

Ruth Lightbourne

Annibale Stabile and performance practice at two Roman institutions

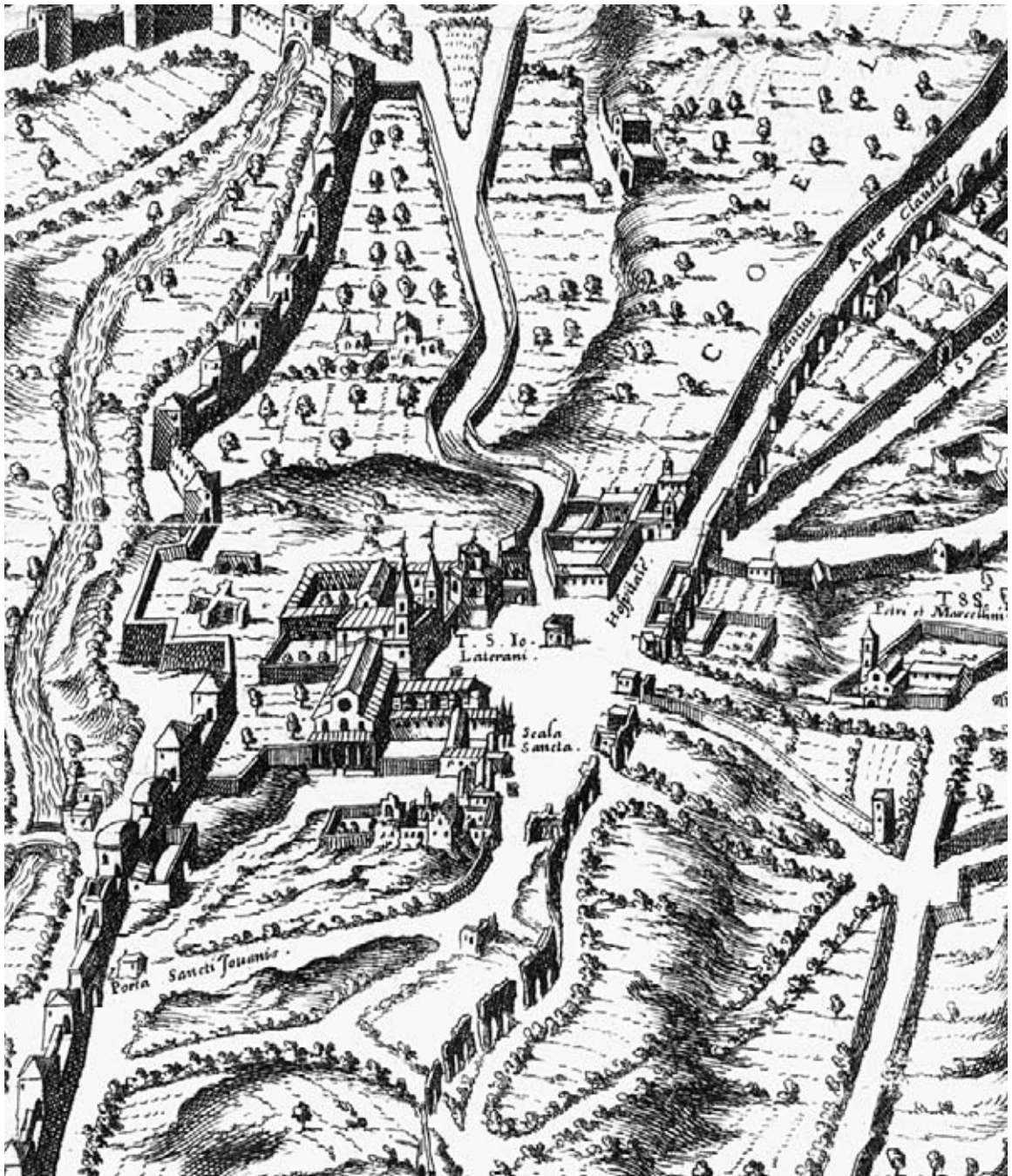
OUR picture of musical activity in Roman churches during the late 16th century is still very incomplete. There remain a large number of composers of both greater and lesser stature who were active at this time, and these musicians have yet to be researched along with the institutions in which they worked.¹ Until recently the style adopted at the Sistine and Julian chapels was regarded as the Roman norm. That this view may be mistaken is a pattern gradually emerging from recent scholarly work, and that, far from being the most important and vital musical centres, they were rather conservative and bound by tradition. Hence the received view of the whole Roman School as reflecting this conservatism turns out to be an increasingly misleading one. As a case in point, this article focuses on recent archival research at two other Roman institutions, the basilicas of S. Giovanni in Laterano and S. Maria Maggiore, their musical personnel and their *maestro di cappella*, the composer Annibale Stabile.

Annibale Stabile was a well-known and respected composer during his lifetime, an able choirmaster, and certainly deserving of an early 17th-century reference to him as ‘a man of no little repute among the masters of music’.² Under his direction the music at the German College in particular achieved fame far beyond the boundaries of Rome. He was one of the earliest composers working in Rome to have a collection of his own sacred music published and was among the few to obtain the patronage of that energetic and far-seeing pope Sixtus V.³ Knowledge of his music was widespread. 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 repertory 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 as far afield as Nuremberg, Munich, Dillingen, Basel, Speyer, Leipzig, Strasbourg and Krakow, as well as Italy itself.

The first concrete reference to Annibale Stabile, who was born c.1540–45 and who spent some of his early years in the Kingdom of Naples,⁴ occurs in 1575, with his appointment as *maestro di cappella* at S. Giovanni in Laterano. Giuseppe Baini, the 19th-century Italian musicologist, claimed that in the dedication of a book of litanies for four voices published in 1592 (now lost), Stabile referred to Palestrina as his teacher, ‘suo maestro Giovanni Pallestrina’.⁵ The appointment at S. Giovanni was an important one, since this church was, and still is, the cathedral church of Rome. Stabile remained there for just over two years. By July 1578 he had moved to the German College, a seminary run by the Jesuit order for training German priests. The church attached to the College was S. Apollinare and a contemporary description of the music there during Stabile’s time as *maestro* mentions that this church was visited by large numbers of people because of the very beautiful music, with voices, organ and other instruments which accompanied the Offices on important feast days.⁶ Stabile held this position for 12 years. After a year’s gap he moved to S. Maria Maggiore. He also spent some time in Poland at the court of the Polish king, and this was probably in 1590 between appointments at the German College and S. Maria Maggiore. There was a thriving musical chapel at the

Ruth Lightbourne is Music Librarian at the National Library of New Zealand. She completed her PhD at the University of Otago in 1995 with a dissertation on the composer Annibale Stabile.



1 Detail of S. Giovanni in Laterano in 1577. Built in the 4th century, this basilica has undergone many alterations as a result of the ravages of fires, sackings and earthquakes. This view looks towards the main entrance: a portico with six marble columns. The present facade, designed by Alessandro Galilei, was not added until the 18th century. The octagonal building above the north transept is the 5th-century baptistry. To the left of this are the 13th-century cloisters. (23805(8); *Roma prima di Sisto V: La pianta di Roma du Perac-Lafréry del 1577*, by permission of the British Library)

royal court throughout most of the 16th century and Stabile was just one of a string of Italian musicians employed by the Polish king around this time.⁷ Stabile died in Rome in 1595.

SAN GIOVANNI IN LATERANO, 1575–8

Annibale Stabile took up office at S. Giovanni in October 1575. He is first mentioned in the accounts as *maestro di cappella* from this month, and since the same entry also mentions that he received expenses for the boy soprano Pietro from 11 October, this is probably the precise date of the beginning of his tenure. Before this, 4–10 October, the bass Giovanni had been paid for this task (Rsg Ms: *Introitus et Exitus Fabrica et Cappella 1574 et 1575*, P xxiii, f.80v).⁸ Stabile's appointment at S. Giovanni gave him a monthly salary of 6 *scudi*, an amount that had remained unchanged since Palestrina was *maestro* some 20 years previously.⁹

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.¹⁰ 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 these singers (Rsg: *Introitus 1574 et 1575*, f.80v):

Jo basso et chorista	scudi 5 baiocchi 70
Julio tenore et chorista	scudi 5
Fran[ces]co Mellone tenore	scudi 5
Cesare di gallicani contralto	scudi 8
Matteo Venturino contralto	scudi 4
Aug[usti]no gomez sop[ra]no	scudi 5

Apart from the bass Giovanni ('Jo basso'), who was paid an extra 70 *baiocchi* for attending to the boy soprano Pietro for seven days before 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 subse-

quent 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 1576.¹¹

A choir list for the following year, 1576 (no month given), occurs in one of the account books (Rsg Ms: *Liber Cappella 1577*, Pxxiv, p.192):¹²

The *Cantori* of the Chapel of San Giovanni in Laterano

Ms Annibale Stabile <i>Maestro di Cappella</i> has six <i>scudi</i> for his provision for the month, and for the needs of the two boy sopranos another six <i>scudi</i> which in total is	scudi 12
Ms Giovanni Basso Corista five <i>scudi</i> [for] the month	scudi 5
Ms Giulio tenore and Corista	scudi 5
Ms Francesco Melone tenore	scudi 5
Ms Matteo Venturini contralto	scudi 4
Ms Cesare da Gallicani contralto	scudi 4

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The bass Giovanni and the tenor Giulio are both listed as 'corista' (sometimes spelt 'chorista'). This role is not clarified, but is probably a cantor, or someone who prepares the books of music for the day's ceremonies.¹³

The two boy sopranos Belardino and Pietro continue to be named in the accounts from October 1575 to January 1576. In February 1576 two boys are again mentioned, but names are not given. For March the number of boys is not specified but Stabile's pay of an extra 6 *scudi* to the 'putti della cappella' indicates two boys (Rsg: *Liber Cappella 1577*, p.8). However, in March Stabile also receives 20 *baiocchi* for a pair of shoes for Lorenzo, a soprano (Rsg: *Liber Cappella 1577*, p.8). 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 (Rsg: *Liber Cappella 1577*, p.9), 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. Another two boys, 'pietro and gio. petro', are also named in April 1576, so there appear to have been three boys for this period (Rsg: *Liber Cappella 1577*, p.9). Giovanni

Pietro remained as a boy soprano probably until at least September of 1576 (Rsg: *Liber Cappella 1577*, p.11), and Pietro until October 1576, when he received payment for shoes (Rsg: *Liber Cappella 1577*, p.12). After October no more boy sopranos are named although there were still two in November 1576 when Stabile was paid for 'due soprani della cappella per il mese di novembre 1576' (Rsg: *Liber Cappella 1577*, p.13). No accounts for the period December 1576 to September 1577 are extant, but for the remainder of 1577 (October to December), Stabile continued to receive an extra 6 *scudi* for two boy sopranos ('per li doi putti') (Rsg Ms: *Fabrica et Capella 1578*, Pxxv, f.9).

In addition, extra singers were sometimes hired for regular events. An 'Aun^o basso' received 2 *scudi* in the months of September, October and November of 1575 for helping to sing Mass each morning and Vespers (Rsg: *Introitus 1574 et 1575*, f.82v).

Special feasts and processions

Important events required extra musicians at S. Giovanni. These events included the Procession of S. Marco, the celebration of the Dedication of the Church, the feast of S. Giovanni in June and the Jubilee Procession. On some of these occasions (see below) the singers were also paid for the vocal ornamentation of the chapel ('per ornamento della nostra cappella').

In April 1576 four *cantori* 'from outside' were hired for the Procession of S. Marco (Rsg: *Liber Cappella 1577*, p.8).¹⁴ The Jubilee Procession also called for extra singers. In December 1575 the soprano Augustino Gomez returned to the choir for this event (Rsg: *Introitus 1574 et 1575*, f.82), and Stabile collected payment for '3 cantori' for this same procession (Rsg: *Introitus 1574 et 1575*, f.81v). Both Augustino Gomez and the three *cantori* were paid for 'the ornamentation of our chapel'. In 1576 'federico' and another were hired for the Jubilee Procession. 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 (Rsg: *Liber Cappella 1577*, p.12, [October 1576]).¹⁵

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 the *cantori* of the pope (Rsg: *Liber Cappella 1577*, p.7). This was probably 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, when again Stabile collected payment for them (Rsg: *Fabrica et Capella 1578*, f.10). On two other occasions both in 1576 Stabile was paid for some extra singers, the feast of S. Giovanni in June and the day of the celebration of the Dedication of the Church in November and while it is not stated that they were the pope's singers, they were almost certainly visiting singers (Rsg: *Liber Cappella 1577*, p.10, and Rsg: *Liber Cappella 1577*, p.12).

The accounts for the feast of the Dedication of the Church in November 1576 mention another *maestro di cappella*, Giovanni Battista Rubino (Rsg: *Liber Cappella 1577*, p.12). This seeming overlap of positions with that of Stabile who was *maestro* from October 1575 until January 1578 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 is 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' (Rsg Ms: *Liber Introitus et Exitus Fabrice et Cappelle de anno 1572*, P xx, f.80). This same format is continued when Stabile was *maestro*. Rubino is recorded at the top of the list of payments as 'Jo. bap[tist]a rubino Cano[ni]co et m[astr]o di cappella de ca[n]tori di Sa[n]to Lat[era]no' and directly underneath is 'Anibal Stabile n[ost]ro m[astr]o di cappella'. This occurs for the months of October, November and December 1575.¹⁶ There is, however, a clear distinction to be drawn in the titles. One person is a cleric since he is referred to as canon as well as *maestro di cappella*, and the other is just *maestro di cappella*. While it is possible that there was a *maestro* and a *vice-maestro* such as there was at St. Marks in Venice from 1607, this seems rather much for a choir of five to six adults and two to four boys, and there is no suggestion in the accounts of two choirs. More likely is that the role of the cleric was purely administrative with a professional musician in charge of

the day-to-day activities of the choir. This situation existed in the Cappella Giulia where there was a 'magister Capelle' who fulfilled an administrative role. Sometimes also called 'rector' or administrator', he was in charge of the administrative and financial affairs and upon him as a last resort depended the appointment of the choirmasters and singers.¹⁷ Casimiri also noted the presence at S. Giovanni of these 'Canonici Prefetti' and found that they were appointed annually as a rule.¹⁸

Other aspects

There are very few references in the accounts to the purchase of new books for the choir. One occurs in December 1575 when there is a payment for two 'libri di motteti de Jov[?] di pellestrina sta[m]pati' (Rsg: *Introitus 1574 et 1575*, f.82v). This was possibly Palestrina's *Motettorum liber tertius*, 5, 6, 8vv, which was published in Venice in 1575. Another occurs in June 1576 when a book of Masses by Victoria was added to the choir's library (Rsg: *Liber Cappella 1577*, p.10). This may have been Victoria's *Liber primus: qui missas, psalmos, Magnificat ... 4-6, 8vv* (Venice, 1576). 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.¹⁹ In October 1575 the month when Stabile took office, Giovanni Battista Rubino was paid 1.30 *scudi* to enable the completion of a book of hymns and for the binding of the same (Rsg: *Introitus 1574 et 1575*, f.80). This in all likelihood was Rsg Ms: Codex 61.

Codex 61, probably copied by Stabile or by a scribe under his supervision, contains a cycle of hymns by Costanzo Festa, as well as compositions by Stabile himself and a number of hymn settings by other composers, most of whom were at some stage *maestri* at S. Giovanni. This gives some idea of the repertory of the choir.²⁰ The usual procedure for hymns is observed with alternate verses receiving a polyphonic treatment. There is no preference for either odd or even verses: in different hymns either can be set polyphonically.

Another codex which may have been copied for the choir at this time is Codex 58 (Rsg Ms: Codex 58). Casimiri suggests that Codex 58 was copied between

December 1576 and March 1577 under Stabile's supervision.²¹ The first part of 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 First 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 the eighth and ninth by Palestrina and Festa respectively, 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 Palestrina, Morales and Festa were inserted as a tribute. The two Passions, both by Stabile, are assigned in the manuscript to Palm Sunday ('Dominica in Ramis Palmarum') and Good Friday ('Passio secundum Ioannem. Feria VI in Parasceve').²²

The last salary payment to Stabile occurs on 6 January 1578 (Rsg: *Fabrica et Capella 1578*, f.9). This conflicts with Patricia Ann Myers's statement in *New Grove* that Giovanni A. Dragoni succeeded Stabile in June of 1576,²³ for the first reference in the accounts to Dragoni as *maestro di cappella* does not occur until 1 February 1578 (Rsg: *Fabrica e Capella 1578*, f.11v), and this date is in accord with Stabile's departure. 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 (Rsg: *Fabrica e Capella 1578*, f.9v).

S. MARIA MAGGIORE, 1591-4

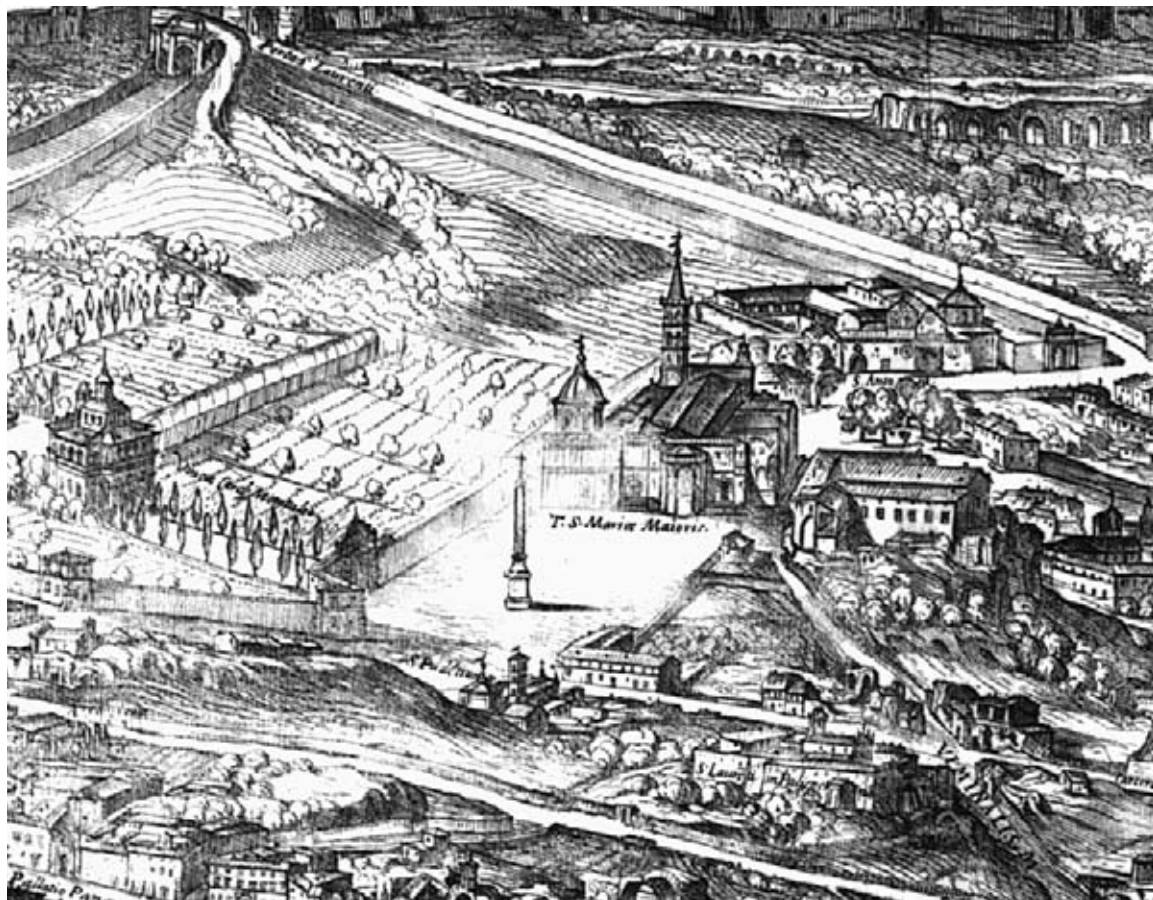
Stabile took up office at S. Maria Maggiore in February 1591. This was probably on the 18th or 19th, since in February 1591 he was paid 11.32 *scudi* for acting as *maestro* for one third of the month.²⁴ His monthly salary at S. Maria Maggiore combined with that for the care of four boy sopranos was 20 *scudi*. This was certainly an increase on his salary at S. Giovanni in Laterano, and 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*.²⁵

Although the rates of pay for 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 related to one person in particular, because at a changeover of *contralti*, one contralto continues to receive the highest pay. Next in pay ranking throughout the period is the tenor Marc Antonio. This, however, can be explained, for in 1591 he was referred to as ‘Cantore Decano’ or Choir Dean (Rsm: *Cappella 1589 al 1600* [Cappella 1591], f.24). The lowest paid member is usually 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 an occasional fluctuation in the number of boys or basses (see table 1).²⁶

As at S. Giovanni in Laterano, there was not a large turnover of choir personnel. The two tenors Marc Antonio and Giovanni Domenico, 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



2 Detail of S. Maria Maggiore in 1593. This view of the basilica built by Sixtus III (432–40) shows the apsidal end of S. Maria Maggiore. Only one of the twin chapels, the Sistine Chapel (beneath the dome), had been built in 1593. This was added during Sixtus V’s short five-year reign (1585–90). The Pauline Chapel, which was to be placed on the other side of the apse, was not commissioned until 1611. The obelisk at the centre of the square, also placed there by Sixtus V, came from the mausoleum of Augustus. The campanile of S. Maria Maggiore, the highest in Rome, was added in 1377 by Gregory XI. (*Roma al tempo di Clemente VIII: La pianta di Roma di Antonio Tempesta del 1593*, reproduced from a Vatican copy of 1606, with an introduction by Francesco Ehrle (Vatican City, 1932))

Table 1 Choir numbers at S. Maria Maggiore, Feb 1591–Dec 1594

Month	1591				1592				1593				1594			
	S	A	T	B	S	A	T	B	S	A	T	B	S	A	T	B
January					4	2	2	2	5	2	2	2	4	2	2	2
February	4	2	2	2	4	2	2	1	5	2	2	2	4	2	2	2
March	4	2	2	1	4	2	2	1	5	2	2	2	4	2	2	2
April	4	2	2	1	4	2	2	1	5	2	2	2	4	2	2	2
May	4	2	2	1	4	2	2	2	5	2	2	2	4	2	2	2
June	4	2	2	–	4	2	2	2	5	2	2	2	3	2	2	2
July	3	2	2	1	4	2	2	2	4	2	2	2	4	2	2	2
August	3	2	2	1	4	2	2	2	4	2	2	2	4	2	2	2
September	2	2	2	2	4	2	2	2	4	2	2	2	4	2	2	2
October	3	2	2	2	4	2	2	2	4	2	2	2	4	2	2	2
November	3	2	2	2	4	2	2	2	4	2	2	2	4	2	2	1
December	4	2	2	2	5	2	2	2	4	2	2	2	4	2	2	1

the following members (Rsm: *Cappella 1589 al 1600* [Cappella 1591], f.41):²⁷

Cappella Febraro 1591

Ms Anibale M[astr]o di Cap[el]la per un terzo del mese,
con 4° putti uno per 4° giorni, s[cudi] 11. b[aiocchi] 32

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

The two tenors are listed a second time as ‘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, for example, name a tenor and a contralto in this role (Gio. Domenico and Gio. Battista).²⁸ This position is probably the same as the *chorista* held by the tenor and bass at S. Giovanni in Laterano.

Names of the boys, who lived with the *maestro di cappella*, 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 (Rsm: *Cappella 1589 al 1600* [Cappella 1591], f.25v), and to

Huolo Patriarcha and Macello de Corbi for various things, including medicines supplied to Ottavio (Rsm: *Cappella 1589 al 1600* [Cappella 1592], f.21v). In November 1593 there is a mention of ‘Gio: Dom^{co} putto di Capp^{la}’ (Rsm: *Giustificazioni* 7, Mandato No.108 [1593]). One of the tasks of the *maestro di cappella* was to give the choirboys lessons in Latin and counterpoint, for among Stabile’s expenses for the boys in the first part of 1591 were: ‘pens, ink and lined paper for writing Latin’ and ‘four *cartelle* for counterpoint’ (Rsm Ms: *Giustificazioni* 6 1591–1592, Mandato No.12 [1591]).²⁹

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 the bass Fra Anselmo was hired for the first 15 days of April (Rsm: *Cappella 1589 al 1600* [Cappella 1591], f.23v), and in 1592, the bass Cesare Valeriani was engaged for the whole of the month (Rsm: *Cappella 1589 al 1600* [Cappella 1592], f.20v). In addition, in 1591 Stabile’s list of expenses for the year up until April 15 included 50 *baiocchi* for a singer who was called in for the day when the pope celebrated in the church (Rsm: *Giustificazioni* 6, Mandato 12 [1591]). 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 (Rsm:

+
Aprile 1591

42

Provisioni de Salariati della Cap.^{la} di S. Maria mag^{re} p^{re} il mese di Aprile 1591

M ^o Anibale stabile M. di Cap. ^{la} con 2 Putti	20	Ego Anibal Sabui.
M ^o Mare Antonio Canore	6. 50	Io Mareant. Canore
M ^o Gio Domenico Canore	4	Ego Io: Domini Canore
M ^o Antonio Contralto	7	Ego Antonius Sabui
M ^o Claudio Contralto	6	Ego Claudio Contralto
M ^o Cesare Basso	6	Ego Cesare Basso
M ^o Mare Antonio p ^{re} il Choristato	0. 40	Io Mareant. Canore
M ^o Gio. Donico p ^{re} il Choristato	0. 40	Ego Io: Don. Canore
M ^o Bartolomeo organista	5	Ego Bartol. Sabui
M ^o Carlo Murator della Chiesa	1. 20	Ego Carolus Sabui
M ^o Pasfio seluas n ^o re fratture	1	Ego Pasphilus Sabui

Somano intutto 57 50.

Pagati ad ultimo d'Aprile 1591 p^{re} n. 16

3 Rome, Archivio Capitolare di S. Maria Maggiore, Ms. Cappella 1589 al 1600, f.42. S. Maria Maggiore choirlist for April 1591. The monthly salaries of each member are shown; the signatures of the various members appear down the right-hand side.

Giustificazioni 7, Mandato No.129 [1594]). And in November of that year, when both regular tenors were ill at the same time, Fra Geronimo, a brother from the Carmelite Order, was engaged to sing tenor and the Office from All Saints Day until the feast of St. Martin (Rsm: *Giustificazioni* 7, Mandato No.124 [1594]).

Special feasts

Apart from the permanent choir and its replacements, extras were employed both on a semi-regular basis and for special occasions. 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.

The importance of the two August feasts, the feast of Our Lady of the Snows and the Assumption of the Virgin, is immediately apparent owing 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 Pa[n]filo Selva n[ost]ro esattore pagarete a ms Marca[n]t[oni]o Picchinesi Tenore et d[e]cano d[e]lla n[ost]ra Cappella s[cu]di tre et b[aiocchi] trenta per pagare li infrascritti Cantori ch[e] hanno servito nella festa d[e]lla Madon[na] d[e]ll’Assu[mp]ta d[e] p[rese]nte anno alli due Vespri et alla Messa, cioe un Cornetto, un Tro[m]bone, un Basso, et un Tenore, il q[ua]li Tenore servi solam[en]te al primo Vespro ... q.¹⁰ di 18 d’Agosto 1591.³⁰

Ms Panfilo Selva our *esattore* will pay to Ms Marc Antonio Picchinesi, tenor and Dean of our chapel, 3 *scudi* and 30 *baiocchi*, to pay the *cantori* listed below who served on 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.

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, for 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’ (Rsm: *Giustificazioni* 6, Mandato No.8 [1592]). This therefore is best translated as ‘musicians from outside’ rather than as ‘singers from outside’.

In the accounts for October in the following year Stabile was paid for securing the services of eight musicians (*cantori*) who served at both August feasts (Rsm: *Giustificazioni* 6, Mandato No.58 [1592]). In 1594 ‘diversi cantori’ were engaged for the feast of Our Lady of the Snows (Rsm: *Giustificazioni* 7, Mandato No.85 [1594]). Unfortunately, on neither of these occasions is a further breakdown supplied, but one might assume that at least one cornett and one trombone were included. The 20 *scudi* paid to Stabile in 1594 for the ‘various musicians’ (‘diversi cantori’) for the feast of Our Lady of the Snows, suggests an unusually large group. For important feasts at S. Maria Maggiore, around one *scudo* per person per engagement seems to be the norm for outside musicians. Thus approximately 20 musicians may have been employed on this occasion which, added to the ten regular choir members, would make a group of 30 altogether. Doubtless polychoral music with instruments was the order of the day.

Holy Week and Easter were also important times musically. In April 1593 seven *cantori* were paid 7 *scudi* to help with the music for Easter Day (Rsm: *Giustificazioni* 7, Mandato No.31 [1593]); again one can 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* (Rsm: *Giustificazioni* 7, Mandato No.36 [1594]). In addition to the seven *cantori* above who helped with the Easter music in 1593, a different group of people, all *beneficiati* of S. Maria Maggiore, assisted on Easter morning, as well as singing three Passions for the Canons and ‘singing the relics’ (‘cantato le reliquie’) during Holy Week (Rsm: *Giustificazioni* 7, Mandato No.33 [1593]). One of these, the contralto Giovanni Battista, was already in the choir, suggesting that the rest of the regular choir

was not included in these activities. These seven *beneficiati* were probably chaplains who also assisted with the singing when required. Luis Robledo notes this practice at the Spanish royal chapel, where the duties of the serving chaplains at the Divine Office included singing the intonations or taking part in the choir on a regular basis.³¹ The seven, described as *beneficiati* on the reverse side of the *mandato*, are listed as follows:

A Ms Franc[esc]o Amorisio	s[cudi] 1
A Ms Pamphilo Selva	s[cudi] 1: 20
A Ms Franc[esc]o Suriano	s[cudi] 1
A Ms Vinc[enz]o de Gravio	s[cudi] 0: 10
A Ms Dom[en]ico giordano per 4 messe	s[cudi] 0: 40
A Ms Cesar[e] Nuca per s Sixto	s[cudi] 0: 76
A Ms Gio: Batt[ist]a contralto	s[cudi] 0: 20
	04: 66

‘Singing the relics’ is probably related to the display of the relics which took place during the night on the Thursday of Holy Week.³² The group of seven *beneficiati* who carried out these tasks in 1593 were also paid for singing four Masses on the 10th of February for the anniversary of a Mario del Conte, and six of the seven singers (Domenico Giordano was 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.³³

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, Vincenzio Grati, Jo Antonio Flisio and Claudio Cantore, perhaps also in the employ of the Chapter of S. Maria Maggiore. They received payment 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’ (‘pronuntiato le Reliq[ui]e’) (Rsm: *Cappella 1589 al 1600* [Cappella 1591], f.23). 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 (Rsm: *Cappella 1589 al 1600* [Cappella 1591], f.23).

Christmas was another occasion for engaging extra musicians. In 1592 the accounts mention that

Marc Antonio Muti was paid 2 *scudi* for hiring some musicians (‘cantori’) to help with the music for Christmas Eve. However, on this occasion they were clearly singers, since the associated *mandato*, which describes them as ‘musici’, states that they sang (‘alcuni musici che cantorno la notte di Natale’). This payment included costs for the transportation (*condutta*) of an organ to the church (Rsm: *Cappella 1589 al 1600* [Cappella 1592], f.24; and Rsm: *Giustificazioni* 6, Mandato No.72 [1592]).³⁴

Processions at S. Maria Maggiore 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. Music was included at each of these. 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 (Rsm: *Cappella 1589 al 1600* [Cappella 1591], f.24v), and in 1593 the help of two *cantori* was enlisted (Rsm: *Giustificazioni* 7, Mandato No.57 [1593]). In April of 1592 Cesare Valeriani was hired to sing bass in the Processions of Good Friday and of S. Marco (Rsm: *Cappella 1589 al 1600* [Cappella 1592], f.20v), and in 1592 two *cantori* were engaged for the Procession of Ss. Proto and Giacinto (Rsm: *Cappella 1589 al 1600* [Cappella 1592], f.21v).

Other aspects

Some persons were hired regularly for more than one task. Among these were Francesco Soriano and Domenico Giordano: both were also chaplains (‘cappellani’). Francesco Soriano, who was among the seven *beneficiati* who assisted at Easter in 1593, received payment for administering the sacrament from 1 November 1592 until the end of October 1593 (Rsm: *Giustificazioni* 7, Mandato No.32 [1593], and Rsm: *Giustificazioni* 7, Mandato No.94 [1593]). Domenico Giordano, another of these seven *beneficiati*, was employed from January to June and from October to December in 1591, specifically to serve at ferial Vespers.³⁵ Although it is never specified directly as a singing duty, it was very likely for the purpose of singing the intonations. His voice-type is not mentioned although there was a ‘Domenico Basso’ in the choir in July and August 1591 and it is possible that this was the same person.³⁶

Both Soriano and Giordano were also 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 *cappellani* and *choristi*, 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 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 perhaps their duties were correspondingly light. In 1591 the group named is Domenico Giordano, Stefano di Bernardino, Francesco Soriano and Giovanni Baptista Anerio (Rsm: *Giustificazioni* 6, Mandato Nos.32 and 40 [1591]).³⁷ Domenico Giordano, Francesco Soriano and Giovanni Baptista Anerio were again hired in 1592 with Hieronimo Piazza (Rsm: *Giustificazioni* 6, Mandato No.40 [1592]).³⁸ In 1593 the group comprised Hieronimo Piazza, Claudio Gualtarena, Ramiero de Ramieus and the sacristan for S. Maria Maggiore, Ascanio (Rsm: *Giustificazioni* 7, Mandato No.77 [1593], and Rsm: *Giustificazioni* 7, Mandato No.87 [1593]).³⁹ And in 1594 the services of Domenico Giordano, Francesco Soriano, Ramiero de Ramieus and Hieronimo Piazza were secured (Rsm: *Giustificazioni* 7, Mandato Nos.84, 93 and 102 [1594]).

There are several references to books of music among the accounts. On 4 March 1591 a large antiphony of ‘canto fermo’ was bound and covered with plates, corners and buckles of brass by the bookbinder Giulio Morelli (Rsm: *Cappella 1589 al 1600* [Cappella 1591], f.22v). This may have been the same book mentioned in the accounts the previous month, when Panfilo Selva collected 90 *baicchi* for having written in a book of *canto fermo* (Rsm: *Cappella 1589 al 1600* [Cappella 1591], f.22v). Another item bound for the choir by Giulio Morelli was a book containing music by Victoria (Rsm: *Giustificazioni* 7, Mandato No.67 [1593]). A few days later that same month (August 1593) payment was made for four books of litanies (Rsm: *Giustificazioni* 7, Mandato No.73 [1593]).

There are a number of references to an organ.

There was certainly a regular organist at S. Maria Maggiore, for the incumbent is named in every monthly choir list during Stabile’s period of tenure. ‘Bartolomeo’ held this position from February 1591 until November 1591. 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 for a ‘Ms Hieronimo’ who was organist for one day (Rsm: *Giustificazioni* 7, Mandato No.79 [1594]). 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. There is even a reference to a room in which the portable organs were kept, when on 22 March 1591 Carlo, the church mason, was paid for having ‘incollato la stanza dell’Organi’ (Rsm: *Cappella 1589 al 1600* [Cappella 1591], f.23v). While there is no second organist on the regular payroll, this does not mean that a second organ was not used to accompany a second choir in an antiphonal or double-choir polyphonic performance for example. It was quite possible that this role was fulfilled by Stabile himself or by one of the other people attached to the basilica, such as Francesco Soriano.

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 Aspello, is described as an ‘acconciator del nostro Organo’ on one occasion and as ‘M[astro] d’Organi’ on the other (Rsm: *Cappella 1589 al 1600* [Cappella 1592], f.22 and Rsm: *Giustificazioni* 7, Mandato No.10 [1593]). One of his responsibilities was to tune the organs; he carried out this task (‘accordato l’Organo’) on one of the organs in March 1592 (Rsm: *Cappella 1589 al 1600* [Cappella 1592], f.19v). Various other work was carried out on the organs from time to time. Four new bellows and other adjustments were made in September 1591 by the firm of Vincenzio da Sulmona (Rsm: *Cappella 1589 al 1600* [Cappella 1591], f.24v). 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 (Rsm: *Giustificazioni* 6, Mandato No.8 [1592]).

Stabile remained at S. Maria Maggiore until the end of December 1594. The choir list for December 1594, dated 'the last day of December 1594', records that 'Anibale Stabile M[astr]o di Cap[pe]lla con 4^o Putti' received 20 *scudi* for that month (Rsm: *Giustificazioni* 7, Mandato No.142 [1594]). He had certainly left by early January 1595, since there are no payments for a *maestro* during January, and in February 1595 Francesco Soriano, his successor, is noted as receiving 21 *scudi* (Rsm Ms: *Isinuto 1594 al 1600 Tom* 3, f.89). 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. Casimiri suggested that this was due to poor health, for Stabile died in Rome a few months later, in April 1595 (Rsm Ms: *Instrorum Tom 20 ab Anno 1595 usq ad 1603, f.2v*).⁴⁰

IN summary, a number of points have emerged. The membership of the permanent choirs was small, with two voices to each of the lower parts. Boy sopranos, rather than falsettists or castrati, were employed, although at S. Giovanni an adult soprano was employed in 1575. The number of boys varied, with S. Giovanni averaging two and S. Maria Maggiore four. These eight- to ten-voice choirs were similar in size to the choirs of other Roman institutions about which something is known, and continued to be the standard grouping into the 17th century.⁴¹ How this related to the repertory of these two basilicas during the periods under discussion is not yet clear, since these are topics which wait to be researched.⁴² All Stabile's published sacred music, with the exception of a book of litanies published in 1592 (now lost), was issued while he was *maestro* at

the German College, and a large proportion of these works were almost certainly composed for the resources there. But for the two codices very probably in use at S. Giovanni during Stabile's time as *maestro* (Rsg Mss: Codices 58 and 61), an eight-voice choir must have been sufficient for the four, five and six-part music contained therein.⁴³

Festive occasions required instrumentalists and extra singers. At S. Maria Maggiore in the 1590s a greater number of extras were hired for each occasion than at S. Giovanni in the 1570s. This was probably because of the growing popularity of polychoral music in Rome. One of the most significant points to emerge is that the term 'cantori' can refer to instrumentalists as well as singers. Another point to come forward is that towards the end of the 16th century, larger institutions probably had more than one organ. S. Maria Maggiore certainly did, and even had a room in which to store them. These positive or portative organs (perhaps both), could be moved around the church, taken to another location altogether, or in the case of the portative, used in processions. When used within the church, they probably accompanied a second choir in an antiphonal or double-choir polyphonic performance, supported a solo performance, or were used to provide incidental music for some occasion when the main organ was not required.

There is still much to be discovered concerning performance practice in Rome during the late 16th century. The style adopted at the papal institutions does not provide the total picture and until there is further investigation into some of the other *maestri* who worked at S. Giovanni in Laterano and S. Maria Maggiore, and into the many other Roman institutions, the picture of musical activity in late 16th-century Rome must remain incomplete.

1 For a list of composers active in Rome between 1570 and 1600, see appendix B in R. Lightbourne, *Annibale Stabile: a man of no little repute among the masters of music*, 2 vols (PhD diss., U. of Otago, 1994), i, p.414.

2 Rome, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Ms: *Vitae* 6, ff.42r-44v. From Matthias Schrick's biography

of Michele Lauretano, Rector at the German College 1573-87, written c.1630, and cited as doc.3 in T. 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, with translation pp.76-8. Matthias Schrick was a student at the College from 1583 to 1589 during Stabile's time as *maestro*

(see Culley, *Jesuits*, p.25).

3 For a list of publications by composers working in Rome between 1570 and 1600, see Lightbourne, *Annibale Stabile*, i, pp.38-41. Two other composers who sought and gained the patronage of Pope Sixtus V were Costanzo Porta, who dedicated his *Musica canenda ... liber tertius* (Venice, 1585) to Sixtus, and Palestrina, who

similarly dedicated both his *Lamentationum Hieremiae prophetae liber primus* (Rome, 1588) and the *Hymni totius anni* (Rome, 1589).

4 R. Casimiri, 'Disciplina musicae e mastri di capella', *Note d'archivio per la storia musicale*, xix (1942), pp.105-6. Casimiri suggested that Stabile spent some of his early life in the province of Naples owing to the reference in a list of salaried persons of March 1589, 'i Mastro di Capella: Ms Annibale Stabile Napolitano', which he found in the archives of the German College. Unfortunately Casimiri does not give the source for this and a number of other references, as he had planned to publish them as an appendix to his series of articles. This reference to 'Annibale Stabile Napolitano' should not necessarily be taken to mean that Stabile was born in Naples, for in another document (in the Archives of S. Maria Maggiore) Stabile is referred to as 'Anibal Stablis ... Romanus' (*Instrorum Tom 20 ab Anno 1595 usq ad 1603*, f.2v).

5 G. Baini, *Memorie storico-critiche della vita e delle opere di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina*, 2 vols (Rome, 1828; R/Hildesheim, 1966), ii, p.23, n.455.

6 Pompeo Ugonio, *Historia delle stationi di Roma* (Rome, 1588), f.286r; cited by Culley, *Jesuits*, p.86. For information on the music, musicians and performance practice at the German College over the period 1573-1600, see Culley, *Jesuits*, pp.13-94. For further information not covered by Culley, see Lightbourne, *Annibale Stabile*, i, pp.52-80.

7 The suggestion that Stabile was in Poland in 1595 is made in R. I. De Ford, 'Stabile, Annibale', *New Grove II*. For a discussion on the various theories concerning Stabile's sojourn in Poland, see Lightbourne, *Annibale Stabile*, i, pp.16, 21, 26, 28-32.

8 Unless given, transcriptions of these and all other documents cited from the Archivio Capitolino S. Giovanni in Laterano (Rsg) and Archivio Capitolare di S. Maria Maggiore (Rsm), can be found in Lightbourne, *Annibale Stabile*, i, pp.18-20 and chap.2. For transcriptions of the Italian appearing in this article, abbreviations or contractions using the dash and super-

script contractions have been filled in using square brackets. All abbreviations of 'con', 'per' and 'non', have been written out in full without further comment.

9 See G. Garden, 'François Roussel: a northern musician in sixteenth-century Rome', *Musica disciplina*, xxxi (1977), p.118.

10 Garden, 'François Roussel', p.119.

11 According to the archivist, Mons. Sciubba, there are no account books for the period December 1576 to September 1577. For the reference to Gomez, see Rsg: *Introitus 1574 et 1575*, f.81r.

12 Although entitled 1577, Rsg Ms: *Liber Cappella 1577*, Pxxiv, contains accounts for 1576.

13 See also J. Lionnet, 'Un musicista Romano nel Viterbese: Teofilo Gargari e Francesco Foggia', *Lunario romano: musica e musicisti nel Lazio*, ed. R. Lefevre and A. Morelli (Rome, 1985), p.270. Another possibility is that the term *corista* may refer to the singer who was responsible for singing the Hours each day. In the Cappella Giulia from 1574/8 until the reforms of Gregory XIII, choir members were paid a supplement for this task. Two singers per month (and after January 1548, four singers per month) received a supplement of 50 *baiocchi*, later 1 *scudo* with the mention 'cum choro'. (A. Ducrot, 'Histoire de la Cappella Giulia au XVIe siècle', *L'École Française de Rome: mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, lxvii (1963), pp.507-8, 510). I am grateful to Greer Garden for pointing out this information.

14 Greer Garden also notes that extra singers were hired for the procession of S. Marco during the time of Roussel. See Garden, 'François Roussel', p.119.

15 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.

16 See the monthly accounts beginning ff.80, 81 and 81v in Rsg: *Introitus 1574 et 1575*.

17 Ducrot, 'Histoire de la Cappella Giulia au XVIe siècle', p.495, n.1 and p.529. I am grateful to Greer Garden

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for pointing out this information.

18 From Casimiri's notes and documents relating to the musical chapel at S. Giovanni in Laterano, MS, bequeathed to the Associazione di S. Cecilia, Rome. I am grateful to Greer Garden for sharing her notes on this manuscript.

19 This list occurs on the verso of the last folio of Codex 58, held in the Archives of S. Giovanni in Laterano. It is entitled 'Lista de libri de Musica che sono in S. Gio: Laterano nel tempo che Christoforo Guizzardi era mastro di Cappella.' For a transcription of the complete list, see R. Casimiri, *Il 'Codice 59' dell'Archivio musicale Lateranense autografo di Giov. Pierluigi da Palestrina* (Rome, 1919), pp.24–5.

20 The writing or supervision of Rsg Ms: Codex 61 was attributed to Stabile by Glen Haydon owing to the date and to the initials AS on the title-page. See G. Haydon, 'The Lateran Codex 61', *Bericht über den Siebenten Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress Köln 1958*, ed. G. Abraham *et al.* (Kassel, 1959), pp.126–31. The title-page reads *Sacrosanctae Lateranensis Ecclesiae / Joannes Baptista Rubinus / Canonicus et Magister / Capellae restituit / et auxit / Anno Jubilaei, MDLXXV / AS*. Haydon concluded that Codex 61 was a copy of an earlier manuscript (now missing) by Rubino, whom he believed had left S. Giovanni by 1550. (Haydon assumed that Giovanni Battista Rubino was the same as Rubino Mallapert, *maestro* at S. Giovanni 1548–9). However, it is clear from the account books that G. B. Rubino was still receiving payments in December 1575 and even as late as November 1576 (Rsg: *Liber Cappella*, 1577, p.12). While it is possible that Mallapert returned to S. Giovanni, since nothing is known of his career following August 1553 when he was offered (but did not take up) the post of *maestro di cappella* at S. Maria Maggiore in Rome (see A. W. Atlas/M. P. Brauner, 'Mallapert, Robin', *New Grove II*), it is also possible that Rubino Mallapert and Giovanni Battista Rubino were two different people, and that G. B. Rubino commissioned the manuscript while administrative head of the chapel, leaving the copying to Stabile. Other composers

represented in Codex 61 are: A. Zoilo, B. Roy, Lupachini, Matelart, Rubino (?Mallapert), Carpentras, F. Adriani, Palestrina, Dragoni, Montanari and J. Benincasi. Those who were *maestri* at S. Giovanni were Zoilo, Roy, Lupachini, Mallapert, Adriani, Palestrina, Dragoni and Benincasi. Both Dragoni and Benincasi held this position after Stabile. For a more detailed list of the contents, see Haydon, 'The Lateran Codex 61', pp.129–31.

21 Casimiri, *Il 'Codice 59'*, p.13.

22 The two Passions and the set of Lamentations are on ff.1v–59. The items on the following folios are in a different and later hand. Apart from Stabile, Morales, Palestrina and Festa, Codex 58 also contains compositions by Soriano, G. F. Anerio, Matelart and Anon. For a list of the contents of Codex 58, see Lightbourne, *Annibale Stabile*, i, pp.354–6.

23 A. Myers, 'Dragoni, Giovanni Andrea', *New Grove II*. The autograph collection of Magnificats by Dragoni, mentioned by Myers in this same article, and which she thought to be lost, is still held at the Archivio Capitolo S. Giovanni in Laterano, as Codex 60. Myers is incorrect in stating that 'manuscript 58' contains lamentations by Dragoni (see n.22 above). Casimiri, however, mentions two other codices, Rsg Ms: Codex 87 and Codex 88, and it is possible that these may contain Lamentations by Dragoni. See Casimiri, *Il 'Codice 59'*, p.25.

24 See the choir list for February 1591 later in this article. The previous incumbent had been Curzio Mancini. See Rsm Ms: *Cappella 1589 al 1600 Tom 4* [Cappella 1591], f.40v, where Ms Curtio is named as *maestro di cappella* in January 1591. (The foliation in this book begins anew for each year.)

25 It was also an increase on his salary at the German College, where he was paid 4 *scudi* a month. See Lightbourne, *Annibale Stabile*, i, p.52. However, at the college, Stabile may not have been expected to house and feed the boy sopranos.

26 This was also the size of the chapel choir at its foundation in 1545 and continued to be the average size into the early 17th century, when Francesco

Soriano was *maestro di cappella*. See J. Burke, 'Musicians of S. Maria Maggiore Rome, 1600–1700: a social and economic study', *Note d'archivio per la storia musicale*, nuova serie, ii (1984), supplement, p.69.

27 Choir lists at this institution also included various other persons in its employ. In this particular list Carlo, the church mason, and Panfilo Selva, who attended to the accounts are added at the end.

28 For choir lists of July and December 1593, see Rsm Ms: *Giustificazioni 7 1593–1594*, Mandato Nos.64 and 141 [1593] respectively.

29 For another Roman reference to the *cartella*, see Culley, *Jesuits*, p.73 and Doc. 52. For a discussion on the *cartella*, see J. A. Owens, 'The Milan Partbooks: evidence of Cipriano de Rore's compositional process', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, xxxvii (1984), pp.270–98, and *A correspondence of Renaissance musicians*, ed. B. J. Blackburn, E. E. Lowinsky and C. A. Miller (Oxford, 1991), pp.120–23.

30 Rsm: *Giustificazioni 6*, Mandato No.31 [1591].

31 L. Robledo, 'Questions of performance practice in Philip III's chapel', *Early music*, xxii (1994), p.200. Robledo notes that there was a distinction between honorary chaplains and serving chaplains. The former rarely participated in the singing, and then only in the chant.

32 See the outline of the Office of Holy Week, in J. Bettley, 'The Office of Holy Week at St Mark's, Venice, in the late 16th century, and the musical contributions of Giovanni Croce', *Early music*, xxii (1994), p.47. Bettley notes that this was enacted during the night by seven canons who sang the hymn *Vexilla regis* as the relics were displayed.

33 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 the basilica of S. Maria Maggiore. See Burke, 'Musicians of S. Maria Maggiore Rome', p.41.

34 A portable organ was used at Christmas in the basilica's Cappella Sistina, which held the relics of the crib. See T. N. O'Regan, *Sacred poly-choral music in Rome, 1575-1621*, 2 vols (DPhil diss., U. of Oxford, 1988), i, pp.76-7.

35 For one example from the accounts, see Rsm: *Cappella 1589 al 1600* [Cappella 1591], f.23v.

36 Choir lists for July and August 1591 can be found in Rsm: *Cappella 1589 al 1600* [Cappella 1591], ff.43v and 44.

37 Giovanni Bapt. Anerio was an uncle of the Anerio brothers, Felice and Giovanni Francesco. See J. P. Couchman, *Felice Anerio's music for the church and for the Altemps Cappella* (PhD diss., U. of California, 1989), p.48.

38 For August and September, see Rsm: *Giustificazioni 6*, Mandato Nos.49 and 61 [1592].

39 Ascanio is listed as 'sagrestano' in choir lists from at least July 1593 until at least December 1594.

40 Casimiri, 'Disciplina', p.107. The

attorney was probably Fabrilio Ruffetti who is listed as 'Procuratore' (with Andrea Ruffetti as 'Sollicitatore') in the salaried employees at S. Maria Maggiore in December 1594 (Rsm: *Giustificazioni 7*, Mandato No.142 [1594]).

41 At the German College a choir of around nine singers is suggested in a comment by the Rector Michele Lauretano, concerning the singers that went to S. Stefano with himself and the *maestro di cappella* (Annibale Stabile), 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' (Rome, Archivio Collegium Germanicum et Hungaricum Ms: Archivio Collegium Germanicum et Hungaricum, Hist. 103; P. Lauretano, 'Diario dall'Ottobre 1582-1583 (Luglio) con Appendice dell' 1585 and 1586', p.94). A choir of a similar size is pictured in the well-known engraving made by Etienne Dupérac in 1578 of a service in the

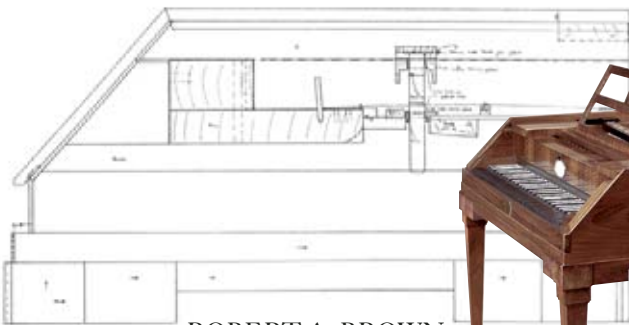
Sistine Chapel where three boys are pictured standing at the front of the choir immediately before the lectern; this choir as a whole numbers 12 singers. For a reproduction of this engraving, see C. Reynolds, 'Rome: a city of rich contrast', *The Renaissance: from the 1470s to the end of the 16th century*, ed. I. Fenlon, Man & Music, ii (Houndmills, 1989), p.79. Jean Lionnet found that the standard grouping of the choirs of a number of Roman churches at the beginning of the 17th century was four sopranos, two altos, two tenors and two basses (J. Lionnet, 'Performance practice in the Papal Chapel during the 17th century', *Early music*, xv (1987), p.3).

42 IBIMUS (Roma) has completed cataloguing the music held in the archives of S. Giovanni (codices excepted), and is at present endeavouring to catalogue the large amount of music held in the archive of S. Maria Maggiore.

43 Codex 61 also contains one hymn strophe for eight voices by Stabile. This is a four-part canon at the unison.

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