with a dissonant lower auxiliary in another voice where the two notes together produce a further dissonance creates an unusual ornamental clash (EXAMPLE 7.8).

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7Another string of four consecutive suspensions occurs in *Omnes Gentes* beginning at b. 54 in the Cantus and ending in the Tenor Secundus.
EXAMPLE 7.8. Stabile: *Alma Redemptoris* a 5 (bb. 22–25)

An accented passing note will sometimes sound in another part at the same time as the preparation or resolution of a suspension, and the rarely-used dissonant anticipation usually occurs with the resolution of the fifth following an added-sixth chord (EXAMPLE 7.9), although the fifth is usually resolved without the added dissonance.

EXAMPLE 7.9. Added sixth chord with dissonant anticipation occurring as part of the resolution of the fifth. Stabile: *Anima nostra* 2a pars (bb.11–12)
Dissonance and Chromatic Alteration

A combination of dissonances produces a bitter-sweet moment in the Benedictus of the Missa Ung gay bergier (EXAMPLE 7.10). Here a standard treatment of a 6/4 suspension resolving to a 5/3 chord is immediately followed by a second double suspension. This 4/2 resolving to 3/1 is combined with a leap in the Cantus to a dissonant second with the Altus and a fourth with the Tenor. These last dissonances are closely spaced vertically with no more than a fifth between them, thus increasing their intensity.8

EXAMPLE 7.10. Stabile: Missa Ung gay bergier (Msze Krolewskie edited by Tadeusz Maciejewski, Benedictus, p. 50, bb. 25–28, rebarred here in breve units)

- CHROMATIC ALTERATION -

- THE CLOSE JUXTAPOSITION OF C# AND E♭ OR G# AND B♭

This occurs rarely in the music of Stabile and always melodically in the same voice. Surprisingly three of the five occurrences are in works composed in the early style.9

8A similar, though not quite so dissonant use occurs in Hi sunt qui venerunt 1a pars, b. 63.
9In two of these G# and B♭ occur at a breve’s distance (Obsecro Domine in the Bassus at bb. 11–12 and in the Altus of Petite et accipietis 2a pars at bb. 24–25). The third occurrence (involving C# and E♭) is at a dotted semibreve’s distance in Salve Regina 1a pars, bb. 5–6. Another example occurs in the Tenor of Sancte Pater at bb. 67–68 where C# and E♭ are separated by a breve plus a minim.
Nos autem gloriari, a late work, contains the closest proximity at a semibreve’s distance (EXAMPLE 7.11).

**EXAMPLE 7.11.** Stabile: Nos autem gloriari (bb. 4–6)

The music of Stabile’s contemporaries contains a similar close proximity from time to time. In the Quintus of Dragoni’s O quam mira, G# and B♭ are separated by a breve plus a minim,¹⁰ and C# and E♭ occur at a breve’s distance in the eight-voice motet Beatus vir (bb. 46–47) by G. M. Nanino.¹¹ Another composer who sometimes used this juxtaposition was Paolo Papini. In his setting of the Salve Regina for eight voices,¹² G# and B♭ are separated by a breve plus a minim, but a closer juxtaposition occurs in the Salve Regina for six voices where C# and E♭ are separated by a semibreve both melodically in the Tenor Primus and harmonically between the Tenor Primus and the Bassus (EXAMPLE 7.12).

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¹⁰ Motectorum Io. Andreae Draconis . . . Liber primus (Rome, 1600).
¹¹ Nanino: Fourteen Liturgical Works, p. 69.
¹² Liber Hymnorum, ff. 175v–177.
While this characteristic was not used to any great degree in the works of any one composer, Roman composers as a group do seem to have regarded it as part of their idiom. This is supported by the final fusion of these two notes as an augmented sixth in the *Dialogus BMV* by Salvatore Sacchi, a composer who spent at least part of his career in Rome and its environs (EXAMPLE 7.13).13

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13Example 7.13 also contains linear chromatic movement in the Altus Secundus (b. 5). Sacchi’s *Dialogus* also contains some interesting and unexpected harmonic changes and an occasionally independent *basso continuo* (see bb. 83–84 or b. 93). Although written for two choirs, the first choir consists of only three voices for most of the work (c1, c1, c3 with a change to c1, c1, F4 for *Ecce ancilla*), returning to the standard c1, c3, c4, F4 grouping for the final double-choir chorus at b. 120. The style of composition for the first choir is slightly more florid than that in the second choir, suggesting that the first choir may have been for three soloists. A transcription can be found in vol. ii, p. 561 of this thesis. This work is contained in the *Missa, motecta, magnificat et litanice BMV Salvatoris Sacchi... octonis vocibus* (Rome, 1607). See also ‘The Late Works’, p. 222 for another early use of the Italian sixth.
A juxtaposition of a different kind between two chords whose roots are a tritone apart occurs at b. 100 of the Litany of Jesus (EXAMPLE 7.14). This colourful sound is quite plainly intended since a cautionary Bº has been inserted into the source in the Cantus part.

- **DOUBLE LEADING NOTE**

Another trait occurring from time to time in Stabile’s works and in the works of some of his contemporaries is the double leading note, that is, the simultaneous sharpening of the third and the sixth leading to the fifth and the octave. In Stabile’s works, most are in compositions published in the *Liber Tertius*.14 The double leading note may occur either during the course of a phrase or at a cadence. An example of cadential use is the following:

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14 Other occurrences can be found in *Litany of the BVM* [2] (and its ‘Polish’ companion), b. 131; *Quæ est ista*, b. 73; *Tu gloria Jerusalem*, b. 15; *Sub tuum præsidium*, b. 12; *Salve Regina* 1a pars, b. 5; *Tu es qui restitues* 2a pars, b. 23; *Hi sunt qui venerunt* 1a pars, b. 50; *Pastores loquebantur*, b. 48; and the *Missa Vestiva i colli*, Gloria, b. 39.
EXAMPLE 7.15. Stabile: *Stephanus plenus* (bb. 44–47)

The double leading note always occurs in a first inversion triad as part of the V\(\text{IIb}-I\) progression. With the exception of the above which cadences on C and F via B\(\#\) and E\(\#\), the two accidentals concerned are either F\# and B\(\#\) cadencing on G and C, or C\# and F\# cadencing on D and G. Although other accidentals are available, Stabile does not use them. The works of Dragoni 15 and Marenzio16 also contain examples of this feature.17

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15 *Videns crucem Andreas*, bb. 19 and 22. See vol. ii, p. 620 of this thesis for a transcription of this motet.

16 For example *Dum esset sumus Pontifex*, b. 9 (Opera Omnia, ii, p. 119); and the madrigals *Quell' augellin che canta* (b. 39, p. 8), *Cruda Amarilli* 1a pars (b. 8, p. 11), *O disaventurosa acerba sorte* (b. 35, p. 23) from the seventh book of madrigals (see *Le Opere Complete di Luca Marenzio VII*, edited by John Steele (New York, 1975)); also *Liquide perle*, b. 27 from Book 1 a 5 (I am grateful to John Steele for a transcription of this madrigal). These examples cadence on D and A as well as G.

17 Carol MacClintock also notes that the double leading note can be found in the earlier madrigals of Giaches de Wert, a composer who spent much of his life at Mantua. Carol MacClintock, *Giaches de Wert (1535–1596): Life and Works*, Musicological Studies and Documents 17 (American Institute of Musicology, 1966), p. 88.
Karol Berger notes that up until the late 16th century, theorists were still asserting that in a cadential progression the third (from the bass) should be major when moving to a perfect fifth, yet 16th-century lute intabulations, which provide a good source for performance practice, seem almost never to use them. This he says suggests that the double leading note had been generally dropped from use. However, among some Roman composers at least, this was not so. While most VIIb-I cadential progressions in Stabile's music avoid the situation, either through voice leading (EXAMPLE 7.16a), doubling the third in another voice and therefore preventing its inflection (EXAMPLE 7.16b), or still further by omitting the fifth in the ultimate chord (EXAMPLE 7.16c), the question is nevertheless raised whether when the third is included and is not doubled, and moves to the fifth, the secondary leading note should be applied?

EXAMPLE 7.16. Cadential Progressions

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Dissonance and Chromatic Alteration 255

A case in point occurs in one of Stabile's masses.

**EXAMPLE 7.17.** Stabile: *Missa Vestiva i colli* (*Msze Krolewskie*, Agnus Dei II, p. 109, bb. 102–107, rebarred here in breve units)

Since both voices in **EXAMPLE 7.17** have very clear cadencing formulæ including the suspension, and since the double leading note does occur in Stabile's music, it is possible that this was intended.

**FALSE RELATIONS**

False relations, often producing juxtapositions of major and minor versions of the same chord, are certainly a part of Stabile's style and are one of the aspects to increase during his stylistic development. They begin to appear in his earliest single-choir works but occur mainly in the double-choir motets where they are often employed at the exchange of choirs. The following is one of the few examples in a work for single choir.

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19 Single-choir works containing this idiom are: *Alma Redemptoris a 5*, b. 71; *Favus distillans 2a pars*, *Obsecro Domine*, bb. 30–31; *Laudate nomen 2a pars*, b. 23; *Omnes Gentes*, b. 23; and *Hymnus de gloria paradisii*, bb. 32, 39. In the double-choir works they occur in: *Litany of the BVM* [2], b. 122; *Litany of Jesus*, b. 53; *Victima paschali*, bb. 8, 16, 68, 70; *Tu gloria Jerusalem*, bb. 28–29; *Stephanus* Footnote cont. overleaf...
Stabile's most daring use of this idiom and his nearest approach to chromaticism is found in the *Litany of the BVM* [2] and the 'Polish' Litany where there is chromatic movement from high F to F# between the two choirs (EXAMPLE 7.19). This is especially prominent since it occurs at the same pitch between the two highest voices. In other instances one of the voices is always in the middle of the texture.

Apart from one fleeting occasion in *Favus distillans* 2a pars (EXAMPLE 7.20), simultaneous false relations are not a part of Stabile's style. In this case, there are two possible places for the simultaneous false relation depending upon the addition or otherwise of *musica ficta*. If the B in the Tenor of b. 9 is left as a B#, simultaneous false relations will occur with the B# of the Cantus Secundus on the weak minim beat. If *ficta* is added to the Tenor as in EXAMPLE 7.20, the clash occurs on the main minim beat of b. 10 with the Cantus Primus but for a crotchet's duration as an accented passing note.

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*plenus*, bb. 5, 25, 49, 62; *Lux perpetua*, b. 69; *Nunc dimittis*, bb. 59–60, 67, 71; and *Deus misereatur*, bb. 6, 11, 14, 30–31, 36–37. Another composer who liked to juxtapose altered and unaltered versions of the same note, giving major and minor versions of the same harmony in close proximity was Felice Anerio, and Victoria is also known to have made a feature of this clash. See O'Regan, ‘Sacred 'Polychoral Music', i, pp. 217 and 265, and Ruth DeFord, ‘Ruggiero Giovannelli’, i, pp. 206–209.
EXAMPLE 7.19. Stabile: *Litany of the BVM [2]* (bb. 120–124)

EXAMPLE 7.20. Stabile: *Favus distillans 2a pars* (bb. 8–11)
For most of Stabile’s music the situations calling for the application of *musica ficta* are reasonably clear. However, some circumstances were more uncertain and raised further questions. Before looking at these problems, first a general discussion of the criteria adopted for the application of *ficta* in my accompanying edition.

**PERFECT INTERVALS**

1. Vertical or harmonic intervals of a fourth, fifth or octave. In most cases these should be perfect. The exception occurs at certain cadential formulations where the interval between the fourth and seventh degrees of the scale forms an augmented fourth or diminished fifth between upper voices.

2. Horizontal or melodic intervals of a fourth or fifth. All direct leaps and melodic outlines of a fourth or fifth should be perfect unless indicated otherwise in the source.

**THE RAISED LEADING-NOTE AT THE CADENCE**

1. This is applied both at cadences including the suspension and at those without.

2. The application of G♯ or B♭. Where there is a choice, G♯ has been preferred over B♭ unless flats are employed in the surrounding texture. The writing of a number of theorists from the 14th to the 16th century supports this preference.¹

When considering cadence points for the purposes of *musica ficta* I have mainly taken into account ‘assolutamente cadenze’,² that is, cadences concluding on an


octave or unison. These consist of an 8–7–8 or 6–7–8 progression in one voice and a 2–1 or 5–1 movement (for the penultimate and ultimate notes) in the accompanying voice, thus moving from an imperfect to a perfect consonance. The note prior to the 2–1 or 5–1 may be at a variety of pitches. These cadences may be simple (cadenze semplici) or diminished (cadenze diminuiti). The simple cadence is made up of equal note values and is entirely consonant. The diminished cadence (which occurs only in the 8–7–8 type), consists of a variety of note values and employs the suspension, with or without syncopation. All cadences must coincide with some articulation in the text in at least one of the cadencing voices. The voices in both the 8–7–8 (with 2–1) and 6–7–8 (with 2–1) may be inverted.

**Example 8.1a.** Simple and diminished cadences of the 8–7–8 type with 2–1, closing in the octave.

![Example 8.1a](image)

**Example 8.1b.** Simple and diminished cadences of the 8–7–8 type with 5–1, closing in the octave.

![Example 8.1b](image)

pp. 248–54, or *The Art of Counterpoint*, pp. 141–51. Zarlino also mentions cadences which conclude on the fifth, third or other consonance but these, he says, are improper cadences (*The Art of Counterpoint*, p. 142). See also Berger, *Musica ficta: Theories of accidental inflections*, pp. 122–139.
EXAMPLE 8.1c. Simple cadences of the 6–7–8 type, closing in the octave.

The first type (EXAMPLE 8.1a), is often ornamented with a 7–6 suspension when closing in the octave, and when closing to the unison, may be ornamented with a suspension in the lower voice. The second type (EXAMPLE 8.1b) is often ornamented with the 4–3 suspension. Where any of these cadences occurred in a composition, *ficta* was added to create the obligatory progression of imperfect to perfect consonance.

In a composition for three or more voices these two-voice cadences do not necessarily involve the lowest-sounding voice. This is particularly evident with cadences on E (see EXAMPLE 8.2). This is made clear in Orazio Vecchi’s early 17th century treatise where, when illustrating regular cadences for the various modes, most of his cadences on E in whatever mode are supported by A or C in the bass (other than final cadences). Likewise, two-voice cadences on B⁴ are often supported by E in the bass.

EXAMPLE 8.2. Cadence on E not involving the lowest-sounding voice

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Another situation where the cadence may not involve the lowest-sounding voice is the evaded cadence. Here the 8–7–8 proceeds as usual but the 5–1 or 2–1 avoids the final harmony, moving instead to a degree other than 1 (usually 3, 4 or 6). In this case, one of the other voices often provides the obligatory 5–1 or 2–1 movement (see **EXAMPLE 8.3c**). Or the Bassus may enter, following a rest, on a note other than the final cadential note of the two cadencing voices (see **EXAMPLE 8.3d**). Since the source sometimes contains accidentals on these occasions, ficta was applied in other similar situations as required. (For double leading note cadences see p. 254).

The following provide typical instances for the application of ficta in all the situations mentioned so far.

**EXAMPLE 8.3a.** Both voices cadencing together in a diminished 8–7–8, with 2–1 in the lowest-sounding voice. Stabile: *Ego sum panis* 1a pars (bb. 49–51)

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4 See Berger, *Musica ficta: Theories of accidental inflections*, p. 136, also Meier, *The Modes*, p. 101. Berger found that some theorists specifically mention that the seventh should also be sharpened in the interrupted cadence (*Musica ficta: Theories of accidental inflections*, p. 136), however, since accidentals in the sources containing Stabile’s music did not follow this principle, ficta has not been applied in these cases.

5 For accidentals in the source in situations where the Bassus enters on a note other than the two cadencing voices, see *Ibant Apostoli*, b. 46. For accidentals applied at the cadence evaded in the lowest-sounding voice, see *Ego sum vitis vera*, bb. 11–12, or *Mane nobiscum*, bb. 34–35.
EXAMPLE 8.3b. One voice cadencing with the other continuing in a diminished 8–7–8 with 2–1 in the lowest-sounding voice. Stabile: *Multi ergo* 3a pars (bb. 18–20)

EXAMPLE 8.3c. Two-voice cadence not involving the lowest voice. Stabile: *Cum pervenisset Barnabas* (bb. 10–12)

EXAMPLE 8.3d. Two-voice cadence with Bassus entering after rest on note other than cadence point. Stabile: *Usque modo* 1a pars (bb. 1–6)
• CONSEQUENTIAL AND RETROSPECTIVEACCIDENTALS

1. Consequential accidentals are assumed if the inflected note in the source is immediately repeated in the same voice. If there is an intervening note or rest, or new imitative point, then the inflected note is cancelled editorially. Exceptions to this are cases such as the following where the raised B\# to C movement is immediately repeated.

**EXAMPLE 8.4. Stabile: Domine ne in furore 1a pars (bb. 54–55)**

2. Retrospective accidentals are applied only at cadential decoration, as follows:

**EXAMPLE 8.5. Stabile: Pacem relinquo vobis (bb. 35–37)**
An exception is where a sharp applied to the first occurrence of the seventh degree creates an augmented triad. In most cases, these accidentals are already indicated in the source. However, in situations such as

the seventh degree prior to the suspension is not raised, unless it is part of a cadence with another voice⁶ or it has been raised elsewhere in the source in a repeated section.⁷

• UNA NOTA SUPER LA SEMPER EST CANENDUM FA

The occasional insertion of the cautionary accidentals B♯ or E♯ in the source provide evidence that this rule was still being applied.⁸ For most occasions where the hexachord was extended by this one note and where the above rule was required, a B♯ or E♯ was already given in the source, and in fact there were very few occasions where editorial intervention was needed.

• TIERCE DE PICARDIE

The sharpened third, while generally considered obligatory at final cadences during the 16th century, is not always applied at intermediate cadences. This is apparent from different sources of the same work and from intabulations.⁹ In the music of Stabile, the Tierce de Picardie is always notated in the source at final cadences.¹⁰ If it is not already specified at intermediate cadences, it has not been added editorially.

• REPEATED SECTIONS OF MUSIC

In situations where a significant portion of music is repeated, but accidentals occurring in one of the sections are not repeated in the other, they have been added editorially to match the preceding or following section.

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⁶For example, Omnes Gentes, b. 64
⁷For example, Anima nostra 2a pars, b. 43.
⁸For some examples, see Pastores loquebantur, b. 15, Stephanus plenus, b. 7; Queramus cum pastoribus, b. 83; Nunc dimitis, b. 60; and Hodie nobis celo (Gloria in excelsis), b. 11.
¹⁰An exception is In tribulatione — Propterea confitebor, which is a work of doubtful authenticity.
While this last criterion required only a very few editorial additions, *In tribulatione* — *Propterea confitebor* provided the exception. Here the accidentals in the source appear to have been added in a particularly haphazard manner. For example, some created an augmented triad at the same time as sounding with their uninflected counterpart. These are clearly errors and have been removed in this edition.¹¹ There is also much inconsistency over the insertion of accidentals in repeated sections, both immediate and between the partes. This led to a doubt concerning the linear chromaticism and the augmented sixth chords.

A case in point is the linear chromaticism at b. 37 of the *prima pars* which has been repeated in almost exactly the same situation in the *secunda pars* at b. 35 and may thus have been intended (EXAMPLE 8.6a/b). In each *pars*, however, the phrase concerned is immediately repeated an octave lower, without the chromaticism. While the octave transposition in the *secunda pars* contains all the other accidentals of the previous phrase, the *prima pars* contains further discrepancies. A decision had to be made, whether to add or remove the accidentals to match the phrase immediately preceding or following and whether to do the same for other such phrases and where these sections are repeated between partes. The C# in the source of the *prima pars* at b. 36 of EXAMPLE 8.6a prior to the chromaticism and in the same phrase, does suggest that the linear chromaticism was not intended, but on the other hand this does not occur in the *secunda pars*, since a rest intervenes. In agreement with my editorial policy stated above, my decision was to equalize the two on this and other occasions and this resulted in the removal of these two instances of chromaticism.

However, for the final tutti in the repeated alleluia section in the *secunda pars*, a major sound was perhaps desired due to the addition of an F# in b. 57 and again at b. 59. This may have been an intended contrast to the minor sound of the *prima pars* where no sharps are added, and this contrast has been retained. This being so, the only other instance of linear chromaticism at b. 57, the F immediately prior to the first F#, was also removed.

¹¹*Propterea confitebor* 2a pars, bb. 2, 17, and 18. At b. 9 there is an augmented triad only. A similar problem occurs in the *prima pars* at b. 22. See also the ‘Editorial Commentary’, in vol. ii of this thesis.
EXAMPLE 8.6a. Stabile: *In tribulatione* 1a pars (bb. 36–42)

Example cont. overleaf...
EXAMPLE 8.6b. Stabile: Propiterea confitebor 2a pars (bb. 33–39)
The augmented sixth chord occurs three times in this motet, twice in exactly the same context. Because of this they are more feasible and therefore remain in the edition.\textsuperscript{12} Due to the number of discrepancies in the placement of accidentals, different editors would doubtless come to different decisions, and only with the discovery of another copy of the same work would some light be thrown on the matter.\textsuperscript{13}

Further questions arose in Stabile's *Mane nobiscum Domine* and the *Ave Regina* by Paolo Papini. Papini's *Ave Regina* presents the following problem.\textsuperscript{14}

\textbf{Example 8.7.} Paolo Papini: *Ave Regina* (bb. 29–33)

\begin{verbatim}
12 The Italian sixths occur at bb. 9, 24, and 31 of the prima pars.
13 Related to the inconsistency of accidentals, is a possible notational error at b. 43 of the prima pars where the \( \dfrac{3}{4} \) rhythm becomes the more likely \( \dfrac{1}{4} \) in the secunda pars at b. 52, but the \( \dfrac{3}{4} \) rhythm in the prima pars has also been left.
14 A transcription of the complete work can be found in vol. ii of this thesis, p. 589.
\end{verbatim}
At b. 32 a sharpening of the F in the Cantus Primus to prevent simultaneous false relations with the Altus Secundus would create an unlikely chromatic line, and alteration of both Fs in the Cantus Primus would create further simultaneous false relations with the Bassus Primus on the fourth minim beat. The Bassus Primus cannot be altered since this would cause a descending leap of an augmented fourth.

There are two possibilities. Either simultaneous false relations were tolerated or, despite the notation, there was no overlap between choirs. The avoidance of overlap is to some extent supported by an instance in Victoria's motet for double choir, *Veni Sancte Spiritus*. Here some of the even-numbered verses of the sequence, verses 4, 6 and 8, are omitted from the polyphonic setting, but without a gap in the texture to allow for chanting, if indeed that was what was required, since the other choir takes over immediately. If chanting was required, the notated overlap would have to be ignored. Thus at takeover points between choirs, it may have been just a custom to use a semibreve rather than a minim to indicated a point of rest for a choir before the entry of another choir. The removal of notated overlap between the choirs in this and other double-choir works would certainly reduce the number of places where editorial intervention is otherwise deemed essential. On the other hand intervention with the note values is not usually thought to be necessary.

The other possibility, and the more likely, was that simultaneous false relations were accepted. These certainly occurred and were even enjoyed in some cases, but usually only as fleeting instances or in cadential passages containing suspensions. The so-called 'English Cadence' found in the music of Tallis and his contemporaries immediately springs to mind. Stanley Boorman comments on another source for this idiom. He noted a liking for simultaneous false relations involving the leading note at cadences among Roman musicians in the second quarter of the 16th century, and his argument is backed up with many examples. However, cadential false relations which include the leading note are not the problem in double-choir motets. Rather, it is the simultaneous sounding of the major and minor third following the cadence, caused by the entry of the overlapping choir. Support for simultaneous false relations can be found in the madrigals of the Roman composer Antonio Barré. Three

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15 Victoria: Opera omnia, vii, p. 141.
16 This overlap is not cadential but the entering choir begins before the other choir completes its last note.
examples occur in the publication of 1555, one in Sorgi superbo Tebro, and two in Spirto gentil. Each of these provides a different context, but one example would contain simultaneous false relations at the overlap of a cadencing voice with the new entry if editorial intervention was removed (EXAMPLE 8.8).

**EXAMPLE 8.8.** Antonio Barrè: Spirto gentil (bb. 24–26). Transcription by John Steele.

James Haar cites another instance of simultaneous false relations, brought about by the entry of a new voice, in another madrigal by Barrè, along with an example by Hoste da Reggio, a composer active in Mantua and later in Milan (EXAMPLE 8.9). Both composers were active around the middle of the 16th century.

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18Primo libro delle muse a quattro voci Madrigali ariosi di Ant. Barre et altri diversi autori, nuovamente stampati (Rome, 1555). For transcriptions of these madrigals, I am grateful to Professor John Steele. For more information on Barrè, see Steele, ‘Antonio Barrè’, pp. 82–112. Two more examples of simultaneous false relations occur in Amor la bella face and Madonna hor che direte both published in Il primo libro delle muse a cinque voci madrigali de diversi authori (Rome, 1555). However neither of these is caused by the entry of another voice. I am grateful to J. A. Sandle for transcriptions of these items.

In all these cases it is the entry of the new voice on the major or minor third above the bass which causes the simultaneous false relations. In view of these instances in works for single choir which cannot be avoided by removing the overlap, it is possible that these simultaneous false relations later became an essential part of the polychoral style.

This seems even more of a possibility since the example in the work by Papini (EXAMPLE 8.7) is not a lone example and a very similar instance occurs in another of his double-choir works (EXAMPLE 8.10). At b. 30 a sharpening of the C in the Altus Primus to prevent simultaneous false relations with the Altus Secundus would create an unlikely chromatic line, and C# has been quite clearly left out until the following C in the source. Altering all three Cs to C# to avoid the chromatic line would then necessitate a C# in the Bassus Primus to avoid further simultaneous false relations on the first crotchet beat of b. 31 and would make harmonic nonsense. It seems clear that simultaneous false relations at these points were intended and therefore possibly also at b. 29 of EXAMPLE 8.7 (between Altus Primus and the Tenor Secundus) which

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20 Liber Hymnorum, ff. 175v–177.
21 Also noticeable in Example 8.10 is the major sixth leap, created by the inflection of the leading note in the Cantus Primus at b. 31 although it is somewhat softened by the cadence of the previous beat which concludes a textual unit. The same thing occurs at b. 34 in the Tenor Primus.
could otherwise be removed by *musica ficta*. The clash which these produce would be somewhat softened by separated choirs.

**EXAMPLE 8.10.** Paolo Papini: *Salve Regina* a 8 (bb. 29–32)

There are also many occasions when provision is made in the notation for the avoidance of simultaneous relations, suggesting that when they *were* clearly written in the source, they were intended. For example, the source will often either indicate the inflections in both choirs, avoid them in both choirs, or it will omit the third altogether in the cadencing or entering choir, thus allowing the other choir to sing the major or minor third without creating a simultaneous false relation (EXAMPLE 8.11). The questions raised in the Papini works would present an interesting topic for some further research.
EXAMPLE 8.11. Stabile: Victimae paschali (bb. 15–20)

Mane nobiscum Domine presents quite a different case, and displays an unusual leaning towards the transposed Dorian mode with the significant number of places which call for the application of B. While it was not uncommon for there to be an occasional movement between B and B in Mode 7, this motet seems to lean rather heavily in that direction and in places the application of the recta B results in a change to the G-Dorian mode.

The repeated cadences on G at the conclusion, including a preceding B–F outline which require either B or F# to avoid the melodic tritone, are an example of one of the problem areas (EXAMPLE 8.12). To sharpen the F, which would seem more appropriate in the Mixolydian mode, would cause brief simultaneous false relations between the Altus Secundus and Cantus at b. 71 and between the Altus and Tenor at b. 73, but the application of B provides a distinctly Dorian colour for these concluding bars.

22See Meier, The Modes, p. 42.
EXAMPLE 8.12. Stabile: Mane nobiscum Domine (bb. 69-77)

Another passage where a change of mode is indicated occurs in the passage bb. 22–33 (EXAMPLE 8.13). For bb. 23–32 all the B naturals either call for flattening through the use of musica recta or they have been flattened in the source. A question could be raised concerning the non-essential editorial flats in the Cantus at bb. 29 and 32. However, it would seem perverse to apply G# at the cadence on A at b. 29 when flats have already been in use in the surrounding texture, and at b. 32 the flat continues the G-mode pattern for that particular imitative point until the cadence on G at b. 33, where the motet returns to the Mixolydian mode. On the other hand, at a cadence on A later in the motet at b. 51 (EXAMPLE 8.14), it seems more appropriate to apply G# rather than Bb in the preceding bar, since on this occasion there are no flats in the surrounding voices.
EXAMPLE 8.13. Stabile: *Mane nobiscum Domine* (bb. 22–33)
EXAMPLE 8.14. Stabile: Mane nobiscum Domine (bb. 48–51)

In EXAMPLE 8.13, the addition of B♭s to the Altus Secundus allows for exact canonic imitation with the Tenor and this question is directly related to the problem in hand. The canon in this motet is at the fourth and the question of whether canonic imitation should be exact or not when occurring at a perfect interval is rather thorny, and contemporary theorists did not make any categorical statements on this matter.23 Zarlino, who gives the most detailed of the earlier accounts, indicates that only canons at the unison, octave, fifth, or the fourth below or above were normally expected to reproduce the intervals of their guides exactly but he also implies that this was not always so, since it depends upon whether the canon in question is to be regarded as imitation or fugue.24

There is no way of knowing whether Stabile intended fugue or imitation for this canon. The first two phrases are canonically exact as they are written. In the third phrase (bb. 22–26), B♭ is essential in the consequent to avoid the melodic tritone, and in the fourth phrase (bb. 29–34), the una nota super la rule is indicated especially as the surrounding voices are using B♭, thus continuing the exact imitation. However, the requirements for the next phrase beginning at b. 39 are not so clear (EXAMPLE 8.15).

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EXAMPLE 8.15. Stabile: *Mane nobiscum Domine* (bb. 39–43)

There is not the same necessity for the insertion of B♭ as had occurred in the previous phrase, unless having made the issue clear once, the singer was expected to continue in a like manner. Neither does B♭ occur in any of the surrounding non-canonic voices at this point. Because it is not clear whether exact or inexact imitation was intended in this phrase, the same question with regard to the whole motet remains unanswered. Another possibility is that this maybe an example of what the theorist Pietro Cerone called a ‘mixed’ canon, where passages of exact and inexact canonic imitation intermingle. 25 The problem then was whether to make the canon exact throughout the motet and insert a B♭ in the consequent at b. 42 (EXAMPLE 8.15), or whether to leave this particular phrase alone and assume, as I have done in my edition, that there was a slight mixture of inexact imitation included in the canon. This is only one possible interpretation and doubtless 16th-century performers would have performed this motet in more than one way, since this was part of the joy of this style — that not every variable was notated.

* * *

There are both forward-looking and conservative structures among Stabile’s works, with the more forward-looking examples occurring mainly in the double-choir compositions.

A fondness for the retrospective canonic techniques is certainly evident. Both his mass settings use canon, as do five motets, *Usque modo* 1a pars, *Tollite jugum meum*, *Juste et pie vivamus*, *Mane nobiscum Domine*, *Beata es Virgo Maria*, the final strophe of the hymn *Urbs beata*, and the incomplete motet *Regina caeli*. These are all works composed in the early style. A liking for canonic techniques was not unusual even towards the end of the 16th century and indeed into the 17th century. Stabile’s contemporaries, G. M. Nanino and Soriano, both composed a number of canons. Nanino’s three-voice motets contain examples of canons at nearly every interval and include techniques such as invertible upper and lower voices, mirroring or double canon, and a reversible end and beginning. Later composers such as Gesualdo also used this technique as did Sigismondo d’India, the former in two of his *Responsoria* published in 1611, and Romano Micheli devotes a substantial portion of his treatise of 1615 (*Musica vaga et artificiosa*) to the use of canon. Not all, however, considered the device as one of skill; the theorist G. B. Doni (1594–1647) felt it showed a lack of musical creativeness.

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Stabile’s canons occur at the octave and unison, fifth above and below, fourth above, the less usual third below and above and the second above, and also include one example of a canon by diminution. They involve either two, three, or four voices. Some occur in the middle of a texture with non-canonic outer parts. Others such as Urbs beata where all the voices are canonic, and Beata es Virgo Maria, the Missa Ung gay bergier, and probably Regina caeli where the extant voice is the Bassus, include an outer voice in the canon. Apart from a very brief note nere passage in the canon in the Missa Ung gay bergier, all are composed in the earlier note bianche style.

In both masses the canon occurs in the second Agnus Dei. In the Missa Vestiva i colli, this is a two-voice setting at the unison at seven breves’ distance, and in the Missa Ung gay bergier, there is a three-voice canon at the fifth and octave above at the distance of two breves and three breves respectively. Stabile’s earliest published collection, the Letaniae BMV et Nominis Jesu (1583), contains one canonic setting, Regina caeli, which is a canon at the unison. The Liber Secundus (1585) incorporates two canonic works, Tollite jugum meum and Juste et pie vivamus. In the first, the non-canonic voices have the text of the responsory Tollite jugum, while the chant for the antiphon Vos amici (and its text) has been inserted as a canon into the middle of the texture. This occurs between the Altus Secundus who sings the antiphon once, and the Tenor, who sings the same antiphon in diminution at the ratio of 2:1 at the fifth below. The other motet, Juste et pie vivamus, is a three-voice canon, each voice entering at two breves’ distance a tone higher than its predecessor.

Usque modo 1a pars is the only canonic setting in Stabile’s third sacred collection. This is for three voices and occurs at two breves’ distance at the third and fifth below. Two further examples of this device were published in Corollarium cantionum (1590), Beata es Virgo Maria, a three-voice canon at the fifth below and at the third in inversion, again at two breves’ distance, and Mane nobiscum Domine, a two-voice canon at the fourth at one breve’s distance.

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4 This passage (beginning at b. 80 of the Agnus Dei II), consists of a black-note melisma containing an untexted dotted crotchet-quaver pair employed imitatively. The passage is also exceptional since it is the only suggestion of note nere in the masses.

5 This was a tradition dating back to Josquin and beyond. Victoria was another composer who particularly favoured the Agnus Dei for the employment of this device. See Stevenson, Spanish Cathedral Music, p. 384. Canon was also a device favoured by Palestrina for insertion in his masses.

6 The chant can be found in LU, p. 1111.
Chant used as a structural basis is another retrospective device. The canonic treatment of the antiphon *Vos amici* as a cantus firmus in *Tollite jugum meum* has already been mentioned. In the sequence *Victimae paschali*, the chant (minus the concluding portion), can be found in the texture, largely undecorated, as a migrant cantus firmus. A similar arrangement occurs in the first polyphonic verse of the hymn *Audi benigne Conditor* where part of the migrant chant is transposed. Unlike *Victimae paschali*, the sequence for Pentecost *Veni Sancte Spiritus* shows no connection with the chant apart from a very vague reference in the opening phrase of the Altus Primus. *Queramus cum pastoribus* may also be based on a pre-existent melody. This tune, which Stabile uses as a migrant cantus firmus, can also be seen in the earlier four-voice setting of the same text by Jean Mouton.7 Mouton’s setting was known in Rome in the last part of the 16th century since in a manuscript belonging to the Sistine Chapel, the ‘*noe, noe*’ refrains of this work have been overlayed with ‘alleluia’ in a hand which has been dated as post-1575.8 Stabile may have been quoting Mouton, although the simple line and tonal leaning of the tune points more in the direction of a popular carol.9 A more unusual treatment of chant takes place in the psalm setting

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7 I have been unable to trace the original melody. Modern transcriptions of Mouton’s setting can be found in Cristóbal de Morales: *Opera Omnia*, vol. iii, edited by Higinio Anglés, MME, xv (Rome, 1954), p. 172, and in A. Smijers ed., *Van Ockegham tot Sweelinck*, vii (Amsterdam, 1956), p. 201.

8 Rvat, Cappella Sistina Ms 46, ff. 34v–36. This manuscript, dating from the first quarter of the sixteenth century, has been reproduced in *Renaissance Music in Facsimile*, vol. xxi, edited by Howard Mayer Brown, Frank A. D’Accone and Jessie Owens (New York, 1986). See also the introduction by Jeffrey J. Dean.

9 Antonio Gualteri, on the other hand, who most probably knew Stabile’s setting since he included another of Stabile’s motets, *Deus misereatur nostrí*, in his own collection of 1604 (*Motecta octonis*...
Anima nostra 2a pars, where Stabile has incorporated the antiphon for the psalm into the texture of the motet. The first phrase of the antiphon is quoted exactly in the Bassus with the second phrase in outline (EXAMPLE 9.1a/b).

Paraphrase of the chant occurs in Salve Regina where portions are heard in the top voice, mostly in the long even note values typical of the earlier Flemish style. Another Marian antiphon, Alma Redemptoris a 5, includes only a reference to the opening phrase of the chant in the Tenor Secundus. A quite different approach is the harmonic use of chant in the Nunc dimittis, where the cadence pattern of the chant has been followed rather than melody. This is discussed further in Chapter 11.

Veni sponsa Christi, while making a passing reference to the chant for this text by quoting it in the opening exordium, does not use it as a basis for an overall structure. Instead, its ABB form represents one of the more forward-looking designs employed by Stabile. The musical repetition required of this form is varied through the application of voice exchange, on this occasion between the two choirs. Two other motets structured in this way are Anima nostra 2a pars and Dignus es Domine 2a pars, although the repetition is on a smaller scale. Both Anima nostra 2a pars and Dignus es Domine 2a pars add a short coda based on the last phrase of the text of the previous ‘B’ section.

In this and other formal structures where there is some musical repetition, the repeated section may include exact exchange of material between voices, or the exchanged material may be varied through ornamentation or through the addition of some new passages. Voice exchange was a common method of varying repetition whether this repetition be on a larger scale as in Stephanus plenus gratia and Veni sponsa Christi, or on a smaller scale such as in Hi sunt qui venerunt 1a pars and Tu gloria Jerusalem. The repetition may be suggested either by the return of a particular phrase already in the text or through self-imposed repetition of the text.

Exchange of material is carried out in a variety of ways. In works for five voices, the voice exchange occurs between similar voice types, usually between the two Cantus voices or the two Tenor voices. In compositions for six voices, both doubled vocibus Antonii Gualterii), has also set this text for double choir but has made no reference to Mouton’s tune at all.

10LU, p. 273. The eight-voice setting makes no reference to the chant. Haec dies also quotes the chant in its exordium (LU, p. 783).

11See pp. 315–318.

12Quam pulchrae — Favus distillans and Notas mihi fecisti — Tu es qui restitues.

EXAMPLE 9.1b. Stabile: *Anima nostra* 2a pars (bb. 32–40)
voices may exchange material, although sometimes the music of another voice type may be adopted. In double-choir works, there can be block exchange between the two choirs where the second choir sings material previously sung by the first choir and vice versa, or exchange can occur between voices within one choir while the other choir repeats without voice exchange the same material it had sung previously. This latter type is found in the double-choir motets where the choirs have differing clef combinations, and in each case the exchange takes place between the two cantus voices in the first choir, the voices of the second choir repeating the same material with no voice exchange. In *Lux perpetua*, also for dissimilarly-cleffed choirs, there is a combination of these two techniques with exchange occurring simultaneously between voices within one choir as well as between choirs.

Another structure employed by Stabile is ABBC. In each case the repetition in the middle part of the motet is quite small. This is five breves in length in *Tu gloria Jerusalem*, and nine breves in *Quae est ista*. In *Quae est ista* it is used as an illustrative device, since the returning section occurs for the repeat of the words ‘Return, return, O Shulamite’.

The responsory form is found in various guises. The basic ABCB structure of the text is reflected in the musical settings of four of the eight Christmas responsories as well as in *Notas mihi fecisti* — *Tu es qui restitues* and *Quam pulchra* — *Favus distillans*. For *Quam pulchra* — *Favus distillans*, the addition of the alleluia at the end of both the prima and secunda partes may be self-imposed: I was unable to locate the text in this form in a late 16th-century Breviary. *Nos autem gloriari* extends the basic design to ABCBB’ through a further (also self-imposed) repetition of the B

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13See, for example, *Anima nostra* 2a pars, where the material previously sung by the Tenor Secundus, Altus, and Cantus Primus (bb. 35–37) is then heard in the Bassus, Tenor Secundus, and Cantus Secundus (new words) respectively (bb. 44–46), but with the Tenor Primus retaining the same material in both instances. Following these bars, the voice exchange continues in the doubled Cantus and Tenor voices only, the others repeating what they had sung previously. The other six-voice motet to include voice exchange between both Cantus and Tenor voices, is *Quae est ista*.

14*Tu gloria Jerusalem*, *Stephanus plenus gratia*, and *Veni sponsa Christi*.

15*Deus misereatur* and *Nos autem gloriari*.

16Compare for example the passage in the first choir of *Lux perpetua* at bb. 19–20 with that for the second choir at bb. 43–44. The cadence has been altered. Another example of this can be found in *Dignum es Domine* 2a pars, b. 76 and bb. 84–85 ('et demus gloriam').

section in text and music, but with slight alterations in the music. The remaining four Christmas responsories are ABCBDB in structure and, like the others, their texts follow the form as given in the Breviary. All the Christmas Responsories set the versicle, and Gloria if present, for contrasting vocal groupings. Yet another variant of the responsory form, ABCB'CD, is found in Lux perpetua. Both repeated sections are varied either through transposition or voice exchange, sometimes with altered cadences.

An ABCBD structure occurs in Hi sunt qui venerunt 1a pars, where the repetition in the text of a short phrase ‘in sæcula sæculorum’, produces musical repetition. This is expanded into the much more substantial ABCBDEE plus coda in Deus misereatur nostri. Here there is a mixture of repetition of a phrase already in the text and self-imposed repetition. The return of the last phrase of the repeated ‘E’ section forms the coda.

There is only one example of the strophic form. The text of the Hymnus de gloria paradisi is written in three-line stanzas in a 15-syllable trochaic metre, rhyming aaa. Stabile has set the first five verses in a five-part musical form (one verse to each pars), which is then repeated three times for the remaining 15 verses.

One other design occurs in the Litany of the BVM [3]. This is composed for three choirs: two of polyphony and one of Gregorian chant. These three groups alternate in a strict order but the six recurring musical passages, three each for the two polyphonic choirs, are randomly varied.

The rest of the motets are through-composed, not relying upon a pre-existent piece of music or a formal design. Most of these are to be found among the works from Stabile’s earlier style. The more structured forms occur mainly among his later motets, particularly the double-choir works. Table 15 (overleaf) summarizes Stabile’s use of the various forms and structures.

Stabile’s contemporary Felice Anerio also favoured the through-composed style. Of a total of around 390 sacred works, only 48 receive some formal design. Most of the structures are similar to those found in Stabile. The ABB form occurs six times; ABBC twice; ABCB five times, plus a further seven times with the last phrase of the ‘B’ section being repeated as a coda; and the ABACA (a structure not employed by Stabile) once. In addition 27 pieces from the Responsoria of 1606 reflect the various
### TABLE 15

**STABILE’S USE OF FORM AND OTHER STRUCTURAL TECHNIQUES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>THRU-COMPOSED</th>
<th>CANON</th>
<th>CANTUS FIRMUS</th>
<th>ABBC</th>
<th>ABB</th>
<th>RESPONSORY</th>
<th>ABCBD</th>
<th>ABCBDEE + CODA</th>
<th>STROPHEC</th>
<th>OTHER</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sancte Pater</td>
<td>Juste et pie</td>
<td>Salve Regina</td>
<td>Veni sponsa</td>
<td>ABCB</td>
<td>Hi... venerunt 1p</td>
<td>Deus miseretur</td>
<td>Hymnus de gloria para.</td>
<td>Litany BVM [3]</td>
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<td>Ego-Caro-Multi</td>
<td>Beata es Virgo</td>
<td>Victime paschali</td>
<td>Tu gloria</td>
<td>ABB + coda</td>
<td>Anima 2p</td>
<td>Verbum (Resp. 8)</td>
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<td>Pacem rellingue</td>
<td>Tollite jugum</td>
<td>Tollite jugum</td>
<td>Stephanus</td>
<td>ABB</td>
<td>Dignus es 2p</td>
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<tr>
<td>Domine—Converters</td>
<td>Mane nobiscum</td>
<td>Queramus cum</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cun pervenisset</td>
<td>Useque modo 1p</td>
<td>Audi benigne (1st strophe)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pater Abraham</td>
<td>Agnus II (both masses)</td>
<td>Regina caeli (inc)</td>
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<td>Alma Redemp, a 5</td>
<td>Regina caeli (inc)</td>
<td>Urbs beata (final strophe)</td>
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<td>Alma Redemp, a 8</td>
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<td>Apollinaris indici</td>
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<td>Cantantibus organi</td>
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<td>Veni Sancte Spiritus?</td>
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<td>Omnes Gentes</td>
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<td>Hæc dies</td>
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responsory structures of the Tenebrae texts.\textsuperscript{18} In all, this is a very small proportion of his motets. Stabile made comparatively more use of formal designs.

Ruggiero Giovannelli also made relatively little use of formal structures in his Liber primus (1593). Of the 18 motets (19 if the secunda pars is counted separately), only four employ musical and textual repetition. Lux perpetua, Tantum ergo, Laudent nomen 2a pars, and Stephanus plenus receive the ABCBD, ABB, ABB plus coda, and ABBC forms respectively. More unusual perhaps is that the first two include no voice exchange. Apart from the eight-voice Stephanus plenus, where the repetition is on a small scale and is varied with some new material, none of the eight-voice works in this publication are given a formal structure, in contrast with Stabile, whose double-choir rather than single-choir works are the items to receive a formal design.

The compositions of the slightly later composer Salvatore Sacchi, however, strongly favour the ABB form. The three motets in his anthology of 1607, O quanta digna, Gaudeamus omnes, and Veni sponsa Christi all receive a large-scale structure.\textsuperscript{19} These are ABBC, ABB, and ABB respectively. The final chorus of his Dialogus BMV is also composed in an ABB form with the addition of a cadential coda, and two verses of the hymn Veni Creator Spiritus are given an ABBC form.\textsuperscript{20}

\begin{center}
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\end{center}

\textsuperscript{18}Couchman, 'Felice Anerio’s music', pp. 342-344. Couchman says that the Responsoria are composed in binary form. This is clearly not so, and each of these is structured according to the responsory texts.

\textsuperscript{19}The other items, a mass, litany, and magnificat have their own inbuilt structure based on the text.

\textsuperscript{20}In Gaudeamus omnes, the ‘A’ section cadences on the final, but in Veni sponsa Christi, the ‘A’ section cadences on the fourth above the final. Stabile also cadences on the final at the conclusion of the ‘A’ section in three of his motets in ABB form, but in Anima nostra 2a pars, the second part of one of his most forward-looking motets for single choir, the first section cadences on the fifth of the mode. In two of the Sacchi motets, Gaudeamus omnes and Veni sponsa Christi, the repeat is not written out but is indicated by a repeat sign in one voice and the instruction ‘Gaudeamus si placet’ in the first, and by ‘accipe: ut supra, si placet’ in the second.
The traditional cadence which moves outwards by step from an imperfect consonance to a perfect consonance predominates in Stabile’s earlier works and in most of the single-choir motets, but there is a noticeable increase of the 5–1 cadence in the double-choir motets.\(^1\)

Another type of cadence Stabile uses is the cadence suspended to the weak beat, sometimes known as the ‘feminine’ cadence. This always includes the 4–3 suspension which in the later works is sometimes combined with a 6–5 movement. In the sacred works, however, the sixth is not suspended (see EXAMPLE 10.3) and so the cadence familiar from the Classical period is not quite attained.\(^2\) In the works for single choir this cadence is usually disguised by the other continuing voices (EXAMPLE 10.1).\(^3\) In the double-choir works, the placement of the ‘feminine’ cadence in an exposed

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\(^1\) For a more detailed discussion on the traditional cadence, see ‘Musica ficta’.

\(^2\) However the 6/4–5/3 where both notes are suspended does occur in Stabile’s madrigals (see ‘Piangea la donna’, Il terzo libro de madrigali, Venice, 1585). Examples in the sacred works involving the 4–3 only, occur in Stephanus plenus, b. 34; Victimae paschali, b. 50; Quærumus cum pastoribus, b. 81; the Litany of the BVM [2] and its companion ‘Polish’ Litany at b. 82; Pastores loquebantur, b. 28; Hi sunt qui venerunt (1a pars), bb. 16, 31 and 56; Nos autem gloriari, b. 44; and Deus misereatur nostri, bb. 4 and 13. Examples where the 4–3 suspension is associated with a 6–5 movement, occur in the Litany of the BVM [2] and its companion ‘Polish’ Litany at b. 67; Stephanus plenus, b. 32; Nos autem gloriari, bb. 19, 40 and 45; Deus misereatur nostri, b. 18; and Alma Redemptoris a 8, b. 35.

\(^3\) Dragoni shows a particular liking for the suspended ‘feminine’ cadence in his motet Videns crucem (see vol. ii of this thesis, p. 620). However in this single-choir work, these cadences are all overlapped by the other continuing voices.
position at the end of a passage for one of the choirs brings it into prominence although in most cases it is still overlapped by the entry of the other choir (EXAMPLES 10.2 and 10.3).

**Example 10.1.** 'Feminine' cadence in a single-choir work (Stabile: *Litany of the BVM* [1], bb. 28–30)

**Example 10.2.** Overlapped 4–3 cadence in a double-choir work (Stabile: *Quaeramus cum pastoribus*, bb. 80–82)
EXAMPLE 10.3. Overlapped cadence with 4–3 suspension and 6–5 movement
(Stabile: Nos autem gloriari, bb. 18–19)

In one of the late works, Hi sunt qui venerunt 1a pars, there are two occurrences where there is no overlap. In both cases, only the 4–3 is involved (EXAMPLE 10.4).

In the double-choir motets, where the 6–5 movement is combined with the 4–3 suspension, the cadence is nearly always associated with a descending semitone in the lowest voice from B♭ to A. Thus the cadence is usually at the same pitch. An exception to this occurs at b. 35 of Alma Redemptoris a 8 where the lowest voice moves from D to C. The suspended ‘feminine’ cadence without 6–5 movement is found on a variety of pitches. Palestrina also liked to use the exposed ‘feminine’ cadence in his double-choir works although he shows a preference for the 4–3 type without 6–5 movement. Among some of the younger contemporaries of Stabile and Palestrina, however, these exposed ‘feminine’ cadences are not particularly common. One example occurs in Giovannelli’s double-choir works published in 1593. This is a suspended 4–3 with 6–5 movement over B♭ to A in the Bass. In Soriano’s 1597

publication for eight voices, they are equally rare. The Salve Regina contains the only example (b. 53), again a suspended 4–3 with 6–5 movement over B♭ to A in the Bass. The motets of G. M. Nanino contained in Schuler's edition show no examples. On the other hand, the feminine ending without the suspension is more common in the works of the above composers.

**Example 10.4.** 'Feminine' cadence with no overlap (Stabile: Hi sunt qui venerunt la pars, bb. 30–32)

Another characteristic of Stabile's style is the cadence on the dominant occurring prior to a cadence on the tonic (Example 10.5).

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6 G. M. Nanino: *Fourteen Liturgical Works*.
7 Howard Mayer Brown also notes that the feminine cadence (with or without suspension) was common in the frottola, due to the feminine line-ending which is so typical of Italian poetry. See Howard M. Brown, *Music in the Renaissance*, Prentice-Hall History of Music Series (Englewood Cliffs, 1976), p. 104.
EXAMPLE 10.5. Cadence on dominant prior to tonic (Stabile: *Pacem relinquuo wobis*, bb. 32-35)

These are often found at final cadences, where one voice cadences on the fifth and is then held through to the final cadence (EXAMPLE 10.6).\(^8\)

EXAMPLE 10.6. Cadence on the dominant prior to a final cadence (Stabile: *Hi sunt qui cum mulieribus*, bb. 53-56)

\(^8\)Some other examples of this occur in *Mane nobiscum Domine, Ibi t Apostoli, Beata es Virgo Maria, Sicut cervus*, and *Ego sum vitis vera 1a pars*. 
One particular cadence pattern must have been a favourite for Stabile since it occurs as the final cadence in eight out of the seventeen double-choir works. This comprises a decorated suspension and a rising four-note crotchet pattern with the other parts remaining static (EXAMPLE 10.7). It can even be found in its note nere equivalent at bb. 22 and 43 of Nos autem gloriari (EXAMPLE 10.8).

A similar cadential pattern occurs in Palestrina’s Stabat Mater, Litaniae Domini, and Victimae paschali, but in these there is movement in the other voices, although the harmony remains static.

EXAMPLE 10.7. Stabile’s favoured cadential pattern (Stabile: Litany of Jesus, final bars)

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9The motets in which this occurs are: Litany of Jesus, Litany of the BVM [2], the ‘Polish’ Litany, Veni sponsa Christi, Nunc dimittis, Stephanus plenus gratia, Veni Sancte Spiritus, and Nos autem gloriari.

10These can be found respectively in Palestrina: Le opere complete, xxxiii, pp. 53 and 60; xx, p. 135; and xxxiv, p. 260.
EXAMPLE 10.8. Favoured cadential pattern in *note nere* (Stabile: *Nos autem gloriari*, bb. 21–22)

Stabile employs the following standard high- and low-clef groupings in his single-choir works:
Another low-clef grouping which occurs is:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{C} & \quad \text{B} & \quad \text{B'} & \quad \text{F}
\end{align*}
\]

On some occasions contrasting sections within a work will use further combinations and these usually concern the higher rather than the lower voices.

Of the two standard high-clef groupings, the g2, c2, c3, F3 is more common than the g2, c2, c3, c4. Both interchangeably signify high clefs or chiavette. Because the lowest note, B, occurs in both the c4 and F3 clefs and the highest note, f', also occurs in both clefs, it seems more likely that the clef indicated voice type as well as range, since this range would suit both Tenor and Baritone.

The use of both high-clef combinations was common among other Roman composers as well. Giovannelli employs both varieties in his Liber primus (1593). Dragnoni also employs both but shows a preference for the g2–F3 group in his Motectorum (1600). All low-clef combinations in both Giovannelli’s and Dragnoni’s publications are the standard c1, c3, c4, F4 group. Not all composers varied their high- or low-clef groupings. Peter Philips, for example, tended to prefer the g2, c2, c3, F3 and c1, c3, c4, F4 groupings with very few exceptions.

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11 This occurs in Quem vidistis pastores. A further grouping occurs in one the Lamentations. This is a g2, g2, c2, c3 combination.

12 Hodie nobis celorum, g2, g2, g2 and g2, g2, c2, c3; Quem vidistis pastores, c1, c1, c2, c3; Beata viscera, g2, g2, c2, c3; Verbum caro, c1, c1, c2, c3; and Salve Regina, g2, g2, c2, c3. Favoring the lower voices is Sancta et immaculata, c3, c3, c4, F4.

13 There is some conjecture here since the first six motets are missing from the Cantus partbook of Dragnoni’s Motectorum (1600). However, the clefs in the remaining parts for four of the motets are c2, c3, F3, and Quintus c3, which Dragnoni usually groups with a g2 in the Cantus. A fifth motet has c2, c3, c4, and Quintus c3 which again are usually grouped with g2. The sixth motet has c2, c3, F3 and Quintus c1 clefs which are not quite so obviously grouped, although the ranges of the four extant voices are the same as for the lower voices of a g2–F3 group, so a g2 clef in the Cantus would seem likely.

14 See preface to Peter Philips: Cantiones Sacrae Quinis Vocibus, p. vii.
When a single-choir work is composed for more than four voices, Stabile follows the standard practice and usually doubles one or two of the existing voices (and its clef), although on two occasions he introduces a new voice type (and new clef), resulting in a five-clef combination. One example occurs in *Juste et pie vivamus*, where the cleffing is c1, c2, c2, c3, c4, F4. Stabile prefers to double the Tenor in his sacred works although in his madrigals he exhibits a greater liking for the doubled Cantus. In this he was no different from many of his contemporaries such as Dragoni, Wert, Monte, Monteverdi and A. Gabrieli, who also display a greater preference for the brighter texture of the doubled Cantus in their madrigal publications after about 1585. The doubled Tenor was common in the sacred works of Palestrina, and in Dragoni’s sacred publication of 1600, 21 of the 25 motets also double the Tenor. Giovannelli, however, shows a greater preference for the doubled Cantus in his single-choir motets of 1593, where five double the Cantus, five the Tenor, and the Altus is doubled once. Stabile doubles the Cantus or the Altus less often. The Bassus is not doubled in any of the five-voice works. It is, however, doubled in one six-voice motet, *Ego sum vitis vera* (c1, c3, c4, c4, F4, F4) along with the Tenor, where a particularly dark sonority must have been required. A combination which does not occur in the six-voice motets, and which would provide the brightest sonority, is a doubling of both the Cantus and the Altus in the same motet.

Unlike his Venetian contemporaries, the juxtaposition of *cori alti e bassi* is not a regular feature of Stabile’s polychoral style. Three-quarters of Stabile’s double-choir motets are set for similarly-cleffed choirs. The greatest contrast is achieved in *Lux perpetua* where a c1, c1, c3, F3 choir is contrasted with c3, c4, c4, F4. Both these, however, are low-clef groupings. Two other motets, *Deus misereatur nostri* and *Nos autem gloriari*, contrast c1, c1, c3, c4 with c1, c3, c4, F4, and the *Litany of the BVM* contrasts g2, c1, c3, c4 with g2, c2, c3, F3. A fourth type may exist for the *Alma Redemptoris* a 8. The two extant parts, both from the second choir, suggest a c2, c3, c3, F3 grouping, and the ranges of the first choir indicate g2, g2, c2, c3. With these dissimilarly-cleffed compositions, all published after 1580, Stabile would seem to be

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15 The only other example of the addition of a new voice-type occurs in *Alma Redemptoris* a 5, where a c4 is added to the standard g2, c2, c3, F3.


17 This is the same cleffing applied by Giovannelli in his setting of the *Alma Redemptoris* for eight voices (*Sacrarum modulationum* ... 1593).
moving against the general trend since Noel O'Regan claims that they were the exception in Rome after the early 1580s.18

Apart from *Deus misereatur nostri* and *Nos autem gloriari*, and an inner section of the responsory *Verbum caro*, Stabile does not combine a c1 with a c4 clef (as highest and lowest voices of a distinct group), nor does he opt for the widest possible range by combining a g2 with an F4 clef. In this he differed from Victoria who combined a g2 clef with an F4 clef in his *Salve Regina* for double choir published in 1576,19 as did Giovannelli also for a double choir work, *Benedicite omnia opera*, published in 1593.20 This was common in the works of Venetian composers but such a combination (g2–F4) was not otherwise much favoured among Roman composers.

* * *

18 O'Regan, *Sacred Polychoral Music*, i, pp. 167–168. Palestrina favoured dissimilarly-cleffed choirs in the double-choir motets from his earlier 1575 publication, where five out of the six are set in this way, but later, he wrote only for equal choirs. Victoria also composed for dissimilarly-cleffed choirs in his earlier works but later composed for two similarly-cleffed choirs. Zoilo wrote for similarly-cleffed choirs from the start (O'Regan, *Sacred Polychoral Music*, i, p. 168).

19 This motet can be found in Victoria: *Opera omnia*, vii, p. 120. For a discussion on clef combinations in the music of Victoria with particular reference to the *Officium Hebdomadarum Sanctarum* (1585), see Eugene C. Cramer, ‘The Significance of Clef Combinations in the Music of Tomás Luis de Victoria’, *American Choral Review*, xviii (1976), pp. 3–11.

20 *Sacrarum modulationum ...* (1593). Giovannelli's 1593 publication contains seven motets for double-choir and three of these are set for dissimilarly-cleffed choirs. *Stephanus plenus* is arranged for c1, c1, c3, c4, and c3, c4, c4, F4 choirs — a distribution not found in Stabile’s music — although a very similar grouping occurs in Stabile’s *Lux perpetua*. The other two dissimilarly-cleffed choirs are *Benedicite omnia opera* and the *Alma Redemptoris a 8.*
Before discussing Stabile’s use of modes and tonal types, it might be helpful to begin with some definitions. Tonal type, a modern term to explain what is neither purely modal nor yet tonal, was first coined by Siegfried Hermelink and later taken up by Harold S. Powers in his important article on tonal types and modal categories.\(^1\)

Tonal types are defined by the various combinations of clef and final, and also by system, that is, whether the work is composed in cantus durus (\(\d\)) or cantus mollis (\(\b\)), and Powers has devised the following handy shorthand for supplying this information at a glance. The system is indicated by the sign \(\d\) or \(\b\), the ambitus or range by the clef of the Cantus, since this is enough to establish whether a high- or low-clef grouping has been employed, and the final or root of the last chord by an upper case letter. Thus \(\d c\ G\) means that a work was composed in the cantus durus system with low clefs and a final of G. Taking all possible combinations of system and final into account there were 6 basic types in the cantus durus system (\(\d D, \d E, \d F, \d G, \d A, \d C\)), and 6 in the transposed cantus mollis system (\(\b G, \b A, \b B, \b C, \b D, \b F\)). Not used, due to the diminished fifth in the scale, is \(\d B\) and its transposed version \(\b E\). Each of the 12 basic types may occur with either high or low clefs. Thus \(\d D\) occurs as both \(\d c D\) and \(\d g D\), and \(\b G\) as both \(\b c G\) and \(\b g G\), and so on for each type. All told, this produces the 24 tonal types that were available to the 16th-century composer.

While Powers argues for a distinction in polyphony between these tonal types and both tonality and modality, he also argues that on certain occasions such as a modally

\(^{1}\)Harold S. Powers, ‘Tonal Types and Modal Categories in Renaissance Polyphony’, \textit{JAMS}, xxxiv (1981), pp. 428–470. In the following discussion, unless specified otherwise, references to Mode 1, Mode 2 etc are to the eight-mode system.
ordered collection, a composer may wish one of these tonal types to represent a mode even though the tonal type may not actually be that mode.

Where the musical characteristics of a tonal type fit the traditional features of a modal category well, the tonal type was easily and often used to represent it. Where the tonal type fits less well... it was less frequently used by composers as a modal representative, or used ambiguously, or even not at all, though it might be widely used in the repertory as a whole. In short, a mode is always a tonal type, but a tonal type is not always a mode. 2

Polyphonic compositions by this time could not be purely modal. The opposing ranges of the different voices combine the plagal and authentic elements and there are too many added accidentals. In Stabile's compositions, for example, the same accidentals occur in relation to the final in most tonal types, though not always in every work. In the cantus durus (♯) system B♭, F♯, C♯ and G♯ are found, and in the transposed cantus mollis (♭) system, these accidentals are transposed to E♭, B♭, F♯, and C♯. 3 From another point of view, Harold Powers has pointed out that it is possible to write good polyphony by just following the rules of counterpoint without any particular mode in mind at all. 4

Powers argues too that a distinction be made between those pieces where there is direct evidence that a composer used a tonal type to represent one of the traditional

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2 Powers, 'Tonal Types', p. 466.

3 An exception is ♯ c1 E where B♭ is omitted from Stabile's two sacred works and his three madrigals in this type. However, B♭ does occur in G. M. Nanino's Decora lux and in Palestrina's O Jesu dolce both in ♯ c1 E (G. M. Nanino: Fourteen Liturgical Works, p. 57, bb. 23 and 46, and Palestrina: Le opere complete, ix, p. 93, b. 40). Other exceptions among Stabile's works are tonal types where there are only one or two representative compositions and therefore not enough to make any conclusive statements. These include Stabile’s ♭ g2 B♭ where there is no F♯, although Marenzio's Christus Jesus splendor in this type does not contain any F♯s either (see this thesis p. 313, n. 54), and Stabile’s ♭ g2 C where there is no E♭ or C#, although both E♭ and C# occur in Nunc facta est salus by Marenzio also in ♭ g2 C (Marenzio: Opera omnia, iii, p. 150). And while G♯ is omitted from Stabile's only sacred composition in the type ♮ g2 F, it does occur in his madrigal Donna col vostro sguardo (Il terzo libro de madrigali, Venice, 1585).

modes and those for which there is none. He also claims that each tonal type, like the
traditional modes, had its own particular characteristics. These could include the
cadence patterns and *exordia*,\(^5\) as well as system, clef, and final. Powers also adds
that it is the task of the music historian to find the ways in which the many tonal types
were correlated with the modal categories in the traditional eight- or twelve-mode
schemes, both of which were acknowledged in the second half of the 16th century.\(^6\)
The discovery of a cycle of eight Christmas Responsories by Stabile which are clearly
organized according to the eight-mode scheme forms the basis of the following
discussion.

**TONAL TYPES AS MODAL REPRESENTATIVES IN STABILE’S CHRISTMAS CYCLE**

The following table gives the modal organization of Stabile’s Christmas cycle. The
general octave range of the Cantus and Tenor voices (the two voices which define the
mode\(^7\)) is given as an added guide to the ambitus, with the final outlined. Both voices
may move outside this octave or conversely, may have a narrower range which does
not fill out the complete octave. While there is no mention in the manuscript
containing the cycle that the contents are arranged in a modal order, it would be
perverse to consider otherwise or indeed to try to assign them to the dodecachordal
scheme. In any case it was rare for these cycles so arranged to acknowledge this
ordering.\(^8\)

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\(^5\) An *exordium* is the opening melodic motive of a composition. When discussing this aspect, only the
pitch of the Tenor or Cantus is taken into account since they were considered to be the modally
significant voices. (From the early 16th century, theorists mentioned that these were the modally
important voices. See Harold S. Powers, ‘Mode’, *NG*, xii, p. 400). The *exordia* of the Altus and Bassus
were usually at a fourth or fifth’s distance.

\(^6\) This is clear from a number of 16th-century cycles ordered according to both the eight- and 12-mode
schemes. Powers discusses a number of these in Powers, ‘Tonal Types and Modal Categories’, pp.
428–470.

\(^7\) See above n. 5.

\(^8\) See also Powers, ‘Tonal Types’, p. 435, where he notes that anthologies and cycles ordered according
to the 12-mode scheme generally *do* acknowledge this fact.
## TABLE 16

**MODAL ORGANIZATION OF STABILE’S CHRISTMAS RESPONSORIES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEM</th>
<th>TYPE</th>
<th>GENERAL RANGE AND FINAL</th>
<th>MODE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hodie nobis cælorum</td>
<td>g2 G</td>
<td>G A B♭ C D E F G</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hodie nobis de cælo</td>
<td>c1 G</td>
<td>D E F G A B♭ C D</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quem vidistis pastores</td>
<td>c1 A</td>
<td>E F G A B C D E</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O magnum mysterium</td>
<td>c1 E</td>
<td>E F G A B C D E</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beata Dei Genitrix</td>
<td>g2 F</td>
<td>F G A B C D E F</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sancta et immaculata</td>
<td>c1 F</td>
<td>C D E F G A B♭ C</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beata viscera</td>
<td>g2 G</td>
<td>G A B C D E F G</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbum caro factum est</td>
<td>c1 G</td>
<td>D E F G A B C D</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Often in modally organized collections, the modal pairs of plagal and authentic are represented by paired tonal types based on a choice of high- or low-clef groupings with, for example, g2 G indicating the plagal Mixolydian mode and c1 G the authentic Mixolydian mode, the high clefs denoting the higher ambitus of the authentic mode and the low clefs the plagal, although this is not an infallible rule.9 Two 16th-century theorists who noticed the relationship between clefing and the various modes were Orazio Tigrini and Valerio Bona da Brescia.10 In Stabile’s cycle, the Dorian and Mixolydian pairs employ this distinction, that is, the system and finals are the same but the ranges differ. But for the Lydian pair the distinction is through system as well as clefing and for the Phrygian pair, where the range and system are exactly the same in both, the placement of the final within that range creates the distinction. The clefing for all four voices in each tonal type, with the exception of those representing the Phrygian modes, is the same as that specified by Bona da Brescia for each of the eight modes.11

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9 See below pp. 307 and 314, the discussion on the types g2 D and c1 D, and g2 C and c1 C.  
11 For the Phrygian types, however, the lower voices differ. Bona da Brescia gives a c1, c3, c4, F4 grouping for Modes 3 and 4, whereas Stabile has c1, c2, c3, F3 in both cases (see Meier, *The Modes*, p. 87).
Two other composers with Roman connections who composed modally organized collections and who followed the eight-mode scheme were Palestrina and Lassus.\footnote{For a discussion on the various collections, see Powers, ‘Tonal Types and Modal Categories’, pp. 428–470; Harold S. Powers, ‘Modal Representation in Polyphonic Offertories, Early Music History, ii (1982), pp. 43–86; and Harold S. Powers, ‘The Modality of “Vestiva i colli”’, in Studies in Renaissance and Baroque Music in Honor of Arthur Mendel, edited by Robert L. Marshall (Kassel, 1984), pp. 31–46.} Palestrina, Lassus and Stabile use the types $\sharp g2$ G and $\natural c1$ G to represent Modes 7 and 8 respectively. They also use $\flat c1$ F to represent Mode 6 although in a reprint of some of Lassus’s motets from two earlier collections the resulting modal arrangement employs the transposed $\natural g2$ C as well as $\flat c1$ F for this mode.\footnote{Sacrarum cantionum ... Orlando Lassusio (Paris, 1587), see Powers, ‘Modal Representation’, Table 4, p. 57. In Palestrina’s ‘Vergine’ cycle, Mode 4 employs a c2 in the Cantus rather than a c1 clef (see Powers, ‘Tonal Types’ Table 5, p. 450).} The Dorian modes are also treated similarly by these three composers. Mode 1 is either $\flat g2$ G or the untransposed $\natural c1$ D. However, Palestrina employs $\natural g2$ A for Mode 1 in two of his cycles.\footnote{‘Vergine’ cycle and Offertoria toius anni ... (Rome, 1593), see Powers, ‘Modal Representation’, Table 5, p. 60. See also p. 310 of this thesis.} Mode 2 is either $\natural c1$ G or $\natural g2$ D.

There is more variety in the choice of tonal type for the Lydian Mode 5 and the two Phrygian modes. Stabile is the only composer to use $\natural g2$ F to represent Mode 5.\footnote{The type $\natural g2$ F may have been generally uncommon since Zarlino makes the observation that this mode was not much in use by modern composers (Zarlino, On the Modes, p. 70). Cipriano de Rore does employ $\natural g2$ F to represent Mode 5 in his modally ordered Il primo libro de madrigali, 4vv (Ferrara, 1550), although Owens claims this was out of character (Owens, ‘Mode in the Madrigals of Cipriano de Rore’, p. 4). Rore’s madrigals in $\natural g2$ F are also cited by Zarlino as Mode 5 pieces (Zarlino, On the Modes, p. 70).} For both Lassus and Palestrina $\flat g2$ F fulfils this role. Possibly Stabile wished to emphasize the link with the church modes by incorporating the raised fourth, although in practice, it is often avoided in his Responsory through the addition of $B\natural$.

The types $\natural c1$ A and $\natural c1$ E represent Modes 3 and 4 respectively for Stabile, but for Lassus and Palestrina $\natural c1$ E represents both Modes 3 and 4 together.\footnote{Lassus, Lagrime di San Pietro (Munich, 1595), Palestrina, ‘Vergine’ cycle, and Palestrina, Madrigali spirituali à 5 (1594). See Powers, ‘Tonal Types’, Table 4, p. 448; Table 5, p. 450; and Table 6, p. 451.} Another composer who used low clefs in the $\natural E$ tonality for both Modes 3 and 4 is Cipriano...
Modes and Tonal Types 302

de Rore, but with an even lower clef grouping of c2, c4, c4, F3, F5 (~ c2 E) for Mode 4.17 Stabile’s type for Mode 3 (~ c1 A) sometimes occurs in other collections to represent Mode 4 but not Mode 3.18

In the Christmas Responsories, ~ c1 A has the same range as that for ~ c1 E. This amalgamation of range between Modes 3 and 4 was common and in the early part of the 16th century Glarean wrote concerning Mode 4:

It also happens rather frequently in practise... that songs rise to small d and do not descend beyond D, which range the Phrygian, its principal mode also has... so that it is true what some musicians say, that indeed no two modes are more closely joined than the Hypophrygian and the Phrygian...19

Stabile’s Mode 3 (~ c1 A) concludes on the fourth and this too was not unusual and was inevitable in some types with a final of A or D (specifically ~ A and ~ D), if a composer followed the eight-mode rather than the 12-mode scheme.20 Aron, a follower of the eight-mode scheme mentions that:

if a composition... ends in the position called A la mi re and there is no flat in the signature, the final will be common to the first and second tones with respect to the confinality [i.e. D-mode with an irregular final] and also to the third with respect to difference [i.e. E-mode with one of the variety of psalm-tone endings], provided — as you will understand from what follows — that the procedure in the composition be suited and appropriate to confinality or difference.21

17 This occurs in Rore’s first book of five-voice madrigals (Venice, 1542), also a modally-organized cycle. Powers, ‘Tonal Types’, Table 1, p. 444, also Owens, ‘Mode in the Madrigals of Cipriano de Rore’, p. 3.
18 See the tonal plan of Tylman Susato’s Premier livre des chansons (Antwerp, 1544), in Powers, ‘Tonal Types’, Table 2, p. 445.
19 Glarean, Dodecachordon, ii, p. 254.
20 ~ A and ~ D cannot be considered transpositions of any type. ~ C, on the other hand, can be considered either as ~ G transposed or ~ F ending on the fourth. Stabile does not use the type ~ D.
• OTHER COMPOSITIONS IN THESE TONAL TYPES AND THEIR GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

A number of other works by Stabile are composed in these tonal types and there are some general characteristics to be observed. In the Dorian types (♭ g2 G and ♭ c1 G), cadences fall mainly on the final (G) and the fifth (D), although in ♭ c1 G the third is more prominent, and in motets beginning imitatively, all exordia in ♭ g2 G open on D, and in ♭ c1 G two of the three begin on D and one on G. The final and fifth are strongly evident. Likewise in the two tonal types representing the Lydian modes (♮ g2 F and ♭ c1 F), the main cadence points are the final (F) and the fifth (C). None of this group, however, begins imitatively.

Stabile did not favour the Phrygian group and there are only two other works besides the two Responsories using the ♭ c1 E and ♭ c1 A parameters. Zarlino, who follows the 12-mode scheme, acknowledges that there was a frequent use of cadences on A in Modes 3 and 4 (with finals of E), and the German theorist Seth Calvisius (1556–1615) refers to a cadence on A as the 'clausula Aeolii' and says that it occurs often in Modes 3 and 4. Calvisius notes too that cadences on C are frequent in these modes, and another 16th-century German theorist, Eucharius Hofmann, mentions that instead of cadences on B for Modes 3 and 4, there are usually cadences on A and C. The frequency of A as a cadence note is apparent in both Stabile's ♭ c1 E works where A is the most common cadential point in Deus misereatur, and in the responsory O magnum mysterium, the second most common after E. E as a cadence note hardly occurs in Deus misereatur. C also is very evident in Deus misereatur but less so in O magnum mysterium.

In both Stabile's works in ♭ c1 A, A is again the most prominent as a cadential point with C also prominent in the responsory Quem vidistis pastores. Powers notes that in the works of Palestrina, and in the two- and three-voice chansons in Tylman Susato's modally ordered collection of 1544, where the tonal type ♭ c1 A is used to represent

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22 For a complete list of works classified according to tonal type, see Tables 17a and 17b, p. 305 of this thesis.
23 Gioseffo Zarlino, On The Modes, p. 64. See also Meier, The Modes, p. 108
25 A is also the most-used cadential note in Stabile's madrigal Di Cipresso e di Salce (Il terzo libro, Svv, Venice, 1585), in ♭ c1 E, with E the second most used. In another madrigal, Piangea la Donna mia (Il terzo libro, Svv, Venice, 1585), also in ♭ c1 E, E is the most frequent.
Mode 4, E is the most frequent cadential degree after A. While E is frequent in Stabile’s responsory *O magnum mysterium*, in *Quem vidistis pastores* in Mode 1 A, cadences on E are uncommon. Likewise in Stabile’s *Sub tuum praesidium* (Mode 1 A) although there are some melodic endings on E but without a second supporting cadential formula. As an added affinity to Mode 3, *Sub tuum praesidium*, the only example to begin imitatively, does outline (in a roundabout way) the e-g-a-c pattern typical of the Phrygian mode. Thus Mode 1 E seems to show a greater preference for E as a cadence point than Mode 1 A but otherwise there is a general leaning towards cadences on A and C in both types.

The Mixolydian types (Mode 7 G and Mode 8 G) are strongly represented in Stabile’s works. In three of the eight motets in Mode 7 G (representing Mode 7), the second highest-ranking cadence point after the final (G) is not always D as might be expected, but C. One of these motets, *Ibant Apostoli*, further emphasizes this tendency with a first cadence at b. 11 on C. This propensity towards C as a centre in Mode 7 occurs too in the works of Palestrina. In Mode 8 G where there is greater emphasis on the fourth as expected, *Apollinaris inclyti* has more cadences on the fifth (D) than the fourth (C). Thus in this case, cadential points are not one of the distinguishing factors between authentic and plagal.

Most compositions in this Mixolydian group begin imitatively and, with one exception, all begin on either G or D. There is some differentiation, however, in the exordia of the plagal and authentic types, with the exordia of the former all beginning on G and tending to emphasize the plagal dominant with a G–C outline, and the authentic group beginning on the authentic dominant (D) and then descending into the lower fifth or beginning on G and emphasizing the dominant with a G–D outline. *Cantantibus organis* in Mode 8 G differs however, beginning on G and outlining the lower fifth for the authentic mode (G–D). More wayward is *Beata es Virgo Maria* in Mode 7 G where the Quintus (a Tenor voice), begins on E and accentuates neither the dominant (D) nor the lower fifth (G–D) or upper fourth (D–G) of Mode 7, the Cantus adding to this confusion by outlining the interval between the final and plagal dominant of Mode 8. As with the cadence points, the exordia are not

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27 There is only one two-voice cadence on E at b. 26 with C as its lowest note, although this was still considered a cadence on E. See ‘Musica ficta’, p. 260.
28 *Ibant apostoli*, *Hi sunt qui cum mulieribus*, and *Veni sponsa Christi*.
necessarily one of the distinguishing factors between authentic and plagal in these types.

• OTHER TONAL TYPES •

Aside from the eight tonal types which occur in the Christmas cycle, nine others occur in Stabile's works. The works composed in these nine types as well as those composed in the tonal types from the Christmas cycle are listed in Table 17, where the types used as modal representatives in the Christmas cycle are given their modal assignation in parentheses. Some tonal types are direct transpositions of another type, but it is not always clear whether Stabile necessarily regarded them in this way.

**TABLE 17A**

**TONAL TYPES (MINOR)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TONAL TYPE</th>
<th>ITEM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>⪫ c1 D</td>
<td>Victimæ paschali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nunc dimitis31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>⪫ g2 G (Mode 1)</td>
<td>Hodie nobis cælorum (Resp. 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Transposition of ⪫ c1 D ]</td>
<td>Hæc dies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tollite jugum meum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>⪫ g2 D</td>
<td>Quam bene magnanimos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Litany of the BVM [2] and 'Polish' Litany</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

30 Stabile does not employ the following types in his sacred music: ⪫ g2 E, ⪫ c1 F, ⪫ c1 A, ⪫ c1 B♭, ⪫ c1 C, and the pair ⪫ c1 D and ⪫ g2 D.

31 For discussion on this motet which is a mixture of minor and major tonal types, see pp. 315–318.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPE</th>
<th>ITEM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b c1 G (Mode 2)</td>
<td>Hodie nobis de caelo (Resp. 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sicut cervus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hi sunt qui venerunt — Dignus es Domine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nos autem gloriari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lux perpetua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lauda mater ecclesia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 c1 E (Mode 4)</td>
<td>O magnum mysterium (Resp. 4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Deus miseretur nostri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b g2 A</td>
<td>Notas mihi fecisti — Tu es qui restitues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Transposition of b c1 E]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 c1 A (Mode 3)</td>
<td>Quem vidistis pastores (Resp. 3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sub tuum presidium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 g2 A</td>
<td>Missa 'Vestiva i colli'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Quae est ista</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 17B**

**TONAL TYPES (MAJOR)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPE</th>
<th>ITEM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4 g2 F (Mode 5)</td>
<td>Beata Dei Genitrix (Resp. 5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b c1 F (Mode 6)</td>
<td>Sancta et immaculata (Resp. 6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tu gloria Jerusalem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jubilate Deo — Laudate nomen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 g2 C</td>
<td>Usque modo — Petite et accipietis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Transposition of 4 c1 F]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Litany of the BVM [1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ego sum panis vitae — Caro mea — Multisergo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b g2 F</td>
<td>Quadrans cum pastoribus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hymnus de gloria paradisi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cum pervenisset Barnabas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pater Abraham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Alma Redemptoris Mater a 5 [and a 8]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 c1 C</td>
<td>Pastores loquebantur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Transposition of b g2 F]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Modes and Tonal Types**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mode</th>
<th>Latin Texts</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7g2F</td>
<td>Beata viscera Mariae (Resp. 7)</td>
<td>Two types which are closely tied to the traditional Dorian modes are 7c1P and 7g2G. Both are the natural positions of 7c1G and 7g2G and represent the Dorian modes in collections by other composers. As a pair 7c1P and 7g2G provide an exception to the rule that low clefs are reserved for plagal ranges and high clefs for authentic ranges. On this occasion low clefs indicate the authentic range since the high-clef grouping is reserved for the octave transposition of the plagal range. The traditional Mode 2 is not represented in its untransposed position in any of Stabile’s works, but is found either transposed to G or with its final transposed up an octave to d' (Tenor) or d&quot; (Cantus). Several theorists mention this as common, among them...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8c1G</td>
<td>Pacem relinquuo vobis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ibant Apostoli</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hi sunt qui cum mulieribus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Veni sponsa Christi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Beata es Virgo Maria</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mane nobiscum Domine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Omnes Gentes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8c1G</td>
<td>Verbum caro factum est (Resp. 8)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Juste et pie vivamus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ego sum vitis vera</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Litany of Jesus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Missa ‘Ung gay bergier’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Apollinaris inculi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cantantibus organis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7bG2F</td>
<td>Nisi quia Dominus — Anima nostra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7bG2F</td>
<td>Litany of the BVM [3]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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32 In Lassus’s Penitential psalms and the ‘Lagrima’ cycle, 7c1P represents Mode 1, and in Palestrina’s ‘Vergine’ cycle and the *Offertoria* 1593, 7g2D represents Mode 2.
Zarlino, Orazio Vecchi, and Leonhard Lechner. Vecchi notes that the transposition up a fourth was for the convenience of organists and others, and when transposed up an octave it was better for cornetts, trombones and other wind instruments. The octave transposition of Mode 2 was also known to Pietro Pontio who makes specific mention of this in his *Ragionamento di musica* (Parma, 1588) and notes that when transposed a fourth higher to G, Mode 2 should use the c1 clef in the Cantus, and when transposed an octave, the g2 clef in the Cantus. Orazio Vecchi, and Bona da Brescia who also recognizes this transposition, use the high clef grouping as well. Octave transposition is common in the works of Palestrina and is found too in the works of Dragoni, Marenzio, and G. M. Nanino. A peculiarity of this transposition is that the Cantus often does not rise above g" although the Tenor completes the ambitus an octave lower. This is indeed what happens in three of the four works by Stabile in this type, but in *Quam bene magnanimos* the Cantus rises to a" at the words ‘vertice Pindus’ (‘the peak of Mt Pindus’), and the peak is regained with the salutation directed to the subject of the motet: ‘Vive inclyta virtus’ (‘Long life, O celebrated virtue’), both clearly for expressive reasons.

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34 ‘... il secondo s’usa assai per commodità degli organisti e d’altrì.’ (*Mostra delli Tuoni*, p. 12).


36 Vecchi, *Mostra delli Tuoni*, p. 12. For Bona da Brescia, see Meier, *The Modes*, p. 87. Both use the g2, c2, c3, c4 cleffing.

37 An example by Dragoni is the motet *Dum torqueretur in Motectorum... Liber primus* (Rome, 1600). For an example by Marenzio, see *Innocentes occisi sunt*, in Luca Marenzio: *Opera omnia*, ii, p. 11; and for that by Nanino, see *Adoramus te, Christe*, in G. M. Nanino: *Fourteen Liturgical Works*, p. 6. These motets all use high clefs.

38 Meier, *The Modes*, p. 155. However, the fact that the Cantus does not rise above g" was perhaps inevitable since soprano parts rarely went above g" until the end of the 16th century. Stabile's *Quam bene magnanimos* which rises to a" is one of his late works and was composed around 1589 (see also Meier, *The Modes*, p. 116). The Dorian tonal types seem to have been a
As in the G-Dorian motets, imitation begins on either the final or the fifth in both the authentic and plagal D-Dorian (with the exception of the *Nunc dimittis* — see below). Where a motet begins homophonically such as the G-Dorian *Hi sunt qui venerunt* 1a pars, the opening chord is usually based on the final, although this is not always so. *Veni Sancte Spiritus* (♯ c1 D), for example, begins on an A major chord.39 Several motets which begin homophonically include a note foreign to the mode in the opening chord. The *Litany of the BVM* [2] and the ‘Polish’ *Litany* in D-Dorian begin on a D-based chord, but with an F♯, and *Stephanus plenus* and *Lux perpetua* open on a G major chord in G-Dorian.

The *exordia* provide further links between these D- and G-based types and the traditional Dorian modes. In plainchant, one of the main melodic formulæ for Mode 1 is the ascending fifth. This is inverted in *Domine ne in furore* 1a pars, *Sancte Pater*, and also in *Salve Regina* 1a pars (all ♯ g2 G) after the opening intonation. These are in the authentic range, but the same formula can be found in the Cantus of *Sicut cervus*, a motet in the plagal range (♭ c1 G). In all cases it occurs within the fifth common to both the authentic and plagal range. A characteristic formula of Mode 2 emphasizes the interval between the final and the plagal dominant. This occurs in the plagal works *Lauda mater ecclesiae* (♭ c1 G), *Quam bene magnanimos* (♯ c1 D), and *Obsecro Domine* (♯ c1 D), but it also occurs in *Quam pulchrae* 1a pars (♭ g2 G) and *Audi benigne Conditor* (♯ c1 D) both in the authentic range.40 These are further indications of an assimilation between plagal and authentic.

• ♯ g2 A

A clef code which could be assigned to a traditional mode by transposition is ♯ g2 A. With its flat supertonic it is a direct transposition of ♯ c1 E and Zarlino as well as his later follower Vecchi, describe this type as a transposition of Mode 3.41 However, none of the composers discussed by Powers include it in any of their modal cycles.

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39 The motet, *Hi sunt qui venerunt* 1a pars, was discussed by the contemporary German theorist Seth Calvisius. He also discusses three other motets by Stabile, *Ibant apostoli*, *Pacem relinquo vobis* and *Mane nobiscum Domine*, all of which were available to him through the German anthologies printed in Nuremberg. See Meier, *The Modes*, pp. 218, 133 and 184, n. 14.

40 *Quam pulchrae* also occurs in *Iste Sanctus*, a work probably not by Stabile. See p. 118 of this thesis.

although Lassus employs $b$ c1 A to represent one of the Phrygian modes in his
collection of five-voice motets (1582). The cadence pattern of Stabile’s $b$ g2 A is
similar to the untransposed Phrygian group. The final (A) and fourth (D) are the main
cadential notes, but with only one example among Stabile’s works (Notas mihi fecisti
—Tu es qui restitues) it is difficult to be too certain about any characteristics.

• $b$ g2 A

Because it is not a direct transposition of any traditional mode, $b$ g2 A is less easy to
describe. This was a type used frequently by Lassus but not in a modal collection.43
Palestrina also used it many times and twice to represent Mode 1, and Tylman Susato
assigns this type to the third mode, thus representing the corresponding pair to $b$ c1 A
in one of his modally ordered collections.44 Stabile composed only one motet in this
type, Quae est ista, but his Missa Vestiva i colli also uses these parameters. In both
motet and Mass the main cadence notes are D and A, yet the Tenor and Cantus, the
two voices which define the mode, emphasize A and E in their melodic lines.

Stabile’s Mass parodies Palestrina’s madrigal Vestiva i colli also $b$ g2 A.45 In the
madrigal, as in the Mass, the main cadential notes are A and D. The prima parte of
the model concludes on D and all the movements of the Mass conclude on a chord
based on either D or A, reinforcing the importance of these tonal centres. This points
towards the Dorian group and indeed the vocal ranges of both items display the same
characteristics as for Mode 2 transposed up an octave, where the Cantus does not rise
above g" but with the Tenor completing the ambitus an octave lower.

The relationship of Palestrina’s Vestiva i colli to the Dorian modes was noticed by
several theorists writing in the early 17th century, among them Vecchi, Zacconi and
Banchieri. Both Zacconi and Vecchi, specifically mention Palestrina’s Vestiva i colli
as an example of Mode 2 transposed up an octave, while Banchieri considers that the
octave transposition changes it from a plagal to an authentic mode. What is of
particular interest is that while these theorists all subscribe to the twelve-mode
scheme, none assign this particular item to the Aeolian modes, which have a final of

45 Palestrina’s madrigal, Vestiva i colli, can be found in Palestrina: Le opere complete, ix, p. 117.
A. In support of this, Powers noted that *Vestiva i colli* was very similar to the first of Palestrina’s eight madrigals on Petrarch’s ‘Vergine’ canzone. Since Palestrina’s ‘Vergine’ cycle is arranged in modal order, this suggests that *Vergine bella*, the first madrigal, represents the first mode (transposed up an octave). Powers points out too that the opening *exordium* of *Vestiva i colli* contains a leap from A–D which represents the upper fourth of the Dorian mode. An interesting factor which he does not seem to have noted is that the phrase as a whole clearly establishes the A–E interval (see EXAMPLE 11.1).

**EXAMPLE 11.1.** Palestrina: *Vestiva i colli* (*Le opere complete*, ix, p. 117, bb. 1–11)

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46 See Powers, ‘The Modality of “Vestiva i colli”’, for discussion on these theorists and the modal problems of *Vestiva i colli*.


When considered in a linear manner, the Tenor and Cantus in EXAMPLE 11.1 place far more emphasis on a' and e" than a' and d". This is parodied in the Mass, and seems to contradict the cadential pattern of D and A. On the other hand, the answering voices in both begin on D with a tonal answer containing a leap to A, and this D–A leap in one of the opening themes is also apparent in *Quae est ista*, except that the leap descends from A to D.

Compositions of such contemporaries as Marenzio, Peter Philips, Dragoni, and Byrd which use the 4 g2 A parameters, likewise emphasize A and D as cadential points, while outlining A–E in the melodic line.50 As further evidence that these were recognized characteristics of this type, Stabile's madrigal *Vengo Himeneo* (4 g2 A), follows the same principles.51 However, another set of characteristics emerges in a motet by the Venetian composer Hippolito Baccusi, *Aspice Domini — Plorans ploravit*, where the cadence pattern emphasizes A and E rather than A and D and is therefore totally in agreement with the A–E emphasis of the *exordium* and the melodic line of the motet.52 This suggests that the characteristics of tonal types may not necessarily be universal.

\[ \text{4 g2 Bb} \]

*Nisi quia Dominus — Anima nostra* with the parameters of 4 g2 Bb is another example of high clefs for a plagal mode, but here octave transposition is not indicated.53 The transposition to B b is rare. A noticeable characteristic in Stabile's work is that the fifth rather than the final is the main cadential note and that many of

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50 For examples of Peter Philips, see *Stella, quam viderant Magi* and *Tu es vas electionis* in Peter Philips: *Cantiones Sacrae*, i, pp. 55 and 61. For Marenzio, see *Iste est Johannes* and *Dum Aurora Finem*, in Luca Marenzio: *Opera Omnia*, i, p. 36 and ii, p. 8. For discussion on Byrd's use of this modal type, see H. K. Andrews, *The Technique of Byrd's Vocal Polyphony* (London, 1966), pp. 22–23. For examples by Dragoni, see *O quam mira* and *Christi Martyr Vincenius* from *Motectorum . . . liber primus* (Rome, 1600). I am grateful to Janet Wilson for making transcriptions of these last two items available.

51 Like the Mass and its model *Vestiva i colli*, the madrigal *Vengo Himeneo* has a 'canzon francese' opening.

52 *Harmoniae miscellae cantionum sacrarum . . .* (Nuremberg, Gerlach, 1583), No. 39.

53 This agrees with the cleffing prescribed by Vecchi, *Mostra delli Tuoni*, p. 22. Vecchi's cleffing is g2, c2, c3, F3.
the cadences on F are plagal. At first glance $b\ g^2\ B$ appears to be a transposition of the plagal Lydian mode, and Zarlino and Vecchi mention this possibility, but with Vecchi adding that this transposition is not in use ('Sesto tuono trasportato una alto, ma non è in uso'). The arrangement of tones and semitones for the plagal scale (F–F) in Nisi quia Dominus — Anima nostra is not a direct transposition of any other type, although it does bear some relationship to the Lydian modes with a variable E$\flat$.

$\bullet\ g^2\ C$

This type is represented by the Litany of the BVM [3], which stands out among Stabile’s works for its lack of cadential variety. The six closed formulae irregularly alternated between two choirs all cadence on the final C. This indicates a functional composition, simple and easy to perform and possible for a large group of people to learn off by heart. The only cadential variation occurs at the conclusion of the tutti section, where cadences on G–D–G–C occur. The plagal range makes it a direct transposition of Stabile’s tonal type for Mode 8 ($c\ G$), but while the flat seventh of the Mixolydian mode has largely been removed from the polyphonic sections through the use of B$\sharp$, there is no indication that it is to be removed from the chanted sections. $b\ g^2\ C$ is not a common type and is not included in any of the modal collections discussed by Powers except as a subsidiary of Mode 5 in Lassus’s cycle Lagrime di San Pietro. Vecchi specifies this cleffing and final for Mode 8 transposed up a fourth but says that it is little used ('ma poco usato').

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54Christus Jesus splendor ($b\ g^2\ B$) by Luca Marenzio also concludes on a final of B$\flat$. The range of this is also plagal, and cadences on the final are likewise largely avoided. In fact all other cadences fall on the fifth, which is the only other cadence point apart from the final in this motet. A modern edition of this work can be found in Luca Marenzio: Opera Omnia, ii, p. 62.

55Zarlino, On the Modes, p. 72, and Vecchi, Mostra de$\grave{l}$i Tuoni, p. 22.

56Powers, ‘Tonal Types’, p. 448, Table 4. Lassus’s cycle of 21 spiritual madrigals are arranged in groups of subsets representing the eight modes and within these subsets, the third of four, the second of three, or the first of two, ends on the fifth. The last of the 21 forms a non-modal conclusion.

57Vecchi, Mostra de$\grave{l}$i Tuoni, p. 26. Vecchi’s cleffing is g2, c2, c3, F3.
The type $\flat g2F$ has no corresponding scale pattern in the Christmas cycle. In other cycles this type often represents Mode 5.\textsuperscript{58} In Stabile’s motets there is a noticeable regularity in the range with all Cantus voices extending from F–G and Tenor voices from F–A and cadences are mainly on the final and the fifth. One of the works in this type, the *Hymnus de gloria paradisi*, is particularly restricted in its cadence notes and shows some tonal organization. All the cadences at the ends of phrases, with two exceptions, are on either the fifth or the final. The exceptions, both with dominant functions, occur at b. 21, where the cadence on the submediant (D), is followed by a chord of G at the beginning of the next phrase, and at b. 73 where the cadence falls on G, the supertonic. This latter cadence, due to a lack of the suspension formula, is not so important but it also has a dominant function, since the next phrase beginning on a chord of G immediately returns to a field of C before cadencing on F at b. 78.

Tonal organization occurs in other ways as well. The opening and closing chords of the five polyphonic sections are arranged as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PARS</th>
<th>OPENING CHORD</th>
<th>CLOSING CADENCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prima</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secunda</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tertia</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quarta</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quinta</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are two tonal types with finals of C. The clef code of the C-based pair bears some similarity to the D-based modes where the high clef grouping represents the plagal mode transposed up an octave and the low clefs, the authentic mode.\textsuperscript{59} Thus $\natural g2F$ and $\natural c1C$

\textsuperscript{58}See Tables 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 12, in Powers, ‘Tonal Types’, for some examples of $\flat g2F$ employed to represent Mode 5 in modally organized collections.

\textsuperscript{59}This clef combination is used by Vecchi, *Mostra delli Tuoni*, pp. 30–33 and was common in the 16th century. Zarlino also used this clefing in his edition of *Istitutioni harmoniche* of 1558 but altered it in his 1573 edition when he transposed the mode down an octave (Zarlino, On the Modes, pp. 83–89).

See also Harold S. Powers, ‘Monteverdi’s Model for a Multimodal Madrigal’, in *In Cantu et in Sermone*, edited by Fabrizio Della Seta and Franco Piperno, Italian Medieval and Renaissance Studies

Footnote cont. overleaf...
g2 C, represents an octave transposition of the plagal mode, and g1 C represents the authentic mode at its regular pitch. Octave transposition is mentioned by the Spanish theorist Francisco de Montanos who says that Mode 5 is found transposed with B♭ to c' and Mode 6 to c". Eucharius Hofmann, a follower of the 12-mode scheme also transposes Mode 5 (with B♭) a fourth downwards (his Mode 11), but Mode 6 a fifth upwards (his Mode 12). While g2 C is a direct transposition of Stabile’s type for Mode 6 (♭ c1 F), g1 C does not contain the same pattern of tones and semitones as Stabile’s type for Mode 5 (♭ g2 F), but rather is a transposition of b g2 F.

Harold Powers asserts an Italian theoretical tradition for assigning g2 C to Mode 7 but a Franco-Flemish tradition for assigning this type to Mode 6. Stabile seems to contradict the so-called Italian tradition with a link between Pastores loquebantur (♭ c1 C) and the Lydian modes also supported by the raised fourth in the opening motive of the Altus and Bassus and repeated by the Cantus and Tenor in the Second Choir. However, the raised fourth is recalled on only one other occasion in the motet at b. 48, and other composers do not necessarily make this association. It may be an idiosyncrasy of this particular motet rather than the tonal type. In both g2 C and g1 C the main cadential notes are the final (C) and fifth (G).

**A MIXTURE OF MODES**

Stabile’s *Nunc dimittis* is in a mixture of major and minor types. It uses the same tonal type as the D-Dorian motets (♭ c1 D) but apart from this, bears very little modal

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2 (Firenze and University of Western Australia, 1989), p. 205. For examples of the use of the octave transposition with high clefs by Giovannelli, G. M. Nanino, and Marenzio, see *Sicut cervus* in Ruggiero Giovannelli, *Sacrarum modulationum ... liber primus 5, 8vv* (Rome, 1593); *Quem vidistis pastores* in G.M. Nanino: *Fourteen Liturgical Works*, p. 33; and *Hodie Christus natus est* and *O beatum pontificem* in Luca Marenzio: *Opera Omnia*, ii, pp. 1 and 86. While it is by no means totally consistent, it is noticeable that many texts associated with Christmas are set in one of the C-based modes, while those associated with Easter are often in one of the Dorian modes.

60See Meier, *The Modes*, p. 115, n. 56.

61See Meier, *The Modes*, p. 115, n. 54.


63Felice Anerio who has composed the fourth and tenth of his *Tenebrae Responsories* in this modal type incorporates no suggestion of the raised fourth in any motive. *Felicis Anerii Romani . . . Responsoria ad Lectiones* (Rome, 1606). I am grateful to Sara Brown for transcriptions of these items.
similarity. The ranges for the Cantus and Tenor in the Nunc dimittis are e'-e" and c–f respectively. This is in accord with both the traditional authentic Dorian or the plagal Mixolydian mode. Victimae paschali, which is clearly in the minor mode (# c1 D), has a cadence pattern heavily reliant on the final of D, with A being the second most important note and with the fifth and minor third being stressed melodically. The Nunc dimittis has few of these features apart from a final of D and the importance of A as a ‘tonal’ centre for the concluding part of the canticle. D features hardly at all either as a cadence point or in the melodic line of the Cantus. The Nunc dimittis quite plainly opens in a major mode with an exordium often found in the eighth mode (see Example 11.2).

**Example 11.2. First verse of Stabile’s Nunc dimittis**
The cadence pattern particularly of the first half is strongly in favour of G and the melodic line of the Cantus emphasizes the dominant (C) of Mode 8. This emphasis on C as a reciting tone can be traced to the chants for this canticle, of which there are
several (LU, pp. 271, 784, 1744 and 1357) and, with the exception of the chant on p. 1744 which begins on F and has a reciting tone of A, the remainder all begin on G and have reciting tones of C. Of these, only one concludes on G (LU, p. 1357), largely because of its antiphon which is in the eighth mode. The other two chants conclude each verse on A, with the intonation of the chant on p. 271 ending on C, and that on p. 784 ending on A. Seeing as this polyphonic setting has two main ‘tonal’ centres, G and A, it shows some relationship to the last two chants, and because the cadence pattern for the first verse follows that of the chant on p. 271 (in the polyphonic setting, the first choir with the intonation cadences on C and the second choir with the choral response cadences on A), this is its probable source.

EXAMPLE 11.3. Chant for the Nunc dimittis (LU, p. 271)

While the cadence pattern of the first verse follows that of the chant, thereafter the motet follows its own pattern. Verse endings, which provide the main structural cadences, occur on A-G-A-A, with the two verses of the Gloria being D-D. While these cadences are in accord with the Dorian mode, D otherwise hardly occurs as a cadence point, the most common being G and A. Cadences on A in the Mixolydian modes, while not frequent, nevertheless do occur. Thus the Mixolydian mode, established at the opening, is maintained until the second half of the Gloria. The first real cadences on D do not occur until bb. 54 and 57 (half way through the Gloria) with G and C continuing to be stressed melodically until then. It is only during the concluding verse of the Gloria that A begins to sound like a ‘tonal’ centre through a series of plagal cadences on that note and, with hindsight, bb. 57 to the end could be regarded as a long dominant preparation for the final cadence on D.

64 See Table 19, p. 320, the types $^4_c1G$ and $^4_g2G$. 
• GENERAL COMMENTS •

In Stabile’s compositions there is an almost equal representation of the major and minor, with the G-Dorian types easily the most preferred in the minor group and the Mixolydian types in the major. Preference for certain tonal types was probably one way in which composers could show individualism. Jonathan Couchman, through his claim that Felice Anerio most often used the Ionian, the Dorian and the Aeolian, must assume that Anerio followed the 12-mode scheme, but he gives no basis for this assumption. Dragoni exhibits a preference for the major modes in his Motectorum (1600), as opposed to 9 in a minor mode. Within the major group, ten are in G-based tonal types and five in F-based types. Ruggiero Giovannelli is another composer who displays a preference for the major mode in his publication of 1593, where eleven motets out of seventeen use one of the major tonal types. Of these, seven are based on F, three on G and one on C.

A wide variety of cadence points is found in most tonal types in Stabile’s music, although the final and the fifth are usually the most prominent. After these, the fourth rather than the third is generally preferred. This is at variance with such theorists as Zarlino, Pontio, and Vecchi, who advocate the third. Table 19 summarizes the cadence points for each tonal type in both the cantus durus and cantus mollis systems. The second column is based on the two most frequent cadential notes in each motet. This is always the final and one other. For types marked with an asterisk there was only one representative example among Stabile’s works, and so statements should not be read as conclusive.

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65 Couchman, ‘Felice Anerio’s music’, p. 329.
66 Ruggiero Giovannelli: Sacrarum modulationum… liber primus 5, 8vv (Rome, 1593).
67 When considering cadence points, I have mainly taken into account cadences concluding on an octave or unison. These involve and 8–7–8 or 6–7–8 progression on one voice and a 2–1 or 5–1 movement in the accompanying voice. These coincide with some articulation in the text and may not necessarily involve the lowest-sounding voice. See also ‘Musica ficta’. For a discussion on the wide variety of cadential points in the music of Josquin, see Leeman L. Perkins, ‘Mode and Structure in the Masses of Josquin’, JAMS, xxvi (1973), pp. 189–239.
68 However, in Stabile’s madrigal in 4 c1 C, Ragion è ben (Il terzo libro de madrigali, 1581), there are also no cadences on F. In Marenzio’s Salve Regina (Opera omnia, i, p. 22) in type g2 A, cadences occur on both C (bb. 29 and 60) and B (b. 56), and in his Nunc facta est salus (Opera omnia, iii, p. 2).
Modes and Tonal Types

Table 19

Regularity of Cadence Points in the Sacred Music of Stabile

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TONAL TYPE</th>
<th>MOST FREQUENT CADENCE POINTS</th>
<th>OTHER CADENCE POINTS</th>
<th>AVOIDED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>♭ c1 D</td>
<td>final 5th 4th</td>
<td>2nd 3rd LN</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>♭ g2 D</td>
<td>final 5th 4th</td>
<td>2nd 3rd LN</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>♭ c1 E</td>
<td>final 4th 6th</td>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>B F D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>♭ g2 F*</td>
<td>final 5th</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>B D G A E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>♭ g2 G</td>
<td>final 5th 4th</td>
<td>2nd 6th LN</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>♭ c1 G</td>
<td>final 5th 4th</td>
<td>2nd 6th LN</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>♭ g2 A</td>
<td>final 4th</td>
<td>3rd 5th 6th LN</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>♭ c1 A</td>
<td>final 3rd</td>
<td>5th LN</td>
<td>B F D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>♭ c1 C*</td>
<td>final 5th</td>
<td>2nd 3rd 6th</td>
<td>B F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>♭ g2 C</td>
<td>final 5th</td>
<td>2nd 3rd 4th 6th</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TONAL TYPE</th>
<th>MOST FREQUENT CADENCE POINTS</th>
<th>OTHER CADENCE POINTS</th>
<th>AVOIDED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>♯ g2 G</td>
<td>final 5th</td>
<td>2nd 3rd 4th LN</td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>♯ c1 G</td>
<td>final 5th 3rd</td>
<td>2nd 4th LN</td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>♯ g2 A*</td>
<td>final 4th</td>
<td>6th LN</td>
<td>E B♭ C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>♯ g2 B♭*</td>
<td>final 5th</td>
<td>2nd 3rd 6th LN</td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>♯ g2 C*</td>
<td>final</td>
<td>2nd 5th</td>
<td>E B♭ F A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>♯ g2 F</td>
<td>final 5th ?3rd</td>
<td>6th LN</td>
<td>E B♭</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>♯ c1 F</td>
<td>final 5th</td>
<td>2nd 3rd 4th 6th</td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cadences on B and E are the most commonly avoided, wherever these notes may occur in the modal scale. E♭ is, however, considered acceptable in the cantus durus system, although it is not used much. B♭ is avoided as a cadence point in both systems although B♭ was of course acceptable in cantus mollis.

Two questions arise as a result of this discussion. First, was there a local tradition among Roman composers which followed the eight-mode rather than the 12-mode scheme, since both Palestrina and Stabile have shown a preference for the eight modes?...
liturgical modes? Second, did Roman composers tend to use the same tonal types to represent each of these traditional modes? Stabile does not follow Palestrina's modal representations slavishly, which suggests that they did not; but until more modally-ordered cycles are uncovered local traditions of usage, if there were any, cannot be established.

* * *

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Part Three

The Sources
This section provides background information on a number of sources as well as listing their contents where known. Included are Stabile’s own sacred publications, anthologies containing the earliest extant publications of any other of his sacred compositions, manuscript sources containing works not otherwise published, and works by other composers included in Volume II of this thesis. The publications and anthologies are listed in order of publication. The manuscript sources are listed in alphabetical order, with the individual items first, followed by the codices. With the exception of the incomplete *Letaniae BMV et Nomine Jesu* (1583), all were used as primary sources in the preparation of my accompanying edition. For translations of the dedications, see Appendix C. Secondary sources, other sacred sources, and secular sources are listed in the next chapter.

The title page and list of contents are spelt as in the original where this is available, followed by a translation of the title page and any comments on the source. Square brackets have been used for any editorial additions to original wording. If microfilm or photocopies have been consulted rather than the original source, this has been noted in brackets after the library holding the original source. Call numbers given are those supplied with the item.

**PRINTED SOURCES**

**LETANIAE BEATÆ MARÆ VIRGINIS ET NOMINIS JESU, 1583**

*LETANIAE / BEATÆ MARÆ / VIRGINIS, ET NOMINIS / IESV. / Vna quatuor Antiphonis, que post officium dicuntur. / AVCTORE ANNIBALE STABILL. / Romæ, in Ecclesia S. Apollinaris Collegij Germanici. / Cappellæ Magistro. / OCTO*
VOCVM / ROMÆ. / Apud Alexandrum Gardanum. / MDLXXXIII. / PERMISSV SVPERIORVM.

Exemplar used: Fabriano, Biblioteca Comunale. Call number not known (photocopy).
Source incomplete.
No dedication. No index. Final page dated Roman Calendar, November, 1583.

Contents: 1
Ave Maria gratia plena [Litany BMV] Quinque vocum, Octo Vocum
              Tenor. Secundus Chorus Tenor
                  Secundus Chorus Bassus
Salve Regina Octo Vocum
Letanie de Jesu Octo Vocum
Ave Regina [Octo Vocum] [Octo Vocum]
Alma Redemptoris Octo Vocum, Secundus Chorus Tenor
Regina cæli, Canon ad unisonum

Litanies of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Name of Jesus, together with four antiphons to be sung after the Office. Composed by Annibale Stabile, choir master in S. Apollinare, Church of the German College, Rome. Eight voices. (Rome, Alessandro Gardano, 1583).

Only one partbook survives from this source, containing both Tenor and Bassus parts. A certain amount of information can be gleaned from the title page. This declares that Stabile was maestro di cappella at the German College in Rome at the time of publication. The title page specifies that the contents include litanies of the Virgin and of the Name of Jesus, together with four antiphons. These items are indeed those in the extant partbook, but with the addition of Ave Maria gratia plena. If the title page is a correct indicator of the contents, then we can assume that all these works make up the complete publication.

The title page also mentions that the compositions are for eight voices, and indeed, the Litany of the BVM, Salve Regina, Litany of Jesus, and Alma Redemptoris are headed ‘Octo Vocum’, with the Ave Regina continuing on the same folio after the Litany of Jesus, so one could assume that it too is for eight voices. Exceptions are the Ave Maria gratia plena and the canon Regina cæli. The former is headed ‘Quinque Vocum’, but Regina cæli is given no voice-number assignment and could be for five or eight voices. Since the works in Stabile’s other publications are arranged according

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1This order is deduced from photocopied pages only. I have not seen the original source.
to the number of voices required, it could be assumed that Regina caeli is also for eight voices. The assigned voice is called Bassus, however, rather than ‘Bassus Primus’ or ‘Bassus Secundus’, so five voices is perhaps a more likely assumption.

Three of these works have survived complete in another source. The two litanies were republished in the Thesaurus Litaniarum (1596) and the Alma Redemptoris was copied into the Pelplin Tablatures. One other voice part of the Ave Maria, the Bassus, survives in a Polish manuscript (see manuscript sources below).

It was not unusual for Marian antiphons and litany settings to be published together. Both the service of Compline (at which Marian antiphons were sung following the blessing) and the performance of litanies had a special association with the season of Lent, particularly in Rome, and also with the main feasts of the Virgin (the Annunciation, Assumption, Nativity of the Virgin, and Coronation). The inclusion of the five-voice Ave Maria in Stabile’s litany publication suggests that this antiphon may likewise have had associations with litany settings since Palestrina has inserted it between the prima and secunda pars of both his four-voice Litanies of the BVM.

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2 O’Regan is incorrect in stating that the three polychoral litanies published in the Thesaurus Litaniarum (1596) were first published in the Letaniae BMV et Nominis Jesu 1583 (O’Regan, ‘Sacred Polychoral Music’ i, p. 178). There is no evidence that the three-choir litany was ever included in the Letaniae BMV et Nominis Jesu 1583.


4 See Palestrina: Le opere complete, xx, pp. 6 and 42.
Annibale Stabile, music master at the German College in the city of Rome. Sacred motets for five, six and eight voices. Book Two (Venice, Angelo Gardano, 1585).

The Liber Secundus is dedicated to Pope Sixtus V. The dedication is dated July 1585, and since the pope was elected on 24 April 1585 this must have been one of the earliest publications dedicated to him. But there is evidence that the publication may have been first put together with a different patron in mind, perhaps the previous pope, Gregory XIII, due to what appears to be a last-minute change of items. In the index of the Altus and Tenor partbooks Obsecro Domine is listed as the first item, whereas in the publication this motet has been replaced by Sancte Pater, a homage motet to Pope Sixtus V. Obsecro Domine appears instead in the Liber Tertius. As usual where varying numbers of voices are involved, the contents in the Liber Secundus are arranged according to the number of voices required (see Table 20). Within this grouping further partial ordering can be observed. The five- and eight-voice motets are listed according to system, cantus durus followed by cantus mollis, with the exception of Sancte Pater. If, however, Obsecro Domine (4 g2 D) had

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5 Two other composers who sought and gained the patronage of this pope were Costanzo Porta who dedicated his Musica canenda . . . liber tertius (Venice, 1585) to Sixtus V, and Palestrina who similarly dedicated both his Lamentationum Hieremiae prophetae liber primus (Rome, 1588) and the Hymni totius anni (Rome, 1589).

6 This is quite possible, since Gregory XIII, who reigned from 1572 to 1585, was particularly sympathetic to the Jesuits under whose direction he set up numerous seminaries. In 1573 he re-founded the German College and endowed it generously. On January 9, 1574, he presented the College with the Church of S. Apollinare, and on April 13, 1580 when he united the German College with the Hungarian College (which he had founded in Rome in 1578), the Church of S. Stefano and S. Maria in Celsano was added to the German College's liturgical responsibilities. See Culley, Jesuits, pp. 18, 26, 28.
remained in its intended position, this ordering would have been undisturbed. Ordering by system is not continued in the six-voice motets, unless there was a deliberate alternation of cantus durus and cantus mollis at the central point in the set. Since this also occurs in the Liber Tertius, it is a possibility. The other conceivable, though less likely, arrangement is according to clefs. For most of the collection, the motets are arranged with high clefs first followed by low clefs. The final three items, however, disrupt this ordering.

**TABLE 20**

**ORDERING IN THE LIBER SECUNDUS (1585)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MOTET</th>
<th>VOICES</th>
<th>SYSTEM</th>
<th>CLEFS</th>
<th>FINAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sancte Pater</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>g2–F3</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ego sum panis — Caro mea — Multi ergo</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>g2–F3</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pacem reliquo vobis</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>g2–F3</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domine ne in furore — Convertere Domine</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>g2–F3</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cum pervenisset Barnabas</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pater Abraham</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>g2–F3</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alma Redemptoris Mater</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>g2–F3</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Que est ista</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>g2–F3</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tollite jugum meum</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>c1–F4</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juste et pie vivamus</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>c1–F4</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apollinaris inclyti</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>c1–F4</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cantantibus organis</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>c1–F4</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veni Sancte Spiritus</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>c1–F4</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tu gloria Jerusalem</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>c1–F4</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stephanus plenus gratia</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>g2–C4</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queramus cum pastoribus</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>g2–F3</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lux perpetua</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>c1–F4</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SACRARUM MODULATIONUM, LIBER TERTIUS, 1589**

CANTVS / ANNIBALIS STABILIS / IN ALMA VRBE COLLEGGII / GERMANICI MYSICAE / MAGISTRI / SACRARVM MODVLATIONVM / Quæ Quinis, Senis, & Octonis / Vocibus concinuntur. / LIBER TERTIVS. / Venetij Apud Angelum Gardanum / M. D. LXXXIX.


**QUINQUE VOCUM.**

| Quam bene magnanimos | 1 |
| Obscero Domine      | 2 |
| Ibiart Apostoli     | 3 |
| Hi sunt qui cum mulieribus | 4 |
| Sub tuum præsidium  | 5 |

**SEX VOCUM.**

| Ego sum vitis vera  | 11 |
| Nisi quia Dominus   | 12 |
| Anima nostra       | 2, pars. 13 |
| Usque modo          | 14 |
| Petite & accipietis | 2, pars. 15 |
Annibale Stabile, music master at the German College in the city of Rome. Sacred motets for five, six and eight voices. Book Three (Venice, Angelo Gardano, 1589)

Scipione Gonzaga (1542–93), the dedicatee, was an important supporter of the literary and musical arts in late 16th century Rome. He belonged to a minor branch of the powerful Gonzaga family and his career in Rome flourished under the energetic leadership of Sixtus V during whose reign Scipione was made Patriarch of Jerusalem, followed shortly afterwards by an elevation to the cardinalate. From his surviving correspondence, it is clear that he was acquainted with most of the prominent musicians in Rome, and indeed one of his roles was as a musical scout for the Gonzaga establishment at Mantua. Many of the best musicians of Rome were present when he took possession of the Church of Santa Maria del Popolo in January 1588. Scipione was also a patron of Francesco Soriano and Luca Marenzio. Marenzio dedicated his only publication of sacred music to him in 1585, and Soriano dedicated his second book of madrigals published in 1592 to Scipione. Scipione also knew Giovanni Maria Nanino, a close friend of Stabile, since he comments on Nanino’s newly published madrigals in a letter to Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga in Mantua in January 1586. In the dedication, Stabile says that Scipione Gonzaga had already granted him a number of favours ‘when a long time ago I was in the company of the laity . . . .’ This association could date either from the end of the 1560s or after 1572. In the 1560s Scipione was a guest of Cardinal Ippolito d’Este at the Villa d’Este at Tivoli for a

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9Motecta Festorum Totius Anni (Rome, Gardano, 1585).
10Pitoni, Notitia, pp. 93–94.
11Fenlon, ‘Cardinal Scipione Gonzaga’, p. 236. Nanino’s Il terzo libro de madrigali a cinque voci (Venice, Angelo Gardano, 1586) was dedicated to Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga.
short period during his student years, when his musical interests were already apparent. The other possibility is after 1572 when Scipione returned permanently to Rome and became once again involved with the artistic community at the Villa d’Este. The years after 1572 are probably the more likely time for Scipione to be in a position to grant favours rather than in his student years.

The contents of the Liber Tertius are also ordered according to the number of voices required. Within this grouping, the five- and eight-voice motets are listed according to system. For the five-voice works, cantus durus precedes cantus mollis but for the eight-voice items this arrangement is reversed. The six-voice motets again provide an alternation of system at the central point. Arrangement according to clefs is less apparent in this instance. The six- and eight-voice pieces are arranged with low clefs first followed by high clefs, but this order is disturbed in the five-voice motets, by the placement of the low-cleffed Sub tuum præsidium in the middle of the high-clef motets.

**TABLE 21**

ORDERING IN THE LIBER TERTIUS (1589)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MOTET</th>
<th>VOICES</th>
<th>SYSTEM</th>
<th>CLEFS</th>
<th>FINAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Quam bene magnanimos</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>g2-c4</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obsecro Domine</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>g2-c4</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ibant apostoli</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>g2-F3</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hi sunt qui cum mulieribus</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>g2-F3</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub tuum præsidium</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>c1-F4</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notas mihi fecisti — Tu es qui restites</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>g2-F3</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salve Regina — Ela ergo — Et Jesum</td>
<td>5-4-5</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>g2-F3</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sicut cervus</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>c1-F4</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ego sum radix vera</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>c1-F4</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nisi quia Dominus — Anima nostra</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>g2-F3</td>
<td>B♭</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Usque modo — Petite et accipietis</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>g2-c4</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hi sunt qui venerunt — Dignus es</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>c1-F4</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pastores loquebantur</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>c1-F4</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victimae paschali</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>c1-F4</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veni sponsa Christi</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>g2-c4</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*HYMNUS DE GLORIA PARADISI, 1590*

DISCANTVS / ANNIBALIS STA- / BILIS IN ALMA VRBE / COLLEGII GERMANICI / MVSICÆ MAGISTRI, / Hymnus quatuor vocum, / DE GLORIA

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PARADISI: / PETRI DAMIANI CAR- / DINALIS OSIENSIS, EX DI- / ctis D. Augustini. DILINGÆ, 90 / Apud IOANNEM MAYER. / Anno M. D. XC.

Exemplar used: Krakow, Biblioteka Jagiellonska, Mus. ant. pract S 1285 (microfilm). 4 partbooks. No dedication. No index. Source may be bound with other items since page numbers added by hand begin at page 131 in all partbooks.

Annibale Stabile, music master at the German College in the city of Rome. Hymn for four voices of the glory of paradise by Peter Cardinal Damian of Ostia based on the words of St Augustine (Dillingen, Johann Meyer, 1590)13

Apart from the Liber Secundus and Liber Tertius, the lost Liber Primus and Lettanie a 4, and the now incomplete Letaniae BMV et Nominis Jesu, this is the only other book of sacred works published by Stabile himself. It is also the only publication to be printed outside Rome or Venice. The reason for its issue from Dillingen almost certainly is due to the presence of a Jesuit College in that city, especially since music was known to hold an important place at this institution.14 The title page of this work indicates that Stabile was still maestro di cappella at the German College in Rome in 1590. Unfortunately there is no dedication and the actual date of issue is not given, so how far into 1590 he held this position cannot be ascertained.

At the beginning of the 20th century Robert Eitner noted that the Königliche Bibliothek in Berlin held a copy of this source.15 This library is now called the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (in between it was known successively as the Preußische Staatsbibliothek, the Öffentliche Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek and after 1954 as the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek), and although this item is no longer held there, it has recently been rediscovered, along with other items formerly held at the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, at the Biblioteka Jagiellonska in Krakow. 16 This copy of the Hymnus de gloria paradisi is quite clearly the same item that was previously held in Berlin since the verso of the title page of each partbook bears the stamp of the Preußische Staatsbibliothek. Eitner also noted that the Hymnus de gloria paradisi existed in manuscript at the Berlin Kircheninstitut. This may refer to the three manuscript copies which are now held at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (see manuscript sources below).

13 Translation of title page by Margaret Marsh.
14 See Culley, Jesuits, p. 16.
15 Eitner, Quellen-Lexicon, ix, p. 236.
16 A list of these recently catalogued items was conveyed by Stanley Boorman to Professor John Steele.
HARMONIAE MISCELLÆ / CANTIONVM SA- / CRARVM, AB
EXQVISITISSIMIS / ETATIS NOSTRÆ MUSICIS CVM QVINQVE / & Sex
vocibus concinnatæ, plerique omnes novæ, nec dum in Ger- / mania typis scriptæ:
nunc autem edite studio / LEONARDI LECHNERI Athesini. / Cantus / Cum
gratia & privilegio Casarea Maiestatis &c. / NORIBERGÆ, / TYPIS
GERLACHIANIS.

Exemplar used: Brussels, Bibliotheca Royale Albert 1er, Fétilis 1619 (microfilm).
6 partbooks. Dedicated to the excellent and honourable gentleman, Herr Paul Dulner, citizen of
Nuremberg, kinsman, patron, and best friend. Nuremberg, Feast of St Matthew the Apostle, A.D. 1583.

Contents:
QUINQUE VOCUM
I. Dilige solitudinem. Orlandus de Lasso.
II. Ad te levavi. Philippus de Monte.
III. Domine a lingua dolosa. Cipriano de Rore.
IV. Fuit homo missus á Deo. Hannibal Paduano.
VI. Amen amen dico vobis. Orlandus de Lasso.
VII. Orlandus de Lasso.
IX. Sperent in te omnes. Constantius Porta.
X. Sicut ablactatus. Marcus Antonius Ingegnerius.
XI. Sicutque credidit. Constantius Porta.
XII. Orlandus de Lasso.
XIII. 2. Cor meum conturbatum est me. Ferdinando de Lasso.
XIV. Orlandus de Lasso.
XV. 2. Domine non est exaltatum cor meum. Constantius Porta.
XVIII. 2. Beata Dei genetrix Maria. Andreas Gabrieli.
XIX. 2. Amem amen dico vobis. Ferdinando de Lasso.
XXIII. 2. Cum gratia & privilegio Casarea Maiestatis &c. / NORIBERGÆ, / TYPIS
GERLACHIANIS.

SEX VOCUM
XXII. Hodie Christus natus est. Cypriano de Rore.
XXIII. Deus, Deus meus. Philippus de Monte.
XXIV. Confirma hoc Deus. Orlandus de Lasso.
XXV. Auditam fac mihi mane misericordiam. Ferdinando de Lasso.
XXVI. Quiescat vox tua a ploratu. Jacobus de Vvert.
XXVII. Revertentur filii tui ad terminos suos. Don Ferdinando de las Infantas.
XXVIII. Victimæ paschali laudes. Guilielmus Prevost.
XXIX. Cypriano de Rore.
XXIII. Philippus de Monte.
XXIV. Orlandus de Lasso.
XXV. Ferdinando de Lasso.
XXVII. Jacobus de Vvert.
XXVIII. Don Ferdinando de las Infantas.
XXIX. Guilielmus Prevost.
XXIX. Aspice Domine de sede sancta tua.
Antonius Morari.

XXX. Susanna, ab improbis senibus.
Iohannes Petraloysius Prrenestinus.

2. Postquam autem falso corum.

XXXI. Ad te levavi oculos meos.
Antonius Gossvvinus.

XXXII. Viri Galilrei.
Theodorus Riccius.

XXXIII. Gemma Carbunculi in ornamento auri.
Constantius Porta.

XXXIII I. Laetatus sum in his que dicit sunt mihi.
Georgius Florius.

XXXV. Hae est dies quam fecit Dominus.
Antonius Gossvvinus.

XXXVI. Ascendente Jesu in naviculam.
Iohannes Petraloysius Prrenestinus.

2. Domine, salve nos.
Iacobus de Vvert.

XXXVII. O lux beata trinitas.
Alfonso Ferabosco.

2. Deo patri sit gloria.

XXXVIII. Aspice Domine.
Hippolitus Baccusius.

2. Plorans ploravit in nocte.

XXXIX. O lux beata trinitas.
Hamnibal Meloni.

2. Deo patri sit gloria.

XXL. Si bona suscepimus de manu Domini.
Leonardus Lechner Athesinus.

2. Nudus egressus sum.

XXLI. In tenebris nostrre & densa caligine.
Leonardus Lechner Athesinus.

Si bona suscepimus de manu Domini.

2. Nudus egressus sum.

Miscellaneous harmonies of sacred songs composed by the most accomplished musicians of our time, for five and six voices; most of them completely new and not yet printed in Germany; now edited under the care of Leonard Lechner Athesinus. With the favour and patronage of the Emperor etc (Nuremberg, Gerlach Press)17

This is a general collection of motets made by Leonhard Lechner, one of the leading German composers of the late 16th century, and at the time a teacher at the St Lorenz school in Nuremberg. This anthology is the only source for Stabile’s Quam pulchra —Favus distillans.

The contents of Lechner’s anthology are classified according to the number of voices required. Included are items by Italian, Spanish, and Flemish composers as well as Lechner himself. Apart from Cipriano de Rore and Annibale Padovano, and excluding Guilielmus Prevost about whom little is known, all the composers were contemporaries of Lechner.18 Some were composers with whom he had come into

17 Translation of title page by the Rev. Father Kevin McKone.

18 Guilielmus (Guillaume?) Prevost may have been a Flemish composer. He was almost certainly resident in Nuremberg at some stage since his only composition in the anthology, Excellit reliquas — Ergo tuus laudes nostrre celebrate is dedicated to Hieronymo Bomgartnero, also resident in Nuremberg (‘Hieronymo Bomgartnero, Amplissimo Praestantissimoq3 Reip. Norib. Septem viro, faciebat

Guilielmus Prevost’). The seven men mentioned in this dedication may have been the same seven men to whom Lechner had dedicated a book of partsongs in 1577 and they may also have been members of a musical society which met under the direction of Lechner in Nuremberg (Susan Gattuso, ‘16th-
contact during his earlier years as a chorister at Landshut and Munich, some were composers whom he may have met or whose music he may have heard on his sojourn in Italy in the early 1570s, and others were composers whose music was known in Germany or who worked in Germany. On his title page he describes them as ‘the most accomplished musicians of our time’. Stabile’s inclusion along with Palestrina, the only other Roman composer in this anthology, gives some indication of the standing which Stabile must have enjoyed as a representative of the Roman School.

**COROLLARIUM CANTIONUM (NUREMBERG, 1590)**

*COROLLARIVM / CANTIONVM SACRARVM / QVINQVE, SEX, SEPTEM, OCTO, ET / PLVRIVM VOCVM, DE FESTIS PRÆ- / CIPVIS ANNI / Quarum quædam anteh, à præstantissimis nostræ ætatis Musicis, in Italia separatim e†itæ sunt, / quædam vero nuperrimë concinnatæ, nec uspiam typis excusæ, at nunc in unum quasi cor- / pus redactæ studio & opera FRIDERICI LINDNER! &c. / ALTVS / NORIBERGÆ, / In officina typographica Cathetriae Gerlachiae, anno 1590.*

Exemplar used: Brussels, Bibliotheque Royale Albert 1st, Fétis 1696 A (microfilm).

6 partbooks. Dedicated to the Senators of Nuremburg.

Contents:

*De Nativitate, Circumcisione & Epiphaniis Domini.*

I. Quem vidistis pastores. à 8. Marci Antonii Ingignerii.
II. Beata viscera Mariae. à 8. Marci Antonii Ingignerii.
III. Quem vidistis pastores. à 7. Iacobi Corfini.
V. Hodie Christus natus. à 6. Renati del Mel.
VI. Verbum caro factus est. à 6. Iacobi Corfini.
VII. Hodie nobis coelorum. à 6. Philippæ de Monte.
VIII. 2. Gloria in excelsis Deo. à 5. Philippæ de Monte.

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Century Nuremberg", in *The Renaissance: From the 1470's to the end of the 16th century*, edited by Iain Fenlon, vol. ii of Man & Music (Houndmills, Basingstoke, 1989), p. 289). The motet by Prevost is the only motet, apart from *Annus finit iter* by Lechner, to include a dedication. The entry in Eitner (Eitner, *Quellen-Lexicon*, Band 7, p. 65), mentions that a Guillaume Prevost was a composer in the first half of the 16th century, and that the same name was mentioned as a known composer in 1498. This last date seems unlikely if Prevost was resident in Nuremberg after 1570 when Lechner was also there, but it is certainly possible that Prevost was born as early as 1510. It is also possible that the *Missa Ces fascheulx sote* by a Guillaume Prevost mentioned by Eitner, published in the *Liber decem missarum* (Lyons, Moderne, 1532) and reprinted in 1540, and this work published in Lechner’s anthology, were by the same person (see also Samuel F. Pogue, *Jaques Moderne, Lyons Music Printer of the Sixteenth Century* (Geneva, 1969), p. 117).
2. Dies sanctificatus.

Cum esset desponsata.

In illo tempore.

Omnes de Saba venient.

Surge illuminare.

Nunc dimittis servum.

Beata es virgo Maria.

Ne timeas Maria.

Ecce ancilla Domini.

Quasi Cedrus exaltata.

Quasi oliva.

Nunc dimittis servum.

Pueri Bebrreorum.

Pueri Bebrreorum vestimenta.

Angelus Domini descen:

Angelus Domini.

Et introeuntes.

Tulerunt Dominum.

Mane nobiscum Domine.

Non turbetur cor vestrum.

Regna tene deum et regna.

Ascendo ad patrem.

Infesto Ascensionis Domini.

Infesto Pentecostes.
De sancta Trinitate.

| XLII. | Duo Seraphim clamabant.  |
| XLIII. | Tibi laus, tibi gloria.  |
| XLIII. | Gloria Patri, qui creavit.  |
| | 2. Te decet laus.  |
| XLV. | O altitudo divitiarum.  |
| XLVI. | Te Deum laudamus.  |

| In festo Ioannis Baptistae. |
| XLVII. | Sancte Ioannes Baptistae.  |

| In feris Petri & Pauli Apostolorum. |
| XLVIII. | Tu es Petrus.  |
| XLIX. | Solve jubente Deo.  |
| | 2. Quodcumque ligaveris super terram.  |
| L. | Tu es Petrus.  |
| | 2. Quodcumque ligaveris.  |

De Apostolis & Sanctis communiter.

| I. | Hi sunt qui venerunt.  |
| | 2. Dignus es Domine.  |
| II. | Laudem dicite Deo.  |
| III. | Cantabant sancti.  |
| III. | Timete Dominum.  |
| IV. | Gaudent in coelis.  |
| VI. | Ecce ego mittovos.  |
| | 2. Dum lucem habetis.  |
| VII. | Ibant Apostoli.  |

De Adventu Domini.

| LVIII. | Ecce venit desideratus.  |
| IX. | Canite tumba in Syon.  |
| X. | Transite per portas.  |
| XI. | Hierusalem, cito veniet.  |
| | 2. Ego enim sum.  |
| XII. | Veni Domine & noli.  |
| | 2. Excita Domine.  |
| XIII. | Canite tumba in Sion.  |
| | 2. Rorate coeli desuper.  |

Ad placitum.

| LXIII. | Deus, Deus meus ad te.  |
| LXV. | Benedictus Dominus.  |
| LXVI. | Egredimini & videte.  |
| LXVII. | Domine Deus meus in te.  |
| LXVIII. | O fili Dei succurre.  |
| LXIX. | O gloriose Domine.  |

A Garland of sacred songs for five, six, seven, eight and more voices, for the principal feasts of the year. Some of which have been previously published separately in Italy by the most outstanding musicians of our time; others, however, have been recently
composed and never before published; now edited into one collection by the effort and zeal of Frederick Lindner (Nuremberg, Catherine Gerlach, 1590) 19

The Corollarium cantionum is the only source for two motets Beata es Virgo Maria and Mane nobiscum Domine. The collection was put together by Friedrich Lindner, Cantor at St Aegidien, at the request of his publisher for use in churches and schools. It includes items suitable for the main feasts of the church’s year.

Lindner also put together two other collections of music for this purpose, the Sacra cantiones (1585), and the Continuatio cantionum (1588). The sources for his repertoire, as he states in the dedication of the Continuatio cantionum, were printed sets of partbooks mainly from Italy and, as he further states on the title pages of both the 1588 and 1590 anthologies, other items ‘which had been recently composed and never before published’. Seventeen composers are represented in the 1590 anthology, most of whom are Italian. Those who have some association with Rome include Palestrina (9 items), Rinaldo del Mel (5 items), and Stabile (5 items). The Stabile items include three motets from his Liber Tertius,20 and Beata es Virgo Maria and Mane nobiscum Domine. It is possible that these last two may have been first published in Stabile’s Liber Primus since Lindner’s earlier 1588 collection includes three motets from Stabile’s Liber Secundus,21 and Lindner did state that some of his sources were printed sets of partbooks from Italy. Other Roman composers represented in the 1588 anthology are Marenzio (3 items), Rinaldo del Mel (4 items), Fernando de las Infantas (1 item), and Felice Anerio (1 item).

• THESAURUS LITANIARUM, 1596


Exemplar used: München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 4 Mus. pr. 59 (microfilm).

19 Translation of title page by the Rev. Father Kevin McKone.
20 Ibaru Apostoli, Hi sunt qui venerunt — Dignus es Domine, and Victinumus paschali.
21 Pacem relinquo vobis, Juste et pie vivamus, and Queramus cum pastoribus.
8 partbooks. Dedicated to the Congregations of Munich, Ingolstadt, Dillingen, Augsburg, Innsbruck, Hall, Regensburg, Lucerne, Fribourg in Switzerland and Brunntum, established in the province of Upper Germany. Munich, on the day sacred to the Virgin Annunciata, 1596.

Contents:

LITANIAE, QUÆ PRIMO LIBRO CONTINENTUR.

Quatuor Vocum.
Ferdinando de Lasso. I
Rudolphus de Lasso. II
Georgius Victorinus. III
Quinque Vocum.
Orlandus de Lasso. IV
Sex Vocum.
Filenus Cornazzanus. V

LITANIE DE VENERABILI SACRAMENTO.

Septem Vocum.
Cæsarde Zacharijs Cremonensis. VI
Octo Vocum.
Annibal Stabilis. VII
Incertus Author. VIII
Incertus. IX
Incertus. X

CANTIO SACRA DE NOMINE IESU.

Sex Vocum.
Philippus de Monte. XI

Prima pars O Bone Iesu.
2. Ergo Iesu.
3. O amantissime Iesu.
Textus Litaniarum de nomine Iesu.
Alius de eodem.

LITANIAE, QUÆ LIBRO SECUNDO CONTINENTUR.

Quatuor Vocum.
Ioannes Pet. Aloysius Prænestinus. I
Ieannes Pet. Aloys. Prænest. II
Ioan. Pet. Aloys. Prænest. VI
Iosephus Ascanius. XI
Philippus de Monte. XII
Constantius Porta. XIII
Orlandus de Lasso. XIV
Philippus de Monte. XV
Georgius Victorinus. XVI
Filenus Cornazzanus. XVII
Annibal Stabilis. XVIII
Renatus de Melle. XIX

Quinque Vocum.
Conratus Stuberus. XXIX
Ioannes Leo Haslernus. XXX
Ioannes Leo Haslernus. XXXI
Iosephus Ascanius. XXXII
Annibal Stabilis. XXXIII
Octo Vocum.
Orlandus de Lasso. XXXIV
Iosephus Ascanius. XXXV
Iosephus Ascanius. XXXVI
Gregorius Aychinger. XXXVII
Annibal Stabilis. XXXVIII
Incertus. XXXIX
Annibal Stabilis. XL

Novem Vocum.
Orlandus de Lasso. XLI
Orlandus de Lasso. XLII
Iosephus Ascanius. XLIII
Martinus Rieberus. XLIV
Georgius Victorinus. XLV

Duodecim Vocum.
Incertus. XLI

Decem Vocum.
Incertus. XLII

Orlandus de Lasso. XLIII
Martinus Rieberus. XLIV
Georgius Victorinus. XLV
Treasury of Litanies by the principal musicians of the age in praise of the most blessed name of Jesus and in honour of all the heavenly saints, composed for four, five, six and more voices, collected for the use of the true church by the effort and zeal of Georg Victorinus of the Church of St Michael, Society of Jesus, Munich, Music Prefect (Munich, Adam Berg, with the grace and patronage of the Emperor, 1596).

The Thesaurus Litaniarum contains the first works by Stabile to appear posthumously. As well as the two litanies first published in Stabile’s Letaniae 1583, also included are the five-voice Litany of the BVM and the Litany of the BVM for three choirs. This anthology was edited by Georg Victorinus, at that time master of the choir at the Jesuit college in Munich. The Congregations to whom it is dedicated
The Primary Sources

were spread throughout what is now Germany, Austria, and Switzerland. More specifically he says that his thesaurus was dedicated to the Sodalities of the Virgin ('Parthenijs Sodalitijs') in these various places. Sodalities were pious societies, first established by the Jesuits for students at the Roman College, and dedicated to the service of the Virgin Mary. The early Jesuits supported their formation in their schools and among the laity, and music always played an important part in their meetings. The only other composers with Roman associations represented in the anthology, apart from Stabile, were Victoria, Palestrina, and Rinaldo del Mel.

• MOTECTA OCTONIS VOCIBUS ANTONII GUALTERII, 1604

ALTVS / PRIMI CHORI / MOTECTA / OCTONIS VOCIBVS / ANTONII GUALTERII / IN TERRA D. DANIELIS / Musices Magistri, / LIBER PRIMVS. / VENETIIS, / Apud Iacobum Vincentium. MDCIIII.

Exemplar used: München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 4 Mus. pr. 48/7 (microfilm).
8 Partbooks. Dedicated to Marcus Cornelius, Bishop of Padua.

Contents:

| iubilate Deo                                      | 1 | Confitemini Domino                           | 10 |
| Omnes gentes                                     | 2 | Laudate Dominum                              | 11 |
| Ascendit Deus                                    | 3 | Laudabo Dominum                              | 12 |
| In ccelesti Hierarchia                           | 4 | Ego flos campi                                | 13 |
| Queramus cum Pastoribus                          | 5 | Repleantur os meum                           | 14 |
| Consolamini Pastores                            | 6 | Deus misereatur nostri [Stabile]             | 15 |
| Benedictus Dominus                              | 7 | Adoramus te Christe                          | 16 |
| Ego dixi Domine                                 | 8 | Beatissimus Marcus                           | 17 |
| Cantate Domino                                  | 9 |

Motets for eight voices by Antonio Gualteri, music master in the area of D. Daniel, Book One (Venice, G. Vincenti, 1604).

22Bruntrutum has not been identified. Possibly Brunswick? See also the translator's notes accompanying the dedication in Appendix C of this thesis.
Antonio Gualteri's eight-voice collection of 1604 contains 16 motets by himself and one by Stabile.24 This is the only known source for Stabile's psalm-setting Deus misereatur nostri. I have not been able to discover any connection between Stabile and Gualteri, who seems to have spent his working life in Northern Italy in the Republic of Venice.25 From 1608 until 1625 he held various positions at Monselice near Padua. On the 20 November 1633 he was appointed maestro di musica at the Pietà, a well-known orphanage-conservatory in Venice,26 and from 4 January 1637 he was choir master at the seminary of S. Antonio di Castello, also in Venice. Prior to 1608, he was in the service of Gasparo Campo of Rovigo. The dedication of this, his only eight-voice publication and also his earliest, is to Marcus Cornelius, Bishop of Padua who he says had encouraged him from his early years.

• MISSA, MOTECTA, MAGNIFICAT ET LITANIAE BMV, SALVATORIS SACCHI, 1607


Exemplar: Verona, Biblioteca capitolare, 72 (microfilm).

9 Partbooks. Dedicated to Hieronymus Archbishop Matthew, Bishop of Tuscania and Viterbo. Pages 30 and 31 were missing from the microfilm of the Cantus Primus Chorus, but are in the original. The library has been notified of the error. The following index is from the Altus Secundi Chori partbook. Page numbers vary in other partbooks as does the order of the last two items.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index Salvatoris Sacchi</th>
<th>Diversorum Auctorum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O Quanta digna gratia,</td>
<td>Lauda Jerusalem,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missa sine nomine</td>
<td>pag.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaudeamus omnes</td>
<td>5. O altitudo divitiarum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veni sponsa Christi</td>
<td>6. O gloriosa Domina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veni Creator Spiritus</td>
<td>16. Lux fulgabat hodie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tu septiformus</td>
<td>19. Surrexit Pastor bonus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hostem repellas</td>
<td>22. Sancta Maria succurre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>23. Iste Sanctus ab adolescentia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

24 For an example of Gualteri’s style, a transcription of his motet Queramus cum pastoribus can be found in vol. ii, p. 610 of this thesis and is discussed on p. 145.


Mass, motets, magnificat, and litanies of the BVM by Salvatore Sacchi of Cirinolano in Puglia master of the choir in the City of Tuscania. With Basso continuo for the organ, and also ten motets by diverse excellent composers. Eight voices. To the most Illustrious and Reverend D. D. Hieronymus Archbishop Matthew of Tuscania and Viterbo (Rome, Bartholomeo Zannetti, 1607).

This contains Stabile’s motet *Nos autem gloriari*. Very little is known about Sacchi, but he does make a number of comments about himself in the dedication and from this some assumptions can be made concerning his connection with Stabile.27

Sacchi was born probably in Cirinolano in Puglia. He arrived in Rome, after spending some time as composer, teacher and choirmaster in various unnamed parts of Italy, and was appointed *maestro di cappella* at Santissima Trinità near the Ponte Sisto where, he says, a sodality was also established. This may have been the Arciconfraternità della Santissima Trinità, one of the most important confraternities at the end of the 16th century.28 He remained at Santissima Trinità for five years after which he was forced through illness to leave for the healthier climate of ‘Hortanæ’.29 He does not say how long he remained there, but towards the end of 1606 he moved to the city of Tuscania,30 where he was appointed *maestro di cappella* at ‘their foremost church’ consecrated to St James [*Iacobo*].

This anthology is wholly devoted to compositions by Roman composers, and the thread which draws them all together may have been their association with the Arciconfraternità della Santissima Trinità. The composers, apart from Sacchi and Stabile, are Francesco Soriano, Gio. Maria Nanino, Ruggiero Giovannelli, Arcangelo

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27 For the dedication, see Appendix C, p. 426.
29 This may be Orte, a town situated about 50km north of Rome.
30 Tuscania was at one stage also known as Toscanella. The change from Tuscania to Toscanella may have occurred soon after the time of publication, since a map of ‘Tuscia Suburbicaria’ painted on to the walls of the Map Gallery in the Vatican Museum gives the place name of this town as ‘Tuscania nunc Toscanella’. Toscanella has now returned to its original name of Tuscania.
Crivelli, Bernadino Nanino, Theofilo Gargari, Gio. Troiano, Gio. Francesco Anerio, and Cesare Zoilo. Three of these, Troiano, Giovannelli and G. B. Nanino, are also included in a manuscript believed to have been copied in the early 17th century for use in Santissima Trinità, and the archives of the German College record a visit by the Confraternity of Santissima Trinità to the College on September 27 1592 when Giovannelli was maestro di cappella. These visits also occurred when Stabile was maestro. Soriano had some connection with this confraternity since he and Dragoni were appointed arbitrators in a dispute over rates of pay between Asprilio Pacelli and the confraternity in 1595.

The works in this anthology may have been performed in the oratory at Santissima Trinità. Sacchi says of his own compositions, that they were ‘a number of sacred songs put by, composed with great labour in various places and times for the glory and honour of God Most High’. He has obviously endeavoured to put together a representative collection of his own works, for the reason that one example from most of the main genres is included. These include a mass, magnificat, litany, hymn, two motets, a homage motet, and a dialogue.

Another possible connection between these composers is their membership of the Compagnia dei musici di Roma. Apart from Gargari, Cesare Zoilo, and Sacchi all the

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34[1585, 7 April] ‘Post Vesperas missi sunt ad SS. Trinitatis oratorium ut audiant musicam illam’, cited by Casimiri, ‘Disciplina’, xix, p. 166, and in March 1583 Lauretano records that the students of the College went to hear the music at S. Trinità or S. Marcello (‘andano à sentir la Musica della Trinità, ò di S. Marcello.’ Lauretano, *Diario*, p. 65).
35Three pieces from Sacchi’s anthology also occur in a manuscript copied in the early seventeenth century (Rvat, Giulia XIII 25) for use in the Cappella Giulia. These pieces are: T. Gargari, *Sancta Maria succurre* (ff. 8v – 9); G. Troiano, *Iste sanctus ab adolescentibus* (ff. 7v – 8); and A. Stabile, *Nos autem gloriari* (ff. 20v – 21). See O’Regan, ‘Sacred Polychoral Music’, i, pp. 114–15. O’Regan also notes that this is the earliest Rvat, Giul. manuscript to have an organ part.
36A transcription of the dialogue and one of the motets, *Veni sponsa Christi*, can be found in vol. ii of this thesis, pp. 561 and 577. For discussion on Sacchi’s *Veni sponsa Christi*, see ‘The Middle Period’, pp. 184–186.
other composers were members of this confraternity and are named as such along with a number of other composers in the book of madrigals _Le gioie_. Since Annibale Zoilo, the father of Cesare, was named in this same publication, it is very likely that Cesare was a member at some stage. Sacchi and Gargari are both likely contenders for membership, Sacchi because he was _maestro_ at Santissima Trinità, and Gargari because he was an alto at S. Luigi dei Francesi from 1592 to 1597, in the Cappella Pontificia from 1601 to 1648, and organist at S. Lorenzo in Damaso in 1601.

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**PROMPTUARII MUSICI, 1611**


Exemplar used: München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 4 Mus. pr. 450 (microfilm).

9 partbooks. Dedicated to the Consuls and to the whole Senatorial Order of the free imperial city of Speyer. Speyer, November 22, 1611.

Contents

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**A Quinque.**

Hierusalem cito veniet. Francisci Bianciardi. 1.
Hierusalem plantabilis vincam. Augustini Agazarij. 2.
Surginte pastores. Francisci Bianciardi. 9.
Hodie Christus natus est. Simonis Molinarij. 10.
Eli quid fecisti nobis. Bernhardi Vanni. 25.
Miserere mei Deus. Alexandri Horologi. 41.
Insurrexerunt in me Viri iniqui. Simonis Molinarij. 65.
Videns Christum in patibulo. Alexandri Horologi. 66.
Vere languores nostros ipse tuli. Simonis Molinarij. 67.

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**A Sex.**

Canite tuba in Sion. Curtij Valcampi. 3.
Exurgat Deus. Guillemi Arnonij. 4.

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37 _Le gioie_ was published in 1589. See 'Chronological Survey', pp. 24–25 for more information on this confraternity. See also Summers, 'The Compagnia dei Musici di Roma', pp. 7–25.

Parvulus Filius. 
Angelus ad Pastores ait. 
Gloria in excelsis Deo. 
Quem vidistis pastores. cum 2. parte. 
Tribus miraculis. 
Senex puerum portabat. 
Ave gratia plena. 
Ante oculos tuos Domine. cum 2. parte. 
Domine Jesu Christe. 
Miserere mei Deus. 
Domine ante te. 
Domine Deus meus. cum 2. parte. 
Illumina oculos meos. 
Extollens vocem quaedam mulier. 
Judica me Domine. 
Gloria laus & honor. cum 2. parte. 
0 suavitas & dulcedo. 
Morti tue tam amare. 

A Septem. 
Ecce dies veniunt. cum 2. parte. 
Hodie Christus natus est. 
Hodie nobis cælorum rex. 
Stellam quam viderant magi. 
Beata es Virgo Maria. 
Intelligite insipientes. 
Dominus illuminatio mea. 

A Octo. 
Canite tuba in Sion. 
Letentar coeli & exultet terra. 
Hierusalem gaude. 
O Jesu mi dulcissime. 
Hodie nobis cælorum rex. 
Claritas Domini. 
Cum natus esset Jesus. 
Parvulus hodie natus est. 
Quem vidistis pastores. 
Sit nomen Domini benedictum. 
Gloria tibi Domine. 
Gaudens gaudebo. 
Obscero vos Fratres. 
Domine Jesu Christe. 
O quam dulcia faucibus meis. 
Cum turba plurima. 
Adorna thalamum. 
Nunc dimittis. 
Plaudat nunc organis. 
Gabriel Angelus. 
Si bona suscepimus. 
Hei mihi Domine. 
Peccavi super numerum areae. 
Tribularer si nescirem. cum 2. parte. 
Aspice in me Domine. 
Emendemus in melius. 
Omnia que fecisti nobis. 
Iniquos odio habui. 
Voce mea ad Dominum clamavi.
Deus in nomine tuo.
In te Domine speravi.
Domine Jesu Christe.
Letare Hierusalem.
Illumina oculos meos.
Conserva me Domine, cum 2. parte.
O Domine Jesu Christe.
Ave rex noster.
O triste spectaculum.
Calliga verunt oculi mei.
Tristis est anima mea.
Quantas ostendisti mihi.
Confitebor tibi.
Bonum est consittere Domine.
Deus venerunt gentes.
Tua est potentia.
Super salutem.

Francisci Mariae Guaitolij.
Benedicti Pallaviciini.
Scipionis Barotij.
Vincentij Bertholusij.
Philippi de Monte.
Tiburij Massaini.
Leonis Leonij.
Francisci Bianciardi.
Joann. Croce.
Scipionis Barotij.
Augustini Agazarii.
Melchioris Franci.
Johann. Leo Hasleri.
Christoph. Buels.
Lucae Marentij.
Casparis Vincentij.
Casparis Vincentij.

A repository of music containing collections of sacred melodies or motets for four, six, seven and eight voices. Written by various famous composers of this and the previous century, and never previously published in Germany. Part One contains selected chants which can be used in the church during the winter season. Collected by Abraham Schadaeus, Rector of the Grammar School at Speyer. To which Caspar Vincentius, organist of the same city has added with great skill accompaniments suitable for the organ and other musical instruments (Strasbourg, Karl Kieffer at the expense of Paul Ledertz, 1611).39

Stabile's Nunc dimittis was first published in the anthology Promptuarii musici, in 1611. As the title page indicates, this is the first part of a collection of music 'not previously published in Germany' which was put together by Abraham Schadaeus. Added accompaniments, suitable for the organ and other musical instruments, were provided by Caspar Vincentius, organist of Speyer. At the time of publication, Abraham Schadaeus was Rector of the Grammar School at Speyer where he had been for the previous 24 years. This first part contains items especially for use in churches during the winter season. Stabile's motet is included in the section assigned to the feast of the Purification of the BVM.40 Of the 43 composers represented, 33 are Italian. The bulk of this group are Venetian and the Roman School is represented by Annibale Stabile, Francesco Soriano, Romulo Naldi, Luca Marenzio, Gio. Battista

39Translation of title page by the Rev Father Kevin McKone.

40In his dedication Schadaeus notes that the describing and classifying of the motets into their seasons had been 'tiresome work'!
Steffanini, and Agostino Agazzari. Apart from Stabile and Marenzio, these were fairly recently published composers. Soriano's first sacred publication was issued in 1597, and Naldi, Steffanini and Agazzari published their first sacred works after 1600. The fact that Stabile and Marenzio were still appearing in publications after their deaths indicates the high regard in which they must have been held.

- **MANUSCRIPT SOURCES** -

- **Alma Redemptoris a 8**

Exemplar used: London, British Library (photocopy). *Alma Redemptoris* by 'Hannibal Stabilis' from the facsimile publication of the Pelplin Tablatures, vol. ii, p. 208. (Unfortunately full bibliographical details were not supplied with the photocopy).

- **Ave Maria gratia plena and Salve Regina a 5**


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ave Maria a 5</th>
<th>Salve Regina a 5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f. 26v. [No] 54</td>
<td>Hannibal Stabilis</td>
<td>[Copying dated] 7 Maij</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index</th>
<th>Ave Maria</th>
<th>Salve Regina</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Salve regina.</td>
<td>a 4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Regina caeli.</td>
<td>a 4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Alma redemtoris.</td>
<td>a 4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Ave Maria.</td>
<td>a 6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Ave Maria.</td>
<td>a 6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Salve Regina.</td>
<td>a 5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Regina caeli.</td>
<td>a 5.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

41Taken from a photocopy of the index page supplied with photocopies of the Stabile items.
The Ave Maria provides the Bassus part to the Tenor contained in the incomplete publication Letantie BMV et Nomine Jesu (1583), and the Bassus of the Salve Regina is the same as that published in the Liber Tertius (1589). These works were part of a collection of Marian items put together by Gregorio Wolffio of Huldschon. This source was formerly held in the Bibliotheca Rudolphina.

The composers named are Matteo Asola, Francesco Bianciardi, Jean de Castro, Christophorus Clavius, Simone Gatto, Alard du Gaucquier, Orlandus de Lassus, Tiburtio Massaino, Philip de Monte, Giovanni Battista Mosto, Alexis Neander, Johannes Nucius, Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, Jacob Regnart, Jacob Reiner, Melchior Schramm, Petrus Siculus, Annibale Stabile, Jacob Vaet, and Tomas Luis Victoria. The only composers with known Roman connections, apart from Palestrina,

42See above p. 323.
Lassus, Victoria, and Stabile, are Clavius, who from 1565 to 1579 or 1580 taught mathematics at the Roman College in Rome after which he was enlisted by Pope Gregory XIII to correct the errors of the Julian calendar, and possibly Bianciardi, who Josef-Horst Lederer claims may have been a pupil of Palestrina.43

Bianciardi’s inclusion in the manuscript may throw some new light on his date of birth which is given by Lederer in *New Grove* as c.1571–1572. According to a catalogue of items formerly held at the Bibliotheca Rudolphina, 22 works in this manuscript under discussion (Mus. 2083), were copied between ‘1578 die 16. Martij’ and ‘Die S. Ursulæ Anno 4’.44 Since I have not seen the complete source, I am uncertain which items are so dated but the two Stabile works towards the end of the manuscript, for which I do have copies, are dated 7 and 10 May, suggesting that they are among these 22. This being so, Bianciardi’s *Regina celi*, which appears earlier in the source, may have been copied prior to March 1578 indicating a birth date of at least 1560. A look at the complete partbook would answer this question.

• In tribulatione — Propterea Confitebor

Exemplar used: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, Mus. ms. 40039, No. 52 (photocopy)
8 partbooks.

| [partbook] | [voice indication] |
| Cantus | Cantus 1 Superiori Chori |
| Altus | Cantus. 2. Superiori Chori |
| Tenor | Tenor Superiori Chori |
| Bassus | |
| Quinta vox | Vox Superior Inferioris Chori |
| Sexta vox | Tenor Inferioris Chori |
| Septima vox | [wording at top of page cut off in photocopy] |
| Octava vox | Bas: inferioris Chori |

According to the holding library, there is no title page and no contents page. There is no attribution to Stabile on the photocopies.

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44 Aniela Kolbuszewska, *Katalog zbiorów muzykowych legnickiej biblioteki księcia Jerzego Rudolfa ‘Bibliotheca Rudolphina’* (Legnica, 1992), p. 95. The relevant page of this catalogue was supplied by Dr Andrzej Ladomirski, Director of the Biblioteka Uniwersytecka in Wroclaw.
• Iste Sanctus

Exemplar used: Trento, Biblioteca del Museo Provinciale d'Arte, fondo Feininger, FP 160/1–5 (photographs).
Partbook format. Consists of five single leaves approx 24 x 17cm probably copied in the 17th C.

Anibal Stabilis  Iste Sanctus
Jo. Andrea Draconis  Videns crucem Andreas

The size indicates that the folios may have been used for performance. On the reverse side and copied in the same hand is a motet by Gio. Andrea Dragoni, *Videns crucem Andreas*. There is a wider margin on the right-hand side of each voice part of the Dragoni motet indicating that this is the recto with the Stabile motet on the verso. A capital ‘R’ appears on the top right-hand corner of the one of the Tenor voices of the Dragoni item. A crease down the centre of all folios suggests that they were at one time stored folded and some damage has occurred as a result. This is particularly noticeable in the Cantus part of the Stabile motet and is probably due to the fact that this was the innermost folio. The manuscript is also damaged in other places. It is possible that these works were copied either for S. Spirito in Sassia or the Chiesa Nuova in Rome, since similar unbound sets of individual pieces from these institutions, now preserved in the Biblioteca dell’Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia, Rome, are of roughly the same size and also date from the 17th century.45

The reason these two motets have been preserved together is probably due to the fact that the text of *Iste Sanctus* is the antiphon at Vespers on the feast of Saint Saturnius on 29 November, a feast which immediately precedes the feast of Saint Andrew on 30 November, when *Videns crucem Andreas* is sung.46

• Jubilate Deo — Laudate nomen and Omnes Gentes:

Exemplar used: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. ms. 2940 (microfilm).
All in score.

Bd. I, f. 2r  Annibal Stabilis  Jubilate Deo
f. 3v  Pars Secunda
Bd. I, f. 5r  A. Stabilis  Omnes gentes plaudite

This is a copy in score of two motets, *Jubilate Deo — Laudate nomen* and *Omnes Gentes plaudite*. They were possibly copied from the 1585 manuscript compiled by

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45 See also O’Regan, ‘Sacred Polyphonic Music’, i, p. 126.
46 A transcription of *Videns crucem Andreas* can be found in vol. ii of this thesis, p. 620.
Friedrich Linder which is the only other known source for these two works. Another possibility is that they were included in Stabile’s Liber primus (now lost) and if so, this may have been the copyist’s source. The earlier 1585 manuscript, held at the Bibliothek des Germanisches National-Museums, Nuremburg (Ms 8820 X), was not available for consultation during the period of research for this thesis.

- **Omnes Gentes** (See above *Jubilate Deo*)

- **‘Polish’ Litany**

Exemplars used: Wroclaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka (microfilm).

Source 1: S1431 Muz. [C1, A1, T1, B1, C2, A2] folios unnumbered

Source 2: S1353 Muz. [A1, T1, B1, C2, T2, B2] folios unnumbered

Two incomplete copies of the same Litany. Both in partbook format.

Contents of Source 1: 49

1. 5. George Leuschnerus
6. [Constantinus Porta]
7. 8. Hannibal Stabilis
9. Ruggierus Giovalibus
10. Jacobus Händl
11. [Jacobus Händl]
12. Michaël Varoï Novarensis
13. Carolus Luython
14. Thomas Ludovicus à Victoria
15. Jacobus Regnart
16. Clemens non papa
17. [Joan, Petrus Loisius]
18. [Clavius]
19.
20.

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47 See above ‘Chronological Survey’, p. 8 for further details on Linder’s manuscript.

48 The two works by Stabile are on ff. [2]v–13 and 66v–73.

49 The contents for Sources 1 and 2 are taken from Friedrich Kuhn, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der alten Musikalien des Königlichen Gymnasiums zu Brieg* (Leipzig, 1896). The relevant pages of this catalogue were supplied by Dr Andrzej Ladomirski, Director of the Biblioteka Uniwersytecka in Wroclaw.
Together these two sources, copied by different hands, make up a complete version of Stabile’s litany. Both were included in the collection of Prince Jan Christian, a member of the Silesian branch of the Piast family resident in Brieg (Brzeg). Prince Jan Christian’s collection was acquired by the Königliche Gymnasium in Brieg where it remained until 1899, when it was moved to the Biblioteka Uniwersyteka in Wroclaw. Dr Andrzej Ladomirski remarks that the collection has survived almost intact.50 Eitner noted that this Litany by Stabile was held at the Gymnasialbibliothek in Brieg at the beginning of the 20th century.51 Eitner’s source was the catalogue prepared by Friedrich Kuhn, compiled three years prior to the removal.

• **Responsoria in Natalis Domini**

Exemplar: Biblioteca Arciconfraternita di S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini, 629 bis. (Responsories 1 to 4 transcribed from the manuscript. Responsories 5 to 8 from photographs.) 
Choirbook format of 15 folios, 41.5 x 28cm. In urgent need of conservation. According to the IBIMUS catalogue, it was copied in the 16th century.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responsoria in Natalis Domini</th>
<th>ff. 1v–3r</th>
<th>Anibal Stabilis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Responsorium Secundum</td>
<td>ff. 3v–4r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Responsorium Tertium</td>
<td>ff. 4v–6r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Responsorium Quartum</td>
<td>ff. 6v–8r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Responsorium Quintum</td>
<td>ff. 8v–9r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Responsorium VI</td>
<td>ff. 9v–11r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Responsorium VII</td>
<td>ff. 11v–13r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Responsorium VIII</td>
<td>ff. 13v–15r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The catalogue number, 629 bis, given recently by IBIMUS, is actually that of another book into which the present manuscript had at some stage been inserted. The

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50 Information regarding the history of the ‘Brieg collection’ was conveyed to me by Dr Andrzej Ladomirski.

The Primary Sources

manuscript has since been removed, ostensibly awaiting conservation and, as a result, the Secretary of the Confraternity had difficulty locating it. It is quite possible that it will not be returned to 629 bis and may end up being shelved under its own catalogue number 229 bis. This number is written in the top left hand corner of the front page.

This set of eight reponsories for Christmas may have been composed on commission for S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini in the late 16th century. From 1588 to 1599 the maestro di cappella there was Felice Anerio,52 and there were several connections between Felice Anerio and Stabile. One was their membership of the Compagnia dei Musici de Roma and their inclusion in Le gioie, and another was Felice Anerio’s uncle, G. B. Anerio, who lived with F. Anerio’s family and sometimes sang in the choir at S. Maria Maggiore under Stabile’s direction.53

• Salve Regina a 4

Examplar used: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, Mus. ms. 30296, Nr. 11 (photocopy)
Source incomplete. Bassus only.

[No] 11. Hannibal Stabilis à 4 Salve Regina

• Salve Regina a 5 (See Ave Maria gratia plena)

• Codex 61

Choirbook format, approx. 39.5 x 26.5cm.

Hæc dies ff. 57v–58
O felix Roma ff. 78v–79
Scrutator alme [Audi benigne Conditor, v. 2] ff. 128v–129
Sic corpus extra [Audi benigne Conditor, v. 4] ff. 129v–130
Maria soror Lazari [Lauda mater ecclesia, v. 2] ff. 130v–131
Uni Deo sit gloria [Lauda mater ecclesia, v. 6] ff. 132v–133
Dicta pacis visio [Urbs beata, v. 1] ff. 133v–134
Portae nitent [Urbs beata, v. 3] ff. 134v–135
Gloria et honor [Urbs beata, v. 5] ff. 135v–136

52See Couchman, ‘Felice Anerio’s Music’, p. 78. He notes that this may have been a part time position.
This Codex was conserved in 1976. It contains the hymn cycle *Hymni per totum annum*, by Costanzo Festa. The list above contains only the items by Stabile. A list of the non-Festa items has been published in Glen Haydon, ‘The Lateran Codex 61’, in *Bericht über den Siebenten Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress Köln 1958* edited by Gerald Abraham *et al* (Kassel, 1959), pp. 126–131. For the Festa items, see Costanzo Festa: *Constantius Festa, Hymni per totum annum 3, 4, 5, 6 vocibus*, edited by Glen Haydon, *Monumenta Polyphoniae Italicæ*, iii (Rome, 1958).
**Codex 58**

Exemplar used: Archivio Storico del Vicariato di Roma, Fondo S. Giovanni in Laterano, Codex 58.

Choirbook format of 85 folios. Original title page is missing. The last folios have been bound in the wrong order: f. 85v contains the Cantus and Tenor of *Amor et desiderium* by Jo. Mathalart. The Altus and Bassus are on f. 84. Due to this error, the numbering of folios becomes confused. Numbering used in this table follows the pages as they are in the present order.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FEAST</th>
<th>ITEM</th>
<th>KS</th>
<th>TS</th>
<th>CLEFS</th>
<th>COMPOSER</th>
<th>FOLIO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dominica in Ramis Palmarum</td>
<td>Non in die festo</td>
<td>♭</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>g2, c2, c3, c4</td>
<td>Anibal Stabilis</td>
<td>1v–7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOID</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7v–8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lectio Prima. Feria v in Cena Domini</td>
<td>Incipit lamentation Hieremie</td>
<td>♮</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>c4, c4, c4, F4</td>
<td>C. Morales</td>
<td>8v–11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lectio Secunda</td>
<td>Vau. Et egressus est</td>
<td>♮</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>g2, c2, c2, c3, c4</td>
<td>Anib. Stabilis</td>
<td>11v–16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lectio Tertia. Feria V in Cena Domini</td>
<td>Iod. Manus suam misit hostis</td>
<td>♮</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>c1, c3, c4, c4, F3, F4</td>
<td>Anib. Stabilis</td>
<td>16v–21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passio secundum Ioannem. Feria VI in Parasceve</td>
<td>Iesum nacarenum</td>
<td>♮</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>g2, c2, c3, F3</td>
<td>Anib. Stabilis</td>
<td>21v–26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lectio Prima. Feria VI in Parasceve</td>
<td>Heth. Cogitavit Dominus</td>
<td>♮</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>c1, c3, c4, F4</td>
<td>Anib. Stabilis</td>
<td>26v–30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lectio Secunda. Feria VI in Parasceve</td>
<td>Lamed. Matribus suis dixerunt</td>
<td>♮</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>g2, c2, c3, c3, F3</td>
<td>Anib. Stabilis</td>
<td>30v–34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lectio Tertia. Feria VI in Parasceve</td>
<td>Aleph. Ego vir videns</td>
<td>♮</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>g2, g2, c2, c3, c3, F3</td>
<td>Anib. Stabilis</td>
<td>34v–41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lectio Prima. Sabbatho Sancto</td>
<td>Heth. Misericordiae Domini</td>
<td>♮</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>g2, g2, c2, c3</td>
<td>Anib. Stabilis</td>
<td>41v–45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lectio Secunda. Sabbatho Sancto</td>
<td>Aleph. Quomodo obscuratum</td>
<td>♮</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>c2,c3,c4,F4</td>
<td>Joannis Petralosii Prenestin.</td>
<td>45v–49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lectio Tertia. Sabbatho Sancto</td>
<td>Incipit Oratio Hieremie prophete</td>
<td>♮</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>c1, c3, c4, c4, F4</td>
<td>Constan. Festa</td>
<td>49v–54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lectio Tertia. Sabbatho Sancto</td>
<td>Incipit Oratio Hieremie prophete</td>
<td>♮</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>c1, c2, c3, c4, F3, F4</td>
<td>Joannis Petralosij P[r]enestin</td>
<td>54v–58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lectio Tertia: Sabbatho Santo</td>
<td>[PLAINCHANT]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>58v–59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOID</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>59v–61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feria Sexta in Parasceve. Lectio Prima</td>
<td>De. Lamentatione Jeremie prophete</td>
<td>♮</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>c1, c3, c4, c4, F4</td>
<td>Anon. [different hand has written &quot;è del Palestrina&quot;]</td>
<td>61v–63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feria Quinta in Cena Domini. Lectio Tertia</td>
<td>Iod. Manus suam misit hostis</td>
<td>♮</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>g2, g2, c2, c3, c3, c4</td>
<td>Anon. [different hand has written &quot;è del Palestrina&quot;]</td>
<td>63v–66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabatho Sancto. Lectio Prima</td>
<td>De. Lamentatione Hieremie prophete</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>g2, c2, c2, c3, F3</td>
<td>Franciscus Surianus [different hand has written 'è del Palestrina']</td>
<td>66v–68</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
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<td>-------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christus factus est pro nobis</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>c1, c1, c3, F3</td>
<td>Anerius</td>
<td>68v–69</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOID</td>
<td>g2, c2, c3, F3</td>
<td>Anon</td>
<td>69v–70</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Audi benigne conditiur [chant] Hostas preces cum fletibus</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>g2, c2, c3, F3</td>
<td>Anon</td>
<td>70v–71</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multi quidem peccavimus</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>g2, g2, c2, c3</td>
<td>Anon</td>
<td>71v–72</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prista beata Trinitas</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>g2, c2, c3, F3</td>
<td>Anon</td>
<td>72v–73</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cum Magdalene nam respicis</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>g2, c2, c3, c4</td>
<td>Anon</td>
<td>73v–74</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ad stare non timet cruci</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>g2, g2, c2, c3</td>
<td>Anon</td>
<td>74v–75</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deo Patri sit gloria</td>
<td>O1</td>
<td>g2, c2, c3, c4</td>
<td>Anon</td>
<td>75v–76</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOID</td>
<td>g2, c2, c3, c4</td>
<td>Anon</td>
<td>76v–77</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>à die Purificationis</td>
<td>Ave Regina Caelorum</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>c1, c3, c4, F4</td>
<td>Jo, Fran. Anerij</td>
<td>77v–78</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

![Musical notation]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Primo choro in canto fermo per l'intonazione</th>
<th>Primo choro in contrapunti</th>
<th>Secondo chori</th>
<th>Terto choro</th>
<th>tutti i chori</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Terribilis</td>
<td>est</td>
<td>Loco liste</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|                              | [PLAINCHANT]                                |                            |               |             | 79v          |
|                              | Antifone del Primo choro per far Contrapunto nel Vespero | 2.° della Dedicazione     |               |             |              |
|                              | Prima ant: Domus mea                         |                            |               |             |              |
|                              | Quarta Antifona a 2 chori: Bene fundata est Domus |                            |               |             |              |
|                              | Antifona ad Magnificat a 3 chori: O quam metuendus est |                            |               |             |              |

|                              | VOID                                        |                            |               |             | 80           |
|                              | In Ascensione Domini ad Vesperas Hymnus     |                            |               |             |              |
|                              | Jesu nostra redemptio                       | C                          | c1, c3, c4, F4| Anon        | 80v–81       |
|                              | Tu esto nostrum gaudium                     | Ø3                         | c1, c3, c4, c4,F4 | Anon | 81v–82       |
|                              | VOID                                        |                            |               |             | 82v–83       |
|                              | Amor et desiderium                         | C                          | c3, F4        | Jo. Mathalart | 84           |
|                              | Inferni calustra penetras (Cantus tacet)   | C                          | c3,c4,F4      | Jo. Mathalart | 84v–85       |
|                              | In Ascensione Domini ad Vesperas Hymnus     |                             |               |             | 85v          |
|                              | Jesu nostra redemptio [chant]               | C                          | c1, c4        | [Jo. Mathalart] |              |
|                              | Amor et desiderium                         |                            |               |             |              |

Casimiri considered this manuscript was copied between December 1576 and March 1577 (see ‘Choirs and Performance Practice’, p. 51). Several later hands have added extra items beginning at f. 61v, including a motet by ‘Anerius’. This was probably G. F. Anerio who was maestro at S. Giovanni around the turn of the century.
**Liber Hymnorum**

**LIBER HYMNORVM / TOTIVS ANNI / PER TEMPORA / DISPOSITA**

Exemplar used: Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, ms Q 31 (microfilm).
Choirbook format. 207 folios. Where in the following table an item has two finals e.g. E/G, the first is the verse, the second the Amen.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contents: FEAST</th>
<th>CHANT</th>
<th>TEXT &amp; STROPHIE</th>
<th>KS+F</th>
<th>TIME</th>
<th>CLEFS</th>
<th>COMPOSER</th>
<th>FOLIO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>HYMNI IN OMNIBUS SOLEMNITATIBUS DOMINI NOSTRI JESU CHRISTI</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Adventu Domini</td>
<td>Conditor alme siderum</td>
<td>Qui condolens interiu</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>c2, c4, c4, F4</td>
<td>Costanzo Festa</td>
<td>1v-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cuius forti potentie</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>c2, c4, F4</td>
<td></td>
<td>2v-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Laus honor. Canon in Dyapente</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>c2, c4, c4, F4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Nativitate Domini</td>
<td>Christe redemptor omnium</td>
<td>Tu lumen tu splendor</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>c2, c3, c3, F3</td>
<td>Costanzo Festa</td>
<td>3v-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sic praesens testatur</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>g, c2, c1, c2</td>
<td></td>
<td>4v-5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Nos quoque qui sancto</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>g, c1, c3, c3, F3</td>
<td></td>
<td>5v-6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gloria tibi Domine. Canon in Dyapente</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>c2, c2, c3, c4, F4</td>
<td></td>
<td>6v-8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Die Epiphaniae</td>
<td>Hostis Herodes impie</td>
<td>Iabant Magi</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>c1, c3, c4, F4</td>
<td>Costanzo Festa</td>
<td>8v-9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Novum genus potentie</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>c1, c1, c3</td>
<td></td>
<td>9v-10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gloria tibi. Canon in Dyatessaron</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>c1, c4, c4, F4</td>
<td></td>
<td>10v-11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabbato Quadragesimale</td>
<td>Audi benigne conditor</td>
<td>Scrutator alme conditum</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>c1, c4, c4, F4</td>
<td>Costanzo Festa</td>
<td>11v-12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sic corpus extra conteri</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>c1, c1, c4</td>
<td></td>
<td>12v-13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>Praest beata. Canon in Dyapason</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>c1, c4, F3, F4</td>
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<td>13v-14</td>
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<td>In quatuor primis Dominicis Quadragesimae. hymnus</td>
<td>[Ad preces nostras]</td>
<td>Ad preces nostras.</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>c1, c3, c4, F3</td>
<td>Costanzo Festa</td>
<td>14v-15</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Crinea laxa</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>c1, c3, c4, F3</td>
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<td>15v-16</td>
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<td>Christe lux</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>c1, c3, c4, F3</td>
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<td>16v-17</td>
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<td>Tu nobis dona</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>c1, c1, c3</td>
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<td>17v-18</td>
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<td>Gloria Deo sit. Canon in Dietessaron</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>c1, c3, c4, F3</td>
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<td>18v-19</td>
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<td>Dominica de Passione</td>
<td>Vexilla regis prodeunt</td>
<td>Quo vulneratus. Canon in Dietessaron</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>c3, c4, F4</td>
<td>Costanzo Festa</td>
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<td>Arbor decora</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>c1, c3, c4</td>
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<td>20v-21</td>
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<td>O crux ave spes unica</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>c2, c3, c4, F4</td>
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<td>21v-22</td>
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<td>Te summa Deus. Canon in Subdapienthe</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>c1, c2, c3, F4</td>
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<td>22v-23</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ab octava Paschae usque ad Ascensionem hymnus</td>
<td>Ad coenam agni providi</td>
<td>Cuius corpus</td>
<td>[Costanzo Festa]</td>
<td>(c_1, c_3, c_3, F_3)</td>
<td>(c_1, c_3, c_3, F_3)</td>
<td>23v–24</td>
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<td>In festo Ascensionis Domini</td>
<td>Jesu nostra redemptione</td>
<td>Quae te vicit clementia</td>
<td>[Costanzo Festa]</td>
<td>(c_1, c_4, c_4, F_4)</td>
<td>(c_1, c_4, c_4, F_4)</td>
<td>27v–28</td>
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<tr>
<td>In festo Pentecostes</td>
<td>Veni creator spiritus</td>
<td>Qui paralius</td>
<td>[Costanzo Festa]</td>
<td>(c_2, c_2, c_3, F_3)</td>
<td>(c_2, c_2, c_3, F_3)</td>
<td>32v–33</td>
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<td>In festo S. Trinitatis</td>
<td>O lux beata trinitate</td>
<td>O lux beata trinitate</td>
<td>[Costanzo Festa]</td>
<td>(c_1, c_3, c_4, F_4)</td>
<td>(c_1, c_3, c_4, F_4)</td>
<td>36v–37</td>
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<tr>
<td>In festo Corpus Christi</td>
<td>Pange lingua gloriis</td>
<td>Nobis datus</td>
<td>[Costanzo Festa]</td>
<td>(c_2, c_3, F_4)</td>
<td>(c_2, c_3, F_4)</td>
<td>38v–39</td>
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<tr>
<td>In Dominicus usque a 2.\textsuperscript{a} post Ephiph: usque ad Primam Quadragesima et ad tertiam post Pentecosten usque ad Adventum hymnus.</td>
<td>[Lucis creator optimi]</td>
<td>Lucis creator optimi. Canon in Diapason</td>
<td>[Costanzo Festa]</td>
<td>(c_4, F_4)</td>
<td>(c_4, F_4)</td>
<td>41v–42</td>
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<td>Ne mens gravata crimine</td>
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<td>(c_4, F_4)</td>
<td>(c_4, F_4)</td>
<td>42v–43</td>
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<td>Praesta patre. Canon in Diatessaron</td>
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<td>(c_1, c_4, F_4)</td>
<td>(c_1, c_4, F_4)</td>
<td>43v–44</td>
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<tr>
<td>Void</td>
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<td>44v–45v</td>
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</tr>
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</table>

**HYMNI PROPRII FESTIVITATUM SANCTORUM**

<p>| In cathedra S. Petri | Quodcumque vincitis | Gloria Deo per immensa. Canon in Diapente | [Costanzo Festa] | (c_3, c_4, c_4, F_5) | (c_1, c_3, c_4, F_4) | 46v–47 |
| In conversione Sancti Pauli | O Doctor egregii | Sit trinitatii. Canon in Diapente | [Costanzo Festa] | (c_1, c_3, c_4, F_3) | (c_1, c_3, c_4, F_3) | 47v–48 |
| In Nativitate Sancti Ioannis Baptistæ | Ut quaent axis | Nuntius celso | [Costanzo Festa] | (c_2, c_3, F_3) | (c_2, c_3, F_3) | 49v–49 |
| | | Venetis obsuro. Canon in Diatessaron | | (g_2, c_3, F_3) | (g_2, c_3, F_3) | 49v–50 |
| | | Gloria patri. Canon in Diapente | | (c_1, c_3, c_4, F_3) | (c_1, c_3, c_4, F_3) | 50v–51 |
| In festo Apostolorum Petri et Pauli | Aurea luce | Ianitor celii | [Costanzo Festa] | (c_1, c_3, c_4, F_3) | (c_1, c_3, c_4, F_3) | 51v–52 |
| | | O felix Roma | | (c_1, c_3, c_4, F_3) | (c_1, c_3, c_4, F_3) | 52v–53 |
| | | Sit trinitatii. Canon in Diapente | | (c_1, c_3, c_4, F_3) | (c_1, c_3, c_4, F_3) | 53v–54 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>In festo Sancti Michaelis</th>
<th>Lauda mater ecclesia</th>
<th>Maria soor Lazari</th>
<th>g2, c2, c3, F3</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>g2, c2, c3, F3</th>
<th>Io: Petrus Aloysius Praenestinus</th>
<th>54v–55</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In festo Sancti Petri ad vincula</td>
<td>Petrus beatus</td>
<td>Gloria Deo per immensa. Canon in Dispente</td>
<td>g2, c2, c3, F3</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>g2, c2, c3, F3</td>
<td>Io: Petrus Aloysius Praenestinus</td>
<td>55v–56</td>
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<tr>
<td>In transfiguratione Domini</td>
<td>Quicumque christum quaeritis</td>
<td>Illustrum Deo cernimus</td>
<td>c2, c3, g2, c</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>g2, c2, c3, F4</td>
<td>[Costanzo Festa]</td>
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<tr>
<td>In omnibus festivitatis Beatie Marie Virginis</td>
<td>Ave Maria stella</td>
<td>Sumens illud</td>
<td>c1, c3, c4, F4</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>c1, c3, c4</td>
<td>[Costanzo Festa]</td>
<td>57v–58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In festo Sancti Michaelis</td>
<td>Tibi Christe splendor patriis</td>
<td>Collaudamus venerantes</td>
<td>c1, c4, c4, F4</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>c1, c4, c4, F4</td>
<td>[Costanzo Festa]</td>
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<tr>
<td>In festo omnium Sanctorum</td>
<td>Beata quoque</td>
<td>Martires Dei</td>
<td>g2, c2, c3, F3</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>g2, c2, c3, F3</td>
<td>[Costanzo Festa]</td>
<td>59v–60</td>
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<tr>
<td>In festo Sanctorum Innocentium</td>
<td>Ave Maris Stella</td>
<td>Sumens illud</td>
<td>c1, c3, c4, F4</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>c1, c3, c4</td>
<td>[Costanzo Festa]</td>
<td>60v–61</td>
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<tr>
<td>In festo Sanctorum Michaelis</td>
<td>Tibi Christe splendor patriis</td>
<td>Collaudamus venerantes</td>
<td>c1, c3, c3, F3</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>c1, c3, c3, F3</td>
<td>Io: Pet: Aloysius Praenest</td>
<td>61v–62</td>
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<tr>
<td>In festo Sanctorum Michaelis Archangeli</td>
<td>Tibi Christe splendor patriis</td>
<td>Collaudamus venerantes</td>
<td>c1, c3, c3, F3</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>c1, c3, c3, F3</td>
<td>Io: Pet: Aloysius Praenest</td>
<td>62v–63</td>
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<tr>
<td>In festis Apostolorum vel Evangelistarum</td>
<td>Exultet alium laudibus</td>
<td>Vos saecli iusti</td>
<td>c2, c4, c4, F4</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>c2, c4, c4, F4</td>
<td>[Costanzo Festa]</td>
<td>63v–64</td>
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<tr>
<td>[De uno Martyre]</td>
<td>Deus tuorum militum</td>
<td>Deo patri. Canon in Diapente</td>
<td>c2, c4, F4</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>c2, c4, F4</td>
<td>[Costanzo Festa]</td>
<td>64v–65</td>
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<tr>
<td>In natali plurimorum martyrum</td>
<td>Sanctus meritis</td>
<td>Hic nempe mundi gaudia</td>
<td>c1, c3, c4, F4</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>c1, c3, c4</td>
<td>[Costanzo Festa]</td>
<td>65v–66</td>
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<tr>
<td>In natali confessorum</td>
<td>Iste confessor</td>
<td>Qui pius prudens</td>
<td>c1, c3, c4, F4</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>c1, c3, c4, F4</td>
<td>[Costanzo Festa]</td>
<td>66v–67</td>
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<td>HYMN COMMUNES SANCTORUM EXTRA TEMPUS PASCHALE</td>
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<td>In festis Apostolorum vel Evangelistarum</td>
<td>Exultet alium laudibus</td>
<td>Vos saecli iusti</td>
<td>c2, c4, c4, F4</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>c2, c4, c4, F4</td>
<td>[Costanzo Festa]</td>
<td>74v–75</td>
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<tr>
<td>[De uno Martyre]</td>
<td>Deus tuorum militum</td>
<td>Deo patri. Canon in Diapente</td>
<td>c2, c4, F4</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>c2, c4, F4</td>
<td>[Costanzo Festa]</td>
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<td>In natali plurimorum martyrum</td>
<td>Sanctus meritis</td>
<td>Hic nempe mundi gaudia</td>
<td>c1, c3, c4, F4</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>c1, c3, c4</td>
<td>[Costanzo Festa]</td>
<td>76v–77</td>
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<tr>
<td>In natali confessorum</td>
<td>Iste confessor</td>
<td>Qui pius prudens</td>
<td>c1, c3, c4, F4</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>c1, c3, c4, F4</td>
<td>[Costanzo Festa]</td>
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<td>Deo patri. Canon in Diapente</td>
<td>Hic nempe mundi gaudia</td>
<td>c1, c3, c4, F4</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>c1, c3, c4</td>
<td>[Costanzo Festa]</td>
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<td>Deo patri. Canon in Diapente</td>
<td>Hic nempe mundi gaudia</td>
<td>c1, c3, c4, F4</td>
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<td>[Costanzo Festa]</td>
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<td>[Costanzo Festa]</td>
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<td>[Costanzo Festa]</td>
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<td>Hic nempe mundi gaudia</td>
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<td>c1, c3, c4</td>
<td>[Costanzo Festa]</td>
<td>85v–86</td>
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<tr>
<td>In natali Virginum et Martyrum</td>
<td>Jesu corona Virginum</td>
<td>Qui pascis inter lilia</td>
<td>Te deprecatur largius</td>
<td>Laus honor virtus. Canon in Subdiapason</td>
<td>[Costanzo Festa]</td>
<td>86v–87</td>
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<td>In natali S. martyris</td>
<td>Huis obtentu</td>
<td>Gloria patri. Canon in Diapenthe</td>
<td>[Costanzo Festa]</td>
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<td>In dedicatione Ecclesiae</td>
<td>[Urbs beata Jerusalem]</td>
<td>Urbs beata Jerusalem.</td>
<td>Portae nintent</td>
<td>Gloria et honor. Canon in Diapenthe</td>
<td>[Costanzo Festa]</td>
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<tr>
<td>In festis Apostolorum et Evangelistarum. tempore Paschali</td>
<td>Tristes erant Apostoli</td>
<td>Sermone blando Angelus</td>
<td>Quo agnito discipulis</td>
<td>Gloria tibi. Canon in Diatessaron</td>
<td>Ad laudes: Ostensa sibi vulnera</td>
<td>Quesumus autor omnium</td>
<td>[Costanzo Festa]</td>
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<td>Deus tuorum militum.</td>
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<td>[Costanzo Festa]</td>
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<td>In natali unius martyris. tempore paschali</td>
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<td>Deus tuorum militum.</td>
<td>Pernas cucurrit fortiter</td>
<td>Gloria tibi. Canon in Diatessaron</td>
<td>[Costanzo Festa]</td>
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<td>[Deus tuorum militum]</td>
<td>Deus tuorum militum.</td>
<td>Pernas cucurrit fortiter</td>
<td>Gloria tibi. Canon in Diatessaron</td>
<td>[Costanzo Festa]</td>
<td>100v–101</td>
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<td>[Deus tuorum militum]</td>
<td>Deus tuorum militum.</td>
<td>Pernas cucurrit fortiter</td>
<td>Gloria tibi. Canon in Diatessaron</td>
<td>[Costanzo Festa]</td>
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<td>In communi plurimorum Martyrum. tempore paschali</td>
<td>Rex glorioso Martyrum</td>
<td>Aurem benignam pröinus</td>
<td>Gloria tibi. Canon in Diatessaron, et in Subdiapason</td>
<td>[Costanzo Festa]</td>
<td>102v–103</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Rex glorioso Martyrum</td>
<td>Aurem benignam pröinus</td>
<td>Gloria tibi. Canon in Diatessaron, et in Subdiapason</td>
<td>[Costanzo Festa]</td>
<td>103v–104</td>
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<tr>
<td>In natali Virginum, et Martium. tempore Paschali</td>
<td>Jesu corona Virginum</td>
<td>Qui pascis inter lilia</td>
<td>Te deprecatur largius</td>
<td>Gloria tibi. Canon in Diapason</td>
<td>[Costanzo Festa]</td>
<td>104v–105</td>
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<td>Jesu corona Virginum</td>
<td>Qui pascis inter lilia</td>
<td>Te deprecatur largius</td>
<td>Gloria tibi. Canon in Diapason</td>
<td>[Costanzo Festa]</td>
<td>105v–106</td>
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<td>Jesu corona Virginum</td>
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<td>Te deprecatur largius</td>
<td>Gloria tibi. Canon in Diapason</td>
<td>[Costanzo Festa]</td>
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<td>In dedicatione Ecclesiae</td>
<td>[Urbs beata Hierusalem]</td>
<td>Urbs beata Hierusalem.</td>
<td>Portae nintent</td>
<td>Gloria et honor</td>
<td>[Costanzo Festa]</td>
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<td>[Urbs beata Hierusalem]</td>
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<td>Portae nintent</td>
<td>Gloria et honor</td>
<td>[Costanzo Festa]</td>
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<tr>
<td>In sabbatis et in festo</td>
<td>[Urbs beata Trinitatis]</td>
<td>O lux beata Trinitas.</td>
<td>Deo patri</td>
<td>[Costanzo Festa]</td>
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<td>Monstra te esse matrem</td>
<td>Vitam praesta puram</td>
<td>[Costanzo Festa]</td>
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<td>[Ave maris stella]</td>
<td>Sumens illud ave.</td>
<td>Monstra te esse matrem</td>
<td>Vitam praesta puram</td>
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| 155v-157 | Ave Regina  
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c1, c3, c4, F4 |
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| 185v-187 | Magnificat. Quintij Toni  
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| 187v-189 | Magnificat. Sexil Toni  
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| 189v-191 | Magnificat. Septimi Toni  
[Even-numbered versions]  
c1, c3, c4, F4 |
| 191v-193 | Magnificat. Octavi Toni  
[Even-numbered versions]  
g2, g2, c2, c3, c4  
Fr. Paul: Papinus |
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Fr. Paul: Papinus |
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<td>c1, c3, c4, F4</td>
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This manuscript is divided into the following sections: Hymns for the Feasts of Jesus Christ, Hymns for the Proper, Hymns for the Common outside Paschal Time, Hymns for the Common inside Paschal Time, Hymns for all Feasts, concluding with a section Canticles of the BVM. Inserted into the section of hymns for all feasts are three falsobordone settings of the antiphons, Sancta Maria succurre, Petrus apostolus and Da pacem, several settings of the four Marian antiphons, and a psalm setting for The Rite of Giving the Tonsure. The section containing the Canticles of the BVM concludes with an alternatim setting in falsobordone style of the even-numbered verses of the Benedictus (Canticle of Zachariah).

For each hymn setting, the chant upon which the hymn is based is written on a four-line stave across the centre of the page. Most hymns set the even numbered verses polyphonically. Other general features include the use of a number of breves on a monotone rather than the long, to indicate a pause (i.e. \(\text{\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet} \)). A flat sign is written on the stave before the note concerned, whereas a sharp is written below the note concerned. Cautionary accidentals are also employed. Most of the items are in C with a few in triple time. The two hymn strophes by Papini on ff. 71v–73 are the only items in C. Time signatures used include: C, C, C, C, C, O, O, and O.

The named composers are Joannes Parvus, Palestrina, Paolo Papini, Joannes Pionnier, Costanzo Festa, Costanzo Porta, Joannes Matelart, Ruggiero Giovannelli, and Giovanni Andrea Dragoni. Most of the hymns are by Costanzo Festa. Three hymns attributed to Palestrina are unusual since they set the even-numbered verses, whereas Palestrina usually set the odd-numbered verses. The five-voice setting of Regina celi by Joannes Matelart is considered to be of doubtful authenticity.

Without knowing the history of the manuscript, it is only possible to speculate on its origin. Gaspari’s catalogue states that it was copied towards the end of the 16th century.

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54 In the manuscript they are unattributed, but concordances have established that they are by Festa. See Costanzo Festa, Constantius Festa, Hymni per totum annum 3, 4, 5, 6 vocibus, edited by Glen Haydon, Monumenta Polyphonyæ Italicæ III (Rome, 1958).

55 However Jeppesen considered them authentic (Lewis Lockwood, ‘Palestrina, Giovanni Pierluigi da’, NG, xiv, p. 126, and MGG, x, col. 699).

The date 1580 in the top left hand corner of the print on f. 116 may give some indication as to the time the manuscript was copied and the double-choir settings of three of the Marian antiphons would support a date of around 1580 since polychoral music in Rome was gaining in popularity at this time.58

As for the institution for which it was copied, the print on the title page of the section containing hymns for the Common outside Paschal Time, pictures S. Andreas. Whether this has any significance is debatable, since there is no emphasis on Saint Andrew in the texts set. Both Pionnier and Porta had connections with Santa Casa di Loreto and this is one possibility. But since the remainder of the composers, Parvus, Palestrina, Matelart, Giovannelli, Dragoni, Papini and Festa, all had connections with Rome, a more likely assumption is that it was copied for use in a Roman institution and indeed the print on f. 116 bears the word ‘ROMÆ’. That Paolo Papini had something to do with the manuscript in its later stages is certain since most of the items inserted at the ends of the various sections are by him. Papini, who after Festa is the best represented in the manuscript, was a Canon, Prior and maestro di cappella at S. Spirito in Sassia in Rome. Many of his works were at one stage conserved in manuscript at this Church,59 and the most likely assumption is that the Liber Hymnorum was copied for this institution.

While largely unknown today, several of Papini’s laude were published in the final series of anthologies printed especially for use in St Philip’s Oratory in Rome. These included three laude for four voices in Arascione’s Nuove Laudi (1600); and Vergin ben posso dire and Per aspri monti both for three voices in Ancina’s Tempio armonico (1599).60 Papini died on 9 August 1603 and according to Pitoni was buried

58 The plaque in the bottom left-hand corner of the print bears the name ‘Frater lodovicus Hispano’. Whether this person bears any relationship to the Fra Ludovico who received two scudi for copying a manuscript for the choir of S. Giovanni in Laterano in 1584, is an interesting possibility. ‘Io Fra Ludovico ho ricevuto scudi dua per haver copiato Motteti, et il Te Dewn per finito pagamento in tutto sc. 2.’ Liber Introit. et Exit. Capp. an. 1584, f. 19v, cited by Casimiri, Il ‘Codice 59’, p. 16.
59 See Pitoni, Notizia, p. 158.
60 See Vogel – Einstein, Bibliothek der gedruckten weltlichen Vocalmusik Italiens, ii, pp. 747, 772, and p. 777.
in S. Spirito in Sassia. However, I was unable to locate his place of burial there.\textsuperscript{61} A number of Papini’s sacred compositions exist in the Liber Hymnorum and this may be their only source.

Examples of Papini’s compositional style are mentioned from time to time throughout this thesis but in summary several things stand out. There is a liking for ascending octave leaps within the phrase including the less usual ascending diminished fourth. A liking for a rich texture is evident especially in the eight-voice works. Papini also retains a fondness for the nota cambiata. False relations occur and there are occasions where Papini may have intended direct chromaticism and also simultaneous false relations. Another aspect which becomes apparent in Papini’s music is the lack of an adherence to the principles of text underlay as set out by Zarlino. Another composer who showed a lack of adherence to these principles is Gio. Andrea Dragoni. Ruth DeFord noted that in his madrigals he frequently placed a syllable of text on a note immediately following a group of quavers.\textsuperscript{62}

\textsuperscript{61}Pitoni, Notitia, p. 158. While looking for this place of burial, I did discover that Annibale Zoilo is now buried at S. Spirito. This was perhaps due to the fact that his son Cesare Zoilo was maestro di cappella there in the early 17th century from 1610 to 1621 (Harry B. Lincoln, ‘Zoilo, Cesare’, NG, xx, p. 704). This is also stated on a manuscript copied in the 17th century entitled ‘Litanie a 7 voci di Cesare Zoilo, maestro di Cappella di S. Sp[irito]’ (I-Rp, Racc. Mus. 25).

\textsuperscript{62}DeFord, ‘Ruggiero Giovannelli’, i, p. 168.
This section contains all secondary sacred sources and Stabile's secular publications consulted in the course of this thesis. As in the previous chapter, the anthologies and secular sources are listed in order of publication, and the manuscripts in alphabetical order. The title page and list of contents have been spelt as in the original, and square brackets have been used for any editorial additions. Call numbers are supplied where known. If microfilm or photocopies have been consulted rather than the original source, this has been noted in brackets after the library holding the original source and the call numbers given are those supplied with the item.

• ANTHOLOGIES •

• CONTINUATIO CANTIONUM (1588)


Exemplar used: Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er, Fétis 1695 (microfilm).

6 partbooks. Dedicated to Georg Friedrich Margrave of Brandenburg, Prussia, Stetin, Pomerania, Cassubiorum and the Vandals etc., Duke and Landgrave of Nuremberg, Prince of Rugia etc.

Nurembeg, January 1, 1588.

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DE NATIVITATE ET CIRCUMCISIO DOMINI
1. Angelus ad pastores ait. a 12, Ioan. Gabriel.
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<td>Veni sancte Spiritus. cum secunda parte.</td>
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<td>Sancta Trinitas unus Deus.</td>
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XLIII. Laudate Dominum in sanctis eius. a 10 Andrææ Gabriel.
XLIII. Timete Dominum omnes sancti eius. a 8 Constantii Portæ.
XLIV. Iste qui amicit sunt. a 6 Constantii Portæ.
XLVI. Benedicite Dominum omnes electi eius. a 5 Ioquinii de la Sala.

TEMPORE ADVENTUS DOMINI
XLVII. Exurgat Deus & dissipentur. a 8 Andrææ Gabriel.
XLVIII. Iustè & pié vivamus. a 6 Anniæ. Stabilis.
XLIX. Ex Sion species decoris eius. a 5 Ioquinii de la Sala.

AD PLACITUM
L. Benedicæm Dominum in omni tempore. a 12 Andrææ Gabriel.
LI. Deus misercrat nostr. a 12 Andrææ Gabriel.
LII. Nuptias sanctae sunt in Cana Galileae a 12 Ioan. Leo. Hasleri.
LIII. Jubilate Deo. a 8 Andrææ Gabriel.
LIII. Laudate Dominum in sanctis eius. a 8 Ioan. Leo. Hasleri.
LV. Ad Dominum cum tribularer clamavi. a 8 Constantii Portæ.
LVI. Echo. iam de somno. a 8 Felicis Anerii.

• MOTECTORUM G. A. DRAGONI (1600)

ALTVS / MOTECTORVM / IO. ANDRÆæ DRAonis / IN BASILICA

Exemplar used: Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, S 94 (microfilm).
5 partbooks. Dedicated to the Most Illustrious and Reverend Ascanius Cardinal of Columna Archepresbyter Lateran Chapter. Source incomplete, the first six items are missing from the Cantus partbook.

Contents:

IANVARIVS.
Magnum hereditatis mysterium. 1 Adorna Thalamum tuum Sion.
Magnum Sacramentum. 2 Dum torqueretur beata Agatha.
Deus qui populo tuo. 3 Sancte Romualde.
Post cerui discessum ieiunijs. 4 O Matthia.
Marcellus assiduus ieiunijs. 5 MARTIVS.
Beatus Antonius. 6 Felix Thomas.
Peire amas me. 7 Quaeraginta in Stadium.
O quam mira. 8 Lauda Felix mater & filia.
Stans Beata Agnes. 9 Non est dubium.
Christi Martyr Vincentius. 10 Exsulset omnium turba fidelium.
Surrxit autem Saulus. 11 Aue Maria.
Ioannes Antiochenus. 12 APRILIS.
FEBRVARIVS 13 O felix dies & iucunda.
Nunc incipio. 14 Beate sancte Marcæ.
• NOVA MUSICE (1617)


Exemplar used: München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 2 Mus. pr. 64 (microfilm).

Contents:
Index, oder Register / aller Motteten und Gesang /so in diesem Tabulatur Buch verfasst / darbey auch /zu erfennung des Modi oder Toni der Clavis finalis eines jeden Gesangs verzeichnet.

ERSTER THEIL.

Quinque Vocum.
2. Venite Filii, audite me. Franc. Bianchardus. G.b.m.

Sex Vocum.
17. Exaudi Domine. Gregorius Eichinger. A.
20. Si bona suscepimus. Ludoicus Daser. E.
24. Quem in celo & in terra. Andreas Gabriel. F.b.m.

Septem Vocum.
Secondary and Secular Sources


Octo Vocum.

32. Benedictus Dominus. Andreas Gabriel. G.b.m.
42. Veni in hortum. Claud. Meruli. G.b.m.
44. Benedicti qui pugnat. Claud. Meruli. G.b.m.
45. Anima mea liquefacta. Lucae Marentii. C.
54. Laudate Dominum. Johan. Leo Hasler. G.b.m.
59. Veni in hortem. Jacobus Hasler. F.b.m.
60. Domine Dominus noster. Carl von der Hoven. D.b.m.
61. Ine Domine speravi. Hannibal Stabialis. G.b.m.
63. Dignus es: Secunda pars. Philip de Monte. G.b.m.
64. Cantate Domino Canticum. Ascan. Trombettii. G.b.m.
65. Laudem dicite Deo nostro. Noel Fagnient. C.
68. Duo Seraphin.

Decem Vocum.

70. Exultate justi in Domino. Andr. Gabriel. A.

Duodecim Vocum.

75. Deus misericatur nostri. Andr. Gabriel. F.b.m.
78. Exaudi Deus orationem. Johan. Leo Hasler. F.b.m.
82. Confitebor tibi Domine.
83. Exultate justi in Domino.
84. Omnes gentes plaudite.
85. Buccinate in neomenia tuba.

SEDENDECIM VOCUM.
88. Confitebor tibi Domine.
89. Exultate justi in Domino.
90. Omnes gentes plaudite.

ANDER THEIL.

QUATUOR VOCUM.
1. Vater unser im Himmelreich mit acht theilen aus dem clave.
10. Aus tiefer noth.
11. Ejusdem Psalmi alia compositio, mit vier theilen.
15. Herr wie lang wilt vergessen.
16. Wer in dem schutz des Hochsten ist.
17. Idem Psalmus transpositus in
18. Ejusdem Psalmi compositio Thomas Christoph. Walliser.
19. Wo der Herr nicht gibt sein gunst.
20. Wo Gott der Herr nit bey uns helt.
22. Allein zu dir / Herr Jesu Christ.
23. Wann mein mein stindlein vorhanden ist.
24. Erbarm dich mein.
25. Nun welche hie ihr hoffnung.

QUINQUE VOCUM.
27. Hilff Herre Gott.
29. Gelobet sey der Herr.
30. Es sollen wol Berg weichen.
31. Wurff dein anligen auff den Herzn.
32. Kompt her zu mir.

SEX VOCUM.
33. Verlass mich nicht Gott im aller.
34. Ach bleib bey uns.
35. Förchte dich nicht.
36. Herr/wie lang wili mein vergessen.

OCTO VOCUM.
40. Ich will den Herren loben.
41. Gehe denen Weg.
42. Was mein Gott will.
43. Syon spricht.
44. Zu dir von Hertzten grunde.
45. Nun lob mein Seel den Herrn.
Secondary and Secular Sources

53. Lobet den Herrn.

Di Critter Theil.
Canzoni alla Francese
Di Floren, Maschera.
1. La Capriola
2. La Mashera
3. Al S. Pompeo Coradello
4. La Rosa
5. La Murtinenga
6. La Duranda
7. La Maggia
8. La Averolda
9. La Villachiara
11. Canzoni prima
12. Secunda
13. Tertia
14. Quarta

Di Claudio Meruli da Corregio.
15. Canzoni
16. Dita la Benvenuta
17. Dita l'Albergata
18. Dita la Gratiosa
19. Petit Jaquet
20. Dita la Rolanda
21. Dita la Cortese
22. Canzoni
23. Dita la Leonora
24. Dita Zambecara

Fugae D. Simonis Lobet, Organæ di quondam Ducalis Aulæ Würtembergicae.
51. Fuga prima: 52. Secunda
35. Tertia: 54. Quarta: 55. Quinta
64. Decima quarta: 65. 15. 66. 16.
67. Decima septima: 68. 18. 69. 19. 70. 20.
71. Canzoni ejusdem
72. Media vita, compositio ejusdem
73. De tuot mon cœur: ejusdem
74. Fuga colorata
75. Alia Fuga colorata Adami Steiglederi
76. Fuga di Carol Lusson
77. Toccata primi Toni, Adami Steiglederi

Di Costanzo Antegnati.
25. La Pellerina
26. La Morata
27. La Bottana
28. La Solda
29. La Savalla
30. La Regonasca
31. La Borga
32. La Longena
33. La Foresta
34. La Capitania
35. La Secca
36. La Poncarala
37. L'Antegnata
38. La Spina
39. La Martinenga

Di Flaminio Tresti.
40. La Comaschina
41. La Bignamina

Di Hadrian Banchier.
42. L'Alcenagina
43. La Feliciana
44. La Pomponazza
45. La Guaminia di Giosseff. Guami
46. Canz. di Giosseff. Guami
47. Canz. di Giov. Gabriel
48. Canzoni di Phil. de Pnte
49. Ariosa di Andr. Gabriel
50. La Castelleta

*FLORILEGII (1621)*

FLORILEGII / MUSICI PORTENSIS, / Sacras Harmonias sive Motetas / V. VI. VII. 
VIII. X. Vocum. / E Diversi, ijsque præstantissimis atatis nostræ autoribus / collectus 
comprehendentis / PARS ALTERA. / Quæ exhibet concentus selectissimas. / CL. /
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Exemplar used: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, R47 499 (microfilm).
9 partbooks. Dedicated to Freidrich Meyer, assessor of the Electoral College of Leipzig and for the present most worthy ruling magistrate, and Theodor Moestel, Doctor of both civil and canon law, colleague of the Supreme Electoral Court of Appeals at Dresden, and also most worthy magistrate and member of the Electoral College, and also to their Lordships, the Magistrates and other noblemen of the Senatorial Order, to his most honorable patrons and supporters. Osterhausen, on Cantate Sunday, 1620.

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<tr>
<td>Veni in hortum.</td>
<td>M. Mart. Roth</td>
<td>8. vocum</td>
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<tr>
<td>Venite ad me omnes</td>
<td>Vinc. Berthol.</td>
<td>8 vocum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veni sancte Spiritus.</td>
<td>Nic. Zangius</td>
<td>8 vocum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venit Michael.</td>
<td>Incertus</td>
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<td>Vesperae autem Sabbathi.</td>
<td>Ignoratus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Unser leben.</td>
<td>Sethus Calvisius</td>
<td>8 vocum</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wol dem / der in.</td>
<td>M. Mart. Roth</td>
<td>8. Vocum</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zion spricht.</td>
<td>Sethus Calvisius</td>
<td>8 vocum</td>
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In the source, the contents are also listed according to their appropriate feast.

**MANUSCRIPT SOURCES**

- **Domine a lingua dolosa**

Exemplar used: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, Ms Winterfeld 25 (photocopy). Score.

This is one of seven motets transcribed by Carl Winterfeld catalogued under this call number. All are attributed to ‘Stabile Annibale detto Padovano’. While six of the seven are in all probability by Stabile, *Domine a lingua dolosa* is by Hannibal Padovano and is so labelled on Winterfeld’s transcription. This confusion between the two composers which originated in Walther’s 18th century lexicon, was carried through to Gerber’s expanded four-volume lexicon of the early 19th century and this was probably the origin for the confusion in this case. While I have only *Domine a lingua dolosa* from the source, the catalogue card lists the other six items and also gives Winterfeld’s sources, all of which are extant publications, and from this it is possible to deduce that these other six are by Stabile. The seven items and their sources are the *Nunc dimitis* (Promptuarii), *Beata es Virgo Maria, Victime paschali, Hi sunt qui venerunt, Ibant Apostoli* (Corollarium cantionum, 1590), and *Domine a lingua dolosa, Quam pulchra sunt mammæ* (Harmoniae miscellæ, 1583).

- **Hi sunt qui venerunt — Dignus es Domine**

Exemplar used: Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität, F IX 43, Nr. 22 (photocopy). Organ tablature.

1 See ‘Chronological Survey’, pp. 11-12.
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ff. 83v–84r
Annibal Stabiliis. Hi sunt qui venerunt de tribulatione magna etc. I pars
ff. 84v–85r
Secunda Pars. Dignus es Domine Deus noster accipere Gloriam etc.

• Hymnus de gloria paradisi

Exemplars used: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußische Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, MSS 21078, 21078/1, 21078/2. (photocopy).
Three different copies of the same item. All in score.
Annibale Stabile
Hymnus de gloria paradisi.

• Litanies

Exemplar used: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. ms. 1045 (microfilm).
Four litanies in section entitled: Litaniae IV Auctore Annibale Stabili. All in score.

Tom. I, ff. 139–172
f. 139v
Litania I. de B. V. Maria
f. 144r
Litania II. de Sanctissime Nomine Jesu
f. 152r
Litania III. de B. V. Maria
f. 161v
Litania IV. de B. V. Maria

• Nos autem gloriari

Exemplar used: Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cappella Giulia XIII 25.
Five part books: C1T1 A1B1 C2T2 A2B2 Organ.

ff. 20v–21
A.S. [Annibale Stabile] Nos autem gloriari

The contents of this manuscript are listed in O'Regan, ‘Sacred Polychoral Music’, i, p. 114.

• 'Polish' Litany

Source 2: Wroclaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, 60201 Muz (photocopies) and Warsaw, Biblioteka Naradowa, Mus. 2101 (photocopies). 20 x 16cm. Dated 13 July 1623. 2
Both partbook format.

Source 1:
Mus. 2099, ff. 276v–278. Cantus [C1] Kyrie eleison à 8
H. Stabilis

2 Size and date of copying for both Source 1 and 2 taken from Kolbuszewska, Katalog zbiorow muzycznych legnickiej biblioteki ksiecia, pp. 89 and 91. See ‘Primary Sources’, p. 348, n. 44.
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Mus. 2095, ff. 271v–273. Tenore [T1]
Mus. 2098, ff. 41v–43. Sexta vox. [A2]  

Kyrie eleison à 8
Hannibal Stabilis

Kyrie eleison à 8
Hannibal Stabilis

Kyrie eleison à 8
Hannibal Stabilis

Source 2:
Wroclaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, 60201 Muz
ff. 7v–8v. 7 vox [A2] Kyrie eleison A 8 Hannibal Stabilis

Warsaw, Biblioteka Naradowa, Mus. 2101

These provide two further incomplete sources for this litany.3 Both Source 1 and Source 2 were formerly held in the Bibliotheca Rudolphina. Partbooks for the second source are now split between two libraries.

• Spiritus Domini

Exemplar used: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. ms. 748 (microfilm). This consists of two examples of the work, one in parts on single folios, the other in score.

Source 1: DAD Spiritus Domini Basso a 3 [parts]
Source 2: Di Domco Andrea Dragoni Spiritus Domini [score]

These and the third source of the same work below (Munster, Diözesan-Bibliothek, Sant Hs. 3592+) have been incorrectly attributed to Gio. A. Dragoni by the libraries concerned. It is not clear how the error arose, but in Source 2 the name of the composer is quite clearly Domenico Andrea Dragoni (‘Di Domco Andrea Dragoni (?) ad Palestrino e stato Maestro in S. Gio. in Laterano’), and Source 1 is headed ‘D A D’. The heading in Source 2 has probably led to the unlikely assumption that this work is by Giovanni Andrea Dragoni who was maestro at S. Giovanni from 1578 to 1598. The other factor for the doubtful authenticity is the style of the work. It is composed in the new luxuriant style of the madrigal which arose in the 1590s and is quite unlike Dragoni’s motets contained in the posthumous publication Motectorum ... (1600). Spiritus Domini also contains some experimental dissonance treatment, tonal organization, and an extremely wide two-octave range in the lowest Bass voice. Two polychoral works attributed to Gio. A Dragoni and cited by Noel O’Regan, D Müs, Hs. 3588+ and Rvat Giul. V 56, pp. 54–57, also display a style belonging to the

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3See also ‘Primary Sources’, p. 350.
17th century, and it is possible that these too may have been by this Domenico Andrea Dragoni.  

- **Spiritus Domini**

Exemplar used: Münster, Diözesan-Bibliothek, Sant Hs. 3592+ (microfiche).

This item is contained in *Istas sacras cantiones 3 vocibus* . . . .

f. 5–5v Di Andrea Dragoni *Spiritus Domini* [score]

This is the same work as that above. The Santini collection at this library contains many other manuscript compositions attributed to G. A. Dragoni and it is possible that some of these may also be incorrectly attributed. However, one of these items, *Dixit Dominus a 8 voci* (Hs. 1375), is believed to be an autograph copy of 1580.5 A number of other manuscript items by G. A. Dragoni are held in the Archivio Storico del Vicariato di Roma, Fondo S. Giovanni in Laterano. Of prime interest is Codex 60 which contains Dragoni’s set of Magnificats. Patricia Ann Myers in her entry on Dragoni in *New Grove* (NG, v, p. 606), thought that this autograph collection was lost. However, I am happy to report that this is not the case. Another item by Dragoni in the Archivio S. Giovanni, copied at the end of the 16th century, is a four-voice Litany with organ part (m.mus. B. 1250).

- **SECCULAR PUBLICATIONS**

- **IL LIBRO PRIMO DE MADRIGALI (1572)**


Exemplar used: Krakow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Mus. ant. prac. S 1275 (microfilm).

Source incomplete, 1 partbook (Tenor). Dedicated to Horatio Mandosio.

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4 For reference to these polychoral items, see O'Regan, 'Sacred Polychoral Music', i, pp. 185, 200 (n. 29), and 328.

5 This fact mentioned on a list of compositions by Dragoni held in the Santini collection at the Diözesan-Bibliothek in Münster and sent to me by this library.
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### • MADRIGALI ... NANINO ET STABILE (1581)

**CANTO / MADRIGALI A CINQVE VOCI / DI GIO MARIA NANINO ET DI / ANNIBAL STABILE NOVAMENTE / Composti, & dati in luce. / In Venetia Appresso Angelo Gardano / M D LXXXI.**

Exemplar used: München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 4 Mus. pr. 189, Beibd. 10 (microfilm). 5 partbooks. Dedicated to Lelio Pasqualino, Rome January 20, 1581.

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</tr>
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<td>Aventuroso piu</td>
<td>[Nanino] 20</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chiari cristalli</td>
<td>[Stabile] 2</td>
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<td>Cosi davanti [2a parte]</td>
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<td>Dolorosi martir</td>
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<td>Giocondo e crudo fato</td>
<td>[Nanino] 7</td>
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<td>Godeano in ciel [1a parte]</td>
<td>[Nanino] 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Il ciel fermossi [2a parte]</td>
<td>[Stabile] 3</td>
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</table>

### • IL TERZO LIBRO DE MADRIGALI (1585)

**CANTO / DI ANNIBAL STABILE / IL TERZO LIBRO / DE MADRIGALI A CINQVE VOCI. / Nouamente posti in luce. / IN VINEGIA Appresso l'Herede di Girolamo Scotto. / M D LXXXV.**


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Che fa hoggì il mio sole 19
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Gia fu ch'io desiai 15
O bell'arte d'Amor [2a parte] 13
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Rasserenar si vidde [1a parte] 6
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* IL LIBRO PRIMO DE MADRIGALI (1586)

ALTO / DI ANNIBAL STABILE / IL PRIMO LIBRO / DE MADRIGALI / A CINQUE VOCI. / Novamente ristampati. / IN VINEGIA Apresso l'Herede di Girolamo Scotto. / M D LXXXVI.

Exemplar used: Gdansk, Biblioteka Polskiej Akademii Nauk [Call number not known], (microfilm). 5 Partbooks. No dedication.

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Qui Maria giacque 19
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Qual vaga pastorela 21
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It has become clear as a result of this study that there is much to be discovered concerning the principles and practices of the Roman School in the late 16th century. Clearly the style of Palestrina does not provide the total picture. There are many other as yet unresearched composers, of both greater and lesser stature, whose individual idiosyncrasies will help to provide a more complete understanding of the Roman style, and until their music has been investigated the picture must perforce remain incomplete. A contributory factor is the distinct lack of modern editions in this field. It is hoped that making Stabile’s music available in a modern edition will benefit both performers looking for ‘new’ material and future researchers who may wish to undertake comparative studies with other Roman composers. Performance practice likewise remains largely unexplored. My research in the archives of three of the many Roman institutions served only to establish how much source material there is available on this subject, most of it unresearched. At S. Maria Maggiore, for example, there was a large amount of uncatalogued music, and an investigation into the musical repertoire at this institution would make a fascinating topic in itself. This present study on Stabile, his music, and performance practice at the Roman institutions where he served as maestro, has helped to fill one small part of this vast unresearched area.

Annibale Stabile was a well-known and respected composer during his lifetime. He was one of the earliest Roman composers to have a collection of his own sacred music published and was among the few to obtain the patronage of the Pope. His music was known in places as far afield as Strasbourg, Leipzig, Warsaw and Krakow.

1 See Appendix B of this thesis for a list of composers active in Rome from 1570 to 1600.  
2 IBIMUS (Roma) is at present endeavouring to catalogue this music, but owing to the few available hours when the archive is open and a lack of personnel to carry out the cataloguing, it will be a long time before the project is completed.
He was also an able choir master. Under his direction the music at the German College in particular achieved fame far beyond the boundaries of Rome. New archival evidence has established that Stabile hired musicians as well as extra singers for festive occasions, over and above the regular choir of around six adults and two to four boys: for one event at S. Maria Maggiore as many as 20 extras may have been hired which, when added to the 10 regular choir members, made a group of 30 altogether. He also made use of more than one organ. At S. Maria Maggiore the accounts mention 'organi' several times and also refer to a room in which these organs were stored. Processions emerged as being an important part of late 16th-century performance practice and as maestro, Stabile was responsible for the music at these events. One procession held at the German College in 1583 involved over 200 people and included three choirs.

Stabile exhibits a variety of styles ranging from the continuously-spun contrapuntal style of the prima prattica with its light, air-filled texture, to the syncopated pure four-voice homophony of the Hymnus de gloria paradisi, the harmonically rich six-voice texture of Nisi quia Dominus 1a pars, or the declamatory style of some of his later compositions for double choir. He reveals a preference for the through-composed motet, although the more structured forms are more prevalent in the double-choir motets. For these double-choir motets, Stabile preferred to write for similarly-cleffed choirs rather than the cori alti e bassi favoured by his Venetian contemporaries. There is an occasional use of the double leading note, close juxtaposition of C# and E♭ or G# and B♭, and juxtaposed false relations. Unlike some of his contemporaries Stabile makes no move into the area of melodic chromaticism, nor does he show any interest in experimental dissonance treatment, and he does not always produce the seemingly endless supply of beautiful melodies for which Palestrina is so well known. Stabile’s main interest was in rhythmic innovation and in this he was at the forefront with the application of note nere figures and significant passages of note nere to sacred music. His better-known contemporaries such as Palestrina, Marenzio, Victoria, and Giovannelli were less adventurous in this respect.

This thesis establishes Stabile as one of the major figures working in Rome during the last quarter of the 16th century and a study of his music and his role as maestro di cappella was long overdue. In the final analysis there can be no doubt that he was well deserving of the early 17th century comment: ‘Hanibal Stabile, a man of no little repute among the masters of music’.

* * *
This bibliography, including only those sources relevant to this dissertation, is divided into three sections:

1. Unpublished Manuscripts. This does not include the musical sources consulted. For this, see Part 3 of this thesis.

2. Printed Books
   i. Liturgical Books, listed in order of publication.
   ii. Other Printed Books, listed alphabetically by author or editor.

3. Modern Music Editions. This includes only those editions containing specific works discussed in the text. These are listed alphabetically by composer or by editor in the case of an anthology.

• UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPTS •

• ARCHIVIO STORICO DEL VICARIATO DI ROMA, FONDO S. GIOVANNI IN LATERANO
Liber Introitus et Exitus Fabrice et Cappelle de anno 1572, Pxx.
Introitus et Exitus Fabrica et Cappella 1574 et 1575, Pxxiii.
Liber Cappella 1577, Pxxiv.
Fabrica et Capella 1578, Pxxv.

• ARCHIVIO COLLEGIUM GERMANICUM ET HUNGARICUM LAURETANO, P., ‘Diario dall’Ottobre 1582–1583 (Luglio) con Appendice dell’ 1585 and 1586’.
Libro del Collegio Germanico di Roma signato B, ab Anno 1580 per totum Annum 1583.
Romae: I Bilanci antichi. II Sritture sopra la Giurisdizione dei Giudice del Coll. in partibus etc. 86. 87.
• ARCHIVIO CAPITOLARE DI SANTA MARIA MAGGIORE
Cappella 1589 al 1600 Tom 4.
Giustificazioni 6 1591-1592.
Giustificazioni 7 1593-1594.
Instror Tom 19 ab Anno 1592 usq ad 1595.
Instrorum Tom 20 ab Anno 1595 usq ad 1603.
Isinuto 1594 al 1600 Tom 3.

• PRINTED BOOKS •

• LITURGICAL BOOKS

Breviariurn Romanum ex decreto sancrosancti Concilij Tridentini restitum.
(Paris, 1585).

Nomina Sanctorum Omnium Qui Habentur in Martyrologio Romano à Gregorio XIII.
reformato. Additis Litanij S. Sacramenti, Net non vitae D. N. Jesu Christi, et
Beatissimae semper Virginis Mariae, Nonnullisque alijs pijs precationibus
(Rome, 1595).

Graduale Romanum de Tempore, et Sanctis. Iuxta ritum Missalis, ex Decreto
sancrosancti Concilij Tridentini restituti: et PII V. Pont. Max. iussu editi: Cum
Calendario Gregoriano, et officij s aliquot SS, ex praecepto SIXTI V. et S.D.N.
CLEMENTIS VIII. (Antwerp, 1599).

Biblia Sacra Vulgatae editionis Sixti V Pontificis Maximi jussu recognita et Clementis
VIII auctoritate edita . . . (Paris, 1870).

Breviariurn Romanum ex decreto sancrosancti Concilii Tridentini restitutum S. Pii V
Pontificis Maximi jussu editum aliorumque pontificum cura recognitum Pii
Pape X auctoritate reformatum edito vigesima quinta juxta typicam, 4 vols
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BAAB, Jerrold C., ‘Hakenberger, Andreas’, *NG*, viii, p. 42.


Selected Bibliography


BRIDGES, Thomas W., 'Tartaglino, Hippolito', *NG*, xviii, p. 583.


Selected Bibliography

BURKE, John, 'Musicians of S. Maria Maggiore Rome, 1600–1700', Note d'archivio per la storia musicale, nuova serie, ii (1984), supplement.


CARVER, Anthony F., Cori Spezzati: The development of sacred polychoral music to the time of Schutz, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1988).


COUCHMAN, Jonathan Paul, ‘Felice Anerio’s music for the church and for the Altemps *Cappella*’ (PhD Diss, University of California, 1989).


----------. 'Marino, Alessandro', NG, xi, p. 687.

----------. 'Stabile, Annibale', NG, xviii, pp. 37–38.


DRAUDIUS, Georg, Verzeichnisse deutscher musikalischer Bücher 1611 und 1625, facsimile reproduction of musical section with forward, edited by Konrad Amheln (Bonn, 1957).


----------. Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexicon der Musiker und Musiklehrten christlicher Zeitrechnung bis Mitte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts (Graz, 1959).


----------. ‘Peetrinus, Jacobus’, *NG*, xiv, p. 337.


HAAR, James, 'The Note Nere Madrigal', *JAMS*, 18 (1965), pp. 22–41.


----------. 'Conforti, Giovanni Luca', *NG*, iv, p. 657.


---------. ‘Palestrina, Giovanni Pierluigi da’, *NG*, xiv, pp. 118–137.


MISCHIATI, Oscar, *Indici, cataloghi e avvisi degli editori e librai musicali italiani dal 1591 al 1798*, Studi e testi per la storia della musica 2 (Firenze, 1984).


----------. ‘Pacelli, Asprilio, NG, xiv, pp. 45–46.

----------. ‘Patart, Antonio’ NG, xiv, pp. 298–299.


PITONI, Giuseppe Ottavio, Notitiae de'Contrapuntisti e Compositori di Musica, edited by Cesarino Ruini, Studi e Testi per la Storia della Musica, 6 (Firenze, 1988).


----------. ‘Mode’, NG, xii, pp. 376–450.


----------. ‘Monteverdi’s Model for a Multimodal Madrigal’, in In Cantu et in Sermone, edited by Fabrizio Della Seta and Franco Piperno, Italian Medieval and Renaissance Studies 2 (Firenze and University of Western Australia, 1989), pp. 185–219.


SARTORI, Claudio, *Dizionario degli editori musicale italiani*, Biblioteca de bibliografia italiana, xxxii (Florence, 1958).


---------. ‘Infantas, Fernando de las’, *NG*, ix, p. 225.


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Selected Bibliography

---------. 'Osculati, Giulio', NG, xiv, p. 3.


WALKER, Thomas, 'Castrato', NG, iii, pp. 875–876.

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COMMER, Franz, ed., *Musica Sacra. Cantiones XVI, XVII saeculorum praestantissimae quatuor pluribusque vocibus accommodatus*, vol. xvi (Berlin, 1875) and vol. xxii (Regensburg, 1881), pp. 70 and 44.


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PALESTRINA, Giovanni Pierluigi, Le Opere Complete di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, edited by Raffaele Casimiri et al (Rome, 1939–).


PHILIPS, Peter, Peter Philips: Cantiones Sacrae Quinis Vocibus (1612), transcribed and edited by John Steele, 2 vols (Dunedin, 1993).


* * *
Appendices
Reg Ms: Libro del Collegio Germanico di Roma signato B, ab Anno 1580 per totum Annum 1583, f. 74.

Earliest extant reference to Stabile in the archives of the German College. [top part of the page only].

Document 1
Appendix A Document 2

Document 2


Choirlist for 1576 at S. Giovanni in Laterano (no month given).
Alli 12 [Giugno] ....
Se costituiscono doi che sonino le campane in tutto il temo della processione o almeno quando il SS. 0. Sacramento, sta appresso alla porta, et piazza.
Si comincia à inviare la Processione, cominciando dalli putti della dottr: a Xptiana, subbito che è detto Ite Missa est, poi detto l'Eva[n]go il sacerdote piglia il Piviale, che li si porra al Altare, et uno da alli sacerdoti le torcie, quelli che sedono nel loco de beneficiati se non deveno andare con li sacerdoti, si parteno, et vanno in Cortile al suo loco. Accese dunq [ue] le torcie, il sacerdote cassa il SS. 0. Sacra[men]to, et l’incensa, in ta[n]to nel Choro di sopra si canta O Salutaris hostia, et poi li cantori descendeno subbito al suo loco nel cortile, et pigliano le candele.

Ordo Processionis SS. mi Sacramen.ii


1Lauretano, Diario, pp. 97-98.

Doppo li sacerdoti, de quali pero niuno era con Pianete, à con Piviale, veniva il SS. Sacr[amen]to avanti al quale andava uno con la Navicella dell’Incenso, et doi con turibuli, face[n]dò sempre odore, quando sono al altare di Torre Sanguigna, me[n]tre che si canta il motetto questi turiferarij mutano il carbone, pigliando li ferri novi pieni di bragia viva, et se lasciano li, gl’altri.


Li Putti della dottrina subbito che arrivorno, non entrorno in Chiesa, ma andorno avan[ti] la porta del Collegio. Il stendardo della Comp.à con la Musica si fermò a mano sinistra della porta della Chiesa, nella Piazza, et tutte le torcie de secolari che venivano di mano in mano se fermorno nella piazza facendo un circolo maggiore che si puo, q[uel]le dura dalla porta final cantone della torre. poi la croce, et clero passando per mezzo di q.10 circolo entra in Chiesa dispone[n]dosi nel modo detto di sopra.

Choirlist for January 1594 at S. Maria Maggiore.

Document 4
Rsm Ms: Isinuto 1594 al 1600 Tom 3, f. 81v.
Choirlist for January 1594 at S. Maria Maggiore.
Document 5

Rsm Ms: Giustificazioni 7 1593–1594, Mandato 31.

Showing Stabile’s acceptance, in his own handwriting, of payment for the seven cantori who helped on Easter Day in 1593 (S. Maria Maggiore).
## APPENDIX B

### COMPOSERS ACTIVE IN ROME BETWEEN 1570 AND 1600

This table does not claim to be exhaustive, but includes those composers that I have come across in the course of my research. They are listed in the left-hand column in order of birth, where this is known. The far right-hand column gives two sources from the biographical dictionaries listed below; the earliest and the latest to contain an entry on the composer concerned. The code is as follows [see Bibliography for full references]:

- **P** = Pitoni
- **E** = Eitner (*Quellen-Lexicon*)
- **F** = Fetis (*Biographie Universelle*, 2nd edition)
- **NG** = New Grove

<table>
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<tr>
<th>COMPOSER</th>
<th>BIRTH</th>
<th>DEATH</th>
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<td>Giovanni Animuccia</td>
<td>Florence c. 1500</td>
<td>Rome 1571</td>
<td>P/NG</td>
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<tr>
<td>François Roussel</td>
<td>c. 1510</td>
<td>after 1577</td>
<td>P/NG</td>
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<tr>
<td>Firmin Lebel</td>
<td>Noyon early 16th century</td>
<td>Rome 1573</td>
<td>NG</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rubino Malaspert(^1)</td>
<td>before 1520</td>
<td>after 1576</td>
<td>NG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joannes Parvus</td>
<td>before 1520</td>
<td>late 1570s</td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
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<td>Gio. P. da Palestrina</td>
<td>Palestrina c. 1525/26</td>
<td>Naples 1599</td>
<td>P/NG</td>
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<td>Bartolomeo Roy</td>
<td>Burgundy c. 1530</td>
<td>Rome 1594</td>
<td>P/NG</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fernando de las Infantas</td>
<td>Córdoba 1534</td>
<td>c. 1610</td>
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<td>Annibale Zoilo</td>
<td>Rome c. 1537</td>
<td>Loreto 1592</td>
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<td>Johannes Matelart</td>
<td>Flanders before 1538</td>
<td>Rome 1607</td>
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<td>nr. Bamberg c. 1538</td>
<td>Rome 1612</td>
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<td>Francesco Adriani</td>
<td>S. Severino, nr Ancona 1539</td>
<td>Rome 1575</td>
<td>P/NG</td>
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<td>Hippolito Tartaglino</td>
<td>?Modena ?1539</td>
<td>Naples 1582</td>
<td>P/NG</td>
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<td>Gio. Andrea Dragoni</td>
<td>Meldola, nr Forli c. 1540</td>
<td>Rome 1598</td>
<td>P/NG</td>
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<td>Giovanni Battista Moscaglia</td>
<td>?Rome fl.1559–1590</td>
<td>before 1605</td>
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<td>Alessandro Marino(^2)</td>
<td>Venice ?1540s</td>
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<td>Annibale Stabile</td>
<td>Naples c. 1545</td>
<td>Rome 1595</td>
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<td>Gio. Maria Nanino</td>
<td>Tivoli c. 1543–45</td>
<td>Rome 1607</td>
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\(^1\) See also this thesis, pp. 49–51.

\(^2\) The 1540s as Marino’s date of birth seem more probable than the mid-16th century suggested by Ruth DeFord in her entry on Alessandro Marino in *New Grove* (*NG*, xi, p. 687), since Marino’s first publication appeared in 1571.
Appendix B

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Born/Died</th>
<th>City/Birthplace</th>
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<td>Archangelo Crivelli</td>
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<td>Francesco Soriano</td>
<td></td>
<td>Soriano, nr Viterbo c.1548</td>
<td>Rome ?1621</td>
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<td>Tomas Luis de Victoria</td>
<td></td>
<td>Avila c.1548</td>
<td>Madrid 1611</td>
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<td>Giovanni de Macque</td>
<td></td>
<td>Valenciennes c.1548</td>
<td>Naples 1614</td>
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<td>Sebastian Raval</td>
<td></td>
<td>Cartagena c.1550</td>
<td>Palermo 1604</td>
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<td>Gio. Battista Giacometti</td>
<td></td>
<td>Brescia c.1550</td>
<td>Florence 1608</td>
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<td>Curzio Mancini</td>
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<td>?Rome c.1550</td>
<td>?Rome after 1608</td>
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<td>Ercole Pasquini</td>
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<td>Ferrara mid-16th century</td>
<td>Rome 1608-19</td>
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<td>Romolo Naldi</td>
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<td>Bologna mid-16th century</td>
<td>Rome 1612</td>
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<td>Jacobus Peetinus</td>
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<td>Mechelen c.1553</td>
<td>c.1591</td>
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<td>Luca Marenzio</td>
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<td>Coccaglio, nr Brescia c.1553/54</td>
<td>Rome 1599</td>
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<td>c.1598</td>
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<td>Paolo Bellasio</td>
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<td>Verona 1554</td>
<td>Rome 1594</td>
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<td>Paolo Quagliati</td>
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<td>Chioggia c.1555</td>
<td>Rome 1628</td>
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<td>Gio. Bernadino Nanino</td>
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<td>Vallerano c.1560</td>
<td>Rome 1623</td>
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<td>Peter Philips</td>
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<td>Francesco Martini</td>
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<td>Ath c.1560</td>
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<td>Gio. Francesco Anerio</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rome c.1567</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salvatore Sacchi(^3)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Cirinolano in Puglia, 2nd half of the 16th century</td>
<td>after 1649</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paolo Tarditi</td>
<td></td>
<td>2nd half of the 16th century</td>
<td>Rome 1648?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theofilo Gargari(^4)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Galleso c.1570</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stephanus Toustain(^5)</td>
<td></td>
<td>fl. 1571</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^3\)See also this thesis, pp. 341–343.

\(^4\)See O'Regan, 'Sacred Polyphonic Music', i, p. 353. O'Regan also includes outline biographies of other Roman composers known to have composed polyphonic music over the period 1575 to 1621 ('Sacred Polyphonic Music', i, pp. 351–358).

Appendix B

Pietro Paolo Lanza\(^6\) fl. 1573–1576
Paolo Vicuaro\(^7\) fl. 1577
Orazio Caccini fl. 1577–1585
Giovanni Pellio\(^8\) fl. 1578–1585
Nicolo Pervue fl. 1578–1612
Pietro Amico Jacobetti\(^9\) fl. 1579–1616
Paolo Papini\(^10\) Rome 1603
Giovanni Battista Locatello fl. 1582–1628
Orazio Griffi\(^11\) fl. 1588–?1619
Pietro Pavolo Pacciotti fl. 1591–1601
Giovanni Troiano Todi ? [fl. 1597–1601]
Prospero Santini fl. 1591–1614
Gerolamo Boschetti fl. 1591–1611
Giovanni Battista Montanari fl. second half 16th C
Asprilio Pacelli Vasciano, nr Narni 1570 Warsaw 1623
Fabio Costantini nr Ancona c.1570 ?Tivoli 1644
Romano Micheli Rome c.1575 Rome after 1659

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\(^6\) See Reynolds, 'Rome: a City of Rich Contrast', p. 70, where Pietro Paolo Lanza is listed as maestro at the Seminario Romano from 1573 to 1576. As with Toustain (n. 5 above), there is no evidence that any of his music has survived.

\(^7\) See Reynolds, 'Rome: a City of Rich Contrast', p. 70. Paolo Vicuaro is listed as maestro at the Seminario Romano 1577–?. None of his music is known to have survived.

\(^8\) See also Reynolds, 'Rome: a City of Rich Contrast', p. 70, where Pellio is listed as maestro at S Luigi dei Francesi from 2 Dec 1577 to 30 April 1578. See also Perkins, 'Notes bibliographiques', p. 62; and Herman-Walther Frey, 'Die Kapellmeister an der französischen Nationalkirche San Luigi dei Francesi in Rom im 16. Jahrhundert', Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, xxii (1965), p. 289. There is, however, no evidence that any of his music has survived.

\(^9\) See also Reynolds, 'Rome: a City of Rich Contrast', p. 70, where Jacobetti is listed as maestro at the Seminario Romano in Rome from 1579–1583. See also this thesis, pp. 365–366.

APPENDIX C
TRANSLATIONS OF THE DEDICATIONS FROM THE PRIMARY SOURCES

• SACRARUM MODULATIONUM . . . LIBER SECUNDUS, 15851 •

To our Most Sacred Master,
Sixtus V, The Excellent Pope

That honour of the pontificate, recently bestowed on you but for a long time due to your virtue, most blessed Pope, has given two benefits to the pupils of the College of Germany and Hungary. For firstly it has wiped away from them all the grief that seized their minds with the sudden death of Gregory XIII. Secondly, it has confirmed them in the most pleasing and most definite hope, that in the future they may come to reckon that no better fortune came to Gregory when he was lifted up into heaven, than has to themselves when you were raised up into his place. I will pass over the fact that those young men recognise no other parent than the Pope of Rome, whoever he is, and regard their safety as entirely dependent on that one man. I will not say what hopes are enjoined on all good men by that high expectation which declared you the highest in the judgement of all men before the Pope declared it by the vote of the cardinals. The many clear signs of your love for him, the perfect embracing of all the virtues which has always shone out in you, and your zeal, not only to maintain but to extend the catholic life and faith — just as these things freed men from all anxiety, so they have assured them that Germany, which had begun to recover as if from a pestilential disease by the watchfulness of Gregory, will be returned to unimpaired health recovering its inward strength through your wisdom. When I saw the spirit of those excellent young men, I was not able to rejoice at their happiness in proportion to the fondness for them which my association of so many years as their choirmaster has created, just as I had previously sorrowed in their sorrow. I thought that nothing more suitable to this occasion could proceed from me than if, just as before when I was about to send several of my musical works, and sacred ones at that, into the light, I wished them to appear under the name of Gregory, so when I am about to publish others I should issue them fortified by your patronage, now that this occasion has arisen, a thing which I would never have dared to do. Wherefore allow me to offer

1Translation by Ruth Standfield.
2The 'not' seems to spoil the sense, but it is in the Latin.
you this in view of your excellent and generous nature, most blessed Pope, as a kind of token of the huge joy in which I and your German College exult at the most glorious honour with which you have been adorned by the favour of the divine will. Every single musical note that you will see in this, you must regard as a mark of applause and congratulation to you from myself and the college. So it will come to pass that, if this music is perhaps less pleasing to you, you will at least take pleasure in our goodwill and our piety towards you. Rome 1 July 1585.

The most humble servant of your Sanctity, Annibal Stabilis.

EPIGRAM

These songs which the royal Musician sang to his golden lyre, turning sacred words to sweet sounds, these he has committed to eternal sheets of paper, so that they may be a sure monument to his spirit. You strive to weave songs under the prophetic Prince, Annibal, and to set words to musical notes. No doubt when the stem of transient life has been broken you will be received with blessing by the angelic chorus. When you are about to utter praise in song in the company of God and the heavenly hosts, you will be able to touch the strings of the eternal lyre, and your voice will resound in heaven and on earth, so that both domains may confirm that Annibal lives.

EPIGRAM

Am I deceived or has the Muse been led down from the ridges of Apollo and abandoned the peaks of the steep Pindus? Does she practise sweet song and sacred song and spread delight to the stars with her music, she who is destined not to perish? I see it. The Sisters, settled here in a stable\(^3\) seat, are teaching the lofty temples here to resound with songs of God, Mary, the Son of Mary and the Servants of the Son, whether laurel or a tiara adorns their hair. Who could deny that these are similar to the angelic harmonies, when Gabriel plucks the golden strings of his lyre? And, Apollo being deservedly scorned, these songs are dedicated to you, O Prince, songs worthy of the patronage of the holy Prince.\(^4\)

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\(^3\)stable is a pun on 'Stabile'.

\(^4\)The actual sense of this is not clear.
To Scipione Gonzaga, Most Serene, Venerable, Esteemed and Most Eminent Cardinal, Annibale Stabile conveys greeting.

That unparalleled quality which benevolence has always fostered in you, Scipione, Illustrious Prince, leaves no room for doubt as to the method or the skill by which you have won the minds and devotion of all men to yourself.

As a result of this marvellous graciousness of your ways it has come about that, when a long time ago I was one of the company of the laity and I had kept some elegant songs not at all sacred but no less creditable than joyous, by virtue of my indifferent labour in the science of music — sounds worked on with skill — I resolved that these should be dedicated to you, who were already hardly initiated into the sacred mysteries, on account of that surpassing number of your favours and services towards me.

Now in truth, because I find myself elected to the assembly of the clergy, at the command and by the grace of God, the situation demands that if in my everyday endeavours then is detected anything moderately pleasing, anything touched with the delight of praiseworthy beauty, it should not be entrusted to the fray except under the most powerful protection of your name. I am the more determined on this in the measure that I see you shining more splendidly amongst the Fathers of the Church, not only as an ordinary member of the cloth but in the purple of a Cardinal.

Therefore, most Illustrious Prince, you have from me a certain collection assembled without order from the most beautiful gardens of music itself; a collection which, if less by beautiful style and art, at least by the content itself which savours of and rings with nothing impious, nothing lacking devotion, I think will be very agreeable to you.

If by these I have demonstrated that my utmost reverence (as indeed it should be) and that of the Germanic College (in which for a long time I have applied all my attention and powers of thought to the advancement and the directing of music) will assuredly never be found wanting by you, then I certainly am in possession of not only the rewards proposed to me (which in my case are always most handsome) but also of the exceedingly gratifying and rich fruit of my toil. From these things I will derive both long-lasting and also the greatest delight of heart. Farewell.

Translation by Margaret Marsh.
To the excellent and honourable Gentleman,
Herr Paul Dulner, Citizen of Nuremburg, Kinsman, Patron and Best Friend,
Leonard Lechner Athesinus
dedicates this work.

Just as the other arts have been elegantly enhanced in this our century, so also the art of Music has so brightly begun to shine that there are some who are of the opinion that it is hardly possible for it to be further enhanced.

Many deserve well of it, but especially those whose efforts are directed towards the service of true religion, so that the Word of God be a means of leading all to the glory of God. On that account it seems that those persons greatly further ecclesiastical affairs whose single minded work it is to lovingly decorate the sacred songs with sweet melodies. I, too, think that not the least portion of my labours would be carried out if I do all I can so that my experience in Music may provide that the melodies composed by many other musicians and by me should be published for public use. Accordingly, I put together a not inconsiderable number of these written by excellent artists and (willingly following their footsteps and imitating them even if I was in no way able to achieve their felicity) I myself added one or two songs of my own. To add greater lustre to this edition, it seemed fitting to me when I was seeking a Patron that I should dedicate it to your excellent self, my dearest kinsman, friend and supporter, so that it should be honoured by the mention of your name. I am moved to do this all the more willingly by your considerable assistance to me which I could not fail to recognise without being charged with ingratitude: it would be unworthy of me. I did this even more willingly because you are well able, and are accustomed, to pass judgement on these compositions because you understand the art and for this reason you have accepted me with true goodwill. I lovingly pray that you will always keep this affection and if ever I am able to assist your Excellency I acknowledge my obligation and will never fail in my duty, I hope and pray for your good health and well being. Nuremberg, Feast of St. Matthew the Apostle, A. D. 1583.

6Translation by the Rev. Father Kevin McKone.
• COROLLARIUM CANTIONUM⁷ •

To the Most Eminent and Renowned Gentlemen,
esteeemed for their Nobility, Prudence and every kind of virtue:
the Senators of the glorious Republic of Nuremberg,
my Lords to whom I owe every respect.

Most Eminent and Discerning Gentlemen, it is now going on for sixteen years since
the administration of the Choir in the Cathedral of St. Giles was entrusted by your
Excellencies to me, whom you had already engaged in your service.

In that work of administration to this very time I have engaged with the greatest
possible faithfulness, zeal and diligence; and (though I wish to say it without
boasting) I have always striven to make research in that kind of song which would
both serve the glory and truth of God, and by the sweetness of the music by pleasing
and acceptable to your Excellencies. In whose name I have experienced not only
every assistance and favour, but also hitherto have been sustained by a generous
stipend and your almost paternal goodwill. I neither can, nor ought, hide or dissemble
all this without incurring the charge of the basest ingratitude.

And so, in past years, at the request of Musicians and Singers from many places I
have published in two distinct works, a not inconsiderable number of songs of this
kind which are suitable for the Principal Feasts of the Year and which can religiously
be used and sung in Churches. And now again, I have been asked by our Printer that
if I had any such Songs (he knew that I did have a fair number of them) composed by
the most outstanding and most famous Musicians of our time for the Principal Feasts
of the Year, which could fruitfully be used in many churches and Schools of Music,
and that if I thought they could be printed would I send them to him to be printed for
this purpose. This is such a good and praiseworthy proposal that I am obliged and I
intend not only not to oppose it by rather to promote it in every way. And so to lend a
flourish to these considerations, it seemed fitting to publish these songs under the
patronage of this great Republic and under the title of the most noble Senate, so that
(because I can do no other) these at least might be as it were the public testimony of
my gratitude for the good will and countless benefits which I have received from
Your Excellencies right throughout the time of my employment. I ask with the great-
est deference, that your Excellencies may graciously accept this weak dedication of
these songs which I hope will not be without benefit for divine worship, if only

⁷Translation by the Rev. Father Kevin McKone.
because of the excellence of their composers; so that I may, as hitherto so also in the future, continue to be the object of your favour and concern (if I seem so to deserve). I shall make it my aim duly to appreciate and to increase that goodwill more and more, day after day, in all my duties. Long life, good health and great prosperity to your Excellencies for the welfare of the Republic and the growth of Christ's Church.

Your Excellencies’ most obedient and humble servant.

Frederick Lindner
Cantor, St Giles
To the most famous and most praised Congregations of Munich, Ingolstadt, Dillingen, Augsburg, Innsbruck, Hall, Regensburg, Lucerne, Fribourg in Switzerland and Bruntrutum, established in the province of Upper Germany under the auspices of the Virgin Annunciate.

From the time that Gregory the Great, no doubt under the singular guidance of God, introduced the custom of litanies into the Church, or, more accurately, revived what had been introduced once before, they began to be celebrated with much enthusiasm and concord by the Christian people that our ancestors took refuge in them, as if at a sacred anchor, when pressed by any problem and persuaded themselves that nothing is so difficult that it cannot be effected by the intervention of prayers of this kind and easily obtained from Heaven. And countless examples, both recent and from the past, confirm that they were not deceived in their hope. For this reason experts in music have contributed to this task all their talent, all their skill and all their diligence, so that litanies might be sung to the sweetest possible music and that mortal men, allured by whatever means, might be prompted to avert the anger of the Divinity. When I ponder this matter more deeply, I cannot fail to be exceedingly surprised that no one has been found hitherto to collect the scattered material from here and there and that it has not already been gathered together in one body a long time ago, both because there is a very great use for litanies in pilgrimages to holy places, and because the condition of the times is such that, now if ever, we need to resort to familiar devices.

I have undertaken this labour, condemned perhaps by some, but more important than people think, by writing to various people, by reducing to order extracts from written documents, and by adapting them to the proposed end. I hope however that

8 Translation by Ruth Standfield.
9 Of the various towns known as Augusta, this is the most probable; Augst is another possibility.
10 This is a place near Innsbruck, which seems most likely to correspond to the Latin Hala.
11 This place has not been identified.
12 This is the old Roman province, which includes parts of modern Switzerland and Austria as well as Southern Germany.
13 i.e. litanies.
14 lit. 'weapons'. 
meanwhile my attempt will be approved of by more people, in so far as more people are looking for litanies whom I have not been able or permitted to satisfy. And since the tradition has been established that whatever goes out into the light goes out under someone’s name, I did not need to engage in any complex deliberation. For I do not see to whom I either could or should more rightly dedicate this Thesaurus, divided into three books, than to the Sodalities of the Virgin. For to say nothing of other reasons, the one that has influenced me most is that I proclaim myself to be one of the number of those who follow the camp of our most glorious leader, Mary, and I wish to show, as by a token, my gratitude for kindesses received. Indeed I have decided to dedicate this book not only to the college of Munich (of which, as I said, I am a member), but also, on account of our common bond, to those at Ingolstadt, Dillingen, Augsburg, Innsbruck, Hall, Regensburg, Lucerne, Fribourg in Switzerland and Bruntrutum who fight for the virgin Annunciate and strive with equal zeal to promote her honour. Wherefore, lest I be too lengthy in recounting the praises of the individual colleges, receive this little gift from a colleague, slight and insignificant indeed in terms of its own merits, but a great proof of mutual love in terms of goodwill of the donor. Farewell. Munich, on the day sacred to the Virgin Annunciate, in the 1596th year from the birth of Christ.

Georgius Victorinus
of Huldschon
To the most distinguished and most venerable
D.D. Marcus Cornelius,
Bishop of Padua,
master and most worshipful patron,
Antonius Gualterius
sends warmest greetings.

Both your outstanding services to me and my particular reverence for you seemed rightly to demand that now at length I should show to you some clear evidence of my gratitude. Wherefore, when I decided to publish these motets at the present time, I determined that they should be dedicated and consecrated to you, most humane prelate, glory of Christian nobility and ornament of the Church’s dignity. You by your unique kindness as if to encourage me to virtue spurred me to this pursuit from my early years in most generous fashion, and you will be delighted to perceive that your great kindness in furthering our fortunes has now not been entirely robbed of the fruit of its own labour. Therefore, most distinguished and most venerable Antistes,17 I would like you to accept this offspring of my humble talent with cheerful brow and mind, so that it may exult in the approval of a rather severe judge.18 Farewell.

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15Translation by Ruth Standfield.
16DD — ‘Doctor of Divinity’ — a guess.
17Antistes: Priest, Teacher, Patron.
18The last sentence is impossible to construe: this seems to be the gist.
To the Most Reverend
Hieronymus Archbishop
Matthew
Bishop of Tuscania and Viterbo

Salvator Sacchi wishes Good Fortune

Since the pursuits of men are varied, most esteemed Matthew, and different people take delight in different things, certainly what a particular poet has said is very true—that each man follows what springs from his own nature. However I always considered them kindly dealt with by nature and happier than others whom, despising mean and common affairs, nature spurs on towards enthusiasm for the noble and liberal arts above all.

Thus I have considered myself always to owe a considerable debt to her, or rather to her Creator, God our Begetter, because He has kindled in my breast a certain extraordinary impulse and a passion in cultivating the knowledge of music which not only holds a distinguished place amongst the liberal arts, but as if it were some divine invention has been cherished and praised by poets of old: its unanimity and sweet harmony not only the heathens in their own shrines have applied to the festivals and honour of false gods, but the Hebrews too, instructed in the law by divine inspiration and the religion of true man by that most noble temple at Jerusalem, have not rejected; and the Christian Church embraces in such a way that all sacred arts either of the day or of the night are performed amongst us with musical accompaniment.

Indeed for myself, since I was devoted to this one pursuit from boyhood, they are able to be exercised forthwith in many temples in different places and it falls to my lot to accomplish the work; soon in fact as, with the years and thus the opportunity and learning growing considerably in proportion to the poverty of my talent, I have begun to compose in my musical engagement and teach others, and to guide and direct choirs. Indeed in doing these things, with the desire of being given an appointment never declining in the meantime, after traversing various areas of Italy, at last settled in Rome, the city which is the leader and teacher of all divine matters.

Here when, in the temple of the Most Holy Trinity (which is near the bridge of Sextus) in which the most revered sodality, outstanding in many deeds of piety is

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19Translation by Margaret Marsh.
established, I was put in charge of the choir for five years, after being attacked by an unexpected and serious illness, I was forced to change my abode and yield to another for the sake of enjoying a more healthy climate. But, with many states summoning me to themselves with the promise of reward not to be despised, (which I think I can say without arousing envy at the utterance) I settled at Ortana, made famous by Virgil, urged by the character of its citizens, its customs, its outstanding humanity, and especially by the kindness and encouragement of Andrea Lengus, the Bishop, a man most lavishly praised and a short time ago deceased, to the grief of all good men.

From here then the unanimous agreement of the Tuscan clergy called me forth to that noble city flourishing with ancient and with fresh glory, O most beloved Bishop, offering me all the finest terms. Since I had always thought how blessed it was with yourself as Rector and Bishop, I considered it as part of my fortune that, having been appointed choirmaster in it, I would be zealously devoted also to your elevated station. For who does not strive to be known by you, most deserving Bishop from the Church of God, to be taken into your service, to be protected by your patronage?

Since this befell me before the end of the previous year, through the exceedingly great kindness of God as indeed I understand it, while I observed your wisdom, piety, generosity, liberality and other peerless virtues, which frequently mighty kings and foreign nations have marvelled at, I was inflamed by a certain strange desire to affirm my soul’s intense devotion to you, bearing witness to this by the offering of some small gift of my making. It had happened conveniently that I had a number of sacred songs put by, composed with great labour in various places and times for the glory and honour of God Most High. When I came under the authority of your diocese, which you, like a most brilliant sun, illuminate, my songs although sensing the light very near, they seemed to me to mourn because I was suffering them to lie in the shadows and not permitting them to see the light. I therefore took the opportune moment and set the matter right.

Now at last, as you see, these come beneath your gaze, they aspire to ring in your ears, and to go before the countenances of men with you as their patron and under your auspices; most reverend Protector, breathe on them the splendour of your prestige, extend your tranquil brow, stretch out your hand to receive them. Indeed embrace with your kindness of spirit their composer himself, although a man of no distinction yet exceedingly devoted to you, and beseeching from our most excellent and most exalted God length of years and all those blessings which all men recognize and laud in your person.
Greetings to the Honourable Reader

I have always considered that the harmony of the art of music, whose charm men often direct to superficial matters that are destructive to the wellbeing of the soul, is applied to nothing better or more profitably than to the honour of God Most High and the praise of His saints. For the heavens tell the glory of God and the firmament declares His praise constantly, while angels magnify the thrice holy one, and we see the royal harpist wholly absorbed in divine praises, and finally, the Holy Church performs no office more sacred than that of extolling the saints and heavenly dwellers. Lastly, these heavenly examples have urged me to do the same at all times, and I have constantly shunned those melodies by which men's deceitful souls are easily accustomed to be enticed to inordinate passion.

Indeed I acknowledge this very greatly when the most upright citizens of Tuscany chose me as choirmaster in their foremost church consecrated to Blessed Jacob [Jacobo]. Although their city boasts especially of the Tuscan son of Hercules, Araxis Queen of the Scythians, or Ascanius son of Aeneas as its founders who are praised in pagan writers, it will sing more surpassing things than these, records of the Christian faith and of true piety.

To this place from the world’s capital, Rome, the light of the Good News has been swiftly imparted. From her our contemporary Peter was ordained and the assistant and successor to him in the Roman see, Linius; of the saints the Secundiani, the Viriani and the Marcelliani ennoble her by their patronage; lastly, more than twenty-four bodies of the bravest martyrs rest in her. Thus in a city of such ancient, such esteemed and such praiseworthy sanctity there has been nothing for me to celebrate in music except what was holy, laudable and honourable, so that the ears of the citizens themselves or of the heavenly dwellers who see to their defence, might resound with none other than divine proclamations.

I wanted to bring these things to your attention in a few words, kindly reader. Farewell.
To the magnificent men who, with prudence, virtue and learning, attend to the affairs of State.

To their Excellencies, the Consuls, and to the whole Senatorial Order of the Free Imperial City of Speyer my deepest respects.

As in other affairs which are distended far and wide, your Excellencies, most prudent men, esteemed gentlemen, they do praiseworthy work who from a wide abundance choose those things which are considered and are found to be of a better quality: and wisely bring into a compendium those things that are scattered far and wide: thus in the art of music for some time now they have brought together anthologies and other collections, choral music from both sacred Latin texts and those songs of the Italians which are commonly called Madrigals, composed by various authors; and it has seemed worth while and, indeed, commendable that they have done so. When the testimony of facts is present there is no need of words. The word would be useless: so not to prolong with words my opinion we have the testimony of the musical anthologies of the better polyphony, edited and printed both in past ages and the present and in many different places such as Venice, Antwerp, Nuremberg and elsewhere: which are in the hands of musicians everywhere or else are able to be viewed in the libraries of experts in the art: and the collectors and editors of these anthologies have earned gratitude for their industry and labour from all who consider this art and its artists worthy of love and favour.

Following in their footsteps, in my work in the School for now twenty-four years and more, I have put together several volumes of music and excellent choral pieces from various works of celebrated Musicians and these have always been of use in the assembly of Holy Church, and frequently to the benefit of myself and others. But, by what fate I know not, it has befallen me that in all those years that I spent in scholastic exercises (in three Places) the baton of Choirmaster was committed to me by the Governors. And even though this aroused in me a great interest in seeking out such harmonies from here and there (not having to meet the assembly of students very often), and though it fired me with the desire of gaining a greater knowledge of and
familiarity with the more noted music makers, it deprived me of the use of many hours and especially of spare time which I had planned to use in more fruitful studies.

But there have not been a few Patrons and friends of mine whose authority has been by no means indifferent to me. They have acted as guides in my efforts to collect and edit the new Anthology (which we have lacked for some years) either from the volumes of music I had already brought together, or from more recent works of the same kind. To them I have deferred, even though I was not unaware of the tiresome work required in describing and classifying Songs into their seasons, as they say, and at length I have striven to prepare this edition from the more recent of these.

But this First Part, my Most Respected Masters, I was obliged and wished to dedicate to your generosity and prudence, so that this little opus may become more commendable under the weight of your authority and also serve as a public declaration of my gratitude for so many and varied benefits already shown to me; since besides this there is little enough in the insignificance of my affairs with which I can show you proof of my extreme appreciation.

For the rest, I ask that you show your serene favour towards my effort and my work, and continue to hold me and mine in your commendation. At Speyer 22 November, 1611.

Your Excellencies' most obedient servant.

Abraham Schadæus
Rector of Your Public School at Speyer.
The following lists Stabile’s publications by year. For the secular compositions in anthologies, I have relied upon the information supplied in RISM (1960), since I have been unable to consult these particular anthologies personally.

1572  IL PRIMO LIBRO DE MADRIGALI A CINQUE VOCI (Venice, Gardano)
1581 MADRIGALI A CINQUE VOCI DI GIO MARIA NANINO ET DI ANNIBAL STABILE (Venice, Gardano)
1582  Qual vaga pastorella in Dolci affetti (Venice, Scotto)
      Fu’l lauro sempre verde in Il lauro secco (Ferrara, Baldini)
1583  LETANLAE BEATAE MARIE VIRGINIS ET NOMINIS JESU 8VV (Rome, Gardano)
      Quam pulchræ — Favus distillans in Harmonia miscellae (Nuremberg, Gerlach)
      Verde lauro gentil in Il lauro verde (Ferrara, Baldini)
      Lasso quand’io sperai — E ben ne fui in De floridi virtuosi (Venice, Vincenzi & Amadino)
      Pur mi concesse ai fine in Li amoroso ardori (Venice, Gardano)
      D’ amor le ricche gemme in Harmonia celeste (Antwerp, Phalèse & Bellère)
1584  MOTETTI A 5, 6, 8VV (Venice, Gardano).
      IL SECONDO LIBRO DE MADRIGALI (Venice, Gardano). See Fétis. Possibly never existed.
1585  SACRARUM MODULATIONUM 4, 5, 6, AND 8VV, LIBER SECUNDUS (Venice, Gardano)
      IL TERZ0 LIBRO DE MADRIGALI A CINQUE VOCI (Venice, Scotto)
      La bella bianco mano in G. B. Moschaglia, il secondo libro (Venice, Vincenzi et Amadino)
      Vincono a mezzo di secure — S’ondeg Gian sparse in Di Pompeo Stabile, il libro primo (Venice, Gardano)
1586  A second edition of IL PRIMO LIBRO DE MADRIGALI A CINQUE VOCI (Venice, Scotto) with new additions.
      Vincono a mezzo di secure — S’ondeg Gian sparse in Armonia di scelti authori (Venice, Scotto)
1587  Reprint of MADRIGALI A CINQUE VOCI DI GIO MARIA NANINO ET DI ANNIBAL STABILE (Venice, Gardano)
1588 Pacem relinquo vobis, Juste et pie vivamus, Quaeremus cum pastoribus in Continuatio cantionum (Nuremberg, Gerlach)
1589 SACRARUM MODULATIONUM 4, 5, 6, AND 8VV, LIBER TERTIUS (Venice, Gardano)
A questo tuo famoso in Le gioie (Venice, Amadino)
Donna tua chiome d'oro, Ohime partito in Ghirlanda di chiome (Rome, Verovio)
1590 HYMNUS DE GLORIA PARADISI (Dillingen, Mayer)
Beata es Virgo Maria, Mane nobiscum Domine, Ibant Apostoli, Hi sunt qui venerunt — Dignus es Domine, Victimæ paschali in Corollarium cantionum (Nuremberg, Gerlach)
L’alto motor in Novi frutti musicali (Venice, Vincenti)
1591 Io non so come vivo, Fuggite amanti amor in Canzonette a 4 voci (Rome, Verovio)
Donna tua chiome d'oro, Ohime partito in Canzonette per cantar et sonar di liuto (Venice, Vincenti)
1592 LETTANIE À 4 VOCI (?Venice, Vincenti)
Nel tempo che ritorna in Il trionfo di Dori (Venice, Gardano)
1593 Va lieta pargoletta in Florinda e armilla (Venice, Amadino)
La bella bianco mano in Nuovo spoglia amorosa (Venice, Vincenti)
1596 4 litanies in Thesaurus litaniarum (Munich, Berg)
Chiari cristalli — Il ciel, A questo tuo famoso in Paradiso musicale (Antwerp, Phalèse)
1600 1 madrigal in Florum musicae (Heidelberg, Voegelin)
1604 Lux perpetua in Melodiae sacrae (Krakow, Lazari and Skalski)
Deus misereatur in Motecta . . . Antonii Gualterii (Venice, Vincenti)
1607 Nos autem gloriari in Missa, motecta Salvatoris Sacchi (Rome, Zanetti)
1608 Ich hab, o Jungfrau zart in Newe Teutsche Canzonetten (Frankfurt am Main, Richter)
1611 Nunc dimittis in Promptuarii musici (Strasbourg, Kieffer)
1612 Bona nova — Eland hat in Musicalische Streitkränzlein (Nuremberg, Wagenmann)
1 madrigal in Delitiae musicae (Utrecht, de Roy and de Rhenen)
1613 Hi sunt qui venerunt — Dignus es Domine in Promptuarii musici (Strasbourg, Kieffer)
1617 Hi sunt qui venerunt — Dignus es Domine in Nova musices (Basel, Genath)
1621 *Hi sunt qui venerunt* — *Dignus es Domine, Nunc dimittis* in *Florilegii musici*
(Leipzig, Lamberg)
Appendix E

Thematic Catalogue of Sacred Works
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Deus misereatur nostri 441
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AUTHOR’S NOTE:
1. Unless otherwise noted, incipits in the following catalogue are taken from the source given in the third column or, if there is more than one source, the first listed source.
2. With the exception of the incipits from the Pelplin Tablatures which are given in staff notation, all other incipits are presented as in the source.
3. Each pars of a motet is given a separate entry under its own title with the title of its prima pars also given in the first column.
4. Libraries holding the sources are given as in RISM (Recueils Imprimés XVIᵉ – XVIIᵉ siècles, Répertoire International des Sources Musicales, B/1 (Munich, 1960)), with additions where appropriate.
5. Library sigla are also given as in RISM (Munich, 1960), but with an updating of the names of the libraries where appropriate. These have been taken from Einzeldrucke vor 1800, Répertoire International des Sources Musicales, A/1/11 (Kassel, 1986). A key to these can be found on p. 470 of this catalogue. An addition is my own siglum ‘PL Wa’ for the Archiwum Archidiecezjalne in Warsaw.
6. Where no partbook holdings are given in brackets in the fourth column, following the library sigla, these libraries have complete sets.
7. For explanation of other abbreviations, see ‘Abbreviations’, vol. i, p. xii of this thesis.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>TITLE</th>
<th>INCIPIT</th>
<th>SOURCE</th>
<th>LIBRARY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Alma Redemptoris Mater (5vv)</td>
<td>Alma redemptoris mater.</td>
<td>1. Pelplin Tablatures</td>
<td>GB Lbl (facsimile)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tenor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Basso</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Alma redemptoris mater.</td>
<td>2. Letanæ Beate Mariae Virginis et nominis Jesu...</td>
<td>I FA (TB)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alma Redemptoris Mater (8vv)</td>
<td>[Cantus 1 Primus Chorus]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[Altus Primus Chorus]</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>[Tenor Primus Chorus]</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[Altus Secundus Chorus]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tenor 1 Secundus Chorus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tenor 2 Secundus Chorus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[Basso Secundus Chorus]</td>
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</table>

**THEMATIC CATALOGUE OF THE SACRED WORKS BY ANNIBALE STABILE**

**SOURCE**
- Sacrarum modulationum 4, 5, 6, & 8vv... liber secundus (Venice, Gardano, 1585)

**LIBRARY**
- D Rp (SB56)
- GB Lbl (S6)
- I Nf; Re (S6); Rsc (B)
- P La (SATB5)
- PL GD (SAT56)
- Kj (SATB5)
- S SK (A)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Anima nostra</th>
<th>( \text{Sacrarum modulati} n \text{um 4, 5, 6,} ) &amp; &amp; 8 vv \ldots \text{liber tertius} (Venice, Gardano, 1589)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( \text{Nisi quia Dominus 2a pars} )</td>
<td>B Br CH Zjaciobi (B) D Rp (B5) I Re (5) P La (wanting 6) PL GD S Sk (A)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Apollinaris inclyti</th>
<th>( \text{Sacrarum modulati} n \text{um 4, 5, 6,} ) &amp; &amp; 8 vv \ldots \text{liber secundus} (Venice, Gardano, 1585)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Audi benigne Conditor</th>
<th>Codex 61, ff. 128v–130</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

\[ 438 \]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ave Maria gratia plena (5vv)</td>
<td>Tenor</td>
<td>Ave Maria. Gratia plena</td>
<td>I FA (T)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Incomplete]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PL Wn (B)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ave Regina caelorum</td>
<td>Tenor</td>
<td>Ave Regina Celorum. A</td>
<td>I FA (TB)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Incomplete]</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ave Regina Celorum. Domina</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Beata Dei Genitrix</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beata es Virgo Maria</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Canon]</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

1. Letaniæ Beatae Maricæ Virginis et nominis Jesu . . . (Rome, Gardano, 1583)

2. Mus. 2083 f. 26v [Ms]

Letaniæ Beatae Maricæ Virginis et nominis Jesu . . . (Rome, Gardano, 1583)

629bis ff. 8v–9r [Ms]

1. Corollarium cantionum sacrarum . . . (Nuremberg, Gerlach, 1590)

2. Ms. Winterfeld 25 [score]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latin Text</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
<th>Edition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beata viscera Marie</td>
<td>Cantantibus organis</td>
<td><em>Saccarum modulationum</em> 4, 5, 6, &amp; 8vv . . . <em>liber secundus</em> (Venice, Gardano, 1585)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>D Rp (SB56)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>GB Lbl (S6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I Nf; Rc (56); Rsc (B)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>P La (SATB5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PL GD (SAT56); Kj (SATB5); S SK (A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caro mea vere est cibus (Ego sum panis 2a pars)</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Saccarum modulationum</em> 4, 5, 6, &amp; 8vv . . . <em>liber secundus</em> (Venice, Gardano, 1585)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>D Rp (SB56)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>GB Lbl (S6)</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>I Nf; Rc (56); Rsc (B)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>P La (SATB5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PL GD (SAT56); Kj (SATB5); S SK (A)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Dignus es Domine

(Hi sunt qui venerunt 2a pars)

#### Cantus

#### Tenor

#### Bassus

#### Quartus

#### Sextus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Sacrarum modulationum 4, 5, 6, &amp; 8 vv... liber tertius</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Venice, Gardano, 1589)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B Br</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CH Zjacobi (B)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D Rp (B5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I Re (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P La (wanting 6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL GD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S Sk (A)</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2. Corollarium cantionum sacrarum (Nuremberg Gerlach, 1590)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A Wgm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B Br</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D As; Bds (AT); Dl (2ex.); FUp (5); Hs; LUC (ST5); Mbs (T); Rp (2ex.); WR; Z</td>
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<tr>
<td>GB Lbl; T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL GD (wanting 5); Ka (6); WRu; Wu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S Skma (STB5)</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3. Promptuarii musici sacras harmonias (Strasbourg, Kieffer, 1613)</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>See separate listing, p. 470 of Thematic Catalogue for library holdings of sources 3–5.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4. Nova musices organicae tablatura (Basle, Genath, 1617)</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>5. Florilegii musici portensis (Leipzig, Lamberg, 1621)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>6. F IX 43, Nr. 22, ff. 84v–85r [Ms]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>7. Ms. Winterfeld 25 [score]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CH Bu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>D Bds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Domine ne in furore la pars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Sacrarum modulationem 4, 5, 6, & 8 vv. ... liber secundus  
(Venice, Gardano, 1585) | 
| D Rp (SB56)  
GB Lbl (S6)  
I Nf; Rc (56); Rsc (B)  
P La (SATB5)  
PL GD (SAT56);  
Kj (SATB5)  
S SK (A) | 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ego sum panis vitae la pars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Sacrarum modulationem 4, 5, 6, & 8 vv. ... liber secundus  
(Venice, Gardano, 1585) | 
| D Rp (SB56)  
GB Lbl (S6)  
I Nf; Rc (56); Rsc (B)  
P La (SATB5)  
PL GD (SAT56);  
Kj (SATB5)  
S SK (A) | 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ego sum vitis vera</th>
</tr>
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</table>
| Sacrarum modulationem 4, 5, 6, & 8 vv. ... liber tertius (Venice,  
Gardano, 1589) | 
| B Br  
CH Zjacobi (B)  
D Rp (B5)  
I Rc (5)  
P La (wanting 6)  
PL GD  
S Sk (A) |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ela ergo</th>
<th><strong>Saccarum modulationum 4, 5, 6, &amp; 8 vv... liber tertius</strong> (Venice, Gardano, 1589)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Salve Regina 5vv 2a pars)</td>
<td>B Br</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CH Zjacobi (B)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>D Rp (B5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I Rc (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P La (wanting 6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PL GD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S Sk (A)</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Et Jesum</th>
<th><strong>Saccarum modulationum 4, 5, 6, &amp; 8 vv... liber tertius</strong> (Venice, Gardano, 1589)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Salve Regina 5vv 3a pars)</td>
<td>B Br</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CH Zjacobi (B)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>D Rp (B5)</td>
</tr>
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<td>P La (wanting 6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PL GD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S Sk (A)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Favus distillans labia tua</th>
<th><strong>1. Harmonia miscellae cantionum saccarum</strong> (Nuremberg, Gerlach, 1583)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Quam pulchre 2a pars)</td>
<td>A Wgm; Imf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B Br</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>D Bn (SATB); Di;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F Bos; Kl (SATBS);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Msb; Nst (A); Rp;</td>
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<tr>
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<td>WR</td>
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<td></td>
<td>F Pc (SAB56)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>GB Lbl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PL GD; Ka (6); Wu (B);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S V</td>
</tr>
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</table>

<p>|                                            | 2. Ms. Winterfeld 25 [score]                                                      |
|                                            | D Bds                                                                             |</p>
<table>
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<tr>
<th><strong>Hæc dies</strong></th>
<th><strong>Codex 61 ff. 57v–58</strong></th>
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<td><img src="image" alt="Musical notation" /></td>
<td>CH Zjacobi (B)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Musical notation" /></td>
<td>D Rp (B5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Musical notation" /></td>
<td>I Rec (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Musical notation" /></td>
<td>P La (wanting 6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Musical notation" /></td>
<td>PL GD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Musical notation" /></td>
<td>S Sk (A)</td>
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</table>

### Hi sunt qui cum mulieribus

**Cantus**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hi sunt qui cum</th>
<th>Hi sunt, qui cum mulieribus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Tenor**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hi sunt qui</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Bassus**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hi sunt qui</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Quartus**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hi sunt qui cum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

---

**Sæcram modulatiorum: 4, 5, 6, & 8 vv... Liber tertius** (Venice, Gardano, 1589)
Hi sunt qui venerunt la pars

1. Sacrarum modulationum 4, 5, 6, & 8 vv... liber tertius (Venice, Gardano, 1589)

2. Corollarium cantionum sacrarum (Nuremberg Gerlach, 1590)

3. Promptuarii musici sacras harmonias (Strasbourg, Kieffer, 1613)

4. Nova musices organice tablatura (Basle, Genath, 1617)

5. Florilegii musici portensis (Leipzig, Lamberg, 1621)

6. F IX 43, Nr. 22, ff. 83v–84r [Ms]

7. Ms. Winterfeld 25 [score]

B Br
CH Zjacobi (B)
D Rp (B5)
I Rc (5)
P La (wanting 6)
PL GD
S Sk (A)

A Wgm
B Br
D As; Bds (AT); DI (2ex.); FUp (5); Hs; LUC (ST5); Mbs (T); Rp (2ex.); WR; Z

GB Lbl; T
PL GD (wanting 5);
Ka (6); WRu; Wu
S Skma (STB5)

See separate listing, p. 470 of Thematic Catalogue for library holdings of sources 3–5.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Song</th>
<th>Page Range</th>
<th>Manuscript (Ms)</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hodie nobis cælorum</td>
<td>629bis ff. 1v–5r</td>
<td>[Ms]</td>
<td>I Rsgf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hodie nobis de cælo</td>
<td>629bis ff. 3v–4r</td>
<td>[Ms]</td>
<td>I Rsgf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hymnus de gloria paradisi</td>
<td></td>
<td>1. <em>Hymnus quatuor vocum de gloria paradisi</em> ... (<em>Dillingen, Mayer, 1590</em>)</td>
<td>PL Kj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. MSS 21078, 21078/1, 21978/2 [score]</td>
<td>D Bds</td>
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447
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Saturation</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ibant Apostoli</td>
<td>1. <em>Sacrarium modulationum</em> 4, 5, 6, &amp; 8 vv ... <em>liber tertius</em> (Venice, Gardano, 1589)</td>
<td>B Br, CH Zjacobii (B), D Rp (B5), I Rc (5), P La (wanting 6), PL GD, S Sk (A)</td>
<td>A Wgm, B Br, D As; Bds (AT); DL (2ex.); FUp (5); Hs; LUC (ST5); Mbs (T); Rp (2ex.); WR; Z GB Lbl; T PL GD (wanting 5); Ka (6); WRu; Wu S Skma (ST5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In tribulatione mea la pars</td>
<td>2. <em>Corollarium cantionum sacrarum</em> (Nuremberg Gerlach, 1590)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Iste Sanctus</strong></td>
<td><strong>Jubilate Deo 1a pars</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>[doubtful authenticity]</strong></td>
<td><strong>Source 2.</strong></td>
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<tr>
<th><strong>Cantus</strong></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Iste sanctus pro lege</td>
<td>Iste sanctus pro lege</td>
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<td>Iste sanctus pro lege</td>
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<tr>
<th><strong>Tenor</strong></th>
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<td>Iste sanctus pro lege</td>
<td>Iste sanctus pro lege</td>
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<tr>
<th><strong>Bassus</strong></th>
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<tr>
<th><strong>FP 160/1-5 [Ms]</strong></th>
<th><strong>ITRe</strong></th>
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</table>

2. Mus. ms. 2940, Bd. 1, ff. 2–3 [score]

| **D Ngm** | **D Mbs** |
### Juste et pie vivamus

**[Canon]**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Canon</th>
<th>Arefs</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tenor</td>
<td>Juste &amp; pie vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basses</td>
<td>Juste &amp; pie vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quintus</td>
<td>Juste &amp; pie vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sextus</td>
<td>Juste &amp; pie vi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. *Sacrarum modulationum 4, 5, 6, & 8 vv... liber secundus* (Venice, Gardano, 1585)

2. *Continuatio cantionum sacrarum* (Nuremberg, Gerlach, 1588)

### Lauda mater ecclesia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Maria soror</th>
<th>Maria soror La</th>
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<tr>
<td>Maria soror</td>
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Codex 61 ff. 130v–133

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LP (SAT5)</th>
<th>PL (S56); WD (SAT56); Kj (SAT56)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GB Lbl</td>
<td>C (A); GB Lbl; T.</td>
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<tr>
<td>PL GD (wanting)</td>
<td>GB Lbl; T.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KB (6); WRu; Wu</td>
<td>GB Lbl</td>
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<tr>
<td>S Uu (SAT6); US AA; NH</td>
<td>GB Lbl</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>XRg</th>
<th>D Rp (SB56); GB Lbl (S6); I Nf; Rc (56)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P La (SATB5)</td>
<td>GB Lbl (S6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL GD (SAT56); Kj (SAT56)</td>
<td>GB Lbl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S SK (A)</td>
<td>GB Lbl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A WM; Wn (A)</td>
<td>GB Lbl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B Br; D As; AN (1 def); Di; FUp (5); Hs; Hau (5); LUC (ST5); Mbs; Rp (2 ex.); WR; Z. GB Lbl; T. PL GD (wanting)</td>
<td>GB Lbl; T.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka (6); WRu; Wu S Uu (SAT6); US AA; NH</td>
<td>GB Lbl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XRg</td>
<td>GB Lbl</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

450
<p>| Source 2. |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| <strong>Laudate nomen</strong>&lt;br&gt;(Jubilate Deo 2a pars) | 1. <em>Ms 8820 X</em>, f [2]v-13 [unavailable]&lt;br&gt;2. <em>Mus. ms. 2940</em>, Bd. I, ff. 3v-4v [score] | <strong>Discantus</strong>&lt;br&gt;Altus | <strong>Laudate nomen</strong>&lt;br&gt;<em>D Mbs</em>&lt;br&gt;<em>D Ngm</em> |
| <strong>Litanææ de gloriosissima Dei Genitrice</strong>[3] | <strong>1. <em>Thesaurus litiariarum</em> . . .</strong>&lt;br&gt;(Munich, Berg, 1596) | <strong>Kyrie eleison</strong>&lt;br&gt;<strong>Sancta Maria</strong>&lt;br&gt;<strong>Christe eleison</strong>&lt;br&gt;<strong>Quinta vox</strong>&lt;br&gt;<strong>Sexta vox</strong>&lt;br&gt;<strong>Octava vox</strong> | <strong>2. <em>Mus. ms. 1045</em> (Tom. I, ff. 161v-172) [score]</strong> | <strong>A Wu</strong>&lt;br&gt;<em>D Bds (A); DI (5); Mbs; Rp (S568) E E (B); PL Wu</em>&lt;br&gt;<strong>D Mbs</strong> |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Litaniae de gloriosissima Dei Genitrice [1]</th>
<th>Litaniae de gloriosissima Dei Genitrice [2]</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dorisauer</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Alta</strong></td>
<td><strong>Alta</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Tenor</td>
<td>Tenor</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bassus</td>
<td>Bassus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Quinta vox</td>
<td>Sexta vox</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyrie eleison. Christe et nominis Jesu...</td>
<td>Kyrie eleison. Christe et nominis Jesu...</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kyrie eleison. Christe et nominis Jesu...</td>
<td>Kyrie eleison. Christe et nominis Jesu...</td>
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<td>Kyrie eleison. Christe et nominis Jesu...</td>
<td>Kyrie eleison. Christe et nominis Jesu...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. <em>Thesaurus litaniarum</em>... (Munich, Berg, 1596)</td>
<td>1. <em>Thesaurus litaniarum</em>... (Munich, Berg, 1596)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Mus. ms. 1045 (Tom. I, ff. 139v–144) [score]</td>
<td>2. Letaniae Beate Marie Virginis et nominis Jesu... (Rome, Gardano, 1583)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Mus. ms. 1045 (Tom. I, ff. 152–161) [score]</td>
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### Litany 'Polish'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Primus Cantus</th>
<th>Primus Altus</th>
<th>Tenor 2</th>
<th>Secundus Cantus</th>
<th>Secundus Altus</th>
<th>Bassus 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kyrie</td>
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1. *Thesaurus litaniarum* . . .
(Munich, Berg, 1596)

2. *Letanie Beate Marie*  
*Virginis et nominis Jesu* . . .
(Rome, Gardano, 1583)

3. Mus. ms. 1045 (Tom. I, ff. 144–151v) [score]

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1a. 51353 Muz. [Ms]

1b. 51431 Muz. [Ms]

2. 60201 Muz. ff. 6v–8v. [Ms]

3. Mus. 2101 ff. 6v–7v. [Ms]

4. Mus. 2099 ff. 276v–278r; Mus. 2096 ff. 270v–272r; Mus. 2095 ff. 271v–273r; Mus. 2097 ff. 259r–260v; Mus. 2098 ff. 41v–43r. [Mss]

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### Litane de Nomine Jesu

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>Discantus</th>
<th>Altus</th>
<th>Tenor</th>
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*Thesaurus litaniarum* . . .

1. *Thesaurus litaniarum* . . .
(Munich, Berg, 1596)

2. *Letanie Beate Marie*  
*Virginis et nominis Jesu* . . .
(Rome, Gardano, 1583)

3. Mus. ms. 1045 (Tom. I, ff. 144–151v) [score]

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1a. 51353 Muz. [Ms]

1b. 51431 Muz. [Ms]

2. 60201 Muz. ff. 6v–8v. [Ms]

3. Mus. 2101 ff. 6v–7v. [Ms]

4. Mus. 2099 ff. 276v–278r; Mus. 2096 ff. 270v–272r; Mus. 2095 ff. 271v–273r; Mus. 2097 ff. 259r–260v; Mus. 2098 ff. 41v–43r. [Mss]

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### Notes

- **A Wn**: D Bds (A); Dl (5); Mbs; Rp (S568); E E (B); PL Mbs
- **I FA (TB)**: D Mbs

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1. *Sacrarium modulationum* 4, 5, 6, & 8v... *liber secundus* (Venice, Gardano, 1585)

2. *Melodiae sacrae* (Krakow, Lazari et B. Skalski, 1604)

**Lux perpetua**

**Mane nobiscum Domine**

[Canon]

**Missa Ung gay bergier**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. <em>Sacrarium modulationum</em> 4, 5, 6, &amp; 8v... <em>liber secundus</em> (Venice, Gardano, 1585)</th>
<th>D Rp (SB56) GB Lbl (S6) IN; Rc (56); Rsc (B) P La (SATB5) PL GD (SAT56); Kj (SATB5) S SK (A)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. <em>Melodiae sacrae</em> (Krakow, Lazari et B. Skalski, 1604)</td>
<td>D Rp (SAT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lux perpetua</strong></td>
<td>Corollarium cantionum sacrarum... (Nuremberg, Gerlach, 1590)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mane nobiscum Domine</strong> [Canon]</td>
<td>A Wgm B Br D As; Bds (AT); Dl (2ex.); FUp (5); Hs; LUC (ST5); Mbs (T); Rp (2ex.); WR; Z GB Lbl; T PL GD (wanting 5); Ka (6); WRu; Wu S Skma (STB5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Missa Ung gay bergier</strong></td>
<td>M4 ff. 38v–53r [Ms] PL Wa</td>
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</table>
### Missa 'Vestiva i colli'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Credus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Altus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tenor</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bassus</td>
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### Multi ergo audientes

<table>
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<tbody>
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<td>Credus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Altus</td>
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<td>Tenor</td>
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<td>Bassus</td>
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### Nisi quia Dominus 1a pars

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<td>Tenor</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bassus</td>
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**PL Wa**

**Saccarum modulationum 4, 5, 6, & 8 vv... liber secundus** (Venice, Gardano, 1585)

**B Br**

**Saccarum modulationum 4, 5, 6, & 8 vv... liber tertius** (Venice, Gardano, 1589)

---

**M4 ff. 79v–100r [Ms]**

**D Rp (SB56)**

**GB Lbl (S6)**

**I Nf; Rc (56); Rsc (B)**

**P La (SATB5)**

**PL GD (SAT56); Kj (SATB5)**

**S SK (A)**
### Nos autem gloriari

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cantus Primi Chori</th>
<th>Altus Primi Chori</th>
<th>1. Missa motecta magnificat et litanie B.M.V. Salvatoris Sacchi (Rome, Zannetti, 1607)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A Wgm, D Rp (A₁B₁T₂ Bc), I VEcap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I Rvat</td>
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<td>Bassus Primi Chori</td>
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<td>Bassus Secundi Chori</td>
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<td>Bassus Secundi Chori</td>
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### Notas mihi fecisti 1a pars

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cantus</th>
<th>Altus</th>
<th>Sacrarium modulationum 4, 5, 6, &amp; 8 vv... liber tertius (Venice, Gardano, 1589)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>B Br, CH Zjacobii (B), D Rp (B5), I Rc (5), P La (wanting 6), PL GD, S Sk (A)</td>
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Notas mihi fecisti 1a pars
### Nunc dimitis

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Cantus</th>
<th>Altus</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nunc dimitis, dimis servum</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tenor</th>
<th>Bassus</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nunc dimitis</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quarta vox</th>
<th>Sexta vox</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nunc dimitis: Secundum verbum tuum</td>
<td></td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quinta vox</th>
<th>Sexta vox</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nunc dimitis, Secundum verbum</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Septima vox</th>
<th>Octava vox</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nunc dimitis: Secundum verbum</td>
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<tr>
<th>Basis Generalis</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>435 6 6 6 5 5</td>
<td>Nunc dimitis, servum</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 1. Florilegii musici portensis

(Leipzig, Lamberg, 1621)

A K (inc.); Wgm (wanting 5)
D Bds (SA57); D; FKI (B); Fis; HN (6); LEm (wanting S); LIt (ST5678 Be); LUC (STB 5inc. 678); Mbs (T5); Rp; SAh (SA5678); WI (ABS57); Z (S678 Be) F Pn GB Lbl PL Tu (TB68 Be); WRu S Ö (wanting Be); Skma (wanting Be) US NYp

### 2. Promptuarii musici sacras harmonias

(Strasbourg, Kieffer, 1611)

A Wgm CH Zs (Be) CS Pu (A)
D As (2ex); BD (AT); Cm (A); DS (STB57); DÜl (wanting A); HSk (SAB567); LEm (SATB568); LUC (SATB58); Mbs; Rp (wanting Be); SAh (S578 Be); TR (A) D Kk F Pce (5); Pn; Sm (SATB567) GB Lbl (wanting Be) INn (SATB78) PL GD (5S); WRu US Wc
<p>| Page 458 |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| <strong>Nunc dimittis (continued)</strong> | <strong>Obsecro Domine</strong> | <strong>Socrarum modulationum 4, 5, 6, &amp; 8 vv...liber teritus</strong> (Venice, Gardano, 1589) | <strong>O magnum mysterium</strong> | <strong>629bis ff. 6v–8r [Ms]</strong> |
| | | | | <strong>I Rsgf</strong> |
| <strong>3. Ms. Winterfeld 25 [score]</strong> | <strong>D Bds</strong> | <strong>B Br</strong> | <strong>629bis ff. 6v–8r [Ms]</strong> | <strong>I Rsgf</strong> |
| <strong>4. Mus. ms. Commer 148 [score]</strong> | <strong>D Bds</strong> | <strong>CH Zjacob (B)</strong> | <strong>D Rp (B5)</strong> | <strong>I Rsgf</strong> |
| <strong>5. Mus. ms 40110, Bl. 272 [score]</strong> | <strong>Pl Kj</strong> | <strong>I Re (5)</strong> | <strong>P La (wanting 6)</strong> | <strong>I Rsgf</strong> |
| <strong>6. Kirchen Kompositionen Mus. ms. 30092 (Bassus generalis)</strong> | <strong>D Bds</strong> | <strong>PL GD</strong> | <strong>S Sk (A)</strong> | <strong>I Rsgf</strong> |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Omnes Gentes plaudite</th>
<th>Source 2</th>
<th>1. Ms 8820 X, ff. 66v – 73 [unavailable]</th>
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<tr>
<td>Pacem relinquo vobis</td>
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<td>2. Mus. ms. 2940, Bd. I, ff. 5r–6v [score]</td>
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<td>1. Sacrarum modulationum 4, 5, 6, &amp; 8vv ... liber secundus (Venice, Gardano, 1585)</td>
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<td>2. Continuatio cantionum sacrarum (Nuremberg, Gerlach, 1588)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pastores loquebantur</td>
<td>Sacrarum modulationum 4, 5, 6, &amp; 8vv... liber tertius (Venice, Gardano, 1589)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B Br</td>
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<td></td>
<td>CH Zjacobi (B)</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>D Rp (B5)</td>
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<td>I Rc (5)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>P La (wanting 6)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>PL GD</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S Sk (A)</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>Pater Abraham</th>
<th>Sacrarum modulationum 4, 5, 6, &amp; 8vv... liber secundus (Venice, Gardano, 1585)</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>D Rp (SB56)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>GB Lbl (S6)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I Nf; Rc (56); Rsc (B)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P La (SATB5)</td>
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<td>PL GD (SAT56); Kj (SATB5); S SK (A)</td>
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<tr>
<th>Petite et accipietis</th>
<th>Sacrarum modulationum 4, 5, 6, &amp; 8vv... liber tertius (Venice, Gardano, 1589)</th>
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<tr>
<td>(Usque modo 2a pars)</td>
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<td>D Rp (B5)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>I Rc (5)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>P La (wanting 6)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>PL GD</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>S Sk (A)</td>
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Propterea confitebor  
(In tribulatione mea 2a pars)  
[doubtful authenticity]  

Quae est ista

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<tr>
<th>Mus. ms. 40039, Nr. 52</th>
<th>D Bds</th>
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1. *Sacrarum modulationum* 4, 5, 6, & 8 vv ... *liber secundus*  
(Venice, Gardano, 1585)  

2. call number illegible [score]  

D Rp (SB56)  
GB Lbl (S6)  
I Nf; Rc (56); Rsc (B)  
P La (SATB5)  
PL GD (SAT56);  
Kj (SATB5)  
S SK (A)  

D Bds
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<th>Latin Text</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<tr>
<td>Queramus cum pastoriibus</td>
<td>1. <em>Sacrarum modulationum</em> 4, 5, 6, &amp; 8vv... liber secundus (Venice, Gardano, 1585)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. <em>Continuatio cantionum sacrarum</em> (Nuremberg, Gerlach, 1588)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quam bene magnanimos</td>
<td>3. <em>Sacrarum modulationum</em> 4, 5, 6, &amp; 8vv... liber tertius (Venice, Gardano, 1589)</td>
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**Notes:**
- *Sacrarum modulationum* 4, 5, 6, & 8vv... liber secundus (Venice, Gardano, 1585)
- *Continuatio cantionum sacrarum* (Nuremberg, Gerlach, 1588)
- *Sacrarum modulationum* 4, 5, 6, & 8vv... liber tertius (Venice, Gardano, 1589)
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Latin Text</th>
<th>Latin Text</th>
<th>Latin Text</th>
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<tr>
<td><em>Quam pulchrae la pars</em></td>
<td><em>Harmoniae miscellae cantionum sacrarum</em> (Nuremberg, Gerlach, 1583)</td>
<td>A Wgm; Imf</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>B Br</td>
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<td></td>
<td>D Br (SATB); Dl;</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>F Bos; Kl (SATB5);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mbs; Nst (A); Rp; WR;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>F Pc (SAB56)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>GB Lbl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PL GD; Ka (6); Wu (B); Wu (SAB5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>S V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Quem vidistis pastores</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Ms. Winterfeld 25 [score]</td>
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<td>D Bds</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>I Rsgf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Regina celii lætare</em></td>
<td><em>Letanie Beate Mariae Virginis et nominis Jesu</em> . . . (Rome, Gardano, 1583)</td>
<td>I FA (B)</td>
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<tr>
<td>[Canon, Incomplete]</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Salve Regina (4vv)</em></td>
<td><em>In Kirchen kompositionen Mus.</em> ms. 30296, Nr. 11</td>
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<td><em>Salve Regina</em> (5vv) 1a pars</td>
<td>Sacrarum modulationum 4, 5, 6, &amp; 8 vv... liber tertius</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Venice, Gardano, 1589)</td>
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<td>B Br</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CH Zjacobii (B)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>D Rp (B5)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>I Rc (5)</td>
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<td>P La (wanting 6)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>PL GD</td>
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<td>S Sk (A)</td>
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<td>2. Mus. 2083, No. 55 [Ms]</td>
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<td>PL Wn (B)</td>
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<td><em>Salve Regina</em> (8vv) [Incomplete]</td>
<td>Letaniæ Beatae Mariae Virginis et nominis Jesu... (Rome, Gardano, 1583)</td>
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<td>I Fa (TB)</td>
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<td><em>Sancta et immaculata</em></td>
<td>629bis ff. 9v–11r [Ms]</td>
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<td>I Rsgf</td>
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<td><em>Sancte Pater</em></td>
<td>Sacrarum modulationum 4, 5, 6, &amp; 8vv... liber secundus</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(Venice, Gardano, 1585)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>D Rp (SB56)</td>
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<td>GB Lbi (S6)</td>
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<td>I Nf; Rc (56); Rsc (B)</td>
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<td>P La (SATB5)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>PL GD (SAT56)</td>
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<td>Sicut cervus</td>
<td>Sacrarum modulationum 4, 5, 6, &amp; 8 vv ... liber tertius (Venice, Gardano, 1589)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>CH Zjacob (B)</td>
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<td>I Rc (5)</td>
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<td>P La (wanting 6)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>PL GD</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>S Sk (A)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stephanus plenus gratia</td>
<td>Sacrarum modulationum 4, 5, 6, &amp; 8 vv ... liber secundus (Venice, Gardano, 1585)</td>
<td>D Rp (SB56)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>GB Lbl (S6)</td>
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<td>I Nf; Rc (S6); Rsc (B)</td>
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<td>P La (SATB5)</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>PL GD (SAT56); KJ (SATB5)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>S Sk (A)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sub tuum præsidium</td>
<td>1. Sacrarum modulationum 4, 5, 6, &amp; 8 vv ... liber tertius (Venice, Gardano, 1589)</td>
<td>B Br</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>CH Zjacob (B)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>D Rp (B5)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I Rc (5)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>P La (wanting 6)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PL GD</td>
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<td>S Sk (A)</td>
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<td>2. In Tonsēke Mus. ms. 40242, Nr. 91. [score]</td>
<td>D Bds</td>
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</table>
| Tollite jugum meum | Sacrarum modulationum 4, 5, 6, & 8 v ... liber secundus (Venice, Gardano, 1585) | D Rp (SB56)  
GB Lbl (S6)  
I Nf; Rc (S6); Rsc (B)  
P La (SATB5)  
PL GD (SAT56)  
Kj (SATB5)  
S SK (A) |
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<td>[Canon]</td>
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</table>
| Tu es qui restitues | Sacrarum modulationum 4, 5, 6, & 8 vv ... liber tertius (Venice, Gardano, 1589) | B Br  
CH Zjacobi (B)  
D Rp (B5)  
I Rc (S)  
P La (wanting 6)  
PL GD  
S Sk (A) |
| (Notas mihi fecisti 2a pars) |                                                                                |                                                  |
|                   |                                                                                   |                                                  |
| Tu gloria Jerusalem | Sacrarum modulationum 4, 5, 6, & 8 vv ... liber secundus (Venice, Gardano, 1585) | D Rp (SB56)  
GB Lbl (S6)  
I Nf; Rc (S6); Rsc (B)  
P La (SATB5)  
PL GD (SAT56)  
Kj (SATB5)  
S SK (A) |
<p>| | | |
|                   |                                                                                   |                                                  |</p>
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<tr>
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<th>Usque modo non petisalis</th>
<th>Usque modo non petisalis</th>
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<th>Veni Sancte Spiritus</th>
<th>Usque modo non</th>
<th>Usque modo non</th>
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| [Canon]               |                          |                          |

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<th>Sacrarum modulationum 4, 5, 6, &amp; 8 vv... liber tertius</th>
<th>(Venice, Gardano, 1589)</th>
<th>B Br CH Zjacob (B) D Rp (B5) I Rc (S) P La (wanting 6) PL GD S Sk (A)</th>
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<table>
<thead>
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<th>Sacrarum modulationum 4, 5, 6, &amp; 8 vv... liber secundus</th>
<th>(Venice, Gardano, 1585)</th>
<th>D Rp (SB56) GB Lbl (S6) I Nf; Rc (S56); Rsc (B) P La (SATB5) PL GD (SAT56); Kj (SATB5) S Sk (A)</th>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Veni sponsa Christi</strong></th>
<th><strong>Cantus</strong></th>
<th><strong>Altus</strong></th>
<th><strong>Tenor</strong></th>
<th><strong>Bassus</strong></th>
<th><strong>Quintus</strong></th>
<th><strong>Sextus</strong></th>
<th><strong>B Br</strong></th>
<th><strong>CH Zjacobi</strong> (B)</th>
<th><strong>D Rp</strong> (B5)</th>
<th><strong>I Rc</strong> (5)</th>
<th><strong>P La</strong> (wanting 6)</th>
<th><strong>PL GD</strong></th>
<th><strong>S Sk</strong> (A)</th>
<th><strong>I Rn</strong> and <strong>I Rsc</strong> (wanting 3 partbooks)</th>
<th><strong>629bis ff. 13v–15r [Ms]</strong></th>
<th><strong>I Rsgf</strong></th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Verbum caro factum est</strong></td>
<td><strong>Cantus</strong></td>
<td><strong>Altus</strong></td>
<td><strong>Tenor</strong></td>
<td><strong>Bassus</strong></td>
<td><strong>Sextus</strong></td>
<td><strong>Sextus</strong></td>
<td><strong>Sextus</strong></td>
<td><strong>Sextus</strong></td>
<td><strong>Bassus</strong></td>
<td><strong>Cantus</strong></td>
<td><strong>Cantus</strong></td>
<td><strong>Cantus</strong></td>
<td><strong>Cantus</strong></td>
<td><strong>Cantus</strong></td>
<td><strong>B Br</strong></td>
<td><strong>CH Zjacobi</strong> (B)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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1. Sacrarum modulationum 4, 5, 6, & 8 vv... liber tertius (Venice, Gardano, 1589)
2. Mss Mus. 117–121 and G Ms 792–5

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Victimæ paschali</th>
<th>Cantus</th>
<th>Alba</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>Victimæ paschali, Laudes</td>
<td>Victimæ paschali, Laudes</td>
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<td>Victimæ paschali, Laudes</td>
<td>Victimæ paschali, Laudes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Victimæ paschali, Agnus redemit</td>
<td>Victimæ paschali, Agnus redemit</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sexvs</td>
<td>Sexvs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victimæ paschali, Agnus redemit</td>
<td>Victimæ paschali, Agnus redemit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 1. Sacrarum modulationum 4, 5, 6, & 8 vv . . . liber tertius  |
| (Venice, Gardano, 1589) |

| 2. Corollarium cantionum sacrarum (Nuremberg Gerlach, 1590) |

| 3. Ms. Winterfeld 25 [score] |

| B Br | CH Zjacobi (B) |
| D Rp (B5) | I Re (S) |
| P La (wanting 6) | PL GD |
| S Sk (A) |
| A Wgm | B Br |
| D As; Bds (AT); Dl (2ex.); FUp (S); Hs; LUC (ST5); Mbs (T); Rp (2ex.); WR; Z GB Lbl; T PL GD (wanting 5); Ka (6); WRu; Wu | S Skma (STB5) |
| D Bds |
ITEMS UNOBTAINABLE TO DATE

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<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Codex</th>
<th>RSg</th>
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<tr>
<td>Hodie Christus natus est (8vv)</td>
<td>Codex 58</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamentations</td>
<td>Codex 58</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two Passions</td>
<td>Codex 58</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urbs beata</td>
<td>Codex 61</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aurea luce</td>
<td>Codex 61</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Separate listing of sources 3–5 for *Hi sunt qui venerunt* (p. 445) and *Dignus es Domine* (p. 442).

3. Promptuarii musici sacras harmonias (Strasbourg, Kieffer, 1613)
   A Wgm. CH Zs (Be). CS Pu (A), D As (wanting Be); BD (AT); DS (SATB5); DÜl (wanting A); LEm (SATB 568); LUC (SATB58); Mbs; Rp; TR (A). DK KK. F Pc (5 wanting f.1); Pn; Sm (S5). GB Lbl (SATB5678). I Nn (SA5678). NL DHgm (A). PL GD (S5). Skma; Uu (SATB567). US We

4. Nova musices organice tablatura (Basle, Genath, 1617)
   CH Bu; SGv; Zz. D HB; LEm; Mbs; W. F Pc; Sn. NL DHgm

5. Florilegii musici portensis (Leipzig, Lambert, 1621)
   A K (inc.); Wgm (wanting 5). D Bds (SA78); Dl; FRI (B); Hs; HN (6); LEm (wanting S); LEt (ST5678 Be); LUC (STB 5inc. 678); Mbs (T5); Rp; SAh (SA5678); WI (AB5); Z (S678Be). F Pn. GB Lbl. PL Tu (TB68 Be); WRu. S Ö (wanting Be); Skma (wanting Be). US NYp

KEY TO LIBRARY SIGLA

A **Imf:** Innsbruck, Museum Ferdinandeum.
A **K:** Klagenfurt, Schloßbibliothek Ebental.
A **Wgm:** Vienna, Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde.
A **Wn:** Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.
B **Br:** Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er
B **CH Bu:** Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität
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B **CS Pu:** Prague, Státní knihovna CSR - Universitní knihovna - hudební oddelení.
B **D AN:** Ansbach, Regierungsbibliothek.
B **D As:** Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek.
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I Rsgf: Rome, Archivio dell' Arciconfraternità di San Giovanni dei Fiorentini.
I TRe: Trento, Biblioteca comunale.
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PL Wa: Warsaw, Archiwum Archidiecezjalne.
PL Wn: Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa.
PL Wu: Warsaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka.
PL WRu: Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka.
S Ö: Örebro, Karolinska Skolan Biblioteket.
S SK: Skara, Stifts- och Landsbiblioteket.
S Uu: Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket.
S V: Västerås, Stifts- och Landsbiblioteket.
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